legacy

Muriel ‘Miki’ Crespi
National Park Service Chief Ethnographer

Her Professional Contributions to the National Park Service
"Miki was one of those with whom I felt I found exactly the right working relationship. She delivered ideas and accomplishments of a highly professional caliber, while I tried to support her in the political and higher administrative arenas. When others saw difficulties and obstacles, she always saw opportunities and possibilities, and because she was able to see them, many of the opportunities and possibilities became realities. That is one of the lessons every one of us can take from her, and it was a pleasure and privilege to do so."

—Jerry Rogers, Former Director, Cultural Resources, National Park Service

Muriel ‘Miki’ Crespi
1929-2003
Introduction

"The National Park Service Applied Ethnography Program—under federal and NPS legal and policy mandates—focuses on living people linked to the parks by religion, legend, deep historical attachment, subsistence use, or other aspects of their culture. Through consultation and research, the program makes their voices more audible—and the resources they traditionally value more visible—in the agency’s resource and development decision-making process.” —Miki Crespi, “Seeking Inclusiveness,” Common Ground: Archeology and Ethnography in the Public Interest

"The program’s charge is to help humanize and democratize decision making by addressing the concerns of contemporary peoples with traditional associations to park cultural and natural resources.” —Miki Crespi

The Applied Ethnography Program got a modest start in 1981, when Douglas Scovill, Chief Anthropologist of the National Park Service, employed Muriel (Miki) Crespi as an anthropologist. Supporting the effort were the former Associate Director of Cultural Resources, Jerry L. Rogers, and the Deputy Associate Director of Cultural Resources, Rowland T. Bowers (Crespi 2001:14). Dr. Crespi’s charge was to complete development of Native American relationships policy and to design and initiate an applied anthropology program to satisfy legal consultation requirements (Crespi 2003). This retrospective has been compiled from program documents, articles and other publications by Dr. Crespi and her remarks at training workshops, conferences and ethnographer meetings.
SETTING THE LEGAL AND POLICY FOUNDATION

"The Park Service . . . necessarily justifies program building and data-gathering on the basis of legislative, judicial and policy imperatives," Miki wrote (Crespi 2000:120). Early in her NPS career, Miki established the focus of the Ethnography Program on contemporary peoples with traditional associations to cultural and natural resources in National Park units. She consistently linked this focus to the mission of the National Park Service: "To promote and regulate the use of the . . . national parks . . . by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of such parks . . . to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (National Park Service Organic Act, 16 U.S.C. 1).

Miki was careful to ensure that the design and development of the Ethnography Program articulated with the basic function of the NPS. The Organic Act statutory language served as the basis for her to advance policies and procedures for addressing the concerns of living people with connections to parks.

In addition to the Organic Act mandate, Miki marshaled the requirements of other laws involving consultation with native and other people living on or near NPS lands. These also provided the foundation for official policy and the rationale for establishing the Ethnography Program. The major laws driving these policies were the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA), the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978, the Alaska National Interests Lands and Conservation Act (ANILCA), and the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 as amended.
I was the first cultural anthropologist to be hired with that job title by the National Park Service, in July of 1978. [I held that title] until 1998 when the Denver Service Center was reorganized . . . Miki herself used to volunteer at workshops held at meetings of the AAA.

I knew Miki before becoming a regional ethnographer, though not very well. But barely five minutes after accepting a job offer to become the first regional ethnographer for what was then the Southwest Regional Office of the National Park Service, I received a call from Miki offering me congratulations and welcoming me to the Park Service. That was the beginning of what was to become a very close working relationship with a Park Service colleague, an anthropologist, a human being and a very classy lady for whom I have nothing but tremendous admiration.

Miki was the stellar person for the job she had to do: carve new turf in a heavily entrenched bureaucracy. Anyone who knew Miki knew she was a gutsy person who knew what she wanted and knew what she had to do to get there. Not everyone can wear that kind of drive with the authority and credibility that Miki did because for her, the bottom line was service as an advocate for social justice and human rights. She fought battles for other people.

I found myself working in a similar capacity in the regional office, and when I encountered problems in carving turf there, Miki knew exactly what needed to be done. There were times I was on the phone daily with her and found both support and inspiration in dealing with the daily routines that she understood so well. Carving turf seemed to be the biggest obstacle I faced as a new ethnographer, yet it was a challenge Miki had frequently encountered.

She was a straight talker who didn't mince words, a quality that attracted the attention and regard of some while it made others squirm. She had a program that she intended to implement and that needed to stand on its own. She also knew to protect her program from those who would try to wrest it or control it for their own position. Once again, as I found myself facing some of the same issues in the regional office, she knew and understood how to hold ground. The strength of her position was backed by a moral stance that should have been easy to defend, but that could never be left unguarded. These lessons I learned through two years of close contact with Miki, who I found to be a most remarkable pioneer of public ethnography.
ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCESSES, SCOPE OF PRACTICE AND PRACTICE SETTINGS

Legal requirements were useful in justifying what NPS ethnographers would do, why they would do it, and identifying the ethnographic processes that would undergird the scope of ethnographers' practice. NEPA had set into motion development of federally-mandated procedures to determine any potential economic, social, public health and safety, and environmental impacts of a wide range of public or private projects, programs and policies. In order to identify impacts, consultation with people on lands often was necessary. Reporting requirements necessitated data-gathering, identifying cultural resources that living people valued, and maintaining inventories of such resources. The essential

Miki conducting fieldwork with Ellis Vercher and family at Cane River Creole National Historical Park, Louisiana, 1996.

competencies for an ethnographer are described by Miki and the program ethnographers:

*Ethnographers apply the perspectives and tools of cultural anthropology as they strive to implement NPS mandates to preserve, protect, and allow for public enjoyment of park resources. Using applied anthropology, ethnographers work to enhance public appreciation of the cultural diversity preserved within the National Park system, to facilitate legislatively required consultation with traditionally associated peoples, and to incorporate concerns of park-associated groups into park planning, interpretation, and operations (NPS 2003).*

AIRFA, ANILCA, and NHPA require consultation and data-gathering—traditional cultural anthropology tools, when individuals, groups or descendant communities are associated with lands and programs administered by the Department of the Interior, particularly the National Park Service. In addition,
these laws specifically refer to “culture” and “tradition,” terms not found in NEPA and the Organic Act. Consultation and data gathering are customary processes that anthropologists apply in the ethnographic study of people in natural and social environments.

Justification for the program from several of the previously noted laws is reinforced continuously by legislation to establish parks associated with local communities, such as Kalaupapa in Hawaii, Jean Lafitte in New Orleans, and Cane River Creole in northwest Louisiana. Congressional decisions about establishing new units might entail early ethnographic attention to people and resources. One prelude now under way considers sites associated with the Low Country Gullah culture in coastal South Carolina, Georgia and northern Florida (Crespi 2000).

CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

Concepts and terminology associated with the program emerged during this period. According to Miki, “During the 1980s . . . confusion over the differences between anthropology and archeology suggested the need to use different terminology to refer to the [cultural] anthropology program. The Anthropology Division in the Washington Office selected ethnography as the most appropriate term” (Crespi 1987a: 1).

Also formulated was the concept that sites, objects, structures, and cultural and natural landscapes had a human dimension and were significant because of their use and value to living people. “By human dimensions,” Crespi explained, “we refer to the cultural contexts of resources, that is, to the meanings and uses people assign to resources with traditional associations to their cultural history and identity. These are storied and often named objects, places, and landscapes that have shaped, or somehow figured in a peoples’ past. In diverse ways, they may remain defining elements of present life and ethnicity. The National Park Service calls these resources ethnographic resources” (Crespi 2000).

In 1987, Miki advanced the idea that ethnographic resources are quantifiable and capable of being inventoried. “Ethnographic resources,” she wrote, “refers to both a concept and a category of resources. As a concept, it emphasizes relationships between contemporary Native Americans or other ethnic communities and the resources, presently under Service management, that they use and require for cultural survival. As a category it covers the broad spectrum of cultural resources, including sites and structures and natural environmental features such as subsistence grounds, currently used by park-associated peoples” (1987b: 13). Miki noted that ethnographic resources are not mutually exclusive of other cultural resources and were likely to be cross-listed in other Service inventories, another idea she would reiterate and continue to develop.

That year Miki conceptualized the Ethnographic Resources Inventory (ERI) as a planned, systematically compiled information database on location, type, condition and uses of resources. She envisioned the ERI as a management tool to expedite compliance with congressional mandates to effectively implement policies related to traditional uses, religious freedom, and consultation with communities affected by federal undertakings such as the requirement in park-enabling
legislation that NPS be sensitive to a peoples’ current lifeways and associated material and natural resources (Crespi 1987b). Later, she would write:

Although [ethnographic resources] might be categorized as archeological or historic sites, natural areas or some biotic feature, their religious importance, legendary meanings, subsistence, or ceremonial or other dimension vests them with an added ethnographic quality. These resources often were incorporated into the public domain in the 19th century when the federal government extended control over extensive, seemingly unused lands, especially in the West, and then later apportioned the resources among land management agencies.

For example, the natural resource base, with its rainforests and waterways, of northwest tribes such as the Makah, Klallam, and Skokomish on the Olympic Peninsula (Wray 1997) found its way into Olympic National Forest and, subsequently, into Olympic National Park. Elsewhere, for example, in Wyoming, lands valued by Plains tribes for subsistence and, in the case of Medicine Wheel, still important as spiritually powerful places, became part of the Bighorn National Forest. In the Pipestone case, the monetary settlement paid to the Yankton Sioux in 1928 for the red catlinite quarry, revered as sacred by many tribes, preceded establishment of the park in 1937 (Rothman and Holder 1992). Alaskan public lands still undergird group life and membership despite the federal stewardship, since the 1980s, over certain traditional subsistence grounds (Crespi 2000).

Another concept Miki advanced early in program development was that there are people traditionally associated with parks who have an interest in policy and/or decision-making, and programs. “These stakeholders have specific intimate and traditional involvement with park resources,” she wrote. “Traditionally associated people may be neighbors, those who once lived in a park or who still live in a park. They may be people who use the park resources, or once-removed from parks” (Crespi 2003).

Explaining and expanding the conceptualization of traditionally associated peoples to be ever more inclusive, Miki noted that:

Although resources associated with indigenous peoples would dominate any agency inventory of ethnographic resources, more than a few represent African Americans and the diverse array of other American peoples. Resources in the Virgin Islands National Park, for example, are associated with the few African-American farmers/fishermen who remain there. Sunday Mass accompanied by Mariachi musicians at San Antonio Missions might find numerous visitors crowding into this National Historic Park along with Hispanic congregation members. Orthodox Jewish people now meet strangers in areas of New York’s Gateway Park where they take their Sabbath walk. As new conservation areas come under federal jurisdiction, they bring new ethnographically meaningful places and traditionally associated groups into the system (Crespi 2000).

The concept of traditionally associated people was one that Miki articulated in a variety of ways from many platforms over the years. The last workshop she organized and chaired earlier in the year with the Bureau of Applied Research in
Anthropology, University of Arizona, at Tucson, addressed her continuing concern with traditionally associated people (Crespi 2003).

FIELD ETHNOGRAPHERS IN ACTION

Between 1981 and 1986, other concrete activities were undertaken by Miki to help demonstrate the usefulness of ethnography to parks and the contribution ethnographers could make to park planning, management and interpretation, communication with local people, and predicting the social impact of public projects and subsistence management on natural and cultural resources. Miki provided


consultation to park management planning teams helping them identify the kinds of information needed about communities. Most notably, she assisted the park management planning team of Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site and Preservation District to identify needed information about the community (Wolf 1987). She orchestrated funding for an ethnographic study of Sweet Auburn community to provide background information needed by the planning team (Hamilton 1984, Paredes to Brown 2003).

Miki worked diligently and effectively with NPS regional offices, park superintendents and universities to create working relationships through which demonstration ethnographic activities were conducted in Kentucky, Tennessee, northeastern Arizona, and Alaska (Crespi 1987a, Mitchell 1987, Liebow 1987, Howell 1987).
Miki was well aware that policy, people, and funding were the *sine qua non* for the enduring success of the program. Policy developed in step with other program initiating activities. As the eighties came to a close and the nineties began, it became imperative that additional funded ethnographer positions be acquired at the national, regional and local levels. In 1987 she wrote, "Indeed, the time is ripe for a professional NPS ethnography program, and modest beginnings are being made. Individual parks such as Santa Monica and Jean Lafitte, [and] Denver Service Center have hired ethnographers and incorporated their perspectives [into park planning and management]. It also became clear that if indeed ethnographic research and inventory were legitimate needed cultural resource management tools that base funding should support these activities" (Crespi 1987a).

**FORMALIZING THE PROGRAM THROUGH POLICY**

Policy originates in laws passed by Congress under authority derived from the U.S. Constitution. Congress, as the principal body for making national park, recreation, and cultural resource preservation policy, delegates authority for interpreting and implementing policy to appropriate levels of government (NPS 1988: ix). The Washington Administrative Support Office (WASO) of the NPS sets official National Park Service management policies and guidelines for its programs.

Attention to codifying the program in the NPS *Management Policies* was in progress concurrently with the establishment of legislative justification for the Applied Ethnography Program and identification of ethnographic processes and settings for practice. Miki was involved in the development of the policies.

The first *Federal Register* notice for “Management of Native American Relationships Policy” in 1982 was finalized in 1987 and became part of the *Management Policies* (NPS 1988) that first included policies for the management of ethnographic resources (Wray to Brown 2003). These policies would codify ethnographic cultural resources, their identification, inventory and the relationships between the Park Service and the people from whom the resources derived their value and significance. The cultural resource management chapter opens with the statement, “The National Park Service will preserve and foster appreciation of the cultural resources in its custody through appropriate programs of research, treatment, protection, and interpretation” (NPS 1988, 5:1). The chapter then adds that “[e]ntry of ethnographic resources into these policies along with associated definitions, and explanations of ethnographic resources, research, inventories and consultation requirements officially validated the Applied Ethnography Program” (NPS 1988, 5:11-12).

**ESTABLISHING GUIDELINES FOR POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

Director’s orders provide guidelines for implementation of legislated policy and identify appropriate methodology for cultural resource management. The 1985 release of *Director’s Order 28* requires the inclusion of an ethnographic program in General Management Plans for parks with “associated ethnic groups” (NPS 1985, 2:16). This and other aspects of the document seem influenced by Miki’s philosophy of inclusion and her project to integrate ethnography into every
aspect of park planning and management. The definitions of, the need for, and requirements of ethnohistory, social impact study, ethnographic overview and assessment and traditional use study found in Director’s Order 28 all specify use of ethnographic methods in their application (NPS 1985, 2:15-16, 21-22).

Miki was involved in the initial development of these guidelines. She and the ethnographers were also involved in revision of Director’s Order 28 in 1997 and the latest revision of the Management Policies (NPS 1997; NPS 2001). She also used every opportunity to disseminate information about the program at training, workshops and professional meetings by distributing copies of the relevant chapters in both the management policies and the Director’s Order 28. Service wide promotion of the program was, in her view, essential to getting park planners, superintendents, program managers, cultural resource managers, and interpreters to incorporate ethnography and thus the muted voices of invisible people into park program planning, management and interpretation.

Miki also suggested how this could be done:

This is accomplished through multiple strategies. One is to use ethnographic methods to identify communities, tribes, and other stakeholders. Through ethnography, local groups participate in the social construction of their own pasts. Parks shift from presenting an outsider’s view to one that incorporates the perceptions of those whose lives and histories are being interpreted. Clearly, park visitors benefit from multiple, if sometimes conflicting, interpretations that convey real complexities instead of unidimensional, homogenized stories. Interpreting plantation parks is a particular challenge. The tendency to interpret controversial pasts from the official record can mask the proud and painful experiences of African Americans and other minorities. Change is underway thanks partly to ethnographic work at the plantations of Louisiana’s Cane River Creole National Historical Park. My work at Magnolia Plantation and later interviewing at Oakland Plantation with Sherri Ann Lawson-Clark, Allison Peña, and Larry van Horn dramatized the strong, often divergent views of slavery among descendants of enslaved people and their owners (Crespi 2001).

SERVICE WIDE PROMOTION

In 1987 and 1988 two milestones marked the end of the beginning of the ethnography program. It had developed from a collection of concepts grounded in legislative mandates and demonstration projects to a functional program with Washington and some regional staff. The CRM Bulletin published an issue, edited by Miki, that, in her words, “introduces cultural anthropology or ethnography, a relative newcomer to the National Park Service CRM family” (Crespi 1987a). The following year NPS Management Policies included ethnographic resources as one of the categories in the chapter on cultural resource management.

Increasing the program visibility was a priority for Miki. It was important that ethnography be recognized by people in the field at the regional and park level. Regional directors and park planners, park superintendents, and chiefs of interpretation and cultural resource management needed to know what ethnography was, how ethnographic research could be useful for planning, management and
interpretation. Recognition of the potential usefulness of ethnographers and their activities would, Miki reasoned, create a demand for their services.

In the issue of *CRM Bulletin* devoted to ethnography, each article addressed one or more aspects of the parameters of the program and emphasized the usefulness of ethnographic research. Furthermore, the authors of each article, who were recognized in the field of cultural resource management, spoke with the authority of personal experience with ethnography in practice. Miki led off with descriptions and explanations of the program. About ethnography she wrote, “Its . . . specialties offer information on the broad spectrum of human activities, from the culturally defined ways human communities identify and manage natural resources to the cultural meanings given to structures and other tangible resources they produce. In these respects, ethnography provides descriptive and analytic windows on the natural and cultural resources under NPS management, yielding information for culturally-appropriate public involvement, interpretation, management, and planning programs” (Crespi 1987a:1-2).

The NPS Director, Associate Director for Cultural Resources and Chief Anthropologist each wrote of their support for the program. They tied the potential contribution to understanding of culturally diverse publics, especially Native Americans, and identified the need to preserve ethnographic collection items of material culture (Mott 1987, Rogers 1987, Scovill 1987).

A park superintendent explained her experience with ethnographic consultation and research in planning (Wolf 1987). David Brugge, Chief of Curation, Southwest Region, explained the connection between ethnography and material cultural objects (Brugge 1987). Patricia Parker talked about her experiences with ethnographers in Micronesian preservation programs (Parker 1987).

Anthropologists from Howard University explained their use of the ethnographic approach to provide interpretive information for the Maggie Walker National Historic Site (Marlowe and Boyd 1987). Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area hired a University of Tennessee anthropologist to obtain information for interpreting cultural resources. She described the use of ethnographic methods to obtain information on vernacular architecture, cemeteries, foodways, folk medicine, subsistence farming practices, handcrafts and other aspects of Appalachian life and social customs (Howell 1987).

An applied anthropologist who had done projects for the Park Service wrote of the use of ethnography for social impact assessment, to provide documentation to predict significant consequences of major public projects, with special reference to projects among the Navajo, Papago and Northern Cheyenne (Liebow 1987).

Planning at Canyon de Chelly National Monument, according to a planner responsible for the NPS-Navajo Joint Management Plan, “relied heavily upon ethnographic information provided by Miki, David Brugge, Southwest Regional Office, and Dr. G. Mark Schoepfle, an anthropologist experienced in working with the Navajo [who] guided the planning team on major issues identified in that document” (Mitchell 1987). Low (1987) elucidates the interrelationship of ethnography and interpretation of cultural landscapes while Beane and Vann (1987) addressed similar connections of interpretation and ethnohistory.
In the late 1980s and 1990s, the Applied Ethnography Program began to be implemented, consolidated gains, and expanded its field of operations. The growth of Park Service application of ethnographic research as a fundamental tool in consultation, planning, management and interpretation would attest to Miki’s success in those early activities to promote the program.

During these years, Miki worked to create a service wide cadre of ethnographers with a sense of group commitment to high standards of competency in practice, esprit de corps, and a dedication to the program’s mission and goals.

**FUNDING THE PROGRAM**

Funding specifically for the service wide ethnography program started in 1990 when Jerry Rogers, former Associate Director for Cultural Resources, re-allocated funds from the Cultural Resources Preservation Program (CRPP) for a pilot program in three regions. Funding for the three positions shifted from CRPP to base funding as appropriations were obtained, thanks to vigorous lobbying by national anthropological associations, in particular, the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA). Their efforts yielded small appropriations from 1991 until 1994, when the administration requested an increase. By 1996 there were six field ethnographers, one of whom, in Alaska, is not funded through Ethnography (Crespi 1996). Miki wrote:

*As appropriations for the program began exceeding salaries, and project funds became available, [the field ethnographers and I] expressed commitment to the professional integrity of ethnography projects by gaining administrative allocation of*
funds to support various types of ethnographic research and projects needed to support planning decisions [and] identification and management of ethnographic resources. In 1992-93, field ethnographers and American Indian representatives developed procedures for distribution of the funds. Ethnography projects were and are still developed through a consultative process involving ethnographers and park staff. Projects have been developed in terms of certain priorities, and reviewed according to certain criteria, described in the project call memo. Studies such as Rapid Ethnographic Assessments (REAP), which contribute directly to planning decisions, and innovative studies to assess ethnographic data needs have a high priority. A panel of NPS park, regional, and WASO ethnographers, American Indian representatives, and other government ethnographers convened to review the projects and award funding, which annually has been about $360,000 for project funding . . .

CRPP funds are used for routine Ethnographic Overviews and Assessments, Traditional Use Studies, and Rapid Ethnographic Assessments for planning purposes. In addition, CRPP funded program development projects to help system support offices without cultural anthropologists, and FTE, contract applied anthropologists to identify and assess ethnographic needs, design strategies to meet them, prepare and prioritize project statements, write scopes of work, and identify potential contractors (Crespi 1996).

Park NAGPRA projects were funded to meet legal requirements of the 1990 law. Projects covered information on collections and consultations. In the early 1990s, Park NAGPRA funds were distributed through the Ethnography Program according to procedures established by field ethnographers in consultation with American Indian representatives. Initially, NAGPRA priorities emphasized cultural affiliation studies and curatorial activities required to complete the legally required NAGPRA summaries by 1993. The next two years focused on work for the more detailed and legally required NAGPRA inventories. Annual funding of about $595,000 supported these efforts of Native American consultations, cultural affiliation determinations, and repatriation-related activities. The national panel on ethnography, plus a curator, reviewed the projects (Crespi 1996). Through inclusion of American Indian representatives in all activities surrounding implementation of ethnography and park NAGPRA research and project funding, Miki created and nurtured the kinds of cooperative, intergroup relations to which the National Park Service aspires.

BUILDING A TEAM OF FIELD ETHNOGRAPHERS

Describing the continuing growth of the program, Miki wrote, “External partners added their support, with the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association taking prominent roles in the Congressional arena. Informal teamwork paid off in a small contract research fund and additional staff” (Crespi 2001). The Ethnography Program expanded to include park and regional ethnographers and a small staff in WASO. A number of the field ethnographers have recorded their memories of these developments in the sidebars of this report.
Ethnographers Reminisce

ALLISON H. PENA
Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, New Orleans

There was no park ethnographer or anthropologist in 1987. Superintendent M. Ann Belkov wanted the park to have a folklorist or anthropologist on staff because of the park’s mission “to portray the development of cultural diversity in the region [the lower Mississippi Delta].” The historian position was converted to a GS-190 anthropologist position in 1989. I applied for the position and started on June 10, 1989. At that time, our park was in the Southwest Region. I received a great deal of support from both George Esber and Ed Natay and did a short detail in the Southwest Regional Office after George left. I met Miki that year and it was the beginning of a very deep and rewarding collegial and personal friendship over the next 14 years. Doing fieldwork with Miki at Cane River was a stimulating adventure—she was always questioning and probing. Our park benefited greatly from her insight and support during this time, having several ethnographic studies funded by the program.

ED NATAY
NPS Intermountain Region, Santa Fe

Dr. Esber was actually the first cultural anthropologist/ethnographer hired in the field as regional ethnographer in the former Southwest Region here in Santa Fe. He was hired as one of my staff back when I was Chief, Division of American Indian Programs, Southwest Region. His first day with the NPS was July 7, 1991... a few days before Ruppert and York came on. Ironically, it was George who was the first to leave the NPS ethnographer ranks... His family needed him at home.

JACILEE WRAY
Olympic National Park, Port Angeles, Washington

I was hired at Olympic in May of 1990 to begin the park ethnographic overview and assessment. I was hired as a temporary park ranger. They classified and advertised an anthropologist position, which I was hired for in August of 1992.
Ethnographers Reminisce

FRED YORK
NPS Pacific West Region, Columbia Cascades Support Office, Seattle

The first regional anthropologists were hired in the summer of 1991. Through Miki's tireless efforts and work with both the AAA and the SfAA, budget funds were allocated for several positions. Pacific Northwest, Southwest, and Rocky Mountain developed position descriptions . . . in collaboration with Miki [these were] advertised in early 1991 . . . I heard about and applied for the Seattle position, and was then invited to fly up to meet people and . . . be interviewed . . . in May 1991. Before I left Seattle to return to Albuquerque, the job was offered to me . . . I accepted the job. I was the first of the three regional anthropologists hired in 1991.

In August, I attended a weeklong orientation session for all three newly hired regional anthropologists . . . in a church-based conference center located near Santa Fe. Miki and Doug Scovill were there, as were Rich Stoffle and two of his associates (David Halmo and Mike Evans), and Jenny Masur. Stoffle, Halmo, Evans, and Masur were there as contractors/facilitators. In addition, Alexa Roberts, then employed by the Navajo Nation, was there as was another Navajo Nation representative. Finally, Tim McKeown was there because he was working for Miki.

[After] the 1993/94 NPS reorganization . . . I think that the three new "regional folks" arrived on the scene in the following order: Tim Cochrane in Anchorage, Alaska; Becky Joseph in Boston; and Mike Evans in Minneapolis. By the time he was hired, Tim McKeown had moved from ethnography to NAGPRA and Jenny Masur was also working with Miki. Alexa Roberts, a participant in the Santa Fe meetings of August 1991, was hired to replace George. Both George and Alexa were supervised by Ed Natay. Ed serves as American Indian Tribal Liaison and has been involved with the anthropology program from the beginning. Alexa left her position in 2001 or 2002 to become superintendent for a new park: Sand Creek Massacre. Subsequently, a number of folks became part of the program . . . In Denver, Dave was able to bring Rosemary Sucec on board. After several years with Dave, she moved to Yellowstone by 1999 or 2000 to become a park ethnographer at that time.

Tim [Cochrane] left the program to become a superintendent at Grand Portage NM about five or six years ago. After several years, Don Callaway was moved from a special NPS subsistence office over to the Anchorage regional office. Subsequently, that office hired Rachel Mason and Janet Cohen. Herb Anungazuk has been a Native liaison person in that office for years. Another Alaska person is Cyd Martin. She recently got a Ph.D. in anthropology and served as a park anthropologist in Alaska until moving to Grand Teton into a regional level American Indian tribal liaison position. At some point in about 1998 or 1999, a position was developed for the SE region. Tony Paredes was hired. He previously did contract work on NAGPRA for SEAC . . . Following Becky's departure from . . . Boston NPS, Northeast regional office in 2000, the position . . . was advertised in early 2001. Chuck Smythe was hired at some point in 2001.
Through their individual and team activities, NPS ethnographers expanded and promoted the inclusion of cultural anthropology and ethnography as part of NPS cultural resource management. Their work in parks and regional offices expanded the impact of Miki's methods and philosophy throughout the National Park Service, into the communities associated with the parks and, as Miki said so often, beyond.

NPS national ethnography program meetings were held twice a year just before the AAA and SfAA meetings. At these meetings, ethnographers shared their accomplishments and collectively sought solutions to unresolved regional or park issues.

Always included in these meetings were one or more of the American Indian liaisons, especially Ed Natay, who had been there from the beginning, and Pauline Wilson. In 2001, Miki wrote of Ed and George Esber, "The divisions between agency officials and local minorities are less distinct these days as the

![Miki with participants in the workshop, "African Americans, Latinos, Hispanic Americans in Resource Management in the National Park System," Miami, 2000.](image)

National Park Service campaigns to recruit underrepresented peoples into its ranks. Among others, the change was fostered by Ed Natay, a Navajo now in charge of the southwest region's Office of American Indian Trust, and George Esber, a non-Indian cultural anthropologist whose field and bureaucratic experience proved invaluable in the position of regional ethnographer when it was created in 1990. The pairing required a 'respectful partnership,' they say, which has come to symbolize the agency's approach" (Crespi 2001:27).

Miki was inventive in creating opportunities for the development of such relationships and to publicize existing ones to wider and wider audiences. From the beginning of her career in anthropology, she participated in the discipline's professional organizations. Through presentations and program exhibits at the AAA and SfAA annual meetings, distribution of literature about NPS ethnography, and networking Miki publicized the program as a model for professional practice outside of the academy. In the 1990s, her participation in the SfAA strengthened

Legacy: Muriel 'Miki' Crespi
the field of applied anthropology; reciprocally, the NPS Ethnography Program was strengthened through professional organization support. “Her most noted contribution to the Society,” said Thomas May, business manager and past treasurer of the SfAA, “was establishing an ethnography program with the Park Service and linking the Society to the program” (May to Brown 2003).

At SfAA meetings she organized forums to foster networking and collaboration between National Park Service Applied Ethnographers Program anthropologists and other applied anthropologists from the National Park Service to, in her words, “encourage the informal exchange of ideas and information. We hope to cover ethnography program goals and concerns as they affect park-related research and contracting. Since the applied ethnography program began issuing modest contracts for the study of park resources and the people customarily associated with them, contracting has proven to be a mutual learning process for anthropologists inside and outside the NPS. The anticipated forum will offer additional opportunities for Park Service staff and cultural anthropologists who have contracted, or might contract, with us to continue refining ethnographic contracts and products by sharing ideas and experiences about them” (Crespi 2003).

Miki was on the Board of Directors of SfAA from 1990-93 with primary responsibility for practitioner support. In this capacity, she organized working sessions and luncheons for Local Practitioner Organizations (LPOs), especially memorable ones at the annual meetings in Charleston (1991) and in Memphis (1992). At the Memphis board meeting—as a result of Miki’s leadership—a number of important actions were taken to strengthen SfAA ties with the local organizations, including establishment of the regular LPO column in the SfAA Newsletter. As Carla Littlefield says, “Miki was really the one who demonstrated to LPOs throughout the country that SfAA was interested in them.” Carla also adds that it should not be forgotten that Miki was the first recipient of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology’s Omer C. Stewart Award, awarded at the 1993 annual meeting of HPSfAA in Denver (Paredes to Brown 2003).

**TRAINING: THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF PEOPLE, ETHNOGRAPHY AND PARKS**

Program promotion, public education and ethnographic consideration merged in the Applied Ethnography Program training initiatives where Miki put much of her energy and focus during the 1990s. She used a variety of funding sources and cooperative activities with a number of partners to carry out these training activities. This series of field-based training programs focused on NPS managers, staff and community people and were designed to help connect the parks to people and people to the parks.

**1992-1993**

Two of the first four training programs focused upon explaining the values and use of ethnography to program planning, management, and interpretation. The other two explored the usefulness of two types of ethnographic research to park staff. Miki included community representatives in training for NPS staff and a
few NPS staff in training for community people, thus establishing another model for cooperative interrelationships. These programs were:

1993 “Critical Issues in Ethnography: Introduction to the Program,” training program for NPS staff, Santa Monica Mountains Recreation Area, Agoura Hills, California (funded by and in collaboration with Stephen T. Mather Training Center, National Park Service)

1993 “Cultural Affiliation Studies for the NPS,” training program for NPS staff, Santa Barbara, California (collaboratively with Hunter College of the City University of New York)

1993 “Planning, Ethnography, and Fishing-Associated People, Communities and Industries,” training program for NPS staff, Washington, DC (funded by Cultural Resources Stewardship and Partnerships, National Park Service)

1992 “Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures,” training program for NPS staff, New Orleans (coordinated by Division of Employee Development, funded by Cultural Resources Stewardship and Partnerships and National Park Service Division of Employee Development)
1994-1998
Still providing training for NPS staff, Miki focused the next three ethnography training programs on multicultural issues, African Americans, and Native Americans. They were:

1994 “African Americans and the National Park Service Applied Anthropology Program,” training program for NPS staff, Boston (funded by and in collaboration with Stephen T. Mather Training Center)

1994 “Multicultural Interpretation and Ethnography,” training program for NPS staff, New Orleans (sponsored by the Albright Employee Development Center, National Park Service)

1995 “Native Americans and the National Park Service,” training for NPS staff and Native American tribal representatives, Tucson (funded by and in collaboration with Stephen T. Mather Training Center and the Southwest System Support Office, National Park Service)

Training programs typically addressed the need for ethnography in park planning and interpretation, getting all relevant groups involved in parks, the heritage of one or more particular groups associated with parks and continuing the training dialogue out into the community, parks, and beyond.

In 1998, Applied Ethnography helped organize and implement a combined conference and training with Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve.

“Latin American from Slavery to Contemporary Times” was offered in New Orleans to NPS staff, community representatives, academics and other park partners and stakeholders (Cultural Resources Training Initiative [CRTI] funding, implemented cooperatively with Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve).

Summarizing these sessions, Miki wrote:

The conference over the first two days emphasized slavery and its immediate aftermath, including presentations followed by discussion of the interpretation of slavery, resistance to slavery, Underground Railroad, plantation archaeology and cultural landscapes of freedmen villages. The presenters came from diverse cultural backgrounds...
as did the 200 and 180 people who registered for the conference on the first and second days, respectively. The training days for NPS trainees and the always invited non-NPS guest from diverse cultural groups included 32 NPS staff, one guest from Nicodemus Historical Society, one from the Alabama Historical Commission and one from North Carolina. The training sessions shifted to contemporary African Americans, especially those associated with parks (Crespi 1998).

The next training, also in 1998, sought to emphasize the interdisciplinary character of ethnographic resources and cultural landscape resources. “Ethnographic Landscapes Workshop,” an interdisciplinary training event for park ethnography and cultural landscape professionals, was given in Albuquerque (sponsored by the Intermountain Support Office and implemented cooperatively with Cultural Landscapes Program, National Park Service).

1999-2000
Always on the cutting edge, Miki’s next two training programs included Hispanic Americans, another diverse population associated with parks, particularly those in the Southwest. The first of these, co-sponsored with the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA), aimed to stimulate greater involvement of African American and Hispanic Americans in heritage preservation processes and park planning. “African Americans, Hispanic Americans and Community Involvement in Heritage Resources” was a training program for community representatives, other park stakeholders, and NPS staff held in Washington, DC (with Cultural Resources Training Initiative funding, implemented cooperatively with National Parks and Conservation Association).

In the training report she wrote: “The training was meant to strengthen minority involvement in planning and preservation action within and beyond parks. That and much more was accomplished for the 34 participants. Twenty-three trainees, mostly African American and Hispanic communities from California to Florida including some from communities associated with parks, and nine NPS staff, including people of color and whites from California to Louisiana, Philadelphia and Washington, participated. Thirty-eight presenters, 17 National Park Service, 1 Smithsonian Institution Folklife staff person, 1 state historic preservation officer, 11 community presenters, 3 national preservation organization representatives, 5 college professors and private preservationists. The presenters included 15 African Americans, 9 Hispanic Americans, 13 Anglo-Americans, and one Asian American” (Crespi 1999).

Iantha Gantt-Wright, Director of the Enhancing Cultural Diversity Program, NPCA comments on the training from a different perspective. “Miki was also so very passionate about the NPS telling the story of all peoples, who, as she would say, ‘made contributions to the building of America.’ Miki and I worked on several trainings together including the first for Africans Americans and Hispanics on historic preservation. It was a joy and an honor to work by her side on this effort” (Gantt-Wright to Brown 2003).
The following year Miki continued this thrust in training, but this time addressing NPS staff need for and uses of ethnographic research to engage African American and Hispanic American community stakeholders and park-associated people with management of cultural resources. Training offered that year was “African Americans, Latinos, Hispanic Americans in Resource Management in the National Park System,” given in Miami for NPS staff and park partners (funded by and in collaboration with Stephen T. Mather Training Center and co-sponsored by Everglades National Park).

**INCREASING ETHNOGRAPHIC INFORMATION THROUGH RESEARCH**

This period also was marked by the increased ethnographic research funded through the Applied Ethnography Program funds that are administered through the regional support offices.

By 2002, Miki experienced what few people achieve, to see her vision become a reality, especially in respect to the involvement of traditionally associated people and other park associated people in the planning and management of ethnographic resources. In 2002, Miki was able to describe substantial ethnographic accomplishments for the NPS budget justification report:

Ninety-two consultations with 57 different groups of traditionally associated peoples with at least 20 different parks, universities and other agencies or institutions such as Yellowstone NP, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the University of Hawaii.

Ethnographers reviewed, commented and provided redrafts on 46 planning, policy, guideline or research documents such as environmental impact statements, special resource studies, World Heritage sites impact assessments from airport expansion and the DOI’s draft Ethics Statement and provided language for several important new provisions regarding informed consent and confidentiality.

Twenty courses were organized and taught service wide on park relationships to tribes and other traditionally associated people.

Ethnographers served on 70 Interior, NPS, interagency, tribal, and other planning teams (Crespi 2002).

These accomplishments were in addition to the ethnographers’ day to day practice during which they identify park neighbors, user groups and other people with traditional associations to park resources, and document and inventory ethnographic resources through research and consultation. They also anticipate issues affecting parks and associated communities, and lead efforts to resolve them.

The growth in completed ethnographic studies also was substantial, from 43 (1985-95) to 85 (1996-2003). Moreover, there are currently 76 studies in progress. There was a concomitant increase in the demand for and participation of field ethnographers in the consultation process between parks and indigenous peoples (Schoepfle 2003).
I was appointed Southeast Regional Park Service Archaeologist in February 1998. Before that, I worked with Miki as a participant in NAGPRA workshops in 1994-95 that I organized as a Florida State University contractor for the NPS Southeast Archeological Center. Miki served as the Local Practitioners Organizations coordinator for the Society for Applied Anthropology in the early 1990s and perhaps before that.

I was hired by Miki to be the NAGPRA coordinator for the parks. I moved to the Midwest Region in 1996. Miki was my supervisor while I was at WASO.

I began working for the Midwest Region as a cultural anthropologist in 1992. The region's Applied Ethnography Program consists of myself and Mike Evans. Both of us serve as project managers or contracting officer's technical representatives for research, studies and consultation efforts; consult or serve as members of general management plan or other planning teams; answer technical questions on identification, documentation, protection and maintenance of ethnographic resources; conduct research; assist with or conduct tribal consultations; and help with developing project statements and cost estimates. In addition, Mike currently develops and manages the regional Ethnographic Resources Inventory, and I am responsible for reviewing documents for regional or in-house review.

I first met Miki in 1984, at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Denver. In 1987, I worked with her at a presentation at the National Zoo. In 1993, I worked with her when we organized one of the first workshops in this area on rapid ethnographic assessment. Thus, when I joined the Park Service in 1998 I was long familiar with her tireless efforts in reaching out to anthropologists and getting us involved in resource planning. Miki Crespi and the NPS ethnographers had already ensured that the concept of ethnographic resources was an integral part of the NPS planning process. The concept of ethnographic resources was important because it showed how the ethnographic process could be linked to NPS resource planning and management. My job was to focus on the Ethnographic Resources Inventory itself, pull together and articulate the concept, and develop software that addressed the needs of parks and the NPS ethnographers.
PARTNERSHIPS

In 2000, Miki established a working relationship with the DC Community Partnership Program, an NPCA diversity initiative. Iantha Gantt-Wright said about that element of Miki's many-faceted professional persona:

I met Miki Crespi early in my career at NPCA. I don't remember the year, but I do remember the affect that Miki had on me during those early days as I was attempting to move the NPS on diversity. Miki taught me a lot. She helped me to navigate the internal structure of the agency, specifically where it dealt with culture and history. . . . Miki also served on our DC community partners program as well as on a committee for the Mosaic Conference in 2000 which was held in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Of course she loved Santa Fe, but why wouldn't she? That was the kind of environment Miki loved and thrived in because it is so steeped in culture, history and beauty. Even her home reflected her love for this work.

The last time I saw Miki she was facilitating a discussion at the Sumner School, one of her favorite places. Again, she had brought together some powerful and wonderful folks to talk about African American history and how to better reflect it within the NPS.

I will miss Miki. I will miss her passion, her commitment, and her love for history and culture. But most of all I will miss her honesty and rigor in all that she did. The one thing that I know is that Miki's spirit is still here with us so we must take up the charge and continue her work. Miki wouldn't have it any other way (Gantt-Wright to Brown, May 2003).
Ethnographers
Reminisce

SHERRI LAWSON CLARK
Population Research Institute, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania

I met Miki in 1997 when I was working as an intern for the Ethnography Program. I have vivid memories of her office donned with a portrait of Julian Steward and filled with books, documents, papers, and beautiful pieces of art she obtained in her many travels. My first summer at NPS, I was fortunate to conduct fieldwork under Miki’s tutelage in Natchitoches. The fieldwork experience brought a different level to our office relationship as she talked about her family, marriage, New York, and graduate school. Back in the office, I recall the countless drafts I would propose for reports that seemed to never be enough. Soon, though, I accepted her mentorship, which helped me get through my dissertation and jumpstart my professional career in anthropology. Miki was a woman of great style, courage, intellect, and perseverance. I miss her presence.

AUDREY L. BROWN
NPS Archeology and Ethnography Program, National Center for Cultural Resources, Washington, DC

I came on board in 1998. My role was to assist Miki in developing training programs and to expand the focus on African, Hispanic and Asian Americans. Miki’s support of me—an African American anthropologist—was congruent with her commitment to giving voice to indigenous people. I first heard her describe the program in 1996 at a WAPA meeting. After I applied for the ethnographer position, Miki drove to William and Mary College to the 14th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. In sweltering heat, she trudged across two commons to listen to my paper. When two women in the audience questioned my premise, Miki passionately supported my position. Later, working with her, we had “passionate” discussions about the best way to achieve the program’s mission but we never disagreed on what Miki stated was its main goal: “to further democratize decision-making in park planning [and to] help the agency hear and see what had been typically unheard and unseen” (Crespi 2000).

JANE GRAY YAGLEY
Cultural Anthropologist, Contractor for National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, Washington, DC

In 1996 Miki hired me as a contract ethnographer for the Archeology and Ethnography Program. It was a tremendous opportunity. Through Miki’s guidance I learned how to be a professional anthropologist. To me she was a mentor, friend, colleague, harsh critic, great supporter, often a second Mom. Miki saw my potential and helped me find it. She had two great loves, the Park Service and anthropology. The Ethnography Program was her child, she nurtured it, had hoped to see it through its adulthood. As an anthropologist Miki was remarkable, and it is a great loss for the Park Service and for the discipline that she never got to finish her work. Her insight about the role of anthropology, its potential for improving the world, and the process to achieve these goals is vital to the future of the discipline. I hope that those of us she mentored will be able to help implement her vision. She will be missed.
ASSURING CONFIDENTIALITY, ETHICAL PRACTICE AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

Miki recognized that ethnographic research and consultations were fraught with ethical and potential legal issues. In an address to the New York Academy of Science, later published, Miki pointed out that:

*Although the details differ, the ... [ethical] ... codes cover similar ground reflecting a loose consensus among academic and applied cultural anthropologists about certain general ideologies. These can be summed up as: (1) humanistic concern for the dignity and welfare of people and groups with whom anthropologists live, work, and study; (2) suspicion of potentially hidden government research agendas with negative implications for people; (3) openness about research goals; (4) dedication to an intellectually and institutionally viable profession that includes an applied arm; and (5) sharing information with the public. The most recently revised code, that of the American Anthropological Association (1998), groups these concerns under three categories: research, teaching, and application (Crespi and Mattix 2000).*

Alexa Roberts, responding to Miki's concern for protecting the confidentiality and uniform standards of ethnographic practice, organized and implemented an oral history workshop in 2002. Alexa writes about that workshop and planning for the last workshop on traditionally associated peoples:

*Miki really lit up when she talked about upcoming workshops. We had talked for years about the need for an ethnographic oral history workshop to inform park managers and others of "oral history" in the fullest sense of all its meanings. In March 2002, Miki, Janet Cohen and I began to formulate an oral history workshop agenda. Miki was enthusiastic and helped make it a reality that June. It was the kind of workshop Miki would have loved—full of discussion, debate, and ideas reflective of the unique role of anthropology in the NPS. Although Miki's presence was sorely missed at the workshop, she was there in spirit.*

*While still recuperating last summer, Miki was on the phone with a few of us one evening talking enthusiastically about the next workshop: one specifically designed to gather NPS and contract anthropologists to discuss the concepts of ethnographic resources and traditionally associated peoples. And as we all know, that workshop, too, became a reality and accomplished Miki's earlier vision. It was great to have Miki back in the saddle, in her element, once again, making a lasting contribution to the discipline (Roberts to Brown 2003).*

REACHING WIDER AUDIENCES

Reaching ever-wider audiences was one of Miki's goals. As she looked to the future, she launched three new strategies to extend the limits of National Park Service, public and professional awareness and understanding of the Applied Ethnography Program.

In quick succession, she first guest edited "Stewards of the Human Landscape," a special issue of Common Ground with a focus on applied ethnographic practice, both inside and outside the park system (Common Ground 1998/99), then
“Peoples and Places,” an ethnography theme issue of *Cultural Resources Management* (CRM Vol. 24 (5) 2001). In each of these publications she featured articles by NPS and non-NPS anthropologists.

Miki gave thoughtful attention to the 2001 redesign and content of “Peoples and Cultures,” the ethnography section of the Archeology and Ethnography Program website, which receives about 500 users a day. Copies of her latest publications can be accessed through the website.

Although Miki preferred personal face-to-face training programs she was conscious of the possibilities that web-based distance learning programs held for the dissemination of her philosophy and methodology. She participated in the Curricula Work Group that developed the framework for the African-American

Fieldwork with the Vercher Family, Cane River, Natchitoches, Louisiana, 1996.

Perspectives on Heritage Preservation and Stewardship of Ethnographic Resources electronic distance learning course, which was funded by a grant from the Cultural Resources Stewardship Career Fields, Stephen T. Mather Center. It is currently under development by Audrey Brown, an ethnographer with the NPS Archeology and Ethnography Program.

Always reaching toward new horizons, new audiences to expose to her philosophy of inclusion and her praxis of anthropology in the public interest, Miki had turned her sights on the international arena, particularly Mexico, in some sense a return to the Latin American field where she first engaged in ethnographic research (Crespi 1968).
In December 1999, Miki was a member of the United States delegation to the Conference on Illicit Traffic of Cultural Property. This conference was sponsored by INTERPOL and UNESCO, and held in Mexico City. It served as a forum for presenting information on legal and law enforcement issues concerning cultural property protection and addressing the mechanisms for repatriating illegally obtained cultural property. Miki spoke to the conference attendees about the role that consultation with local and descendant groups plays in the management of historic and cultural heritage sites in the United States (Tarler to Brown 2003).

In the next two years Miki looked for opportunities to represent service wide ethnography interests to interagency federal and international professional groups. She was active in the inaugural sessions of the Federal Anthropologists Group in 1999-2000. In 2001, she explored the possibilities for participating in the UNESCO project to identify and preserve intangible cultural resources. In 2002, she established a working relationship with the States Office of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Historia. Her last award was a grant from the National Park Service, United States-Mexico Affairs Office to conduct rapid ethnographic research training and a field study, “Tourism Impacts on Indigenous and Hispanic Communities Along the Camino Real De Terra” (Waldbauer to Brown 2003).

Muriel (Miki) Crespi, Chief Ethnographer, public anthropologist, scholar and above all else a teacher and a visionary. Her influence on the future is best said in the words of one of the next generation of anthropologists: Laura Bruce, an intern from the National Council of State Historic Preservation Officers, who began working closely with Miki in January 2003. Laura recalls:

We worked on preparing the Magnolia ethnography, a project that she was committed to finishing after much delay. I also assisted her in planning the February workshop in Tucson on traditionally associated peoples and ethnographic resources. She was thoughtful enough to arrange for me, an intern, to attend the workshop. This experience greatly heightened my knowledge of the program and the array of NPS staff and contract anthropologists who work with the Ethnography Program. My other main project with Miki was to collect information from hundreds of reviews she had written of management and planning documents since 1981 for a program retrospective.

From working closely with Miki for only a few months, her dedication to her work and her irreplaceable, vast knowledge of the program were evident. She was unceasingly concerned with the progress of the Ethnography Program and recognition of the “invisible people” she strove to give a voice to in the national parks.

There could be no more fitting ending to this retrospective than through this view by the person who worked most closely with Miki in the last four months of her life.
REFERENCES CITED


. 1996. Internal National Park Service memo.


ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank all of the following people who helped create this retrospective tribute to Miki Crespi:

"I remember that [Miki] developed the NPS's first 'Native American Relationships' training course, which was held in Eureka, California, in July of 1979. I remember this vividly as the course fell during the week in which my 25th wedding anniversary occurred and I had to throw myself on the mercies of my wife's splendid good nature to be absent to participate... Miki deserves all of the credit for establishing a professionally viable 'ethnographic' program in the NPS which I expect will last as long as the National Park Service and system lasts." — Doug Scovill, Former Chief Anthropologist of the National Park Service.