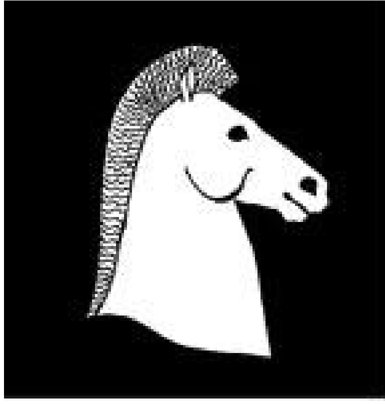

Introduction. Special Places and Protected Spaces: Historical and Global Perspectives on Non-National Parks in Canada and Abroad

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Introduction. Special Places and Protected Spaces: Historical and Global Perspectives on Non-National Parks in Canada and Abroad

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ABSTRACT

In October 2010, a group of scholars representing a variety of disciplines gathered to discuss the history of non-national parks in Canada and beyond. The following introduction draws together common threads tying the articles making up this collection together and arrives at some conclusions surrounding the history of non-national parks. Specifically we contend: 1) heterogeneous jurisdictional control seems to produce heterogeneous parks; 2) park creation and management, by definition, are exercises in boundary maintenance – rhetorics of inclusivity ignore the reality of exclusion; and 3) non-national parks are expected to provide economic return as much as preserve ecological/heritage value. We then suggest possible avenues for future research. To address some of these issues, the greater part of this atypically long introduction provides an analysis of recent non-Native attempts to understand Aboriginal epistemologies surrounding environmental protection and protected areas strategies.

KEYWORDS

Non-national parks, protected areas, heritage values, Native and non-Native environmental epistemologies

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Though national parks receive the lion's share of scholarly (if not popular) attention, in Canada they collectively make up only half of the country's protected park spaces. Non-national parks – municipal, regional and provincial – together constitute approximately 300,000 square kilometres – a land mass roughly the size of Germany. More numerous and often more geographically and financially accessible than national parks, non-national parks arguably influence and impact upon the lives of peoples in ways that national parks simply cannot hope to do. And what is more, Canadian provincial, regional and municipal parks continue to be created at a much more rapid pace than national parks and, perhaps more to the point, it is in these regional protected spaces that important issues about the meaning of ecology, bio-diversity, human activity and even heritage, are being negotiated. Thus, Canada's non-national parks have a growing significance that demands a close local scrutiny and broad global comparative context.

In Canada, as elsewhere, academia has begun to recognise the human and ecological importance of these parks, though this scholarship is really in its infancy and continues to be overshadowed by national park studies.[1] While much

1. Recent and notable scholarship on these non-national (primarily provincial and municipal) parks in Canada, though scarce when considering the scope of the country and publications on national parks, includes: the Summer 2011 issue of *BC Studies* dedicated to provincial parks; Jean Barman, *Stanley Park's Secret: The Forgotten Families of Whoi Whoi, Kanaka Ranch, and Brockton Point* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2005); Sean Kheraj, 'Restoring Nature: Ecology, Memory, and the Storm History of Vancouver's Stanley Park', *Canadian Historical Review* **88**/4 (2007): 577–612; H.V. Nelles, 'How Did Calgary Get Its River Parks?' *Urban History Review* **34**/1 (Fall 2005): 28–45; John Selwood, John C. Leh, and Mary Cavett, '"The Most Lovely and Picturesque City in all of Canada": The Origins of Winnipeg's Public Park System', *Manitoba History* **31** (March 1996): 21–29; John S. Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (eds.) *Changing Parks: The History, Future, and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc., 1998); Gerald Killam, *Protected Spaces: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1993); James Opp, 'Public History and the Fragments of Place: Archaeology, History and Heritage Site Development in Southern Alberta', *Rethinking History* **15**/2 (June 2011): 241–267; Robert S. Kossuth, 'Spaces and Places to Play: The Formation of a Municipal Parks System in London, Ontario, 1867–1914', *Ontario History* **97**/2 (Autumn 2005): 160–190; David Bain, 'The Queen's Park and its Avenues: Canada's First Public Park', *Ontario History* **95**/2 (Nov 2003): 192–215; Roger Spielmann and Marina Unger, 'Towards a Model of Co-Management of Provincial Parks in Ontario', *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* **20**/2 (2000): 455–486; George Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness: A History of Changing Concepts and Preservation Politics, 1927–1973* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000); George Warecki, 'Balancing Wilderness Protection and Economic Development', *Ontario History* **102**/1 (Spring 2010): 56–77; John C. Lehr, 'The Origins and Development of Manitoba's Provincial Park System', *Prairie Forum* **26**/2 (2001): 241–255; Michèle Dagenais, 'Entre Tradition and Modernité: Espaces et Temps de Loisirs à Montreal et Toronto au XXe Sieclè', *Canadian Historical Review* **82**/2 (June 2001): 307–320; Diane Saine-Laurent, 'Approches biogéographiques de la Nature en Ville: Parcs, Espaces Verts et Friches', *Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec* **44**/122 (July 2000): 147–166; Nadine Kopfer, 'Upon the Hill: Negotiating Public Space in Early 20th Century Montreal', *Zeitschrift fur Kanada-Studien* **29**/2 (2009): 86–102; and Roland Vogelsang, 'Provinzparks und Naturschutzgebiete der Kanadischen Provinzen im Kontext von Nachhaltiger Entwicklung', *Zeitschrift fur Kanada-Studien* **21**/2 (2001): 33–63.

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research is being conducted, most of it still has not progressed beyond the form of non-circulating grey literature (technical reports), surface-level journalism or more popular histories designed for tourist consumption. It is our contention that non-national parks deserve greater scholarly attention and we hope that the collection of articles presented in this special edition of *Environment and History* constitutes the beginning of a series of conversations that others will want to join.

A large part of the fascination associated with parks stems from the fact that the ideology surrounding and sustaining them has become orthodoxy. Paul Kopas' recent study of parks in Canada demonstrates that most Canadians believe designating a space 'park' is the best way to preserve it.[2] This popular perception remains the case despite the fact that a growing body of historical literature argues that park agencies or, perhaps more accurately, the governments that fund them, are frequently willing to promote economic development at the expense of environmental preservation or ecological integrity. For many politicians, park creation is regarded as a quick and inexpensive way to curry political favour, but such actions too often fail to be accompanied with policies designed to ensure that these spaces receive adequate infrastructural support.[3]

Recognising the tenuous status of park lands within the Canadian polity and the often ambiguous position of parks with Canadian public and governmental ideology and imagination, in October 2010 a group consisting primarily of historians gathered at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada, to share ideas and preliminary research concerning local and provincial levels. Our hope was to assess the applicability of the dominant park discourse and to better situate it within broader definitions of protected spaces. The symposium, titled 'Historical and Global Perspectives on Provincial and Local/regional Parks in Canada', was created to meet three key objectives: to elucidate the intersections of provincial, local, and national park histories within a global context; to communicate the continuities and discontinuities between the parks creators' intentions and the lived reality of parks; and to illustrate any hegemonic cultural assumptions that lie behind parks and the impact these have for people who may

2. Paul Kopas, *Taking the Air: Ideas and Change in Canada's National Parks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

3. This criticism has been sustained in both Canada and the United States, though it is an argument that has been significantly more developed in the national parks historiography. For a few poignant examples: Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987); William R. Lowry, *The Capacity for Wonder: Preserving National Parks* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1994); Sid Marty, *A Grand and Fabulous Notion: The First Century of Canada's Parks* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1984); John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1961); and Carsten Lien, *Olympic Battleground: The Power Politics of Timber Preservation*, 2nd Edition (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991). More recently, the British Columbian auditor general damned the Ministry of the Environment for failing to meet its declared intentions and clear vision to conserve the ecological integrity of the province's parks and protected areas. See: John Doyle, '2010/11 Report 3: Conservation of Ecological Integrity in B.C. Parks and Protected Areas' (Victoria, BC: Office of the Auditor General, August 2010).

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not share the assumptions of mainstream or dominant society. Presenters at the symposium examined non-national parks across Canada, from the west coast of British Columbia to the capital region of Ottawa, Ontario and Gatineau, Quebec in central Canada. Additional presentations considering non-national parks in the United States and Europe helped to situate the Canadian research within a comparative international context. This special edition of *Environment and History* is a direct result of that symposium and includes a selection of some of the most thoughtful and provocative papers that were originally presented there.

The papers in this volume represent tentative steps toward a new body of historical literature on parks that 1) escapes the national park myopia that has coloured discussion in Canada to this point, and 2) introduces studies of Canadian non-national parks to similar studies emerging in Europe, and visa versa. To better accomplish this we have organised this work around a series of questions:

- What cultural and scientific assumptions have informed the creation and operation of non-national parks?
- What have the relationships between heritage and ecology in non-national parks been?
- To what extent have non-national parks enacted a programme set by national or international agendas and standards?
- How have these second and third tier parks socially, politically, environmentally and discursively compared and contrasted with national or comparable non-national parks elsewhere?
- How have these parks reflected a process of local, as opposed to national or international, community-building ideology, and are such attitudes ever set in opposition to presumed national or international interests?
- What could those responsible for parks do differently to better design and implement their mandates?
- Have parks in general been the best way of preserving or providing stewardship for ecosystems, heritage and recreational resources, or are there alternate ways of managing the land that may be more culturally or ecologically responsive and appropriate?

While unified in purpose to draw attention to the importance of studying non-national parks, each article in this collection represents a different way of addressing the queries above. Sean Kheraj's piece titled 'Demonstration Wildlife: Negotiating the Animal Landscape of Vancouver's Stanley Park, 1888–1996', reminds us that the majority of people in industrialised nations encounter, and thus develop attitudes towards, wildlife in urban settings rather than in some distant, infrequently visited 'wild'. His examination of Vancouver, British Columbia's premier municipal park considers the local, national and international ties for the

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animals within the park and the people who created it, managed it and visited it. His analysis shows how the genesis of one of Canada's oldest and largest urban parks marked the turning point in human attitudes towards animals and, especially, how people interacted with them, in this rapidly urbanising region. Most interestingly, Kheraj urges us to view animals in urban parks as agents of historical change without slipping into the quagmire of environmental determinism. Animals, he argues, not only placed limits on human agency but also caused humans to respond to animal actions. As much as park managers and visitors told themselves that they were operating within a highly structured space, these animals, as autonomous beings, acted unpredictably; and thus Kheraj's article encourages us to pay attention not only to how people have contested what occurs in parks, but how animals themselves have done the same.

Jonathan Clapperton's article, 'Desolate Viewscapes: Sliammon First Nation, Desolation Sound Marine Park and Environmental Narratives', also focuses on the west coast of Canada, though in a much less populated and urbanised space. His study examines the popular depiction of provincial parks as innocent, benevolent and beneficent even as they were utilised as tools of (neo)colonialism against indigenous people. Drawing on years of community-based field-work, Clapperton roots the history of Desolation Sound Marine Park (established 1973) in a longer process of Aboriginal deterritorialisation by settler populations that goes back, in British Columbia, to the mid-nineteenth century. While the story of parks as colonial entities is one that has received increasing attention in national parks over the last decade, Clapperton's article demonstrates how provincial parks have become a principal means for non-federal governments (which in Canada and the United States have sole jurisdiction over 'Indian' affairs) to continue the process of imperialism. He also reminds us that subaltern studies and postcolonial theory continue to be underutilised in analysing park history. By doing so, he sheds light on the processes of colonial disempowerment, and also helps to illuminate the course by which key individuals in the Sliammon community have sought to decolonise the provincial parks-First Nation relationship.

The other two articles in this collection are European case studies and provide some interesting similarities and contrasts to the Canadian situation. In both cases, parks are a hybrid model, with the national government involved to a lesser extent (as in France) and a greater extent (as in Portugal), without being 'national' parks. Constanza Parra appraises the history and utility of France's regional park system, though she situates her study within the history and historiography of North American parks. 'The Vicissitudes of the French Regional Park Model Illustrated Through the Life History of the Morvan' specifically examines the nexus between culture, society and nature which French regional parks seek to exemplify. Parra sees real promise in what she explains as a highly decentralised model, one which boasts more parks and comprises

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a greater area than France's national park system.[4] One of the most interesting aspects of the French regional model is that the charter for each park must be renegotiated every twelve years. This, Parra argues, provides an opportunity for civil society to participate in collectively defining the park's future – a negotiated process that holds certain advantages over the more reactionary system within Canada that often forces regular citizens to suddenly respond to agendas set and advanced by powerful interests operating behind the scenes. Her focus on *parc naturel régional du Morvan* also provides a fascinating insight into how European states are struggling to protect ecological spaces in areas that have been densely populated and continue to be intensively used while at the same time recognising the value in heritage conservation. Her approach provides an excellent method for creating a narrative of this space. By exploring what she terms the 'life history' of the *Morvan*, Parra shows how the park came to embody a special, and indeed cherished, identity, culture and history, celebrating both its lengthy human occupation and the ecology that has resulted from human intervention. Respecting this history, and the associated human relationships, she contends, is just as important as preserving 'nature'. Such an approach also provides an avenue infrequently taken among North American park historians, whose 'life history' of a park is usually limited to 'natural' or geologic history which largely, if not entirely, ignores the presence of humans in order to create an uninhabited, pristine wilderness narrative.

Building on this theme, the final article in this collection, Margarida Queirós' 'Natural Parks in Portugal: A Way to Become More Ecologically Responsible?', describes the backlash that arises when 'elites' impose parks on inhabited spaces without first gaining local support. In Portugal, as in France, governments have had to work through the issues of how to protect sensitive ecologies in long-occupied spaces. But Queirós argues that while other European countries have a well-entrenched, popularly-supported 'conservationist impulse', Portugal remains a latecomer in adopting this ideology with much resistance to these ideals, especially in rural areas where natural parks are usually situated. While resistance to parks is nothing extraordinary, Queirós' study provides an excellent contrast to the North American historiography, as well Parra's depiction of France; Queirós argues that Portugal's park system – and by extension its ecological consciousness – is marked by its lack of a significant vocal community of 'visionaries' advocating protection, especially for wildlife. Like Parra, however, Queirós views protected lands as 'humanised spaces', which causes her to interrogate what a 'natural' park really means in the Portuguese context, and how humans fit into this categorisation. She concludes with support for an

4. France's decentralised system of regional parks has been quite successful, so much so that neighbouring Spain has created its own system of 'natural parks' explicitly modelled after the French regional park model. Andreas Voth, 'National Parks and Rural Development in Spain', in Ingo Mose (ed.) P*rotected Areas and Regional Development in Europe: Towards a New Model for the 21st Century* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), p. 157.

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altered form of Portugal's natural parks (rather than the expansion of national parks, of which Portugal only has one) as tools for encouraging more of the country's population to exhibit what she calls 'ecological, respectful and responsible' attitudes towards nature. She warns that this cultural shift will not come easily and she identifies many obstacles that must be overcome, including both local resistance and elitist policy-makers, before this idea can be fully realised and Portugal's natural parks assured acceptance by the majority of the country's populace.

While each of the individual papers in this collection makes an original contribution to advancing our understanding of park histories, it is only when read in concert with one another that certain important and much broader themes and conclusions emerge – tentative though they may be. In particular, we draw readers' attention to the following.

1. Heterogeneous jurisdictional control seems to produce heterogeneous parks.

We hypothesise that the multiple jurisdictional authorities within Canada and other countries, in charge of creating, controlling and idealising parks, are the likely culprits in impeding the growth of a historiography that is equally robust as that for national parks. That is, national parks have a central structure which makes it easier to create interpretive metanarratives. Identifying a similar narrative (or set of narratives) of cohesion for a disparate body of non-national parks is daunting, if not impossible. In Canada, national parks are federal jurisdictions, while each province has jurisdiction over its own provincial parks, and then municipalities and regional districts also have the delegated power to create and manage more local parks. First Nations also have the ability to create parks and other protected areas within their reserve lands (though Métis groups, lacking such designated landbases, do not yet have this option). The issue becomes even more complicated because in many instances such jurisdictions overlap. As Clapperton describes in his piece in this collection, provincial marine parks in British Columbia must deal with a variety of overlapping jurisdictions; while BC Parks is a provincial agency and has control over the parkland itself, the areas of the park which are located 'on' the Pacific Ocean are within federal jurisdiction. Further, Indigenous people often chose to contest these spaces as their territory. Both Parra's and Queirós' articles address these issues when explaining the difficulty of managing parks wherein there remain a large human population and municipal districts, where much of the property remains privately owned, and which are also products (at least partially) of federal governments.

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2. Park creation and management, by definition, are exercises in boundary maintenance; rhetorics of inclusivity ignore the reality of exclusion.

Park creation is fundamentally about preserving a historical, culturally-specific understanding of how people should interact with their non-human surroundings in a delimited space. While the public rhetoric regarding parks has consistently been inclusive – thus the dominant celebratory discourse of parks as spaces for all to enjoy – the acts of environmental and heritage protection are very exclusive and seek to define a fixed meaning on how parks are meant to be experienced and by whom. Kheraj's article engages with this very idea when discussing the attempts by park authorities to keep permanent, or semi-permanent, peoples out of Stanley Park, beginning in the early part of the century with hunters and trappers and then, most recently, with the semi-transient population of homeless people that have made the park a refuge, much to the chagrin of many middle- and upper-class Vancouverites. Clapperton's article, too, is specifically concerned with demonstrating that what constitutes one person or group of people's 'desirable' park conditions, others find repulsive. Parra's and Queirós' articles reveal how notions of protecting human heritage are as important as ecological protection in European parks. They both demonstrate that the nature–culture link is more readily recognised in France and Portugal than it is in the North American context but they also show that parks – even in the French regional model – are ultimately about controlling physical space and the meaning ascribed to place.

3. Parks are expected to provide economic return as much as preserve ecological/heritage value.

While scholars of national parks in North America have generally argued that over the past century the primary purpose of parks has moved from one of conservation for economic gain to preservation for ecological good, all the articles in this issue show that this is not the case at the non-national level. Indeed, the implications of the studies presented here raise questions about the validity of this model at the national level as well. The economic value of a park (perceived and realised) forms a principal concern in the creation and ongoing management of a park at any scale. From the vast profits derived from having a zoo and aquarium in Vancouver's Stanley Park, to the direct use of parks in Portugal and France as tools of economic stimulus, people who implement parks expect an economic benefit from these places as much as they hope for ecological sustainability. This seems to be especially the case for parks in proximity to urban centres, though the hypothesis holds merit for distant eco-preserves as well. When economic gain is not realised as expected it can be jarring. For example, Clapperton shows how BC Parks has sought to off-load the operation of many of their parks and how Sliammon First Nation unhappily discovered that, after securing the contracts to operate some of the parks' devolved management

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functions, they ended up with no alternative but to pay to have others enjoy the use of their alienated traditional territories.

Further, all articles demonstrate on some level the contest that goes on between varied parties claiming ownership over parks and, in turn, how much economic development within a park is beneficial and detrimental. Boundary maintenance inevitably manifests an 'insider' and 'outsider' dynamic and, in the context of parks located within or in close proximity to urban centres, it is a dynamic that can be just as intense as any occurring within national parks. Just as local residents come to resent and resist the presence of marginalised homeless people within municipal and provincial park spaces, those living near to parks (as in North America), or within parks (as in France and Portugal) often come to resent tourists, seasonal vacationers, those with summer homes and others who are regarded as elitist. And yet, those located near/within parks often come to rely upon the economic infusion brought about by a park, in terms of management jobs and other payouts – many of which can be substantial.[5] In areas and eras of economic decline and the concomitant shift to ecotourism, as Clapperton, Parra and Queirós all describe, the tension between locals and non-locals and the formers' dependence upon the latter becomes that much more pronounced. Further, it is usually in this situation that the ecological protection aims of parks are relegated to accommodate public (and profitable) amenities. Queirós likens this to gentrification and points to increasing demands from some park visitors for more and improved amenities, the development of condos and vacation homes and the ability to engage in activities that have a high human footprint within parks (such as off-road ATV recreational activities). And, of course, as these activities increase the temptation by insiders to 'Other' the outsiders grows.

PUSHING THE BOUNDARIES OF NON-NATIONAL PARK HISTORIOGRAPHY

Clearly, while we think the symposium that inspired this collection spurred great debate, and the papers given there and the articles published here provide an important addition to the scholarship on non-national parks, opportunities for expanded research and analysis remains. First, more intra- and internationally comparative histories are needed. It is still standard for non-national park studies to focus on one particular park and, when acknowledging the existence and relevance of similar parks and park creation elsewhere, marginalise this discussion by not allowing it space outside of introductory comments or, as more commonly done, to relegate the historiography to a footnote. Second,

5. For example, a 1995 study noted that, for every dollar that the British Columbian government spent on its provincial parks, park visitors were contributing nine dollars to the provincial economy. See C. Bocking, *Mighty River: A Portrait of the Fraser* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1997), pp. 108–9.

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there remains the opportunity to search for subaltern voices. Indeed, this lack of recognition (as Queirós argues in her article in this collection) is hampering a greater recognition of the importance and imperative for protected areas in European countries like Portugal. Third, while scholars enjoy criticising decisions made by upper echelon politicians and bureaucrats – in other words critiquing power structures that reveal a 'top-down' approach that ignores and victimises non-elite people – there is still the opportunity here to empathise with the daunting task that park managers face. Park managers are generally acting with good (if culturally-specific) intentions towards people and the environment. But too often these elite decision-makers remain faceless and park infrastructure an unresponsive leviathan that fails to account for ethnicity, class and gender perspectives.[6]

In an attempt to address some of these issues, the balance of this introductory essay consists of preliminary analysis derived from ongoing research into recent non-Native attempts, and sometimes lost opportunities, to understand Indigenous epistemologies surrounding environmental protection and protected areas strategies. Even though park systems writ large supposedly represent diverse interests and seek to accommodate a broad range of ecological concerns they are still rooted in a particular Western epistemology that systemically marginalises Indigenous concerns unless they can be rationalised and subsumed into a Western resource management model. When it comes to defining and protecting local spaces and places the ground is even more unstable. In the eyes of the local people who intimately know a given environment, space transforms into place and interpersonal relationships take precedence over systems of management. Throw into the mix the epistemological gulf between Indigenous people on the one hand who seek to preserve and protect a sentient landscape they understand to have been created for them by powerful supernatural forces and, on the other hand, the European- and Asian-descent newcomers who, after a few short generations, have come to feel that they too have inherited the land they live on but who understand its value as imbued not by metaphysical forces but either by human agency or natural environmental process, and the results are potentially explosive, but likewise pregnant with positive possibility.

Here we emphasise our contention that parks hold latent potential as sites of prospective cross-cultural communication – dialogues that might help transcend the colonising relationship between Western society and the land as well as its corollary, the colonising relationship between non-Indigenous and Indigenous populations and cultures. These matters are issues that remain under-examined in academia and indeed under-examined within the articles in this special edi-

6. We recognise the paucity of gender analysis within even the articles presented in this collection. Scholarship on gender in regional and local parks has, for the most part in Canada, taken the form of studies of the application of gendered projections associated with the marketing of sites intended for non-wilderness experience tourism, such as Patricia Jasen's seminal *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

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tion of the journal. As such, we raise them here in the introduction as a way of inviting discussion about the future direction of park planning and the writing of post-colonial park histories.

Within the current Canadian federal and provincial park management systems (and indeed within the associated processes for current park creation) Indigenous voices and concerns (despite their distinct allodial status) remain too often relegated to those of a stakeholder not dramatically different from those of other concerned parties. And to the extent that Indigenous people can speak to shared common concerns with particular voices and interest groups within the dominant society, this system serves to meet certain of their concerns (as articles such as Clapperton's in this collection shows). But what of those issues over which convergence of understanding remains elusive? Arguably, it is at the more local level, where Natives and newcomers can meet face to face to discuss geographies that each knows from personal experience, that genuine opportunities for conceiving of parklands in new and creative ways might emerge.

Regional District parks, for example, transcend the parochial immediacy of municipal and city urban parks and, by definition (at least in the British Columbia context where Indian reserves have tended to be relatively small and often situated in immediate proximity to newcomer urban centres), they serve as forums for multiple regional voices from multiple non-Native and Indigenous communities. Along the lower Fraser River, for example, immediately to the east of the city of Vancouver, The Fraser Valley Regional District (FVRD) is currently consulting with Aboriginal and non-Native communities over the viability of creation a new park in the lower Fraser Canyon. Within the FVRD are found some of Canada's fastest growing urban communities. In this relatively small region (stretching less than 200 kilometres from east to west) exist two-dozen small First Nation communities. Creating parkland in such a diverse polity is daunting, especially given the unresolved issue of Aboriginal title and the ongoing BC treaty process. Indeed, the constitutionally protected status of Aboriginal title and rights in Canada means that the onus remains on settler society to find ways to meaningfully account for, engage and cooperate with indigenous people as they (Indigenous communities) work to re-assert a meaningful role in caring for, benefiting from and regulating the land and resources of their home territories. For generations Aboriginal people have been struggling to adjust to colonial land and resource management schemes within this area and to have their perspectives and rights taken into account. And of course, it is scientific rationalism, the legacies of Enlightenment-era epistemology and the supposed incontrovertible righteous necessity of capitalist development mandates that drive the park creation process – even if only to mobilise the former in the hopes of curbing the later.

It is at this juncture that heritage (as an aspect of history) emerges as a conduit of cross cultural dialogue and potential understanding. What are regarded as heritage issues to non-Native Regional District Park planners are indistinguish-

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able from environmental issues in the minds of Coast Salish people living in the lower Fraser River watershed. As such, when approached strategically, Regional parks can serve as potential sites where Indigenous epistemology can have a fresh hearing in newcomer ears. For in their efforts to preserve not only examples of current/remaining environmental health and diversity but also past/heritage environmental disasters and destruction, regional park designers and planners enter into the realm of colonial history and inevitably colonial contestations.

British Columbia's Fraser canyon is rich in heritage features and storied places that speak to Natives and newcomers alike, if only in different ways. It has for centuries been British Columbia's principal communication and transportation corridor – and it remains so today. The Fraser River is the main artery connecting the province's dry interior to the wet coastal region. It is the lifeline that brings tens of millions of young salmon from the streams where they hatched to the ocean and then back again when they renew the cycle and spawn. People, like the salmon, have been drawn to, and through, the Fraser canyon and over the years have left signs of their activities. But beyond the physical remains there are also natural and super-natural features that people find important signifiers of their heritage and culture. It is a region of striking geographic beauty, delicate biological diversity, mystical supernatural potency and strong human memories – each of which, Indigenous people explain, is deserving of preservation.

The stretch of the Fraser canyon between Yale and Lytton was for centuries the economic and social hub of Aboriginal people from a broad region. Its original Aboriginal population density was unparalleled on the West Coast.[7] Here, the narrow river with its jutting rock outcrops made catching salmon relatively easy. Even today, with drastically reduced stocks, Aboriginal people using traditional dip nets can catch a remarkable number of salmon in a short period of time and the canyon is dotted with Aboriginal drying racks each July. In addition to being the home of many year-round residents, the area was once the site of one of the largest annual gatherings of Aboriginal people in western Canada – a locale where thousands from the coast and interior gathered to catch or trade for salmon.

Early non-Native immigrants to BC also congregated in the lower Fraser Canyon. Though the first non-Aboriginal visitors and migrants were primarily interested in trading furs and salmon (1808–1840s), it was the lure of gold that precipitated what remains to this day the single largest immigration in British Columbian history – and a cornerstone in Fraser Canyon heritage development. Over the course of four short months in the spring and summer of 1858 more than 30,000 miners (mostly Americans) converged in the Fraser Canyon seeking their fortune in gold. By July tensions between the Indigenous people and newcomers had reached a boiling point that sparked one of the largest and most

7. Keith Thor Carlson, 'The Numbers Game', in Keith Thor Carlson (ed.) *A Stó:lõ Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001), pp. 76–79.

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violent clashes in western Canadian history. Violence escalated to the point that villages were attacked and mortuary sites burned and desecrated. Significantly though, the cross-racial peace treaties that were subsequently negotiated between some of the more judicious miners like Captain H.M. Snyder, and the more accommodating Aboriginal leaders like Liquitum of Yale and Spintlum of Lytton, were settled and implemented without external colonial government intervention.[8] As the newcomers seeking gold moved farther inland, the lower Fraser Canyon became the site of BC's first economic mega-projects: the kilometres of ditches dug by corporations seeking to divert creek water toward sluice and rocker-box mining operations (1858–1862); the Cariboo Road easing the movement of people and products from the coast to the interior (1862–1864); the Alexandra Bridge (1863); the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways linking commerce from the Pacific to the Atlantic (1885 and 1915 respectively); the concrete fish ladders designed to assist migrating salmon bypass the debris of the great Hell's Gate Slide (1913); and the trans-Canada highway and associated tunnels (1960s).

The legacies, both positive and negative, of all these activities render the lower Fraser Canyon one of the most significant heritage regions in Canada, an importance which both regional and provincial park planners have recognised in myriad protected areas such as Alexandra Bridge Provincial Park (dedicated to preserving a small space in recognition of the original Cariboo Wagon Road bridge over the Fraser River). But the provincial government and regional district, in creating their own heritage parks, have to date consciously or subconsciously created and reinforced a particular definition of shared provincial identity that masks contemporary dissent and flattens historical events into something informative but non-threatening to dominant nation-building narratives.

Local Indigenous people necessarily view heritage differently and in their relations with park authorities and others are seeking to protect it in different ways and with different agendas. The Stó:lō Nation, for example, has developed a heritage registry system that reflects the way the 'people of the river' view heritage sites, something akin to granting them 'protected area' status. The Stó:lō Heritage Policy Manual (2003) identifies six distinct categories of heritage sites:

- *S<u>x</u>wó<u>x</u>wiyám* sites: those sites, objects, and/or features associated with the historical narratives describing how the world came into its present stable form. These include, but are not restricted to, transformer sites.
- *<u>X</u>á:<u>x</u>a* sites: powerful and spiritually potent sites including: questing places (where people go to acquire spirit helpers and power); *stl'áleqem* sites (places inhabited or frequented by spiritually potent beings know as *stl'áleqem*); spirited places (places associated with spiritual beings who are not *stl'áleqem*, e.g. 'water babies' and 'little people'); *S<u>x</u>wó:<u>x</u>wey* sites (associated with the

8. See chapter six of Daniel Marshall, 'Claiming the Land: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to British Columbia', (Ph.D. Diss., University of British Columbia, 2002).

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origins of the sacred Sxwó:xwey mask and regalia).

- Ceremonial regalia sites: places were ceremonial regalia is, or was, stored or put away and which may still be spiritually potent.
- Material culture objects and sites: e.g. archaeology sites.
- Traditional activity and or sites: activities and associated sites where people have done traditional things.
- *Halq'eméylem* place name sites: places that have names in the local Aboriginal language.

The Nlha7kápmx people living upriver from the Stó:lō in the Fraser Canyon have their own similar, though distinct, definitions of heritage sites and their own ways of defining and preserving them.[9] There is value in trying to conceive of Stó:lō and Nlha7kápmx views on history and heritage in a comparative context alongside western newcomers' views:

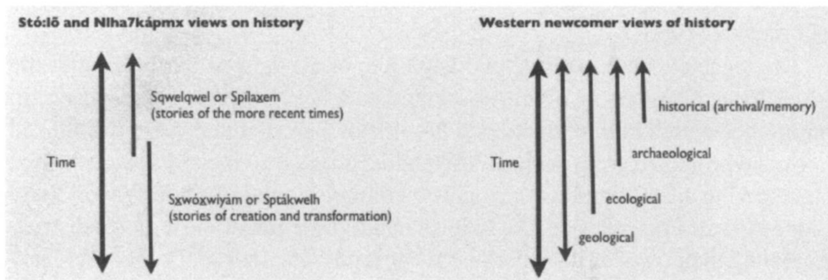

Figure 1. Conceptualisation of Stó:lō and Nlha7kápmx views of history and heritage compared to western newcomer views of history and heritage.

What the list from the Stó:lō Heritage Policy highlights is the distinct way local Aboriginal people conceive of heritage features. Most of the sites are associated with activities and power that either go beyond, or are distinct from, human agency.[10] That is to say, the landscape is inhabited by spiritual entities that are not human and do not depend on humans for their existence. A life force is regarded as existing in all things, even objects that scientists consider inanimate. Heritage places are regarded as being inherently important, and not simply important because humans have made them (indeed they are important despite humans often having had no role in their creation) or ascribed meaning to them.

The significance of such spirit forces to their world has consistently been part of the local Aboriginal people's cross-cultural communication strategy. For example, in 1808, explorer and fur trader Simon Fraser, the first European

9. See, for example, Andrea Laforet and Annie York, *Spuzzum: Fraser Canyon Histories, 1808–1939* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); and Darwin Hanna and Mamie Henry (eds.) *Our Tellings: Interior Salish stories of the Nlha7kápmx People* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996).

10. Schaepe, 'Stó:lō Identity and the Cultural Landscape of S'ólh Téméxw'; Albert McHalsie, 'Stl'áleqem Sites: Spiritually Potent Sites in S'ólh Téméxw', in Keith Thor Carlson (ed.) *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001), pp. 8–9.

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to visit the Fraser Canyon, was taken by his Aboriginal hosts to a site on the west bank of the Fraser River close to Lady Franklin Rock near what is now Yale. There, Fraser was shown scratch marks on the rocks and told a story of how they were created by the transformers when they engaged in a contest with a powerful Indian doctor. During the course of the battle the challenger was turned to stone. Today, non-Native visitors are still taken to this site and told the same story by Sonny McHalsie (a Stó:lō knowledge keeper and interpreter) who emphasises the importance of respecting the physical expressions of the contest (the scratch marks in the rocks) as well as the spiritual force that gives them ongoing meaning. By way of contrast, the types of sites typically identified by non-Aboriginal British Columbians as being of heritage value are such because they have imbued these sites with human meaning. For non-Aboriginal British Columbians local heritage is generally associated with human activity. More important, it is associated with recorded or documented human activity. That is to say, for non-Aboriginal people heritage sites are generally the places where people did things and where relics or records of those activities exist.

It is important to recognise that the distinctions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal heritage definitions are not racial or ethnic so much as they are historical and geographic. They are distinctions that have grown out of the colonial experience and the migrations that colonialism facilitated. Many non-Aboriginal people do, for example, believe that certain places are imbued with a heritage value that is beyond human agency. The difference is that these sites are generally regarded as existing in the locations where non-Native people themselves originated (in Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia). People in Saudi Arabia would never debate the need to protect Mecca as a heritage site – and Mecca is considered Mecca because God made it so, not because humans did; likewise Lourdes to Catholics in France, Fatima to pious Portuguese, the Stone of Scone to Britons, the giant Finn MacCool's causeway to the Irish, the dwelling places of 'the little people' in the Philippines, or the various tirthas (holy sites) in India. Believers consider each of these heritage places to be worthy of protection because of the spirit forces that inhabit, or formerly inhabited, the sites and not because of perceived human activity on the land.

What the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal definitions of heritage sites do have in common, however, is that they describe storied places – places that have historical stories or memories associated with them. The non-Native stories come from human records (e.g. archaeological features, historical documents and living memory) while the Aboriginal stories are understood to emerge from both human and spiritual sources. Park planners need to strategise means of accounting for these differences.

Relatedly, another category of heritage site increasingly recognised by non-Aboriginal society is that of 'natural heritage'. Such sites include features considered to have been made by natural rather than human activities. These include certain rock formations, certain aquatic features, certain (usually rare)

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plants and animals, etc.[11] Deep ecology theory (which is now beginning to inform some government policy – for example the creation of certain provincial ecological preserves) goes so far as to maintain that genuine nature stands alone from human activities; in other words, 'Nature' has intrinsic value. As such, deep ecologists advocate that humans should be kept out of particular places so as not to 'ruin' them.[12] However, the important feature here is that 'natural heritage' features/regions are generally regarded by non-Aboriginal people as being heritage features either because they are biologically or geographically special, they are regarded as endangered because they are particularly beautiful or striking – all of which are values ascribed by humans. [13] The Aboriginal view of heritage, by way of contrast (though not discounting some of the similarities with deep ecology), includes additional places that have value independent of human activities or even independent of value identified by such supposedly objective measures as science and biology.

Epistemological plurality opens the doors to all sorts of new environmental and park protection issues that have yet to be embraced by government agencies or given much consideration in academe. Indeed, current park planning and management at all levels of government are inadequate not only in terms of protecting features from the physical use and development of land and aquatic resources, but also of protecting non-tangible viewscapes. These viewscapes represent a subaltern concern to date ignored by the dominant colonial society but one which is at the forefront of many Aboriginal peoples' thoughts. Some First Nations are even taking action to convey the importance to non-Native

11. For a recent, and very good, example of environmental history that describes this process, consult Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007). William Turkel's *The Archive of a Place: Unearthing the Pasts of the Chilcotin Plateau* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007) also discusses how different perceptions of what should be a heritage site are mobilised by different actors, from environmentalists to history buffs to Aboriginal people.
12. See, for example, Alan Drengson and Yuichi Inoue (eds.) *The Deep Ecology Movement: an Introductory Anthology* (Berkeley, California: North Atlantic Books, 1995); and David Landis Barnhill and Roger S. Gottlieb (eds.) *Deep Ecology and World Religions: New Essays on Sacred Grounds* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).
13. Clearly there are some similarities here to what in the American and Canadian context have been defined as nature preserves. American historiography in particular has highlighted the role of God in creating iconic American natural features (e.g. the Grand Canyon) which in the American imagination distinguished American landscapes from the lesser European ones. (See, for example, Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*. Second revised edition. (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1987)) But the distinguishing factor that separates the Aboriginal from the American/Canadian interpretation is that the Indigenous voices preceded the newcomer ones and are grounded in local understandings, whereas the newcomer narratives unilaterally superimposed a European understanding onto a North American landscape in a way that erased and eclipsed the Indigenous knowledge.

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society of stretching the definition of 'parks' and other 'protected areas' to include viewscapes and in some instances government agencies are starting to listen.[14]

Take for example the case of transformer sites. The Indigenous people living east of metro Vancouver have distinct concerns over declining visibility associated with increased air pollution (smog) created in the Lower Fraser Valley and drifting up to the Fraser Canyon. Such concerns, however, are not known, and thus neither shared nor accounted for, by the non-Native newcomers to their territory. Environment Canada, with its mandate to 'preserve and enhance the quality of the natural environment, including water, air, soil, flora and fauna…' has recently indicated a recognition of this shortfall and has taken tentative steps to engage in cross-cultural conversations to devise ways of better accommodating and including Indigenous voice and perspective into their management schemes. For the local Indigenous people whose lives are affected by government decisions and activities (or lack thereof), conversations begin with explanations of their ancient connection to the land and territory and their oral histories documenting how many territorial features were once human beings who were transformed into stone but who retain the living *Shxweli* (spirit) of their original human. They express concerns over the culturally specific dangers and risks associated with not being able to see these features.

For lower Fraser River Aboriginal people, mountains especially continue to be understood as either transformed ancestors with living spirits within them or locations associated with important community-forging events (e.g. mountains associated with myth-age floods). In contrast to the dominant geological scientific explanations of how the Fraser River basin came to be, a complex series of interconnected Indigenous stories explain how, near the beginning of time, two series of transformations occurred that caused what had formerly been a chaotic world to become predictable. In this ancient chaotic era animals could talk to people, and people to animals, and nothing seemed to have a permanent form. Moreover, the world was filled with dangerous shamans who themselves had powers of transformation. Into this world the Creator sent some of the original people of the various tribal settlements. These people who fell from the sky are known in English as 'Sky-born heroes'. Each of them had the power to transform people and things into a permanent form but the Creator decided that additional changes were required and so he sent the children of Red-headed Woodpecker

14. For example, in 2009 Keith Thor Carlson was invited by Environment Canada to examine the extent to which Aboriginal concerns over viewscape deterioration due to air pollution differed from those raised by non-Native Canadians living on the leeward side of the cities of Vancouver, British Columbia, and Bellingham, Washington. See Keith Thor Carlson, 'Mountains that See, and that Need to be Seen: Aboriginal Perspectives on Degraded Visibility Associated with Air Pollution in the BC Lower Mainland and Fraser Valley', (May 2009) available for download at http://www.airhealthbc.ca/docs/aboriginal%20perspectives%20on%20visibility%20in%20lfv_carlson_2009.pdf

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and Black Bear, (three brothers and sister who collectively are referred to as the 'Transformers') to finish the process of making the world right.[15]

Sharing these stories remains important to the Aboriginal people of the lower Fraser River watershed and sharing them in a manner that allows people to visibly look at the features has long been a central part of the Indigenous means of conveying history and identity. This happened most commonly during the summer and autumn months as it was then that people travelled in canoes to various trade and resource-gathering sites and to visit relatives. Being able to see the mountains, and in the evening the stars and other celestial bodies, was integral to becoming a fully integrated member of the regional Aboriginal society. In the winter, days were shorter, people travelled less and clouds regularly obscured the mountains and sky. It was during the warmer months, therefore, that viewscapes were of particular interest to people as they navigated the lower Fraser River watershed's physical and metaphysical geographies and in so doing reinforced the links between themselves and their ancestors, themselves and their spiritual teachings and themselves and their living relatives and the resources of their tribal territories.

Viewscapes are also important to the region's hereditary leaders as means of maintaining their positions and offices. High status families are those who 'know their history'. Knowing one's history includes knowing the stories associated with the creation and transformation of key landscape and celestial features. The history of the region's Aboriginal people, unlike the history of more recent settlers, is anchored in place through the stories of transformations and floods and other similar great events. To be part of the social/cultural continuum – i.e. to participate in the region's social, economic, spiritual and political sphere – requires knowledge of the local and the regional stories and knowing stories involves knowing where on the landscape they are anchored; and to do that you need to be able to see them. Decreased opportunities to see, discuss and share information about these features within and among hereditary families threatens to undermine the integrity of a key feature of Coast Salish society.

Not only do lower Fraser River people need to see mountains, they also need to be able to see *from* mountains – especially community leaders who are sometimes required to go to mountains and to look down on the people and resources of their territory. Cyril Pierre of Katzie First Nation, for example, explained that his grandfather Peter Pierre used to walk around Katzie territory as part of his leadership responsibilities 'just to see if his land was ok –"this is

15. Franz Boas, *Indian Myths and Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America*, ed. by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy, trans. by Dietrich Bertz (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, (1896) 2001); Diamond Jenness, 'Coast Salish Mythology', Unpublished Collection, UBC Special Collections; Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, David M. Schaepe and Keith Thor Carlson, 'Making the World Right through Transformations', in Keith Thor Carlson (ed.) *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001), pp. 6–7.

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my land and I need to make sure its ok for my people"'.[16] It used to take Peter Pierre fourteen days to walk through the entirety of Katzie territory and one of the important locations he was required to visit was the height of Golden Ear's Mountain, for from there he could see all of Katzie territory. Cyril Pierre lamented that leaders tend not to do that today but he noted that even if they could it would be difficult for them to see the land and people from the top of Golden Ears due to the smog. He also noted that the air pollution made it difficult to breathe at high elevations.

Ethnographer Oliver Wells, in describing a prominent Chiliwack leader from the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth century named William Sepass used terms reminiscent of Pierre's: from the peak of Mt Cheam, Sepass was 'monarch of all he surveyed'.[17] Contemporary Aboriginal leader Dalton Silver explains that certain tribal boundaries were in fact negotiated on the basis of viewscapes (i.e. as far as one could see from a particular mountain vantage point) and as such he expressed concern over the possible impact of changing viewscapes upon inter-tribal relations. Clearly, learning the mountains' names and stories did more than teach people practical navigational landmarks; it also enabled them to know the people who lived adjacent to the transformer sites. These stories not only taught people who lived where, but what the people of the region were like, for, as one insightful graduate student has recently documented, each tribal community is believed to have been imbued with certain personality characteristics as a result of the transformers' work.[18]

Further, many of Lower Fraser River Aboriginal people express concern over the impact that air pollution – and the lack of protection from its effects – has on their ability to communicate important aspects of their history and spiritual beliefs to others. In the past, the transferring of knowledge by direct reference to visible mountains was a central part of regional Indigenous pedagogy associated with summer travels. Today, these concerns remain the same, with the added worry that air pollution not only impacts on people's ability to share knowledge across generations, but across cultures. Sonny McHalsie, in particular, signalled his concerns over the difficulty he has explaining to non-Native newcomers in his territory the historical and spiritual significance of mountains. McHalsie offers special cultural tours where school children, university students and faculty, government officials and the general public are taken on bus or boat tours and

16. Cyril Pierre, interviewed by Fern Gabriel, 17 November 2008, Barnston Island, Katzie IR3. Viewscape Research Project.

17. Oliver Wells, 'Introduction', in *Sepass Tales: the Songs of Y-ail-Mihth* (3rd Edition, Chilliwack BC, Sepass Trust, 1974). See also Wilson Duff's discussion of Chilliwack territory as defined by Robert Joe (Wilson Duff, Unpublished Fieldnotes, 4:37, Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre Archives).

18. Sarah Nickel, *The Politics of Activism: A Discussion of the Understanding and Implementation of Stó:lō Political Activism*, (unpublished paper for University of Saskatchewan Ethnohistory Graduate Fieldschool, 2007) http://web.uvic.ca/vv/stolo/reports.php#two.

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told the stories of Stó:lõ history and cosmology as revealed through storied features on the landscape. These tours are generally scheduled for the summer and autumn months when the weather is better and there is less chance of clouds obscuring mountain features. But the smog is now so thick that there are times when McHalsie cannot adequately see the mountains he wants to speak about:

> I first really noticed it in late 1980s. I climbed up Mt. Cheam. It was a really clear day, but the smog was really thick ... There are times [today] when I do place names tours and the smog is so thick it limits the visibility of the mountain tops that I discuss ... With limited visibility you have trouble sharing this with the younger generation ... But smog creates limited visibility. Its hard to get Elders out on days when they can see the mountains clearly, because in the winter there is too much cloud and rain.[19]

As McHalsie's comments indicate, the impact of restricted viewscapes on the transference of knowledge and the building of cross-cultural relations is significant. Viewed from the Aboriginal perspective, visible air pollution acts as a barrier between Native people and a feature of their culture – the visible storied places on the terrestrial and celestial landscape.

But importantly, lower Fraser River Aboriginal people are not only concerned about the impact viewscapes have on their ability to see landscape features, but on the features' ability to *see them*. This epistemological position would have us push Sean Kheraj's argument (this volume) of considering animals as agents of history even further to consider non-human entities as historical actors too. Within the lower Fraser River Aboriginal cosmology, mountains, and indeed the air surrounding mountains, are regarded as sentient, caring and concerned. Even some of the stars in the night sky are likewise understood to have been ancestors who were transformed and so to have souls, as are the sun and moon. Mountains and animals, in particular, provide advice and spirit power to contemporary humans who are properly trained and who seek it. While reviewing the extant recorded myth-age stories, and during the course of interviewing, several stories were identified that reveal the importance of viewscapes to the Transformer's intentions.

Mt Cheam, for example, is often referred to by Aboriginal people as the 'mother mountain'. The transformer story associated with Mt Cheam as related by Dalton Silver tells how at one time Mt Cheam was a beautiful woman who, through an arranged marriage, was sent to marry the man who eventually became Mt Baker. She lived with Mt Baker for several years and had children by him but as time passed she found herself increasingly lonely for the people of the lower Fraser River watershed. To console her, she and Mt Baker agreed that she could travel home for a visit. She took her three daughters and her dog with her. When she arrived she met the Transformers, who decided to turn her,

19. Sonny McHalsie, interviewed by Ana Novakovic, 28 August 2008. Viewscape Research Project.

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her daughters and her dog into stone. As they transformed the woman they said that she would become a large mountain, so large that she would be able to see eastward all the way to the Fraser Canyon fishery and westward all the way to the Pacific Ocean. As a devoted mother, her fate would be to watch over all the Indigenous people of the region and migrating the salmon as they returned to the river each year. And to ensure that she would not be lonely for her husband, the Transformers turned her husband into Mt Baker and made each so tall that they would be able to see one another for all time.[20]

In a similar vein, a century ago the ethnographer James Teit recorded a story about a transformation that occurred near Yale where a man who was smoking was turned to stone in that particular place so that people could see him and talk to him, and he could see them. Nearby, the Transformer found a woman on a mountain hunting goats. She wanted to be turned into a rock on the mountain so she could see all the people below her.[21]

What these stories reveal is that from the Aboriginal perspective certain mountains are not only part of a human viewscape but sentient beings who themselves have viewscapes. Indigenous people take these stories very seriously, and indeed one man recently questioned if some of the social problems facing regional Indigenous communities might be in part the result of mother mountain Mt. Cheam being unable to fulfil her mandate from the Transformer of looking over the Aboriginal people of the lower Fraser; and that perhaps the problems facing the salmon industry were likewise a product of her not being able to watch over the salmon people due to excessive summer smog.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that as Canadian governmental agencies at the national, provincial, and local/regional levels negotiate the process of transforming special places into protected park spaces, the question of epistemological perspective is of growing import. With Canadian provincial and local/regional parks constituting a collective land mass approximately the size of Germany (and growing), their significance (and the values informing their management) is of global ecological and cultural significance. With this appreciation comes an obligation to recognise the intimate local perspectives of those people and cultures concerned, and the internationally comparative context of their position within the broader human community. The articles that follow, and the specific preliminary results from the ongoing studies of Regional District parks and indigenous viewscapes (discussed immediately above), will, we hope, contribute to putting the global into the local in terms of Canadian conversations and help open the door for Canada to enter into the mix of a growing body of scholarly literature on the world's parks and protected areas.

20. There are many versions of this story and they continue to be shared regularly. While the versions differ in terms of some specifics, the essential components of the story are consistent.

21. James A. Teit, 'Tales from the Lower Fraser River', *Folk-Tales of Salishan and Shaptin Tribes. Chapter VII.* (New York: The American Folk-Lore Society, 1917), 129.

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