Hunting in the Wilderness



Introduction

When asked, "what is wilderness?" my mind is flooded with sense memories. I hear autumn leaves crunch beneath my feet as I follow a winding path through the underbrush. I feel sweat pour down my back as I scramble up one last boulder to reach the summit. I see the pines ringed round my tent glazed in the silver light of a full moon. I smell the sharp greenness of sunbaked grass. I taste the salt spray of ocean waves thrown up in my face as they slam against the craggy shoreline.

For all of this, for all my years spent outdoors, I am still hard pressed to succinctly define wilderness. This reading—the first in your module on hunting, wilderness, and imperialism-will therefore not provide you with a single definition of any of these terms. Instead, it will point out the historical complexities that inform the relationships among humans, animals, and this outdoor space we sometimes call wilderness (beyond a brief mention we'll leave imperialism for Reading 2). We will see that humans had and continue to have a wide variety of relationships with the natural world that range from intensely personal to political and performative. We'll see the same variety of relationships between humans and animals, whether those animals are kept as pets or hunted for food. At the end of Reading 1, we will have the conceptual tools to think about the ideas of hunting and wilderness and how they change over time depending on their historical context.

HUNTING IN THE WILDERNESS

INTRODUCTION

"THE TROUBLE WITH THE WILDERNESS"

THE PLEISTOCENE OVERKILL

HUMAN AND ANIMAL RELATIONS

HUNTING IN THE WILDERNESS

The Trouble with the "Wilderness"

In 1995, William Cronon wrote that the "time has come to rethink wilderness" (69) because "the trouble with wilderness is that it quietly expresses and reproduces the very values its devotees seek to reject" (80). Cronon, a historian at the University of Wisconsin, lived through the start of the American environmentalist movement. Rachel Carson's exposé of the effects of chemical pollution, *Silent Spring*, was published in 1962. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the first attempt by the global community to make the environment a major issue, took place in 1972. Congress issued the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act in these decades as well. By the 1990s, the messages of environmental activists was clear: the wilderness had to be protected from the destructive actions of humans.

Cronon's main argument was that Americans' habit of thinking of the wilderness as a wild space untouched by human hands or history is flawed. He argued that the wild spaces we know today, particularly those that have been preserved in national parks, were not pristine spaces, but the products of human actions. His assertion that "the trouble with wilderness is that it quietly expresses and reproduces the very values its devotees seek to reject" (80) means that even though enthusiasts of the American wilderness believe that its value lies in its untouched nature, those beliefs themselves are the products of the conditions of modern society. Instead, both our imagination of wilderness and its physical reality—the trees, soil, animals, watercourses, etc.—are the result of centuries of human interaction with the non-human world.

Key Terms:

Imperialism

Colonialism

William Cronon

Wilderness

Pleistocene Overkill

Subsistence Hunting

Commercial Hunting

Elite Hunting



Albert Bierstadt, A Storm in the Rocky Mountains, Mt. Rosalie, 1866.



Thomas Cole, Expulsion From the Garden of Eden, 1828.

The Wilderness as Sublime

One component of the American imagination of the wilderness is the idea of the **sublime**. This word describes a mixture of beauty and terror that one feels when in the presence of something on a grand scale, such as a mountain or a canyon. Early North American colonists brought such ideas to the Americans, based on their reading of the Bible. In the 17th century, Puritans often used biblical language to describe the both the forests of Massachusetts and the Native Americans who inhabited it.

The sublime encompasses both terror and beauty. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, followers of the Romantic movement began to turn to this sublime wilderness for inspiration for their art. For instance, William Wordsworth wrote about his sublime experience when climbing the Alps at the turn of the nineteenth century:

"The immeasurable height
Of woods decaying, never to be decayed,
The stationary blasts of waterfalls,
And, in the narrow rent at every turn
Winds thwarting winds, bewildered and forlorn,
The torrents shooting from the clear blue sky,
The rocks that muttered close upon our ears,
Black drizzling crags that spake by the way-side
As if a voice were in them..."*

In this poem, Wordsworth highlighted the terror he felt while being buffeted by the wild water, wind, and sky during his hike. He went on to liken this encounter to a Christian religious experience, saying that the natural elements around him were like "characters of the great Apocalypse." Though the wilderness may take on human-like aspects in the poem, such as the "drizzling crags" speaking "as if a voice were in them," he saw them as unable to be tamed or altered by human efforts.

Caspar David Friedrich, The Cross and Cathedral in the Mountains, 1812.

^{*} William Wordsworth, "The Prelude," quoted in William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 74.

The Wilderness as Frontier

Cronon argued that the other component of the American imagination of wilderness is the **frontier**. Here, the frontier is a space where the edge of Euro-American civilization met the edge of the wilderness. Part of America's foundational mythology contains stories in which men like Johnny Appleseed or Paul Bunyan entered the wilderness and tamed it through courage, fortitude, and ingenuity. In this imagination, the primeval savagery of the wilderness created a proving ground for "men to become men," a heteronormative fantasy in which masculinity is equated with acts of physical prowess and controlled violence. In order for these masculine men to go to the frontier and tame the wilderness, that wilderness has to be a wild and unpeople space. Such fantasies were particularly popular among wealthy people on the East Coast at the end of the nineteenth century. Men like Theodore Roosevelt traveled all over the world in search of "wilderness experiences" through which he could prove his masculinity.



Caspar David Friedrich, Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog, 1817.

Cronon's Critique of Wilderness

Keeping in mind the ideas of sublime and frontier as the main components of the American imagination of the wilderness, we can now turn to Cronon's critiques of this concept and why he argued we that have to change our habits of thinking about the wilderness.

One of Cronon's main critiques was that the idea of the wilderness as primeval and untouched ignores the ways in which human history has shaped and been shaped by the **non-human environment**. The term non-human environment encompasses the plants, animals, climates, and landscapes that are often lumped together under the word "nature." By specifying this nature as non-human, the term non-human environment also points out that humans are a part of nature even as they try to distance themselves from it.



Thomas Cole, The View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm - The Oxbow, 1836 illustrates the idea of the frontier and the border with wilderness



Protesters march in opposition to the Dakota Access Oil Pipeline 2016

Explore More..

Environmental Justice refers to the fair treatment and inclusion of all people in the implementation and enforcement of environmental law and policy. In the United States, Executive Order 12898 directed federal agencies to develop environmental justice strategies.

• Learn more about Environmental Justice

We can see an example of the ways in which human history has shaped the non-human environment in the United States. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, different Native American groups consistently altered the environment through hunting, controlled burning, farming, and terraforming. Sacajawea acted as a diplomat and translator for Lewis and Clark as their expedition moved through a peopled landscape, not the trackless wilderness of Anglo-American imagination. The reason places like Yellowstone and Yosemite seemed empty to the conversationists of the late nineteenth century is because in previous decades United States government had legislated that the original inhabitants of these places-the Blackfeet, Sioux, Shoshone, Miwok, and others-be forcibly removed from their homelands by US military forces. Believing the wilderness to be primeval and untouched ignores this history.

Cronon's other main critique of this concept of wilderness is that it assumes that nature must be pristine in order to be worthy of conservation. This assumption is harmful to both humans and the non-human environment. If untouched wilderness is a sacred and sublime space, then this means that any human intervention is inherently profaning. Following such logic, the only way to preserve wilderness is to completely remove any human traces. This task is impossible and can cause paralyzing despair.

Along with this critique, Cronon said that "the romantic ideology of wilderness leaves precisely nowhere for human beings to actually make their living from the land" (80), meaning that there is no place for wilderness in either urban or rural environments. This implies that a tree in the middle of the forest is part of nature and therefore worth conserving, but that a tree in the middle of your city part is already despoiled and therefore unworthy of our attentions. Such thinking completely discredits **environmental justice**, a social movement dedicated to "fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations and policies" (epa.gov).



William Cronon, 2007



Cronon's "trouble with wilderness" was not about the wild spaces themselves, nor the people who enjoy hiking, camping, fishing, or hunting in them. No, he was critical of the *idea* that the wilderness is an eternal and sacred space that can only properly exist beyond the realm of human touch. He was critical of the *idea* that wilderness exists apart from history and culture. He urged his readers to adopt an expansive conception of

wilderness that included humans and society. In the last paragraph of his essay, he

outlined what such changes to thinking may bring:

"Learning to honor the wild-learning to remember and acknowledge the autonomy of the other-means striving for critical self-consciousness in all of our actions. It means that deep reflections and respect must accompany each act of use, and means too that we must always consider the possibility of non-use. It means looking at the part of nature we intend to turn toward our own ends and asking whether we can use it again and again and again sustainably-without its being diminished in the process. It means never imagining that we can flee into a mythical wilderness to escape history and the obligation to take responsibility for our own actions that history inescapably entails. Most of all, it means practicing remembrance and gratitude, for thanksgiving is the simplest and most basic of ways for us to recollect the nature, culture, and the history that have come together to make the world as we know it. If wildness can stop being (just) out there and start being (also) in here, if it can start being as humane as it is natural, then perhaps we can get on with the unending task of struggling to live rightly in the world–not just in the garden, not just in the wilderness, but in the home that encompasses them both." (Cronon, 89-90)





Hunting Wolly Mammoth

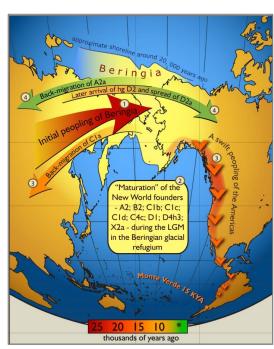
The Pleistocene Overkill

If there is a trouble with wilderness, there is also a trouble with hunting or the social and cultural ideas surrounding hunting. As with wilderness, the beliefs and ideas about what constitutes acceptable hunting practices are socially and culturally constructed. In other words, what differentiates hunting from poaching or hunting from slaughter changes depending on who you are, where you live, and when you live. This makes for a messy patchwork of often contradictory case studies.

One of the debates in the history of hunting and the environment concerns what types of hunting practices are sustainable and what groups of people have or can engage in **sustainable hunting** practices. By sustainable hunting we mean an annual harvesting of animals that preserves enough mating pairs to create a replacement population. Sustainable hunting maintains, rather than decreases, an animal population in a given place. The simplistic point of view is that only pre-modern people using spears and arrows could engage in sustainable hunting practices while modern, commercial hunting or hunting at any period in history with pits, traps, nets, or poison was unfair and unsustainable. This sort of thinking arose in eighteenth century France when philosophers like Rousseau constructed the idea of the "noble savage"—someone who lives in harmony with nature and hunts with spears and arrows—to critique the decadence of the French court. This idea has since become a part of Western culture, broadly speaking. One of the arguments of this module is that such simplistic thinking is erroneous because it erases the messy complexity of history.

We will start to explore this complexity with an example commonly known as the **Pleistocene Overkill**. The Pleistocene refers to the geological epoch immediately preceding our current one, the Holocene. Roughly, the Pleistocene stretches from 2.5 million years ago to 12,000 years ago, a time of successive ice ages. The Holocene epoch–12,000 years ago to the present–marks the end of the last ice age.

In the final millennia of the Pleistocene, humans began to migrate to North and South America. There is significant debate among archaeologists and anthropologists about precisely when this migration took place, with new evidence continually coming to light. However, there does appear to be a correlation between the arrival of humans in the Americas and the extinction of megafauna (large animals) such as mastodons, ground sloths, saber-toothed cats, and dire wolves. As the glaciers retreated and the Pleistocene gave way to the Holocene, at least thirty-five mammal species disappeared. The question is then: is it just a coincidence that the arrival of humans in the Americas happened at the same time as a major extinction event or did human hunters have something to do with it?



Map illustrating initial flow of people and genes across Beringia and into North America during



Clovis hunting points, found in contemporary lowa

Argument: Humans Hunted the Megafauna to Extinction

Using archaeological evidence from approximately fifty kill sites, one side of the debate argues that after humans crossed Beringia from Asia to the Americas they spread out rapidly, killing these large mammals wherever they encountered them. Some kill sites include Clovis point spear heads, a common weapon used by prehistoric Americans. Most contain evidence of butchering on the animal bones left at the site, and indication of hunting for food. Several of these sites are at the base of cliffs, which suggests that these hunters worked together to drive animals off cliffs so as to kill or at least incapacitate them on impact. Regardless of the method, this side of the debate contends that these early hunters did not engage in sustainable practices, but rather hunted dozens of species to extinction over the course of a millennium.



Map showing migrations into North America, and location of Clovis Paleo-Indian sites

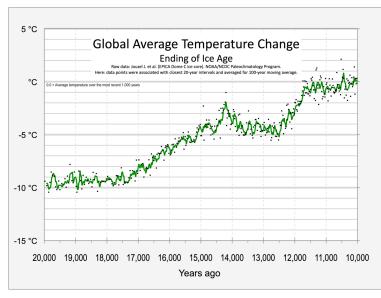


We also have historical, or written, evidence that supports the argument that humans can enter a new territory and hunt species to extinction. A famous example is the dodo bird on the island of Mauritius. Europeans first recorded the presence of dodos on the island in 1598. The last recorded sighting was in 1662, just 64 years later. A combination of European hunting and invasive species, such as rats, eating dodo eggs destroyed the population in decades. Another striking example is the extinction of at least thirteen species of moa birds in New Zealand. The Māori arrived in New Zealand somewhere between 1000 AD and 1200 AD. The large, flightless birds they encountered proved to be an excellent food source, and by approximately 1450 AD, there were no more moa in New Zealand.

Depiction of pursuing Dodo birds, which were hunted to extinction in the 17th century

Argument: The Extinction of American Megafauna Had Multiple Causes

Not everyone agrees with the argument that the major extinction event known as the Pleistocene Overkill was solely the work of human hunters. Some say that the sources-these fifty kill sites-do not provide sufficient evidence for or against human hunting being the cause of these extinctions. This is one of the problems with history: we can only study the sources that are available and sometimes those sources have only incomplete information. Those who think the extinction of American megafauna had multiple causes point to the warming climate at the end of the last ice age. They contend that the changing climate changed the ecosystem. Megafauna either had to adapt-generally by growing smaller so they could survive on less foodor go extinct. Human hunters contributed to the pressure put on these species, but they were not solely responsible for their demise.



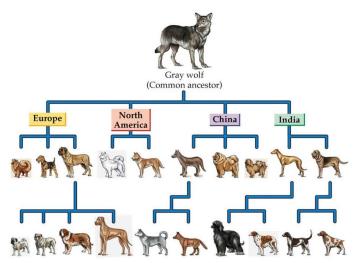
Temperature rise marking the end of the Pleistocene era, derived from Antarctic ice core data

This case study demonstrates several points. First, pre-modern humans did not live in perfect and timeless harmony with nature. Even though they did not write things down, early Americans have a history that involves altering the environment and adapting to subsequent changes brought on by their actions. Sometimes those changes, such as overhunting, were unsustainable because they altered the environment and made it harder for humans to survive. We don't always know precisely what happened in the past; there is no one "true" version of history. Instead, we have to interpret the available evidence with the tools we have. This can lead to debates that may never be conclusively resolved. But it does allow us space for critical thinking. How do the debates surrounding the Pleistocene Overkill influence our understanding of pre-modern hunting practices? What are the potential pitfalls of thinking of premodern humans as "noble savages" living in harmony with animals and the non-human environment?



Human and Animal Relations

Animals have played an important role in human history. One of the ways to help us understand that role it to put human-animal relations into three broad categories: domestication, protection, and predation.



Lineage of dogs from the common Grey Wolf

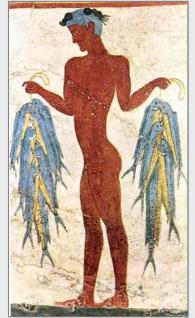
Domestication is, in a sense, taming animals so that they behave in ways that are safe and useful to humans. But while taming is at the level of the individual, domestication is at the level of a species. In other words, a single elephant can be tamed to respond to human commands, but that doesn't mean that its offspring will be born docile or willing to respond to the same commands. To domesticate a species means to separate it from the wild population and breed it over successive generations until the traits that are desirable to humans become dominant. Animals commonly found on farms—cows, horses, goats, sheep, and chickens—are domesticated species as are animals commonly owned as pets such as cats and dogs.

Dogs, in fact, are excellent illustration of the ways in which selective breeding can alter a species over the course of millennia. Archeological evidence suggests that dogs were most certainly domesticated by 7,000 BCE and possibly as early as 33,000 BCE in some locations. These earliest "dogs" may have been only a few generations removed from wild canine populations and would have looked similar to wolves. Today, however, there is a wild variety of dog phenotypes; no one would mistake a Pekingese or a Dachshund for its cousin the wolf.

Protection can cover many different types of human-animal interactions. For much of human history, protected species were those that acted as pets, helpers, or those that were part of herds. Sheep, goats, and cattle are examples of herd animals whose usefulness to humans has ensured their spread around the globe, often at the expense of local flora and fauna. However, an animal does not have to be domesticated to be protected. For instance, hunting fowl, such as grouse, require a particular type of heather-covered habitat to breed. English landholders converted Scottish farmland into moors and hunted foxes that prey on grouse that lived there. Therefore, these birds can be considered a protected species even though they have not been domesticated.

Gaylord Sangston Truesdell, A Shepherd and His Flock Within a Vast Landscape, 1894





Fresco of a fisherman from Greece, c. 1600 BCE

Predation is the human-animal relationship that will be the focus of this module. Predation, which comes from the same Latin root as predator, involves hunting, fishing, or scavenging—methods by which humans turn animals into food. These methods vary in technique, social coordination, and meaning; making a generalization about hunter-gatherer societies, for instance, will only yield a dozen exceptions. Additionally, archeological evidence about prehistoric hunting is scant and often contradictory. Over the tens of thousands of years during which hominids evolved into modern *Homo sapiens*, animal protein was a major component of most diets. Academics continue to debate, however, how much of that protein came from hunting animals and how much came from scavenging from kills made by other predators such as lions and hyenas.

Different Ways to Hunt and Fish

Hunting and fishing practices have varied widely over time and space. Some techniques were passive, such as setting snares, digging pit traps, or erecting fishing weirs. In each of these cases, the hunter would erect some kind of trap away from human settlement and then return to the spot periodically to see if an animal had been caught. Active techniques typically meant entering an animal's habitat with a weapon—fishing pole, spear, bow and arrow, or gun—and stalking an animal on foot or horseback or bringing it to the hunter's hidden location through calls, scents, decoys, or fishing lures.

Hunting and fishing could be solitary endeavors, small group affairs, or large and coordinated pageants that involved thousands of people. While the Anglo-American imagination has popularized the image of a solitary hunter padding through a deciduous forest to sneak up on a deer, hunting was as often a family affair with kin groups going out as hunting parties for the advantages of company, protection, and the ability to carry the butchered meat back to the settlement. Even in the United States today, one of the biggest indicators that one will become a hunter is if one's parents are also hunters. The largest types of hunting activity were organized by the elite classes. The hunting party itself, the ones who made the kill, would be drawn from elites, such as royalty or imperial administrators. Large numbers of people, however, would act as porters to carry the equipment to and from the designated hunting site. Often, the rural poor would be enlisted to act as beaters, creating noise in the forest to flush the animals into the range of the elite hunting party's weapons.

Different Meanings of Hunting and Fishing

These examples already give some sense of how the meaning of hunting and fishing can change depending on context. We can broadly categorize these different meanings of hunting and fishing into subsistence hunting, or hunting for food; commercial hunting, or hunting for profit; and elite hunting or hunting for power.

Medieval hunt, by Gaston Phoebus



Albrect Bierstadt, Giant Redwood Trees of California, 1874

Subsistence hunting or hunting for food is not limited to hunter-gatherer societies. Pastoral nomads on the Eurasian steppes, such as the Mongols, hunted to supplement their diets and game birds were considered delicacies. Agricultural societies also hunted and fished for food; hares and eels were key sources of protein in medieval Europe. Wild game also supplemented the diets of some industrial workers, such as Indian and African laborers who worked on railway construction projects in eastern and southern Africa around the turn of the 20th century. In the 21st century the locavore movement—only eating food found within 20, 50, or 100 miles of one's home—has sparked a renewed interest in hunting for food.



Commercial hunting, or hunting for profit, has also taken different forms in different contexts. Animal products such as furs, feathers, tusks, and horns are easy to preserve and can travel long distances without being damaged. Commercial hunting took place in the ancient world, as evidenced by ivory artefacts carved from African elephant tusks found in Roman settlements across Europe. Commercial hunting could also be part of hunter-gatherer societies; in New Guinea hunters harvested bird-of-paradise plumes and shipped them throughout Asia for around 2000 years. The early modern commercial fur trade, first in northern Europe and Siberia and then in North America, nearly destroyed several fur-bearing species such as sable, mink, and beaver. The trading networks that supported the commercial fur trade also served as routes for the eventual colonization of these spaces.



Bengal tiger hunting by English upper-class, British India, 1903

Hunting for food and hunting for profit can overlap with each other as well as with the last major category of hunting: elite hunting or hunting for power. Organizing a large-scale hunt with porters and beaters was both an exercise and a demonstration of political power. Coordinating humans, animals, supplies, and a location on a grand scale required organizational and management skills, key components of a successful governing bureaucracy. Such endeavors also required a lot of resources, so only financially successful elites could indulge in such practices. Additionally, elite hunting typically took place beyond the city or palace, which meant that the rural populace got a chance to observe the ruling elite up close. Because hunting is also a demonstration of martial prowess, some elites would organize major hunting parties in rebellious areas in an attempt to preemptively quell unrest. This type of hunting could also be a way to showcase the elite class as the protectors of the general populace. British hunters in imperial India often framed their tiger shikars (hunts) as providing protection. If game animals were killed, the elite hunters might organize a banquet, thereby demonstrating the benevolence of the ruling class to the rural population. 12



Hunting in the Wilderness

Dog sled team, Alaska, c. 1910

As we will see throughout this module, practices of hunting and ideas of the wilderness are intimately tied together. In the Anglo-American imagination, writers such as James Fennimore Cooper (1789-1851) and Jack London (1876-1916) popularized the imagine of the solitary hunter finding his true self in the wilderness. In London's 1903 novel *The Call of the Wild*, the main character is a dog named Buck who is stolen from his home in California and pressed into service as a sled dog in Alaska. While Buck is a dog, his journey from civilized pet to leader in the wild is emblematic of the imaginative links between men and wilderness that animated much hunting and preservation discourse at the turn of the 20th century.

"...each day mankind and the claims of mankind slipped farther from him. Deep in the forest a call was sounding, and as often as he heard this call, mysteriously thrilling and luring, he felt compelled to turn his back upon the fire and the beaten earth around it, and to plunge into the forest, and on and on, he knew not where or why; nor did he wonder where or why, the call sounding imperiously, deep in the forest."**

Here, the wilderness is a proving ground of masculinity in which one might slip the bonds of civilization and roam wild and free. John Thornton, Buck's human owner in the story, also demonstrates the links between morality, masculinity, and wilderness-as-frontier.

London's Call of the Wild, published in The Saturday Evening Post, 1903



OUTDOOR STORY NUMBER

^{**} Jack London, Call of the Wild, 1903, Chapter 6.

Hunting Parks and Paradises

While hunting necessarily involves some interaction between humans and animals, it does not and has not always taken place in the wilderness. Enclosed hunting grounds, also known as paradises or deer parks, have played an important role in elite hunting for several thousand years. The archetypal hunting paradise, was established during the Persian Achaemenid Empire between 550 BCE and 330 BCE, would serve as the template for similar structures in West, Central, and South Asia for centuries to come. Like large-scale hunting parties in the countryside, the walled paradise was meant to be an expression of royal power and prestige. It not only provided a private space for elites to hunt at leisure and in relative safety, but it also emphasized the links between the gods, royalty, natural fecundity, and the overall prosperity of the kingdom.

For instance, in the Achaemenid Empire, centered around the arid Iranian plateau, a paradise with well-maintained watercourses and forests demonstrated the earthly wealth of the king and his favorable relationship with the gods who had blessed his paradise and made it fertile. Nearly 2000 years later, Mughal emperors in India commissioned elaborate shikargah-a combination garden and hunting park- "as a symbol of conciliation between the emperor and the forces of nature that had to be subdued to protect his subjects" (Parpia 171). Other examples of hunting parks being used as a symbol of divine royalty can be found in Charlemagne's Carolingian Empire of 8th century Europe, at Shangdu in the 13th century empire of Kublai Khan, and in the paradises of early caliphs of Baghdad. The phenomenon was both widespread and enduring.



Above: Achaemedian Cylinder seal, c. 6-4th century BCE; Below: map of the Achaemenid Empire





Mughal emperor Akbar hunting, 16th century

The idea of a paradise or deer park did not disappear in the modern era. Many elites, particularly those in twentieth-century England, also enjoyed the leisure and relative safety of a controlled hunting arena. However, what was an appropriate elite hunting arena changed over time. While the Achaemenids and Mughals constructed beautifully artificial landscapes to demonstrate their mastery over nature, modern British and American men sought to demonstrate that same mastery by successfully hunting in a wilderness that was both sublime and an unpeopled frontier. The grouse moors of Scotland are emblematic of this trend. They also demonstrate the wide-ranging economic and political forces that contributed to the construction of a hunting wilderness.

British control of their northern neighbor increased steadily in the eighteenth century, beginning with the Act of Union in 1707 and peaking in the years following the Scottish defeat in the Battle of Culloden in 1746. Absentee British landholders did not see many profits in the traditional structures of Scottish farming, which was mainly a subsistence activity carried out by tenant crofters (small farmers). Rather than continue this system of open fields and pastures, large landholders began to erect fences, remove crofters, and replace them with sheep. This process, known as the Highland Clearances, contributed to increasing Scottish immigration to the Americas and the rise of industrial cities like Glasgow. This depopulated, pastoral landscape proved profitable for much of the 1800s, but when the bottom fell out of the wool and mutton market at the end of the century, many landholders converted their sheep walks to grouse moorland. In other words, they hired land managers and game keepers to remove the fences and pastures and reintroduce native heather and grouse. The landscape looked wild, but it was carefully managed through restocking and controlled burning in order to maintain a healthy grouse population. With local people barred from trespassing on this private land, these grouse moors were private hunting parks in all but name.

Ruins of the town of Ormaig in Scotland. The area had been inhabited since prehistoric times, but was cleared during the mid-19th c.



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A view of wilderness in Estonia, 2015, CC: BY SA, MinuHiiumaa,

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Albert Bierstadt, A Storm in the Rocky Mountains, Mt. Rosalie, 1866, Brooklyn Museum, Public Domain,

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A Storm in the Rocky Mountains, Mt. Rosalie - Google Art Project.jpg

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Thomas Cole, Expulsion from the Garden of Eden, 1828, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Public Domain,

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Casper David Friedrich, The Cross in the Mountains, c. 1812, Museum Kunstpalast, Public Domain,

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Casper David Friedrich, The Hiker Above the Sea Fog, c. 1817, Public Domain, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Caspar David_Friedrich_-

Wanderer above the sea of fog
Thomas Cole, View from Mount Holyoke,
Northampton, Massachusetts, after a
Thunderstorm—The Oxbow, 1836,
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Beyond NODAPL March on Washington, D.C., December 8, 2016, CC: BY SA, Rob87438,

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William Cronon, 2007, CC: BY SA, Hilary Cronon.

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Graph of temperature anomaly from 20,000-10,000 years ago, at the end of the last ice age, 2019, CC: BY SA, RCraig09, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:20 191021 Temperature from 20,000 to 10,00 0 years ago - recovery from ice age.png

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Illustration of dogs descending from the Grey Wolf, The Sled Dog Society of Wales, Fair Use,

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Fresco of a fisherman from the bronze age, Minoan town of Akrotiri, Santorini, c. 1600 BCE, Public Domain.

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