

“HOW CAN YOU LOVE THE WOLF AND THE ESKIMO AT THE SAME TIME?”

REPRESENTATIONS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN NATURE MAGAZINES

by

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ABSTRACT

This research examined Audubon magazine's representations of Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Textual and image analysis spanned the years 1960 to 2002. Text and images were analyzed using cultural studies methods of critical textual analysis, critical discourse analysis, and ethnographic content analysis. Some of these representations were compared to other environmental magazines. Analysis included nature writing and news stories that covered the Keep America Beautiful Campaign, the use of eagles by Native Americans, the Nez Perce Wolf recovery project, the U'wa struggle against oil companies, and other issues. Contributors to the nature writing genre often utilized brief references to Indigenous peoples in order to make points about nature, identities, and Indigenous peoples. I concluded that the imagery was not monolithic across time or across a particular topic. The "ecological Indian" image was both challenged and reinforced. A vast array of Indigenous images supported the magazine's goals, one goal being the encouragement of activism among readers. Letters-to-the-editor served as a dialogic space for perspectives not represented in the magazine's articles.

INTRODUCTION

The title, “How Can You Love the Wolf and the Eskimo at the Same Time?” originated from a quote from the Audubon magazine article “Where Have all the Tutu Gone?” by John G. Mitchell (1977, March, p. 10). The quote concerned a wolf extermination campaign targeted to protect a dwindling caribou population and ensure that Alaska Natives would have a population of caribou to hunt for food. The Alaska State Fish and Game department had prepared stacks of letters to send to environmentalists protesting the wolf extermination. A bureaucrat commented that few letters from environmentalists had arrived and asked, “How can you love the wolf and the Eskimo at the same time?” In other words, the bureaucrat’s question suggested some environmentalists’ difficulties in supporting wolves over Indigenous peoples.

On other levels, the bureaucrat’s question revealed the complexity of relationships between Native peoples and environmentalists. Specifically, this complexity included the role of emotion in environmental problem solving (such as admiring nature and respecting Indigenous peoples), the choice to value (or not) Native lifeways while solving environmental problems, and the sometimes monolithic, objectified, and simplified classification strategy toward Indigenous peoples, such as the quote’s reference to “the Eskimo.”

The representations of Indigenous peoples in environmental magazines have not received in-depth scholarly investigation. This research investigates these representations and the ways magazines and their sponsoring environmental organizations use such imagery.

Environmental representations shape and reinforce perceptions that influence the treatment of Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous entities including governments neighboring communities, non-governmental organizations, and environmental groups (see Hall, 1997 for more on the social significance of representations). This point, keenly understood by Indigenous peoples, is emphasized by the representational strategies used by Native communities to shape the outcome of events and legislation significantly impacting their communities. For example, Feit (2001) points out how the James Bay Cree utilize the metaphor of a garden to describe their land and influence public opinion. However, Indigenous peoples do not often directly influence specific spheres of popular culture media. Images and coverage by influential environmental magazines, purposefully or not, express specific ideas about Indigenous peoples. These ideas influence a readership who, in turn, influence governmental decision-making on environmental issues that may affect Indigenous communities (Slater, 1996, p. 115). Furthermore, environmental organizations appear to act on the assumptions behind the images as they pursue their environmental goals and lobby governmental agencies. The images of Indigenous peoples in environmental magazines are more than pictures and words—they may be read as statements about Native people's lives, cultures, politics, environmentalisms, and histories.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Nature writing intertextually entwines with politics, science, poetics, and economics (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992). These influences intersect with practices of representing Indigenous peoples in mainstream environmental magazines. Two research questions guide this close reading of representations of Indigenous peoples in environmental magazines.

- How, when, and why are Indigenous peoples represented in environmental arenas by environmental print media?

The first question deals directly with the representations present (or absent) in environmental magazines. The stereotypes of the “ecological Indian” and the “primitive destructor” provide a background for examining these portrayals. Issues—such as whether Indigenous peoples are named with tribal-specific affiliations, whether they are depicted as having agency and being able to speak and act on their own volition as educated and informed entities, or are frozen in time—are relevant to this question.

- How does environmental news since the 1960s fit Indigenous peoples into its goals and ideologies?

The second question further examines how environmental news organizations, such as Audubon, contextualize the issues related to Indigenous peoples. Does Audubon form an identity for its organization through comparing itself to Native Americans and other Indigenous peoples? In other words, do Audubon and its authors describe themselves through their descriptions of Indigenous peoples? What is silenced within the

coverage of Indigenous people is also pertinent. Silence and the unsaid (what details are left out) can shed light on how an issue is ideologically shaped.

The 1960s was chosen as a starting point for this research because national environmental awareness surged in the 1960s. Previously environmentalism had been more locally situated (Neuzil & Kovarik, 1996), or specialized as individual forums (Gottlieb, 1997).

The study of representations reveals patterns which motivate behavior and thinking toward the peoples being imagined. This research focuses on and analyzes the images of Indigenous peoples that are common in environmental magazines, in order to better understand how these representations are being reinforced or complicated.

Writers and readers of environmental magazines utilize social constructions to interpret the environment, to determine environmental concerns, to define nature and wilderness, and to understand and define human and non-human interactions. Readers of environmental news bring their preconceptions to the reading of environmental magazines and these preconceptions may become shaped by environmental news. Past issues of environmental news exemplify these socially filtered aspects of environmentalism. A close reading of environmental publications can show how social and environmental aspects intertwine. For example, a recent issue of Audubon (January-February, 2002), in response to September 11, 2001, is entitled "This Land is Your Land: Turning to Nature in a Time of Crisis." The issue, inspired by nationalism, contains contemplative pieces on the importance of nature and the relationships between human and non-human nature (Seideman, 2002, January). Audubon is more than an informative

“birder’s” magazine, it conveys much about concepts of nature held by human beings. This quality makes Audubon an excellent case for this study on representations.

The representations in Audubon were varied and served many purposes. Non-Natives used images to create identities for themselves as allies or adversaries of Indigenous peoples and to create an “ecological self.” Images were strategically deployed to reinforce and/or challenge the image of the ecological Indian or certain historical identities as guides and laborers, as well as to celebrate certain historic images/icons of whiteness, such as the pioneer and explorer in contrast with the noble/ignoble savage.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A long history of nature writing has influenced the authors and publishers of Audubon and other nature magazines. The various meanings of nature that have existed throughout history in American culture are communicated in this nature writing genre. Environmentalists use nature writing as one medium to express concern about and celebrate nature. Little (1999, p. 254) argues that,

[T]he term environmentalism refers to an explicit, active concern with the relationship between human groups and their respective environments. Although “environmentalist” usually refers to political activists, the term can reasonably include persons and groups that are directly involved with understanding and/or mediating this relationship.

Environmental discourse and nature writing deals with this concern and is characterized as a “transcultural” phenomenon (Milton, 1996, p.170). Published studies on the meaning of nature, nature writing, and Indigenous representations can help to contextualize the research.

Nature Magazines, Nature Writing, and Indigenous Representations

Nature or environmental magazines serve as a source of both entertainment and information and have long utilized Indigenous representations, especially as direct symbols of or equivalents to “nature.” Other nature writers try to emphasize humanness over the image of “Native peoples as nature.” The common representations relating nature and Indigenous peoples include a binary opposition of the “good” Indian and the “bad” Indian. Berkhofer (1978) traces the ideological pairing of “noble” and “ignoble” savage to Western philosophical constructs of the Middle Ages, themselves rooted in

more classical notions of the “barbarian.” This binary opposition also influences the interactions between Native peoples and environmental groups.

Representations of Native Americans have appeared in nature magazines in the U.S. since at least 1885. Cornell (1985) identifies them in Forest and Stream articles authored in the late 1880s by George Bird Grinnell. These articles

focused on Indian crafts, environmental relations, and use of resources... These ethnographic pieces were very popular and depicted the intelligent actions and skills of American Indians. By late 1889, almost every issue included at least one article describing indigenous practices, and these articles had the effect of formalizing the image of the Native American as conservationist. (Cornell, 1985, p. 109).

Grinnell’s magazine served not only as a forum for environmentalism but as a forum to improve the conditions of reservation life. However, when Indigenous peoples did not meet Grinnell’s standards for conservation, he also used his magazine to protest, and disparage Indian people. For example, Jacoby wrote that Grinnell “published several articles on the threat that ‘bands of roaming savages’ posed to Yellowstone National Park” (2001, p. 91). Another nature writer at the end of the nineteenth century, Marstyn Pogue, also adapted Indian themes in his writing for nature magazines (Cornell, 1985, p. 109).

Natural History magazine published the book Ants, Indians, and Little Dinosaurs to commemorate its seventy-fifth anniversary (Ternes, 1975). The book was a collection of esteemed articles that had been featured in the magazine over its first seventy-five years. Articles covered topics not only on carpenter ants and fossils, but also Indigenous peoples from all over the world, nicely illustrating the conflation of Indigenous peoples with other aspects of the “natural,” rather than human world.

Representations of Indigenous peoples continue to be a featured topic in contemporary nature magazines. Morris & Stuckey (1998) deconstruct how two environmental magazines, Audubon and National Wildlife, in two separate articles on Indigenous communities, distort representations of specific Native American groups. The researchers explain that distortion occurs through the use of nostalgia, downplaying and reducing history, and interpreting environmental practices through European-American environmental thinking. Morris & Stuckey write,

Here and elsewhere, then, the pastoral voice, with its promise of a reconciliation of past values with present practices, masks the consequences of action, places identities at risk, and severely limits the constructive possibilities of cultural diversity. (1998, p. 145)

The authors quote portions of the two articles to illustrate how use of the “pastoral voice” fulfills the interests of the articles’ authors.

Magazine nature writing exists alongside characterizations of Indigenous peoples in nature writing anthologies, fiction, and monographs. An example, Reefscapes: Reflections on the Great Barrier Reef (2001) by Rosaleen Love discusses Aboriginal peoples’ historic and present relationships with the Great Barrier Reef. Love includes an overview of Aboriginal claims to the “sea country” and how the claims are ensconced within Aboriginal belief systems. Even older “classics” of nature writing present Indigenous peoples. Sayre (1977) argues that Henry David Thoreau “read, thought, and wrote about them [Indians] throughout his adult life...He could not help or improve Indians; all he could do was praise and imitate them” (p. 25). Leopold’s (1989), A Sand

County Almanac and Sketches Here and There, produces representations of “Indians” as historical figures and groups of the past. Leopold remarks on a plover with “the [land] title he got from the Indians” (p. 35); a long-lived “pet” plant that observed Black Hawk and pioneers (p. 49); of the food chain transforming from “soil-oak-deer-Indian” to “soil-corn-cow-farmer” (p. 215); a dam built by an “Old Indian” (p. 150), and the Pueblo Indians who did not have grazing animals, and whose “civilization expired” (p. 206). Lopez (1986), also an acclaimed nature writer, uses a passage from Kiowa author N. Scott Momaday to introduce his book, Arctic Dreams, which incorporates information on the Eskimos. His book Of Wolves and Men also uses Indigenous imagery (Lopez, 1978). Edward Abbey (1968) discusses present-day urbanized Navajos in his book Desert Solitaire. He portrays a squalid picture of urban Indian life, as well as an unromanticized picture of the reservation.

Meanings of Nature

Understandings of nature and the environment in the United States have been shaped by historical, class, religious, gender, ethnic, regional and political factors (Cronon, 1996; Franklin, 2002, pp. 83-131; Merchant, 2003; Nash, 2001; Price, 1999). Tracing changes in U.S. attitudes toward wilderness, Nash (2001) discusses the gradual shift from contradictory popular notions of wilderness as a dangerous, but a useful resource, to the popular conception of wilderness as a place to be protected or at least conserved through wise resource use. He traces these changes by discussing famous wilderness defenders, changes in laws, philosophies of environmental movements, uses of national parks, and the present day international context of action. Cronon (1996)

critiques the many historical meanings of wilderness nature including “uninhabited wilderness,” “original garden,” frontier, “sacred sublime,” and even the idea of wilderness in Clementsian ecological theory (1996, pp. 81-82, n. 25).

Cornell (1985) argues that the environmental ideas of early conservationists such as George Bird Grinnell and Ernest Thompson Seton were influenced by Native Americans with whom they interacted at several points in their lives. Cornell writes, describing Grinnell, “It was his experience with Indians that had helped foster his unflinching concern for the land and animals of the continent” (1985, p. 111). Cornell (1985) also argues that Seton learned specific environmental practices and attitudes from Native Americans, which influenced his work with outdoor children’s organizations, his writing, and his personal life.

In the 1960s, environmental concerns and “Indians” became popular again, beyond influencing individual environmentalists. Nash writes, “Indeed many Americans in the 1960s began to think of wilderness and, parenthetically, of Indians, as victims of the same fixation on progress, growth, and competition which threatened countercultural values such as peace, freedom, and community” (2001, p. 251). With “progress” came development, clear cutting, pollution, and therefore the degradation of environments.

Price (1999) studies meanings of nature in historical and contemporary times showing through her examples (passenger pigeon years, the pink flamingo, bird hats, nature selling stores, and the uses of nature on television) that humans habitually attach meanings to nature to express what is important and useful at a particular moment in time. She requires the reader to consciously see the concept of nature as a source of

artifice and as “a continuum, that ranges from the wildest pieces of nature to the most transformed” (Price, 1999, p. 164, 255).

Meanings of the natural are often opposed to meanings of the cultural in environmental writings. Ellen (1996) explains that this is a false dichotomy because nature is defined and understood only through the cultural. He writes, “what are categorized as nature and culture not only shift and merge, but may even change places” (Ellen, 1996, p. 8). The example he uses is the word “jungle,” which originated from an Urdu word for a human-made deforested environment and shifted over time to mean a forested or wild place (Ellen, 1996, p. 8). Ellen (1996, p. 12) emphasizes that nature is associated as a thing and as an essence and writes, drawing on Noorgaard (1987, p. 118), “however nature is culturally constructed and whatever (if any) its underlying cognitive template, in the way we use it is always a synergy of the utilitarian and the aesthetic, the pragmatic and the symbolic, and the knowledge of it can never be independent of relations with it.”

Nature has also been associated with “other.” Ellen describes “other” as “what is ‘out there’, what is not ourselves and ‘that which can take care of itself’” (1996, p. 7). Desmond (1999) argues that tourism provides an entry into nature by capitalizing on “othering” in both cultural (her example is the Hawaiian lu’au) and animal/nature tourism (such as marine animal shows and zoos). Desmond writes,

It is no coincidence that cultural tourism and nature tourism are both big industries...Both share a particular historical relation to imperialism and the process of nation building. And both continue to constitute a contemporaneous sense of what their viewers are by showing them what they are (supposedly) not. This is true whether that difference, always coded as more “natural,” is packaged as cultural difference (a lu’au) or as species difference (sea lions bathing at the

Natatorium) (1999, p. 144-145).

This type of othering occurs in nature magazines, as well. Pictures of animals symbolize the natural and the “other” in the magazines. The reader becomes an armchair “ecotourist” and may become an actual ecotourist after reading an article on an animal or place of interest.

Slater (1996) examines the representations of Indigenous peoples and the Amazon in two newspaper articles from the years 1991 and 1993. She finds in one article that the Indigenous group, the Yanomami, never speak, and in the other that the Indigenous group, the Kayapó, speak in agreement with one voice. She writes,

On the surface, the Yanomami fulfill Edenic expectations by providing a handy bridge to a past free of polluted oceans, cancer clusters, and toxic dumps. The Kayapó, in contrast, challenge outsiders’ expectations by cheerfully peddling the mahogany and gold they “should,” by virtue of their identity as Indians, conserve. In the last analysis, however, the authors share a vision of the Amazon as a threatened paradise that demands protection, whether from greedy outsiders or from its own traditional guardians, caught up in the invasive thorns and nettles of economic change. (Slater, 1996, p. 125)

Slater emphasizes that the Edenic narrative [the landscape as a paradise, an idea shaped by Biblical notions] has often characterized the Amazon and its inhabitants.

Women are associated with nature, as well (Ortner, 1974; Scharff, 2003).

According to Ellen (1996) this occurs most often in Western societies, but some cultures associate men with nature. Ecofeminist schools of environmentalism have capitalized on this idea of woman as nature, turning the oppressive use of this idea into empowerment. The association has also been used to “other” the male members of a colonized or oppressed group by locating them in a category of nature and the feminine (this is periodically discussed in Deloria, 1998; Huhndorf, 2001; and Montrose, 1991).

Influential Texts and Styles in Nature Writing

The genre of nature writing must be examined for its styles and approaches because it influences the writing in environmental magazines. Furthermore, some articles in nature magazines are actually excerpts from nature books. Stewart (1995) in A Natural History of Nature Writing outlines the key writers, influences, and styles of nature writing in the United States, beginning with British writer Gilbert White, who greatly influenced early American nature writers. Stewart also discusses Henry David Thoreau, John Burroughs, John Muir, Mary Austin, Aldo Leopold, Rachel Carson, and Edward Abbey. According to Stewart, Gilbert White wrote as a naturalist in his backyard and neighborhood, not only writing about the land and animals (including a pet tortoise named Timothy) but the local people such as gypsies and farmers. Thoreau combined ethical messages in his nature writings and was “in search of the language to unite the worlds of fact and rhapsody” (Stewart, 1995, p. 52). Thoreau asserted “in order to know the thing observed, we must also know the observer” (Stewart, 1995, p. 29). McCusick (2000) pointed out that Thoreau’s writings referenced Indigenous peoples using and living in nature (pp. 154, 157, 166). A common tenet of nature writing is to describe the observer as well as the observed. Borroughs wrote with “figurative language,” “tenderness,” and “subjectivity” (Stewart, 1995, p. 65) as shown through this passage quoted in Stewart:

If I name every bird I see in my walk, describe its color and ways, etc., give a lot of facts or details about the birds, it is doubtful if my reader is interested. But if I relate the bird in some way to human life, to my own life—show what it is to me and what it is in the landscape and the season—then do I give my reader a live bird and not a labeled specimen. (1995, p. 69)

Borroughs, however, was concerned with facts; he criticized nature writing for not meeting standards of Western science. Muir focused on the idea of interdependence among living beings in his writing, and described nature anthropomorphically. McCusick (2000) noted that Muir also wrote about Native Americans as ecologically harmonious. Mary Austin wrote about the Mojave Desert and the Southwest. Her writing collapsed the subjects of environment and Native peoples (see also McCusick 2000). She wrote about her home in New Mexico, “[as supplying] the element of aboriginal society which I have learned to recognize as my proper medium” (quoted in Stewart, 1995, p. 138). Leopold developed the concept of “land ethic” and associating “rights” with nature in the hopes of convincing people to preserve the land. Rachel Carson utilized a variety of styles in her writing. She wrote in formal scientific terms, but in her first book, Under the Sea Wind, she wrote about the sea animals as main characters. “[T]heir world must be portrayed as it looks and feels to them” (Stewart 1995, p. 168). Her next book, The Sea Around Us, contrasted in that,

[it] used no personified animal characters. Carson had learned to create drama in scientific prose without resorting to devices apt to be sentimental. The book would create its drama not through the lives of individual creatures, but through the excitement of exploration being carried out by field scientists. Occasionally using the first-person voice, Carson became the reader’s faithful interpreter between mystery and fact, fable and discovery. She helped the reader distinguish among historical beliefs, theories supported by evidence, and speculations about present-day areas of research. (Stewart 1995, p. 175)

The Edge of the Sea was written “to interpret the shore in terms of that essential unity that binds life to the earth” (Stewart 1995, p. 179). Stewart describes Carson’s book Silent Spring as aiding in “the birth of the modern environmental movement,” but it was harshly attacked by scientists and industries whose interests lay in advancing the

pesticide industry, not stopping it (Stewart, 1995, p. 164). Her work was featured in Audubon in the 1960s. Abbey was a distinctly Western nature writer who used “conscious literary design—part of that nature-writing tradition in which the author is authentically present in the work and respectful of ‘facts,’ but willing to use the guises and devices of fiction when necessary to direct readers toward spiritual, moral, and aesthetic truths” (Stewart 1995, p. 197).

Cultural critics, writers, and scholars define nature writing and explain its purposes in many ways. Teachers of nature writing describe it as being philosophical as well as combining science and personal experience while expounding on concerns beyond the personal (Coeyman, 1998, p. B3). Slovic writes, “Concisely, the goal of environmental literature is to impress readers with a vivid, visceral sense of their own naturalness and, by extension, to encourage readers to pay attention to the nonhuman world on aesthetic, ecological, and political levels” (1999, p. 4). Furthermore, Slovic explains that nature writing often contains a focus on place as well as migration in all settings from urban, suburban, to rural. A quality of “inhumanist” characterizes the genre, which means nature is valued not as a useful entity to humans but as having intrinsic value. These qualities are expressed in exploratory styles of writing that describe nature and human interactions and in political styles of writing exhorting action and advocacy on a particular issue. Fritzell (1990) in Nature Writing and America: Essays upon a Cultural Type places nature writing among American literature with the purpose ,

almost solely to settle the country--to compose it and delineate it, to give its elements sanctioned identities, and then to appreciate them—to establish (and perhaps occasionally to puzzle over) names and classifications, to fix (or attempt to fix) the terms of nonhuman environment, and, if or when terms prove hard to

select or difficult to certify, to celebrate in some customary way the countries' mysteries and elusiveness—in one way or another to ordain American lands, without thinking too much about the process (or the particular terms) of ordination. (p. 19).

Fritzell calls nature writers “creatures of their culture” even when “they consciously sought to be otherwise” (1990, p. 20). He describes a dualism in nature writing representing cold science on the one hand and, on the other, the sublime emotion-laden experience of nature.

Typologies of nature writing exist in the academic literature. Lyon (1989) divides American nature writing into a spectrum of types, ranging from field guides and scientific papers to philosophical treatises on the human role in nature. He writes that all types “convey pointed instruction in the facts of nature” (1989, p. 5). Payne (1999) classifies nature writing according to the level of political action: writing that encourages a love of nature, writing that accompanies and encourages political action, writing that educates the public about an environmental issue, and writing that takes extreme positions on issues such as works on deep ecology. For Payne (1999), nature writing is one of the few kinds of writing that is associated with political activism.

The processes of nature writing and teaching nature writing have also been documented in various sources. The complexity of learning the craft is outlined by Zwinger (2000). She explains the process of teaching students to write, to watch nature, to draw, to keep field journals, and to research in libraries. She describes the library research process as a search for the surprising or delightful fact that will spice up one's essay. Lea (1998) emphasizes the creative process, likening it to producing poetry, and the wide range of experiences (not necessarily related in chronological order) needed

to produce nature writing. He stresses that the nature essay is a contradiction in that nature, something apart from people, is being filtered and described through a person's mind, but that accurate portrayals, getting one's facts straight, are absolutely necessary for a piece to be successful. The popularity of learning the nature writing genre is evident by the 800-900 university programs teaching nature writing methods (Coeyman, 1998, p. B3).

Nature writing, especially the journal format (called "ecological identity journals" by Thomashow [1995]), helps cultivate the socially constructed "ecological identity," "ecological self," or green self. (Bowerbank, 1999; Macy, 1991). Bowerbank explains,

[C]ontemporary nature writing, at its most innovative, is now taking on a more politicized, urgent edge. It is being used strategically to inscribe new self-technologies for establishing, monitoring and sustaining an individual's ecological commitments and habits. (1999, p. 164-165)

Conceptions of ecology, self, and nature that inform the "ecological self" are from middle class Euro-American contexts. This cultivation process requires a diligent, vigilant effort or "self-technologies" to stay connected to nature, such as taking trips to visit non-human nature, reading nature writing, and writing about nature through journal keeping.

Various works detail the characteristics of nature writing. Dobrin & Weiser (2002) observe that the environment is only accessible through discourse and in this way "is created through discourse" (p. 11). Killingsworth and Palmer (1992) depict discourse as treating nature as an object, as a resource, or as a spirit. Harré, Brockmeier, and Mühlhäusler (1999) point to many characteristics of both conservative and radical green discourse including the focus on time, writing that "temporal references become moral assessments, and expressions of time are mingled with aesthetic values" (p. 7). They also

point to metaphor as being vital to “greenspeak,” quoting common metaphors identified by Mills (1982), such as nature as reflecting the human body during the Renaissance (Harré, Brockmeier and Mühlhäusler, 1999, p. 93). Harré et al. (1999) explain that referring to the environment as a spaceship or as a carpet provides a tool to think about something not yet understood, or to think about it in a different way. Examples of the use of metaphors from Audubon are taken from the special issue in response to September 11, 2001. In her reflective essay, Kingsolver writes, “There is something about the Grand Canyon that brings the busy human engine of desires to a quiet halt” (2002, January-February, p. 40). The metaphor is “busy human engine of desires.” An idea communicated through this metaphor is that human desires are driven as if by an engine and can be turned off. In another essay, Safina (2002, January-February) writes, “I had just bought a small house nearby as a place for writing, a place to retreat to when civilization’s thorns seemed to outnumber its roses” (p. 42). The metaphor in this sentence is comparing civilization to a rose bush, with positive aspects as roses and negative aspects as thorns. Interestingly, these are metaphors about “civilization,” not nature, influenced by the special issue on taking solace in nature to deal with aftereffects of the plane hijackings and the crashes into the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001.

Nature writing also uses the discourse of science (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992; Harré, Brockmeier, & Mühlhäusler, 1999). Ecospeak may “appeal to science” without “doing science” (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992, p. 103). Killingsworth and Palmer (1992) argue that their examination of Time (not an environmentally specialized news magazine) reveals that a “journalist’s understanding of information value...ultimately

ensure[s] that the facts of science will be distorted or reinvented altogether when they are presented in the news media” (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992, p. 134). News “is tied to events” and has to be of major proportions and applicable to the interests of everyday people (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992, p. 134-135, 160). Nabhan (2004) emphasizes writing and its processes that stem from the interchange of science and creativity, because both are dialectically valuable to conservation and the health of humans, plants, and animals.

Payne (1996) distinguishes certain rhetorical styles determined by the intended audience as important to describing nature writing. He (1996) argues that Rachel Carson wrote Silent Spring as if she were a lawyer arguing a court case (p. 144). Aldo Leopold wrote A Sand County Almanac as if he were addressing land owners, hunters, and farmers.

Studies about green discourse, “ecospeak,” or environmental discourse provide insights on power in the environmental arena. Bruner & Oeschlaeger (1994) critique environmental writings, especially on environmental ethics, for straying from a critical rhetoric approach that pays attention to the discourse of power that controls the parameters, the vocabulary, and in the end the outcomes of environmental discussions (1994, p. 388-389). The example given draws on Worster (1985), who points out a preference for the term “ecosystem,” a term from physics emphasizing systemic interchanges of energy, over the term “biotic community,” which is inclusionary of humans and all life. Bruner and Oelschlaeger state that critical rhetoric aims to determine who is in charge of discussions on environmental issues, emphasizing in italics, “*whoever*

defines the terms of the debate determines its outcomes" (Bruner & Oeschlaeger, 1994, p. 391). They argue that economic interests usually shape the debate. Therefore, arguments that privilege people, jobs, and development over protection of animal habitat are highlighted in public arenas.

The Uses of Binary Oppositions

Defining nature for middle-class Americans includes defining Indigenous peoples and their relationships with nature. Indigenous peoples' associations with nature have been presented through the binary opposition of (1) the noble savage, the epitome of the ecological Indian, as harmonious steward of nature and (2) the ignoble savage, as neglectful, wasteful, untrustworthy, and often dangerous (similar extremes have defined nature) (Berkhofer, 1978).

The "ecological Indian" image represents environmentalists' aspirations. The famous environmental writer J. Baird Callicott uses Indigenous peoples as models of desirable environmental practice. He argues that what is needed to save the earth is one environmental narrative collapsing all cultural environmental approaches into one (Callicott, 1990; Callicott, 1994; Callicott, 2000; Hester, McPherson, Booth & Cheney, 2000). Environmental writers often use conceptions of historic Indigenous peoples to exemplify how to interact with the environment. Waller (1996) illustrates this point by highlighting a key controversy between environmentalists and animal liberationists. He explains that meat-eating environmentalists disagree with vegetarian animal liberationists over the ethics of killing animals for food. The meat-eating environmentalists argue that Native Americans hunted and killed for meat, therefore such an act is natural and right

because Native Americans lived harmoniously with the earth. Harrod (2000) examines historic Northern Plains hunting ritual and ties it to Northern Plains tribes' sacred beliefs and activities. He writes, "Northern Plains peoples believed that animals were kin, but they also believed that animals were different from humans. They had their own societies, their own territories, indeed their own worlds. This insight has deep meaning for our present situation..." (Harrod, 2000, p. 135).

The association made between Indigenous peoples and the U.S. form of environmentalism—characterized by conservation and preservation—possesses some positive aspects, according to Harrod (2000) and other academics. In an anthology of articles entitled American Indian Environments: Ecological Issues in Native American History, Vecsey and Venables (1980) emphasize that Native Americans were stewards of the land and were able to take care of the land before European contact negatively affected both Native communities and the environment. White (1985) emphasizes that Native Americans possess contextualized environmental knowledge, but Native American environmental practices should not be compared to standards developed by twentieth century conservationists (p. 101). Currently, some scholars are concerned with the links between biodiversity and cultural diversity, asserting that the demise of biodiversity relates to the demise of Indigenous cultures because language, spirituality, and everyday practices are closely linked with specific biomes and, on the other hand, the demise of Indigenous cultures also entails the demise of knowledge about biodiversity (Mühlhäusler, 2001; Harré, Brockmeier, & Mühlhäusler, 1999). Krech (1999) argues, however, that Native Americans (he sometimes brings other Indigenous groups into the

discussion, such as Maori) did not practice entirely harmonious environmental ethics, describing examples of wastefulness and careless treatment of land and animals through fire, irrigation, and hunting. Grande (1999) protests this use of the “ecological Indian” representation,

The notion that the “myth” of the ecologically noble savage is problematic has not been completely disregarded by environmentalists rather, there has been a great deal of analysis of this very question. Such rhetoric, however, has often taken the form of a virulent “debunking” of the myth that assumes a corrective tone in which the scholar asserts his or her obligation to dismantle the supposed Indian conspiracy to claim ecological superiority. (1999, p. 313-314)

Grande (1999) notes that the voices of Native peoples are missing from both the noble savage image and the negative savage image located in environmental writings (p. 314).

Grande (1999, pp. 314-317) categorizes the writings on Indigenous environmentalism into three schools of argument:

Humans exploit the environment equally, but low population and limited technologies reduce some groups’ ability to exploit, therefore being less degrading to the environment.

White scholars, speaking for Indigenous peoples, use academic methods to measure the accuracy of the stereotype of the ecological Indian. Humanistically inclined scholars, discuss the stereotype of the ecological Indian as oppressive and an obstacle for the advancement of Indian peoples.

Drawing on Buege (1996, p. 86), Grande (1999, p. 319) argues that environmentalists who use Native American stereotypes act from assumptions of eventual global destruction by way of excessive technological development and therefore, “such environmentalists seek actual and psychological control over global development in part, by requiring ecological nobility from native American peoples.”

Milton (1996) lists four reasons why environmentalists believe “non-industrial cultures” including Indigenous peoples are environmentally astute: (a) This belief

perpetuates a myth-like “dogmatic assertion, (b) “They have no grounds for doubting the myth” (p. 134), and (c) Culturally cognitive beliefs are not always translated in how individuals cut trees or hunt animals (p. 134-135); and lastly, the communities themselves help perpetuate the myth of ecological harmony for “good political reasons” (pp. 134-135). Milton (1996) states,

[H]uman beings have no ‘natural’ propensity for living sustainably with their environment. Primitive ecological wisdom is a myth...The reasons why the myth persists...are easy to understand. In some contexts it provides support for political arguments, against industrialism, and its associated developments, and in favour of autonomy for indigenous and traditional communities. But perhaps the main reason for its persistence is that it gives environmentalists hope that there is a ready-made solution to environmental problems...The myth implies that if industrial societies could ‘get back’ to a more ‘natural’ existence, by emulating the practices and cultural perspectives of non-industrial peoples, then our difficulties would be solved. (Milton, 1996, p. 222)¹

Despite such critiques, some environmentalists continue to espouse the “ecological Indian” motif and may be uncomfortable when modern Indigenous communities do not live up to environmentalists’ high ecological expectations.

Interactions between Environmental Organizations and Native Peoples

Environmental organizations such as Earth First! appropriate generic and culturally specific Native spirituality, such as sweat ceremonies (Taylor, 1997). Taylor (1997) proposes that this appropriation has some benefits for environmental movements, by making environmentalism appealing to new followers. He also argues that some Native peoples insist that non-Indian environmental allies respect and honor their spiritual precepts. Taylor interprets this as an invitation to practice those spiritual

¹ “Primitive ecological knowledge” is a myth because the word “primitive” emphasizes inferiority and simplicity. All cultures have complex systems of ecological knowledge.

precepts. However, as Deloria (1998) argues, identifying with and as Indians stems from white desires to act out fantasies and personal political, social, and moral leanings. The following example is especially associated with nature.

In the early 1900s, two founders of the Boy Scouts of America, Ernest Thompson Seton and Daniel Beard differed in their plans to create a training program to influence boys to be “proper masculine Americans,” including disagreeing over uses of Native imagery (Deloria, 1998). Ernest Thompson Seton saw his version of Indianness as the key to transforming boys into men. Deloria writes, “patriotism meant a hardy yet sensitive, out-of-doors character, best developed by immersing children in ‘woodcraft’” (1998, p. 96). Woodcraft taught children to appreciate and value nature, and its essence resided in Indianness (Deloria, 1998, p. 96). In addition to woodcraft activities, Seton organized boys to live as pretend tribes, dress as Indians, and conduct themselves as Indians with the goal of instilling moral teachings. He utilized the noble savage motif, asserting this Indianness as inherently part of the United States. Daniel Beard, opposing this model, associated Indians with the enemy, “as scalping savages” and glorified the pioneers, organizing boys into “pioneer scouts who had tamed the wild American frontier” (Deloria, 1998, p. 97, 108). Because of political sentiments of the time, on the brink of World War I, Beard’s approach gained favor. Deloria writes, “His masculine can-do and scouting’s Be Prepared proved to be more evocative pieces of wartime rhetoric than Seton’s suddenly dovish Indianesque nature study” (1998, p.110). However, Deloria (1998) points out that the girl’s version, Campfire Girls, did accept the Indianesque model, which emphasized the feminine associations of Indians as useful for

socializing girls into middle class definitions of proper womanhood (Deloria, 1998, p. 112-113). Connecting mainstream youth programs to playing “Indian” continues to be encouraged, as shown in a recent article in *Camping Magazine*, which emphasizes focusing on local Indian groups instead of pan-Indian themes (Dunn & Frebertshauser, 2002).

In contrast to “playing Indian,” environmentalists sometimes clash with Native peoples in face to-face interaction. For example, National Audubon Society has at times been at odds with different Native American communities and interest groups, such as Maine Indian and Seminole bird hunters (Graham, 1990). *Sierra* magazine also described similar relationships as allies and adversaries in their special issue on Native Americans in November of 1996. In 1899, an Audubon warden disputed with Maine Indians over the hunting of gulls along an area of coastal Maine. In 1905, Audubon wardens reported the Chief of the Passamaquoddy Nation to authorities because he was selling gull plumage, a violation of bird protection laws (Graham, 1990, p. 68). In 1916, the National Audubon Society opposed Seminole bird hunters for their hunting in the Everglades (Graham, 1990, p. 94). Similar disputes occurred on other issues concerning the violation of wildlife laws and the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples.

White (1985) explains that some clashes with environmentalists and outdoor sports people emerge from disputes over finite resources. He writes,

What has complicated the problem of Indians as environmental symbols even further has been the predictable backlash, which has produced a new version of the ignoble savage. Proponents of this view...threatened by actual Indian resource use, gather anecdotes about beer cans along reservation roads or else cull frontier reminiscences of buffalo slaughtered and left to rot. On either side of the controversy Native American attitudes and behavior become significant only in

the reflected light of modern environmentalism; their beliefs are valid only in so far as they conform to modern attitudes. Native American concerns are thus trivialized and stripped of real meaning. (White, 1985, p. 102)

Harm to the environments of Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples in the U.S. takes many forms, and some argue that land degradation continues an intentional or unintentional imperialist agenda. Lewis (1995) provides an overview of various environmental issues pertinent to Native communities, such as soil erosion, forest management, hunting and fishing, water use, mining, pollution, tourism, urbanization, and radioactive waste and testing associated with atomic energy. These environmental issues are pertinent to a discursive reading of environmental magazines.

In summary, Indigenous peoples have been referenced and represented in mainstream nature writing and nature magazines. Scholars have studied the various and unique aspects of nature writing, meanings of nature, and interactions of environmental organizations with Indigenous peoples, as well as the aspects of North American mainstream representations of Indigenous peoples. This research on representations in environmental magazines develops at the intersection of this larger scholarship.

METHODOLOGY

Influences on the Textual Data-gathering Methods

A combination of methods was used to examine aspects of the nature writing and news characteristics that incorporated Indigenous imagery in environmental magazines. For example, political and social context emerges from critical discourse analysis; the meaning of images emerges from semiotic approaches; the ethnographic content analysis structures all the approaches into a framework for analysis. Multiple approaches with multiple concepts were combined to discover how National Audubon Society and other environmental organizations represent Indigenous peoples in their publications to further environmental goals. Several concepts provided a basis for the questions to be asked. The concepts included work on stereotypes and environmental discourse. Discourses of environment, ethnicity, and media interlocked within this research.

Specific data gathering queries are influenced by the following:

- methods from qualitative ethnographic content analysis
- approaches from critical discourse analysis (CDA)
- methods from linguistic anthropology
- methods from Huckin's (2002) work on reading silences
- methods from news and magazine analysis
- concepts originating from the research on environmental discourse
- methods from Barthes' semiotics
- concepts originating from Desmond's (1999) work on close reading of images

- concepts from the study of stereotypes in American Indian Studies
- concepts from the social constructionist school of thought

Ethnographic Content Analysis

This research required both inductive and deductive approaches. Altheide's (1996) "ethnographic content analysis" (ECA) provided a model of ongoing comparison and inductive questioning useful for this research. Data analysis also followed the guidelines of ethnographic content analysis, which includes comparing and contrasting, memo writing, and interpreting findings.

Critical Discourse Analysis

A myriad of methods associated with respective schools characterizes critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA's association with social justice and critical practice links strongly to several schools. Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart (1999), scholars of the Vienna school, write that half the task of CDA is "making transparent the reciprocal relationship between discursive action and political and institutional structures" (p. 9). In this way, CDA stays politically interested and politically situated, and "intervenes" against oppression and social injustice through the power of analysis, and often through action (Wodak et al., 1999, p. 8). Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) (also CDA practitioners) extended their research on discourse into the outer social factors impacting and being shaped by the discourse of study. Furthermore, they included the factors of intertextuality or interdiscursivity (meaning a text made up of many different discourses), and how a text works in its setting.

CDA practitioners view discourse as social practice (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Tonkiss, 1998). Textual forms consist of practice via the production, distribution, and consumption of an item. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) argue that to fully understand a discourse a researcher must research each part of this practice, what du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, and Negus (1997) term the “circuit of culture,” which in their framework consists of “*Representation, Identity, Production, Consumption, and Regulation*” (p.3). Lutz and Collins (1993) in their study, Reading National Geographic, covered all these aspects in their examination of photographs. Their comprehensive analysis ranged from the organizational life of the publication, to the photographic or pictorial representations, the making of the representations, and how the photographs and pictorials are interpreted by a reading public. In the study presented in this dissertation, data on representations is drawn directly from Audubon magazine and other environmental news sources, while data on production derives from email/telephone interviews with publication editors and staff at Audubon House in New York City.

CDA does not depend on one definitive methodological protocol. Rigorous CDA methodologies, however, share certain elements. Tonkiss (1998) and Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) look for repetitive themes. Reading closely can reveal “patterns of emphasis” and “taken-for-granted-notions.” These two concepts are exemplified in an article in Orion magazine by Julia Corbett (2003), called “Robotic Iguanas: A Visit to a Rainforest in the Suburbs, with Climate Control and a Roof.” Beginning with the title, a pattern emerges that emphasizes the conflict between nature as controlled artifice and nature as untamed. In between the two themes is a portrayal in the rainforest restaurant of

“Mayans as nature.” A taken-for-granted-notion in the article is that the restaurant patrons are fooled by the artifice of the Mayan rainforest restaurant and view the staged experience as authentic with regards to both nature and Mayan culture.

Tonkiss also advised the researcher to “read *along* with the meanings that are being created, to look to the way the text is organized and to pay attention to how things are being said...[as well as] to read against the grain of the text, to look to silences or gaps” (Tonkiss, 1998, p. 258). Reading the silences in texts can be illuminating. For example, Kozol (2001), in her piece from *Looking at Life Magazine*, entitled, “Gazing at Race in the Pages of Life: Picturing Segregation through Theory and History,” demonstrates the silencing of African American civil rights activists within a photographic series in 1956 as an important strategy of shaping the discourse surrounding segregation.

Huckin (2002) detailed a lengthy process for determining silences, which he termed “manipulative silences,” or purposeful silences, when the writer is interested in slanting information in an article. My use of this process consisted of comparing multiple sources with the article and theorizing about the reasons for the gap in information.

Linguistic Anthropological Methods

Linguistic anthropologists also view discourse as social practice, based in the material and the ideological. I use a linguistic anthropological technique, lexical analysis, to analyze a select group of articles by paying attention to nouns, verbs, and adjectives which are associated with the individuals or groups, both Indigenous and non-

Indigenous, in the articles. This examination of word choice will be useful for comparing Audubon articles with other environmental magazines. Bias in news articles is shaped through the use of language. This does not necessarily indicate intent, only that writers and editors possess choices in how they communicate ideas (Fang, 2001). On the other hand, purposeful or accidental ideological assertions are made as van Dijk demonstrates in his examples of the use of “rioter” instead of “demonstrator,” or “guerrilla” instead of “freedom fighter” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 117).

Another part of the lexical analysis will look at verb tense, examining the time frame in which Indigenous peoples are placed, either regulated to the past or discussed in the present tense. The concept of voice, influenced by Mikhail Bakhtin’s work on the novel, deals with monological and dialogical voices (Bakhtin, 1981). Monological voice is one voice and perspective that dominates a text while dialogical voices are those that are multiple and heteroglossic. For example, authors may utilize several voices or points of view that are filtered through the authors’ voices. The voices may be quoted or set apart as conversational statements. Embedded narratives within a text can only be discovered through close reading (Malin, 2000). An example of dialogic text in Audubon would be the overall magazine’s mixture of science discourse, personal experience and reflection, or autobiographical perspective, a common style in naturalist writing (see Allister, 2001). For example, a piece by Gary Nabhan exemplifies this combination of discourses

A dizzying diversity of birds, bats, bees, and flies were swarming below us, all of them seeking the sweet, musky nectar of flowers held high on the arms of giant cacti. But in the process of moving from one plant to another, they were not only feeding, they were also pollinating...Lesser long-nosed bats, one of 11 species of

nectar-feeding bats in North America, follow a migratory loop as long as 3,200 miles (2001, p. 81).

In this section, a scientific lesson is presented alongside a personal encounter with the bats. The combination of scientific discourse and experiential discourse makes the piece engaging and follows an accepted style of appreciating and understanding nature.

The concept of intertextuality stems from these concepts of the dialogic (Noth, 1995, p. 322). Philips (1998) explains that intertextuality is a combination of speech genres such as written forms and spoken speech (1998, p. 11). CDA practitioners Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) write,

Intertextuality can therefore be understood at two levels: on one level it is the presence in my discourse of the specific words of the other mixed with my words, as for instance in reported speech; on another level it is the combination in discourse of different genres—or we might add, different discourses.... We use the term ‘interdiscursivity’...for the latter. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 49)

An example of intertextuality in a piece of environmental writing from Audubon is found in the article, “The River They Call Home” by Susan Hand Shetterly. In the article, blocks of blue printed text mark the stories from the Penobscot Nation apart from the black printed text of the article. I interpret that the blue text is to simulate the oral tradition, an attempt to mix spoken genres with written genres. The article actually begins with a description of a locally well-known Penobscot storyteller, and moves into describing Indian and non-Indians working together on behalf of the Penobscot Nation to care for the river on which much of their land, culture, and livelihood depend. What can be kept in the transference from the oral to the written is at issue when the oral tradition is presented in written form.

Evidentials are the parts of the text that indicate how certain one is about one's information, such as the word, "maybe." (Chafe, 1986; Jacobsen, 1986). In nature writing, science, aesthetic description, and empirical observation may create a factual quality lacking in evidentials.

News and Magazine Discourse

Environmental magazines function as a news source as well as a nature writing source. Print news often follows a distinct, but flexible format. Notably, print news is characterized by "relevance organization," which means news writers prioritize the most important issue, person, or event in the beginning paragraphs of the article (van Dijk, 1988, p. 43). In other words, "High level specifics are given first, followed by lower-level details" (van Dijk, 1988, p. 44). This particular organization permits the editor to trim an article without losing necessary information, while the reader can read half the article without missing key information. The flexible format in a print news story is created with the following "news schema" categories: the headline and lead summarizing the story; main events and background; consequences; verbal reactions or quotes from important people; and comment of the writer or newspaper (van Dijk, 1988, p. 52-56). The order of the sections differ among articles in order to emphasize "negativity, unusualness, and unexpectedness" (van Dijk, 1988, p. 57). Print news is also characterized by a "perlocutionary or persuasive dimension" (van Dijk, 1988 p. 82). Persuasive print news, van Dijk (1988) argues, contains certain strategies (van Dijk, 1988, p. 84-85).

News stories are concoctions arising from a variety of compiled discourses termed “source texts” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 115), hence news stories are inherently intertextual. Source texts include other newspapers, press releases, government reports, phone calls, letters, police reports, speeches, and interviews (van Dijk, 1988, p. 128). An example of a source text for environmental news writers is The Reporter’s Environmental Handbook, which explains environmental issues cites the latest scientific research, and provides further sources of information (West, Sandman, & Greenberg, 1995). News writers transform the source texts for the purposes of completing a publishable news article.

Visual Texts

Images used in environmental representations are also part of environmental messages. Roland Barthes (1982) sets forth some concepts for the study of texts, including visual texts. Using Saussurean concepts of sign—made up of signifier (vehicle of meaning) and signified (meaning)—he systematized the reading of signs, asserting that surface, descriptive, or denotative meaning naturalized or hid deeper connotative ideological meaning (called “myth” by Barthes). I will explain this by referring to his famous example from the book Mythologies. Through his method of uncovering first the denotative meaning and then the connotative meaning, the magazine cover depicting on a denotative level a black French soldier saluting the French flag connotatively signified that this patriotism of a black soldier silenced accusations that France was an oppressive colonizer (Barthes, 1982, p. 101-102). Looking for these two levels of meaning, denotative and connotative, will be useful for this research.

Desmond (1999), in her study of tourist representations of Hawaii and nature examines a long history of pictorial representations geared to tourists. She examined the representations with regard to the discourses they reinforced. For example, she writes concerning a 1993 travel advertisement,

The figure of the barefooted, grass-skirted hula dancer encapsulates all of these qualities and ties them to cultural distinctiveness...And most importantly it does so through the repeated iconographic linkage of a specific physicality (the body of a Native Hawaiian woman) with specific cultural practices (hula) and traits (aloha). In this discourse of alterity, bodily difference parallels and functions as authenticating evidence of *cultural* difference. (1999, p. 12)

This research will also examine visual images, analyzing how they reinforce specific discourses.

Stereotypes

Overemphasizing difference can lead to stereotyping. Stereotypes are also important to examine in this research, especially as they are expressed through the “ecological Indian” and “ignoble savage” images. Parezo (2001) defines stereotypes as “rigid clusters of isolated and simplified social/cultural characteristics conjoined into a single, imagined identity that is then used to label a social group and assess their character” (p. 42). Gilman (1997) argues from a psychoanalytic viewpoint that stereotypes change over time but still depend on differentiation. Hall explains, “*stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes, and fixes ‘difference’*” [italics in original] (1997, p. 258). He further argues, “*stereotyping deploys a strategy of ‘splitting’...It symbolically fixes boundaries, and excludes everything which does not belong*” [italics in original] (1997, p. 258). Lastly, Hall asserts a third important point

“stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power” [italics in original] (1997, p. 258).

Methods for recognizing stereotypes have been invented for examining children's books and textbooks (Dana & Community Relations Division, 1989; Council on Interracial Books for Children, n.d.). The key concepts within these methods are important to any research on stereotypes. The use of vocabulary describing Indigenous peoples is important to examine. Parezo (2001) includes a list of word classes that are used in stereotyping Native Americans such as “aggressive” and “cruel” within the bundle of meanings associated with the “the Wild Savage” and “brave” and “generous” associated with the “Noble Primitive” (p. 47). The presentation of images also perpetuates stereotypes. The way a narrative progresses (story) is also a common arena for stereotyping. For example, Dana and Community Relations Division's (1989) methods include examining depth of character development, attitudes toward conquest, and emphasis on material culture rather than other cultural expressions. Similar questions can be asked of representations in environmental news.

Social Constructionism

The previous concepts and methods may be used to theorize about the constructedness of images and texts. Social constructionism is a school of thought that serves such a strategy. Media representations of Indigenous peoples and their relationships to nature are very much constructed. Hacking (1999) writes that social constructionists argue that specific objects, beliefs, and ideologies were “brought into existence or shaped by social events, forces, history, all of which could well have been

different” (p. 7) rather than being natural and outside of human influence. This belief is especially tied to “nature” discourse because the academic literature contains heated arguments about understandings of nature as constructed versus understandings of nature that stand as real, beyond the ken of human influence (Franklin, 2002). Shanahan and McComas (1999) clarify that “having a social idea of nature does not deny the existence of a ‘real’ environment” (p. 22).

Sets of questions (see Appendix A) devised for this research about environmental magazines and representations of Indigenous peoples, have been influenced by the previous discussion. Both Bakhtin (1981), in the concept of the dialogical, and Barthes (1982), in his theory of the death of the author, have determined that there is not one definitive interpretation for a text, but many circulating meanings.

Research Procedures

The research was conducted in three steps to closely examine Audubon magazine and its publication protocols. First, all publication issues of Audubon covering 1960-2002 were skimmed; each page was scanned for any mention of Indigenous peoples in North and South America. Articles focused on events or issues in Asia, Africa, or Europe were not included in the analysis. Of the types of pieces published, articles, featured sections, and their associated images were all subject to analysis. The research began with the January 1960 Audubon publication. Two hundred and fifty-seven issues were scanned (six issues from each year except for 2002 when five issues were published). The page lengths of each issue ranged from about 120-152 pages.

After data collection, the articles, photographs, and illustrations of Indigenous peoples were analyzed using inductive and deductive queries. Brief references to Indigenous peoples within articles were analyzed differently than articles focused on Indigenous peoples. Brief references or “snippets” were compiled by year and sorted into categories to find patterns. Complete articles, ranging in length from one to several pages, and visuals were analyzed with specific queries (see Appendix A) that were influenced by several disciplines and methods.

Secondly, two individual and a group of four Audubon articles were selected for a comparison with the coverage of the same topic by another nature magazine. This comparison provided a broader background on the topic and a discursive comparison. Answers to the data-gathering queries (Appendix A) combined with an inductive approach illuminated the similarities and differences between the publications.

Lastly, it was planned that eight to ten key people at Audubon magazine would be interviewed about the magazine’s procedures and perspectives. General questions were informally pretested with two people knowledgeable about the publishing industry and its terminology. Two people, not associated with Audubon, provided in-depth and useful feedback about the magazine industry and current ideas about nature and Indigenous peoples affecting the nature magazine industry. A standard pretest format, like the one tested and described by Foddy (1998), was not adhered to because of time constraints. The pretest consisted of practicing the interview questions and then making any needed changes, including omitting some questions, revising the choice of words in a question, and augmenting questions from the results. After human subject approval from the

University of Arizona's Institutional Review Board, I contacted the Tucson office of the National Audubon Society to request a formal introduction to the magazine editorial staff. The Tucson Audubon chapter indicated that a formal introduction was not necessary because of the accessibility of the New York national office.

National Audubon Society and Audubon magazine were sent formal letters addressed to the editor-in-chief and the president of National Audubon Society, respectively (see Appendix B). I requested permission to contact eight to ten employees of the magazine with a postal letter accompanied by a research proposal. A phone call to the editor-in-chief was made after sending the letter. The arrangement for contacting potential interviewees was through a general email sent to the Audubon address, which would be forwarded to a purposeful sample, individual staff members of my choosing. Purposeful sampling is defined by Maxwell as "a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that can't be gotten as well as from other choices" (1996, p. 70). Originally it was planned that permission would be provided by the editor-in-chief and others in leadership positions to contact current publication staff and editors. In practice, Audubon staff members individually decided whether or not to participate. Participants were contacted through email to arrange consent form procedures, a tape-recorded telephone interview, and follow-up email interviews. Two copies of the consent form (see Appendix C) were sent (through priority mail with an addressed and stamped return envelope) to each interested participant establishing format, topics to be discussed, explanation of the taping of the interview, confidentiality, length of interviews, and the research's purpose.

In addition, participants gave me permission to name them within the dissertation by choosing this option on the consent form. Before the interviews, I studied the advice and clarifying questions outlined in Murphy (1980), Weiss (1994), and Maso and Wester (1996). The interview format I followed was conversational, with a set of questions to be covered during each interview (Appendix D). The questions were flexible and designed to change as the research progressed.

Two people from Audubon were interviewed. Interviews on editorial policy with the current Editor-in-Chief and a former Editor-in-Chief of Audubon informed this research. Other potential interviewees may have been too busy, as they did not respond. Another potential participant politely declined an interview.

After the telephone interview, a transcript of the interview was emailed to the participants to make any needed editorial changes. Emails were sent with follow-up questions and items to be clarified from the phone interview. Email interviews allowed the interviewee time to complete and edit their responses. Email elides face-to-face interaction and the ability to read the voice inflections in verbal interactions of a telephone interview (see Markham 1998, Fontana and Frey 2000). However, the email interview allows the interviewees to answer on a flexible time schedule. Both the telephone and email approaches are mediated by technology, as well as providing an interaction that permits the interviewee to multitask during an interview rather than having to provide a focused attentiveness expected in a face-to-face interview. The telephone and email technologies minimize the intrusion into the daily working of the

magazine. I showed my appreciation to the interviewees by sending each a gift, books by Sherman Alexie and Gary Nabhan.

Interviews were conducted after finishing a large portion of the data collection from the texts and while in the middle of textual analysis. The answers to the interview questions were coded and compared; key themes and differences were drawn out deductively and inductively and compared to the data analysis from the magazine articles. Concept mapping aided in the analysis and presentation of the findings.

In summary, using the social constructionism lens, I followed a protocol similar to the one devised by Altheide (1996), asking general questions to elicit data that could be questioned further and constantly compared against the articles and images presented in Audubon since the 1960s. The research focused more heavily on the representation, and less on the production elements of environmental literature, leaving the other parts of the circuit of culture to future studies. The production part of the process emerged from interviews with the two Audubon editors. The linguistic anthropological methods of examining lexical choices, monological and dialogical voice, and intertextuality were useful for this research. When the study began, attending to evidentials was part of the data gathering strategy. This was abandoned because it dissected the article on a level that was too specific and difficult to track in so many articles. The concepts for examining news discourse also were not used. Magazine article styles often differ from newspapers in subject-matter, layout, and format. The data gathering queries regarding fitting articles into categories of nature writing lost importance as I began instead to fit the articles into broad categories more associated with Audubon magazine itself, rather

than the broader literature. Looking for the two levels of meaning, denotative and connotative was useful for this research because it enabled an analysis into ideology that appears to be hidden, especially within photographs. With the illustrations coming from one source and an article from another, multiple meanings about Indigenous peoples were portrayed in the same spatial area of the magazine. As the emerging data increased choices had to be made about what would be analyzed, this was done inductively, noticing a pattern or one discourse event, and through identifying themes guided by the data gathering queries, and drawing on both recent and older articles.

AUDUBON MAGAZINE ACROSS THE YEARS:

SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS IN ONE PUBLICATION

In February 1887, John Bird Grinnell, author of many books about Native Americans, (see Smith, 2000; Cornell, 1985), and editor of the Forest and Stream Publishing Company in New York, published the first issue of The Audubon Magazine, named after friends of his family, John and Lucy Audubon. Grinnell wrote concerning the new magazine and associated Audubon Society,

The magazine will give stability to the Society, foster the zeal of the thousands now on its rolls, increase the membership, aid in carrying out the Society's special work, and broaden the sphere of effort in such directions as may be approved...the magazine will deal with bird life and other natural history, and discuss the general economic problems of animal life in relation to agriculture and human welfare. (Grinnell, 1887, February, p. 5)

At that moment, the Audubon Society had 20,000 members across 400 towns (Grinnell, 1887, February, p. 5). That first organization was the indirect ancestor of today's National Audubon Society (NAS), which claims its official origination date as 1905. Today NAS has an operating budget of \$44,000,000 and 600,000 members (Encyclopedia of Associations, 2004). Membership benefits include a bimonthly subscription to Audubon, which costs \$20. The magazine has changed in format over the years as well as in title. From 1887-1888 it was known as Audubon Magazine; from 1899-1940 as Bird-Lore; from 1941-1953 as Audubon Magazine; and from 1953 to the present, as simply Audubon. In the September 2002 issue, the editor-in-chief David Seideman cites market research by Mediamark Research Inc. (MRI) to show that Audubon readers are elite "influentials" active in their communities as powerful leaders.

He writes, “What’s truly impressive is not just that Audubon, based on the latest MRI research, ranks No. 1 out of all 216 measured magazines. Rather, it’s how **far** [bold in original] Audubon ranks ahead of the nation’s most stalwart magazines. Audubon’s concentration of influentials is 42 percent higher than the New Yorker’s, 52 percent higher than The New York Times Magazine’s, 106 percent higher than Time’s, and 107 percent higher than National Geographic’s” (Seideman, 2002, September, p. 9).

Audubon magazine, as a publication of the National Audubon Society, does not encourage protests such as those undertaken by Earth First! and the Environmental Liberation Front (ELF) who spike trees and physically prevent development, but lobbies and protests “respectably” (meaning within white middle-class societal norms such as through letter-writing, lobbying, and congressional testimonies) by accessing channels of Congress and executive departments. Their mission statement reads, “OUR MISSION [sic] is to conserve and restore natural ecosystems, focusing on birds, other wildlife, and their habitats for the benefit of humanity and the earth’s biological diversity” (Flicker, 2002, September, 10). Today, Audubon magazine acts as authoritative educator, informational entertainer, and advertiser of technologically advanced tools, such as binoculars for the dedicated birder. Furthermore, regional chapters of the National Audubon Society provide a localized membership experience for members.

The magazine has been under the editorship of eight editors and four presidents during the years 1960-2002. Theoretically across time, the editor retained editorial control over the magazine, and the president oversaw the National Audubon Society activities. The president often has had his (all the presidents have been male) own

column in the magazine. The following table presents the editor-in-chiefs' tenures.

Table 1

Editors' Terms from 1960 to 2002

<u>Editor</u>	<u>Term</u>
John K. Terres	January /February 1960 to January/February 1961
John Vosburgh	March/April 1961 to July/August 1966
Les Line	September/October 1966 to May 1991
Malcolm Abrams	July/August 1991 to September/October 1991
Michael W. Robbins	November/December 1991 to November/December 1997
Roger Cohn	January/February 1998 to March/April 1998
Lisa Goselin	May/June 1998 to January/February 2001
David Seideman	March/April 2001-2002/present

The following National Audubon Society presidents served terms within the time span of 1960 to 2002: Carl Buchheister, Charles Callison (as executive vice president), Elvis J. Stahr, Russell W. Peterson, Peter A. A. Berle, and John Flicker. In one instance, friction between the editor (John Vosburgh) and the president (Carl Buchheister) resulted in turn-over of the editorship position to a new editor (Les Line) (Graham, 1990). Partly because of the influence of these editors and presidents, Audubon magazine has had many different lay-outs, feature sections, and mission statements.

Audubon in the 1960s looked much different than current issues. However, its readers, like today's, were from high-income brackets—over \$20, 000—and most readers were between 40 and 70 years of age (Vosburgh, 1963, November-December, p. 344-

345). In the early 1960s, the magazine still contained the reminder in the top left hand corner of the table of contents page, “Formerly Bird Lore” (the title changed in 1941) (Table of Contents, 1963, March-April, p. 65). A frontispiece of the 1960s magazine read “Audubon is for people. And a better world for people to live in.” The top of the table of contents page also contained one of the magazine’s mission statements: “A Bimonthly Devoted to the Conservation of our Wildlife, Wilderness, Scenic Areas.” By the end of the 1960s, this statement was replaced with “For the conservation and appreciation of wildlife and wilderness, natural resources and natural beauty.” Famous contributing editors included the nature writers Joseph Wood Krutch and Edwin Way Teale. A new member of the board of directors in January-February 1968, Rawson L. Wood, was “active in the cause of human rights and improved race relations” (New Directors Join, 1968, January-February, p. 23).

In the early 1960s, only the cover contained a photograph in color. In the mid-1960s, one or two articles may have included color photographs, but most were in black and white. Besides the articles and advertisements, sections or departments of the magazine included The Editorial Trail, The President Reports to You, The Audubon View, National Capital Report, National Outlook (begun in 1966), Bird Finding with Olin Sewell Pettingill, Attracting Birds to Your Garden, book reviews, Our Children, Etcetera, cartoons (introduced at the end of 1960s), and letters to the editor. By the end of the 1960s, even the letters to the editor chosen for publication had transformed in content. During the 1960s, readers often shared observations about birds and other aspects of nature in their letters. By the 1970s, the only letters published were reactions

to the articles. 1960s readers were instructed that their membership helped support Audubon camps, centers, junior clubs, sanctuaries, wildlife films, consultant work, publications, wildlife research, and fund-raising activities such as nature cards (Your Membership Supports, 1965, March-April, p. 66). General news of the time was referenced in Audubon such as the death of President Kennedy, the Vietnam War, even “birds ‘behind the curtain’” referencing the Cold War (Buchheister, 1964, January-February, p. 17; Overseas Nature Tours, 1964, May-June, p. 149; Callison, 1968, January-February, p. 57; Callison, 1968, March-April, p. 87).

In the 1970s, letters to the editor had begun to complain about the changes in the magazine, especially that there were less “bird” articles and more nature articles (The Reader’s Turn, May, 1974, p. 74). In March of 1973, the magazine reported that they had added the director of the American Indian Institute to Audubon’s Board of Directors. Current events referenced in the magazine included “Red China,” an issue on sharks in response to the popular culture movie Jaws, and the Red Power movement (The Extinct, 1971, January, p. 72; Soucie, September, 1976, p. 23; Hanson, 1977, July, p. 143). One Audubon writer quipped, “I recall a remark Charlie Callison once made to a critic who accused the National Audubon Society of being for birds instead of people: “We’re for people who like birds” (Soucie, May, 1974, p. 100). The 1970s magazine also included a magazine insert (printed on different color and textured paper), “The Audubon Cause” in which a plethora of current events were covered.

In the early 1980s, the insert was discontinued and the magazine no longer sported a motto other than, “The magazine of the National Audubon Society.” Different

departments included Essay, Reprise, Birdland, The Great Outdoors, Life-Forms, Perspective, Creatures, Battlegrounds, The Audubon View (editor's column), Wordviews (book reviews), and The Last Page. In November, 1987, Peter Berle, National Audubon Society President wrote in his column, "The Audubon View,"

With nothing less than survival at stake, one would think that the appeal of organizations dealing with current environmental and conservation issues would be universal. But it is not. One hundred years after the formation of the first local Audubon societies, minority membership in the National Audubon Society is miniscule. Nearly a century ago, John Muir began a crusade that is still going strong, but his followers for the most part are middle- and upper-income white citizens. Not one major American environmental or conservation organization can boast of significant Black, Hispanic, or Native American membership...Minority membership in environmental organizations is low, but sensitivity to environmental issues by minority representatives in government is not...Long-term effectiveness may be defined by our ability to broaden membership. Needed are changes in governance, administration, and programs. Minority membership on the boards of directors of local and national environmental and conservation organizations is one starting point. Linkages are needed with educational institutions, such as the historically Black colleges, to promote sharing of expertise among faculty, environmental professionals, and students. Efforts to make environmental education programs such as Audubon Adventures available to inner-city communities should be increased. Most important, there must be collaboration between organized environmental groups and existing neighborhood organizations (Berle, 1987, November, p. 6).

In the early 1990s, the motto, "Speaking for Nature" appeared on the front cover. Two articles, one in the May 1991 Essay section and one in the January-February 1992 Reports section discussed environmental racism perpetuated against Hispanic and African-American communities. The Essay focused on the perpetuation of environmental racism in inner-city communities (Steinhart, May, 1991, pp. 18-21). Meyer (1992) wrote in the January-February 1992 Reports section, "From the Native American reservation of the West to the black communities of the Deep South to the Hispanic barrios of Los Angeles, the pattern appeared much the same: 'communities of color' besieged by what

was described as environmental racism. But what to do about it?” (1992, January-February, p. 32). By the end of the 1990s, under the editorship of Lisa Gosselin, the magazine’s regular or periodical departments had transformed to Editorial or From the Editor (editor’s column), The Audubon View (the president’s column), Letters, Reports, A Sense of Place, Backyard, True Nature, Incite, Field Notes, Earth Almanac, Audubon in Action (Audubon chapter news), Journal, Birds, Ask Audubon, Reviews (books), Profile, In the Wild, & More, Inside Audubon, and P.S.

In the early 2000s, “The What You Can Do” box seemed to appear more often within or at the conclusion of articles. This text box provided directions for changing or acting on the article’s topic. The reader as activist became a common theme. As Seideman pointed out in his very first Editor’s Note,

At *Audubon*, we take pride in sharing the commitment of our readers to making a difference. Many of you—judging from the letters, e-mails, and phone calls we receive—are not content to sit back in your armchairs merely thumbing through our pages. That’s why we try to give you tools to take action. Conservation can start at home. (Seideman, 2001, March-April, p. 6).

The departments and style of magazine remained similar into the late 1990s.

As part of popular culture, Audubon and other nature magazines are positioned within and also shape discourses about environmentalism and people’s environmental understandings and relationships.

“NATURE,” “SELF,” AND THE “THE INDIGENOUS OTHER” IN NATURE MAGAZINES

Writing about Nature, Self and “the Other”

Audubon writers and editors mediate the images that appear in their magazine, controlling the presence and absence of Indigenous peoples, drawing from the wellsprings of their preconceived notions (ranging from stereotypes to anti-stereotypical), and working under the structural constraints of layout, time, and money in magazine publishing. Nature writing is composed of eclectic discourses, such as scientific, autobiographical, and poetic discourses. Each discourse derives from a wide variation of unconscious or conscious styles and purposes. Writers may consciously choose one style over another, may unconsciously utilize formulaic norms developed by previous nature writers, or may draw on meanings of nature to which the writer unknowingly subscribes.

One stylistic device that frequently appears in nature writing is referencing a human element within a story focused on a plant, animal, or natural place. These “incidental references” refer to different ethnic groups, including Indigenous peoples. “Incidental” indicates that the reference is not necessary to the meaning of the article, but that the reference often occurs in association with the article’s main ideas and augments the article’s content. These references directly refer to Indigenous peoples, but do so in a way that often permits the reader to quickly pass over such references. In other words, Indigenous peoples serve as a backdrop or exist at the “essay’s edges” (Pratt, 1992). Pratt noticed these types of references in the writings of early European explorers in

Africa and described the textual position of Indigenous peoples as at the “essay’s edges.” My interpretation of the data from Audubon is that these “incidental references” have three effects that may or may not be recognizable to the author or reader. Furthermore, some references may be interpreted as achieving all three effects. These three effects will be introduced and then discussed in separate sections.

First effect: The writer portrays nature by referencing Indigenous peoples, which educates the reader about nature

Nature writing works to help readers “get to know” nature or educate them on “factual,” historical aspects of nature or “non-human” plants, places, and animals, as well as how to interact with nature. These lessons often show humans relating to nature as “Other.”² In nature essays, nature as a “non-human” entity may be “othered” through microscopically examining the characteristics of an entity of nature, embodying the concept of “the natural” as the writer and reader embody the “cultural,” and emphasizing the difference of plants, animals, and places from humans. Nature writing, however, may also show how the “other” of nature is similar to “us” and how the “us”(humans) are connected to “nature.” Nature writing draws on a panoply of meanings for nature that either emphasizes human separateness from nature (nature as “other,” as in the Western concept of “wilderness”), or the goal or fulfillment of connecting humans to nature, or humans as nature. These last two treatments of “nature” may be seen in the titles of

² To other is to accentuate the differences of a group, person, or non-human entity in order to emphasize an outsider status and the definer’s status as a member of a specific group. Othering is central to defining “us” and “we” in relation to “not us” or “them.” For “us” to exist, the “other,” them” or “not us” also must exist. Othering requires the

specific nature articles such as “The Eagles Fate and Mine are One” by Ann Zwinger (1977, July, 50-80, 82, 84, 87-88) or within nature writing articles referring to animals as “friends” or ‘neighbors.’ Opposing the idea of nature as “other,” nature writing also may contain themes that bring nature and humans together. Either as “other” or as part of “us,” nature is described, reflected upon, and celebrated. From my observations, writers discuss nature as “other” or as part of “us” in terms of advocating for the conservation and preservation of nature; explaining localized understandings of nature; celebrating nature’s beauty and complexity, or using nature either recreationally or for necessities such as food and medicine.³ Incidental references to Indigenous peoples fit into educating about nature, while also relating information about nature as “other” or as “us.” This is done through using the Indigenous “other” to further the “othering” of nature. After all, the Indigenous textual presence in the nature writing genre makes a point about the animal, place, or plant that the article is about. On the other hand, I suspect the Indigenous “other” can be used to diminish the “otherness” of nature to show how it is more like “us.” Examples of this latter strategy can be found in the discussion regarding identity (one example to be discussed comes from the author Scott Russell Sanders).

Second effect: The writer presents ideas about the identities he or she admires and readers, in turn, consume such representations.

This effect of the incidental references may be to clarify the identity of the author and readers (the audience), or to present identities that they admire, such as conservationists

power to control representations and contains ambivalent qualities, meaning both “good” and “bad” qualities can delineate the “us” and “not us” relationship (Hall, 1997).

and naturalists (or an “ecological self”). This type of reading may be the most ingrained or “naturalized,” which means that readers may not be directly conscious of this effect, but still may be influenced by it. Nature writers reflect “self” through writing about personal experiences and historical interpretations of places and people. Berkhofer’s (1978) premise is that white ideas about Indigenous peoples communicates more about the people asserting specific ideas than about Indigenous peoples themselves. For example, the use of Indigenous imagery to communicate messages about a “White” self has been explored by Lawlor (2000) in the “vanishing Indians” photography of Edward S. Curtis. For example, some Curtis photographs depict the white yearning for the frontier that “disappeared” along with the “Indians,” and permitted the white settlers to inherit the “spirituality” of the landscape (Lawlor, 2000, p. 41-57).

Bergman (1996) points out that talking about nature provides an arena for talking about self. He aptly writes,

We make out of nature a text, a set of symbols, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, and out of these symbols we can learn about ourselves, our own desires in nature, and the meanings we write into nature...what we are able to see and imagine in nature is so deeply dependent on who we are (p. 283-284).

Nature writing that appears in nature magazines would in no way be excluded from the clarification of identities. In fact it would provide a regular forum for such identities to be reinforced and resisted.

Third effect: The author presents Indigenous peoples acting in specific roles or in specific ways, which inadvertently socializes the reader’s expectations of

³ These are my general theorizing and observations about the uses of nature as “the Other.”

contemporary Indigenous peoples, as well as the characteristics of Indigenous peoples of the past.

This effect occurs if and when readers consume the reference as communicating ideas about Indians. This effect is the most overt, depending on the directness of the particular reference to Indigenous peoples. These portrayals are not monolithic depictions. Writers themselves may see the insertion of people of any group as humanizing an essay. This humanizing helps the author make the otherwise dry subject matter more palatable and interesting to readers (David Seideman, personal communication, March 29, 2004; Les Line, personal communication, April 8, 2004). However, a closer examination of this humanizing process may show tendencies to draw on stereotypes and familiar imagery when presenting “other” people.

First Effect: Referencing Indigenous Peoples to Educate about Nature

A nature essay (not a news reporting piece) published in 1978 entitled “A Walk through October” by Edwin Way Teale, exemplified this first effect, [the practice of nature writers to reference Indigenous peoples]. Audubon contributors from the 1960s to 2002 often described Indigenous peoples’ utilization of and relationship to nature. However, the Indigenous references can be read as marginal to the specific nature topic of an article, and often served to educate about nature, not about “Indians.” Teale’s essay exemplified this practice.

Teale’s Essay

Teale described the daily natural events on his 79-acre property, Trail Wood, in a daily log (see Williard, 1962, May-June, pp.137-141). On October ninth and tenth,

Teale's entries mentioned "Indians" or "New England Indians." The article appeared in a nature journal format, in which writers record, "objects and events...[in] contexts that stress the connections between them...[as well as] a personal journey to a real sense of place and a holistic vision of life" (Leslie & Roth, 2000, p. 93). The journal format incorporates all the discourses acceptable in nature writing, such as science, autobiography, and poetry.

Geese.

Teale began his October ninth entry with the following:

The Geese-Going Days. So this time of bright October weather was known to the Indians. We remember this, late this morning, as we come home from Broad Beech Crossing along the rough trail that follows the windings of a stone wall through the woods past Wild Apple Glade. (Teale, 1978, September, p.46)

The structure of Teale's sentences indicated that his priority was the geese and the fall season, the celebrated subject in the essay. The first phrase of the entry was the "Indians'" name for the season, "The Geese-Going Days." Teale drew on this concept from an Indigenous knowledge system for use in his nature journal. In 1978, the term would not have been treated as if it emerged from the context of a knowledge system: It simply was used as poetic language for a period of the fall season. The term clearly evoked the image of migrating geese in a concise combination of word choices.

The magazine reader was not told the origin of the term "Geese-Going Days" until the end of the next sentence, which referred to "Indians" within the passive verb tense. Teale did not indicate a specific etymology. He only used the generic "Indians." Furthermore, the season's name was remembered in "late morning," as an entertaining afterthought noting the observations made both by Teale and the imagined "Indians."

The geese were the main topic, and Teale made the Indigenous reference to add an interesting angle to the entry.

Other Indigenous references were placed within a description of geese and their characteristics. The log entry continued with the following events: Teale and his wife heard honking Canada geese; Teale described their flying pattern as “an arrowhead;” and then described their approximate speed of flight, the frequency of sightings, and the record held for the most geese seen. The descriptive word choice of “arrowhead” indirectly referenced “Indians.” Other word choices would have worked as well such as “v-shaped” or “arrow-shaped.” The arrowhead and the “Geese-Going Days” references helped Teale depict the natural history of geese, against a shadowy background of long gone Indigenous presence.⁴

Teale chose these images to describe how he viewed the geese because they enabled the writer and reader to insert themselves into a nostalgic moment and to romanticize the geese migration. This process draws on the second and third effects of incidental references by communicating messages about the self (nostalgia) and the roles of Indigenous peoples (as observers of nature). The thoughts of the reader and writer may be reconstructed as follows: “At one time, “Indians” lived on this land and viewed this same event. Their absence is now marked as long gone, but the geese are still present. We can still use the “Indians” view of the fall season by drawing on their names and the images that symbolize them (arrowheads), and make it our own version of viewing the landscape. This helps us in relating to the history of that landscape,

especially the Indians who once lived here.” This thought process also provided a rationale for nostalgia, as well as romanticized and celebrated nature.

Interestingly, the appropriated term “Geese-Going Days” became directly associated with Edwin Way Teale. Jeff Brown (2001), a poet used it in the closing stanza of his poem “Bridges of Lotus, Bridges of Ice,”

12. gentle edwin, he called them
his “geese-going days,” and with this
he outlasted the tupelos, the patience
of sparrows. his stillness was like
a bora gusting over the surface
of an icy lake, an ancient wind asleep
against a fence and not readily wakened.

The poem is not famous, but is instrumental in showing how a term of Indigenous origin became emptied of its origin and became Teale’s invention. The generic Indigenous origin used in Teale’s nature journal enabled this transition.

Groundnuts.

Teale repeated the technique of referring to Indigenous peoples in the following day’s entry: I will quote and paraphrase the entry to provide the context.

One day when Henry Thoreau was digging for fat worms at Walden Pond, he uncovered a string of tubers he called “the potato of the aborigines, a sort of fabulous fruit”—the groundnut, *Apios tuberosa*. This same groundnut or Indian potato or traveler’s delight—but now with its scientific name changed to *Apios americana*—I find rooted in moist ground in several places at Trail Wood.

During late summer days, I see its slender vines entwined in the higher vegetation. At times they extend to a length of seven or eight feet. I sometimes catch in passing the strong perfume of the brownish-purple flowers. And toward the end of summer I notice small pealike pods maturing where the flowers had been.

⁴ The phrase “long gone” was contributed by Tsianina Lomawaima in her comments on this section.

All this aboveground activity is obvious. But unseen, belowground, there is the development of a succession of tubers strung along the roots like round pearls on a necklace. These are the so-called nuts of the groundnut. The plant is able to reproduce either through the tubers or through the seeds within the pealike pods.

Late on this October morning I start out with a pail and a small spade to harvest a crop I have not planted. Near the rustic bridge over Stepping Stone Brook, groundnut vines are wound in and out among the sweet fern...[Teale continued to describe the digging process.]

Nellie [Teale's wife] washes and boils them, and we dine at noon on this favorite food of the New England Indians, the same wild tubers that helped the Pilgrims survive their first bitter winter in America...

[Teale described early Virginia colonist's experiences with groundnuts.]

[A paragraph was devoted to the milky characteristics of the tuber that is sticky when cooked, which made it difficult to clean.]

Throughout the world, there are only five species in the genus to which our groundnut belongs...[Teale described the growing zones and one unique groundnut species.] (Teale, 1978, September, p. 47)

Teale, like Thoreau, associated a wild item—the groundnut⁵ in this case—with its utility for Indigenous peoples. Teale also placed it in Western science by providing its scientific label and specific features such as measurements, growing zones, and exceptional characteristics. The ethnographic element of the reference to “New England Indians” provided a regional reference, but again a generic one, with no regard to specific Indigenous affiliations. The groundnut was informally depicted as a “favorite food” as opposed to a “staple” or “subsistence.” The informal choice of words worked to humanize the “New England Indians” (Teale enjoyed eating the nuts, too) but did not remedy the use of the generic term for very diverse Indigenous communities. I speculate that the generic term “Indians” and “New England Indians” would have been acceptable as mainstream categories in Teale's lifetime. The balance of attention in the article then

⁵ A groundnut is an edible wild potato with tubers the size of walnuts, which grow in Eastern North America (Peterson, 1977).

turned to the colonists' (specifically early Virginia colonists and Pilgrims') use and descriptions of the groundnut rather than the Indigenous uses and descriptions. The description referred to the following humans: Teale, Nellie, "New England Indians," and Puritan and Virginia colonists to show that the groundnut was edible. The people in the essays were not only Indigenous peoples; different groups of people were mixed in to serve the purpose of describing the natural history of the groundnut.

Teale used these two references to Indigenous peoples to animate his discussion and offer the reader a new dimension of understanding into the natural object of central concern. The precision of Teale's Indigenous references was not of central concern because the article focused on the migration of geese and the natural history of groundnuts. It would be more important for Teale to ensure the accuracy of the details concerning the geese and the groundnuts. He was not focused on developing or conveying knowledge about Indians. Both of his references to Indigenous people lacked details. A more prominent concern was how the incidental Indigenous reference or "snippet" of information related and extended knowledge about nature. The journal entries included a string of facts and statements from history, science, natural history, and personal experience. Teale's essay provided one effect of the use of Indigenous references: to know nature. In these examples, the separation of humans and nature, or nature as "other," was depicted. The groundnuts and the geese were beings apart from humans. As a food source (groundnuts), scientific object, or part of the beautiful scenery. In this case, humans, including "Indians," played roles as observers of geese and harvesters of groundnuts.

Similar examples of Indigenous peoples (and other groups) involved in nature were found from each decade in Audubon. Some examples drew on tribally specific groups, generically assigned identities like “Indians,” regionally assigned generic identities, or homogenizing cultural types based on regional locations such as Northwest Coast tribes. Most of the examples referred to Indigenous peoples in the past tense. Sometimes Indigenous peoples and early colonists were shown as sharing certain practices. The following is an example of how an Indigenous reference contributed to describing aspects of a natural object.

Because tulip trees can attain diameters of 12 feet and heights of 200 feet, they were used by Indians and early settlers to make dugout canoes. In 1799 Daniel Boone packed up his belongings and family into a 60-foot tulip-tree canoe and struck off down the Ohio River for Spanish Missouri. (Williams, 2002, May-June, p.34)

This example emphasized the largeness of tulip trees and implied that the wood was durable. In so doing, it achieved the first effect, providing an example of human uses of the durable wood from a tulip tree. The example also presented Daniel Boone as an admired identity, in the author’s view the heroic frontier hero who settled the country and happened to use the natural object that is the subject of the article. The details provided about the “Indians” were skimpy, but the reference does show that settlers and Indians used this same resource. Another example of the first effect was evident in the following example:

When Europeans came to North America, they adopted the traditional practice of Native American hunters, who attracted ducks by creating imitations of their quarry. In fact, what might be the oldest decoys known—realistic canvasbacks made of woven reeds that were found in a cave in Lovelock, Nevada—date back a thousand years. (Boyle, 2002, May-June, p. 46)

To achieve the first effect, expressing knowledge about nature, this example showed that ducks follow other ducks like them, or that they gauge the safety of a place by looking for the presence of other ducks or decoys that appear to be ducks. The article centered on the art of decoys. This example also fits in the third effect concerning depictions of Indigenous peoples. Indians of the past are admired for their knowledge concerning decoys and ducks.

In some cases, explanations of natural behavior allegedly were drawn from a Native cultural system such as in the next example. “American Indians almost universally refused to kill rattlesnakes. Cherokees believed that if you killed a rattler, another would appear, and another and another, until you went crazy” (Steinhart, 1984b, March, p. 8). The rattlesnakes were presented as a group that looked after each other. The writer made a general statement about “American Indians” and provided one example of a tribal community that the author alleged followed—in the past—the practice of never killing rattlesnakes and being respectful of nature. Implicitly, the author and readers were presented as not holding similar beliefs that rattlesnakes revenge a death of one of their own. This example also makes one wonder where Steinhart found his source for this information. What book did he reference? Whom did he talk to? If readers trusted Audubon contributors to present “facts” about nature, they may also have relied on them to prevent facts about Indigenous peoples. Other than “factual” representations, the next section portrays poetic references.

Poetic Imagery

In other cases, poetic imagery in Audubon relied on Indigenous references to draw attention to the beauty of nature. In the following example, the Indigenous context was depicted in figurative language and provided a poetic introduction to the natural history presentation of butterflies:

In American Indian legend [sic] the Great Spirit breathed life into the myriad colored pebbles of the shimmering streams and gave them wings so they could display the gentle beauties of nature to his people. In this way butterflies were created for the delight of mankind. Entomologically, butterflies and moths comprise the second largest order of insects, Lepidoptera. [The remainder of the piece discussed the order Lepidoptera, habitat, approximate number of species, size, difficulty of further classification within the order, physiology, and flight speed. (Evans, 1975, September, p. 50)]

This particular use of an origin narrative fits into a broader category of “origins” prevalent in nature writing that includes other discourses of explanation such as evolution, science, and natural history. This origin explanation associated with a generic American Indian reference served to provide picturesque imagery. Specifically, the presence of the origin narrative served to emphasize the beauty of butterflies. Following the origin narrative, the piece discussed butterflies through a Western science narrative of classification. The American Indian origin narrative drew the reader into the text, to charm them into being interested in reading more about the “real” history of butterflies.

Another example of poetic language appeared in an article by John Madson:

Little limestone rivers are never solemn. They move with soft laughter, and subtle music; they dance with your canoe, teasing it, and running lightly beside it, cool and sweet, with the caprice and innocence of Indian girls. (1972, September, p. 38)

In this excerpt, the rivers were described as softly laughing, playful, “cool and sweet” Indian girls. The Indian girls represented the playful waves of the river. Here the “Native as Nature” image was reversed to “Nature as Native.” The metaphorical images were intended to entertain the readers in 1972 and help them evoke a personality-imbued image of the river. Using the metaphor “Indian girls” provided an image from a non-Indian perception imbued with unpredictable nature and mischievousness. The river was othered through the use of this image as a force controlling “your canoe,” but the passage also presented the river with human qualities, having laughter and being solemn.

Amassed together, these images constitute knowing nature through Indigenous peoples (such as in the case of the tulip tree and ducks) or Indigenous peoples of imagination, usually Indigenous peoples of the past. Simultaneously, the contributors’ identified pieces of Indigenous peoples’ knowledge about nature (though the contributors’ sources were not identified). Readers may absorb ideas about self and Indigenous peoples as “Other” at the same time they were getting to know an aspect of nature.

Second Effect: “Self”: Some Identities of the Euro-American Nature Writer vis-à-vis

Indigenous Peoples

Audubon writers sometimes portrayed self-described identities and identities they admired through their writing. For example, Audubon writers wrote about the identities of naturalists. Woodcraft Indians were associated with one National Audubon Society staff person, Robert Porter Allen. Admiration for pioneers was another identity theme that emerged and this theme often utilized “Indians” as an antithesis. Moving into the

1990s, the socially constructed identifications covered a wide range of identities, including a brief interrogation by the magazine of “playing Indian,” a profile of a non-Indian man who was inducted into manhood in an Amazon Indian tribe, a naturalist who spoke about distant Indian relatives, and a writer allied with an Indigenous community against loggers who simultaneously identified as an outsider and an insider. Whatever the identifications, socially constructed images of Indigenous peoples lingered at the edges. The first image—the pioneer—appeared from the 1960s to the 1990s, and utilized Indian imagery as an antithesis.

Pioneer

A 1960s example of the pioneer as an admired identity was contained in a captioned photograph accompanied by a drawn inset. The entire assemblage was associated with the 60th annual convention of the National Audubon Society in 1964 at Tucson, Arizona (the convention locates in a different city each year). The black and white photograph was of a circle of large charter buses among a cactus-covered desert setting (Vosburgh, 1965, January-February, p. 32). These were the buses that transported the National Audubon meeting participants. The drawn black and white inset was a circle of covered wagons in the desert landscape. The caption for the assemblage read, “Like covered wagons of a century ago (inset), convention field trip buses form a ring in the Apache country of Arizona.” On a denotative level, the two images showed that people in the two time periods shared common parking habits in the desert. Connotatively, the juxtaposition of these images signified a nostalgically remembered Western pioneer frontier. The image-makers presented the Audubon convention

members as comfortable with “playing pioneer.” In the process of the roleplaying, they had to “imagine” Indians, “the Indians of Apache Country.” In the analogy, wagons were circled for protection; to create a fort like stockade against what some pioneers viewed as dangerous Apache raiders. The reader may have pretended on a connotative level that the frontier West still existed and could be relived and imagined on an afternoon birding field trip. The nostalgia of the image maker drew on the raiding Indian motif in “dangerous Apache country” where the pioneer circled the wagons. This is part of the frontier nostalgia, a longing for the past described by Lawlor (2000).

More pioneer images contrasted with “Indians” appeared in the essay, “The Plenty of the Land,” in which Hal Borland described the life of his pioneer grandmother. He referred to her as “a kind of pioneer matriarch who at times seemed to be trying to perpetuate her frontier girlhood in a twentieth-century urban setting” (Borland, 1967, November-December, p. 30). He also explained, “She grew up in Nuckolls County, which is in the south-central part of Nebraska, when the Indians were still occasionally hostile” (Borland, 1967, November-December, p. 30). The generic reference “Indian” is utilized throughout the essay. Tribally specific references and histories were not part of the essay, as Borland was celebrating the life and admiration he had for his grandmother. Borland mentioned “hostile” Indians to provide the reason his grandmother did not like Indians. However, she claimed to know about “Indians.” Borland wrote:

Some years, if everything was favorable, Grandma dried sweet corn; but that was even more chancy than drying apples. I don't remember that she ever sun-dried berries, but she probably tried and gave it up. She boasted that she could do anything the Indians did, and usually better. My father, who liked to “plague” her, as she called teasing once said, “I never thought much of your pemmican.” She glared at him. “Fiddlesticks! You complimented me on it last Thanksgiving,

said you never tasted better.” Father was trapped, “Pemmican?” he asked. She nodded. “Pemmican. You called it mincemeat, but it’s my kind of pemmican—fruit and suet and meat, all chopped up together. Maybe you’d prefer the Indian kind though, with cherry pits in it, and without any cider.” (1967, November-December, p. 32-33)

This theme of “improvement” doing tasks better than the Indians did was not new.

Barnett (1975) reported on the superiority theme as reoccurring in nineteenth century frontier fiction, notably by “Indian-haters” (1975, p. 100-101, 130). Romines (1997) also noted that the White women pioneer characters in the novel The Little House on the Prairie poorly treated Indian neighbors.

Borland’s story was set within a long description of the pioneer grandmother’s utilization of seasonally available natural resources and the necessity to have knowledge about when and how to gather them. The “hostile” Indians were marginalized although they likely were the original sources of much of the knowledge. According to the grandmother, it was the pioneer woman who perfected the knowledge and asserted it as her own invention. This telling recreated the myth of the self-reliant pioneer.

One exceptional gesture of humanizing and naming “Indians” appeared later in the story, from the author’s own observations. When Borland depicted his family’s nut gathering, he wrote, “Then came the nuts...The only comparable excitement over a nut harvest I ever experienced was on a mesa in Arizona when Navaho families converged, bag and baggage, infant to grandfather, for gathering piñon nuts” (p. 33). Local “Indians” near his grandmother’s home were not identified, and were presented as hostile and inferior. However, outside of Nebraska, Borland found a commonality with the Navajo. However, his word choices, “converged,” “bag” and “baggage” implied a

nomadic existence for the Navajo—as if Navajo families did not join together in such numbers at any other time.

In a 1979 essay in Audubon, an author admired his father for having a pioneer spirit. The father appeared to belong to a different century and as part of that identity remembered, not Sioux and Cheyenne as people, but their weaponry in a specific battleground:

Though he would live most of his life in it, he was not of the twentieth century. It seemed to me, for he was old enough to be my grandfather, that he was always back somewhere on the other side of the century, in a time of horses and bugles, among fresh memories of Sioux and Cheyenne lances at the Little Bighorn and Krupp Canyon at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia's Fairmont Park. (Mitchell, 1979, May, p. 52)

In 1982, Audubon published “Grandfather Country.” Les Line, the Editor introduced the article in the his “Etcetera” (editor's) section:

John Madson is a son of the prairie, a native of Iowa. And in “Grandfather Country” he focuses on the place where America ran out of trees, where grasslands flowed to the horizon under an incredible reach of sky. His concern is not with natural history, but with *human* history: with the stalwart people who settled the prairie and broke the ancient sod and survived hellish summers and legendary winters and other hardships unheard-of today. (1982, May, p. 5)

As Line pointed out, the article examined pioneer lifestyles, origins, settlement patterns, land acquisition, homes, farming techniques, and daily life. Madson also included a few paragraphs on Indians. He began that section, “THE PIONEER YEARS [sic] were times of primitive abundance, and of strange and primitive dangers” (Madson, 1982, May, p. 51). He wrote, “The most dreaded danger, and the most ingrained in the fiber of early prairie life was surely the Indians” (Madson, 1982, May, p. 51). He stated that most prairie families feared Indians, “the red terror.” The pioneers were presented as fearful,

but not the instigators of trouble: "They were just pioneer farmers with families, wanting only good land and peace enough to work it" (Madson, 1982, May, p. 51). He continued,

As it turned out, their fears were generally unfounded.

Most tribes in the tallgrass prairies had never been especially ill-disposed toward the whites. They had not been inflamed by white military factions as had the war nations of the eastern forests, and had not yet been driven to the fierce desperation that would be shown by the plains Indians a little later. Along much of the prairie frontier the federal government followed a policy of not opening new lands until the title of the Indians had been "quieted." (Madson, 1982, May, p. 51-52)

Madson then discussed different Indigenous communities. He continued, "With some exceptions, troublesome Indians along the prairie frontier were more likely to be dangerous nuisances than deadly foes, and the real massacres in the tall prairie country came relatively late" (Madson, 1982, May, p. 52). Then he mentioned two massacres and ended his discussion with "But the Indian was not the only red terror on the early prairies; there was one far more common, and no less deadly" (Madson, 1982, May, p. 52). The author then discussed the danger of fire.

Madson did not write this piece so that he or the readers could identify with Native Americans. The pioneers were shown as successful, hardworking not looking for "trouble." A lexical analysis illuminates this dichotomy of representation. Word phrases and adjectives of admiration depicted the pioneers; negative or tentatively positive word choices depicted the Native Americans.

Table 2

Descriptions of Native Americans and PioneersNative Americans

strange

primitive

dreaded danger

ingrained [danger]

red terror

old fears

not been inflamed

had not yet been driven to fierce desperation

never been especially ill-disposed
toward the whites

little real trouble

troublesome Indians

Pioneers

not timid

braver than most

weren't frontiersmen

no relish...for Indian fighting

just pioneer farmers with
familieswanting only good land and
peace enough to work it

One phrase associated with Native Americans was "not been inflamed." Other references were negative such as "danger" or "red terror." Some references were positive but tentative, such as "little real trouble, never been especially ill-disposed" Others were associated with events that were imminent and negative "had not yet been." Words associated with the pioneers indicated a rational and reputable image, an identity

to be admired. Indians were presented as controlled by emotions and circumstances of history, beyond their control. Pioneers were presented as having agency through their high moral values and uncomplicated goals of living-off-the land.

Another author wrote that the pioneer spirit, usually the domain of the conservative, should be harnessed as a symbol for the environmentalist.

In America, millions of ordinary people still cherish the mythology of our pioneer heritage. This mythology, which Ronald Reagan has successfully exploited, embraces the values of liberty, patriotism, self-reliance, enterprise, hard work, frugality, simplicity, thrift, innovation, and know how. Environmentalists, both political and spiritual can certainly subscribe to such a value system. So why should the right wing reap the political benefit that comes from invoking these values publicly—thereby, in effect, depriving us of a heritage that comports with environmentalism? (Kennard, 1984, May, p.18)

Kennard ignored the fact that the pioneer symbol is not an ethnically inclusive symbol, but very much an image of a romanticized and mythical “whiteness” that is expressed as an “official history” or even as part of “non-Indian perceptions of American Indian history” (Alarcón, 2002; Cavender Wilson, 1998, p. 23). Discussion of diversity issues in the environmental movement or of environmental racism would not occur until the late 1980s and early 1990s in *Audubon* (Berle, 1987, November, p. 6; Steinhart, 1991, May, pp. 18-21; Meyer, 1992, January-February, p. 30-32). So Kennard wrote about and for White environmentalist readers. The nostalgia in this reference was accompanied by admirable qualities of the diligent pioneer, such as “self-reliance” and “enterprise.” Kennard omitted how the discourse of the exclusionary pioneer was a myth easily abused, such as how conservatives could utilize the discourse of these pioneer qualities as a screen for explaining away inequities in a capitalist economic system.

Audubon was not the only magazine to discuss pioneers in connection with

environmentalism. This nostalgic transport of pioneer values into the present day was repeated in a comparable National Wildlife magazine article, "Are We Losing our Pioneer Spirit?" An entire article was devoted to this concept instead of just references within articles about something else. The author Engle wrote, "It is one of the great ironies of American history that the beautiful, empty, and unpolluted landscape of the moving frontier was dangerous beyond anything the people who entered it had ever experienced, or even imagined" (1971, December-January, p. 5). The "empty" and "unpolluted" land is a part of the frontier myth. Instead, land was inhabited and heavily managed.

The entire article praised the pioneers for, in the author's terms, their courage, "neighborliness," "self-sufficiency," stamina, motivation, and survival skills. Pioneers were admired for living-off-the-land, for their innovativeness in coping with life-threatening situations, and for dealing with a life that contained different dangers than the contemporary times of the author. Engle argued that the survival of the 1970s world crises stemmed from these pioneer attitudes. An afterword to the article was subtitled, "We need pioneers today too" (Strohm, 1971, December-January, p. 10).

Between the lines of the article existed the influence of the Cold War and other events affecting the U.S. and abroad. For example, Engle wrote,

Subtle threats today. [sic] It would be a mistake to ignore our present world and its own menace, the secret action of some fool on the other side of the world, or right here in the United States of America. Our pressures are more subtle, more pervasive, perhaps even more deadly. But they must be confronted with a determination no less firm than that of our forefathers. (p. 8)

The dangers Engle referred to include the Vietnam War, the Cold War, and possibly the

civil “unrest” of the 1960s and 1970s. This characterization of danger can be compared to the impact of the Cold War culture according to Kuznick & Gilbert (2001, p. 11),

[T]he principle effect of the Cold War may have been psychological. It persuaded millions of Americans to interpret their world in terms of insidious enemies at home and abroad who threatened them with nuclear and other forms of annihilation. Seeing the world through this dark, distorting lens and setting global and domestic policies to counter these fanciful as well as real threats was and is, then, the largest impact of the Cold War.

The “insidious enemies” and the “dark, distorting lens” were expressed in Engle’s quote about “pervasive” pressures, the “subtle” threats and “secret action.” Furthermore, environmentally speaking, the insidious enemies also were agrochemical pollutants. Engle wrote,

What a contrast today? What would they [pioneers] say about...the catfish caught in many of our rivers, which are declared inedible because of the dieldrin in their flesh, which has been scattered over our fields to kill the rootworm, to make the crop more than we can consume? (p. 10)

In the afterword, Stohm argued that people with the same characteristics as pioneers were needed for improving U.S. environmental issues in the 1970s.

THE DANGERS CONFRONTING [sic] us in the 1970s are no less forbidding, the challenges no less demanding than those that faced our pioneer forefathers. Perhaps more so...

The pioneers’ concepts of individual freedom and human dignity are more precious than ever in today’s highly depersonalized society, which demands more for survival than the physical bravery and perseverance of our forefathers...

How well we manage to reverse the deterioration of our natural resources...in the next few years will tell us how much we really prize the freedom the pioneers won for us. (Strohman, 1971, December-January, p. 10)

The last sentence contains a revealing assertion: Pioneers were responsible for winning freedom. The assertion that “White” pioneers achieved freedom negated the civil rights movements during the time period the article was published and read by readers.

As a comparison with the “pioneers,” “Indians” were mentioned generically in the photographic captions as providers of corn, hunters of elk, and as a form of frontier danger through a reference to “Indian arrows.” This article clearly showed how Native Americans and other groups were excluded from the discursively created “we” of National Wildlife readers. Readers were encouraged to behave in the spirit of pioneer, gender-specific “forefathers.” A spirit that also included practices in which the lands of Native nations were redistributed to pioneers, an event not detailed in these articles. The history was based in popular culture’s mythic conceptions of history. “Indians” were not pioneers and therefore were omitted from all the reputable qualities associated with pioneers. “Indians” were not addressed as present day peoples, though at that time Native American activists were covered in the media and politically astute entities such as the National Congress of American Indians were actively involved in political affairs (Hirschfelder & Kreipe de Montaña, 1993, pp. 34-35). For that matter, the pioneer article completely excluded other ethnic groups, such as African Americans or Asian Americans from U.S. history. The presence of “Indians” in the text highlighted the “Indians” role as the antithesis of pioneers. It was not surprising that the “pioneer” would be romanticized for this celebratory attitude was a key assertion of Daniel Carter Beard, one of the founder of the Boy Scouts and one of the inculcators of the belief “that pioneers were clean and moral” (Deloria, 1998, p. 95-96). The “White” readers might have traced their own histories back to the pioneers and drew on the image of the steadfast pioneers who lived at odds with “Indians,” and faced Indians as one of the dangers of pioneering.

In summary, some nature writers greatly admired pioneers for the mythical

qualities of survival under harsh circumstances, and the meanings of nostalgic “whiteness” attached to their image. In times of stress or when writing about environmental identity, some writers went so far as to argue that people with pioneer attitudes were necessary in the present day. “Indian” identities stood as antithetical to the admirable pioneer identity, because Indian agency was controlled by emotions and circumstances while pioneer identities were controlled by the proper attitudes of courage, hard work, and self-sufficiency.

Explorers

In other examples from Audubon, writers emphasized the first non-Indigenous person to view a specific place, creating a sense of alliance with these historical figures. For example, “[trees] some of which were growing there before Columbus discovered America, were saved” (Buchheister, 1962, September-October, p. 258). The explorer Captain Charles Lemoyne de Longueil led by Indian guides was the first to see the mammoth bone yard in Kentucky (Teale, 1965, September-October, p. 287). In a long passage, Joseph Wood Krutch (1971, July) justified a non-Indigenous statement of discovery through separating the world into “worlds,” by which he meant discrete zones where people interact and share common knowledge that another group may not yet know. He commented,

Shall we say, then, that the Canyonlands was unknown and unvisited for nearly a century ending only a decade and a half before it became a national park? Shall we say, therefore, that it is certainly safe to say that the region was never actually explored until a few years ago. But was it undiscovered country? That depends, upon a definition. Columbus did not discover America—unless you discount the Indians and perhaps the Vikings. And what we usually mean when we say that a region has been discovered is simply that for the first time, its existence has been called to the attention of whatever world we belong to. In that sense, the

Canyonlands area was not brought to the attention of the general public until a few years ago.

Padre Escalante speaks of trails that his party sometimes followed, and they may have been known not only to the Indians (probably Utes and even Navajos, who often entered the valley to hunt piñon nuts long after the older people had disappeared) but also to the now nameless Spanish traders who, like the later mountain men, found their way over undiscovered country. What is even more startling is to learn that a trail, now negotiable by jeep and called Shafer Trail, was used by a cattleman of that name who, in the late nineteenth century, drove cattle down into the bottom of one of the upper canyons.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that “we” didn’t know of the existence of Canyonlands until a few years ago, and this “we” includes not only those of us who are merely vacationing visitors but most of the people professionally concerned with geology, geography, anthropology, and exploration. So when we stand upon one of the three high spots to which roads negotiable by conventional cars now lead, and when we look down upon the great expanse of fantastic beauty that stretches away to the horizon, we have every right to stand like a stout Cortés (or Balboa) in wild amaze. (Krutch, 1971, July, p. 49)

Krutch argued that the discoverer of a place was based on vantage points. However, at the end of the discussion, he compared himself and the reader to the explorers and Conquistadors. He imagined himself to be like them and imagined what feelings they had of “wild amaze.” What he achieved by this comparison was to discursively attach the Conquistador’s world to Krutch’s world, “we have every right to stand like a stout Cortés (or Balboa) in wild amaze.” Krutch imagined himself as having seen through the Conquistador’s eyes and emotions of “wild amaze.” The explorer and Western scientist’s world was depicted as similar in the aspects of discovery and exploration. However, the conquistador image was emptied of harshness, cruelty, and colonialism. Krutch’s simile associated the conquistadors with a romantic admiration of scenery and with the sublime, “the great expanse of fantastic beauty” (the grandeur of the scene before him).

Krutch’s attitude of “wild amaze” can be compared to a passage from Jamaica

Kincaid (2002), a writer from Antigua. She wrote an essay denaturalizing discovery and Christopher Columbus' role in discovery. She mimics Columbus' journal in order to fit herself into the historical narrative. She emphasizes that the word "marvelous" was used again and again in Columbus' journal to describe "the unexpected." She writes, "And yet the unexpected turned out to be the most ordinary things: people, the sky, the sun, the land, the water surrounding the land, the things growing on the land" (Kincaid, 2002, p. 19). Instead of discovery, Krutch and his cohorts came across the unexpected, in this case the canyonlands and utilized adjectives similar to "marvelous," in this case "wild amaze" to express their appreciation for place. What is also implied here is that whoever came before Krutch, the "Indians," traders, a cattleman, vacationing visitors did not appreciate or did not know how to appreciate the place in the way he and his cohorts, "the people professionally concerned with geology, geography, anthropology, and exploration," did. A sense of superiority existed in Krutch's rationale that "discovery is based on vantage points" while stating at the same time that his experience was equal to Spanish conquistadors. His simile to the Conquistadors erased the heavily-laden meanings that discovery had in history, such as the taking and classification of large regions of land and peoples and, eventually, the exile of Indigenous peoples from areas of the sublime that were made into National Parks and other places reserved for nature. Possibly, nature writing permits such erasure because of the opportunity to focus on self and the celebration of nature overpowers a greater connection to history and multicultural sensitivity.

In 1973, an article appeared in Audubon entitled, "The Man Who Rediscovered

America” (McCullough, 1973, September, pp. 50-63). The article described the life and naturalistic endeavors of Alexander von Humboldt. McCullough wrote of his accomplishments:

HE WOULD BE CALLED [sic] the second Columbus. He had rediscovered America, it would be said. He was also seeing relationships and interrelationships between the Earth and life on Earth in a way that others before him had failed to. So it would be perfectly fitting also to say that he was among the first ecologists. (p. 59)

Humboldt mapped cartographic features and was a prodigious collector of information on plants, animals, and Indigenous peoples. According to McCullough, Humboldt’s motivation was to know nature in order to find harmony,

He believed, this brilliant, determined young man being eaten alive by mosquitoes, that there is a harmony of nature, that man is a part of that harmony, and that if he himself could observe things closely enough, collect enough, if he knew enough, then the forces that determine that harmony would become apparent. (p. 54)

In this article, the naturalist collecting from nature was associated with a discoverer or explorer of new lands, “a second Columbus.” This naturalist mapped “unknown” places for the White learned establishment. His personal mission was to work to discern harmony through his naturalistic endeavors. As a “second Columbus,” Humboldt had interactions with Indigenous peoples as objects of study in addition to nature study, and as guides on his explorations. Viewing naturalists as “second Columbuses” works as an interesting heuristic into colonial power relationships between collector and the members of the collected cultures, who also worked as guides/nature brokers or intermediaries between the naturalists and the objects of their desires. This is a topic for further study, but an example of colonial power relationships can be found in the next section.

The Naturalist/ornithologist vis-à-vis Mayan Indians

The naturalist image of Anne Labastille Bowes, the author/tour guide/naturalist and Jorge Ibarra, the Guatemalan ornithologist can be contrasted with “Indians” in Bowes article “The Giant Grebe of Guatemala” (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 88-90). To contextualize, Bowes and her husband were leading a birding trip in Guatemala when they came upon a bird they did not recognize and sought the advice of a Guatemalan naturalist. Bowes discursively set the Mayan Indians around “the edges” while focusing the description on the Guatemalan naturalist/ornithologist, Jorge Ibarra, the Guatemalan Museum of Natural History’s director. The naturalist, Jorge Ibarra played a key part in the events described. His roles were the following:

- Identified the bird to the couple’s satisfaction, all others including the Mayan “launch man” could not identify the bird according to Western science principles
- Possessed the reputation for attaining water bird protection laws in Guatemala
- Was described as “the sole champion of these rare and neglected water birds” (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89). Furthermore, “[f]or years he has waged a war against conservation ignorance, public apathy and traditional Indian hunting practices” (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89)
- Joined the couple on an excursion to count the birds, educate the Indians, and photograph live birds that had never been photographed alive

A lexical analysis comparing the naturalist to the Mayan shows the extent the two images were played off as opposites. Passages from the article on the naturalist will be

juxtaposed with the passages about Mayans in order to show the difference in how the naturalist and the Mayans were depicted.

Jorge Ibarra, the ornithologist according to Bowes.

- Mr. Ibarra welcomed us into his museum, a cool, one-story building with exhibits whose creation and preparation, along with the building itself, are largely the work of this diligent naturalist (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89).
- Today, Jorge Ibarra is practically the sole champion of these rare and neglected water birds. For years he has waged a war against conservation ignorance, public apathy and traditional Indian hunting practices. His fellow ornithologists are impressed by his devotion. (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89)
- As we complimented Mr. Ibarra on his accomplishments, his face grew sad. "These words sound impressive," he murmured, "but the grebe is still in danger. This minute a hungry Mayan may be shooting one for dinner." (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89)
- We were now on a first name basis with friendly Mr. Ibarra, and we invited Jorge to accompany us. (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89)
- [After the bird census] Turning to Jorge, I asked how he felt now about the grebe's future. The champion protector of giant grebes smiled "Wonderful!" he said. This is the first time our laws and refuge have had meaning. In three short days we have taught the Indians why they must not shoot their "zambullidor." We've given their children the basics of modern conservation and have posted, photographed and taken a census. I know our accomplishments will influence future generations of grebes, Mayans, tourists, and nature lovers. (p. 90)

Mayan Indians according to Bowes.

- I [Bowes] stared through my binoculars trying to identify the unfamiliar water bird...Manuel, the five-foot, Mayan launch man, came to our aid. 'Eet ees 'zambullidor,' "he announced, "Very good to eet." (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89)
- Despite the laws, punishments and establishment of a refuge, the people don't really understand why this fine bird should be protected. (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89)

- We were horrified when we passed the Indian hamlet of San Antonio Palopo where great bundles of reeds were being cut and dried. Hand-hewn dugouts bobbed toward the town filled with more rushes to be used for roof thatch and floor mats. Jorge fumed with indignation and anxiety. If Mayans all around the lake were cutting reeds, where could the poor grebes go to hide, feed, and nest? (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 90)
- When we returned to Lake Atitlan in May of 1963 we saw grebes being hunted and their eggs being taken. The hunters used both guns and slingshots. There was also considerable cutting of reeds along the shore, thus depriving the grebe of its hiding refuge and nesting habitat. (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 90)

These excerpts emphasized a binary opposition between the ornithologist and the Mayan Indian people with whom Bowes interacted. The Mayan people were characterized by

- pursuits driven by appetite or “hungry Mayan;”
- as uneducated;
- with hand made technology “the hand-hewn dugout canoe;”
- as impressionable learners (the children);
- as hunters;
- by using grebes as food;
- by relying on the landscape as an indispensable resource for human use.

The ornithologist and Bowes were depicted as characterized by

- pursuits of the mind based on Western science;
- as being educated;
- as having complex technology, such as the camera;
- as being the teacher;
- as being collectors not hunters (collectors of specimens, photographs, and census data;

- as viewing grebes as not for food but for objects of study and enjoyment;
- as viewing resources as objects to be protected.

A third party in the text, a priest, Father Manuel, told Bowes and her party that the Mayan were “natural born conservationists.”

“I would not worry, “ he [Father Manuel] said. “For two years, I have visited these little towns, and always there are reeds. These Mayans are too smart to cut them all down. They are natural-born conservationists.” (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 90)

Bowes did not agree with this statement. Her sympathies were with the birds, not the humans who appeared to need the reeds for shelter and the grebes for food. Bowes and Ibarra were accustomed to the idea of places without peoples and places protected from people, in this case Indigenous people.

The final example of the Indigenous people as different from the naturalist was from the accompanying photograph of Bowes centered, in front, and shown adjusting her camera while a priest stands beside her watching. Mayan men stand beside and behind each other and behind the foregrounded priest and the woman naturalist. Some Mayan men were gazing at the photographer snapping the picture; others were gazing at Bowes who looks down at her camera as she adjusts it. Lutz and Collins (1993) point out that the gaze of the subjects in the camera often connect to the power relations of the people involved “Those who are culturally defined as weak—women, children, people of color, the poor, the tribal rather than the modern, those without technology—are most likely to face the camera, the more powerful to be represented as looking elsewhere” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 199). This appeared to be the case in this photograph. The Mayan men,

dressed in non-Western clothing were set in the background similar to their treatment within the text.

In summary, the naturalist was the identity most prized in this essay and the “Indian” was the identity that most needed to be disciplined into Westernized conservation principles. Furthermore, the lesser position of the Mayans was communicated through both textual, in the description of the launch man and in the disapproved position of resource exploiters, and through visual means in the photograph position of the cluster of Mayan men behind the priest and the woman naturalist.

“Indians” and Woodcraft Indians: Personal Identities at Audubon

Ernest Thompson Seton’s ‘woodcraft Indians’ was a serious hobby in the childhood of at least one 1960s Audubon staff member, Robert Porter Allen. Seton’s book “Two Little Savages” was reviewed in Audubon’s March 1960 issue. Robert Porter Allen was portrayed as enjoying Two Little Savages, a guide to being a Woodcraft Indian. His retirement announcement declared, “As is the case of many boys of that era he was deeply influenced by that wonderful book of the outdoors, Two Little Savages, by Ernest Thompson Seton. It became his Bible and he sought to relive everything in the book” (Man with a Mission, 1960, July-August). In September 1983, in a tribute to Allen’s accomplishments, Allen’s association to “woodcraft Indians” again was mentioned (Graham, 1983, September, p. 102). The author wrote, “As a boy in rural Pennsylvania, he had drenched himself in the prose of eminent naturalists and enthralled by Ernest Thompson Seton’s Two Little Savages, always afterward described himself as a “Seton Indian” (Graham, 1983, September, p. 102).

A “Seton Indian” was the invention of one man who was influential in the conservation movement, but took advantage of stereotypes and appropriated Indigenous cultures. A “Seton Indian” was not an “Indian” in the sense of belonging to a governing nation, but was an “Indian” in the sense of acting as the “perfect” Indian in the “perfect” Indian community that was envisioned by Seton. In “The Rise of the Woodcraft Indians,” Seton described the club’s origin, to reform delinquent boys in his neighborhood through campouts in a play Indian village. The lessons involved nature in the form of survival skills, tracking, nature identification, and physical tests to earn feathers as honors. Seton believed boys made choices according to a pack mentality and formulated “Indians” as the organizing principle of the pack Seton proudly wrote that the delinquents who took part in his program grew up to be highly successful individuals of society (Seton, 1954, pp. 344-354). John James Audubon also was presented as having practiced certain “Indian-derived” skills.

The magazine’s namesake, John James Audubon was portrayed in a way similar to Borland’s grandmother, as knowledgeable about certain “Indian” skills: “He knew how to plait willow baskets...make Indian moccasins” (Harwood & Durant, 1985, May, p. 116). Regarding Audubon’s fish paintings, a letter-to-the-editor stated “All were painted from specimens that Audubon himself collected in dives using the bladders of manatees as breathing tanks, a technique which he learned from friendly Carib Indians” (Leslie, 1974, July, p. 92).

However, difference was emphasized between John James Audubon and Indian people in another article. When showing his paintings to Iowa, Sac, and Fox community

members, allegedly, a woman ran away in fear believing that the paintings were alive.

Audubon wrote, “The chiefs knew all the animals except the Little Squirrels from the Oregon... They called me the *Great Medicine*” [sic] (Harwood, November, 1985, p. 91).

In the next article, whiteness was clearly asserted.

Audubon contributors have set themselves apart from Indians as they wrote about them. For example in one narrative, the Muries’ expressed their sense of identity as distinctly apart from the Indigenous people when Margaret Murie and her new husband had difficulties finding “a cabin habitable for white people” (Murie, 1963, January-February, p. 52). Luckily, a “young Indian” owned a cabin they found suitable, and the Indian helped them move their belongings.

In Stutz’s “Bird Man of the Delaware,” an osprey biologist told the story of his life as it related to his study of the osprey and other birds (1992, May-June, pp.98, 100-101). A small call-out on the first page of the article indicated that the entire article was excerpted from Stutz’s book, Natural Lives, Modern Times: People and Places of the Delaware River. According to the article, the biologist, Larry Rymon had many experiences over his life watching, studying, and raising osprey. The article combined a narrative of osprey behavior with a nostalgic look at Rymon’s life. The last paragraphs of the article stated,

For the birds to succeed, says Rymon, we need to secure habitat. But humans have begun to intrude, this time fragmenting the forests with suburban developments rather than farms.... “Migrating birds lose out to permanent, edge-happy birds. The environment becomes more homogenous. The people do, too. The diversity and age structure change, and the richness of the social fabric fades. Now the guy in the trailer with the few chickens—the guy who pulled your ears before he gave you a piece of candy, the hillbilly who had a sense of place from which he took sustenance and well-being—is the last Indian. These people, the

stump sitters and the checker players, are now fast gone. And the spirit of the region goes with the depersonalization of the land.["]]

"Maybe," he muses. "it's true that one of my great-grandfathers was half Indian. I know when I stand in this valley and take in its mood—when I see an osprey—I believe that the Great Spirit knows appreciators of his work. When I see an osprey circling the Delaware [River] now, it gives me a great deal of satisfaction. (1992, May-June, p. 101)

Rymon's narrative contained two different "Indian" identities. One identity appeared to be the original inhabitant of a place and the other definition was based on an intentionally obscured recollection of family history. The recollection was obscured with the use of the word, "maybe" and the attribution of "half" Indian to a great grandparent, rather than a fullblood great-great-grandparent.⁶ The "natural" was signified in both identities.

In a 1997 article "The Heart of a Forest," Rick Bass wrote romantically and reflexively (meaning understanding his position vis-à-vis the subjects of his article).

This holy place—a core of the Heiltsuk nation, who live here on the mainland coast of British Columbia, at the edge of the world's largest remaining temperate rainforest—is being destroyed, and we have come from a long way away to try to help. We have also come with curiosity to see one of the most spectacularly beautiful places on earth before it is lost... We've come to help the Heiltsuk, but we've also come to be helped—to have our spirits and imaginations, our desire for beauty, stunned back into us.... The Heiltsuk are only letting us know what's going on, tolerating our presence in their place of healing during a time of sickness. We're here on our own, uninvited.

I do not want to understate the puniness one feels, coming as a guest into a land and a culture to "fight" for a place that got along pretty damn well on its own for the first eon. I do not mean to presume to have any fraction of power comparable to that gained by the living upon of a place [*sic*] or the blood ancestry of those who live here. I cannot speak for the Heiltsuk. I am not Heiltsuk, I can speak only for what I see and hear. (Bass, 1997, January-February, pp. 39, 40)

Bass was quite straightforward about his "outsider" status and his interest in gaining a powerful experience, "to have our spirits and imaginations, our desire for beauty, stunned

back into us.” The landscape held some sort of power to instill awe or to stun. The Heiltsuk Nation’s landscape became the Western nature writer’s idea of the sublime. The sublime is associated with an overwhelming emotion of fear and/or exultation over the grandeur and beauty of wilderness that is equivocated as or with a higher power (Nash, 2001, 45-47, 54-55, 78-80). Bass stated his identity as outside the Heiltsuk, describing his identity by what he was not, rather than by what he claimed to be. The identity assertions did not end here. Bass wrote about a special place that a host named Larry Jorgenson (who is a non-Native married into the Heiltsuk community) brought them to by boat.

Larry’s not wild about bringing us here. He offered to do it, but so deep is his bond to the hidden lake that for another’s eyes to gaze upon its beauty represents an encroachment, and he is honest in explaining his ambivalence. He’s grateful we’ve come so far to help, but he’s also painfully aware that for the situation to have gotten this dire—for him to show us one of the most beloved things in his life, to bare his soul—might indicate that the final damage has already been done.

Larry knows we’re going to fall in love with this place, once we see it and spend some time with it, and that this place will become, in some way, ours too, by our loving it. In a sense, Larry is inviting us into the Heiltsuk nation—an act almost as significant as, at the other end of the spectrum, declaring war against the Heiltsuk and Ellerslie [the Lake], which, in effect, is what the British Columbia government and the big timber companies did six years ago, when Ellerslie and the surrounding pristine watersheds were opened to logging. (p. 41)

The other key phrase indicating identity was “inviting us into the Heiltsuk nation.” The gesture of bringing the guests into a private place important to the Heiltsuk Nation was viewed as “in a sense” a symbolic entrance into the Heiltsuk community, a place that becomes symbolically “co-owned” by the visitors and the Heiltsuk. Bass seemed to be “identity sliding,” meaning he moved in and out of an insider/outsider status through experiencing nature. Bass’ meaning for being “invited into the Heiltsuk community” was

⁶ Tsianina Lomawaima pointed out the obscurity of the described identity of the half-

cryptic, but it fits into the idea of the sublime, while it contradicted his sense of the separateness he asserted in the first quoted excerpt. The description of sublime provided a large motivation to protect an area from the logging operations, a presence that in Bass' description has no proper place on Heiltsuk lands. Identity sliding was also a theme in the next article.

A 1999 article identified the phenomenon of "playing Indian." Scott Russell Sanders stated in his essay, "Through the Eyes of an Hawk,"

A Shawnee man once heard me describing my encounter with the redtailed hawk. When I spoke of the hawk as my father, the man leaned over to a mutual friend and whispered, "He's Indian." What he meant, he later told me, was that within his own tradition it is perfectly natural to recognize such a kinship between a dead ancestor and a living animal.

Such a discovery is much harder to fit into my own broadly scientific tradition. I don't want to play Indian. But I must make room for my experience. Although science teaches me that I am kin to other species, that we all belong to one great genetic family, that my arm and bird's wing evolved from the same ancestral forms, science does not give me the language to say that the hawk is my father. That lesson came from the hawk itself. The redtail convinced me of my kinship, no longer merely as an intellectual notion derived from the study of biology, but as a truth of the heart. (p. 43)

This article identified the limits of science to relate to the natural world, as well as questioned the "playing Indian" concept. Sanders was trying to find words to express his personal interaction with nature, but found he could do it best with an Indian presence that affirmed his beliefs in nature. This is an example of representing nature not as "other," but as "self" explained through the help of a reference to an Indigenous person. The invoked "ecological Indian" symbol and the flesh and blood Shawnee man represented approval of Sander's philosophy. At the same time Sanders was careful to

Indian great grandfather.

distinguish that he was “not playing Indian.” This was a rare admission in nature writing, because “playing Indian” is not reflexively recognized in nature essays. It may be acted out or used as a comparison for asserting identity.

In another case, an article in 2000 bordered on the “going native” theme. In a lengthy passage from the article, “The Shaman of Colors,” Nadis described the initiation rite experienced by the artist, Rick Harlow, a painter visiting Colombia.

In 1988, toward the end of his stay, he participated in a five-day male initiation rite with the Yacunas—a spiritual cleansing and indoctrination process that involved fasting, ritual vomiting, and bathing in cold river water. Harlow’s inclusion in this ritual, which is normally closed to outsiders, was controversial among certain elders and came about largely through his friendship with a local shaman. The result, Harlow says, was a “crash course in rainforest education. You learn to walk through the forest without disturbing anything—without breaking a twig or stepping on a plant.”

“The ordeal succeeded in breaking down the last barriers between me and nature. I felt my senses opening up. In addition, I was physically exhausted—too tired to worry about what was going to bite me.” His perspective on the rainforest changed as a result of the ordeal. “It literally taught me a new way of seeing,” he says. “The Indians view plants and animals as entities with human qualities, with whom they have relationships.

Harlow’s relationship with the Yucunas changed as well. “The fact that I went through the ritual with them gave them more confidence in me, and made me feel more connected to the community,” he says. His artwork has been affected too, becoming deeper, more reflective, more personal. “When my work goes well,” Harlow wrote in his journal during his stay near La Pedrera, “when I can leave behind any formal precepts about art and simply enjoy an honest outpouring of energy from within myself onto the canvas, nature rings like a bell.” (Nadis, 2000, September-October, pp. 32, 34)

The story of the induction appeared to be taken directly from the “gone Native” genre in which non-community members ceremonially were inducted into the community.

Harlow used the term “ordeal” to describe the initiation. A community member might not have chosen that term. The ritual may have been harder on Harlow an outsider to the environment and culture. However, a close reading shows that a few differences from the

“going native” narrative existed in this piece. First, Harlow did not claim a membership in the Yucuna community. He was about to leave Colombia when the ceremony occurred. Secondly, the disapproval from other members of the community about Harlow taking part was admitted. On this level, Harlow knew he was a “special case.” Harlow did not overtly claim to be Yucuna or to have been adopted into the tribe (after all political events of the time, the Colombian civil war, prevented his return to the community).

Harlow did claim a mystical change in his outlook, but the ideas and expectations that Harlow brought with him to the experience were not clarified. He claimed the barriers that divided him from nature were now gone and that he saw the world differently. However, he did not even utilize his insights in the same way as a Yucuna person for he claimed his new relationship with nature informed his paintings. His paintings were done for the sake of art, an activity that the article claimed was not part of Yucuna cultural activities. Harlow also claimed that the community now respected him more. An ethnographic portrayal of the event was not provided, but Harlow’s impressions of the event were presented as if he had been through a conversion that now offered him sight for viewing the world from the Yacuna point of view, (an essentialized view). His new view on the world only concerned nature, not other subjects that might be important to relating with the human world.

In another article, Annick Smith, in the special issue in response to September 11, 2001 wrote a short piece entitled, “Sacred Ground.” The title of one of her books was In This We are Native: Memoirs and Journeys. She wrote in her article,

My companion, Bill Kittredge, defines sacred as those things we cannot do without. The Blackfoot River is, for me, sacred. Not because God made it (although that may be justification enough); or because it is beautiful; or because its history includes the Blackfeet and Salish Indians, Lewis and Clark, and immigrants such as me; or because of its rich natural life... [describes a list of experiences with the area such as watching animals and picking berries] The valley offers all of us identity and continuity. It is our home. We cannot do without it.

But home is not necessarily where you live. It can be where your stories abide. (Smith, 2002, January-February, p.44)

This excerpt hinted at an identity the writer claimed that was narrated and place-based and intertwined with the meaning of “sacred.” Her definition was presented as an independent view not borrowed from the meanings of others, including Indigenous peoples. Both Indigenous peoples and explorers provided possible definitions of “sacred” and “home,” but she declined these meanings. However, the place she described contained the label of an Indian community, therefore the place would always be associated through its name with a (regionally) long gone Blackfoot presence.

In summary, the idea of Indigenous peoples or the Indigenous person was not overwhelmingly used as a direct identity to which the reader could connect, but was often used as a point of departure or a comparative identity. The “Seton Indian,” an invented recreational endeavor was presented without a claim to an “Indianness” that existed outside of that recreational setting. In another article “Indian” took on two different meanings as an elderly biologist sought to explain the changes in a place and explain his connection to nature. “Playing Indian” was briefly interrogated in one article while in another article a man experienced a male initiation ceremony that he claimed expanded his sense of nature. In this group of articles, the pioneer/explorer and the naturalist images portrayed the admired “self.” In these images, the “Indians” were othered

(pointedly represented as total outsiders) and essentialized (frozen with unchanging characteristics) as enemies, as inferiors, and as hindrances. In these examples, nature writers were better able to express the identities that they admired through the pioneer and naturalist image rather than the “Indian” image.

Third Effect: Depictions of Indigenous People in the Incidental References

Indigenous peoples were presented in many roles in the incidental references, including drawing on stereotypical representations that existed in other arenas of U.S. popular culture. The roles included Indigenous peoples as guides and laborers; as violent attackers and exploiters who obstructed naturalistic endeavors and sometimes advanced them through collection of specimens; ecological Indians; as style devices for philosophizing and poeticizing nature; as politically active, present in natural nomenclature and place names; and as ecologically knowledgeable and as avid users of natural materials. All these images contributed to the impressions readers held about Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous Peoples as Guides and Labor Forces for Naturalists

One depiction of Indigenous peoples in the incidental references is the Indigenous guide and laborer. Pratt (1992) aptly describes the place of guides in her study of the 1783 and 1789 accounts of two European explorers in Southern Africa:

For the most part, the human world is naturalized, functioning as a backdrop for the naturalist’s quest. Out of the corner of the landscanning eye, Khoikhoi servants move in and out on the edges of the story, fetching water, carrying baggage, driving oxen, stealing brandy, guiding, interpreting, looking for lost wagons. (Pratt, 1992, p. 52)

This image of Indigenous peoples being on “the edges” perfectly describes how all the incidental references work within a nature essay.

From the 1960s to the 1990s, Indigenous guides and laborers also “move in and out on the edges of the story” in some of Audubon’s articles. An example of this can be found in Murie’s narrative “Arctic Honeymoon” (1962, November-December, pp. 308-311, 1963, January-February, pp. 16-19, 50-55). This two-part article was excerpted from Margaret E. Murie’s autobiographical book, Two in the Far North. The subtitle for the first installment read, “The wife of America’s rugged naturalist, Olaus Murie, tells the warm and stirring story of their romance in the Alaskan wilderness of 41 years ago [1921]” (1962, November-December, p. 308). The following excerpts showed the Indigenous peoples as a labor force:

- A famous arctic trader had just arrived in Fairbanks. He and his Eskimo helpers had come in from the wilds, pulling 4,000 white foxskins on two toboggans, with four, tough huskies to each toboggan. (1962, November-December, p. 311)
- I’m [Olaus Murie] going to send the dogs out from Hooper Bay with an Eskimo before break-up, to some village where they can be boarded for most of the summer, then have them sent up on an earlier trip....(1962, November-December, p. 311)
- The Indian deckhands were moving from scow to steamer with the speed and grace of cats, but managed to look over their shoulders to grin at us. The captain leaned from the pilot house window: “Get that stuff over here now; step on it!” and looked down at me [Margaret Murie] with a wonderful smile.” (1963, January-February, p. 19)

The Eskimo labor force was employed by the captain of the steam boat, the scientist Olaus Murie, and the Arctic trader. The Indian deckhands were depicted as animal-like when they were described as graceful cats. In these examples, the heavy-labor was done

exclusively by Eskimos and Indians. This arrangement reflected and created a class and ethnic separation. Huhndorf (2001) comments on this separation in the case of the explorer Robert Peary: “it was not Peary’s racial superiority, as he believed, that compelled many Natives to do his bidding...[it was] primarily economic” (2001, p. 91). Huhndorf (2001) argues that Peary thought of Inuit guides and laborers as children, as did many of his generation. The grinning deckhands in Murie’s description corresponded to this childlike image. The Eskimos were not only a source of labor, but also a source for amusement, corresponding to the childlike image shown in the following excerpt, “He [Olaus] was unpacking Eskimo artifacts from Hooper Bay and telling me [Margaret] funny stories about some of them” (p. 55).

In the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, I found other references to Indigenous guides and laborers. Some discussed current day interactions. Others referred to historical expeditions.

An example of what would have been a contemporary interaction was published in Audubon in 1965 in an article previously discussed. “Manuel, the five-foot, Mayan launch man, came to our aid. “Eet ees ‘zam buillidor,” he announced. “Very good to eat” (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 88). The guide was “othered” in several aspects: The writer emphasized the guide’s short stature, accented English, and interest in the bird as food, not as an entity for conservation. This example was set in the context of a Guatemalan naturalist’s activism waging “a war against conservation ignorance, public apathy, and traditional Indian hunting practices” (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89).

An example of a historical incidental reference was, “There was a time when a polar bear rug in front of the hearth meant sportsmanship, a time when one risked life and limb to dogsled across treacherous Arctic ice with Eskimos in search of the great bear” (Line, 1968, May-June, p. 114). This passage repeated Murie’s references to Eskimo laborers, though here, the Eskimo laborers were part of the equipment, like the dogsled.

In issues published in 1971, 1973, and in 1980, examples were found of the guides described as trustworthy and skilled such as:

And then there was Benjamin Cuevas Montezuma! One look at our sturdy Guaymi Indian guide, the government’s only guardian for its proposed park, and I was impressed. His muscular shoulders were to prove invaluable in carrying scientific gear and precious water to the summit; his keen eyes in finding hidden trails and animal signs; and his stoical nature in helping all of us endure the hardships of fieldwork. (LaBastille, 1973, September, p. 67)

This particular passage may be examined on several levels. The female gender of the writer and her definitions of masculinity (strength) covertly appeared in her admiration of the guide’s “muscular shoulders.” LaBastille purposively introduced the guide with a sentence that ended with an exclamation point. The exclamation point indicated that something exciting was or had happened, in this case the excitement was the textual and physical presence of Benjamin Cuevas Montezuma. The exclamation point and the admiration of the guide hinted at LaBastille’s positive attraction to this Guaymi man. The image presented fits into the stereotypes of the strong and attentive (helpful) male Indian lovers in U.S. popular culture romance novels, except LaBastille is presenting her account as non-fictional (Bird, 2001). In addition, the presentation of “his keen eyes” and “his stoical nature” played on stereotypes of the sharp-eyed, quiet, enduring, and uncomplaining Indian man. LaBastille does not only refer to “stoical” as an adjective for

Benjamin Cuevas Montezuma, but stoical is an adjective for “nature,” meaning the guide’s ingrained personality. The term, “nature” almost worked as if it is the guide’s instinct to be stoic, along with the possession of superior eyesight and a developed musculature.

The former and latter examples were not the only examples of Indian guides.

Other examples of dependable guides included the following:

- “Within an hour our Eskimo guides came on shore with the boat to carry us back to the mainland away from an approaching storm” (Rue, 1971, May, p. 36).
- “[T]hey and their Indian guides rowing strenuously for fourteen hours to go all of nine miles” (McCullough, 1973, September, p. 53).
- “Our guide, a half-breed Indian and a most accomplished woodsmen, took his station in the stern, and, with a vigorous shove upon his longer push-pole, sent the frail craft well out into the pond” (Brooks, 1980, July, p. 47).
- While Navajo Indians were not particularly keen to share the location of their sacred arch with white men, Wetherill persuaded a Paiute, Nasja-begay, to take Dean Cummings’ party to the bridge. While this group was on the trail, it learned that W. B. Douglass of the General Land Office was also in the vicinity, attempting to track down the myth of the rainbow, turned to stone. Cummings waited for Douglas to catch up and then promptly regretted his decision.

Both Cummings and Douglass had sizable egos, and as the combined group approached the bridge, it became clear there had developed a serious problem over who would be given credit for seeing it first. Wetherill conspired with Nasja-begay to let that honor fall to Cummings, which angered Douglass, who spurred on his horse to become the first white man ever to *ride* beneath the arch. (Reiger, 1977, November, 120-121)

In this same article, the author drew on a passage for comparison by Zane Grey, the Western novelist, describing his own trip to the same arch:

I had been tired for a long time, and now I began to limp and lag. I wondered what on Earth would make Wetherill and the Indian tired...I kept on until I heard

Wetherill call me. He had stopped—was waiting for me. The dark and silent Indian stood beside him, looking down the canyon. (Reiger, 1977, November, p. 121)

The last example drew on the stereotype of the silent and stoic Indian. The presence of this “silent and stoic Indian” images further naturalized (defined as “the real” without question so that it becomes taken for granted) the stereotype. The use of this stereotype negated other explanations for the “quiet” guide. The image-maker rejected certain possibilities when asserting the stoical stereotype, the guide’s individual personality was negated as well a reluctance to fraternize with his clients, and/or a need to concentrate on the particular task at hand. The depiction of stoicism may have related to the idea of “trust” in the guide. In other words, the client may have wanted to believe that “the guide was tough enough to get me through anything.” In light of this possible mentality, the guide not only was involved in physical labor (carrying equipment) and utilizing guiding skills, but also (maybe without either side recognizing it) conducted emotional labor, to meet the psychological needs of the naturalist or adventurer. The client needed to be able to trust the guide to feel a sense of safety on the expedition and part of this emotional work was the client’s typecasting of the guide as “stoical.”

In some instances, the guides did not meet the expectations of the adventurer as in the following historical reference. “In 1847, artist Paul Kane wanted to paint Mount St. Helens, but he could not bribe an Indian to climb it with him” (Steinhart, 1981, January, p. 51). At other times, a guide was presented as beyond the adventurer’s expectations as in the following modern day example:

In Severeid's (1981) retelling of his 1980 trip re-tracing his 1930 trip up the Mississippi River, he described his Ojibway pilot guide:

Now we made Berens River in about an hour and a half, jammed into a single-engine, twenty-five-year-old De Havilland Beaver floatplane, flown by Don Baxter, Ojibway Indian, a husky handsome, complicated bush pilot, balefully silent one minute, a giggling cutup the next. He had been known to chase a snow goose with the wing tip, to cook a cold-weather steak on the engine between landings; he had known a crash or two and tragedy; but for two reasons he was ideal for us: he was, in the test, extremely cautious about landings, circling, and circling to study the waters, and he was a master mechanic. Maintenance is a discipline or habit of mind missing with the Indians as with some other peoples; Baxter had the discipline. (Severeid, 1981, September, p. 51)

The guide was set apart as an unusual success for his "group." The blanket statement regarding the lack of discipline and mechanical ability was "racist" because it attributed negative habits to an entire group of people. Severeid (or an editor) tried to soften the statement by adding "as with some other people" but the stinging categorization remained. The image of "lack of discipline" was equivalent to the notion of the "lazy Indian." However, the guide was exempt from this categorization.

In the next contemporary example, the naturalist/biologist had to compromise with the accompanying guides. He had not expected he would be invited to eat the bird of his biological and conservation interest. "(In order to be polite to his Motilón Indian guides in Columbia, Estudillo had to eat the first helmeted curassow he ever saw. After they found it, the Indians shot it for dinner. 'I almost cried,' he says)" (Winkler, 1988, January, p. 33). However the experience did not change the rule this biologist had of consulting with the local Indians "because they know the birds" (p. 33, 36).

Two examples in the 1980s and 1990s described non-Indigenous guides who learned their skills or based their skills on "Indigenous" techniques, a 1991 article

specified Apache techniques such as tracking and its vocabulary (March, 1986, January, p. 44-47; Steinhart, 1991, March, p. 26).

As shown in the Murie articles (1962, November-December, 1963, January-February, 1963), Indigenous peoples not only served as guides but as laborers. An example from the 1960s of this role was the guano collectors in Peru who were Indians who left their homes in the mountains to work (Ullman, 1963, May-June, p. 151). An example from 1989 of Indigenous laborers was found in an article on the Maine blueberry business. One blueberry raker was quoted describing his expert method of raking. One line of the article indicated that Maine Indians were independent growers of blueberries (Graham, 1989, July, p. 64). A photograph of one extended family of Mi'kmaq seasonal blueberry rakers taken outside the employee's temporary living quarters can be compared to the photograph across the page of one non-Indian family inside their temporary living quarters (p. 65). The Mi'kmaq in the picture are associated with an extended family of people of various ages, fun, a sense of reasonable orderliness, and a female leader. Most of the camera subjects looked toward the camera, but there is not the sense of powerlessness (regarding Lutz & Collins (1993) finding that the powerless more often look directly at the camera). The family was cooperating through their own agency. The caption of the photograph of the extended Mi'kmaq family read,

Three generations of Mary Augustine's family from Big Cove rake Wyman's fields. "We have about fifteen hundred people on the reservation," she says. "and in summer twelve hundred of them are down here. I've always brought my children, and now they bring theirs." (Graham, 1989, July, p. 65)

In the photograph, family members were posed to face the camera sitting or standing together near a picnic table while Mary Augustine stood to one side and was closest to the camera.

The photograph of the non-Indian family included a very disorderly indoor living space and an overweight man (with his shirt unbuttoned) watching television in the center of the photograph, while in the cramped corner a woman leans forward to look at the television and an adult son played with a dog. The reader might imagine that the family was relaxing after a hard day's work. The caption read,

The cabin of the Murphy family—Ann, Derrick, and Bill—from Caribou, Maine, boasts many of the comforts of home, including television and refrigerator. Their two Dobermans travel with them to the barrens [the local term for blueberry fields], where the elder Murphys have raked blueberries for twenty-five years. (Graham, 1989, July, p. 64)

In this picture, the leader is male (he has the best seat for watching television), the setting is indoors, and the people are surrounded by material objects and pets. The inside/outside dichotomy may have been for the purposes of the pictures. (Mary Augustine's family would not have fit in one room's living quarters.) The gender leadership difference was clearly evident from the photographs.

The article indicated that Indians from the Maritime Provinces were increasingly important to the growers in making up for the shortage of local rakers.

A month or so on Maine's barrens has become a tradition for many Indian families, some of whom look on their trip as a vacation as well as an opportunity to shop in the state's larger malls. (Graham, 1989, July, p. 66)

Another passage in the article indicated that Mary Augustine was seventy-two years old and had raked for approximately 40 years. She explained that twelve hundred

of the fifteen hundred people at Big Cove (Canada) travel down to Maine to rake blueberries. She pointed out that when she raked sparse fields, the “growers” paid her more than when she raked bountiful fields. There was no sense of an employer exploiting the seasonal workers. However, living arrangements for fieldworkers had recently changed so that they had to live closer to strangers, who may be disruptive. The article also discussed a Big Cove Catholic priest who traveled to the blueberry barrens with his congregation. A photograph of the priest and his congregation outside at church shows a priest using a picnic table to hold the religious paraphernalia. The article presented the blueberry rakers as diligent, dependable, and hard workers, as well as religious.

Two articles published in 2000 and 2001 described the training of local people for other jobs besides guiding and manual laborers. In 2000, an article entitled “The Shaman of Many Colors” in the “Profile” section of the magazine discussed an artist, Rick Harlow, who was a frequent visitor to the Amazon rainforest in Colombia and received much artistic inspiration. To compensate the Indigenous community, Harlow started a renewable resource paper-making business, which was turned over to the communities due to complications of the Colombian civil war (the artist was not permitted back into that region). The program was depicted as successful.

So far, about 150 people have taken part in the program, which has benefited practically every family in the three participating communities. “Every adult who wants to work gets a chance,” says Harlow. Workers earn about \$5 a day—more than they can make as laborers in La Pedrera, a three-day boat ride away. Employment prospects in that town are bad, and many people leave their families for months at a time to fish; work in a store, a gold mine, or an illegal cocaine-processing plant; join the guerrilla army; or go to a big city like Bogotá, where unemployment is also high. Paper-project employees, by contrast “are their own

bosses,” says Harlow, “living at home with their families.” Moreover, the project injects about \$2,000 per year into the economy of each village. (Nadis, 2000, September-October, p. 34, 36)

The papermaking process was described as labor intensive, but the project was depicted as entrepreneurial opportunity for community members as they are depicted as “their own bosses.” However, the paper-making was not community-owned per se but was part of a nongovernmental organization venture that won an Alternative Nobel Prize, as the article later explained. The success of the project was due to a local and international market for the paper and “the time [put in] to forge friendships and develop trust with the villagers” (Nadis, 2000, September-October, p. 37).

In the article, “On the Nectar Trail,” Gary Paul Nabhan depicted the Seri Indians of Mexico as trained “para-ecologists” working with wildlife management teams. This term most likely emerged from the word “para-professional.” However, according to a quote by a Seri man, the Seri wildlife assistants view themselves as possessing an especially useful combination of skills:

After demonstrating their [Seri applicants] competency in fieldwork, they receive diplomas so that they can gain higher-paying field technician jobs with other wildlife management teams in the region. As one of the Seri men told us, “We don’t want to be just baggage carriers and boatmen for outside scientists. We want our own traditional knowledge and that of Western science to work together. We want to be full participants.” (Nabhan, 2001, March-April, p. 86)

The Audubon articles analyzed here expressed a change over time in the role of Indigenous peoples as guides and laborers. In the 1960s, the guides were part of the backdrop of an excursion, part of the necessary “equipment” but sometimes possessing control and necessary skills for a hunting or exploring excursion. Other times they were viewed as ignorant of conservation goals, such as in the case of the Guatemalan guides.

In 1989, images of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous laborers, blueberry rakers, were juxtaposed. In 2001, the images were of skilled laborers: possessing skills in Western science collection methods as well as using one's community knowledge for environmental projects.

Ecological Knowledge and Uses of Nature in the Incidental References

At times, Indigenous peoples' knowledge about natural resources and ecology was acknowledged in Audubon, but at other times it was silenced in the incidental references. An example of silencing occurred in the August 1963 article "Snakes Are Interesting." Heald, the author explained that he was accompanying a herpetologist to Mexico to "fill in some blank spaces," which meant "nobody knows much about the snake and lizard situation there" (1963, July-August, p. 219). Along with studying snakes and other activities, the author mentioned that they "visited with primitive, cave-dwelling Indians." The author described the "Indians" in an inferior light using the adjectives "primitive" and "cave-dwelling." The Indigenous people's potential as a source of knowledge about snakes was not considered. In contrast, other writers in the 1960s directly described how Indigenous peoples of the past utilized natural items:

- The Indian Pipe is said to have been valued by Indians as a source of eye lotion for strengthening their vision (Scheffel, 1966, July-August, p. 224).
- As for the snowy owl, not only is the iris diaphragm contracted to counter a blinding sun off winter's snow, but this bird squints by closing its lids to mere slits. Eskimos noted this long ago and copied their unique snow "squinters" from the great white bird they call *Ookpikjuak* (Austing, 1968, March-April, p. 75).
- prospectors which came with the Klondike gold discoveries saw native copper implements being used by the Indians, and found some of the richest copper mines in the world, the Kennicotts (High Ice, High Rocks, 1969, May-June, p. 33)

The writers' purpose would be categorized under the first effect, using references to Indigenous peoples to accentuate a point about a natural item. An alternative or simultaneous reading of this type of incidental references is that it does inform the reader about Indigenous peoples' knowledge. In the example of the Eskimo eye goggles, the Inuit group was depicted as observant and inventive. However, factors may compromise this interpretation. These factors included the use of the past tense and the emphasis on difference. Portraying Indigenous peoples as people with habits different than the authors and readers, as well as people of the past served to "other" them. The generic Indian or a particular Indigenous group is utilizing a natural item differently than "us," "writer and reader," and that unique utilization helps demarcate "us" from "them." Most of the examples referred to Indigenous people in the past tense, which further differentiated and created a "vanishing Indian" effect. These types of references appeared during the 1970s through 2002. Here are some examples from the 1970s .

- For several years Everett sold the smaller snapping turtles to Donald Bartholomew in Hudson for a dollar apiece. Bartholomew, a tool and dressmaker by profession and a student of the Iroquois Indians by avocation, used to take the shells to a reservation near Syracuse, where the Iroquois would hollow them out, place cherry pits inside, and use them as ceremonial rattles. (Boyle, March, 1971, p. 24)
- The narcotic jimsonweed...used by Indians to induce visions. (Krutch, 1971, July, p. 38)
- The existence of oil shale has been known for centuries. Long before the first white settlers reached Colorado, Ute Indians were using 'the rock that burns' for campfires. (Soucie, 1972, January, p. 107)
- The birch is a lovely but brittle tree. Indians, and later small boys, made canoes from their bark. (Stadtfeld, 1972, September, p. 6)

- Cottongrass has an underground stem that is relished by both Eskimos and tundra mice. (Cahn, July, 1974, p.11-12)
- Papago Indians relied on saguaro fruits so much in the old days that they began their calendar year with Navaita, the time of the saguaro harvest.” (Kirk, 1973, July, p. 19)
- Strangest of all the Coyote’s relationships is that with the badger. Ever since the times of ancient Indians, men have seen these two wild predators traveling together and tumbling and playing together. (Laycock, 1974, September, p. 22)
- The Indians noted that the advent of the sugaring season coincided closely with the arrival of the first crow, and they dropped all their fishing and hunting to revel in six long weeks of sugar production. The Indians boiled down their sap by pouring it into hollow logs and throwing in heated stones. Modern sugarers boil their sap down in evaporators, over hardwood fires, until it reaches the right consistency for syrup. (Canby, 1978, March, p. 88-89)

In these 1970s examples the “othering” aspects emerged from several characteristics. In one example, the “Indians” were compared with children, “small boys.” This comparison hinted that birch canoes were a simplified technology. In other examples, Indian people possessed the same use value as animals: cottongrass was food for both tundra mice and “Eskimos.” Examples from ceremonial life were provided without explanatory contexts; and in the last example modern sugaring methods were compared to Indigenous sugaring methods. The generic Indian or regional Indian (Plains) was commonly referenced. Use of a generic category effectively referred to a category of people as “other” and essentializes their identity.

In the 1980s, similar references were found (one concerning oil shale was repeated from earlier years).

- and Indians roasted skunk cabbage roots, grinding them into a starchy flour (Line, 1980, May, p. 59)

- The first white settlers arriving in Colorado found the Ute Indians making campfires of shale oils. (Houseman, 1980, September, p. 127)
- And according to legend, Indians of the Pacific Northwest used the stems [devil's club] as a diabolical mace to beat the confessions out of suspected witches. (A Horrid Weapon, p. 1983, May, p.108)
- Various Indian tribes gathered the stems in early summer before they flowered, when they were soft, juicy, and sugary. They dried the stems in the sun, then ground them into flour, which they moistened. This dough was cooked, and the result, described as tasting like marshmallow, was eaten as candy. Indians also used phragmites to make gruel and dug up its roots for boiling or roasting. (Ricciuti, 1983, September, p. 66)
- When the Arab oil boycott stimulated new interest in energy, architects noted that Indians had incorporated solar principles into their pueblos centuries ago. (Steinhart, 1984a, March, p. 76)

These examples were similar to those of previous years concerning use of generic or regional referents; descriptions of food technologies and acknowledgement of other sorts of technologies such as, in this case, solar; and decontextualized usages such as the “diabolical mace.”

In the 1990s, the following examples were found.

- Frogs had a wide range of uses, South American Indians used them to treat skin rashes and other illnesses (Steinhart, 1991, September-October, p. 22)
- The Slishan [sic] Indians of Canada use the Western yew to treat kidney and digestive tract problems and tuberculosis (Daly, 1992, March- April, p. 78)
- The Native Americans, from whose peace pipes the flower derives its names, mixed it with water and applied it to their eyes as a salve. For this reason the plant is also known as eyebright. (Williams, 1999, July-August, p. 126)
- The idea of hanging gourds first came to Native Americans, who lured purple martins to control flying insects (Seideman, 1999, September-October, p. 24)

Many of these examples described medicinal uses for plants and even relationships to birds, the purple martins.

In the 2000s, the examples included,

- So rich in oil are the fish that local Indians used to insert strips of bark in the dried body cavities and burn them as candles (Williams, 2002, January, p. 33)
- The news [the poorwill bird hibernates] stunned the scientific world but not the Hopi Indians. Long ago they had named the poorwill *holchko*—"the sleeping one" (Williams, 2002, November/December, p. 134).

These two examples appeared in the Earth Almanac section written by Ted Williams. The generic reference in this example resumed back to "Indians" instead of "American Indians" or "Native Americans" in the 1990s. However, recognition of tribally-specific ecological knowledge was provided in the second example. The knowledge was depicted as not a new discovery to the Hopi, as encoded in language, and correct in terms of Western science.

Some incidental references referred to naturalists and biologists who understood that Indigenous individuals had useful knowledge. For example, one biologist reluctantly ate the bird at the behest of his guide but never reconsidered his rule to include the insights of local Indigenous people in his research on birds (Winkler, 1988, January). One example alleged such knowledge, "In the 1700s a Jesuit Priest recognized American ginseng, *panaxquinque folius*, for what it was—or perhaps was led to it by Indians who knew of its medicinal properties" (Laycock, 1978, July, p. 6). Another contributor, Rettig, wrote, "Ram had been talking about an Indian called Atti, who was knowledgeable about the rain forest, and we hoped to question him about the harpy eagle" (Rettig, 1977, November, p. 30). Carr, researching green turtles explained that he was "open-minded" when talking to "backcountry people" in Costa Rica about turtle nesting habits (Carr, 1972, March pp. 32-33). He marveled at how the local people

gathered their information, but found that they did not have all the answers to his Western scientific questions. He wrote, “The local people, wise as they sometimes are, are no help in this case [a question about turtle navigation]” (Carr, 1972, March, p. 33).

Indigenous Peoples as Attackers and Exploiters: Barriers to Botanizing and Birding

The incidental references included identifying Indigenous peoples not only as a source of knowledge but as violent or war-like attackers and as exploiters of the environment. These references were found from 1960-2000s and often indicated behavior of a past event, but also included contemporary examples. Two examples from the 1960s of Indigenous peoples depicted in a violent role were the following: “Freedom meant protection from the dangers of Indian attack, weather, and crop failures” (Line, 1968, March-April, p. 5) and “...were massacred by Ute Indians” (Lambert, 1968, May-June, p. 50). The attacking habits was associated with being barriers to collecting natural history information:

...[Dr Elliott] Coues was commissioned an assistant surgeon in the army and was ordered to Fort Whipple at Prescott, Arizona, where his company was often under attack by Apache Indians. His collecting, therefore, was often restricted to the plains within sight of the fort—sometimes in view of the bodies of soldiers killed in the frontier engagements. (Terres, 1962, November-December, p. 340)

In a contemporary example, a writer exhorted the readership that it was safe to visit Mexico for birding trips.

One of the inhibiting factors to birding south of the border, especially off the beaten track is, I am repeatedly surprised to find, fear of ‘the natives’ or of bandits. It seems that an astonishing number of people still conceive of Mexico as being largely populated by Pancho Villas and wild tribes...The Mexican people, excepting only the more back-country members of such reserved groups as the Otomi and Chamula Indians, are on the whole extraordinarily friendly and helpful. (Eckelberry, 1960, May-June, p. 108)

Two examples from the 1960s of Indigenous peoples depicted as exploiters of the environment included the following:

- Many reasons have been given for this wholesale disappearance which happened with surprising speed—mainly around the turn of the century. Some writers have heaped the blame on the Hawaiian Kings who used countless thousands of Mamoos, Oos, Iiwis, and other birds for their gaudy feather cloaks. (Peterson, 1960, November-December, p. 259)
- Mexican and Indian natives watch where the birds are feeding and then take the eggs for themselves. (Rood, 1967, May-June, p. 40)

In another article about the necessity of conservation for a certain grebe, the author wrote, “This minute, a hungry Mayan may be shooting one for dinner” (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 89).

Two examples from the 1970s of Indigenous peoples depicted as violent attackers were the following: “his colony twice wiped out by Indians” (Boyle, 1971, March, p. 69) and “the forest served as a stronghold of the fierce Carib Indians, cannibalistic warriors who raided the northeast coast of Puerto Rico” (Ricciuti, 1973, September, p. 94).

In the 1970s, the following were references concerning “nature-exploitive” Indians: “Where savage hunters lay for the bear, as my friend Thomas Wolfe would say, and arrows rattle on the red oak leaves” and “The walrus appears to be making a strong comeback...despite an annual kill...by Siberian and Alaskan natives” (Quigg, 1974, November, p. 125). A republished 1905 report described a Maine Indian working as a plume hunter:

Among the culprits bagged that year was Lewis Mitchell, the chief of Maine’s Passamaquoddy Tribe, who was arrested while trying to sell gull’s plumage in Massachusetts. Mitchell contended that as an Indian he had certain treaty rights permitting him to kill birds, and that therefore the game laws did not apply to him. The court convicted him, confiscated the plumes, fined him \$50, and sent him to

jail for two days. Maine's Courts also went after Mitchell, denying him special privileges to kill birds, while the Florida courts upheld the game laws against a similar claim by the Seminoles. (Graham, 1978, January, p. 49)

In the same vein, another Audubon contributor wrote, "His strength and ferocity did the Indian hunter great honor, and there is reason to suspect that the grizzly was declining before the white men hunted him, for the Indian would die for a coveted grizzly claw necklace—and frequently did" (Madson, 1979, May, p. 41).

References of violent Indians continued to be found in the 1980s. In an article published in 1981 about two men retracing a canoe trip they made in 1930. The author wrote while reflecting on the history of the place,

Why had this valley, comparable in richness to the valley of the Nile (which also flows due north), lain unused...It was simply, fear. The Prairie Sioux seemed to live for war and war alone, like the early Iroquois, who, in fact drove more peaceable tribes westward into the forests of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Even the Forest Sioux were lovers of peace compared to their prairie cousins. (Severaid, 1981, September, p. 47)

Three of them included, "Of course Indians knew how to use willows in many ways, and not just for ambushes among the Big Muddy" (Madson, 1985, September, p. 52) and "The trail lit out for the Spanish settlements beyond the Cimarron, across a dry, prickly country overlorded by Kiowa and Comanche, an implacable bareback cavalry if ever there was" (Mitchell, 1989, May, p. 63) and "The West was a wilderness of swirling snow and shifting sand, a place infested with tribesmen" (Mitchell, 1989, May, p. 66). Also in 1985, the Blackfoot was mentioned as a barrier to Audubon's own naturalist work on a trip West to document four-footed animals:

...The men commanding the mackinaw flotilla relay a piece of bad news. Apparently an employe [sic] at the Chouteau company's Fort McKenzie, which is just below the Falls of the Missouri, within sight of the Rockies, has killed a

Blackfoot chief. So the Blackfoot country near the mountains will be an unsafe place for a party of naturalists this summer, and they will not be able to explore many miles beyond the mouth of the Yellowstone. All his life Audubon has longed to visit “the mountains of the wind, “ and he had high hopes he was going to see them at last. (Harwood, 1985, November, p. 92)

Later in the article the author wrote,

One morning in late May a few Indians create a moment of real danger. As the Omega rumbles upstream with about a hundred men lounging on the deck, a small band of Indians signals from the bank that they want the boat to land for them. Captain Sire ignores them, and after the boat has passed they begin firing at it, “not with blank cartridges,” Audubon remarks in surprise, “but with well-directed rifleballs.” Four or five shots are fired, several of which hit the boat. Fortunately no one is hurt, but one ball does rip the pants of a man asleep in his bunk below, scaring him half to death. (Harwood, 1985, November, p. 98)

When Audubon and his associates reached the Fort they did find their collecting abilities restricted:

“They confirm the report...that one of their Clerks...shot a Blackfoot Chief. They say that the traders are obliged to confine themselves to the fort, and that only five of the Blackfeet are admitted at a time to trade. This state of affairs will prevent our visiting that interesting region.” (Harwood, 1985, November, p. 98)

Regarding references to Indigenous peoples as exploiters in the 1980s, the following reference from a reflection written by Roger Tory Peterson corresponded to the Indigenous person as “exploiter” category:

FEW LIVING [sic] naturalists have seen a live ivory-billed woodpeckers. I am one of them, in part because of my advanced years.

When Audubon voyaged down the Mississippi, ivory bills were common enough. He wrote, “I have seen entire belts of Indian chiefs closely ornamented with the tufts and bills, of this species. (Peterson, 1988, March, p. 64)

In the article, “Poaching, Ancient Traditions, and the Law” Tennesen depicted the use of animal-derived resources used by different groups of people. A section dealt with Apache and Hopi use of eagles, and one Eskimo family’s “headhunting” of walrus for

the tusks (Tennesen, 1991, July-August, pp. 92-97). In the 1990s, an article was published called the “Perils of Collecting” concerning historical and contemporary botanists, especially a forgotten botanist who studied in the Amazon (Daly, 1995, January-February). The article was authored by an ethnobotanist and he mentioned Indigenous peoples in the article, but not as a “peril” to collecting. Instead, “people” in general were referenced as contemporary perils.

Even more than disease and accidents, probably the greatest threat to contemporary plant explorers is people. Over the years botanists have been mistaken for gold miners, kooks in search of magic mushrooms, flower peddlers, gene stealers, and circus performers. (Daly, 1995, January-February, p. 80)

Daly then told a story of a botanist who was killed in Bolivia after landing a plane in a secret cocaine manufacturing plant. Indigenous people were referenced in the present tense as ecologically knowledgeable.

Traditional cultures hold the results of centuries of crop selection and empirical testing for medicinals, and responsible modern scientists can turn these results to everyone’s advantage. (Daly, 1995, January-February, p. 79)

The author did refer to a botanist being killed in the Philippines by “headhunters.”

Drawings by a botanist in the 1700s were included as a visual for the article. Most of the drawings were of animals, plants, a flotilla of boats, and one map. One was of “a tribesman armed with bow and arrow” (Daly, 1995, January-February, p. 85). The picture (p. 84) presented this early collector’s habit of recording the lives of Indigenous peoples as well as flora and fauna. On this collector’s travels, Daly wrote,

Everything the expedition produced, it produced in the thousands: pages of diaries and scientific treatises; watercolors and drawings of native people as well as of animals, fish, birds, and plants; samples of the physical culture of the indigenous groups encountered; plant products; and specimens of minerals, fish, mammals, plants, and birds. (Daly, 1995, January-February, p. 81)

Indirectly, Daly pointed out that ethnological work was being done alongside the botanical work. The botanists wanted to understand how plants were utilized by the local peoples. Daly discussed the discovery of curare, used by some Indigenous peoples to poison arrows and the current world-wide use of it as a muscle relaxant. The deeper meanings and repercussions of the collecting of more than just plants were not discussed, such as the issue of treating human cultures as collectible and classifiable. The issue of “collecting “ human cultures was pointed out and might act as a step, for the thoughtful reader, toward interrogating the deeper meanings in the collecting practice. In this one exception, the collectors were a peril to the Indigenous peoples through the attempts to collect culture.

In an article on coffee agriculture and birds, the author, relying on a scientific study, connected bird decline to three causes,

But there are secondary threats, Vannini (a biologist) says: Our fieldwork suggests that, aside from habitat loss and fragmentation, three factors have contributed to local extinctions and declines: displacement or selective removal of native flowering plants, uncontrolled use of agrochemicals, and surprisingly, slingshots.

The Maya of Guatemala’s western highlands have traditionally used slingshots, blowguns, and clay pellets to knock down birds for the stew pot. Some Indians build bonfires on high ridges to attract night flights of shorebirds, cuckoos, flycatchers, and warblers. The misled migrants are clubbed and added to the daily fare of corn and black beans. (Wille, 1994, November-December, pp. 62-63)

Only one reference found by scanning the years 2000-2002, depicted Indigenous peoples as warlike, and it also referred to non-Indians as violent:

The 8-million acre Powder River basin straddles the Wyoming-Montana border, offering a snapshot of the quintessential Old West, with its rolling hills and prairies nested between the Bighorn Mountains and the Black Hills, 100 miles to the east. Along this storied and bloodied frontier, Indian battles raged, range wars

first erupted between homesteaders and cattle barons, and Buffalo Bill and Butch Cassidy sealed their myths. It is the place, many claim, where the American cowboy was born. (Kloor, 2002, December, p. 66)

Many images of violent and resource-exploitative Indigenous peoples existed in Audubon from the 1960s-2002. The images even linked Indigenous peoples to disrupting collecting expeditions of the early naturalists in the 1800s. These images presented Indigenous peoples opposite to the ecological Indian, but did so as an extreme opposite to that image. The reason for the presence of the exploiter image may be due to the clash between the dichotomous views about the use of resources compared to the naturalist's view of resources as shaped by "a larger tendency to define humans as being outside of nature and to frame environmental issues so that the choice seems to be between humans and nature" (White, 1996, p. 122). The environmentalists' goals were to protect nature from humans, in these examples, from Indigenous peoples' uses of nature.

Indigenous Peoples as Vehicles for Nostalgia

Nature writers often nostalgically reflected on the past. Morris & Stuckey's (1998) findings concerning the pastoral nostalgia in nature magazines become more finely categorized through these examples from Audubon.⁸ One type of the nostalgia was the yearning for landscapes and a time when Indigenous peoples were the only inhabitants.

- A few days ago the woodland looked much as it must have when the Seminole Indians pursued game in its shadows (Morrison, 1966, May-June, p. 185).
- ...where the animals and flowers and trees look just the way they did a long, long time ago—when Indians were the only people who lived in this country (The Audubon View, 1968, March-April, p. 5).

Other examples required the imagination of the reader and writer to picture Native Americans and Indigenous peoples of the past, often in romanticized ways.

- We heard the echoes of prayer-chants, war chants, hunting chants of Arapahoe and Cheyenne (Borland, 1970, May, p. 42).
- This is the place to meditate, up here with no one but the wind and the spirits of the old people—the Chisos, Apaches, and Comanches (Hope, 1973, July, p. 47).
- the enigmatic hieroglyphs inscribed there by some long forgotten Indian artist standing in his birchbark craft (Brooks, 1975, March, p. 30).
- The hole in the tree is soon filled with myth and legend and bald-faced apocrypha. It is said to be the trysting place of star-crossed lovers—a Capulet from Shawneetown, a Montague from the wigwam balconies of the Mingo. It is the refuge of settlers hiding from pesky redskins (Mitchell, 1986, May, p.86).
- At Moonrise I think of the fierce Comanches, and how with the September moon they would move down across Big Bend country, ford the river at Lajitas, raid deep into Mexico, and then return, perhaps on such a night as this—a night full of starlight, of shadows, of the sounds of desert creatures, and of Andromeda drifting out at the edge of the sky. (Middleton, 1992, March-April, p. 37)
- I pondered what rituals might have occurred here when the Indigenous peoples were the only inhabitants of the land (cited in Boynton, 1994, January-February, p. 104).

One example drew on the “vanished Indian” motif: “Gone, too, are the Indians, the bears, wild turkeys, and passenger pigeons.” (Mitchell, 1977, January, p. 81). The other examples detailed the activities of Indigenous peoples on a particular piece of landscape.

- California Indians once came to these canyons in fall to harvest acorns, which they pounded into mush (From Thorny Hills, 1978, January, p. 112).

The Ecological Indian

References to ecological Indians were present in early Audubon incidental references. The small number of references to the ecological Indian matched John James Audubon's own philosophy. In his older years on his trip out west, according to an article, John James Audubon critiqued George Catlin's paintings, especially the artwork's romanticized images and commented, "it will indeed be a deliverance to get rid of all this 'Indian poetry'" (Harwood, 1985, November, p. 100). There also are some ecological Indian references in the 1960s and 1970s and even in the more current 1990s:

- "We have to come to think that man is completely apart and above nature unlike the American Indian, who understood that he was but a small part of his surroundings" (Line, 1967, March-April, p. 77).
- "But this is the last American vestige of people living in almost complete balance with their ecosystem" (Wildlands for Tomorrow, 1974, July, p. 81).
- "from the native people who once lived in harmony with this creature." (Luoma, 1996, January-February, p. 58)

Possibly the ecological images were present but limited because Audubon magazine and the National Audubon Society had clashed with this image in their own causes (some plume hunters were Indigenous peoples). Audubon also found the image being used in the 1970s to the present by organizations with suspect environmental agendas like Keep America Beautiful. The images in these ecological Indian examples stood in contrast to the Indian as exploiter image. The image was reserved for those moments of contrast in the previous three examples. These examples refer back to identity, the second effect previously discussed.

Indigenous Peoples and Political Activism

Indigenous peoples were also depicted in politics and lobbying in environmental arenas, and the U.S. government as including Indigenous people in legislation. The 1970s contained the most references of all the decades examined in regards to politically active Native Americans and Alaska Natives, but the 1960s included references also. In the 1960s the references included,

- The first refuge to be specifically authorized by Congress was the National Bison Range by an act of May 23, 1908. Again, no funding was authorized, but provision was made for compensating the confederated tribes of the Flathead, Kootenai, and Upper Pend d' Oreille for the appraised value of the lands. The act provided for fence and shed construction and buildings for the proper care and maintenance of bison. (Leopold, Cottam, Cowan, Gabrielson, & Kimball, 1968, May-June, p. 10)
- A Ute-Navajo intertribal council has proposed interior Secretary Udall as the American Indian candidate for President...(Line, 1968, July-August, p. 108)

In the 1970s, the examples included,

- And groups eager to exploit Alaska's natural resources worked to defeat conservation safeguards in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, in which Congressional do-gooders sought to expiate the national guilt at having murdered, robbed, and otherwise mistreated Indians during the white man's conquest of the 'Lower 48.' In a strange alliance the Indian avengers and the resource exploiters gave an unmerciful drubbing to conservation leaders John P. Saylor, John D. Dingell, and Morris K. Udall on the floor of the House, after shutting out amendments by Saylor and Udall in committee...(Callison, 1972, January, p. 100)
- A general housecleaning in the Bureau of Indian Affairs surprised no one after Indian militants seized the bureau's building in Washington last November amid disclosures of general ineptitude in that unhappy agency...(Callison, 1973, January, p. 110)
- Congress took the first step when it wrote into the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 a directive to the Secretary of the Interior to designate some eighty million acres of the Alaskan lands that all Americans own—the public lands—for new national parks...(Wildlands for Tomorrow, 1974, July, p. 14)

- The Idaho Fish and Game Commission, the Nez Perce Indians, and several conservation groups—ordinarily a warring triumvirate when it comes to matters piscatorial—all say that navigation farther upstream would jeopardize the river system's already dwindling stocks of steelheads and Chinook salmon. (Soucie, 1979, May, p. 133)

One photograph included in Audubon in the 1970s was of a Navajo man posing in a “militant” stance with a gun raised up in the air. In the background were a large crane and a piece of mining equipment with “coal company” painted in large letters. The image was from High Country News in a brief article that was reprinted in Audubon in “The Audubon Cause” section. The photographic caption (photo taken by Marc Gaede) stated, “The defiance of this young Navajo Indian at the Black Mesa coal mining operation of Peabody Coal Co. in Arizona epitomizes the struggle to protect the land from the ravages of strip mining. The struggle has only begun in Montana and Wyoming where Indians and ranchers alike look with growing horror on the cancerous growth of stripping” (Belt, 1973, July, p. 125).

In the 1980s, the incidental references dealt with topics such as Indigenous uses of eagle feathers or with whaling. For example the following discussed an International Whaling Commission meeting,

Most observers agreed the United States delegation has lost its leadership position of the past decade, when we fought to control Japanese and Russian depredations on whale stocks. Our position was not helped by the fact that, despite evidence the bowhead whales of the Bering Sea are the most seriously threatened of all the large whales, we sought and received an Eskimo hunting quota of 17, only one less than last year's much-criticized quota. This failed to appease either Eskimos or conservationists, and it generated more heated controversy than any other agenda item. (Sayre, 1980, September, p. 20)

In the 1990s to 2002, any policies or activism was covered more in full-length articles not with brief references. By 2002 the format of the magazine transformed so that brief reports were limited to a select few.

Ethnographic Descriptions

A few references to Indigenous peoples would fit into the category of an ethnographic reference, since the reference provided details about lifestyles. The following example fit into this category:

Indians sometimes placed their dead in these blufftop cedars [Fults Hill]. There was a legend that the soul could travel to the next world only on the last rays of setting sun that touched the bluff rests—the Sun Bridge, where heaven met earth...Sit there quietly, at the earth-end of the sun Bridge, and listen to the awakening spirits. (Seven Pieces Saved, 1980, September, p. 52)

Indigenous Peoples as Metaphors and Similes

Another type of incidental reference were those that utilized Indigenous subject matter as metaphors and similes. The following examples were collected,

- “Its aspen trunk becomes an Indian mask of moving colors and cracked lines of defeat splitting outward” (Russell, 1970, January, p. 69).
- “It was like looking for Indian pony tracks in the grass....” (Borland, May, 1970, p. 45)
- “They looked as out of place as a Potawatomi village in a shopping mall.” (Sullivan, 1988, July, p. 40)
- “on the Indian brave moss, a fragment of the flask tissue remains and juts above the capsule, like a warrior’s feather” (Ricciuti, 1988, September, p. 46)
- “NOAA has determined that while Eskimos don’t need bowheads to nourish their bodies they need to kill them to nourish their *culture*, a culture as dead as the Great Auk.” (Williams, 1989, March, p. 20)

Figurative language drawing on Indigenous peoples was used to make points about other items and events or to make points about Indigenous peoples. Most of this figurative language was from recent articles. The use of metaphors and similes expressed that the writer utilized a specific choice of words for a specific comparison. The Indian brave moss metaphor enabled the reader to understand why a colloquial name for the moss contained a reference to "Indian brave." The Indian mask of moving colors worked as another choice of words to evoke imagery. Both of these metaphors corresponded to a romanticized image. The "Great Auk" metaphor, with the added context, contained a powerful, confrontational tone (the example was from the Incite column). Readers came up against William's opinion that the idea of an Eskimo culture (as if one monolithic culture exists or in William's terms existed) needing "nourishment" was nonsensical because "Eskimo culture" no longer existed and was extinct similar to the Great Auk, an extinct bird species. The discourse of wildlife extinction was blended with the concept of the assimilation of culture or culture loss. The statement, from Williams who was an outside observer, was laden with the assumption that culture should remain the same and never change and that the practice of culture and the rights of Indigenous peoples hinged on that "correct" and authentic practice of culture.

Though not numerous, these metaphors and stylistic devices provided an entry into the assumptions and purposes of the authors. Generally, imagery drawing from Indigenous peoples was used to depict nature and the imagery of nature. In this case extinct nature was used to depict Indigenous people. Using metaphors and similes presupposed a purposeful intent on the part of the writer. The writer had carefully chosen

the particular turn of phrase or the flowery description. In nature writing, figurative language is a common occurrence. Figurative language about Indigenous people existed outside contemporary Indigenous cultural contexts and issued out of imaginations influenced by popular culture such as the “Indian brave” image and ideas about cultural authenticity.

Indigenous Presence in Nature Nomenclature and Place Names

Notwithstanding the discussion to follow on the major coverage of environmental issues related to Indigenous peoples in Audubon magazine, the author and editor mediated the presence of Indians through the popular nomenclature of specific plants, seasons, birds, and places. Borland in 1967 wrote an Audubon piece entitled “Hill Country Homilies.” In the essay he listed several regional botanical names for specific plants. His point was that a plant might have several monikers. What was interesting was that Audubon often chose the monikers that relied on an Indigenous association. For example, the term “moccasin flower” was used instead of “lady slipper” or in a more current example, the term “oldsquaw” is used rather than the European term “long-tailed duck.” From 1960 to 2002, nomenclature with Indigenous undertones was sprinkled through the articles. For example, a common expression that existed was “Indian summer.” Similar expressions were found within the articles of Audubon magazine. Here is a partial list of the expressions:

Squaw winter	Indian trail	Navajo sandstone	Eskimo curlew
Oldsquaws	Inca doves	Indian paintbrush	moccasin flower
Kaibab squirrel	Modoc woodpecker	Indian pipes	Indian poke

Indian turnip squawfish squaw-huckleberries water moccasin

Place names were even more common such as Indian River, Indian Creek, Squaw flat, Indian Key, Indian Point, as well as names that are of Native language derivatives such as Lake Mattamusket, Allagash, Tamiami Trail, and Nihoa.

Derogatory Nomenclature.

Nomenclature that some readers would categorize as derogatory appeared in some of the articles. However, the language may appear harmless to others who have not had contact with Indigenous peoples and do not trace the bundle of associative meanings that were carried within a term, or continue of “tradition” of a specific regional preference for a term.

The word “squaw” was used as part of the moniker for natural items in Audubon. According to a 1962 column in Audubon “Our Children” section, a “squaw winter” was a season of harsh winter weather. Oldsquaws, squaw-huckleberries, (Borland, 1967, May-June, p. 71) and squaw fish were also described in the magazine’s pages. The term squaw fish was used in the 1970s, and 1980s (Reiger, 1977b, January, p. 33; Norris, 1981, March, p. 114). The terms squaw ducks or oldsquaws was used in the 1960s, 1970s, 1990s, and in 2001 and 2002 (Pettingill, 1963, January-February, p. 43; Pettingill, 1966, January-February, p. 10; 13; Forbush, 1968, January-February, p. 49; Reigier, 1977a, January, p. 145; Frenay & Kelly, 1997, May-June, p. 26; Williams, 2001, January-February, p. 43; Boyle, 2002, May-June, p. 48). The word “squaw” was present in the names of many natural items (such as squaw bush) and natural places (such as Squaw Creek National Wildlife Refuge).

To many Native Americans, “squaw” is a pejorative term laden by dominant culture usage with images of promiscuity, drudgery, slovenliness, and drunkenness (Bird, 2001; Green, 1975). Squaw winter, oldsquaws, and squaw fish were named with negative characteristics in mind. The term “squaw winter,” as the Audubon article alleged, originated with “the Indians.” “Squaw Winter, the Indians said, is an old witch...Even when Squaw Winter is at her worst, life still goes on” (Rood, 1962, p. 345). In between these first and last sentences of the article, Rood discussed the winter survival habits of wildlife. The article (by a guest contributor) was in the section of Audubon that was intended for children. Possibly, this concept of “Squaw Winter” may have been passed on to the children of Audubon readers.

The term oldsquaw was still a term used in the present. Williams wrote, “Oldsquaws (so named because they talk so much and so loudly, but now being called long-tailed ducks by the politically correct) sound like a pack of hounds dancing around a treed bear” (Williams, 2001, January-February, p. 43). Other sources beyond Audubon also explain the origins of the term “oldsquaw.” Other sources reinforce that the bird was named for the noisy squawking that sounded similar to “old squaws” that were talking among themselves (Cassidy, 1996, p. 871). One non-academic source explains that the name squaw fish originated from the low quality status of the fish—only “squaws” would find the fish edible (Mussulman, 2000). In fisheries reference books of the 1960s, the squaw fish was depicted as a greedy consumer of other game fish and possessed a negative reputation in the eyes of sports fishermen (La Gorce, 1961; Dalrymple, 1968).

“Indian File” and the “Indian Trail.

The “old Indian Trail” and “Indian file” were terms utilized in early Audubon articles. The writer usually was referring to a route or path in the woods that was originally created by local Indigenous peoples. The associated Indian group often was never mentioned, nor was any historical evidence ever provided that the trail did form in such manner. An exception was Murie (1963, January-February, p. 54), she clarified the trail’s purpose: “An Indian hunt trail led across the summit of this dome, through evergreens made glorious by silver birch in their autumn gold and the cranberry riotous red, and underfoot the rich colors of all kinds of moss dotted with orange toadstools.” The trail’s utility and beauty, as well as its botanical inhabitants were depicted in relation to the “Indian trail” of Murie’s article. Other than of “Indian” origin, the trail’s pathmakers remain unidentified. The expression also was used in nostalgic circumstances, “the old trails, traveled by Indians for centuries, and by prospectors and trappers before me, were there” (Olson, 1969, March-April, p. 7).

At first the term evoked the concept of cultural landscapes left behind by people no longer present and a “playing Indian” attitude, that of nature enthusiasts following in the footsteps of romanticized Indians of the past (see Deloria, 1998). On closer examination, there appear to be other factors at work. The references did generalize about the “Indian trails,” leaving their histories open to interpretation. The trail’s purpose or the pathmakers’ specific tribal community was never explained in most references. Historical research can illuminate these details. For example, Jacoby (2001) associated the “Indian trails” in Yellowstone National Park with specific purposes and communities.

One example of this generic “Indian trail” occurred in the brief essay, “A Place to

Walk in the Woods” (Shomon, 1962, May-June, p. 156). A close reading of this essay offers insights into the use of the term “Indian trail.” In this essay the author (who I assume to be “White”) described the eventful scenery along the regular walks taken by him, his daughter, and her accompanying seven- to eleven-year old friends. The author wrote, “To Nancy and her small circle of friends...these are *our* woods. They are *ours* because we have gotten to learn the names of the trees, other plants and the wild creatures that live there (Shomon, 1962, May-June, p. 156). At the end of the piece, he and his daughter referred to the trails they hike as “Indian trails”:

“Our woods,” like thousands of others throughout the country, are safe for the moment, but any day the bulldozers will move in. That will be a sad day for us in Forest Hill Farms, for “our woods” will be no more. Gone will be the spring, the creek with the white clay bank, the big and little trees, moss-covered rocks, spring peepers—and our ladyslippers. Instead, we shall have a subdivision, a supermarket and several gas stations.

“Wouldn’t it be nice” I said one day after we came off an old Indian trail, “if the country or city or someone could save these woods—save them for always? Then we and others like us could enjoy them. We would always have some nice woods to walk in—like a nature and conservation center.”

“Yes, just like these Smith woods, with our old Indian trail,” Nancy said emphatically. (Shomon, 1962, May-June, p. 156)

The explanation of the children referring to the woods they frequent as “ours” was depicted as something the children invented. Their familiarity and consistent use of the woods made them comfortable with calling it “ours.” The author chose the endearing term, “our woods” to discursively shape his description of the woods’ potential destruction from industrial development. He also said, however, “we and others like us could enjoy them.” Nancy’s use of “our old Indian trail,” was the most interesting portion of the text, even if it was only a fictional conversation used for literary effect. For one, it showed an adult and child conversing about that trail as an “old Indian trail.”

Secondly, the ownership of that Indian trail at least discursively became the children and the adult's. In an extreme interpretation, the child's innocent statement "our old Indian trail" contained undertones of a pattern of colonial decorum taking ownership of land already "owned." But in another sense the "ours" in "our woods" and "our Indian trail" had a protective intention as in "our woods" should be not be developed or development should be in the form of a "nature and conservation center." The wooded trail and the built-up subdivision were contrasted in this narrative. The "Indian(s)" who allegedly created and used the walkway became marginalized as mere adjectives; the singular form of the word, "Indian" is used as the plural form, which defines a population of numbers to one. The children and adults enjoy nature on these "Indian-made" trails, but do so by forgetting historically how the trail became "theirs" even in a discursive sense. The "Indian trail" reference also conjured up the "vanishing Indian" theme. The "Indian trail" was similar to an archeological dig (in other essays writers discussed collecting projectile points and pottery shards near such trails). The trail was a surviving remnant of the disappeared but still imagined presence of the "Indians."

Indian file was another utilized descriptive term, meaning "single file" In Audubon, the term was used to describe the flight pattern of birds. (Dorst, March-April, 1963, p. 104, 105). "Birds flying side by side can best judge the distance separating them in the line of flight; in Indian file they can observe any lateral deviation" (Dorst, March-April, 1963, p. 105). Another example was "so the party hurried Indian file down the woods path" (Allen, 1968, September-October, p. 55). The etymology of the word related to the manner of arrangement of Indians "on the warpath" (Dictionary.com). Though the

term may have been used innocently to mean single file, it was not found by scanning after the 1960s in Audubon.

Origins Explained: Indian Pipes and Indian Poke.

Nature enthusiast's terms that were associated with Indigenous peoples may be explained within Audubon articles that focus on the particular object. For example, the term "Indian Pipe" was explained with the following: "The plant's common name is derived, obviously, from its resemblance to a pipe, and an Indian clay pipe in particular" (Scheffel, 1966, July-August, p. 224).

The plant called "Indian Poke" or false hellebone is depicted as having significance to "native Americans."

[False Hellebone is] poisonous to man and animals, this plant also is known as Indian poke, for it was used by native Americans to choose a chief. In an ordeal by trial, the man whose stomach would withstand the plants impact the longest was entitled to become leader. (Graham, 1978, January, p. 83)

Names of places, animals, or natural items deriving from Indigenous languages are also peppered through this nature magazine from the 1960s to 2002. The names may be associated with a specific group or to just generic "Indian." At times the translation is included with a name, for example,

- "In the language of the Seminole Indians "*Wakulla*" means "mysterious waters" (Cruikshank, May-June 1963, p. 156)
- "*Loblolly* comes from a Miami word meaning 'stinking river,'" Brunswick explains. "From the sulfur smell of marsh gas. Today the air is sweet with the fever of new growth..." (Sanders, 2001, May-June, p. 80).

The linguistic precision of a translation may not have been the important factor to the

writer. The examples simply indicated that a term had an Indigenous connection, which in popular recorded belief reflected some aspect about the place or animal and associated characteristics (as in the previously discussed focus on nature, one effect of these incidental references.) The Indigenous presence lingered through these references in a different way than the direct references because an Indigenous person and culture was assumed in the background of the reference, but not as a fully textual presence. It was this backgrounding that empowered and normalized the derogatory language. It appeared that no Indigenous person is fully present, but the “missing person” is replaced by a stereotype such as squaw.⁷ In the place name references, the imprecision may empty the place name’s meaning by referencing a name origin’s generically and not carefully tracing etymological sources. Again, the writer’s concern was with other issues. Writers may not find the time and energy to carefully trace etymologies when these references are such a small detail in the article and much work has to be put into tracing a careful etymology. Furthermore, writers may feel it compulsory to use the term “squaw” when it is part of an accepted place name.

Reinforcing the Belief of the Natural through Nomenclature.

Terms for nature that include an Indian or Native association are evidence of past or present Indigenous presence. One interpretation of the popularity of the colloquial nomenclature of nature associated with Indigenous peoples is that the terms exemplify the “native as nature” notion. When non-Indigenous nature enthusiasts depict nature

⁷ An example of this emptying and replacement with another name was the change of Squaw peak to Piستewa Peak in Arizona. “Squaw” is the name emptied of a personness quality while “Piستewa” replaced “Squaw” with personness.

around them with terminologies originating from or reminiscent of Indians, the “native as nature” belief is reinforced. The labeled item or place is classified as natural therefore the colloquial name for it may reflect naturalness as well. On the other hand, the terminology may work as some sort of tribute to a past or present presence. In some cases, for pejorative terms, it may be useful to change names for places and natural objects, but other times terms it would seem extreme to rename “Indian paintbrush” or “Indian grass” as colloquial names.

The Belief that Indians Have a Knack for Naming.

Another small-scale theme that emerged was that of names of Indigenous origin being depicted as superior to English names. The following excerpts contained this theme.

- Perhaps I have a cultural blindspot, but it seems that the ruins of these ancient sea beds—so freely carved by wind and rain—deserve better identities. If they must have names, maybe we should ask a delegation of Blackfeet to go in there and do the job right. No one can name a place as well as an Indian. (Madson, 1974, September, p. 5)
- There is a Navajo word for these canyons: *tse kis*, which means the space between the rocks. With the limitations of English, we must call them slots....But a *tse kis* is much more than a barrier. (Schmidt, 1978, September, p. 24)
- “Wakulla Springs, one of the largest deepest springs in the world, is located 14 miles south of Tallahassee, capital of Florida. In the language of the Seminole Indians “*Wakulla*” means “mysterious waters. No one could have selected a more appropriate name because here more than 350 million gallons of pure, crystal clear water flow out of a giant ” (Cruickshank, May-June 1963, p. 156)
- “Refuges encompass some of the most scenic countryside in the United States...Listen! You can even hear the music in their names: Kodiak and Koyukuk, Cabeza Prieta and Bosque del Apache, Wapanocca and Chassahowitzka and Minidoka, Hanalie and Kootenai, Pee Dee and Pungo, Brigantine and Bombay Hook, Mattamuskeet and Mille Lacs, and Tishomingo” (The Special Magic, 1983, July, p. 38).

An article discussing proposed oil drilling and the historical events at certain places in Alaska used English and Eskimo place names to organize the articles (Mitchell, 1988, May, pp. 86-99). Mitchell explained that some places, namely the North Slope, contained a mixture of English, mainly named after people, and Eskimo (after a place's characteristics, the "legends" attached to it, and what resources it provided) place names with messages and histories in them that should inform everyone about how to proceed on the oil drilling question.

Place names are another form of drawing on the Indigenous guide. Names for places in some Indigenous cultures are connected closely with specific events and persons. In this case, the guide provides insights that depict the nature of a place, to the non-Indian reader. The conceptions of native-as-nature and "Indian eloquence" (a concept Pearce (1965) identifies as one of Thomas Jefferson's depictions of Indians or as Barnett (1975) stated "given to figurative speech") compress together in these examples (Pearce, 1965, p. 94; Barnett, 1975, p.75). Name etymologies from various sources not just "Indian" were presented in Audubon. However, the Indigenous etymologies carried connotations of eloquence and native-as-nature.

The Indigenous images utilized in these varied examples worked as a textual and imaginary "Indian guide," a guide emerging from a non-Indigenous context, in these examples for a part of the "route" through the nature essays. The textual "Indian guide," similar to the Indian guide in practice shows the reader around for at least part of a journey not through the land but through the text.

THE COVERAGE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

The following chapters delineate the ways full-length articles in Audubon treated Indigenous peoples from 1960-2002. A full-length article consisted of a few paragraphs to many pages, for example, some regular sections of Audubon feature brief reports a few paragraphs in length. Writers with a special interest in Indigenous peoples contributed to Audubon during this time period. These writers include Peter Farb, Alvin Josephy, Peter Matthiessen, and Tony Hillerman. In an interview, Les Line, the Audubon editor from 1966 to 1991, stated that his goal was to create the best nature magazine in the world. He based his editorial decisions on his own values, as if he was the only reader, challenging status-quo conceptions of environmental issues, as well as supporting the goals of the National Audubon Society. However, Line clarified that he directed the magazine away from being a “house organ,” or a publication selectively publishing the views of the National Audubon Society and its Board of Directors. Line was interested in stirring up controversy in the environmental world through his editorship. Line said that visual images were crucial to magazine’s format. The author of the famous bird guides, Roger Tory Peterson described the magazine under Les Line’s editorship as “not only the most beautiful magazine in the world, but the most beautiful magazine of any sort in the English language” (Champions of Conservation, 1998, November-December, p. 126). Story ideas for the magazine emerged from Audubon staff and from ideas sent in from freelancers. Decisions were also made to fit stories into shorter sections of the magazine or as longer full-length features. Les Line also said that the letters-to-the-editor were

some of the first places readers turned upon receiving a new magazine. Since Les Line's editorship, articles had shrunk in page-length due to the need for advertisement space, and reader's comfort zones. According to the current editor David Seideman, coverage of Indigenous peoples' environmental issues was an area that needed improvement. Seideman viewed his editorship as linked to causes related to "birds, wildlife, and habitat" and sought to cultivate the activist and involved tendency of the educated, affluent, and passionate readership.

Non-profit nature organizations, such as National Audubon Society and Sierra Club, publish nature magazines in the U.S. As organizational affiliations to nature organizations, the magazines are influenced by the parent organization's goals and philosophies. For example, a special issue on Native Americans and environmentalism in Sierra, examined some of the environmental issues that allied Sierra Club and specific Indigenous groups (Lecard, 1996, November-December, p. 44).

There were several full-length articles about Indigenous peoples in Audubon from 1960 to 2002. The articles might be divided into several types, according to purpose. This is not the only way the articles could have been categorized. Other approaches might have been by tribal community, by date, by author, and by environmental issue. The following typology closely resembles categorizing by environmental issue more than by date or community. I chose this approach because the articles fit this typology the best. This typology provided a convenient way to discuss broad themes appearing in the articles chosen for close analysis and to connect the articles to Audubon's goals. Audubon articles fit among the six following types:

- Indigenous peoples in the midst of an environmental problem or controversy
- Indigenous management or mismanagement of resources and land
- Discussion or the usage of ecological Indian imagery
- Celebration of Indigenous ecological knowledge or an accomplishment by an Indigenous community.
- Environmental education of Indigenous children
- Profiles of individual Indigenous peoples involved in the environmental movement

These themes reflect Audubon magazine's particular manner of coverage in full-length articles focused on a topic related to Indigenous peoples. The themes are not generalizable to how other magazines' shaped their coverage. However, coverage of a few recent articles in other nature magazines was compared and contrasted to Audubon coverage.

The following table lists the full-length articles from 1960-2002. The article length depended on where the article appeared in the magazine; articles in the "Reports" section were much shorter than feature articles. Some of these articles focused a few paragraphs on Indigenous peoples; others completely focused on Indigenous peoples.

Table 3

Full-length Articles in Audubon from 1960-2002

Article Topic	Article Title and Date
1960s	1960s
William Pruitt wrote about radioactively contaminated food	"Lichen, Caribou, and High Radiation in Eskimos" 1963 Sept-Oct pp. 284-287

resources used by Eskimos.	
Philip Hyde wrote about Navajo origin stories of Southwestern landscapes.	"Navajo Country" 1967 Jan-Feb pp. 22-27
Peter Farb wrote about an archeological explanation of the peopling of North and South America.	"The Exploiters" 1968 Nov-Dec pp. 32-45
Donald Janson discussed the lifestyles of the Havasupai in the Grand Canyon; article in an article against the Bridge Canyon Dam.	"People of the Blue-Green Waters" 1968 Nov-Dec pp. 464-469
1970s	1970s
Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. wrote about the coal strip-mining on Hopi and Navajo land.	"The Murder of the Southwest" 1971 July pp. 52-67
Tom McHugh described the history of the buffalo and Native Americans.	"Buffalo Travels, Buffalo Travails" November 1972 pp. 22-31 #
In Audubon Cause, the mini-newsmagazine within <u>Audubon</u> , John Neary wrote about the development struggle over the prairie near San Francisco Peaks.	"The Professor, Medicine Men, and Developer" 1974 July pp. 97-101#
Robert Cahn included a discussion of the role of the Alaska Native claims in the controversy over setting aside parcels of land as conservation areas.	"Alaska: A Matter of 80,000,000 Acres" 1974 July pp. 2-13, 66 *
In the Audubon view section, this report stated that National Park lands were under threat from Indian land claims.	"Wrong Way to Help the Indians" 1974 September p. 126#
Hal Borland described "free margins," meaning stories from different cultures about birds.	"A Free Margin for Birds" November 1974 pp. 24-35 *
Bil Gilbert includes a discussion of how the Alaskan pipeline affected Alaska Natives.	"The Devaluation of Alaska" 1975 May pp. 64-80*
John G. Mitchell wrote about Keep America Beautiful referencing the Crying Indian advertisement.	"Keeping America Bottled (and Canned)." 1976 March pp. 106-113
Marci McDonald reported on how the waters and fish resources of the Canadian Ojibway were polluted by mercury.	"Horrors of Minamata haunt Canadian Indians" 1976 March pp. 125-129
Denis Hanson described the drawbacks	"Pumping Billions into the Desert-The

of CAP water, including drawbacks to some Native communities.	Case against the Central Arizona Project" 1977 March pp. 133-145
John G. Mitchell wrote about the declining caribou herds in northwest Alaska and effects on Eskimo subsistence hunting communities, non-Indigenous sportsmen, and the state fish and game department.	"Where Have All the Tuttu Gone?" 1977 March pp. 2-15
John R. Brockstoe discussed the history and contemporary issues of bowhead whaling by Eskimos from Point Hope.	"An Issue of Survival: Bowhead vs. Tradition" 1977 September pp.140-143
Philip C. Fradkin wrote about the threat of logging interests for a Native village in Alaska	"Southeast: Not Enough Land to Go Around" 1978 March pp. 16-25
Bil Gilbert profiled an Eskimo artist.	"Kananginak: Eskimo Audubon" 1978 July pp. 72-87
Peter Matthiessen wrote about the threat and effects of a road through Yurok, Farok, Tolowa, and Hupa sacred lands in California.	"Stop the Go Road" 1979 January pp. 48-65
An unidentified writer wrote about the genetic and industrial mechanization of wild rice.	"The Taming of Wild Rice" 1979 September pp. 44-49#
Anne LaBastille wrote about the Amazon and the threats to the diversity. The article contained many photographs of Indigenous peoples.	"Heaven, Not Hell" 1979 November pp. 68-101*
John Mitchell wrote about hunting practices of the Inuit and the controversies in Alaska hunting.	<u>Bitter Harvest in America</u> "Book Four: Yungnaquaguq" 1979 November pp. 102-129
1980	1980
Peter Steinhart discussed the stereotypes of the "ecological Indian" and the "exploitive Indian."	"Ecological Saints" 1984, July pp. 8-9
Noel Vietmeyer discussed the seed conservation practices of plants cultivated by Hopi and Tohono-O'odham farmers.	"Saving the Bounty of a Harsh and Meager Land" 1985 January pp. 100-107
Ted Williams wrote about the drowning of caribou through a mistake of a Hydro-Quebec dam and the mistake's effect on the Inuit	"Who Killed 10,000 Caribou? 1985 May pp. 12, 14-17*

This article by George Laycock discussed the geese management plan of the Kuskokwim Delta, a partnership between the local Eskimo community, Alaska, and federal government agencies.	"Doing What's Right for the Geese" 1985 November pp. 118-133
In the Country section, John J. Mitchell wrote about the Hopewell Mounds in Ohio.	"The Serpent" 1986 November pp. 14, 16, 18, 20-21
Ted Williams criticized the taking of Eagles by Native Americans.	"A Harvest of Eagles" 1986 September pp. 54-57
Tony Hillerman described a place that inspired one of his mystery novels.	"A Canyon, an Egret...And a Mystery" 1989 July pp. 30-34, 36
George Laycock wrote about the Aleut seal hunting practices.	"The Legacy of Gerasim Pribilof" 1986 January pp. 94-103
1990s	1990s
Ted Williams discussed Iron Eyes Cody's role in the Keep America Beautiful Campaign.	"The Metamorphosis of Keep America Beautiful" 1990 March pp. 124-126, 128, 129-133
Perri Knize wrote a profile about Bill Yellowtail.	"A Crow in the Senate" March 1990 pp. 30-32, 34, 36-37*
Frank Graham wrote about the planning of an international park at Beringia and the Aleut and Inuit participation.	"U.S. and Soviet Environmentalists Join Forces Across the Bering Strait" 1991 July-August pp. 42-56, 58, 60-61*
Mike Beno wrote about the the clashes between Chippewa spearfishermen and non-Indian fishermen in northern Wisconsin.	"Treaty Troubles" 1991 May pp. 102-114
Michael Tennesen discussed the uses of eagles by Native Americans.	"Poaching, Ancient Traditions, and the Law" 1991, July-August pp. 90-96, 97*
Paul Schneider wrote about the landfill controversy at Rosebud Indian reservation.	"Other Peoples Trash" 1991 July-August pp. 108-119
Harry Thurston wrote about the James Bay Cree's "Garden," the Cree's term for their land and the threat of hydropower to Cree land.	"Power in the Land of Remembrance" 1991 November-December pp. 52-59
Tina Rosenberg writes about the spread of cholera in Peru and the suffering of the rural people.	"Peru's Time of Cholera" 1992 March-April pp. 60-67
In the Reports section, Jessica Maxwell detailed a controversy over lands that	"Conservation the Army Way" July-August 1992 pp. 22, 24, 26*

the U.S. Army wanted as part of a military base and the Army's Memorandum of Agreement with Yakima Indian Nation.	
In the Reports section, Susan Q Stranahan discussed the Oklahoma Cherokee's fight against a uranium power plant.	"The Sequoyah Syndrome" July-August 1992 pp. 28, 30-31*
Elizabeth Royte wrote about the Miskito Cays Protected Area and Indigenous peoples.	"Imagining Paseo Panatera" 1992 November-December pp. 74-87
Ella D. Sorensen and Charles E. Dibble draw on Sahagún's <u>History of things of New Spain</u> to discuss Aztec natural history.	"An Aztec Bestiary" 1993 January-February pp. 50-55
Mary-Powel Thomas presented information concerning the "Audubon Adventures" program in the "About Audubon" section.	"From Snakes to Songbirds" 1993 January-February pp. 100-103
Bruce Stutz wrote about an ecotourism trip taken by him and his thirteen-year old son.	The Joys of the Jungle 1993 July-August pp. 62-71#
Gary Smith wrote about the repatriation of bones to the Palouse community on the Yakima Reservation.	"Keepers of the Past" 1993 July-Aug pp. 88-87
Richard Nelson described elements of Eskimo science used in hunting and stated that all Native American cultures possessed scientific bodies of knowledge.	"Understanding Eskimo Science" 1993 September-October pp. 102-104, 106, 108-109.
Paul Schneider profiled Chief Oren Lyons.	"Respect for the Earth" 1994 March-April p. 110, 112, 113, 114-115
Colin Chisolm reflected on his childhood and his Yu'pik mother's love for an area of California.	"A Place Worth Fighting For" 1995 July-August pp. 76-81
Krys Holmes wrote about a children's environmental education program in Western Alaska.	"The Science of Nature" 1995 September-October, pp. 101-103
Jessica Maxwell wrote about the Kumeyaay tribe and their plans to restore their lands.	"The Campo Comes to Life" 1995 May-June pp. 100, 102-103-105
Ted William's article in the Incite	"Tearing at the Tongass" 1995 July-

section discussed threats to the Tongass National Forest including a bill that would provide land and money to Indians in Alaska.	August pp. 26-32*
Martin Kurlansky wrote about the Chugach Alaska Corporation logging practices along the Gulf of Alaska.	"Icy Bay" 1995 November-December pp. 48-55#
In the "Reports" section, Kathie Durbin wrote about the Sinkyone Tribe's efforts to buy back ancestral lands under a conservation easement agreement.	"Rediscovering the Lost Coast" 1996 March-April pp. 18, 20
Rick Bass wrote about the Heiltsuk Nation in Canada and the threat of logging to their lands.	"The Heart of a Forest" 1997 January-February pp. 38-49, 98.
Doug Peacock recorded the input of the Intertribal Bison Cooperative regarding the control of brucellosis.	"The Yellowstone Massacre" 1997 May-June pp. 40-102*
In the Reports section, Colin Chisolm wrote about the Nez Perce wolf recovery project.	"A Victory for the Natives" 1997 May-June p. 19
Tom Dunkel touched on the role of Alaska Natives in regards to the conservation of eiders.	"Eyeballing Eiders" 1997 September-October 48-57
Yva Momatiuk and John Eastcott wrote about the relationship of the Aleuts to the seal and the seal conservation program.	"Keepers of the Seals" 1998 March April pp. 46-53
Joshua Malbin wrote about a lawsuit of the Prairie Hills Audubon Chapter filed in association with other organizations against a hog farm being formed on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation.	"Pigs in the Offing" 1999 July-August p. 119#*
2000s	2000s
Chris Chang wrote about the U'wa's suicide threat because of oil drilling on their ancestral lands.	"A Leap of Faith" 2000 Jan-Feb p. 14*
Susan Hand Shetterly wrote about the Penobscot Nation's water quality program.	"The River They Call Home" 2000 August pp. 78-84
Ted Williams wrote about the Hopi harvesting of eagles at Wupatki Monument.	"Golden Eagles for the Gods" 2001 January-February pp. 30, 32, 34-37

Gary Paul Nabhan wrote about pollination processes of cactus plants and briefly described the Seri involvement in preservation measures for pollinating species.	"On the Nectar Trail" 2001 January-February 80-86*
Alex Markels wrote about schoolyard ecology classrooms in rural Latin America.	"The Sky's the Limit" 2001 November-December pp. 40-46.*
Scott Weidensaul wrote about Iwokrama, a nature preserve in Guyana that was run by scientists and the local Makushi tribe.	"The Treasure of Iwokrama" 2002 March-April pp. 78-84
Keith Kloor wrote a profile on Robert Martin, an Environmental Protection Agency's Ombudsman and Makah Nation member.	"The People's Watchdog" 2002 May-June pp. 12-13

Field note or report article that is shorter than a full-length article.

* The article covers other topics along with issues related to Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous Peoples and Environmental Controversies

Environmental controversies described people affected by a hot-button issue regarding natural resources and pollution. This category included the following articles to be discussed: "Lichen, Caribou, and High Radiation in Eskimos," "Leap of Faith," (compared to the coverage of the same subject in Earth Island Journal), and "Treaty Troubles." These articles were not consistent in representation over time. David Seideman stated that Audubon currently was not an environmental justice magazine, but an article in the 1960s fit into an activist category.

Scientist as Activist in 1963

In the September-October 1963 issue of Audubon, William O. Pruitt, an academic biologist, published "Lichen, Caribou and High Radiation in Eskimos." This was the first

full-length article during the research period to cover an issue related to Indigenous peoples. The four page article was written in scientific writing style with footnotes citing a U.S. government report, a U.S. Senate speech, and another article by Pruitt in a Hudson Bay Company periodical. The article portrayed the Eskimo community as part of a pathway of radiation contamination. What is unusual about this scientific-style article is its capacity to covertly advocate for the Eskimo community and portray the Eskimo communities as advocating for themselves. By the article's end, Pruitt had bypassed the structure of scientific writing that introduced the article, a style choice he was free to do in the context of popular magazines.

Pruitt began the article by explaining the unique and important ecosystem and food web of "the Far North" (p. 284), providing the reader with background on the biological ideas of the late 1960s. He began the presentation of his facts in scientific prose in the eighth paragraph:

In the past five years a number of research papers have been published in Scandinavia on the ecology of radioisotope contaminants injected into the tundra and taiga ecosystems. The sources of the present contamination are nuclear explosions. The principal isotopes concerned appear to be strontium 90 and cesium 137.

These are injected into the food web by means of their absorption by lichens. From lichens the contamination travels up the food chain to caribou and reindeer and thence to carnivores and man. The contaminated food chain occurs throughout the North—in Alaska, Canada, Scandinavia, and the Soviet Union. (p. 284)

The writing in this excerpt was passive, "have been published" "are nuclear explosions" and "are injected." Pruitt used passive constructions at the beginning of this passage, a characteristic of scientific prose (Hubbard, 1989). After these passive constructions, the contaminating substance is active as it "travels" and "occurs" in many places. This

language, “travels,” showed the radioisotopes as having a life of their own.

The diagram or “chart” showed how the radioisotopes were distributed in the temperate zone (four very small dots) compared with the Arctic (one bigger dot) as well as how the isotopes move across the food chain. Importantly, Pruitt portrayed contaminants as having an agency of their own and having a serious impact. The political sentiments of the time encouraged writers to play down the human agents who did the contaminating, the world powers that were experimenting with nuclear power. “In the fear-laden atmosphere of the Cold War, only a few dared criticize the defense or nuclear establishments.” (Ross, 2000, p. 107). Pruitt did not hold a specific entity responsible for the radioisotope (radioactive) contamination: “The sources of the present contamination are nuclear explosions” (Pruitt, 1963, September-October, p. 284). He did, however, hold the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) responsible for formulas, Radiation Protection Guides (RPGS) that miscalculated the radioisotopes’ impacts on the Eskimo population, and called the AEC to task for not recognizing that a problem “hot spot” existed in the “Far North.” “[T]he condition is well recognized as an ecological ‘hot spot.’ Yet our Atomic Energy Agency apparently still fails to recognize it as such” (p. 285). Pruitt further explained,

In comparison to the total United States population of 180 million people, the number of humans dependent on caribou is quite small. (Their ecological and ethnological importance, however, is greatly all out of proportion to their total numbers.)

The RPG’s were formulated on the basis of an infinitely large interbreeding human population. The Alaskan Eskimos do not fit these criteria. The Eskimos form a small population that has been virtually isolated reproductively for many generations. I do not believe that the present RPG’s can apply to them. (p. 285)

Pruitt discussed Eskimos in this passage the same way he described all of humanity, citing facts and keeping scientific distance.

Next, Pruitt speculated on the dangers facing the caribou population, finishing his discussion with, “In truth, we don’t know whether danger exists, but we suspect it does” (p. 286). He moved on to include a statement by Alaska Senator E. L. Bartlett about the dangerous nature of Strontium 90 to argue that the contamination of caribou and human populations needed attention. He described the efforts of the Alaskan Senator to focus attention on the matter, which culminated in a research grant to the Public Health Service’s Arctic Health Research Center. Pruitt wrote, “The Eskimos and Indians of Alaska, through their newspaper, *The Tundra Times* have expressed appreciation to Sen. Bartlett for his vigorous pursuit of the subject” (p. 286). Here Pruitt associated the Eskimo population not as the contaminated “other” but as having a subject position beyond the scientific object. He depicted them as exercising agency—as concerned U. S. citizens acting on the issue of radioisotope contamination, having knowledge of policy matters that affected them, and using a Western mode of communication to express appreciation to the Senator and to meet their own media needs. In this piece, the Eskimo community was depicted as very much a part of the body politic of the U.S. They faced the impacts in the 1960s from U.S. policy choices. Simultaneously, the Eskimo community was excluded from the body politic because the U.S. government and AEC did not recognize the Eskimo community as suffering any consequences from nuclear experimentation. The political pressure by insiders (the Senator), supported by many in the Eskimo community (at least on this issue), brought the problem to the government’s

attention. Pruitt emphasized this fact—for the readership willing to understand the article in this context—by concluding:

VIRTUALLY [*sic*] the only source of terrestrial animal protein for human use is domesticated reindeer or carefully managed wild caribou. Take away this source of protein or make it unusable and vast regions of the world would then be eliminated as habitat for people dependent on the land and its products.

As I have said elsewhere, "...The human population of the region is relatively sparse and, unfortunately, casts few votes in the world's halls of government. If a hot spot of similar magnitude were to develop in relation to peaches or beef or milk or tobacco it seems probable that no reason would be thought serious enough to allow the contamination to continue. (p. 286)

This biologist ended his article by criticizing the double standard in the enforcement of safety regulations of U.S. and world atomic energy commissions. He also wrote the conclusion in a way that non-indigenous readers can empathize with Indian people. The readers can imagine the ordeal of having an entire community's food supply tainted with radioactive contaminants.

The pictures associated with the article portray the Eskimo people as modern individuals, reinforcing Pruitt's textual depictions of Eskimos as members of the modern world community. Picture three showed an Eskimo man holding a caribou carcass in one hand, a knife in the other. The man faces away from the camera, dressed in "modern" clothing in the act of preparing a carcass. The caption stated, "CARIBOU HUNTER—carves out meat for a camp meal and family larder southeast of Point Hope, Alaska, April 7, 1960" (p. 287). Picture four showed two Eskimo men eating caribou, one dressed in a parka and snow gear and the other in "modern" clothing; the caption reads "CARIBOU EATERS—consume a camp meal. For thousands of Eskimos, Indians and Lapps, caribou and reindeer are the main source of protein" (p. 287). Picture one

was a close-up shot of lichen (p. 286), and picture two was a shot of a caribou browsing on lichen (p. 287). The pictures provided a visual component that emphasized the food web concept and the process moving the contaminants across the food web.

William O. Pruitt's career was not untouched by his work advocating for Eskimos and against nuclear proliferation, though his work had been funded by AEC. This article was published after PROJECT CHARIOT fizzled. PROJECT CHARIOT was a politically popular AEC plan to detonate a nuclear bomb under the underground coastal area of northwest Alaska. After five years the AEC gave up the project without a detonation after fighting against scientists (including Pruitt whose scientific findings exposed potential problems for the ecosystem and the human inhabitants), Senator Bartlett, environmentalists, and Eskimo communities located near the planned site.⁸ The University of Alaska did not renew the employment contracts of Pruitt and the other scientists who dissented against the AEC in their plans for PROJECT CHARIOT. Subsequently, another university refused to hire Pruitt despite the support of its biology faculty (Ross, 2000, p. 105). Pruitt moved to Canada to work as a university professor (Pruitt, 1966, November- December, p. 471). It was not until 1993 that the state of Alaska apologized and awarded honorary degrees to William Pruitt and the other scientists that had been "blacklisted" for going against the U.S. government.

As shown, there is more to this article than a biologist's scientific analysis. The article must be closely read and set in the context of Pruitt's own life as an activist

⁸ A test area had been contaminated by radioactive soils shipped to Alaska from Nevada for experiments. These experiments were not made public until 1992 when a researcher

scientist during the Cold War. Pruitt arranged his words carefully and criticized AEC for not dealing with the contamination of Eskimo and Indian communities and their food sources. He chose to embed his active-voiced criticism within the passive constructions of his scientific voice, an option permitted in a popular culture environmental magazine. The next Audubon article, compared to similar coverage in Earth Island Journal, does not take an activist stance or depict the agency of the Indigenous community.

Comparing Coverage of the U'wa Community Facing Big Oil

In the following, an article from Audubon magazine and an article from Earth Island Journal were compared. They both were presented as one-page articles. These magazines differ in their strategies, approaches to gaining news stories, and environmental and political stances. Earth Island Journal (EIJ), associated with the Earth Island Institute, has a smaller editorial staff than Audubon. EIJ accepts unsolicited contributions, but does not compensate contributors because the journal operates with grants and charitable contributions. EIJ's layout helps focus on the Earth as an international community. Having very few advertisements, EIJ can be politically a little left of center. The EIJ article to be discussed was taken from the online search engine EBSCOhost. The online copy does not have photographs, preventing a visual comparison between the articles.

U'wa in Audubon

In, "A Leap of Faith," Chris Chang's brief Audubon article (January-February 2000), the U'wa a tribal community in Columbia was portrayed as on the verge of suicide

found AEC documentation of the experiments while researching the history of Project

because of the impending environmental degradation of sacred lands by the Occidental oil company. The article appeared in the Field Notes section (characteristically having brief features). The article emphasized the U'wa's suicide plan (unlike the EIJ article).

The article began,

COLUMBIA'S INDIGENOUS U'WA PEOPLE, AN ANCIENT TRIBAL [sic] group with about 5,000 members, have threatened to commit mass suicide if an exploratory oil well is drilled on land they consider sacred. Remarkably, the suicide would be an act with precedent. When Spanish conquistadors tried to enslave the tribe in the 17th century, scores of U'wa walked off the top of a 1,400-foot precipice now known as the Cliff of Glory. (p. 14).

This excerpt spawned many unanswered questions about the suicide plan: Who announced the suicide plan? How was it announced? How did they come to this decision? The "Cliff of Glory" precedent also was presented simplistically. How was this precedent recorded and from whose point of view? Furthermore, the article's conclusion referred to the community's suicide pact as "an U'wa act of cultural genocide." Specifically, the excerpt stated, "And it [U.S. military aid] might also pave the way for the unfathomable: an U'wa act of cultural genocide" (p. 14). The author inappropriately used the term "cultural genocide." The term "genocide" or "cultural genocide" is applicable when one ethnic, racial or nationalist group kills another ethnic, racial, or nationalist group. As defined in the Oxford Dictionary "genocide" means "The deliberate and systematic extermination of an ethnic or national group" [online edition]. In common usage, academic usage, and legal usage, the term "genocide" and "cultural genocide" implies annihilation of one group by another group, not destruction of one group by its own hand (Orentlicher, 1999, pp.153-157). Furthermore, an elder quoted in

Chariot (Edwards, 2002; Ross, 2000).

the article emphasized that oil drilling would bring the demise of U'wa culture:

"Exploiting the heart of the world would provoke the collapse of our culture and the death of the U'wa" (Chang, 2000, January-February, p. 14). The article missed the key point of the U'wa elder's message: The oil company and the cooperating Colombian government were committing acts of outright genocide against the U'wa. Chang presented a problematic usage of the term "genocide." The community suicide pact incorrectly was spotlighted as cultural genocide. Meanwhile, the various other U'wa strategies were compressed into one sentence, "The U'wa are currently working with lawyers, human rights organizations, and environmental groups in both Colombia and the United States in an effort to have Occidental's permit...revoked" (p. 14).

The article depicted the U'wa as an "ancient tribal group" and emphasized that their farming strategies "were so discreet that they can't even be detected by satellite photography" (p. 14). The methods were described: "The U'wa rotate crops, let their fields lie fallow to allow the replenishment of native plant and animal species, and avoid cutting down the larger trees" (p. 14). In contrast to the oil companies, the U'wa practice environmentally sound land management. The ecological Indian image was hinted at here, but the description of the land management techniques indicated effort and work, not an intrinsic harmony with an untouched nature as enveloped in the image of the ecological Indian.

The portrayal of the U'wa might be described as "peaceful agriculturalists." In contrast, Chang positioned the oil drilling controversy in the context of the violent Colombian civil war:

Furthermore, oil production provides targets of sabotage for the powerful guerrilla groups that prowl the Colombian landscape. Consider Occidental's Cano Limon pipeline, on the northern edge of U'wa territory. Since 1986 the guerrillas have bombed it more than 600 times. (p. 14).

The peaceful characteristics of the U'wa especially emerge through a lexical analysis in which words depicting the U'wa were compared to words depicting the guerrillas.

Table 4

Descriptors of U'wa and Guerrillas

<u>Descriptors of U'wa</u>	<u>Descriptors of Guerrillas</u>
ancient tribal group	prowl
have threatened	have bombed
walked	powerful
discreet	attacks
rotate [crops]	their action needs quelling

The word "threatened" was associated with the U'wa, but the threat concerned the potential injury to themselves. The article presented the U'wa as only harmful to themselves. The guerrillas, who also included Indigenous peoples, were an explicit threat to the oil companies and an implicit threat to the U'wa because the guerrillas bombed and contaminated the environment, including land bordering the U'wa territory. The description of the guerrillas included terms depicting violence ("bombed," "attacks"), cunning ("prowl"), and the need to restrain guerrilla activities. In contrast, the U'wa were depicted as industrious and peaceful. The image of the peaceful agriculturalist was emphasized three-fold through the descriptions of their "discreet" land management practices, the descriptive characterization of the U'wa compared to the guerrillas, and the

depth of connection to the land evident in “one tribal elder[’s]” quote, “Exploiting the heart of the world would provoke the collapse of our culture and the death of the U’wa” (p. 14).

Chang pointed out that the U’wa’s influence in development decisions and land rights was contested by the oil company and the Colombian government. Chang first described the land as “land they [the U’wa] consider sacred” (p. 14). Chang also portrayed the Colombian government’s and Occidental’s viewpoint, “Occidental, backed by Colombia’s minister of the environment, does not recognize the targeted area as U’wa territory. ‘Legally, the land does not belong to them,’ says a company spokesperson” (p. 14). Interestingly, the preeminent discourse of the Indigenous group was framed in terms of land as sacred, which is, in its decontextualized form, an “ecological Indian” motif. Legal discourse or environmental impact discourse were not depicted as part of their defense. These legal and environmental discourses implicitly were the discourse domains of Occidental Petroleum and the international groups partnered with the U’wa, “lawyers, human rights organizations, and environmental groups in both Colombia and the United States” (Change, 2000, January-February, p. 14). The U’wa, the peaceful agriculturalists, were depicted as communicating within a strict discourse structure of the ecological Indian, an image that varied from the representation of the U’wa in the Earth Island Journal article.

U’wa in Earth Island Journal

An article about the U’wa and their allies’ activism against Occidental oil company (abbreviated to “Oxy” in the article) was published in Earth Island Journal

(EIJ) in the Summer 2000 issue (the same year as the Audubon article). The article was entitled “Al Gore and Big Oil Genocide.” The title associated the genocide to be the responsibility of “Big Oil.” The U’wa suicide threat was not a primary focus of the article. The first focus was on the persistence of the U’wa to protect their lands. The author wrote,

For eight years, the 5,000 semi-nomadic U’wa inhabitants of northeastern Colombia’s Sierra Nevada de Cocuy mountains have fought to keep Occidental Petroleum (Oxy) from sinking oil wells inside their traditional territory. The U’wa have persisted in the face of harassment, beatings and the murder of three supporters. (Al Gore and Big Oil, 2000, Summer, p. 23)

The U’wa were described as “semi-nomadic.” This indicated a need for large areas of land to continue their lifestyle. This contrasted with the “agriculturalist,” a more sedentary image in the Audubon article. The U’wa strategies for defending their land were depicted as more than a suicide threat and a vague statement about working with other organizations. EIJ also covered U’wa protests at the oil drilling site—requiring the U’wa participants to withstand violent Colombian police—and active linkages to U.S. environmental protest groups allied against Oxy. This article reported that the suicide plan was announced in 1998: “In 1998, the U’wa gained international attention when they vowed to commit mass suicide if foreign oil companies were allowed into their territory” (p. 23). In contrast, the Audubon article reported the announcement as a new story in 2000.

Secondly, the article focused on the strategies of allied environmentalists (listed as the Native Forest Network, Action for Community and Ecology, and the Rainforest Action Network). These groups were exerting political pressure on people in high

positions in the U.S, such as Vice President Al Gore—who held a large share of Oxy stock—and President Bill Clinton. The environmentalists wanted Al Gore to pressure Oxy to leave the U'wa region. According to the EIJ article, President Clinton would have the power to alter and withhold aid packages intended for the Oxy-supporting and anti-U'wa Colombian government. Quotes from Simon Billenness of the Trillium Asset Management Fund and Drug Czar General Barry McCaffrey were harnessed to reinforce the environmentalists' assertions concerning Al Gore and President Bill Clinton.

The discourses associated with the U'wa varied in comparison with Audubon's article. In EIJ, the U'wa were associated with the following:

- Land as sacred or the ecological Indian image: “The U'wa consider oil to be the blood of Mother Earth. To draw oil from the ground is seen as the ultimate desecration of the natural order” (p. 23).
- Environmental degradation: “The U'wa people know the damage that oil extraction has done in Colombia. Oxy's Cano Limon pipeline has spilled an estimated 1,700,000 barrels of crude oil, contaminating surrounding land, lakes and rivers” (p. 23).
- Legal claim to protest: “The U'wa protested that the invasion violates ‘constitutional and legal rights, which state that the communal territories are inalienable’” (p. 23).

The discourses presented the U'wa as more informed, as having more agency in their fight against the oil companies and the Colombian government, and as having a diverse set of discourse strategies. However, the EIJ story did not include the controversies

presented in Audubon over land rights or the guerrillas' role in exacerbating oil spills. In EIJ, the pipeline that already existed was portrayed as leaking on its own accord without guerrilla activity.

The Audubon article also depicted the oil company as invasive to the rainforest environment: "If the Occidental Petroleum well produces oil, the project will expand across 260,000 acres of cloudforest and wetlands, with a network of pipelines and access roads" (Chang, 2000, January-February, p. 14). The conflict was presented as mainly between the U'wa and Occidental. In Audubon, the Colombian government was making pro-oil decisions but they were not suppressing U'wa protests. In EIJ, the Colombian government clearly sided with the oil company and sided viciously against the U'wa protestors.

Last November, 250 U'wa children, parents and grandparents established a protest camp on the site. The impasse was broken on January 19, when more than 5,000 heavily armed Colombian Army troops stormed the campsite. At the same time, Colombian police moved into the region to "protect" Occidental's engineers...Hundreds of police attacked the U'wa with riot batons, bulldozers and tear gas. Three U'wa children, two young boys and a four-month-old girl, drowned when police forced them into the fast-flowing Cubujon River. U'wa Chieftain Fabio Tegria reported that 15 U'wa (including nine children) remain missing. (p. 23)

Absent from Audubon's presentation was the harm that had come to the U'wa at the hands of the Colombian government.

Audubon's Field Notes section did not include a "What You Can Do" text box for the reader (these text boxes are usually for other sections), but the article in Earth Island Journal encouraged the readers to take action on the matter. The Audubon article did not draw on the story angle that clarified the connection between the international aspects of

oil exploration and the U.S. Vice President's influence. The Audubon article did cover the complications caused by President Clinton's aid to the Colombian government in the name of the war on drugs. The EIJ article did not discuss the Colombian guerrillas, but depicted the U'wa as suffering at the hands of the current Colombian administration, the side opposing the guerrillas in the civil war. EIJ described Colombia's military as attacking the U'wa with U.S. supplied equipment; Colombia being set up as a "major U.S. oil pump;" and the Colombian government's financial reward under the auspices of the war on drugs (p. 23). Guerrillas were never mentioned, but the Colombian government was depicted as "guerrilla-like." Set in the context of its foreign policy, the U.S. was deemed partly responsible for the oil company's actions against the U'wa.

In conclusion, Chang presented the U'wa as using the suicide vow as the main strategy of protest and the discourse of land as sacred as the one discourse that informed their decision-making rather than the long ordeal, varying strategies, and multiple discourses depicted in EIJ. With his depiction of them as an "ancient tribe," Chang depicted the U'wa as not having the resources to deal with Occidental Petroleum and relying on a strategy of the past (suicide) to solve the potential environmental and cultural clash.

Racializing Treaty Rights and Freezing Geography: Controversy over Wall-Eye Spear

Fishing in Wisconsin

In the 1991 article, "Treaty Troubles," one aspect of author Mike Beno's presentation depicted the controversy of non-Indians and the Wisconsin Chippewa

through the lens of race. By doing so Beno implied that the right to spear wall-eye fish was based on racial privilege.

The reader does not get the sense that the controversy would be discussed in terms of race at the beginning of the article. Beno interviewed Chippewa fishermen (while he accompanied them spear fishing) and non-Indian protesters of Indigenous fishing rights.

Beno stated:

Depending upon whom you choose to speak with—and there is no shortage of opinion on the subject—Scott Smith is about to: 1) exercise his cultural, spiritual, aboriginal, and legal right; or 2) rape the resource. (1991, May, p. 104)

In the article, the legal source of Chippewa spearfishing was depicted as coming from the U.S. courts, not as inherent in treaties or as reserved rights. For example, Beno wrote,

Federal courts have granted unprecedented and unpopular political power to the Wisconsin Chippewa, ruling that they retained the right to hunt, fish, gather food, and cut timber under 19th Century treaties in which their forefathers ceded northern Wisconsin to the United States. (1991, May, p. 104)

A close reading of this passage showed that the courts possessed agency in giving the Chippewa power. In turn, the Chippewa received the rights that the court provided them. It's as if the Chippewa simply stood by and waited for the courts' decision, and suddenly they were powerful. This powerfulness was depicted as "unpopular." Clearly, the power was unpopular by non-Indian standards, especially among commercial and sports fishermen. Beno depicted the non-Indian response as a spectacle in the following passage:

Treaty rights enjoyed by the Chippewa have earned them much scorn from much of the non-Indian population in the North. Since 1985 the last two weeks of April have been reserved for a new brand of backwoods entertainment called "The Boat Landing." Depending on the disposition of the [non-Indian] troupe of protesters performing that night, you could be treated to low comedy, as legal adults,

dressed like loons or fish, parade and sing; or tragedy, as the “Timber Niggers” (one local pejorative for Indians) get belted with rocks. (p. 104)

The article was not intended to make the reader understand how it felt to be a Chippewa being hit by rocks. This angle presented an outsider’s view of the conflict. The use of the pejorative term was intended to signify the language of the local “troupe of protesters,” a carefully placed racial epithet. The concept of race re-emerged some paragraphs later when Beno drew on the work of a controversial ethnohistorian, James Clifton, who is critiqued in American Indian Studies academic venues. Beno wrote,

The wave of white settlement has been so relentless that in 1946 the anthropologist A. I. Hallowell found that only one-fourth of the Lac du Flambeau Indians were full-blooded. Today tribal governments, recently sanctioned by Congress and financed by the federal government, determine who is and who is not Indian.

“Most Indians today are made, not born,” says the ethnohistorian James Clifton, editor of the book The Invented Indian. “Federal policy with respect to modern Indians makes it attractive to be Indian. It promotes and perpetuates dependence—economic, political, psychological, and social. And it does so at the expense of people.”

At Lac du Flambeau a tribal member must be one-quarter Lac du Flambeau Chippewa to qualify for benefits....But the broader point being missed, Clifton says, is not whether some blond-haired spearfisherman are a quarter Chippewa or not, it is that these people are three-quarters something else. And they would have had no benefits under the original treaties as they were written. (p. 105)

Not only are Chippewa not “Chippewa” under this racializing criteria but the changes in the geography also disqualified the Chippewa from spearfishing. Beno wrote: “Many of the state-stocked lakes currently speared did not hold walleye at the time of the treaties; some of the water bodies themselves did not exist when the treaties were signed [they were formed by dams] (p. 105-106). Racial purity and geographical purity summarized the themes of these passages. Again, Beno ripped agency away from the La

du Flambeau Chippewa in his rendition of who is and who isn't Indian and under what circumstances treaty rights have validity. Audubon readers were subjected to the idea of race through the argument that identity was determined by whatever "blood" was present in one's genetic or genealogical make-up. Absent from the discussion was the socially-constructed practice of the "one drop of blood" concept in the context of Black identity. The social constructedness of race rises to the forefront with the following double standard in the "one drop of blood" racial theory: "Why is it that in the United States a white woman can have black children but a black woman cannot have white children?" (Jacobson, 1998, pp. 1-2). Beno's argument, constructed through harnessing Clifford's statement, about full-bloods and quarter-bloods very powerfully stated who has the right to define another person's identity. Beno homogenized tribal identity's complexity using the most essentializing category of all: race. The motivation behind using the discourse of race in the context of the fisheries controversy originated, not only in the misinterpretation of the high court's role and in the view of static peoples and landscapes, but in the loss of White privilege over fisheries resources, or what consciously or unconsciously appeared to the non-Indians as White privilege. Instead of a distribution of fishing resources among Indian and non-Indian, the non-Indians and Beno see it as a shift in power, with non-Indians losing out. Also contributing to the racialization strategy was Beno's worry that fishing resources would be adversely impacted by the Chippewa's spearfishing processes, fishing at night by way of artificial light and five-tined spears. Beno presented this particular technique as uniquely associated with Chippewa fishing. Information was provided concerning the walleye spear fishing technique—especially the

artificial lighting used to see the fish at night—would be harmful to the spawning of the fish population (p. 109). On the other hand, Beno quoted experts who assured the continuing health of the resource and stated, “evidence seems to support them” (p. 108.)

Conclusion: Indigenous Peoples and Environmental Controversies

This section showed how Audubon magazine did not consistently represent agency of Indigenous peoples in the midst of environmental controversies. Pruitt’s (1963) article in the 1960s presented Eskimo communities as actively fighting in environmental controversies. In contrast, Audubon’s 2000 coverage of the U’wa’s fight against Big Oil presented only part of the U’wa’s struggle. Audubon’s omissions of U’wa discursive strategies were glaring when set beside Earth Island Journal’s 2000 coverage. Furthermore, analysis of Beno’s article, “Treaty Troubles,” discussing the controversy over wall-eye spearfishing in Wisconsin revealed a disturbing discourse of racialization of the La du Flambeau Chippewa community motivated by concerns for the wall-eye fish resource, the non-Indian loss of complete control over a resource, a belief that the power of treaty rights emerged from U.S. high courts rather than the treaties themselves, and fueled by the beliefs that the geographies on which those treaties are exercised and peoples should be frozen in order for treaties to be valid.

Indigenous “Mis”management of Resources and Land

The following analysis examines some of the ways Audubon contributors problematically treated resource management issues and Indigenous peoples. The issues included management of a wildlife preserve in Guyana, eagles, the broad ecosystem

management of the Everglades through the Comprehensive Restoration Plan, subsistence hunting in Alaska, and the Nez Perce wolf recovery project, which is compared to National Wildlife's depiction of the same topic. David Seideman, current Audubon editor describes Audubon's magazine's goals as the coverage of "birds, wildlife, and habitat." These articles depicted the coverage of these topics related to Indigenous peoples.

Management of a Wildlife Preserve

In the "Citizen Science" section of March-April 2001, the article "The Treasure of Iwokrama" concerned local Indigenous people helping to manage an area in need of environmental protection. The article's subtitle stated, "In a forgotten corner of South America, harpy eagles still fly and jaguars still roam—and the native Makushi Indians are working with scientists to keep it that way" (Weidensaul, 2002, March-April, p. 79). The article depicted the workings of that cooperation between Makushi Indians and scientists and its origin. Long passages of the article will be quoted and then analyzed.

Gary Sway...had recently returned to his home village of Surama in Guyana, after two years of working in a bakery in Brazil—a common story in the Makushi Indian settlements in the interior of this small South American country, where the border is porous and employment opportunities are few. But that may be changing, thanks to a unique forest reserve near the village and some help from the Audubon Society. (Weidensaul, 2002, March-April, p. 79)

The reserve provided some promising job opportunities that incorporated Makushi ecological knowledge, according to the article.

TO PROPERLY MANAGE A RESERVE LIKE IWOkrama [sic], you have to understand who eats whom—how the intricate web of a tropical ecosystem ties together. "In my view, you can't always be sending out biologists—it's not cost-effective," says Graham Watkins, senior wildlife biologist for the Iwokrama International Centre. "Besides, it makes sense to build upon the local people's

knowledge base, to collaborate with them.” By combining the traditional wisdom of the Makushi, Wapishana, and other local tribes with modern scientific techniques, the center is safeguarding both the wildlife of the forest and a way of life still largely dependent on subsistence fishing and hunting.

One way to gather information quickly is to train the Makushi to do their own research, and then let them pursue questions of particular concern to their own villages. Like Allicock, many of the adults have learned the basics of field study and data collection through their years of working side by side with scientists. (p. 82)

A youth education club, sponsored by National Audubon Society, taught the children the methods involved in wildlife research: “like using mist nests to safely catch birds, deploying sound recording equipment, and setting automatic camera traps that photograph passing mammals like tapirs and jaguars” (Weidensaul, 2002, March-April, p. 82). According to the article, this education project and the dedication of many generations of one Makushi family, the Allicocks, created a firm base for the reserve project. The management strategy for the reserve was celebrated as a strategy for the rest of the rainforest.

The model that’s evolving in Iwokrama—ecologically sensitive management by young wildlife clubbers and village elders, oversight by locally elected representatives and international scientists—is unlike anything else being tried in the tropics. “This is a paradigm shift from an elite, state-based system of management to one driven by the community’s concerns and needs,” Watkins says—a consensus-based approach that is, ironically similar to what the Makushi used in pre-European days. “It’s messy, it seems to take forever, and it’s incredibly complex. I can’t grasp all the complexities of the way they go about it—but it works” (2002, March-April, p. 84)

Weidensaul described consensus building in a meeting where the community discussed the protection of a certain fish. The ways Makushi ecological knowledge contributed to the discussion was not explained to the reader. Elements of Makushi ecological knowledge were not explained in other portions of the article. The knowledge of

Makushi individuals was implied as many of the caretakers were once hunters, and they gave the author a tour of the reserve. The reserve was in the homelands of these Indigenous communities: As shown in one full-page photograph whose caption read, “Kurupkari Falls, where the Makushi have spearfished for generations, and where the petroglyphs date back more than 3,000 years” (Weidensaul, 2002, March-April, p. 83).

Alongside these roles of Indigenous scientists were other roles that emerged from the author and photographer’s imagination. For example, a photograph of Daniel Allicock showed him in a romanticized pose: shirtless, with his face and upper body peering from behind a tree and looking upward into the treetops. The caption read, “Daniel Allicock, a Makushi Indian who helps manage Iwokrama.” By itself, the photograph seemed as if it was arranged in an artistic fashion. However, other excerpts covered in the text created a context of the “romantic noble savage.” The following was from the article’s conclusion:

Among the rocks were a sequence of shallow caves, where bats fluttered nervously around our heads in the dim light. On a flat rock shelf lay an ancient peccary jaw and several curved pieces of brown pottery, which Daniel had found on previous visits; once, more than a century ago, the Makushi hid from warring tribes in these hills, and this was one of their redoubts. (Weidensaul, 2002, March-April, p. 84)

In the remainder of that paragraph the author described Daniel Allicock showing the author the lookout for Carib war parties. Allicock had rebuilt the lookout.

We stood in brilliant sunshine and a cooling breeze, with flocks of orange-winged parrots chattering endlessly in the valley below, and I imagined Elemina’s [Daniel Allicock’s grandmother] parents sitting here, blowguns and bows in hand, watching for signs of approaching Carib warriors. (Weidensaul, 2002, March-April, p. 84)

A portion of the former excerpt (about Elemina's parents) was set in big print on the top corner of the page as a call-out. According to the Audubon editor, these call-outs are to catch the eye of the reader, to interest them in reading the magazine. That material was an interesting choice for a call-out because it provided an image of warrior Indian tribes laying in wait for the enemy. The image provided a sense of drama for the article. The author chose not to focus his imagination on the discovered pottery, but on the look-out associated with war. After this, according to the narrative, Daniel Allicock brought the author to where a unique, colorful bird and his mate were nesting. In the author's perspective, the walking tour collapsed the Indigenous history of the place with spectacular nature. "The What You Can Do" section of the article encouraged visiting the Iwokrama reserve. The article combined two attractions of ecotourism: Indigenous natives and a spectacular landscape with novel plants and animals. The What You Can Do text brought out these two elements: "extraordinarily rich wildlife draws growing numbers of birders and adventure travelers each year" and "Visitors can also stay in the four-room guest house at Surama—enjoying not only the abundant wildlife but the rhythms of an Amerindian community..." (Weidensaul, 2002, March-April, p. 84). This article presented the reserve as a place for spectacular nature and cultural tourism: The author vaguely referred to a management strategy that combined local knowledge and Western science, but he did not go into details about how the knowledge systems inform each other. Instead, the author seemed entranced by the image of the Makushi of the past as warriors, playing on a dramatic stereotype and the primitive nostalgia the place evoked for him.

Eagles, Indians, and Audubon

From the 1960s to the 2000s, Audubon covered the uses of eagles and eagle feathers by Indigenous peoples. In September 1986, a full-length article by Ted Williams focused only on Indian harvesting of eagles and strongly criticized the Indigenous use of eagle feathers in ceremonies. Ted Williams' article "A Harvest of Eagles" was excerpted from his book, Don't Blame the Indians: The Mechanized Destruction of Fish and Wildlife. The following passages will show how Williams drew on argumentative strategies that belittled, exaggerated, and demonized Indigenous peoples. In "A Harvest of Eagles," Williams (1986a) referred to "American Indians" and "Indians" as the subject of his criticism. His specific examples of errant and prosecuted Native American individuals were depicted with tribally-specific affiliations, including Red Lake Chippewa and Yankton Sioux.

He began with exaggeration, "AMERICAN INDIAN [sic] religion cannot be practiced without a copious flow of eagle feathers. Or so say the Indians. It seems very strange" (Williams, 1986a, September, p. 54). Williams set up his argumentative strategy of exaggeration and generalization in these first sentences. He combined all "Indian" religions and all "Indians" when he wrote "American Indian religion" and "so say the Indians." He used exaggeration to call attention to "Indian" activities: "copious flow of eagle feathers" and "It seems very strange." Williams used the rhetorical strategy of exaggeration to heighten the impact of his opinion.

Secondly, he exaggerated about the easy access to eagle parts distributed by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's eagle depository. He wrote, "from this supply to the

Indian faithful flows a cascade of eagle feathers” (p. 54). In actual practice, an irregular supply of eagle parts went in and out of the depository because the supply was based on accidental killings of eagles. Applicants were put on a waiting list. This distribution did not provide immediate access or a plentiful supply to Native American applicants, or a “cascade of eagle feathers.”

Thirdly, Williams exaggerated about the power of the Endangered Species Act, the Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act, and the Migratory Bird Treaty Act writing, “It is against the law, plain and simple. No exceptions. Still, America’s legal system has excused Indians when they have killed eagles” (p. 54). Williams sidelined an entire body of Indian law, including treaties pre-dating environmental laws regulating hunting and feather ownership. Williams also ignored high court rulings recognizing the exercise of treaty rights. Williams labeled this recognition of treaty rights as “excus[ing] Indians.” At another point he described the courts’ action with “appears to permit” (p. 56). By doing so he entered the territory of the next argumentative strategy: belittlement.

Several examples of belittling Indigenous peoples appeared in the article. In the segue example, Williams discursively shifted away from the significance of treaty rights toward the idea that the high courts had “excused” Native communities from environmental protection laws. This discursive move was legally unsound and belittled Native communities’ positions as sovereign nations, managers of their own affairs, and separate from states and environmental organizations. Furthermore, Williams’ constant use of the terms “American Indian religion” and “Indians” belittled diverse cultural communities with diverse spiritualities. Opinionated Williams also belittled “Indian”

religious activity for, in his eyes, it did not fit in the same category as “other serious religions.”

With all other serious religions the artifacts of worship are much less important than the overriding ideals and principles of the order, the application of central belief to day-to-day living, a supreme being, the worship itself. (p. 54).

Somehow the ceremonial use of eagle feathers set Indian religious activity apart from “serious religions” or organized, “civilized religions.”⁹ Williams also insinuated in this passage that “serious” (civilized religions) perpetuated themselves with abstract belief systems, and, in contrast, Native American religions relied on material objects or “artifacts of worship” and hence fit into the category of “idol worshipers.” “Idol worshipers” are akin to demon worshipers in Christian thought, and Williams sought to demonize Native Americans in order to protect eagles.

Williams applied specific analogies to demonize “Indians.” He repeatedly referenced “Indians” as criminals who were prosecuted for killing eagles. Williams discussed an investigation in which

forty-one people (thirty-three of them Indian) were caught harvesting eagles. In just one area, “perhaps [emphasis added] as many as 300 eagles, mostly balds had been killed in the vicinity of the Yankton Sioux Indian Reservation in South Dakota. (Williams, 1986a, September, p. 54).

The number of birds killed was an estimate by qualified government estimators so Williams probably felt comfortable using the estimate. Furthermore, Williams argued that the decline of the eagle population on the wildlife refuge that bordered the Yankton Sioux reservation was a result of Indian hunting. He identified a Yankton Sioux father

⁹ Tsianina Lomawaima brought to my attention the nuances of “civilized versus savage” that runs through Williams’ article.

and son, “the Dions,” who were among thirty-three Indians arrested in an investigation. “For a sparsely populated Indian reservation already stocked with eagle feathers, an additional harvest requiring the dispatching of 300 birds would seem to indicate religious fanaticism of the sort one might encounter in the Middle East” (Williams, 1986a, September, p. 54, 56). The 300 birds was an estimate when it was previously referenced in the article, but here it is set down as an established fact. The events of the late 70s and early 80s fueled this comparison to Middle East fanaticism: Ayatollah Khomeini’s and Muslim fundamentalism’s take-over of Iran in 1979, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) oil embargo in 1973, the Iran hostage crisis from 1979-1981, and the Iran and Iraq War (Tindall, 1988). The allegation of religious fanaticism clearly was part of a discourse of opinion that drew on stereotypes about the Middle East to vilify Indian eagle hunters. Williams was referencing hot-button current events of the time to play on the emotions and the images within the minds of readers. He used one stereotype of the Middle East to fuel discomfort or hate for Native Americans. Williams then drew on a well-known American Christian platitude to insinuate the evilness of the eagle hunters. “In any case, religion is what the Dions said made them do it” (Williams, 1986a, September, p. 56). This statement evoked the American Christian English platitude, “The devil made me do it.” Williams intentionally or unintentionally reworded this platitude to amplify his negative view of “Indian” religions. However, he was not able to provide definitive proof that Native American harvesting of eagles was detrimental to regional eagle populations.

In the last decade wintering eagles have declined on the Mundt refuge [the refuge adjacent to Yankton Sioux Indian Reservation]. Peak counts in the mid-seventies

flirted with 300. By the early eighties peaks were down to 120. Weather conditions played a role, but Indian poaching probably did too. (p. 54)

After demonizing Yankton Sioux eagle hunters, Williams based the cause of eagle population decline on assumptions. His statement on weather conditions was written with finality, but his statement on Indian poaching was written with the rather weak qualifier, “Indian poaching probably [emphasis added] did too” (p. 54).

At another point in the article, Williams discussed the eighth Circuit Court of Appeals’ ruling involving the Yankton Sioux father and son, the Dions. The Court supported the treaty stipulations regarding hunting on reservations, recognizing the Dions’ rights to hunt eagles. Williams reacted with these words, “State and federal statutes notwithstanding, bald or golden eagles passing through reservation air space were fair game for Indians” (p. 56). Williams used the phrase “reservation air space” as if reservations were enemy territory. This imbrication of “enemy territory” and Indian Country or “reservation air space” contains roots in military parlance: The term “Indian Country” in communiqué signified enemy territory.

Williams reached the pinnacle of his demonization of “Indians” when he compared Native Americans to Satanists. Williams stated:

Those who worship Satan certainly are practicing a genuine religion, but because sundry satanic rites not only are unacceptable to the public but dangerous to it as well. Satanists find themselves severely restricted by law. (p. 57)

Through harnessing particularly revolting images of the time period, such as Satanists and Middle East fanatics, mixing in exaggeration, and misinterpreting the significance of treaties, Williams created an article to jar readers into opposing Native American utilization of eagle feathers.

In his lengthy 2001 sequel, "Golden Eagles for the Gods," Williams continued to demonize Native Americans using untrustworthy and essentializing claims. The motive for the article's publication was to persuade readers to contact the Park Service and voice an opinion against the Federal Register rule to allow the Hopi to take eagles at Wupatki National Monument. In this article, Williams essentialized Native Americans by referring to them as a "race." Williams wrote, "The truth about Indians, like the truth about other races, is that one can't generalize about them (2001, March April, p. 30). Williams revisited the concept of race at the end of his essay, categorizing people into "white, black, and red" (p. 39). In choosing the term "race," Williams declined to represent Native Americans as individuals within diverse cultural and ethnic groups. Williams' nod to diversity was based on a racializing classification rather than on a cultural differentiation (Small, 1999). For an uninformed reader, "race" and behavior may be closely associated, despite Williams' caveat about generalization. From the article's context, it was difficult to interpret if Williams meant the term "race" as a socially-constructed classification or as a biological term sometimes used in Audubon in conjunction with animal species. Evidence that he subscribed to race as a biological classification appeared in one of his books where he questioned the authenticity of Indians with "blonde hair, blue eyes and freckles" (Williams, 1986b, p. 119). The term "race" contains powerful categorical associations that are absent from "ethnic or cultural group." The term "race" deterministically implies or asserts inherent genetic or biological characteristics. Williams implied that people fit neatly within the confines of diverse "races"—a contradictory assertion. Terms such as "ethnicity" and "culture,"

would have signified identities that were flexible, changeable, and learned, not inherent (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). By twisting the discourse into one about race, Williams enabled the perpetuation of several fallacies: that “Indian” identity was a racial identity with unchangeable associated characteristics that outsiders have the power to define, and in an even further discursive twist, “Indians” were exercising rights based on “race.”

In his article, Williams attacked one Hopi “faction” for their eagle gathering activities at Wupatki National Monument (not understanding Hopi eaglet gathering processes). Williams tried to make up for his lack of research with hot-headed discourse:

In Arizona...a faction of the Hopi tribe, which for centuries has captured and killed young golden eagles for ritualistic sacrifice, is lobbying the National Park Service (with apparent success) to let it collect eagles from the 54-square-mile Wupatki National Monument, just north of Flagstaff. (Williams, 2001, March-April, p.30, 32)

Williams got his facts wrong. He wrote this as though Wupatki was a new gathering area for the Hopi. In a press release in 1999, the Hopi Tribe stated that going to Wupatki for eagles is an “annual pilgrimage...exercised for as long as the Hopi can remember” (The Hopi Tribe, 1999, June, n.p.). Williams does not present Wuptaki National Monument as an ancestral Hopi gathering place. In William’s view, Wupatki signified a bundle of meanings that included, patriotism, access for all American visitors, environmental protection, and a park without human predation. Williams held to the strict definition of parks without people (although parks are actually heavily managed areas), and presented this as the naturalized legally and socially correct state of affairs.

Throughout the article Williams drew from personal opinions and second-hand

information about Hopi eagle-gathering practices from identified and anonymous wildlife biologists. Williams drew on two statements by two government raptor biologists who clearly opposed Hopi eaglet gathering. These biologists do not speak from the point of “hard” Western science with numbers or studies to back up their claims. One compared the Hopi harvest of eagles to the effects of DDT: “We might as well be putting DDT out there” (p. 32). Another raptor biologist explained that what exacerbated the diminishment of eagles was “overgrazing” on Hopi and Navajo land. This factor combined with “get[ting] hit by Hopi” (legally) and Navajo (illegally) was what contributed to eagle population decline (Williams, 2001, March-April, p. 32).

Williams finally did include some numbers of eagles harvested by permit: “from 1986-1999 was 208” and stated, “That’s a lot of mortality for a predator perched atop the food chain” (Williams, 2001, March-April, p. 32). Then he turned to the acts of “Indians” in general that “the illegal kill by Indians (not necessarily Hopi) is many times more than that” (p. 32). In “fact,” Williams argued, “Some Indians...some Hopi...think the ritual should be consigned to the past as was the sacrifice of children, from which anthropologists believe it may have derived” (Williams, 2001, March-April, p. 32). The author tapped into an image historically used to demonize, propagandize, and persecute “the Other.” Kamen (1985) described how this child killer accusation was used during the Spanish Inquisition regarding alleged Jewish torturers sacrificing Christian children (1985, pp. 15-16). The same accusation continued into the twentieth century (Hogan, 2000, p. 42). In this case, Williams attributed his source for ritual child murder among ancient Hopi to anonymous “anthropologists.” First of all, Williams does not seem to be

steeped in anthropology, especially since he still subscribed to the concept of “race.”

Second of all, he acted unethically and mean-spirited when he does not name his source, the anthropologist, but still associated Hopi people with child killers.

Williams clearly misstated the truth when he described a Fish and Wildlife worker reporting on a Hopi Eagle Clan member sneaking off to release Hopi eaglets because the Eagle Clan “reveres free, living eagles.” If Williams had done more research, he may have noticed that reported in High Country News in August of 1996, nine men of the Eagle Clan were arrested for gathering eaglets (Hardeen, 1996, n.p.). High Country News was not an obscure periodical and Williams was probably familiar with it. Williams presented an inaccuracy when he claimed the eagle’s signification for Eagle Clan members was the same as non-Indian environmentalists.

Williams presented the Hopi people as sneaky, exploitive and criminal, specifically as robbers in one passage: “the robbing [emphasis added] of eagle nests at Wupatki” (2001, March-April, p. 34-35). And, also Williams stated,

The Hopi are also trying to take eagles and hawks from three other park units in Arizona—Grand Canyon, Sunset Crater Volcano, and Walnut Canyon. But if one tribe is allowed to take wildlife from the national park system, how can other tribes, or even Anglos, legally be denied? (p. 36)

He also asserted that the feathers were not utilized for the legally religious purposes but for black market profits or in powwow outfits that indirectly provide more profits.

Williams depicted Native Americans as greedy and underhanded.

Some dancers make their livings going from powwow to powwow, competing for cash prizes. Powwow contestants are judged, in part, by the feathers they wear. During the “grand entry” dance at the annual Albuquerque powwow, you can see the remains of at least 20,000 eagles bouncing around the floor at one time.

It is the powwow circuit that keeps eagles and eagle parts moving so briskly on the black market. (Williams, 2001, March-April, p. 37)

Williams then recounted how members of the Hopi, “Indians of various tribes in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah,” and Jemez Pueblo were prosecuted for selling eagle parts.

While there is no evidence that the Hopi use immature golden eagles for anything other than their religious rituals, no one can reasonably expect them simply to place feathers worth this kind of money on Kachina dolls that never get sold or to piously scatter them under robbed aeries. (Williams, 2001, March-April, p. 37)

He characterized Native Americans as impulsive, corrupt, and cruel. The cruelty factor was expressed in the case of a Jemez Pueblo man’s description of how he “dispatch[ed]” an eagle.

Williams then drew on another quote from a former Park Service employee: I had one Indian tell me: “I’m like most Navajos. If I see an eagle, and I’ve got a gun, I’m taking a shot at it.” I’ve been with them when they’ve said: “I wish we had a gun.” Another time I was out with Hopis and an eagle jumped off a carcass out in the sand hills, and they were all bemoaning the fact that they didn’t have a rifle. (Williams, 2001, March-April, p. 39)

Within the second article was a “What You Can Do” box illustrated with two hands gesturing toward a distantly shining yellow globe: “The National Park Service has asked to hear what you think of its proposed rule to let the Hopi Indians take golden eagles from a national park unit for ritualistic slaughter. Don’t disappoint” (Williams, 2001, March-April, p. 37). According to the documents put together for the magazine’s 2003 Board of Director’s meeting (entitled More than a Magazine: A Cause) William’s article helped “boost member activities”:

In Audubon’s March-April 2001 issue, Ted Williams’s “Incite” article (“Golden Eagles for the Gods”) on the Hopi tribe’s efforts to gain the right to collect golden eagles in national monuments generated more than 4,500 letters of protest to the

National Park Service. The Bush Administration denied the tribe's request. (Seideman, 2003, March, p. 9)

Throughout the discourse of both the 1986 and 2001 articles, Williams remained silent about the point that treaties preempt environmental legislation, and, that the extensive history of non-Indian eagle hunting, pollution, and other environmental factors contributed to eagle endangerment. In 2001, Williams used secondhand sources presented as trustworthy, clear inaccuracies, and demonizing portraits of Hopi culture. Without background about the subject, little knowledge about Indian Country, and little knowledge of Indigenous law in the U.S., readers would have been susceptible to his opinionated dogma.

Following both articles, dialogical responses to the Hopi eagle controversy appeared in the letters-to-the-editor sections. The 1986 letters-to-the-editor, (the Dialogue section) regarding "A Harvest of Eagles" were subtitled "On the Warpath," a cliché playing on an Indian warfare image representing readers' passionate responses (On the Warpath, 1986, November, p. 125-127). These letters fell into the category of calling Williams' article "insulting," arguing that religious substitutes were not acceptable in Western religions nor in American Indian religions, and asserting Williams had not fully researched the issue. One letter was from a Wayne State University Law School professor who wrote that treaties were enforceable legal documents that preceded environmental laws.

In May-June of 2001, the letters-to-the editor regarding Williams' article were subtitled "All that Glitters." A quote from one of the letters from the Chief of Staff in the Chairman's Office in the Hopi tribe, Eugene Kaye, was excerpted as a call-out in the

letters section. “Defiling a sacred Hopi religious ceremony with crass allegations of torture is a disservice to the readers of *Audubon* as well as the Hopi Tribe” (Kaye, 2001, May-June, p. 12). More letters were published in favor of Williams’ (2001) article than against the article. However, the letters from Eugene Kaye, a member of the Hopi Tribe and Boyd Nystedt, a Navajo Nation member, added a dialogical mode to the discussion. Kaye charged, “Williams makes no effort to present the importance of eagles in Hopi religion. Rather, he depicts the practice in a most derogative manner and dismisses Hopi beliefs as pious hocus-pocus” (Kaye, 2001, May-June, p. 12). Kaye then described *Audubon* as behaving like a “trashy tabloid” using “crass allegations of torture” and pointed out that the Eagle Repository gathered their eagle collection largely because of the actions non-Indians. Nystedt asked *Audubon* and its readers, “Were the Hopi or Navajo or Paiute consulted when Wupatki was created? (Nystedt, 2001, May-June, p. 12). Nystedt interrogated the “parks without people” discourse pointing out that national parks were created by banishing Indigenous peoples from the parklands. Williams wrote a reply to Kaye’s letter in which Williams’ recycled his article’s arguments and stated, “it’s time for them [Hopi] to modernize their religious practices (italics deleted, Williams, 2001, May-June, p. 12). Kaye’s voice was asserted in the dialogical space of the letters-to-the-editor, and Williams answered back in a way that clarified his behind-the-scenes attitude, his belief in the savagery/civilization dichotomy. For Williams, “civilization” was equivalent to “modernized” religious practices.

In a nutshell, Ted Williams, a regular *Audubon* columnist, portrayed Native Americans and Hopi communities as practicing environmentally and socially offensive

religions that were criminal and ecologically unsustainable. Williams used the devices of demonizing, essentializing and exaggerating about Native Americans to make his argument.

The Everglades: Where are the Seminole and Miccosukee Nations?

Audubon contributors and editors focused on the Everglades from 1960-2002.

Special issues, brief reports, and lengthy articles were devoted to the topic, because of the uniqueness of the Everglades' ecosystems and environmental problems.¹⁰

The Special Issue

The front cover of the Everglades Special Issue grabs a reader's attention from the start. The front cover showed an alligator surfacing from beneath lush, green confetti.

The caption on the inside cover explains: "An Everglades alligator emerges from the duckweed. How this keystone species fares when freshwater flows return will be a good indicator of the restoration's success" (The Everglades Rises Again, 2001, July-August).

Beyond its importance as a symbol and keystone species of the Everglades and an eye-catching cover for Audubon, the alligator partially immersed and hidden in duckweed symbolizes the magazine's inability to capture all the players/participants involved in the restoration project—for missing in the magazine's discussion of the Everglades Restoration Plan are the contributions from the local Indigenous communities.

Contributors discussed the formation of the restoration plan, and the "The Players" involved—the politicians, scientists, and activists, and philanthropists. The goal of

¹⁰ The Everglades' environmental problems are due to extensive human alteration of water flow by structural diversions such as canals and water contamination from heavily chemicalized agricultural pursuits.

educating the children in an urban African-American community in the Everglades was also featured.

The Editor and President of National Audubon both were pleased with the Everglades restoration plan and said as much in their columns. David Seideman wrote,

IF A MAGAZINE DECIDES TO DEVOTE AN ENTIRE ISSUE TO A SINGLE TOPIC [sic], that topic had better be a big one. At *Audubon*, there are a multitude of pressing environmental concerns competing for attention, though few merit a “special issue.” The Everglades does, particularly when you consider the magnitude of the \$7.8 billion ecosystem-restoration plan, the historic agreement between warring factions, and the precedent it sets for repairing other ecosystems. (2001, July-August, p.6)

Audubon President John Flicker wrote in his column,

For more than three decades, Audubon had led the effort to reverse the decline of the Everglades. Last year we celebrated our biggest victory to date. The State of Florida and the federal government approved a comprehensive \$7.8 billion Everglades restoration plan, the largest ecological-recovery effort ever undertaken anywhere. This ambitious plan is a symbol of hope—hope that we can one day heal the wounds we have inflicted on nature. (2001, July-August, p. 10)

The special issue, “The Everglades Rises Again,” celebrated the Everglades and hoped for future restoration plans in other areas. The lead article’s title showed this optimism “A New Day Dawns in the Everglades.” This issue contained major sections on how the agreement was forged, who was involved, how the plan worked ecologically, and what canoeing, bicycling, and hiking opportunities were available for vacation trips to the Everglades region. One of the articles was entitled “Blueprint for the Future” and indicated how the plan would be a prototype for other endangered ecosystems (Luoma, 2001, July-August, p. 3). Florida’s Native peoples appeared as incidental references in the coverage.

The Timeline.

In the special issue, “The Everglades Rises Again,” Indigenous peoples were mentioned in the time line, “Forever Glades: Ebbs and Flows of the Great American Wetland” (Levin, 2001, July-August, p. 38). The time line continuously flowed through the articles with explanatory text, illustrations, and photographs. The following increments were excerpted from the timeline:

- 1513: “Spanish explorer Ponce de Leon names North America’s most familiar appendage La Florida, or ‘land of flowers.’ He finds no streets of gold only the fierce and proud Calusa, who mortally wounded him on a subsequent visit.” (p. 38)
- 1545: “Thirteen-year-old Hernando d’ Escalante Fontaneda, shipwrecked en route from Spain to Columbia, begins 17 years as a Calusa captive. Although Fontaneda writes that the Calusa have “no gold, less silver, and less clothing,” they have nevertheless fashioned a high prehistoric culture along the edge of the Everglades, building oyster-shell islands and digging canals.” (p. 39)
- 1835: “The second of three Seminole Wars begins. Soldiers report on the nature and extent of southern Florida, which has been virtually unknown to most Americans” (p. 39)

The Calusa were depicted as being “fierce and proud,” not wealthy, wearing “less clothing” than Europeans, and possessing engineering abilities, “building oyster-shell buildings and digging canals.” The Calusa were portrayed as more multidimensional than the Spanish explorers who were quoted as describing themselves with

acquisitiveness through their depictions of the Calusa. But, the Calusa depictions corresponded with the noble savage image: technologically gifted, naked, and simultaneously noble and violent. The 1835 excerpt related: “Soldiers report on the nature and extent of southern Florida, which has been virtually unknown to most Americans” (p. 39). This line assumed that Indigenous peoples were not “Americans” and that their knowledge of the Glades was inconsequential.

The timeline continued by depicting moments key to White environmental groups, but Indigenous peoples were absent. After 1835, Indigenous people disappear from “time.” Relegated to the past, Audubon also discounted Indigenous presence in the contemporary section of the timeline. The pre-1835 key moments referenced Indigenous peoples based on explorer accounts. One Indigenous image, a portrait of an Indian man who was not identified by name, illustrated the first increment of the timeline (p. 19).

Articles about the Everglades.

Outside of the timeline, three of the articles contained references that acknowledged current Indigenous presence but as not involved in the restoration plan. The following excerpt comes from the article about biking opportunities in the Everglades region.

Just beyond the northern boundary of the Everglades National Park lies a vast [capitalization changed], primordial swamp of dwarf pond cypresses and slash pine islands, of hardwood hammocks and wet prairies, of sawgrass marshes and mangrove forests. Here, in Big Cypress National Preserve, 700-year-old great cypresses somehow escaped the loggers’ blades; blooming air plants perch on tropical hardwoods like flocks of strange birds at rest; and alligators slip into the dark pools of backwater sloughs. These sights await the adventurous hikers who set out on the Florida Trail—a national scenic trail that will eventually stretch 1,300 miles to Gulf Islands National Seashore, on the western edge of Florida. Thirty-eight miles of the trail are in the preserve, and hiking this singular footpath

is a chance to immerse yourself in the splendor of the tropical wilderness. Once home to the Seminole Indians, whose reservation lies just to the north, Big Cypress National Preserve acts as a buffer between the fragile ecosystem of Everglades National Park and the land development sweeping unchecked....(Gorman, 2001, July-August, p. 83)

Tucked within the first paragraph of Stephen Gorman's "Trekking Tropical Trails," was a brief reference to the Seminole, explaining that their home used to be "Big Cypress National Preserve." The details involved in how and why the Seminoles moved were glossed (see Keller & Turek, 1998, p. 228). This issue of the expulsion of Indigenous peoples from the park was depoliticized in the sense that the power relations in the history of the area were silenced in favor of describing an ecotourism venture. This ecotourism experience was communicated through the description of the landscape: "Here, in Big Cypress National Preserve, 700-year-old great cypresses somehow escaped the loggers' blades; blooming air plants perch on tropical hardwoods like flocks of strange birds at rest; and alligators slip into the dark pools of backwater sloughs." The intertextual aspects of the essay merged as a layering of nature writing with an ecotourism advertisement: "These sights await the adventurous hikers who set out on the Florida Trail...." A reference to the banishment of Indigenous people from the park or preserve would have been deemed out-of-place for an article inviting hikers to a special trail near the Everglades. The vanishing Indian motif was only regional because the Seminoles live nearby. The article included the Seminoles in order to add mystique and provide a history of the area now utilized for recreational and environmental protection purposes. The Seminole community (the particular community's name was not provided) probably still felt a connection to that "buffer" zone.

Ted Williams used similar references in “Big Water Blues” in which he argued that the health of Lake Okeechobee was essential to the health of the Everglades.

Williams wrote,

This was America’s last frontier—through the 19th century wilder and less known than Alaska. Okeechobee, which means “Big Water” in Seminole, had been semi-mythical to whites until Christmas Day 1837, when Colonial Zachary Taylor proved its existence by chasing the Seminoles into a trap they had set for him on its northern shore. (2001, July- August, p. 85)

“[W]e slogged toward the surviving portion of Audubon’s Indian Prairie Marsh” (p. 85).

The second passage was simply a place name, “Indian Prairie Marsh.” The “Indians” were gradually pushed away from the Everglades for the landscapes’ “protection” as a park to make a “homeland for animals” but the names that still labeled places within the Everglades contain “Indian” derivatives or act as reminders that the park provided the Indigenous peoples with homes (Keller & Turek, 1998, p. 230).

The first reference was written so that the reader would identify with “whites.” The Seminoles were depicted as if they were “trapped” by their own actions and that it was a good thing that happened because then the Everglades would have remained “semi-mythical.” Again, Indigenous knowledge of the Glades was erased. This incidental reference also exemplified colonial nostalgia, looking back over a time of frontier heroes and unexplored places.

Two other brief references reminded the reader of an Indigenous presence in the context of tourism and boating material culture. One reference in the special issue simply mentioned the “chickee” as an optional camping shelter (Campbell, 2001, July-August, p. 70). Another reference stated, “These shallow, flat bottomed skiffs, now used by area

residents are based on Seminole design” (A New Day Dawns in the Everglades, 2001, July-August, p. 46).

The Seminole and Miccosoukee were marginalized in the discussion and celebration of the Everglades special issue. The Miccosoukee community was not included in the coverage. Indigenous participation in the Everglades restoration legislation, Indigenous water rights, and the Indigenous peoples’ exile from the refuge and park do not appear in the special issue timeline or articles. Indigenous participation in the Everglades legislation was non-existent according to the special issue. The voices of Indigenous peoples whose lives have been historically and are currently linked with the Everglades were not included. Investigation beyond Audubon showed that the surrounding Native communities were involved in the restoration plan and had been pressing for other policy issues regarding the Everglades. The Miccosoukee have made legal attempts for allocation of water in the Everglades (Tiger & Kersey, 2002, p. 2). The involvement in the restoration plan was recorded in the Native American press. The Seminole Tribune front page headline in January of 2000 indicated, “Tribe, Corps Sign Compact” (McDonald, 2000, p. 1). The article concerned Seminole participation with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in the Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan (CERP). In June 2000, a story on Florida sugar companies’ subsidies at the expense of the Everglades restoration was covered in The Seminole Tribune (Group, 2000, p. 15). In October 2000 in The Seminole Tribune, a part of a Department of Interior Report “Report to the Nation: Restoring the River of Grass” was published under the headline “Pa-hay-okee Report” (p. 2). Stories about the Everglades were relevant and publishable news for

the community. A CERP report in 2003 indicated that the Seminole and Miccosukees were part of the restoration plan (CERP, 2003; p. 2). A 2003 article in *Indian Country Today*, “Beleaguered Everglades Get Miccosukee Action” outlined the Miccosukee’s role in CERP (Beleaguered Everglades, 2003, p. A4).

Subsistence Hunting in Alaska

From 1960-2002, articles were often written about environmental issues in Alaska. For example, issues such as the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act contained topics pertinent to environmentalists because the act also contained provisions for the setting aside of “national parks, wildlife refuges, national forests, and wild and scenic rivers in our vast northern state” (Callison, 1974, January, p. 127). These articles often described Indigenous peoples’ roles within the flurry of Alaskan environmental issues. Because of the plethora of environmental issues in Alaska, Alaska Natives were implicated in either being part of an environmental solution or being part of an environmental problem. This can be seen especially in the articles on subsistence hunting, depicting Aleuts, Eskimo, and Inuit.

Aleuts as Hunters

In 1965, March-April, Roger Tory Peterson was a guest columnist for *Bird Finding* with Olin Sewall Pettingill, Jr. Peterson entitled his article, “The Pribilofs: Where you find wildlife by the millions [sic].” He was writing the article to describe an ecotourism trip to the Pribilofs. Peterson described the Pribilofs as a biodiverse area, especially in regards to birds:

The fog swept Pribilofs in the Bering Sea have been called the greatest bird cities in North America....The seal beaches of the Pribilofs are among the greatest wildlife spectacles in the world. (Peterson, 1965, March-April, p. 72)

Peterson clarified that biodiversity diminished near the Aleut towns due to hunting activities.

As we progress away from the village each point of land with its seaward cliff seemed more exciting than the last. The bird colonies were less populous near the village, we supposed, because the Aleuts harvest some of the birds. They have "aboriginal rights," even though as seasonal employees of the sealing commission they are fed with good red beef shipped in for their own consumption. Every cliff-faced nook, every lodge for miles was occupied by murre, puffins, auklets, and kittiwakes. (p. 72-73)

The phrase "aboriginal rights" was set apart in quotations in order to treat the concept as invented and delegitimized. According to Peterson, the invention contradicted the situation of supplying "good red beef" to the Aleut employees of the sealing commission. Peterson implied that the Aleuts should not need to hunt birds because they have another source of food. Simultaneously in the article, Peterson referenced the Aleut words for specific birds and often the terms were in parentheses. The use of Aleut terminology kept the Aleuts on the edges of the bird watching venue. Putting the words in parentheses worked to recognize the concept of Aleut ecological knowledge but also marginalized Aleut knowledge and terminology, as well. In his celebration of the "greatest bird cities in North America," Peterson marginalized Aleut subsistence rights and culture (p. 72).

Another excerpt showed that humans were not considered part of the "natural economy" of the area. Rather, they were to live on "good red beef." Peterson's own cultural acceptance to eat beef rather than kill birds in the colonies for food was transparent. Leaving the Aleuts out of the natural economy presented the Aleut as

cultural beings, but presented them in a way that said that they should be barred from the use of natural resources.

Glancing about we would often spot the arctic fox peering at us through the tall grass. These little foxes are bird-watchers too, and we frequently found their burrows, the entrances littered with the wings and feathers of murre and auklets. No real harm is done, however; this is part of the natural economy of these islands. (pp. 74-75)

The natural economy was something for humans to observe and study. The term “natural economy” was an interesting term that combined words with opposing nuances. In Western thought, “natural” indicated participation of non-human entities. “Economy” indicated the supply or demand of resources, a term that indicated human participation. On the other hand, an economy devoid of humans but made up of animals would never be devoid of all human impact. While staying apart from its activities and exchanges, a human would have to study and report on that economy, encouraging scientific expeditions and the ecotouristic ventures based in a scientific experience. These human activities impact non-human nature, as well. Audubon writers and readers/chapter members were some of the first ecotourists, with the goals to understand the “natural” (wildlife and plants) and the “cultural” (local cultures) that lived within the particular ecotourist destination. However, at this time (1965) the separation of people and nature in order to protect and enjoy nature continued to be a basic attitude of middle-class nature lovers. Other articles later published in Audubon advocated for Aleut subsistence hunting.

In 1986 another article “The Legacy of Gerasim Pribilof” concerning Pribilof Island, the Aleuts, and the renegotiation of an international fur seal treaty was part of

Audubon's coverage. This article also emphasized the richly biodiverse bird populations on the islands. The article was based on the seal hunting and clubbing practices that the Aleut utilize to harvest seals

The killing of Pribilof Island seals continues to this day, but under a cloud of rising criticism and deepening controversy heard far beyond the Bering Sea. These are turbulent years for the islanders, facing the transition from their traditional sealing economy and the need to find new sources of income. (Laycock, 1986, January, pp. 94-103)

In his article, Laycock challenged the animal rights groups. These groups protested sealing using a cruelty to animals platform and political pressure to halt commercial sealing operations. Animal rights groups claimed that the decline in fur seal numbers was from commercial sealing. Laycock wrote that the National Audubon Society claimed that science did not reach those same conclusions. Other factors were to blame for the seal reduction: "Audubon is science guided and management oriented," says David R. Cline, Audubon regional vice-president for Alaska, "and the best scientific evidence shows no link between the harvest of the nonbreeding males and the current population decline" (Laycock, 1986, January, p. 99). Furthermore, Laycock separated the black fur seal hunt from the baby white harp seal hunts that animal rights groups treat as one and the same.

The casual blending of the two hunts—implying that the Pribilof seals taken are cuddly infants—apparently increases contributions to the animal welfare groups. One high government official concerned about the future of the fur seal treaty, said, "Let's face it, baby seals are good fund raisers." Similar techniques work whether the animal being "saved" is a seal, deer, or burro. The more lovable it can be made to look, the greater the level of sympathy. (Laycock, 1986, p. 100)

Laycock also took issue with the claim that sealing was associated with cruelty to animals.

ARGUMENTS THAT [sic] fur seals taken by workmen on the Pribilofs suffer prolonged agony fall flat with responsible observers, including those from animal protectionist groups. A single blow to the head by a skilled clubber renders the animal instantly unconscious, and it dies quickly. In one study on the Pribilofs, a group of veterinarians from the United States, invited by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, determined that there is no more humane method known than the clubbing practiced by the Aleuts. There is nothing appealing about it, perhaps to anyone, but the process is at least as humane as the millions of killings we sanction daily in slaughterhouses across the country. (Laycock, 1986, p. 99)

The Aleuts were presented here as “humane” seal hunters. This image stands in opposition to the powerful image in popular culture of commercial sealers and Indigenous sealers as monsters who mercilessly kill seals. Laycock’s stance was more tolerant and approving than Peterson (1965) who found the hunting of birds intolerable. At this point in the article, however, the reader did not know if the Aleut subsistence and commercial sealing practices would be permitted by treaty. Laycock did provide an update on the fur seal treaty controversy:

As the possibility grew that the treaty might not be ratified, many groups began talking compromise. Nearly everyone could support the treaty if it did not call for a commercial take of furs, so there was agreement that, for the four years of this protocol, there would be no commercial fur harvest. Audubon and others felt that the Aleuts should be permitted to continue their traditional use of seals for food. In the summer of 1985, with the treaty still under consideration, there was no commercial kill on the Pribilofs for fur, but the Aleuts were allowed seals for their own food supply. Although some members of the animal welfare community go along with this traditional subsistence kill, they all insist that the furs, as well as the penis bones, or “seal sticks,” which are sold in the Orient as aphrodisiacs, be destroyed instead of being marketed. Even with this disagreement, it appeared that the treaty could be rescued. The compromise providing for research programs and no kill except subsistence allowances was widely accepted. (Laycock, 1986, January, p. 102)

Then, Laycock reported that the negotiations stalled when a U.S. senator demanded that the agreement be amended to allow the Aleuts to sell the fur seal skins for profit.

Laycock did not clarify if this demand originated from Aleuts or from the senator. It was implied that the animal rights organizations must have agreed to the subsistence hunting rights, as well.

Laycock ended his article,

One fact becomes increasingly evident—we have seen the end of commercial sealing in the Pribilofs. The Aleuts, who are also part of that northern ecosystem and who understandably want to go on living on their islands, are hardy survivors, a proud, resourceful people who will adjust and find new sources of income, whether in fishing, petroleum, or other enterprises. Once they had few choices. Their destiny was linked to the seal. But after two hundred years, the saga set in motion by Gerasim Pribilof [the Russian sea captain] is winding down. (Laycock, 1986, January, p. 102)

Laycock's word choice "proud" in the conclusion presented the Aleuts as noble.

Laycock supported their cultural activities. One reason Laycock supported subsistence sealing was because "science" had not indicated that seal decline was related to subsistence hunting. The closing of commercial sealing and its impact on the Aleut was not discussed at length though the article from 1965 described Aleuts as employed by the commercial sealing commission. An article in 1991 took up where these articles left off and mediated Indigenous voices, in order to express how the Aleut communities were connected to decisions made in the larger international community and discuss the toll on the Aleut communities from the ban on commercial sealing.

In 1991, Frank Graham, Jr. wrote "U.S. and Soviet Environmentalists Join Forces Across the Bering Strait." In this article the Aleuts were seen as being a part of international agreements and policy decisions.

Because Beringia's resources and problems transcend national boundaries, scientists, government officials, and environmentalists from the United States and the Soviet Union are coming together with the Native people to find an

international solution. The goal of the dialogue is to put together an international heritage park that will protect Beringia's land and wildlife and at the same time accommodate the cultural life of its Native people. (Graham, 1991, July-August, p. 44)

Beringia was depicted as a place with both social and environmental problems: "the harsh glory and the glut of social and environmental ills that characterize a vast region" (p. 14).

The article described St. Paul, a main island of the Pribilofs, the difficulties with the changeover from being part of Soviet territory to being part of U.S. territory and the exchanges between the Indigenous peoples of the Soviet Union and the U.S. The author quoted Larry Merculieff, St. Paul's city manager through the portion of the article concerning Aleuts. In the following statements Merculieff voiced Indigenous rights language:

"Our people risked their lives to save the crews. Nobody will salvage the boats, so they lie there, leaking fuel into the sea. Offshore, behind the falling snow, are more boats—crabbers like this one and big factory ships—sucking up the fish that Aleuts and all the wildlife here depend on." (Graham, 1991, July-August, p. 43)

"The story of Beringia is so important, " Larry Merculieff told his visitors on the cliffs at St. Paul, "because this is what is happening to indigenous peoples all over the world." (Graham, 1991, July-August, p. 44)

"That was our Declaration of Independence [1966 Fur Seal Act]!" St. Paul city manager Larry Merculieff said recently. "Though the seals received top billing in the legislation, we felt we should at least be equal with them. The United States removed the restrictions on our travel, turned our school over to the state, and gave us the chance to create a municipality under state law." (Graham, 1991, July-August, p. 50)

Congress, in pulling the United States out of the fur seal business, established a \$20 million trust fund to help the Aleuts create an alternate industry.

"But one day we woke up and the feds were gone." Larry Merculieff recalled. "No one had a salary, and even if they did there was no place to cash

checks. The government store was privately owned, and prices tripled overnight. It was traumatic. In the first year after the federal pullout we had four suicides and three murders here.” (Graham, 1991, July, p. 50)

Merculieff believes the rush toward development is headlong and not in harmony with Native needs.

“If we hadn’t developed our port to bring in fish for processing we might as well have bought one-way tickets to the mainland,” he said. “I don’t embrace development, but I am resigned to it. I would just like to see us delay major decisions and buy some time. We have seen more destruction in the last seven or eight years—with the harbor and plant construction ships run aground, and all that—than in the previous two hundred years.” (p. 51)

Graham’s own writing also presented Aleut history and current events in an attempt to tell it from Aleut perspectives through interweaving Aleut statements within his own.

Graham might have found this strategy useful for this article because the article concerned communication of peoples across borders (U.S., Soviet, and Aleutian) and multiple cultures. The premise of the article was that knowledge of the past, cooperation and patience would serve to protect the Beringian area. Though Graham pointed to “social and environmental ills,” he did so by explaining and allowing Merculieff’s voice to explain the structural and historical factors shaping such “ills.” What is possible in Graham’s portrayal is a Beringian Park welcoming humans instead of excluding human presence.

Eskimos as Subsistence Hunters

In “The Sea Unicorn,” Bruemmer described the natural history of the narwhal. In this piece the Eskimos were mentioned as hunters and consumers of narwhal, possessors of “lore” that explained narwhal habits, and as aiding a baby narwhal rescue effort. A photograph of an Eskimo eating narwhal meat was included on the third page of the

article opposite a full-page photograph of a narwhal carcass. The caption read, "The real unicorn, the narwhal with its ten-foot twisted horn, lies on a Baffin Island beach, killed by Eskimos who find its inch-thick skin, its muktuk, a delicacy as well as rich in vitamin C" (Bruemmer, 1969, November, p. 60). An Eskimo man (his face took up much of the picture) is shown outdoors holding a piece of meat he is putting into his mouth with his hand. A large ring was on one of his fingers. His head was bent down, and his eyes look down, not at the camera. The photograph defined the Eskimo man by his dining habits. On page 60 of the article, Bruemmer wrote, "Since their [narwhal] favorite food...seems to be Greenland halibut, the Arctic explorer Peter Freuchen suggested narwhal use their tusks to prod these bottom-dwelling fish, a theory seconded by Eskimo lore. Most scientists now believe the tusk is merely an ornament..." (1969, November, p. 60). In another part of the article, Eskimo hunting methods were depicted,

Slowly, inexorably, the ice closes in on them until they jostle each other desperately for a vital space to breathe. Eskimos call a school of ice-trapped whales a *savssat*....

To find a *savssat* is, obviously, the dream of every Eskimo. The Danish scientists, Morten Porsild, saw several *savssats* in Disko Bay, Greenland, in the winter of 1915. Eskimos from far and wide came to the area and they killed at least a thousand of the trapped and doomed narwhal...

I have never seen a narwhal *savssat*. But in the winter of 1966-1967, about 200 white whale were trapped in a *savssat* off Ellesmere Island. An Eskimo from Grise Fjord, returning from his trapline, found the animals. During December and January, when the moon was full, the Eskimos went out and in the spectral bluish light of the Arctic night harpooned the white whales and hauled them home....

When I arrived in April, the whales had been trapped for nearly six months. An Eskimo had seen them just a week earlier, still jostling each other in a hole now less than a yard across...

The Eskimos have always hunted narwhal avidly. An adult male weighs about 3,000 to 3,500 pounds. Its meat is excellent, the sinews were used for sewing; the blubber was eaten or burnt into a smokeless yellowish flame in the Eskimos' crescent-shaped oil lamps. The skin was cut into tough resilient thong,

highly prized for dogteam traces since it always remained supple, even when it got wet and dried again. For this same reason, narwhal skins were once a fairly valuable trading item. Ski bindings were made of them. But above all, the Eskimos like the nearly inch-thick skin, which they call *muktuk*.

The raw rubbery skin tastes faintly of hazelnuts and is extremely rich in vitamin C, containing per unit of weight about as much of it as oranges or lemons (3.18 milligrams of vitamin C per 100 grams of skin). (p. 62-63)

The author stated that the hunting pressure on the narwhal had increased with the Eskimos' use of different technology.

Although no laws presently protect the narwhal, nature often does. They are extremely shy and wary and as long as Eskimos approached the narwhal nearly noiselessly with their sleek kayaks, they could harpoon an odd one. Now they use motor-driven canoes and guns, killing many more narwhal than they retrieve. Since narwhal navigate by sonar-like echolocation, they can adroitly avoid the nets Eskimos have set for seal, although they have been taken in special wide-meshed whale nets that do not seem to reflect a sufficient warning echo. (Bruemmer, 1969, November, p. 63)

This theme of use of modern technology linked with overexploitation of resources was a common theme in other articles.

An article inset was called "The Story of Umiak, the New York Narwhal." The article began, "Until an utterly astonishing radiotelephone call came from the Far North in early September, the world at large knew naught of one of the most unique (and legendary) creatures of the Arctic seas" (Bruemmer, 1969, November, p. 62). Bruemmer wrote,

The drama began when the Mountie joined a canoeful of Eskimos on an afternoon narwhal hunt. In the midst of the havoc they discovered a baby narwhal following their canoe, occasionally giving it friendly nudges. It was the calf of a large female narwhal that had been inadvertently killed, and it had mistaken the oblong skiff for its mother...

The Eskimos and the Mountie undertook the rescue of the weanling whale. With great maneuvering in a tippy craft, they got the baby narwhal aboard, then ashore, then lugged it unwieldily overland to a small pond. (Bruemmer, 1969, November, p. 62)

Here the Eskimo were shown rescuing baby wildlife, not killing it. The details of the rescue were very sketchy. Scientists took over the rescue as soon as possible and the narwhal was transported to the Brooklyn zoo where the narwhal soon died.

In 1979, one part of a series on hunting entitled "Bitter Harvest" focused on the Alaska Natives. The article, "Book Four: Yungnaquaaguq" discussed the hunting controversies, mainly the hunting rights of Alaska Natives being delegitimized by urban or visiting hunters.

"Yet for all the bountiful appearances, some of Alaska's game species are stretched against the hard thin line of human demand. And the numbers are such that not a few of the resource users may have to do without in the years ahead." (Mitchell, 1979, November, p. 106)

In "Book Four: Yungnaquaaguq," a part of a series about hunting in "Bitter Harvest" by John G. Mitchell, subsistence and the controversies surrounding the practice were explained in deep complexity. The twenty-six pages of the article helped to set contexts and provide details. Three key issues about subsistence were outlined in the article:

1) Mitchell argued that Alaska's once abundant resources were becoming scarce. This is an important point because usual popular culture images of Eskimos and Alaska presented the state as having an Arctic scarcity. Mitchell's role as an environmental journalist does not permit him to make such a false claim. In this case, scarcity was not linked to a natural environment but to over hunting pressure by sports hunters, mismanagement by Alaska Fish and Game Department, and the fire control policies of the Bureau of Land Management.

2) Subsistence consisted of more than hunting. Though the series “Bitter Harvest” focused on hunting, Mitchell discussed fishing, berry harvesting, and sourdock harvesting (Mitchell, 1979, November, p.118-120).

3) In regards to hunting, Alaska Natives were not stereotyped as overexploiters or “noble hunters.” The article was not devoid of stereotypical references, but these were not attached to the subsistence issue. For example, at one point Mitchell referred to the Eskimos as “gentle people” (Mitchell. 1979, November, p. 114). Subsistence was presented as tied to the cash economy and deeply affected, by the cash economy not existing apart from it. Mitchell pointed out that a hunter would have to invest money into equipment in order to survive on subsistence. On the other hand, Mitchell argued if a hunter chose a wage economy, the opportunity for hunting would be limited due to time factors. The points of view of Alaska Natives on subsistence thread through the piece through the use of direct quotes and Mitchell’s statements.

In 1977, John G. Mitchell, wrote about the crashing of the once abundant caribou herd in Northwest Alaska, the controversy around subsistence hunting, and the limits set on subsistence caribou hunting in light of the population crash. In the article, “Where Have All the Tuttu gone?” Mitchell described the points of view of the Alaska Fish and Game department, non-Indian sport hunter’s associations, a wolf hunter/helicopter pilot, and several Eskimo communities. Mitchell, as far as balance, focused heavily on the Eskimo point of view. In addition, the article was illustrated with art of the Canadian Eskimo communities. The art, illustrations of caribou and a fish weir, was not from the communities being discussed, but the stylizations were probably intended to represent an

affinity to Eskimo communities in general. The stonecut by the artists Qualluaryuk and Suvaaraq, entitled “Hundreds and Hundreds” on the first page, spreading partly into the next page indicated the abundance of caribou. A large mass of caribou (with individual features and different horn structures) stand huddled together.

The quote, “How can you love the wolf and the Eskimo at the same time” emerged from this context as spoken by “one state bureaucrat” concerning the planned killing of wolves in order to ensure that the First Alaskans would have caribou for subsistence hunting. The state governor’s office had prepared stacks of letters to send in reply to environmentalists complaining about the wolf killing, but found that the protest letters were not arriving in large amounts. The explanation for the arrival of very few letters of protest was that the environmentalists were siding with the Eskimo subsistence rights. Mitchell took a stand against this killing of wolves in the article, expressing this was a bad idea of the Alaska Fish and Game Department.

Mitchell dealt with some of the similar themes of other articles on subsistence, especially confronting the idea that contemporary hunting practices were wasteful. He problematized the idea that Eskimos hunters were hunting wastefully. He wrote, “And all the observations and hearsay seemed to implicate the Native hunters, as if somehow they alone had cornered the market in waste. It hardly seemed possible” (Mitchell, 1977, March, p. 9).

Mitchell, however, was not adverse to associating waste with “pennyskin Asian hunters” the ancestors of the “Plains Indians” and Paleosiberian hunters. Mitchell wrote, “Among the prodigious wasters were the pennyskin Asian hunters who poured across the

Bering bridge and, leaving Alaska to the Eskimo, proceeded south and east to the happy hunting grounds of the Great Plains” (1977, March, p. 8). The term “pennyskin” was an obsolete term (likely pejorative) not found in commonly referenced dictionaries such as the Oxford English Dictionary, Webster’s New World Dictionary (Neufeldt, 1991), or American Heritage Dictionary. Mitchell probably used the term as an alternative to “redskin,” a racializing reference. The use of this term insinuated that it was a permissible description for ancestors of present day Indigenous peoples. Earlier, Mitchell used the term, “bronze-skinned Paleosiberian hunters” as in “And close on the caribou’s hooves came bronze-skinned Paleosiberian hunters, most of whom pushed south and east, exploiting other ungulate herds across the continent” (p. 5). Mitchell combined a representation of the excesses of early hunters and immigrants of antiquity (not Indigenous) from Asia or Siberia, a theory questioned by Deloria (1995), accompanied by images of groups of people with a specific skin tone. Mitchell might have used these colorful terms in order to add figurative imagery, but on a connotative level the imagery evoked the bundles of meanings associated with “redskins” (primitive, savagery) and massive exploitation of natural resources. He did not use these terms or the alleged exploitive characteristics to describe present day Indigenous peoples.

Mitchell developed the idea of modern-day subsistence as a complex way of life and quoted a president of an Alaska Native corporation as saying, “Subsistence is more than eating” (Mitchell, 1977, March, p. 14). Mitchell also wrote in the article concerning the effects of the limits on Indigenous communities needed to conserve the caribou population:

When early last year there was no limit on how many caribou the people might take, now an Eskimo hunter, if he is lucky enough to hold one of the precious permits, may take only one bull. As the days grow longer now, as the vernal sun swings higher in the Arctic sky, as the stocks of salmon sink lower in the log houses of Shungnak and Allakaket, there will be few, if any distended bellies in the barren-ground villages. Notwithstanding the adverse ruling by Secretary Knebel (to declare Northwest Alaska a disaster area), aid did come in the winter from the great white fathers in Juneau and Washington. Food stamps. Beef at bulk rates. And welfare. The people want caribou. And for lack of it there is and will be pain. Not in the gut; in the heart, in the timeless marrow of their cultural pride. (p. 5)

The excerpt was written with figurative language, an unusual writing strategy for the subject of food scarcity. Mitchell implied that hunger would be a poetic experience for First Alaskan communities. Despite that use of figurative language, Mitchell attempted to express subsistence hunters' points of view, but he drew on a romanticized portrayal of the "stoic" Indigenous person:

Still however bitter, most Natives seemed willing to comply with the new regulations. As the long darkness of winter approached, the villagers turned toward their leanest season with a stoic bravura that no doubt has characterized all barren-ground peoples since ancient times. (p. 10)

Later Mitchell described the nutritional issues caused by the caribou permit controls with more concrete language. He explained that a nutritional program would ensure that protein was distributed evenly in the community.

SKEETER MULLOY is an Eskimo woman employed by RurAL CAP to administer village nutrition programs....RurAL CAP had just allocated to the NANA [Northwest Alaska Native Association) region a grant of \$36,000 to help alleviate the protein shortage, and it was her responsibility, together with other Native officials in Kotzebue, to redistribute the funds, on the basis of population, to a nutrition committee in each village. (p. 15)

Furthermore in the second to last paragraph of the article he quoted a subsistence hunter,

Thomas Punglaik holds three of Noorvik's 260 allotted caribou permits. In March, he plans to go by snowmobile to the far side of Selawik, to the flats

where, in other times, one could take many caribou. This year, if he plays by the rules, Thomas Pungliak will take only three. "Last year," he said. "we [sic] heard rumors that the season would be closed. So the people went out and shot plenty. I told the game warden once. "If my kids are hungry, I will take what I need to feed them.' I will go by the law, but not if my kids are hungry." (Mitchell, 1977, March, p. 15)

Mitchell was not able to poeticize the need for food while quoting a concerned subsistence hunter.

Alaska Natives were not presented as one generic political entity in this article. In fact, Mitchell pointed out how each one protected its members and how some Alaska Natives also are members of corporations looking after both financial and corporate investments and cultural practices (Mitchell, 1977, March, p. 10, 13-15). Each Native community was provided with a set number of permits, except for one community that did not make it to the permit-allocation meeting. The other villages would not divide up the permits they were already allotted.

Did not Kotzebue have permits to spare? No, Kotzebue did *not* have permits to spare. Willie Goodwin, a Native official from Kotzebue, had explained it a few days earlier at a conference in Fairbanks. The caribou bulls were still in a rut. In rut, he said, "the bulls are skinny and the meat stinks. The real hunt will start in March." Game Director Rausch, in Soldotna agreed. "The people of Kotzebue look at these permits as money in the bank," said Rausch. And besides, no one knew better than Mitch Demientieff that sending Allakaket to Kotzebue was not quite the same as sending Anaktuvuk to Barrow. Anaktuvuk and Barrow have strong cultural and kinship ties. Both are Eskimo communities, as is Kotzebue. But Mitch Demientieff and the people of Allakaket are Indian. There is a difference. Even in the north country. Especially in the north country, when the fat of the land has gone miserable and lean. (p. 10)

Mitchell presented the subsistence hunting with long roots in the past and drew on perspectives from Eskimo subsistence hunters and community members. However, he mediated such descriptions through stereotypical representations in order to dramatize or

adorn his descriptions. For example, he depicted hunger and the Eskimo response to hunger as “stoic bravura,” while depicting a busy community member at work distributing grant money to ensure all that community members had food.

Representations of Eskimo Relationships with Whales and Whaling

Two Audubon articles with opposing views depicted Alaskan Eskimo whaling. Both articles were written out of concern for the bowhead whale that was an endangered species, but each took a different stance on concern for Eskimo cultural practices. Ted Williams in 1989 discussed whaling in the context of a whale rescue he observed. John R. Brockstoe in 1977 discussed whaling within the context of his experience accompanying Eskimo whalers on whaling trips. The articles presented the whaling controversy—the rights of Eskimos to catch bowhead whales—in opposite ways. Both articles discuss the issue of “waste,” when whales are wounded but escape, of the use of modern equipment during whaling, and the role of Eskimo culture in whaling.

In 1989, Ted Williams decried the rescue mission of two bowhead whales (three whales had been trapped in ice, but one died) in Alaska. From his point of view, the rescue was simply a media event that also had monetary benefits for the Eskimos. He was able to angle the article about the whale rescue so that he could comment on Eskimo whaling and Eskimo identity.

NO SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP [sic] benefited more from Operation Breakthrough than the Eskimos. At first they had wanted to eat Bone, Bonnet, and Crossbeak [the stranded whales]. But swiftly it became apparent that the whales were worth a lot more to them alive than dead. They got \$200 a head hauling reporters to the breathing holes in snowmobiles. Then they got \$15 per hour from the North Slope Borough for cutting more breathing holes. They hawked fur garments and whale-rescue tee-shirts. And they posed for the world as concerned conservationists. (Williams, 1989, March, p. 20)

Eskimos were presented as opportunists, ready to get food and earn money any way possible. Williams also presented them as charlatans, “posed for the world as concerned conservationists.” He made a blanket statement to cover the behavior of all Eskimos. He never identified the particular communities who were present. This omission furthered the blanketing effect of his accusations. The blanketing technique aided in presenting a simplistic portrait of Eskimos. This strategy may be familiar for the readers who read categorical descriptions in other contexts, such as common behavioral characteristics of animals or growing conditions of plants. In other words, readers were comfortable with essentialized images of plants and animals, based on Western science. In light of essentialized descriptions on nonhuman nature, readers may have found it easy to accept essentializing descriptions of people, in this case Eskimos, put forth by the environmental journalist.

After Williams judged the inappropriateness of using modern technology for whaling, he then made another all encompassing statement loaded with a metaphor of which ornithologists and bird watchers would be familiar.

Meanwhile, because of “poor conditions,” which obviously included snooping TV cameras, they had suspended their “cultural subsistence” whale hunt. This for the desperately endangered bowhead, of which they are annually permitted to strike forty-six but actually kill only forty-one by “traditional” means. Traditional means include the use of exploding harpoons and bomb-firing shoulder cannons, two-way radios and power winches, outboard engines and snowmobiles. “[Bowhead] whale hunting is entering the electronic age,” reports *Alaskan Native News Magazine*. The idea is simple. We put a small, but relatively powerful transmitter inside a float [tied to the harpoon line]. If the whaling crew loses its whale, they can follow the whale using the receiver in their boat. If it gets away, then we can take up a small plane and locate the float.” NOAA has determined that while Eskimos don’t need bowheads to nourish their bodies they need to kill them to nourish their *culture*, a culture as dead as the great auk. [emphasis added] (Williams, 1989, March, p. 20)

Williams took liberties to define what is “traditional” and preferred a meaning of the term that reflected practices of the past. He relegated the meaning of “being Eskimo” to the practices of their past. With his authority as an environmental journalist, he proclaimed that he knew how to define what “Eskimo culture” was and should be in the present-day. He claimed that authentic “Eskimo culture” was not what was practiced in the current day. The “Eskimo culture” had gone extinct. He insinuated that the term “Eskimo” was a label that had been emptied of what it meant to be “Eskimo.” The metaphor referring to the great auk was uniquely crafted for the Audubon (bird and preservation) audience. It powerfully and succinctly summarized Williams’ stance on his opinion of Eskimos. The claim that a Native group “has no culture” or “is cultureless” because their cultures do not resemble European cultures began with the European explorers recording their impressions of their first encounters with Indigenous peoples. Here in environmental discourse of 1989 the cultureless label re-emerged. This passage was loaded with stereotypical images of the Eskimos sneaky, untrustworthy, inauthentic when judged by the standards of outsiders, and as tainted because of their adoption of Western technology. Fienup-Riordan pointed out the occasional filmic portrayal of Eskimo villains (1995, p. 93, 99). She also discussed the filmic representation of Eskimo characters being “corrupted by [Euro-American] civilization” (Fienup-Riordan, 1995). This more common theme appeared in the movies Frozen Justice (1929), Eskimo (1934), Savage Innocents (1960), and White Dawn (1974) (Fienup-Riordan, 1995, p. 130). Williams (1989, March) wanted to discuss the calamity and senselessness of the

Operation Breakthrough, but he also wanted to talk about “Eskimos” as corrupted, fake, and wasteful.

Williams commented on “wasteful” habits of Eskimo whalers when whales that had been harpooned or shot were not brought ashore.

Arnold Brower Jr. had killed a bowhead earlier in the fall. “Eskimos,” he told Sherry Simpson of The Washington Post, “do not take more than they can use.” One hears this all the time; it is chanted as part of the ashes-and-sackcloth ritual that “non-native” Americans do delight in. And yet wanton waste is part of the Eskimo way of life. I know of a bowhead that was killed (after three had been critically wounded), stripped of its tasty “muktuk” skin, and left to rot, at which point it weighed 45,000 pounds. Eskimos shoot polar bears indiscriminately, with no regard for age, sex, or season. And firing into walrus herds with cheap, nonexpanding military ammunition, they sometimes cripple as many animals as they kill. Retrieved walruses usually are detached from their ivory and dumped back into the sea. It’s so bad that the Russians complain about all the headless carcasses washing up on their beaches. (p. 20)

Williams was presenting the Eskimo as devoid of any cultural, community, or governmental controls over hunting. He omitted information about cultural controls because he had just pointed out that “Eskimos” did not have a culture anymore. Williams again used a blanket exaggeration to represent all Eskimos. It is difficult to believe that every Eskimo depleted resources in this way. In fact this behavior would oppose the way anthropologist Fienup-Riordan (1995 citing her 1990 work) depicts historical and present day Iñupiat attitudes toward animals:

Eskimos...view animals as nonhuman guests who give themselves to their human hosts in exchange for careful treatment and respect. For them there is not the same finality in killing an animal for food. If properly cared for an animal does not “die dead forever” but returns the following season in a never-ending cycle of birth and rebirth. (p. 123)

Williams did have the opportunity to discuss his views on “Eskimo” culture with members of the Eskimo community at the scene of the rescue. One man especially was involved:

“They [the media] were supposed not to touch the whales, but we couldn’t control it very well,” said Arnold Brower Jr., the Eskimo [emphasis added] who acted as one of National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration’s on-ice deputies. “I think it made them weary,” Brower would chase away reporters wearing red. “Upon noticing that kind of color, he told me [emphasis added], “the whales dive whether they have taken enough breath or not. (pp. 17-18)

Williams depicted this spokesperson as “the Eskimo,” rather than “an Eskimo.” His first level of identity in the passage is “the Eskimo” and than as an “on-ice deputy.” Williams attempted to present Brower’s presence as an anomaly, highlighting him as standing out in the crowd of rescuers

In conclusion, Williams mediated his representations of Eskimo culture, whaling, and identity through his own opinions and even through a few Eskimo voices (Arnold Brower Jr., the whale rescuer and hunter and the Alaska Native News Magazine). A close reader might have noticed the voices had been channeled through other journalists, even though Williams talked to Arnold Brower Jr., a member of the Eskimo community. Immediately after drawing on these voices, Williams opposed the voiced ideas and argued against their claims. Whaling and whale rescues were both poor environmental practices, and Eskimos should not be involved in either practice, according the article. A different stance was taken in an article published years earlier.

In September 1977, John R. Brockstoe’s article “An Issue of Survival: Bowhead Vs. Tradition” was published in Audubon. Brockstoe approached similar issues as Williams but from a different context and with the background of a relationship with

Eskimo people. What was also clear that instead of being presented as superhuman or some sort of super-adapted human in regard to coping with the cold, Brockstoce described the Eskimo as not immune to the weather.

The temperature was –10 degrees and I shifted uneasily on the freight sled, trying to keep the wind from finding its way into the openings of my parka. Judging from their nervous movements, the six Eskimos seated beside me were equally unsuccessful in fighting the cold... The captain and harpooner paced in a curious syncopated shuffle, tapping one mukluk against the other to force circulation back into their feet. (Brockstoce, 1977, September, p. 140)

Brockstoce was accompanying Eskimo whaling crews on hunts for many years. He wrote, “**Over the past decade** [sic] I have watched the Eskimos of Point Hope take and butcher more than 50 whales” (Brockstoce, 1977, September, p. 141). The Eskimos he described were practicing culturally-influenced methods. Brockstoce did not rely on explaining in-depth the culturally taught hunting methods, but described the food distribution process.

When the whale was finally on the ice, one of the older men mounted the carcass and, cutting lightly on the skin with a long handled blubber spade, delineated the shares each of the crew would receive. This was an ancient procedure; the first crew to strike the whale would take the largest share; the second crew, somewhat less; and so on, down to the tenth crew. Even if the whale were killed before all the crews helped dispatch it, each would receive a share in the order they reached the scene. This simple system, by rewarding quick assistance, provides a check against uncoordinated hunting and consequent loss of whales. (Brockstoce, 1977, September, p. 141)

Brockstoce also contextualized other whale hunting activities through history and the tremendous toll commercial whaling took on the whale population. He even described different whaling phases experienced across time by those Eskimos involved in whaling. Furthermore, he does not ignore the use of modern equipment or the event of “waste.”

As expected for a nature magazine, Brockstoce still wrote through an environmentalist lens.

The questions being asked concern the increasing annual kill of bowheads by Eskimos, and the advisability of allowing the hunt to continue without restrictions. These questions in turn raise the issue of claims of native Americans to aboriginal hunting rights which conflict with the conservation of wildlife resources belonging to all Americans.

This conflict was not created this year, however, or even in this decade. It began with inroads made on the bowhead population a century ago by commercial whalers....

For centuries Eskimos and bowhead whales existed as coinhabitants of a stable ecosystem. But this rhythm was shattered forever in 1848 when a Yankee whaler sailed through the Bering Strait and discovered a rich new whaling grounds. (Brockstoce, 1977, September, p. 141-142)

Unlike Williams, Brockstoce provided numbers, asserting that whale kills have increased since 1910, when whaling in the U.S. resumed to Indigenous subsistence purposes. He recommended solutions for reducing the number of wounded whales:

[T]he number of bowhead whales killed has increased dramatically. In 1974 Eskimos killed and butchered 20 whales, while 3 were killed but lost and at least 28 struck but lost. In 1976 there were 48 bowheads killed and butchered, 8 killed but lost, and at least 35 struck but lost. And by May 31st of this year, with the spring whaling season drawing to a close and the fall hunt yet to come, 26 whales had been killed and butchered, 2 killed but lost, and at least 77 struck but lost.

It is this last category, the whales struck but lost, that is most disturbing, for there is no way of knowing how many died of their wounds. If we assume the worst, then the total numbers of whales killed by Eskimos may be more than twice the number actually butchered. (1977, September, p. 143)

Brockstoce showed the carefully tallying that was done of the whales. This stands in opposition to Williams' portrayal of the vast slaughter of mammals by Eskimos.

Brockstoce explained the current urgency of the issue. The U.S. government has been asked by the International Whaling Commission to halt subsistence whale hunting.

Brockstoce carefully phrased his wording,

Regardless of the [U.S.] government's decision the concern of the International Whaling Commission is justified. For the bowhead is the species of great whale about which the least is known, and any attempt to estimate its numbers is bound to fall in the realm of sheer guesswork. The bowhead population may indeed be critically low—too low to survive under the present level of Eskimo hunting pressure.

But having spent many whaling seasons in the Arctic, I believe a total ban on Eskimo whaling would create more problems than it would solve. It would certainly be harmful to Eskimo culture (in which the act of the hunt can be as important as the food it gathers), for it would further erode ancient lifeways and traditions that already have been greatly altered by foreign influences

Moreover, the ban would be difficult to enforce. It would be viewed by Eskimos as another attempt by white men to tamper with inalienable hunting rights, and the repercussions could be disastrous. (Brockstoce, 1977, September, p. 143)

Brockstoce explained the concept that Williams criticized, the way the whale hunt was an exercise of or a “nourishment” of culture. In contradiction to Williams, Brockstoce argued that the halt of the whale hunt would be detrimental to Eskimo culture(s) and would contribute to what Williams emphatically propounded: cultural demise. Even Brockstoce was interested in cultural expression and practice but his interest was portrayed as in step with the interests of Eskimo whale hunters and communities: The continued practice of whale hunting as present-day peoples with modern technology.

Brockstoce put forth ideas to help continue the subsistence whale hunt. Changes in the order of how equipment was used (using the harpoon and bomb [Williams called it a cannon] simultaneously to cut back on “wasted whales”). Furthermore, Brockstoce argued that all the whaling data collecting over the years must be compiled and analyzed to gain a better understanding of the bowhead whale population.

In conclusion, the articles reveal how the inclusion of Indigenous voices in reporting did not automatically ensure that a journalist had respected the speaker's

intentions. Williams quoted an Eskimo man, John Brower, Jr., at the scene of the whale rescue mission, and used John Brower's words to defend his (Williams') position of Eskimos as insincere and playing to a crowd. On the other hand, the lack of Indigenous voices or direct quotes did not necessarily indicate that an article did not advocate Indigenous viewpoints. Brockstoce never quoted an Eskimo person or hunter, but he was still able to write an article defending the Eskimo right to whaling. Brockstoce's experience with whaling was presented as long term and specific. He was writing about subsistence whaling and he had been on several whale-hunting crews.

Indigenous communities now face pressure on their cultural practices and uses of wildlife because of ecological repercussions from the world at large. This pressure appeared in how environmental journalists represent Indigenous peoples. It is much easier for journalists such as Williams to appeal to the Indigenous "exploiter" imagery without taking into account how a species has been endangered by a multiplicity of human and natural activities (toxic chemical pollutants, global warming, commercial and sport hunting, human population encroachment, etc.), Indigenous subsistence hunting being the least of them. Appealing to the exploiter image provided some environmental journalists a writing strategy that did not require in-depth research, but permitted them to lay the blame on the "other." In a nutshell, Williams might be relying on the following rationale in his article "Circus Whales":

We non-Indians are not endangering the bowhead whale. We stopped our utilization of that resource before it was too late. It is the Eskimos' fault. Their

“authentic” culture appears dead [to Williams] so their rights to that resource is dead anyway. Therefore, they should stop whaling.

In comparison, Williams’ Incite article on Hopi eaglet gathering relied on demonizing a group of people who, in his presentation, did not agree among themselves on how wildlife should be treated, but had a clearly intact ceremonial system that from Williams’ view was not “modernized” (unlike the modern equipment used in whale hunting). Williams could not rationalize his argument of a “dead” culture for that setting (at Hopi). Rather, he depicted the Hopi taking of eaglets as a mass slaughter and as an evil cultural practice.

Nez Perce Wolf Recovery Project: Coverage in Two Nature Magazines

Audubon published “A Victory for the Natives” in May-June of 1997. In August-September of 1998 an article appeared in National Wildlife entitled “Wolf Spirit Returns to Idaho.” The Audubon article was in the Reports section of the magazine, and was accompanied by a photograph a little more than half of a page long. The articles shared common themes in their coverage, but the space limits of the Reports section prevented a fully dialogical discussion and permitted the author’s point of view to dominate.

To begin, the Audubon piece compared the media attention provided for the Yellowstone wolf recovery project to the lack of coverage of the Idaho wolf recovery project. Chisolm described the Idaho wolf recovery project as an “equally successful reintroduction” (1997, May-June, p. 19). The success of the program was evident in the numbers of flourishing wolves, “all but 7 [of 35 wolves] are accounted for, and three

breeding pairs have produced as many as 7 pups” (1997, May-June, p. 19). Chisolm then wrote,

What’s just as remarkable is that the Nez Perce tribe bears sole responsibility for orchestrating the gray wolf’s recovery in Idaho. For the first time, the federal government has contracted with a Native American tribe to manage an endangered species for an entire state. (1997, May-June, p. 19)

Chisolm’s comment on the program being “remarkable” may be an overstatement, but may seem remarkable to Audubon readers. Many tribal communities have Fish and Game management programs. Then, Chisolm stated how that arrangement originated: “the conservative Idaho legislature reacted to political pressure from farming and livestock interest” and prevented the state wildlife department from assuming leadership of the wolf recovery program. Chisolm quoted Ed Bangs, a wildlife service employee from Helena, Montana:

If you remove the Feds, you remove a lot of the anger...The state people probably trust the tribal people more than [they do] the Feds. I think the fact that the Nez Perce took the lead in Idaho and have been doing such a great job on just about everything relieves a lot of the anxiety. (Chisolm, 1997, May-June, p. 19)

Chisolm stated that this was the third year of the Nez Perce-run wolf recovery program based on a cooperative agreement to “monitor, manage, and research the wolves.” The duties in the recovery program included visiting school classrooms, interacting with hunters, and using aerial telemetry to check on the wolves. The last paragraph of the article focused on the spiritual and historical connection between the Nez Perce and the wolves. The complete paragraph was as follows:

Five generations after their ancestors were driven from their homeland, the Nez Perce have embraced wolf reintroduction as a way to blend their spiritual beliefs with political victory. “The Nez Perce and the wolves are a mirror of one another; we were both displaced to make space for settlers,” says Jaime Pinkham, a

member of the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee in Lapwai, Idaho. “And now we are both trying to find our way home. In a sense you might call it a recovery mirror; and as the wolf comes back, it is a reflection of the tribe’s strength.” (Chisolm, 1997, May-June, p. 19)

The author interpreted Jaime Pinkham’s quote as a “political victory.” Space limitations may have prevented the author from fully explaining that Jaime Pinkham’s explanation bordered on more than “politics,” or a blend of politics and spirituality, but included the exercise of sovereignty for the Nez Perce community, a victory in terms of spiritual practice, and victory over history. The author’s own voice dominated when he depicted the wolf recovery project in terms of “political victory” which is a term much weaker in emphasis than sovereignty.

The photograph associated with this article depicts an elder, James Axtell, outside of a caged enclosure where a wolf sits or stands. James Axtell, dressed in a coat with geometric Native American designs, faces away from the camera and looks at the wolf so that his profile faced the camera. He appears to be kneeling next to the enclosure. The connotative meaning of the photograph was that of the wolf and Nez Perce elder communicating. It looked as if the two were talking to each other. James Axtell was touching the fence in front of the area where the wolf stood. The wolf had his head cocked, as if he was listening, and James Axtell seemed to be addressing the wolf. The wolf was part of a captive pack. At first glance, the photograph anticipated the ecological Indian, but on further examination the image’s complexity stood out. Compared to images of wolves and mystical Indians that saturate popular culture even today, in greeting cards and collector’s plates, this image worked differently. The image was of a captive wolf; the wolf was behind a chain-linked fence, not free in the “wilderness.”

Unlike the images of wolves and Indians, man and wolf are meeting, but under controlled circumstances and with a context referenced in the article. The captive pack, most likely, has been slowly made accustomed to a lifestyle that intersects closely with humans. The “wildness” of this wolf remained a characteristic to respect—for a fence separated the wolf and the Native American elder. At the same time, even the “wild” wolves are being managed, tracked, and monitored through Western scientific methods, which also reduced their “wildness,” to live independently of humans. The management team also must socialize the surrounding human community to wolves.

The article in National Wildlife, “Wolf Spirit Returns to Idaho” focused on the Nez Perce spiritual connection to the reintroduced wolves. The cultural and spiritual connection was emphasized through the article’s title, the author’s choice of presentation, the photographs, and quotes by the Nez Perce and non-Nez Perce people involved in the wolf recovery project.

The author, Mark Cheater, clearly stated his stance in the article’s title: “Wolf Spirit Returns to Idaho” (emphasis added). Instead of a title such as “Wolves return to Idaho,” the article referred to “wolf spirit” as a metonym for the wolves. Furthermore, the title was explained by the additional subtitle: “The Nez Perce Indians bring a spiritual dimension to efforts to restore endangered gray wolves to former habitat.” If the article was explaining a state-run wildlife recovery program, the spiritual aspects of wolves might not have been appropriate for the title and for the article’s context. The wolf spirit angle made the story more interesting for the reader, by fitting their expectations about “ecological” and “spiritual” Native Americans. The article began,

Levi Holt raises a hand-carved flute to his lips and blows long, plaintive notes into the chilly Rocky Mountain air. A hundred yards away, several gray wolves materialize from the forest and run to the edge of a 20-acre fenced enclosure, seemingly transfixed by the haunting tune.

“Here is the center of the Earth for the Nez Perce,” says Holt, the rising sun silhouetting his large-brimmed felt hat and long black braids against the sky. “In the time of the wolves’ absence, the tribe has suffered—a vital link in our sacred circle has been broken.” With the recent return of wolves to Idaho, however, “the Nez Perce have been given some of their medicine back.” (Cheater, 1998, August-September, p. 32)

The flute player who attracted wolves through his performance provided a vivid spectacle that evoked not only a caretaker and animal bond but a mystical, spiritual connection between wolf and flute player. The image expressed a bond that was beyond one that existed between caretaker and wildlife, but was one based on spirituality. The photographs added to this image because the flute player was shown dressed in regalia with long braids and a painted face, playing the Native American flute in an outdoor setting. On the opposite page was a full-page photograph of a wolf with his face partially hidden by bushes. Referring to both images, the caption read,

CALL OF THE WILD: Levi Holt (left), an elder of the Nez Perce Indian tribe, plays his flute to honor Idaho’s gray wolves. The Indians are in charge of the welfare of a group of wild wolves that were transplanted to Idaho by the federal government. Holt manages a visitor’s center on tribal lands in Winchester, Idaho. The facility is run by the Wolf Education and Research Centers, a nonprofit group. It features a 20-acre enclosure with a pack of 11 captive gray wolves, including this low-ranking male (right). (Cheater, 1998, August-September, p. 32)

The photograph of the man in full regalia becomes set in a different context when the photograph was associated with a visitor’s center or a tourism venture. Possibly, the regalia and the flute and wolf connections were simultaneously part of the tourist attraction, as well as part of a Nez Perce spirituality. The appearance of this spirituality to outsiders and National Wildlife readers evoked familiar images: regalia-wearing

Native Americans, flute music, and close relationships between wolves (wild animals) and Native Americans.

The author used quotes and photographs to reinforce this ecologically spiritual connection between the Nez Perce and the wolves throughout the article. Photographs focused on wolves appeared throughout the article, including one photograph of three wolves mystically enveloped in mist near a pond. Cheater summarized the program's spiritual and Western scientific principles as blended, "In spite of opposition and legal challenges to the program, the wolves are flourishing under the Nez Perce's unique brand of wildlife management, which blends traditional wisdom and modern science" (Cheater, 1998, August-September, p. 34). A non-Nez Perce was interviewed and stated, "They [Nez Perce] bring a different attitude about wolves—a reverence for wildlife is part of their heritage" (Cheater, 1998, August-September, p. 36). Another example of the focus on spirituality,

Nez Perce tribal elder Horace Axtell remembers well the return of the wolves to Idaho. Axtell is a stocky, hale 73-year-old who wears his long gray hair in braids framing his head. He is a leader of the Nez Perce religion, Seven Drum, which is based on the connection between people and nature, "I had the opportunity to welcome [the wolves] back to the land here," he recalls, speaking softly but with obvious feeling, "I sang one of our religious songs to welcome them back. Then I looked into the cage and spoke to one of the wolves in Nez Perce; he kind of tilted his head like he was listening," he recalls, smiling and tilting his head to mimic the wolf. "That felt so good. It was like meeting an old friend." (p. 36)

Further down the page, Cheater described another tribal member's involvement:

Jaime Pinkham, the tribe's treasurer, says that the wolf reintroduction program is one of the flagships for the Nez Perce. "This has been a beautiful combination of science and tradition," he says. The 42-year-old Pinkham epitomizes the combination of old and new. Not only is he steeped in tribal tradition, but he holds a degree in forestry and has worked for state and federal forestry agencies.

“We don’t discount the old wisdom, but there is a way to marry that with science.” (p. 36-38)

Although, Jaime Pinkham possessed Western knowledge useful to the wolf recovery project, a non-Indian was in charge of the Western science-based portion of the project. The article presented the spiritual part of the wolf recovery program as the responsibility of the Nez Perce while non-Nez Perce took charge of the “hard” sciences. Later the article clarified through a quote that these biologists are “top-notch” in their field (Cheater, 1998, August-September, p. 41).

The science part of that marriage is the primary responsibility of wildlife biologist Curt Mack, a lean, spectacled 42-year-old (neither he nor his boss, wildlife director Keith Lawrence, is a member of the tribe) oversees a team of seasonal employees that tracks the wolves through about 13 million acres of national forest in central Idaho. The biologists trap wolves and place radio collars around the animals’ necks so they can follow the wolves’ movements through the forest, warn ranchers if the wolves are approaching livestock, learn if the wolves are reproducing and try to get up-to-date population counts. (p. 38)

As in the Audubon article, a photograph of Horace Axtell was included, showing the wolf and man communicating with each other. Horace Axtell and a black wolf gaze at each other in the picture; the wolf appears to be nuzzling Horace Axtell’s nose. Instead of an interaction mediated by a fenced enclosure, shown in the Audubon article, Horace Axtell was shown interacting face-to-face with the wolf.

Each article presented a different slant on the Nez Perce wolf-recovery project in Idaho, but contained some similar themes. Both articles compared the history of how wolves were treated with how the Nez Perce were treated—the Audubon article presented this through a quote from a Nez Perce person, and the National Wildlife article through quotes and the author’s narrative. In contrast to Audubon, the National Wildlife article

on the wolf recovery project emphasized the spiritual aspects of the Nez Perce wolf recovery project more than the political aspects. The Audubon article did not delve into the spiritual aspects but discussed the “political victory” symbolized in the wolf recovery project. This interpretation of the project may be the author’s simplification of how the project was understood; some Nez Perce members might have emphasized the project was a victory for sovereignty.

Conclusion: Indigenous “Mis”management of Resources and Land

Audubon contributors described the management of wildlife and natural places with regards to contexts involving Indigenous peoples. In one article, the Seminole and Miccosukee presence in the Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Project was completely overlooked. On the other hand, the Makushi tribe in Guyana were depicted as key players in the management of a forest preserve, while being the subject of ecotouristic curiosity. On the other hand, Williams framed the issues concerning the gathering of eaglets by Hopi at Wupatki National Monument through viewing the eagle as threatened by Hopi gathering practices and therefore depicted the Hopi community with negatively charged language. The subsistence hunting articles published across the time period took stances for or against the Aleut and Eskimo subsistence lifestyle. Other articles like “A Victory for the Natives” focused on the Nez Perce wolf recovery project in Idaho as a “remarkable” wildlife management project. The National Wildlife article harnessed ecological Indian imagery to report on the wolf recovery project.

Usage of Ecological Indian Imagery

The ecological Indian imagery appeared in full-length articles. The ecological Indian image, an image of Indigenous peoples living in harmony with nature, was sometimes presented when Audubon contributors advocated for particular environmental causes. In two other articles, two members of the Audubon editorial staff criticized an ongoing Keep America Beautiful advertisement based on the ecological Indian image. Another essay from Audubon focused on the ecological image's meaning for environmentalists.

Advocating for an Issue (With the Aid of the Ecological Indian)

One pattern noticed in three of the full-length articles was advocacy for a particular environmental issue combined with imagery of the "ecological Indian." This "ecological Indian" imagery was used as part of the persuasive message of the article. Modern environmental degradation was contrasted with the harmonious relationship of Native Americans with the land. The three articles expressing this theme were "People of the Blue-Green Waters" by Donald Janson (1968, November-December), "The Murder of the Southwest" by Alvin M. Josephy (1971, July), and "The River They Call Home" by Susan Hand Shetterly (2000, July-August).

"People of the Blue-Green Waters" was one of many articles in the November-December 1968 issue revealing the potential damage of a proposed dam in the Grand Canyon. The article profiled the Havasuapai and noted the effect the dam would have on their home. The following section juxtaposed White environmentalists' reasoning with

Havasupai emotions using ecological Indian imagery.

For the Havasupai of Grand Canyon have lived in peace with nature for perhaps one thousand years. Now, while conservationists fight the dam builders' invasion of a gorge which took 25 million years to sculpt, while they plead that geologic history and unsurpassed natural beauty would be drowned by 500 feet of silent, muddy waters and buried in silt, the people of the blue-green waters simply fear this unwanted encroachment by civilization on their paradise, isolated within the dubious sanctity of a national park. (Janson, November-December, 1968, p. 464)

In this excerpt, the author, Janson described the Havasupai as living in a "paradise" and having "lived in peace with nature for perhaps one thousand years." The environmentalists are active; they "fight" and "plead" while the Havasupai "fear." "Fight" and "plead" are action words. Havasupai agency, however, is presented not by describing the Havasupai as holding an activist stance against the dam, but by remaining separate from mainstream society and controlling the terms of their daily affairs (such as the tourist business that the article describes). The article ended by summarizing this separatist and pristine stance,

Havasupai Canyon has changed little with time. The rush of civilization has passed it by, and the people of the blue-green waters prefer it that way. They have rejected many of the white man's ways. Now they hope no man-made dam will mar their little paradise. (p. 468)

The article's title and content emphasized that "Havasupai" translated to "people of the blue-green waters." This emphasis reinforced the ecological Indian, linking a group with water, a natural entity. The reference to their paradise homeland also reinforced the "ecological Indian." However, only the Havasupai were associated with the "ecological Indian." In contrast, the article explained, the Hualapai, a neighboring community, supported the dam because "proponents have convinced" them of the dam's economic benefits. Using his own narrative, the author found it useful to emphasize the edenic

paradise of the Grand Canyon home to the ecologically-friendly People of the Blue-Green Water in order to take a stand against the proposed dam.¹¹

The article "The Murder of the Southwest," by Alvin M. Josephy Jr. (1971, July) associated the ecological Indian imagery with Hopi and Navajo "traditionalists." Emotion, attributed to the traditionalists, also played an important role. The term "traditionalists" was defined in the article, as "Indian men and women who remain deeply loyal to the beliefs and life values of their ancestors and who carry on their fathers' resistance to the pressures of the white man that corrode and destroy that legacy" (p. 54). The progressives were described as "the people who want to abandon old ways that appear to stand in the way of the economic development of their reservations and the rise of their standards of living" (p. 61). The article's beginning described an "Indian girl with tears on her cheeks" confronting a Peabody Coal executive at a meeting with Hopi traditionalists. She was quoted,

You are taking our water. You are destroying our land. You are threatening our cornfields. How can we live? Our villages will dry up. It will be the end of our way of life, the end of the Hopi people. (p. 54)

When the landscape was described in the article, the Navajos and Hopi were described in ecological Indian terms.

To the Hopis and Navajos it is a sacred land of shrines and spirits, where man comes close to unity with nature and the supernatural. To the Navajos, Black Mesa is the Female Mountain whose eternal and natural balance with neighboring Lukachukai, the Male Mountain, provides harmony, which with beauty is the Navajo Way of Life. 'If these mountains are damaged,' Navajo traditionalist leaders warn, 'the Navajo Way will be destroyed.' (p. 57)

¹¹ The dam was not built.

Many of the Navajos, like the traditionalist Hopis, are vehemently opposed to this kind of development, with its accompanying threats to their values and life-styles, destruction of the beauty and harmony of their universe, and assault on their health and well-being. (p. 59)

But many dangers of seepage, the collapse of cracking, or shifting of strata, and the gradual draining of the higher-level waters into Peabody's aquifer remain, holding up for the Hopis the specter that sometime during the course of the 35-year lease desiccation will increase, and their own springs, wells, and groundwater supply will no longer provide them and their farms with adequate water. If that occurs, all that is presently Hopi would cease, for without their present villages and corn and bean fields, the spiritual base of their existence would disappear. For a thousand years or more an annual cycle of religious ceremonies has surrounded the cultivation of the two crops; Peabody's threat to the Hopis can be likened to a force threatening the end of Christianity—and all meaning of life itself to a body of devout Christians. (p. 65)

But more in order...to learn that the Hopis' religious view of their relationship to nature—of *stewardship* of the Earth—is the only outlook that matters today. The understanding that all human creatures and everything human must fit into a larger drama is the only understanding from which to begin and from which, as the Hopi Way tells, all things flow. (p. 67)

Even more so than in the article on the Grand Canyon dam, this article specified the “ecological Indian”—an image signified by the theme of harmony—not a generic identity or place, but based in particular locations (such as the identified mountains), with particular tribal affiliations (Navajo and Hopi), religious practices (“cycle of religious ceremonies”), and histories. Another theme appearing in both the Grand Canyon dam article and this article was the association of emotion alongside the “ecological Indian.” Such a theme was reminiscent of the “Crying Indian” of the Keep America Beautiful (KAB) advertisements. One difference was that the KAB advertisement was empty of tribally-specific cultural life-ways, but was an invented generic Plains representation. The context of emotion in this article concerning the mining on Navajo and Hopi lands

was based in the practical ramifications of mining's intrusive effects.

"The River They Call Home" (2000, August) by Susan Hand Shetterly profiled a tribal community's river protection strategies against a specific environmental problem, the "dammed and developed, polluted and poisoned" (especially from dioxins)¹² Penobscot River, (p. 78, 84). The land base of the Penobscot Nation ("Nation" is used in the article and is how members identify themselves) consists of several islands in the Penobscot River. In this article, the ecological Indian moved from the past into the modernized present. All references to the ecological Indian were in stories and quotes from the Native people with the exception of the concluding paragraph. The work of Western science and Penobscot culture was depicted as being combined to improve the ecosystem of the Penobscot River. John Banks, a tribal member and head of the Department of Natural Resources, directed a number of biologists in developing the "scientific base for the tribe's positions on environmental issues" (p. 82). Simultaneously, he held specific environmental attitudes, which fit the ecological Indian image. These emerged when Shetterly asked about the lack of development on the islands. She provided a practical explanation (too many heirs to the land) while writing the "ecological Indian" answer as part of Banks' and the Penobscot's belief system.

When I asked Banks why the islands were never heavily logged or developed, he smiles. "We say that the river gives us life, and we mean that in a spiritual sense, we are the river," he tells me. "If we destroyed any of it—the islands, the animals on them, the water around them—we would weaken that connection. We would lose a part of who we are." (p. 81)

¹² Dioxins consist of 300 possible compounds left-over from industrial processes, including incineration of chlorinated hydrocarbons below 1200 degrees Celsius (Allaby, 1998).

The statement “We are the river” fits with the ecological Indian concept.

This attitude is valuable according to other environmental groups and the state of Maine.

Here in Maine, Banks makes the connection for the broader public between the condition of the river and the spiritual and physical health of his people... “What John and his staff do,” says Brownie Carson, executive director of the Natural Resources Council of Maine, “is combine science with their cultural interests in the river. They bring something to the environmental discussion that no one else does.” (p. 82)

For Banks’ peers in the Native American Fish and Wildlife Society, Banks’ work is a “model of how the work should be done” (p. 82).

Within the article were three portions set off in blue ink and in a different font. These were intended to denote stories from Penobscot culture that take place in natural settings, and include characters that are animals and plants. The first story was used as an analogy for the present day interactions of the paper and construction companies polluting the river. The storyteller explains that the stories “work on many levels” (p. 80). This is the first time such an explanation of the complexity of meaning of Indigenous stories has been given in Audubon. However, the final story combined the language of Western science with the Penobscot origin story. The story was introduced as a “legend of origin,” and the scientific name of the ash tree (from which Penobscot people emerge after being freed by Gluskabe’s arrow) was inserted into the story. Indigenous storytellers would not use the label “legend” and the important ash tree would not be identified with the scientific name. The people working in the Penobscot Department of Natural Resources more likely would recognize the ash tree’s scientific name. In this article, the ecological Indian image morphed into a complex figure.

The complex ecological Indian image was portrayed in the photographs by Alex

Webb.

- The first picture spread over the top third of the first two pages of the article. The photograph emphasized the place: The width and blueness of the river and the greenery of the shore at the edge of the vast blueness stands out. The bridge looms above the river casting a black shadow over the water. A small canoeist was in the middle background of the first page, and houses peek out between the trees. This was the home of the Penobscot people; below the photo is the Nation's official seal.
- The second picture was an artistic statement: A huge stop sign lingers in the front of the picture and in the background is the paper plant. The connotative meaning indicated that the paper plant should be shut down and its polluting practices stopped.
- The third picture is of John Banks, with the sun in his face, navigating his watercraft standing up and looking across the river with great focus.
- The fourth is of a member of the Penobscot Department of Natural Resources testing the river's health as he stands thigh-deep in the river. The image shows the non-Indian scientist/employee using modern equipment and as the text explains methodically testing for many different characteristics.
- The fifth photograph shows a tribal elder dressed in cultural finery getting out of his truck. The caption reads, "Elder Arnold Neptune uses eagle feathers to communicate with the creator. But eagles here are contaminated with poisons." This was the picture that problematized the common ecological Indian image

because the elder who uses eagle feathers for ceremonial purposes, was sitting in his shiny black truck.

- The sixth picture shows a bow of a canoe in the water. The caption reads: “Many Penobscots keep modern canoes for everyday use, but the Indian Island School still teaches birchbark-canoe building” (p. 84). The picture and caption work together in a similar way as the former picture, the image of Indigenous peoples in “modern canoes” made out of metal and/or fiberglass while still having the skills to make birchbark canoes.

Finally, the last paragraph of the article summarized the images and ideas developed throughout the entire article:

The world around Indian Island is changing, and so are the lives of the Penobscot people. Many of them hold jobs off the reservation. But their sense of who they are is still anchored here at the river, where they hunt and trap, gather fiddleheads and berries and medicinal herbs, and harvest ash trees to make baskets. They derive from this river a certainty of belonging to a place, a culture, and a history. And as their voice in river politics and protection grows, it keeps alive the old traditions. (p. 84)

The ecological Indian image was present in this article but was created apart from a sense of the absolute harmony or untouched wilderness associations that often exist within the meaning of the image. Instead, the image was one of use of the land, enjoyment of the land, protection of the land by Western and non-Western methods, and “belonging to a place, a culture, and a history,” three aspects often absent or simplified in images of the ecological Indian. These articles stand in contrast to a popular culture image of the ecological Indian that was of a particular interest to Audubon and the National Audubon society.

An Audubon Perspective on the Crying Indian: The Symbol of the Trashmakers

In March 1976 and March 1990, Audubon published two articles on Keep America Beautiful (KAB), a corporate non-profit group who emphasized the prevention and clean-up of litter. Williams, the author of the 1990 Incite (an Audubon opinion section) article, “Metamorphosis of Keep America Beautiful,” referenced Mitchell’s (1976, March), “Keeping America Bottled (and Canned) Or, why you see only paper products in those anti-litter ads.” In their respective articles, both described the 22nd and 36th KAB annual meeting at the Marriott in Washington D.C. Williams wrote,

I like Mitchell; but, frankly, he had made my job difficult. He had written grouchy about KAB’s solid waste—mountains of press releases, plastic litterbags, and non-returnable beverage bottles. And he had scolded KAB president Roger Powers for flying to California to testify against a state bottle bill. (1990, March, p. 126)

Furthermore, Williams explained that the National Audubon Society, once a member of the non-profit’s National Advisory Council, parted on bad terms after a KAB member labeled them and other environmental groups as Communists for supporting a national returnable bottle bill. Both articles critiqued KAB for being a nonprofit front for corporate interests. In the 1990s, KAB membership included Pepsi, Coca Cola, Anheuser-Busch, Continental Can, Kroger, GLAD Wrap and Bags, Reynolds Metals, and Owens Illinois. However, the articles also critiqued the famous crying Indian advertisement that featured the actor Iron Eyes Cody. Mitchell (1976) pointed out that the advertisements from 1969-1976 only included paper products never bottles or cans as litter. Hence, the Iron Eyes Cody character was called “the flip-top American Indian”

(Mitchell, 1976, March, p.106). Williams (1990) continued this image in the first paragraph of his article writing,

WITH STRONG, SURE [sic]strokes the Cree brave propels his birchbark canoe along the polluted, littered watercourse. Stoic and Indian-like he keeps his emotions canned for almost twenty seconds, but then his flip-top pops and he fizzles over. A tear wells in his raptorial eye and cascades down his wind-etched face...

According to a fact sheet handed me by the Indian himself, it has made "twenty-four billion home impressions" (whatever that means) during the seventeen years it has been shown. (1990, March, p. 124)

As a symbol of the unpopular KAB, the crying Indian was subject to the sarcasm of these two environmental writers. The flip-top can was figuratively applied to the stoic Indian who lost his composure to become the crying Indian and the metaphor was connected to Keep America Beautiful's business of concealing the problem of bottle and can pollution.

Williams had a clear opinion of the advertisements. He explained that he did not disclose his opinion at the KAB meeting lest he be labeled a curmudgeon. In his article, his attitude was transparently sarcastic in his descriptions of the advertisements.

These days the Indian's face is contorted with rapture rather than anguish (actually it's a new Indian, the original having come up lame), and this time he is in the employ of GLAD Wrap and Bags.

The reason for the Indian's radical mood swing is that Americans have mended their ways...Hovering in ether, he [the Indian] benevolently observes the clean-up, then fades away like the Cheshire cat, followed swiftly by his grin. (p. 124)

In his article, Williams explained how KAB had made image changes but was conducting 1990s affairs similar to its manner in the 1970s. According to Williams, KAB still lobbied Congress (under different names in order to protect its nonprofit status), used monetary donations to influence political campaigns, and used biased and absurd statements in its advertisements, such as the claim that a returnable bottle bill would

spread the AIDS virus and increase roach infestations in recyclers' homes. Williams also asserted that KAB used their influence and campaigns to convince Black communities to rally against a returnable bottle bill, instilling fear of job losses.

Near the end of the article Williams finally expressed his opinion, safe within the confines of his opinion column, about the KAB Indian advertisements.

MY THOUGHTS [*sic*] on the weeping-Indian ad, unimportant as they may be, are that it's the single most obnoxious commercial ever produced, even eclipsing "Ring Around the Collar." It strikes me as the ultimate exploitation of Native Americans: First we kicked them off their land, then we trashed it, and now we've got them whoring for the trashmakers. I should think that someone would complain. After all the Dartmouth boys can't even wear Indians on their football jerseys anymore. "Has anyone complained?" I asked KAB's Susie Harpham and Roger Powers. "No one," they said. (p. 133)

The term "whoring," chosen to emphasize his point about the exploitation of Native Americans, also "feminized" and "othered" Native Americans and Iron Eyes Cody.¹³

The term implicitly referred to Iron Eyes Cody's performance for Keep America Beautiful. The "whore" reference, intended as a strong criticism of the practice of using Native American imagery, simultaneously provided a representation of Native Americans as selling themselves or selling an image of themselves. More clearly, the statement referred to "we've got them" as if the "we" (who possibly can be read to be the author and reader or environmentalists) acted as the procurers of the images.

Reading between the lines, Williams also implied that the crying Indian image worked as a mascot; he made the connection to the Dartmouth football mascot, but at the same time communicated his own disdain that sports mascots are taboo: "the Dartmouth

boys can't even [emphasis added] wear..." By the 36th annual meeting, Williams noted there were several KAB mascots (1990, March, p. 124).

As related in both articles, Iron Eyes Cody remained dressed in his "Indian" clothing during both annual meetings and appeared to remain in character at all times. In the 1976 article, the actor was presented as giving awards, press conferences, and speeches while Mitchell imagined what Cody was thinking.

On the second day [bold deleted] of KAB's twenty-second annual meeting at the Mayflower Hotel, Iron Eyes Cody rose early from bed and attired himself in a suit of soft white doeskin embroidered with beads and porcupine quills. His hair fell across his shoulders in braids, black as a raven, and into the right-hand braid he placed an eagle feather, lashing it there securely with rawhide. Iron Eyes looked out across the dour city and sighed, remembering now that it was the day to recite the invocation from the rostrum in the East room, just before the keynote address and the final report on the Action Research Model. He would give them the Great Spirit prayer in the same strong voice that had much impressed the great Cecil B. DeMille and that had shared soundtracks with Gary Cooper: "Make me wise that I may know all You [sic] have taught my people. The lessons you have hidden in every rock.

And later, he knew, there would be interviews with reporters...And perhaps this time there would be no difficult questions, such as: "Tell me, Iron Eyes, why is it, in the commercials, that the litter is always paper, that there are never any bottles or cans?" For truly, how did one answer such a question when one was not in charge of designing the set. (March, 1976, p. 109)

Williams mirrored Mitchell's description in his 1990 article when he described his meeting with Iron Eyes Cody in the actor's hotel room. Again, Iron Eyes Cody's clothing and appearance (as a mascot appearance would be important) were intricately described, but this time his age of eighty-one years (and still at work with KAB) was emphasized. Williams also provided a brief biographical sketch. I assume the sketch to be from Iron

¹³ Questions about Iron-Eyes Cody's ethnicity as a Cree and Cherokee have been raised, however the exploitation of generic Indian images does not require a "real" Indian, as Jay Stauss pointed out to me.

Eyes Cody's own narrative, but the biographical material was related by Williams;

Williams referred to the actor in both first (in quotations) and second person

(paraphrased). Williams mediated this biographical sketch.

At age six Iron Eyes learned never to cry. He grew up fast and tough, watching his drunken father beat up his sobbing mother. After that, he made use of his black belt in karate to beat up drunken husbands whenever he saw them beating up their wives. "Indian men don't cry," he told me. At first he refused to cry in the commercial. But Lady Bird Johnson had insisted, so he stared at the sun until his eyes watered. White woman and Indian woman loved it. They still call him up and say, "I cry with you." Indian men hated it.

Iron Eyes is indeed stoic. He "doesn't believe in pain," just shrugs it off. Like the time KAB smashed his leg and back. "What?" I gasped...

[Iron Eyes Cody continued with his story about how a KAB official insisted that he be lifted onto his horse during the filming of an advertisement. Iron Eyes Cody unwillingly complied and was dropped and injured. He was not taken to the hospital until after he finished a day of publicity events. The KAB official stole his x-rays in fear of being sued.]

[H]e'd never dream of suing Keep America Beautiful. They really control litter. And, no, he didn't feel exploited at all. (Williams, 1990, March, pp. 133-134)

The biographical sketch can be likened to the stereotype of the stoic Indian. In Williams' characterization, Iron Eyes Cody, apart from the crying Indian image, was a living example of the stoic Indian who never cried. According to Iron Eyes Cody's analysis, KAB's advertisement (Mitchell and William's "flip-top Indian") was an insult to Indian manhood, maybe a feminizing image. Furthermore, Iron Eyes Cody himself was made to look vulnerable and duped by KAB messages. Combined, Williams' exposé of KAB in the article, his opinion of its exploitative advertisements and activities, and the retelling of Iron Eyes Cody's life experiences depict Iron Eyes Cody as uninformed and ecologically unsophisticated. The reader had become "informed" about the bias and manipulations of KAB, but Iron Eyes Cody was portrayed as oblivious to KAB

manipulations or unwilling to be disloyal. A Man Friday or Tonto stereotype is layered over the advertisement's ecological Indian stereotype (for more on the Man Friday stereotype see Stedman, 1982, pp. 42-57). All the stereotypes combined create the living KAB mascot.

Williams had asked KAB and Iron Eyes Cody if the Indian images were exploitative. However, Williams did not ask the opinions of any other Indigenous peoples. Ironically, another opinion from a group of Indigenous people was provided one year later in a different Audubon article, "Other People's Trash." An allusion to the crying Indian advertisement occurred in the very last paragraph. A Lakota woman, Marilyn Gangone, a member of an environmental group on the Rosebud reservation (fighting the establishment of a corporate landfill) told a joke about the crying Indian:

You know how in the end how we're really going to have to do it to make sure we don't end up with everybody else's trash up here? Marilyn Gangone asks in a serious voice, but with an ever-present twinkle in her eyes.

"No." I [author, Paul Schneider] say. "How?"

"Well, we're going to have to get Russell Eagle Bear up here, or somebody else who looks like a real Indian, and dress him up in the old way. And then, when they come to dump that trash, he'll turn his head around real slowly, and he'll have one big old tear right here on his cheek, just like that old commercial on T.V."

She touches her own cheek, and everybody laughs. We all laugh as if it really were funny. (Schneider, 1991, July-August, p. 119)

Iron Eyes Cody's assessment that Indian women take the KAB advertisements seriously is not supported by this use of the advertisement as joke material. The author, Paul Schneider, added his own opinion in the last sentence, "We all laugh as if it really were funny." Schneider may have understood the joke within the context of KAB's deeds and in the context of the serious impact threatened by his article's central topic, the corporate

landfill. The landfill was more than simply litter but included large amounts of garbage and toxic waste. The members of the environmental group may have understood the image as a long line of representations not necessarily about themselves but about popular conceptions of Indians. The environmental group, who had been passing the joke around in several versions, turned the image to both resist that generic popular conception since part of their fight was with their own tribal government and set the advertisement's message to fit the context of their struggle against the landfill. The irony of the joke for Audubon readers is that the original ad makers of the crying Indian may have contributed to the vast amounts of garbage and the need for a landfill location.

Both Mitchell and Williams examined the allegedly problematic KAB by illustrating their articles with KAB's printed advertisement. Mitchell used the crying Indian print ad with the caption, "POLLUTION HURTS ALL OF US. GET INVOLVED NOW" (1976, March, p. 107). This earlier ad encouraged volunteerism. Environmental trend-setters utilized "voluntary simplicity" in pre-1988 environmental public messages (Ungar, 1998). The 1990s print ad was a large full-page image of an older Iron Eyes Cody dressed in full "Indian" regalia (Mitchell, 1990, March, p. 125). Williams added the caption to the top of ad, "Iron Eyes Cody and KAB's new message." The caption on top of the ad stated, "RECYCLE." KAB added recycling on an individual level (not necessarily on a corporate level) to their mission in the late 1980s (Keep America Beautiful, 2003). The caption to the right side of Iron Eyes Cody's head stated "Show a Deep, Abiding Respect for Your Country." This ad encouraged personal responsibility and patriotism. The personal responsibility trend in environmental public messages took

off after the 1988 summer season of unseasonable heat and drought, termed “the greenhouse summer of 1988” (Seager, 1993 cited in Ungar, 1998, 1992).

Acting as a sequel, Williams’ article drew closely on Mitchell’s experiences and reflections. The two authors saw eye-to-eye on the alleged hypocrisy of KAB and the way they duped the U.S. public. Both articles were written as if they originated from the approving eye of Audubon and National Audubon Society (Williams identified Mitchell as “my Audubon masthead mate” (1990, March, p. 124) and the topic was personal to the Society, a former member of the KAB Advisory Council which had requested that all KAB advertisements be previewed by the Advisory Council).

The symbol of the ecological Indian manifested in the crying Indian was directly critiqued in only a few sentences of Williams’ essay. The sarcastic summaries of the advertisements also interrogated the image. But only Mitchell and Williams, the Indian actor, and KAB are provided opportunities to critique or praise the image. Iron Eyes Cody critiqued the image as only disliked by Indian men, while both White and Indian women sympathized with the crying Indian. Another Audubon article published a year later made that assertion seem questionable.

The portrayal of Iron Eyes Cody, the person, added another dimension to Williams’ essay. The portrayal may have been intended to show the actor as a “real person.” The image of a drunken and violent Indian existed in the portrayal of Iron Eyes Cody’s father. Iron Eyes Cody was depicted as being misled and/or depicted himself as fulfilling stereotypes. Possibly, Iron Eyes Cody may have wanted this image to be shown of his private self because he was acting the role of an “Indian” as he thought appropriate.

Or, his personal upbringing and the internalization of stereotypes (he probably acted out in other films) motivated his behavior. The image also may have been part of how he understood his job with the KAB. He was to remain in the stoic Indian character. Whatever the explanation, Mitchell and Williams utilized Iron Eyes Cody's mascot position to make KAB appear even more exploitative.

In conclusion, the "Crying Indian" image as a KAB mascot was critiqued in the two Audubon articles. The critique emerged from a critique about Keep America Beautiful, not from an article detailing the use of Native American images in ecological thought. Throughout the critique, however, stereotypes materialized in the narrative through the ways the authors depicted Iron Eyes Cody and through how Iron Eyes Cody was shown as depicting himself and his life. Though Iron Eyes Cody played an ecologically conscious "Indian," the articles represented him as ecologically ignorant. One stereotype, the ecological Indian became replaced with the Man Friday or loyal servant stereotype.

An Essay about the Ecological Indian

In July of 1984, Peter Steinhart wrote "Ecological Saints" for the "Essay" section (p. 8-9). In this essay, Steinhart philosophized on the ecological Indian image and its opposing image, the ignoble Indian exploiter. He made two points in the first part of his essay: The two opposing images were the inventions of non-Indian perceptions; the ecological Indian image resulted in non-Indians seeking out wisdom from Native Americans. The "ecological Indian" image indicated some non-Indian environmentalist's search for "spirit," what I am interpreting as the search for the sublime in nature.

Steinhart commented on the ways both the positive and negative image worked in the interest of non-Indigenous people

We tend to treat the Indian as a tintype of our antiquity, a memory of our origins in nature...But always the Indian's relationship to nature is a distortion of our own. He is either the perfect ancestor, at peace with wildness but locked in the past, or he is unfinished man, not yet drained of the simplicity and passion of nature and so unable to cope with modern complexity. He is the best we lost or the worst we outgrew. (Steinhart, 1984, July, p. 8)

After commenting on the images' conceptual work for non-Indigenous peoples, he proceeded to consider the truthfulness of the "ecological Indian" image. In doing so, he seemingly desired to find some truth in the image, and examined the "ecological Indian" image using scholarship by historian Calvin Martin that has been debunked by ethnohistorians (Krech, 1981).

With environmentalists urging an Indian view of nature and the role of tradition entering into Indian lawsuits, it is worth asking whether the idea of Indian as ecological saint is accurate, and, if it is, whether it can help us solve our environmental problems.

THE EVIDENCE IS STRONG [sic] that before the white conquest, Indians did indeed feel a sense of responsibility to the natural world. Calvin Martin, historian and author of *KEEPERS OF THE GAME*, [sic] studied the hunting impacts of Canadian Indians....(Steinhart, 1984, July, p. 9)

Steinhart then continued to describe Martin's thesis that ecological hunting principles were directly associated with Indians' beliefs in the spirits of animals. Steinhart related other examples to support that claim and stated, "If Indian regard for animals is spiritual rather than ecological, the Indian regard for nature may depend upon the persistence of hunting as a way of life..." (p. 9). This Indian/hunter stereotype was one predominant stereotype in popular culture. Steinhart filtered the ecological Indian stereotype into the Indian/hunter stereotype in order to get at the "truth" of the

“ecological Indian” of the past. Steinhart found his truth through a tautological argument. He presented the ideas of Martin’s book to argue just the ideas he had tried to debunk at the beginning of the article.

After discussing examples of Indians making non-ecological choices as well as statements by a Navaho [sic] Forestry Department official that some Indian people choose to live ecologically and others don’t, Steinhart concluded,

If events press too heavily upon tradition, if Indians cease to be subsistence hunters, the gods vanish or grow sullen. Or perhaps men can no longer see them....When we modify our world, we lose the hunter’s eyes. (p. 9)

In this passage, Steinhart referred to both Native Americans and “we” (reader and writer). Steinhart stated that modernization caused Native Americans, the writer, and the readers to become corrupted, to “lose the hunter’s eyes,” or lose touch with the spirit in nature.

It is not surprising that Steinhart would not be aware of the latest developments in ethnohistory or not notice the weaknesses in Martin’s book, especially because he understood the ideas through the lens of the “ecological Indian.” Even if he had, the ideas in Martin’s book still corresponded well with Steinhart’s ultimate argument that in order to save “wilderness” humans needed to feel a spiritual connection to nature by experiencing nature firsthand. Steinhart used a formula to link the corrupted Indian hunter, changed through the incorporation into a different economy to the overuse/abuse of environmental resources (similar to the formula claimed by Theodore Roosevelt in which hunting and warfare were vehicles to overcome weaknesses of urbanized life [Bederman, 1995; Zinn, 1980, p. 293]).

Steinhart utilized the book, "Keepers of the Game" because it connected with his nature writer notions of "spirit" and the "sacred." He discussed several examples with "spirit" and "sacred" as main themes:

- At the essay's beginning the theme of sacred was referenced in connection with the Hopi speaker Thomas Banyacya, who was speaking to a crowd of non-Indian people, who were deeply affected by his words.
- At one point Steinhart discussed a historian's contention that a Christian's belief that plants and animals were without spirit limited ecological responsibility because the resources will not be respected.
- Steinhart explained Calvin Martin's claim that when Native hunters began to displease animal spirits, the ecological health of the Northern forest declined.
- Steinhart identified non-Indian environmentalists' "deepest longings" to contact nature.

The following passage clarifies the main theme of longing for a spiritual connection to nature:

We non-Indians wish to relax our concentration and rediscover sacredness. Our deepest longings are for some sense of contact with the meaning of things. But we have lost the religious understanding that makes equals of owls, oaks, and men....

There is an earnestness in Banyacya's audience... They want desperately to be with Banyacya, to enter the realm of spirit, to see as the wind sees, to talk with animals, to lose the remorse of time. But spirit does not ride a borrowed religion.

That doesn't mean we are done with nature. We connect with wild things in many ways. And often when we speak of spirit what we really mean is feeling. When we see a bear or an eagle, we feel triumph, comprehension, wholeness, dignity, and trust. Such feelings are what make us a unique species, and without

access through nature to them, we might cease to be human. And that is reason enough to fight for wilderness. (p. 9)

The need to connect to nature and communicate with nature was well stated by Haraway (1989). In the context of an advertisement—entitled “Understanding is Everything,” run in 1984 the same year as Steinhart’s article—showed a chimpanzee hand touching Jane Goodall’s white hand, Haraway states:

[T]he creature reaching across the white page from the “wilds of Tanzania” toward Jane Goodall promises communication, the specific prophylactic against stress [Haraway argued that stress is socially constructed]. “Understanding is Everything.” The post-World War II threat is not decay, but the failure of communication, the malfunction of stressed systems. The fantasy is about language, about the immediate sharing of meanings. (1989, p. 134-135)

The nature writing genre and the avocation of experiencing nature is about the desire to communicate with nature. That is, especially, to feel the powerful feelings of the sublime nature, an overpowering rush and the awe of a large, living landscape, or the quiet of nature, a remote solitude.¹⁴

In summary, Steinhart began his essay with the ideas of the ecological Indian, describing an Indigenous leader talking to a non-Indigenous audience; attempting to explore any truth in the stereotype, and ended with the depiction of the feelings or “spirit” of experiencing nature as sublime. He reverted to using the same stereotypes he first set out to denaturalize, especially when discussing the past unspoiled and uncorrupted Indigenous relationships to nature, ideas he gleaned from Calvin Martin’s book, Keepers of the Game. He was not able to discuss Indigenous peoples of the past without reverting

¹⁴ Budd (1998) points out Immanuel Kant’s separation of quiet nature and the sublime. Kant divides the sublime into the mathematically sublime and the dynamically sublime.

to stereotypes. The purpose of the article was not simply to change stereotypes as the reader may believe from the article's outset, but to tell readers that seekers of the sacred and sublime need nature to reach those states of being.

Conclusion: Usage of Ecological Indian Imagery

In conclusion, all these articles point to how the 'ecological Indian' image may be harnessed by environmental writers. The image did persuasive work for writers with a particular environmental cause in mind that also related to Indigenous peoples. Within the contexts of different causes, as time passed, the ecological Indian image morphed into an image less recognizable as the simplified, walking softly and effortlessly on the earth and more apt to be the way author mediated Indigenous peoples depictions of themselves. Full-length articles enabled writers to contextualize their images so the ecological Indian image became much more complex. Furthermore, Mitchell's and Williams' Keep America Beautiful advertisements showed that not all environmentalists were interested in perpetuating the ecological Indian image, but, on the other hand, Steinhart's essay showed how difficult he found it to talk outside the image because the image was so closely linked to his beliefs in the spirit of nature.

Indigenous Knowledge Systems Mediated by Audubon Contributors

Audubon magazine drew on Western science to argue for the need to preserve the environment and to celebrate the intricacies of nature. The National Audubon society employed biologists and educators and conducted camps to educate participants about

The definition of sublime in this research does not distinguish between the two types of

nature. The annual Christmas bird count is a serious tradition and amasses numeric data that the society uses to track bird populations. Given Audubon's privileging of the knowledge systems and practices of Western science, it's possible their readers find the magazine's occasional references to Indigenous systems of knowledge and associated practices an interesting alternative. This was seen in the "incidental references" section when a sentence would explain technologies or uses for non-human nature. One of the editors interviewed, David Seideman, referred in passing to Indigenous peoples explanatory narratives as "folklore." Folklore is not a word usually associated with knowledge that was seen as a serious body of knowledge.

Most of the lengthy coverage (meaning a couple of paragraphs or a full-length article) of ecological knowledge treated as epistemologies has related to Eskimo and Inuit people. A brief mention was made in the 1960s in an Arctic Biology book review of the "conservation practices of the native peoples" of the Arctic (New and Noted, 1968, May-June, p. 107). One article "Eyeballing Eiders" noted Native people's disapproval of Western biological scientific methods of banding and surveying for birds because that causes disturbances to the birds (Dunkel, 1997, September-October). Other articles that depicted Inuit sciences included "Of Eggs, Hunger, Fish, and a Name" by John Hay (1974, May, pp. 34-45) "Numbers Beyond Counting, Miles Beyond Measure" by George W. Calef (1976, July, pp. 42-61), and "Understanding Eskimo Science" by Richard Nelson (1993, September-October, pp. 102-104, 106, 108-109). Arctic Native peoples were not the only Indigenous population noted for their ecological knowledge. Noel

sublime.

Vietmayer described desert-dwelling Southwestern Native Americans' ecological knowledge Native Americans in "Saving the Bounty of a Harsh and Meager Land" (1985, January, pp. 100-107), and the Seri Indians' ecological knowledge was mentioned in "On the Nectar Trail" by Gary Paul Nabhan (2001, March-April, pp. 80-86). A pattern of admiring knowledge systems for surviving harsh environments emerged from these articles, but Western science remained the unchallenged, naturalized knowledge system by which all other knowledge systems were evaluated.

The reason for the relative abundance of articles on the Inuit, Alaskan Eskimos' and Southwestern Indigenous communities' ecological knowledge may be due to the effortful lifestyles that non-Indian people associated with Indigenous peoples surviving in Northern environments and deserts. Fienup-Riordan argues that among the representations of Eskimos in U.S. film, images of "eking out a living" and the "noble hunter" predominate (1995, pp. XII, 8). "Eskimos embodied the essence of Darwinian logic: They survived because they were fit in a world where the weak succumbed" (Fienup-Riordan, 1995, p. 8). Similarly, desert environments are considered harsh and difficult as Vietmayer's title emphasized. Therefore, Indigenous peoples' survival techniques and land management skills might be of extra interest, and be respected by curious Western scientists, nature writers, and Audubon readers.

In "Of Eggs, Hunger, Fish, and a Name" John Hay discussed the naming practices in various regions of Europe and the U.S. for the word "tern." Hay devoted four paragraphs to the Eskimos naming practices and wrote that knowledge about birds and other natural items were encoded in names. Hay wrote:

Without writing, scientific specimens, and the abstract relationships we depend on, Indians and Eskimos were able through memory and mutual association to transmit accurate characteristics of birds and consistent knowledge of them from generation to generation. Their names for birds were often wonderfully descriptive and evocative. Through them you hear and see the subject.

Long before we landed on these shores there were analogies between Europe and America in the way life was named and those names were perpetuated. So an Eskimo living on the Arctic coast might pass on his knowledge of a bird's call or its feathers as a fisherman did who lived on one of the bare and fog-swept islands of the Shetlands or the Orkneys, north of Scotland. (1974, May, p. 40)

Hay emphasized that significant knowledge was encoded in language, but equated past fisherman and the past "Eskimo living on the Arctic coast" as perhaps equally observant, but having equally uneducated epistemologies.¹⁵ He negated that some communities did have forms of writing systems and all communities' epistemologies have abstract thought. His contrast between Indigenous ways of amassing knowledge with the Western scientific practices of "writing," collecting "scientific specimens," and most particularly "abstract relationships" illustrated his privileging of Western science over local knowledge (1974, May, p. 40).

In "Numbers Beyond Counting, Miles Beyond Measure," George W. Calef commented on Native knowledge of caribou, specifically the ability to predict the behavior of the Porcupine Caribou herd in Alaska.

Migrations play an integral part in the life cycle of the caribou; yet at present scientists can do little but guess how migrating caribou might behave when faced with the variety of obstacles that northern development will throw in their paths. What for example, would caribou do upon encountering a long stretch of elevated pipeline?

Probably they would walk along it, looking for a way across. Eskimo hunters have used this knowledge for thousands of years, employing lines of stone figures call 'inukshuks' to direct the caribou to water crossings where they are

¹⁵ Tsianina Lomawaima helped clarify this distinction.

speared. Indians south of the treeline constructed long drift fences of spruce poles to direct the animals into corrals for snaring. (Calef, 1976, July, p. 59)

Calef used Eskimo hunting knowledge to predict behavior that Western scientific studies were not able to satisfactorily test. Environmentalists and Western scientists were worried about the caribou migration being interrupted by the trans-Alaska pipeline.

In "Understanding Eskimo Science," Richard Nelson, a cultural anthropologist described how his doubts about Alaska Eskimo science were transformed to trust (Nelson, 1993, September-October). He emphasized the usefulness of Native hunter's ecological knowledge, as well as the industriousness, sincerity, and humanity of the Native peoples. He discussed and quoted individual Native peoples, and wrote in a demystifying manner:

Eskimos are famous for the cleverness of their technology—kayaks, harpoons, skin clothing, snow houses, dog teams. But I believe their greatest genius, and the basis of their success, lies in the less tangible realm of their intellect—the nexus of mind and nature. For what repeatedly struck me above all else was their profound knowledge of the environment. (Nelson, 1993, September-October, p. 102)

I believe the expert Inupiaq hunter possesses as much knowledge as a highly trained scientist in our own society, although the information may be of a different sort. Volumes could be written on the behavior, ecology, and utilization of Arctic animals...based entirely on Eskimo knowledge. (Nelson, 1993, September-October, p. 104)

Unlike the text, however the full-page image associated with the article emphasized the genre of the "ecological and mystical" Eskimo. David Uhl's painting depicts an Eskimo elder's parka-framed, wrinkled face—the wind whips the parka hood's fur lining so that the fur at the bottom blends into ocean waves, and the fur on the side into snow drifts. Birds blend into the fur-lining at the top of the parka and a bear balances on two ice drifts

to the right side of the face, while a whale swims below. The sun sits on the horizon in the background of the picture. The animals' bodies seem to emerge from the face of the giant elder, whose eyes are closed as if he possesses other senses beyond sight. Most likely, the painting was arranged by the art director with an illustrator who was given an outline or a summary of the article for which to work. The blending of the elements in the painting worked to bring an Eskimo image and nature—the birds, bear, and whale—together as if they belonged together, as one bundle of meaning: the natural inhabitants of the polar ecosystem. It is difficult to tell where one body begins and another body ends. The painting naturalized the “ecological Eskimo” a branching of the ecological Indian and mystified human and non-human interaction. The illustration signified an inter-related mystical connection between the Eskimo elder and the whale, bear, and birds and an oneness between the human and animal elements.

Unlike the heavy-handed naturalization processes so evident in Uhl's painting, Nelson only hinted at a type of Eskimo intuitive knowledge at the close of the article, the only point at which the paintings and the article seem to intersect:

In April 1971 I was in a whaling camp several miles off the Arctic coast with a group of Inupiaq hunters, including Igruk, who understood animals so well he almost seemed to enter their minds.

...For a couple of days there had been no whales, so everyone stayed inside the warm tent, talking and relaxing. The old man rested on a soft bed of caribou skins with his eyes closed. Then, suddenly, he interrupted the conversation: “I think a whale is coming, and perhaps it will surface very close...”

To my amazement everyone jumped into action, although none had seen or heard anything except Igruk's words. Only he stayed behind, while the others rushed for the water's edge. I was last to leave the tent. Seconds after I stepped outside, a broad, shining back cleaved the still water near the opposite side of the opening, accompanied by the burst of a whale's blow.

Later, when I asked how he'd known, Igruk said, “There was a

ringing inside my ears.” I have no explanation other than his; I can only report what I saw. None of the Inupiaq crew members even commented afterward, as if nothing out of the ordinary had happened. (Nelson, 1993, September-October, p. 109)

This event unexplainable in Western terms, illustrated what Julie Cruikshank (2004) attests: Indigenous ecological knowledge cannot be crammed into Western categories of explanation. Cruikshank with a similar example explained, “it [ecological knowledge] is difficult to say how it would be ‘captured’, ‘classified’, ‘codified’, ‘harnessed’ or included in a ‘database’ ” or in Nelson’s case, it would be difficult for a non-Inuit hunter to utilize such techniques for hunting (Cruikshank, 2004, p. 24). Other articles, including the articles on the Southwest, did not provide concrete examples of ecological knowledge.

The desert Southwest “Saving the Bounty of a Harsh and Meager Land” implied that ecological knowledge was necessary for Indigenous peoples to cultivate desert plants; the article, however, focused more on the ethnobotanist Gary Nabhan, for his work in to save the genetically diverse crops of the desert Southwest. The article defined the landscape as difficult for agriculture:

Except in times of rain, streams never flow. Heat makes the ground a shimmering furnace. Aridity makes the growing seasons short. Yet in this harsh and meager land, Apache, Havasupai, Hopi, Mohave, Navajo, Papago, Pima, and Yuma Indians developed an agricultural civilization that was most remarkable. They had dozens of useful plants that were adapted to the sun, soils, and sporadic rains. On the wide, shining flat of the desert they grew crops with less direct rainfall than is used anywhere else. (Vietmeyer, 1985, January, pp. 100, 103)

Vietmeyer referred to all the Native communities as one “agricultural civilization,” despite their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity. Indigenous peoples do not speak in the text. They are shown but not heard. Neither are their agricultural practices described

in detail:

Far below, Hopi farmer Richard Pentewa makes a last round of his fields...He pushes a one-wheeled cultivator through cracked sandy, eroding land. He follows the Indian way of keeping the land as undisturbed as possible, removing rocks and stones but little more. (Vietmeyer, 1985, January, p.105)

The author made it sound as if the farmer did not do much to cultivate his plants, as if agriculture was an effortless pursuit. Vietmayer (1985) chose not to report on the Hopi dry farming techniques, the multiple field tasks, and the ceremonial cycle crucial to healthy crops (Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, 1997). Instead the article highlighted the conservation of endangered vegetables and seeds that only a few Native peoples were growing. The knowledge of the Indigenous people who were growing and had grown these plants for centuries, was a secondary topic. Photographs of Richard Pentewa, showcasing his vegetables, appeared on the first page of the article. The next page showed a full page photograph of the Hopi farmer in his field of corn, and was captioned as follows: "Beneath a mesa on the Hopi reservation, Richard Pentewa tends to his fields and displays his harvest of corn, melons, and squash. He disturbs his land as little as possible." Other pictures show Tohono O'odham Eloise Velasco, and on the next page, a room in her home—the caption for both pictures reads "Eloise Velasco and a pailful of tepary beans from her garden in a Papago village. Her kitchen walls are ocotillo stalks." The caption (captions are usually chosen by the art director or editor) emphasized difference between the reader and the Tohono O'odham woman by pointing out the ocotillo stalk walls of her home.

In Gary Paul Nabhan's article "On the Nectar Trail" (an ethnobotanist in the previously discussed article) Indigenous people with ecological knowledge gleaned from

their own form of science and trained in Western science were described as “para-ecologists.”

That many agaves and giant cacti in Mexico depend upon bats and doves is a fact not lost on another group of rural dwellers in western Mexico, the Seri Indians....

The Seri understand the continuity between the fates of plants and of pollinators, and many of them join us in the field to help locate and protect transitory roosts of these migrants. Together, we have begun to look for bat caves, large patches of hummingbird bushes, and thick stands of giant cactus. Sixteen of their most enthusiastic naturalists were recently trained as “para-ecologists” who monitor, manage, and protect migratory birds, bats, and other wildlife. After demonstrating their competency in fieldwork, they receive diplomas so that they can gain higher-paid field technician jobs with other wildlife management teams in the region. As one of the Seri men told us, “We don’t want to be just baggage carriers and boatmen for outside scientists. We want our own traditional knowledge and that of Western science to work together. We want to be full participants. (Nabhan, 2001, March-April, p. 86)

In “Eyeballing Eiders,” in contrast, the Indigenous people were presented as at odds with Western science. At the same time two groups of spectacled eider birds were described as “unstudied”; the environmental knowledge of the local groups were not considered. In turn, some Western science data gathering techniques were not considered useful by Indigenous peoples.

As far as many natives are concerned, biologists are one of the bigger threats to specs, what with their bird banding and bird trapping and damned aerial surveys. “We all agree the numbers seem to be declining, and we all need to do something about it,” says Calvin Simeon, a former member of the Association of Village Council Presidents. “But the natives think you shouldn’t be capturing birds and studying them to death. Don’t *play* with them.” (Dunkel, 1997, September-October, p. 54)

This reference to “not playing” with wildlife appeared in other contexts as well.

Cruikshank described the following scene:

At an Elder’s Festival in the southern Yukon held in the summer of 1994, a fisheries biologist made a presentation about the contentious catch-and-release programme, which requires anyone who catches a fish below a specified size to

release it back into the water. This programme has proven deeply problematic for local elders, who speak forcefully about how such practice violates ethical principles because it involves ‘playing with fish’ that have willingly offered themselves. (2004, p. 25)

Cruikshank (2004) used this example to show how traditional ecological knowledge cannot neatly fit into Western frameworks to help solve Western scientifically-defined problems.

In 1993, another full-length article entitled “An Aztec Bestiary,” depicted the ecological knowledge of Aztec people that was recorded beginning in 1558 by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún and the Aztec scribes he trained. They wrote a multivolume work entitled, General History of the Things of New Spain. The volume Earthly Things detailed Aztec understandings of nature. Sorensen & Dibble (1993, January-February) described Aztec understandings of nature:

- The species are the same as those today, but the similes reflected the Aztec’s imagination: the wood stork’s bill was long like a bow; the woodpecker’s bill was strong and rugged as obsidian; the barn owl’s call sounded like rattled potsherds; and the purple gallinule went paddling with its feet—glowing and glistening like an ember. (p. 52)
- In no part of Sahagún’s work did myth and folklore runs so rampant as in the section on serpents. The Aztecs named some 40 snakes. They knew their life histories and where they lived....But fear tinged many of the descriptions. (p. 52-53)
- Often the boundary between myth and fact blurred. Sahagún was told that the hummingbird hibernated in winter...Scientists have only recently confirmed that some hummingbirds do in fact enter a state called torpor, in which they seem to “hibernate” for short periods before reviving. (p. 53)

Aztec ecological knowledge was provided in a detail not found in other Audubon articles, because the source of the knowledge was easily accessed for these Audubon contributors from a written encyclopedic work by Sahagún. The information passed through at least

three languages: from Nahuatl, to Latin, and to English. These translation issues also were not described. Sorensen & Dibble (1993, January-February) presented the natural history as a mixture of fact and fiction. The cosmological system was not treated as a system of thought, but divided into fact (what Western science defined as such) and fiction. The article title, "An Aztec Bestiary" likened the knowledge of 16th century Aztecs to medieval books. "Medieval" in the eyes of Western science combined fact and fiction, real and mythical animals, as well.

In summary, the articles discussed here present Indigenous ecological knowledge as secondary to Western science, with a few exceptions, such as the "Understanding Eskimo Science" article published in 1993. The "doubts" of Richard Nelson about "Eskimo science" were addressed in this article, but were transformed through empirical evidence viewed by Nelson. When events became unexplainable for Nelson the events were determined to be mysterious, maybe even mystical. The pattern revealed by this analysis of the articles is that Indigenous ecological knowledges and Western science were presented as dichotomies of thought instead of systems of thought based in differing cultural world views. Aztec systems of thought were posed against Western science and points of departure (fiction) were labeled illegitimate alongside points of intersection (fact) labeled legitimate. Most likely, this juxtaposition would occur with all non-Western bodies of knowledge or localized understandings that exist alongside Western knowledge. On another note, the writers including Nelson (1993, September-October) and Sorensen and Dibble (1993, January-February) found pleasure in relating how non-Western systems of thought diverged from Western science. This pleasure coexists

beside performative or visual spectacle present in tourism or museums. Desmond (1999) suggested that the possibility of a consumer's "historical reflection" prevents a narrative from turning to spectacle. Western science, however, as a hegemonic discourse¹⁶ does not discourage spectacle, but incorporates close observation and dissection of the spectacle in question, accompanied by the necessity of explanation and classification. Therefore, alternative knowledge systems juxtaposed with Western science, are curiosities that emerge from the scientific method's processing bin as binary oppositions: fact and fiction, true or false, evidence and fabrication, religion and secular, legitimate and illegitimate, as in the way Sorensen and Dibble (1993, January-February) labeled some parts of Aztec natural history as "myth" or in how Vietmayer (1985, January) described Hopi Farmer Richard Pentewa as doing little with his fields. Western science as a hegemonic entity, however, has transformed more and more as alternative ecological knowledge becomes legitimized in the eyes of Western science, while other concepts in those knowledge system still remain more of a mystery than an inaccuracy, as in the case of Nelson's article. Gary Nabhan as an ethnobotanist and Richard Nelson, as a cultural anthropologist, drew on their academic training and their direct experiences with cultural members to provide fuller portraits of Indigenous peoples relationships with nature.

¹⁶ Hegemonic discourse, in this case, means a set of ways to speak about something that is always in flux and requires the consent of the people who live by its rules. (Gramsci, 1971/1997).

Educating Indigenous Children About the Environment

During the time period examined, children-focused programs have been part of Audubon and National Audubon Society activities. In July-August of 1963 Carl Buchheister was quoted at a conference as stating, “Never miss an opportunity to introduce a child to the wonders and beauty of nature. Together we can, with Audubon, offer future generations *a lasting monument in the varied splendor of American nature* [sic] (Callison, 1963, July-August, p. 202). When looking through the lens of the “ecological self” concept, Buchheister was encouraging the fostering and development of children’s “ecological selves” through modeling a specific and culturally based attitude toward nature.

Four different articles examined children’s educational programs. These articles will be compared to an article found in Arizona Wildlife Views, a magazine of the Arizona Game and Fish Department. The examples will be described then analyzed. The Giant Grebe of Guatamala briefly mentioned environmental education for children when a naturalist provided conservation lessons to school children. Bowes (1965, March-April) described the following educational venture in Guatamala

The bright-eyed youngsters drank in Mr. Ibarra’s every word (he spoke Mayan), Jorge hoped to convince these little ones—and through them the older generation—of the giant grebe’s value, not only for its own sake but for the benefit of naturalists and tourists. (Bowes, 1965, March-April, p. 90)

In Audubon magazine in January-February 1993 in the “About Audubon” section, “From Snakes to Songbirds” explained a children’s education program, Audubon Adventures that had been in existence for nine years. The program was based around a newsletter,

Each child gets a subscription to *Audubon Adventures*; this year they are learning about spiders, endangered species, conifers, mammals, bird migration, and soil invertebrates. But more important, they are learning to treasure the world around them. As the program's unofficial slogan puts it, "Children who care about the earth today can change the world tomorrow."

The Audubon Society has long been involved in education, but as its mission broadened, some felt that education was being neglected. So in 1983 the board of directors asked for a youth program that would take advantage of the chapter network already in place. The result was *Audubon Adventures*, an environmental program whose interdisciplinary approach stresses math, language, history, and geography as well as science...The newspaper is a springboard for discussion, activities, and even activism. (Thomas, 1993, January-February, p. 100)

The article stated, "It serves roughly 10,000 Native American children in reservation schools" (Thomas, 1993, January-February, p. 102). The article was accompanied by photographs of students engrossed in their scientific pursuits. One of the picture captions of the busy children stated, "sketching a cholla cactus during an outing on the Papago Reservation in Arizona" (Thomas, 1993, January-February, p. 102-203). That particular photograph showed children outdoors drawing a picture in sketchbook. One child is sitting on the ground, and the other stood as she drew the cholla cactus.

The 1965 and 1993 articles had a "one size fits all" attitude. In 1965, the conservation presentation to the children was provided in Mayan, but otherwise the conservation message was straight from the Western scientific point of view. Similarly, the 1993 article explained a form of conservation education that was not specialized for specific cultural groups or adapted for different cultural worldviews, whether in an urban, suburban, or reservation setting. The messages about Indigenous peoples put forth by this is that culturally specific knowledge was to be treated as secondary to Western science epistemologies and ontologies. "Audubon Adventures has taught more than 2

million children to treasure nature” (Thomas, 1993, January-February, p. 100). The teachers using pre-arranged curriculum (such as the newsletter) were in “the know” while communities’ knowledges was not incorporated into the lessons.

In 1995, another article in the “About Audubon” section was subtitled “The Science of Nature.” The reader was slowly introduced to what was happening in the article that began like a story,

It was midmorning on Slate Creek, and rain was falling on a group of yellow, junior-size slicker hoods. Rubber boots scuffled through gravel beside the creek, one silver strand in the weave of feeder streams that thread through Alaska’s Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, one of North America’s largest wetland habitats. “Look,” came a whisper from one of the rain hoods. “Ducks!” A family of red-breasted mergansers settled and floated down the creek riffle.

“Payirpak,” said a boy.

Each kid whipped out a field notebook and pen to record the sighting, write the birds’ name in English and Yupik—one of their native languages—and note how they had identified the birds. (Holmes, 1995, September-October, p. 101)

Then the author identified the program,

This is the Western Alaska Natural Science Camp, sister to many camps held every summer in rural spots across the country. Thanks to a group of sponsors that includes the National Audubon Society and the National Science Foundation, kids from ages 13-16 gather with wildlife biologists, college professors, geologists, and ornithologists who direct the youngsters toward careers in the natural sciences. (Holmes, 1995, September-October, p. 101)

The students were taught scientific collecting and classification techniques, as well as culturally specific knowledge:

But the Western Alaska campers also learn taxonomic vocabulary in the Yupik Eskimo and Danaina Indian languages, carry smoked salmon strips and caribou sandwiches for lunch, and can’t go outside without an armed bear guard...Each day’s agenda tackles a different topic: beavers, geology, tundra ecology, ornithology, riparian habitat, taiga-forest ecology. The students learn how to pan for gold, spot a beaver slide, identify voles, and assess the abundance of fish food in a trout stream. And almost every day includes a visit from native elders who

are flown in to deliver their quiet lessons—how to set a humane snare, make birchbark baskets, tell which way is north in a whiteout—and to tell stories around the campfire. (Holmes, 1995, September-October, p. 102)

Another article concerning Alaska was published in 1998, called “Keepers of the Seals” by Momatiuk & Eastcott. The article described a stewardship program by Aleuts on the Pribilof Islands. The seal population’s historic ordeal to survive commercial sealing was compared to the ordeal the Aleut communities faced in the “relentless assault” of colonialism (Momatiuk & Eastcott, 1998, March-April, p. 48). The article began by describing youth that were rescuing a seal from a fishnet caught on its head.

Eric and the other young people are Unangan—Aleuts who consider themselves “brothers of the seals”—from Alaska’s Pribilof Islands... The teenagers are part of the “disentanglement team” recently organized by the Pribilof Islands Stewardship program, an effort supported by local governments, volunteers of the Pribilof Islands school district, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the Nature Conservancy, and the National Marine Fisheries Service...

The seal rookeries here are cool and wet, resounding with growls, roars, bleats, melodic warbles, and rhythmic whickers. Once Aleut hunters and fisherman knew every nuance of these sounds. Today, however, most Aleuts—especially the young—are only dimly aware of their connection with the land and the sea.

Recovering a sense of connectedness—and preserving the rich species diversity of the islands—is the stewardship program’s most important and difficult task...

Headed by Aquilina Bourdukofsky, a former school librarian, the summer program draws on both science and traditional knowledge, offering several dozen young people each year the chance to assist scientists from the National Marine Mammal Laboratory, the Smithsonian Institution, and the universities of Colorado, California, and British Columbia. The students compile data, conduct censuses, take tissue samples, and help with necropsy and lab work. They also participate in an annual subsistence harvest of roughly 1,600 young male seals, learning from experienced sealers the traditional methods of killing and skinning the animals and cutting up the meat. They build bidarka boats and skin drums, learn Aleut songs, and listen to stories full of ancient spirits. (Momatiuk & Eastcott, 1998, March-April, p. 48-52)

Momatiuk and Eastcott (1998) and Holmes (1995, September-October) both described educational programs that blended Western science and Indigenous cultures but they do not successfully show how Indigenous cultures had their own scientific systems. The characterization of these programs' Western scientific focus were due to two factors:

- The writer reported on the characteristics of the education programs, which prioritized Western science (viewed as outside of culture) over Indigenous culturally-based knowledge systems or treated the Indigenous knowledge systems as survival or subsistence skills separate from science.
- The writer's bias has prioritized Western science or has treated the community's knowledge system as diminished or less than Western science.

Holmes described the "quiet lessons of the elders" (1995, September-October, p. 102). The word "quiet" provided a sense of an elder possessing peace and wisdom. The knowledge shared by the elders, however, was not presented as being directly associated with a scientific system of knowledge. In Momatiuk and Eastcott (1998, March-April, p. 52) the Aleut culturally-based skills also were associated with survival skills and "stories of ancient spirits, " not bonafide systems of organized knowledge. The children's Western science activities were data gathering techniques for compiling information to answer scientific questions, but the cultural activities were presented as end projects, such as building a boat or making baskets and skin drums. The articles did not explain the scientific skills and knowledge involved in these Aleut endeavors of building a boat. The Native science systems were ignored. The "stories of ancient spirits" also encoded cultural knowledge, but the manner in

which the author referred to them made them appear more like “ghost stories” or myths.

In Arizona Wildlife Views, a magazine of the Arizona Game and Fish Department, an article entitled “A New Window on Wildlife” was published authored by Jill Welch. The title page read, “WITH THE HELP OF A HERITAGE GRANT, THE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF WINDOW ROCK HAVE OPENED A NEW WINDOW ON WILDLIFE [sic]” (Welch, 2002, November-December, p. 10). In Welch’s (2004) article, Diné educators questioned the supremacy of Western science and prioritized Diné systems of knowledge. The article explained that an Arizona Game and Fish educator presented activities for the classroom that included dissecting owl pellets and looking through bone boxes. One Diné teacher negatively responded to those activities:

Sadie Yazzie, a fourth grade teacher at Window Rock, was at that workshop. “Many teachers were reluctant but our instructor didn’t understand...According to our traditions handling owl parts is inappropriate”...[regarding the bone box activity] Many of the animals are sacred,” Yazzie explained. “We could not let our students see them.” (Welch, 2002, November-December, p.12).

The cultural unsuitability of the lessons of an Arizona Game and Fish Department environmental educator was pointed out and work was done to remedy the lack of teaching materials for Diné classrooms. The community did not have guidelines concerning cultural standards for teaching Western science. With grant money, teachers and community members prepared a guide during a week-long conference.

We invited teachers, biologists, and cultural consultants—our tribal elders and medicine men—to meet and share their knowledge,” said [Maggie] Benally [a conference organizer]. “Through their efforts, we created this guide, which provides Diné cultural information on wildlife to help teachers choose appropriate activities and topics for the classroom.” Window Rock teachers have used the guide since its completion in 1999. (Welch, 2002, November-December, p. 13)

What was unique about the article was that a sample of the guide was included in a text box. The guide was first explained,

The Diné people believe that everything in nature has its own place and purpose in the universe. Animals and other living things play a significant role in the origin and existence of the Diné people. The Diné guide is organized according to the Navajo way of classifying wildlife, with sections based on where the animal occurs: Water, Earth, Mountain, and Sky. Each of the sections includes species accounts of animals found on the Navajo Nation. The accounts provide life history information on cultural beliefs and practices, which has been approved and supplied by medicine men, appropriate classroom teachers, and a list of resources recommended by the authors. (Welch, 2002, November-December, p. 13)

The information about “Bear • Shash” was included as an example. The first section was “Bears on the Navajo Nation” and included census counts, bear habitat on the Nation’s lands, and bear lifestyle descriptions. The second portion of the guide was labeled “Cultural Beliefs and Practices,” and the last section, “Bears in the Classroom” indicated appropriate and inappropriate activities for the classroom.

The coverage of this curriculum development process in this localized magazine showed how Western science curriculum was combined with Diné knowledge systems. Western science was not treated as the supreme source of knowledge.

In conclusion, Audubon articles covered environmental education programs of Indigenous children, but the structure of those programs, as described by the authors, did not recognize Indigenous bodies of knowledge and sciences beyond the study of Native language terminology for nature classification. The authors’ portrayed many cultural activities as outside of science and as activities that teach how to make an end product (like a boat). In comparison, coverage in a small localized publication, Arizona Wildlife

Views, highlighted the importance of developing culturally specific science curriculum and provided an example of a curriculum blending Western science and Diné science.

Profiles

Five articles were found that profiled Indigenous peoples and their involvement in environmental causes or the documentation of nature in the examined timeframe, from 1960 to 2002. They include:

- “Kananginak: Eskimo Audubon” by Bill Gilbert (1978, July, pp. 72-87)
- “A Crow in the Senate” by Perri Knize (1990, March, p. 30-32, 34),
- “Respect for the Earth” by Paul Schneider (1994, March-April, p. 110, 112-115),
- “The People’s Watchdog” by Keith Kloor (2002, May-June, p. 12-13),
- A brief write-up of Winona LaDuke as among the 100 people honored as Champions of Conservation (Champions of Conservation, 1998, November-December, p. 125-126).

Gilbert’s article showed the author, Eskimo artist Kananginak, and his interpreter daughter interacting through a language barrier. Gilbert does not speak “the language of the Inuit” (1978, July, p. 74). Gilbert wrote his article describing first the place, Baffin Island; a boat the author, Kananginak, and his family used for site-seeing and hunting; Kananginak, the person on which the article focused; and then art, the drawings and carvings of this Baffin Island community. Gilbert poked fun at himself as an outsider because he realized some of his questions were inappropriate.

Annie, your father is known in many places in the world as a man who draws very good pictures of animals. Ask him if he ever goes just to look at animals to think about drawing them, not to hunt them.

Interpreted conversation is odd, with attention swiveling—in an effort to judge reactions—between the interpreter and one to whom the words themselves are addressed. Kananginak has a square, mustached, creased face, mobile and expressive, which registers interest, curiosity, surprise, consideration, and amusement. Among his own people he has a reputation for clever quips and is regarded as being something of a needler. He has a characteristic snuffling laugh, which usually punctuates small jokes.

“My father says no. He knows the animals because he is a hunter. He says maybe when he is very old and can do nothing else he will only watch.”

It is a diplomatic answer to a fairly dumb question, and the snuffle-laugh is good-humored. It is the kind of question that gets asked, even by those who have been in cold places often enough to know better, because a strange notion seems to permeate the sensibilities of southerners when they direct their attention to the true north. It is that the Arctic is not just different from the temperate zones, but is a kind of outside-the-real-world location, a fantasy place in which all cause and effect chains, responses, and behavior must be regarded as exotic, like those in a Tolkien novel.

The question is a trivial but typical illustration of this “excessively exotic response.” By way of amplification, thousands of miles to the south, in the shortgrass foothills of the Sonoran Desert is a rancher who, like Kananginak, will take a visitor out to look over his native haunts. Only a blithering idiot would ask him if he had given any thought to keeping cattle for esthetic purposes, rather than converting them into steak. Yet much the same kind of question is blithely asked Kananginak, who stands to seals much as that rancher does to cattle. The reason in is the exotic fallacy. (1978, July, p. 75)

Gilbert compared a hypothetical Western rancher to Kananginak, an analogy he continued to use through the remainder of the article. He used this analogy to de-exoticize the image of Kananginak, to present him as similar to other people with whom the Audubon readers would be familiar.

Gilbert used a variety of phrases to describe Kananginak:

“He is one of the most substantial residents of that community” (p. 73)

“He is of an Inuit family, the Pootoogooks, which has been politically, socially, and economically prominent in west Baffin for some generations” (p. 73)

“Kananaginak (by local custom surnames are seldom used) is chairman of the Cape Dorset Community Council and president of the community’s most important enterprise, the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative” (p. 74)

“Among the artists, Kananginak is indisputably in the front rank.” (p. 74)

“Outside critics have begun to speak of Kananginak as an Arctic Audubon, and his annual income as artist and expert printmaker is now in the range of \$30,000.” (p. 74)

“Kananginak who as an artist, entrepreneur, and politician associates frequently with southern whites, speaks some English and probably understands more. However, he is a man of position, wit, and dignity, and it would be unseemly for him to explain himself and his thoughts by means of childish phrases and signs. (p. 74)

“successful contemporary man of affairs” (p. 76)

“[a]mong the earliest and most adept of the young apprentice painters” (p. 85)

“one of the most expert Cape Dorset printers, he has become better known as a creative artist; his portraits of wildlife combine in a distinctive and appealing way a clinical realism of detail with impressionistic, often mythic concepts” (p. 85)

“by almost any standards a worldly man who treats with southerners not as a primitive exotic but as a successful professional man” (p. 86)

“gentleman Eskimo”(p. 87)

These depict Kananginak as an accomplished painter, politician, community member, entrepreneur—even a man of the world. That he was compared with John James Audubon was considered an honorable comparison, after all it is the magazine’s and its parent association’s hero and namesake. Gilbert worked hard to disassociate Kananginak from the “exotic Eskimo” image, depicting him with a family, multiple careers, and an

artistic talent as celebrated as John James Audubon. Gilbert even addressed critics of the art cooperative:

Currently the cooperative's art sales are approaching the level of \$1.5 million a year, and now the organization pays its members, in addition to direct fees and salaries, a small dividend.

All of which has brought the cooperative some criticism again from those who think Eskimos should be "real" Eskimos and have an obligation to the rest of the world to remain quaint, primitive, and impoverished. (1978, July, p. 86)

A picture of Kananginak on his "mini-bike" accompanies the first page of the text. Other pictures included one of Kananginak with a student in the print shop; a woman shopping in the cooperative store; a classroom of children on the floor in front of a teacher (the first Inuit teacher); and children playing on empty oil barrels (emphasizing the lack of land fills due to the terrain). All of the pictures depict Inuit people in modern life. Similar to the textual representations of Kananginak, the photographs show images of daily life, adults at work, at play, and at school, similar to images from other communities of the modern day. Not one igloo or dog-sled, the popular culture's signifiers of "Eskimo" was shown, because the art director and/or the editor chose to utilize photographs by Tessa Macintosh, capturing contemporary "slices of life" in that Baffin Island community.

Nine prints from the cooperative also accompanied the article. Each print was devoted to a full page. This kept the integrity of the reproductions intact. Kananginak was acknowledged as the artist of the stonecut prints and a permission statement to reproduce the images was included. The images are of a variety of animals often "captured" in the midst of movement. The stonecuts also have a title, the name of the animal in English or Inuktitut or a description in English of what the animal is doing

Another profile, “A Crow in the Senate” by Perri Knize, was in the Grassroots section of the magazine. A focus similar to the profile of Kananginak was placed on place (Montana ranching country), transportation (a reliable car), and public service (being a state senator). A painting accompanies the article, depicting a smiling Bill Yellowtail in a cowboy hat and glasses, with cowboys riding in the upper left-hand corner and teepees next to a car and small house. An inset illustration of a brown and white steer stands at Bill Yellowtail’s shoulder. Knize wrote,

THE ROAD TO Bill [sic] Yellowtail’s ranch is cut from dirt so red that everybody back in town knows where you’ve been when they look at your car. Here on the Crow Indian Reservation, the Big Horn Mountains roll along like jackpine-studded buffalo. The fences are hidden in the folds of the auburn prairie; it looks untamed. An early evening light strikes the land, which seems to undulate, all barren and dreamy. You think, this must be the Montana only the Indians knew.

When Bill Yellowtail’s been away, the sight of that red dirt is enough to make his chest fill up. (1990, March, p. 30)

Knize depicts Bill Yellowtail as,

“Bill grew up a half-breed cowboy in a primitive log cabin on the reservation” (p. 30)

“He was born into a family tradition of statesmanship.” (p. 30)

Dartmouth college-graduate “on the Dean’s List” (p. 30)

“In 1984, the Democrat from Wyola, then thirty-six walked a political tightrope to win his senate seat in spite of local racial bias [with another win in 1988].” (p. 30)

“[A]n ardent conservationist and outdoorsman” (p. 30)

“Montana Audubon Council’s lobbyists have repeatedly chosen Bill, who is on the Fish and Game Committee to sponsor their wildlife legislation in the state senate.” (p. 30)

“But first and foremost, Bill Yellowtail is a rancher.” (p. 30)

“thoughtful diplomat” (p. 30)

“eloquent speaker” (p. 30)

“Bill still looks like a bashful ranch kid.” (p. 32)

“ ‘Real country and naïve’ is how he describes himself. Spend a few hours luxuriating in his cheerful company; it’s like hanging out with Will Rogers as a schoolboy.” (p. 32)”

“His gentle demeanor makes you forget how physically imposing he is. At six-foot –three and 250 pounds, Bill has the chest of a draft horse. The cracks and calluses on his enormous hands tell of nearly forty years of hay baling, fence-mending, and calf-roping. His sturdy legs invariably end in cowboy boots or fishing waders...” (p. 32)

The article also presented him as busy working as a rancher on the family ranch, as a state senator, and as a tour guide on the Crow reservation and the Custer Battlefield National Monument.

One main concern of Knize’s article was the loss or the threat of loss of ranch property owned by indebted, independent ranchers. Bill Yellowtail, as a ranch owner, was presented as attempting to help other ranchers in these positions, as he himself was in the same position. This human-story may have appealed to Audubon because of Bill Yellowtail’s multiple roles:

- Crow (Native American)
- State Senator (a profile of a person with influence)
- Environmentally friendly leader: “Bill Yellowtail is active in so many wildlife and conservation organizations—including the Nature

Conservancy, where he has taken a seat on the board of directors—that he says he has lost count” (p. 30).

- A Montana rancher with a ranch in an attractive landscape.
- A fighter of corporate take-overs of foreclosed ranch property

These characteristics were of interest to Audubon, and in 2004 Bill Yellowtail continued to work with Audubon magazine as a member of their board of directors.

“Respect for the Earth” by Paul Schneider detailed the “environmentalism of [faithkeeper] Chief Oren Lyons” from the Onandaga Nation (1994, March-April, p. 110). Lyons was profiled in Audubon because he was a National Audubon Society 1993 Audubon Medal recipient. According to the article, Oren Lyons was the “first [I]ndigenous leader to address the U.N. General Assembly.” Environmental groups sought after Lyons to speak at their events (p. 110). The public speaking career of Oren Lyons was highlighted in the article: “More than anything else, it is Lyon’s power to move people through the spoken word that has propelled him toward the center of the fight for social and environmental justice” (p. 110). Lyons was described by those who have heard him as “visionary,” able to address diverse people in an audience, and being honest without appearing accusatory.

But Lyons is remarkably able to recount the centuries of abuse and genocide inflicted on indigenous people without creating a debilitating sense of guilt in his largely European-American audience....When asked why white people are not made defensive by his stern history lessons, Lyons said, “They can sense that I start from the position of respect for every person in the room. *Respect*, [sic] you will find, is a very important word. (p. 113)

The author attempted to show the multidimensionality of Lyons: as a divorced father watching his son prepare for Lacrosse competition, as having struggled through

childhood and then working as a greeting card artist with a degree in commercial art in his early adulthood, as an accomplished and wise public speaker drawing on his Onondaga culture, and then as a ballroom dancer at the Audubon medal award ceremony. Part of Lyon's speech at the award ceremony was recounted for the reader. Lyon's told an Iroquois story about greed symbolized by "gold and silver serpents" and ended the story: "So we, as common people, face the serpents of gold and silver, the greed that is consuming the very life off the earth. Who among us has the will to be the bow, who among us knows the truth to make the arrows, and who among us has the courage to pull the bow?" (p. 114). Schneider (1994, March-April) continued by describing the silence and then the applause by the audience following this speech and then the awkward moment when the National Audubon President immediately "announced that the dancing portion of the event had arrived" (p. 110). Schneider wrote,

As Lyons said that evening in Syracuse, "The second great teaching of the Haudenosaunee is always to enjoy life."

So as soon as the music started, while a few black-tied and evening-gowned couples swayed gently at the back of the room. Oren Lyons twirled and spun his partner in a series of lively ballroom moves. All around the floor the smiling faithkeeper of the Turtle Clan of Onondaga Nation danced. (p. 114-115)

According to this excerpt, white audiences appear comfortable and uncomfortable around Oren Lyon's words. A reader might infer that the segue into the second part of the Audubon medal award ceremony's evening entertainment had been awkward.

The author presented Oren Lyons in roles other than speaker of Native wisdom, although Oren Lyon's speeches were filled with many allusions to his Onondaga belief system. A photograph of Lyons appeared on the first page of the article. Lyons was shown sitting on rocks in a long overcoat, looking off to the side, his hat laid on the rocks

beside him and trees are in the background. In the article, he was presented as a speaker especially targeting European-Americans. His work with his own community and other Indigenous communities (such as why he addressed the U.N General Assembly) were not described. The article was targeted to the Euro-American Audubon magazine audience.

In the Audubon special 100th anniversary issue, “Champions of Conservation,” a hundred people alphabetically were listed as “champions of conservation” with a brief biosketch of their environmental accomplishments. The environmental heroes were listed alphabetically by surname. Each person’s accomplishments were recounted in a brief blurb, and not everyone was represented with a photograph. One of them listed was Winona LaDuke. She was depicted as a “Native American activist.” Her membership in the Mississippi Band of Anishinaabeg was not mentioned (LaDuke, 1999, p. 242). Her listed accomplishments included founder of White Earth Land Recovery; activist against a hydroelectric project in James Bay, Canada; Harvard graduate; high school principal; Indigenous rights crusader; Green Peace board member; vice –presidential Green Party candidate; and participant in the Seventh Generation Fund’s Environmental Program (Champions of Conservation, November-December, 1998, p. 125-126). A photograph of Winona LaDuke accompanied the brief bio-sketch. In the photograph, she was dressed in fringed, floral decorated coat with a shirt underneath that had a Native American print design, with long earrings and her face contained a serious expression. Among all the other accomplished environmentalists, LaDuke signified the solidly “ethnic” and generic “Native American,” not a tribally-specific identity. Her serious pose and unsmiling expression, signaled her serious attitude toward the goals she set out to accomplish. Her

steady gaze into the camera and therefore into the reader, provides the impression that LaDuke is a dedicated, passionate activist.

In May-June, 2002 Keith Kloor wrote an brief report for the Field Notes section. The Field Notes section was subtitled “News on nature and the environment from around the world” (2002, May-June, p. 12). The report was labeled “Profile” and was entitled “The People’s Watchdog.” Kloor began his article, “ROBERT MARTIN IS PROBABLY THE MOST [sic] controversial government official [Environmental Protection national Ombudsman] you’ve never heard of” (2002, May-June, p. 13). Martin was described as a “godsend” to communities fighting pollution and “a nettlesome pest” to EPA high officials. The reader was not told that Robert Martin was “a member of the Makah tribe” until the third paragraph of the article: “Martin, a soft-spoken 44-year-old and a member of the Makah tribe, has been the EPA’s national ombudsman since 1992” (Kloor, 2002, May-June, p. 13). Robert Martin was described by the following,

“expos[ing] foot-dragging or sloppiness in the clean-up of EPA-designated Superfund sites—former industrial or military locations now highly contaminated with toxic waste—in residential communities” (p. 13)

“an investigator and a mediator” (p. 13)

“onetime lawyer”(p. 13)

“holds public hearings to review many perspectives” (p. 13)

“his efforts are sometimes met with resistance” (p. 13)

EPA officials were trying to move him to another position (p. 13)

“For Martin, who descends from a line of chiefs going back a thousand years, the battle over his job strikes at the core of his personal identity and sense of civic duty. (p. 13)

Kloor used a quote from Martin to shed light on the ombudsman’s personality:

“Benjamin Disraeli once said, ‘Justice is truth in action,’ he says. “So making truth in action is consistent with who I am.” (p. 13)

The picture of Robert Martin that accompanied the article is an artistic photographic portrait of him standing in the shadows of tree-trunks with the branches’ shadows enveloping his body like a halo. His gaze is out to the side and his hands are folded in front.

All these profiles listed numerous accolades for the person on whom the article focused—from an artist to activists. In 1978, Gilbert worked on de-romanticizing and expressing the modern identity of Kananginak. In 1990, Bill Yellowtail was presented as a multi-faceted individual, and his Crow identity was a salient point around which the article revolved. In 1998, Winona LaDuke was not even identified by her specific Indigenous identity, but as a “Native American” who worked for both Indigenous and environmental rights. By 2002, the Makah identity of the profiled Robert Martin was not the most emphasized point of his identity, rather his dedication and success as an ombudsman was highlighted. His Makah identity was implied as a motivating force for his public service, but Martin quoted Benjamin Disraeli, a British Prime Minister, to express his work philosophy. With longer, in-depth profiles, writers may easily present complex identities and the many roles held by one Indigenous person.

Unintentionally or intentionally, these profiles move beyond an “othering” portrayal of Indigenous peoples by showing glimpses of the multi-dimensionality of five individuals who are also members of an Indigenous community. Each article included a photograph or a portrait of the individual as well as a textual description of the activities and biographical events of a person. Showing a faithkeeper ballroom dancing, an artist on a mini-bike or in an expensive boat, a member of the Crow Tribe as a state senator, and a Makah EPA ombudsman quoting Benjamin Disraeli moved beyond an essentialist depiction of “Indians” as irrelevant or figures of the past or as incidental references to be drawn on for purposes of nature writing stylistics.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Conclusions

Several conclusions and questions for further study resulted from this examination of images and text in Audubon magazine from 1960-2002. Basically, references to Indigenous peoples were either mentioned briefly as incidental references or were the main focus of an article (as part of major coverage). Almost every issue included an incidental reference to Indigenous peoples as tribally specific groups, generically assigned identities like “Indians,” regionally assigned generic identities, or homogenizing cultural types based on regional locations such as Northwest Coast tribes.

- The incidental references, brief references of Indigenous peoples in articles, achieved three effects. First, the references existed in the article because they augmented the main topic of the article in some way. Sometimes references were used in a way that helped the author accentuate a point in the article about nature. Second, the textual Indigenous presence provided a comparison for which identities of writer, reader, or the subjects of articles were expressed. Third, Indigenous peoples were also depicted as having certain characteristics, such as being violent and war-like, exploitive of nature, or ecological. The references depicted Indigenous peoples in specific roles such as guides or laborers.
- The Indian guides in the nature essays not only were involved in physical labor and navigation of terrain, but they also (maybe without either party

recognizing it) conducted emotional labor, to meet the psychological needs of the naturalist or adventurer.

- The image of the Indigenous laborer changed over the time period analyzed. In the 1960s, laborers were a backdrop, as part of the “equipment,” and by the 2000s the images of Indigenous peoples included skilled laborers with knowledge in both Western science and knowledge of community-specific knowledge.
- The magazine depicted varied images of Indigenous peoples in both full-length articles and incidental references. A more recent article did not necessarily mean more progressive images of Indigenous peoples were presented. For example, Pruitt’s article written in 1963, Brockstoe’s article written in 1977, and Nelson’s article written in 1993, portrayed the Eskimo community differently than Williams’ 1989 “Circus of Whales” article. Negative and belittling images of Native Americans (as eagle nest-robbers, religious fanatics, and former child-killers) peppered the Williams’ articles on eagles, including the article on Hopi and eagles/eaglets. The use of derogatory terms, namely “squaw” for places and particular natural nomenclature continued into the 1990s and 2000s.
- At times, unfamiliarity with Indigenous issues was communicated in the magazine. For example, terms such as “cultural genocide” were misunderstood in the article “Leap of Faith.” Writers often did not understand that treaties ensured Indigenous rights to resources above and

beyond recent environmental laws. Two writers viewed treaty rights through the lens of “race.” Williams, writer of “Golden Eagle for the Gods,” misunderstood the role of the eagle clan in the Hopi communities.

- Incidental references worked as one strategy to fit Indigenous peoples into an environmental writer’s or magazine’s goals and ideologies. These brief references presented a way for writers and readers to experience frontier and colonial nostalgia, to form identities in contrast to “Indians,” to romanticize nature through poetic language, to present the “Other” as a curiosity utilizing resources and knowledge in different ways, and to provide a human presence for the story. Many of the incidental references relegated Indians to the past, negating the existence of present-day Indigenous peoples.
- The Indigenous imagery in the incidental references worked as textual and imaginary “Indian guides”—guides emerging from a non-Indigenous context—for part of the “route” through the nature essays. These textual Indian guides showed the reader around for at least part of the journey not through the land but through the text.
- In both incidental references and full-length articles, sometimes the textual presence of Indigenous peoples served aesthetic and emotional purposes for the author or reader. The best example of this is the desire to experience sublime nature, which was a goal of some environmental writers and readers, for example Bass (1997).

- Audubon magazine and its contributors utilized Indigenous imagery for the following goals: aesthetic reasons, to express “whiteness” especially in identities of naturalist, explorer, or pioneer in contrast to the noble/ignoble savage, to express a desire to be the “Other,” to further causes that fit into their goals of conserving birds, wildlife, or habitat (the children’s education programs and the Iwokrama wildlife reserve), to develop “ecological selves,” or to criticize events that the magazine or its contributors viewed against their mission and detrimental to birds, wildlife, or habitat (such as eaglet harvesting or the Keep America Beautiful campaign). The Audubon contributors were allies or adversaries to Indigenous peoples and their environmental causes. Contributors sometimes drew on racializing “Indians” in order to fight a particular cause. The stance on issues were not always consistent over time, such as Brockstoe’s and Williams’ differing representations on whale hunting in Alaska, showing that Audubon magazine was not a “house organ.”
- Comparison articles from other magazines, such as Earth Island Journal and National Wildlife, accentuated different images for the same topic. For example, Earth Island Journal presented the U’wa with more agency than Audubon. The National Wildlife article on the Nez Perce was saturated with the “ecological Indian” image while Audubon presented the Nez Perce as a political participant in wildlife management. This shows

that magazines need to be examined, compared, and theorized on individual levels.

- The criteria that Indigenous voices ensures an adequate representation of Indigenous viewpoints does not work in every case. The inclusion of voices of Indigenous peoples in nature news writing does not automatically mean an article is balanced in favor of Indigenous peoples' interests, or if voices are missing that an article is somewhat weaker in its advocacy for Indigenous peoples. Ted Williams quoted Indigenous spokespersons (in a "Circus of Whales"), but he used Native voices in ways that did not further Indigenous goals. On the other hand, Brockstoe (1977) did not use quotations of Indigenous spokespersons, but was able to write an article that advocated for the Eskimo/Inuit cultural practices of whale hunting.
- The images of the ecological Indian and ignoble savage often were strategically harnessed for particular environmental causes in Audubon. In full-length articles, the ecological Indian image was depicted with more complexity, and in time the ecological Indian image was being depicted through the voices (quotes) of Indigenous peoples.
- Whether positive or negative, Indigenous peoples often were presented as participants in environmental decision-making (especially in Alaska). Absences in representing participation are marked such as in the Everglades Restoration Plan covered as a special issue in 2001.

- Letters-to-the-editor served as a mediated dialogical space for readers to express opinions outside the goals of Audubon magazine and National Audubon Society. This dialogical space was shown in the letters-to the editor in response to Williams' articles on Native Americans and eagles.

Further Research

Further research needs to be done on comparing how Indigenous-run media presents an environmental topic in comparison to various mainstream media publications. The analysis of Indigenous representations in nature writing's book literature would be a next step, as well. An ethnography of a magazine publication office also might provide some greater insights on how representations and attitudes toward Indigenous peoples issues shape environmental publications. Another option would be to examine how readers consume, filter and use the Indigenous images in nature magazines to make decisions about their activism and shape their "ecological selves."

With regards to expanding concrete ideas from this research, a deeper look must be made into theorizing about the ecological Indian and ignoble savage in relation to Western meanings of nature put forth in nature writing, such as the sublime, quiet nature, self, and "otherness." Most importantly, articles that provide context on Indigenous issues in the mainstream media need to be examined to see what makes them different from presentations that have agendas that are not in Indigenous communities' interests.

APPENDIX A
ARTICLE ANALYSIS TEMPLATE

1) Date, Article Citation, Editor-in-Chief of the Issue, President of National Audubon Society.

2) What section of the magazine contains the text? This will permit me to count which section covers the most stories about Native Americans.

3) What size is the article? Accompanying visuals?

4) What are the main environmental topics in the text?

5) What techniques does the author utilize to gain the reader's confidence? I will extract phrases I deem key to the author's argument and trace how an argument is structured.

6) Is direct experience used to make truth claims?

7a) Do Native Americans and Indigenous people speak in the text? (Write quotes)

7b) Who else is quoted in the text? (Write quotes)

7c) Are their words in quotations?

7d) Are their words paraphrased?

7e) What are the dialogical aspects of the text?

These questions link to Bakhtin's concepts of dialogical and monological, as well as to agency.

8) What roles do Native Americans and Indigenous people play in the text?

9a) Is the generic Native American or Indigenous identity emphasized or tribes or individuals specified?

9b) Are Indigenous people othered, or portrayed as what Ellen (1996) describes as "what is not ourselves?"

9c) Are Indigenous people feminized?

10) What common word classes (word choices which have similar effects and meanings used in relation to Indigenous peoples) typify the articles? This is a question for beginning a lexical analysis.

11a) How is the environment (land, water, and animals) characterized when discussed in relation to the Native Americans and Indigenous people? This question will access issues of the ecological Indian, by addressing how the relationship between Native Americans and the environment are portrayed, such as harmonious, not harmonious, or complex.

11b) If pertinent, how is the writing in Fritzell's (1990) words used "to ordain American lands, without thinking too much about the process (or the particular terms) of ordination"?

12a) What particular nature writing discourses are present?

- a)fiction
- b)scientific
- c)autobiographical
- d)journalism
- e)philosophy
- f)natural history
- g)political commentary
- h)storytelling
- i)poetry
- j)anthropomorphic
- k)educational

12d) Into which type from Lyon's (1989) typology does the article fit?

- a) field guides and professional papers
- b) natural history essays
- c) rambles
- d)solitude and backcountry living
- e)travel and adventure
- f) farm life
- g) man's role in nature
- h) other

12c) Is more than one discourse or speech genres used within the text? This question is influenced by intertextuality.

12d) What are the discourses? This question identifies the particular discourses in the article. The answers can then be compared across editorships and time periods to see if any commonalities or patterns exist.

12e) What characteristics of the article bring out these discourses? The discourses may be communicated through different ways. I want to see if the discourses are based in assumptions, are communicated through quotes, or through some other textual style.

13a) Does the article utilize any news writing strategies?

- a)relevance organization
- b)news schema
- c)persuasive dimension

13b) Explain each strategy used and the purpose of the strategy.

13c) Identify source texts for the article.

14) What assumptions about Native Americans does the text attempt to communicate? This question reveals the implied and overt assumptions in the article.

15a) Are there elements of the stereotype of the “ecological Indian” and the “ignoble, wasteful Indian?” This question is important because it centers the focus on the use of common stereotypes that may linger in environmental writing.

15b) Describe the elements.

16) What environmental purpose does alluding to or focusing on Native Americans serve? I want to track what environmental aims are associated with references to Native Americans, such as helping an endangered species, saving land from oil drilling, or providing a role model for land management.

17) Explain the “patterns of emphasis” in the article.
This question is from the techniques of Tonkiss (1998).

18) Explain the “taken for granted notions.”
This question is from the techniques of Tonkiss (1998).

19) What is silenced or overlooked? This question examines what details are overlooked. Often perspectives are missing due to space and time constraints. Sometimes, a perspective may be deliberately missing because it contradicts the article’s case. Huckin (2002) provides a methodology for reading silences.

20) How many photographs and pictorials are associated with the article? This will provide a count of the visual representations.

21) What elements of the text do the photographs and pictorials illustrate? This question links the photographs and pictorials within the text to explain the pictorial depiction.

22) Other comments and background information- This question records inductive observations of the text.

Image Analysis

Common themes and thematic variances will be discussed using actual text and pictures from the magazine. If pictures and text constitute an article then the analyses of both will be combined and compared. Certain excerpts will be set adjacent to one another and analyzed. For analysis of images in *Audubon* the following protocol of questions will be answered.

1) Who is the photographer or artist? This question will record names of photographers and artists to acknowledge them in discussions of their work and to track if one photographer or artist is commonly featured.

2a) What size is the picture? This question determines how much space the picture uses: half a page, a full page, or less than half a page.

2b) What is the placement of the picture? This question records where the picture is located on the page.

2c) Does it float or is it incorporated into the article? The question examines if a picture is separate or embedded within the text of the article.

3a) What are the general elements/events which compose the image? This records the denotative aspects, describing the picture in terms of common nouns.

3b) What are the specific elements/events that compose the image? This question describes the picture using specific proper nouns.

3c) What are some descriptive words that are evoked by the image? This question is interpretative and asks what words may come to mind to the reader as she or he looks at the picture.

4a) Describe the elements of lighting. This ascertains lighting arrangements of the picture: dark or light, natural light or artificial

4b) Describe the focus (soft or sharp). This question describes technical aspects of the photograph. Lutz & Collins clarify that soft focus is used to denote art and hard focus is used to denote “records” (1993, p. 28-29).

5a) How are the elements set in relation to each other? This question examines how the elements in the picture interact.

5b) What is in the background?

5c) What is in the foreground?

These two questions allow a description of what is center stage and what is in the background.

6) What are the captions associated with the image? This question identifies the “official” explanation of the picture.

7a) What are the intentional overt messages of the image or the denotative elements?

7b) What are the covert messages of the image (if any) or the connotative elements of the image?

These two questions emerge from Barthes (1982) who claims that there are levels of messages in the text that can be interpreted by the consumer.

8) What is the history, if it can be known, behind the image? This can be found in a section of the magazine called, “Contributors,” which features personal information on authors, photographers, or illustrators, or can be explained in the article.

9) What discourses are being reinforced by the image?
This question is influenced by the work of Desmond (1999).

10) Other comments This provides the opportunity for inductive observation of the photograph or the illustration.

APPENDIX B
LETTER OF INQUIRY

February 24, 2004
Mr. David Seideman
Editor-in-chief
National Audubon Society and *Audubon* Magazine
700 Broadway
New York, NY 10003

Dear Mr. Seideman,

I am writing in my capacity as a doctoral candidate in American Indian Studies at the University of Arizona to request permission to interview you, Mr. Flicker, and eight to ten members of your staff for my dissertation. These interviews will coordinate with my close reading of your magazine and other environmental news sources from 1960 to 2002. I have chosen to include *Audubon* in this research because your magazine is a vital part of the environmental movement and as you pointed out in the September 2002 issue many influential people read it. I have enclosed a brief synopsis of my dissertation project to explain the research's purpose and methods. When the study is finished, I will send you a copy of the dissertation.

My interviews will be done over the telephone with follow-up email. Interview questions cover the publication processes of *Audubon* magazine and environmental issues related to Indigenous peoples. The interviews will take approximately half-an-hour on telephone per person with consent form procedures (a copy of the consent form and a tentative list of interview questions is enclosed) before any interviews take place and open scheduling according to when is best for you and your staff. I hope to finish the interviews by the end of March 2004. I will then mail each person a small gift as a token of my appreciation for participating. I hope you consider this request in the spirit of sharing your organization's expertise in this academic project. I would be happy to follow up on any questions you have when I call on February 27, 2004.

Best regards,

Margaret Mortensen Vaughan, Ph.D. Candidate

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

Representations of Indigenous Peoples, Nature, and News in Major Environmental Magazines

Subject's Consent Form

I AM BEING ASKED TO READ THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL TO ENSURE THAT I AM INFORMED OF THE NATURE OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY AND OF HOW I WILL PARTICIPATE IN IT, IF I CONSENT TO DO SO. SIGNING THIS FORM WILL INDICATE THAT I HAVE BEEN SO INFORMED AND THAT I GIVE MY CONSENT. FEDERAL REGULATIONS REQUIRE WRITTEN INFORMED CONSENT PRIOR TO PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY SO I THAT I CAN KNOW THE NATURE AND RISKS OF MY PARTICIPATION AND CAN DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE OR NOT PARTICIPATE IN A FREE AND INFORMED MANNER.

PURPOSE

I am being invited to participate voluntarily in the above-titled research project. The purpose of this project is to determine how environmental news organizations depict Indigenous peoples and fit them into their social and environmental goals.

SELECTION CRITERIA

I am being invited to participate because I work at *Audubon* magazine. Approximately eight to ten subjects will be enrolled in this study.

PROCEDURES

If I agree to participate, I will be asked to consent to the following: a half hour long telephone interview, which I will be able to proofread in transcript form, and at least one follow-up email questionnaire.

RISKS

The risks are minimal but may include experiencing strong feelings about the topics of discussion and being identified in the research, especially by coworkers, as having participated in the research.

BENEFITS

There are no personal benefits to participating in this study. I may gain satisfaction from contributing my knowledge to a research project.

CONFIDENTIALITY

If I choose, confidentiality will be maintained by not being identified by my name, position, and having my words and descriptive information mixed in with other participants' words and descriptive information.

PARTICIPATION COSTS AND SUBJECT COMPENSATION

The costs to me are in the time spent in the interviews, in editing the telephone transcript, and completing the email questionnaire. I will receive a thank you gift for participating in this research.

CONTACTS

I can obtain further information from the principle investigator, Margaret A. Mortensen Vaughan, Ph.D. Candidate. If I have questions concerning my rights as a research subject, I may call the Human Subjects Committee office at (520) 626-6721.

AUTHORIZATION

BEFORE GIVING MY CONSENT BY SIGNING THIS FORM, THE METHODS, INCONVENIENCES, RISKS, AND BENEFITS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME AND MY QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ANSWERED. I MAY ASK QUESTIONS AT ANY TIME AND I AM FREE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PROJECT AT ANY TIME WITHOUT CAUSING BAD FEELINGS. MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS PROJECT MAY BE ENDED BY THE INVESTIGATOR FOR REASONS THAT WOULD BE EXPLAINED. NEW INFORMATION DEVELOPED DURING THE COURSE OF THIS STUDY WHICH MAY AFFECT MY WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT WILL BE GIVEN TO ME AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE. THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE FILED IN AN AREA DESIGNATED BY THE HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE WITH ACCESS RESTRICTED TO THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR, MARGARET ANN MORTENSEN VAUGHAN OR AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES DEPARTMENT. I DO NOT GIVE UP MY LEGAL RIGHTS BY SIGNING THIS FORM. A COPY OF THIS SIGNED CONSENT FORM WILL BE GIVEN TO ME.

Subject's signature

Date_____

____ I DO NOT authorize you to identify me by name or position in the research.

____ I authorize that my name and position can be identified in the research.

____ I authorize that you can use my name but not my position in the research.

____ I authorize that you can use my position but not my name in the research.

INVESTIGATOR'S AFFADAVIT

I have carefully explained to the subject the nature of the above project. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the person who is signing this consent form understands clearly the nature, demands, benefits, and risks involved in his/her participation and his/her signature is legally valid. A medical problem or language or educational barrier has not precluded this understanding.

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR AUDUBON MAGAZINE EDITORIAL STAFF

- 1) What are your work-related responsibilities at *Audubon* magazine?
- 2a) In my reading of the magazine, I encountered some of the issues you have written about that related to Indigenous peoples, [name one article/topic], what influenced you to write about this issue?
- 2b) How have readers reacted to articles on Indigenous peoples in your magazine?
- 3) What criteria does *Audubon* magazine use in accepting materials for publication?
- 4a) Does Audubon have any editorial policies regarding the published descriptions of Indigenous peoples?
- 4b) What are these policies?
- 5) How much planning is put into covering articles on Indigenous peoples and environmental issues on a regular basis in *Audubon* magazine?

Email Questions:

- 1) What is your educational background?
- 2) What training have you had in the environmental sciences?
- 3) What training have had in journalism and writing?
- 4) What training have you had in anthropology or cultural diversity?
- 5) How long have you been working at Audubon magazine?
- 6) What would you say are the current environmental challenges that Indigenous communities face?
- 7) Do you think Indigenous peoples have environmental knowledge that would be valuable to biologists/scientists?
- 8) Do you view Audubon magazine as an advocate for Indigenous peoples and the environmental issues that effect them?

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