THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN:

A CASE STUDY IN LOCATIONAL HARMONY

Stanley D. Brunn and Douglas C. Munski

INTRODUCTION

During the 1970s and early 1980s American social and political geography had as one the major research foci the subject of "locational conflict" (Reynolds and Knight, 1989). The term was introduced in 1972 by Wolpert et al. to refer to conflicts regarding land uses in urban areas, which might arise from the location of proposed highways and sanitary landfills. Subsequent studies dealt with controversies and perceived risks over the siting of nuclear power plants, nuclear waste and toxic waste dump sites, and over publicly and privately funded facilities. Research was generated by a number of economic, social, behavioural and political geographers including Wolpert (1970, 1971, 1972); Cox, Reynolds, and Rokkan (1974); Brunn and Koons (1977); Janelle and Millward (1977); Dear and Long (1978); Cox (1979, 1984); Brunn, Johnson, McGirr (1980); C. Smith (1980); Ley and Mercer (1980); Harvey (1985); and Lake (1987).

...a new concept that speaks to harmonious or cooperative relations between states and among groups in political space.

Our purpose here is to introduce a new concept that speaks to harmonious or cooperative relations between states and among groups in political space. Those spaces may be at local levels, that is, between communities in the same legal jurisdictions, or between states at international levels. The term "locational harmony" describes places where community groups or states celebrate some event in some cooperative manner. The celebration or commemoration may also be the result of states agreeing to resolve some issue peacefully. The events or site may be celebrated by symbolic events, such as festivals or holidays; they can be landscapes of peace (Brunn, 1987). We develop the concept and illustrate it through one case study, viz., the International Peace Garden (IPG), a nearly 2,400 acre (930 hectare) area along the US-Canadian border (see map). The actual site is at the junction of US Highway 3 (a major north-south road) and Manitoba Highway 10, between Dunseith, North Dakota and Boissevain, Manitoba. We describe the garden's history and specifically how cooperation and friendship were important in its development.

THE CONCEPT OF LOCATIONAL HARMONY

The concept can be applied at a number of different scales. At local levels examples would include monuments and memorials which communities erect for heroic civil rights initiatives, individuals or philanthropists who promoted cross-cultural relations. At international scales, it can be applied to constructing international bridges, cross-cultural art exhibits and music festivals and transboundary parks for wildlife and tourists. Other examples include markers and monuments to commemorate the sites of negotiations and formal treaties (Brunn *et al.*, 1996), the signing of peace treaties to end conflict or to avoid military conflict, and the opening of major intercontinental highways, such as the Pan American and Al-Can highways, trans-Alpine roads, or more recently the European Chunnel.

Peace landscapes would also include the bird sanctuary in the demilitarised zone between North and South Korea, transboundary protected areas in central Europe, and the Pan-Europa peace park along the Hungary-Austria border that commemorates the border's opening in August 1989. There are an estimated 130 transboundary protected areas for wildlife in the world, most being in Europe (Zbicz, 1999a and 1999b); many transboundary areas appeal to tourists (Timothy, 1998).

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE GARDEN

The Garden was a dream of a Canadian horticulturist, Dr. Henry J. Moore, who proposed the idea to a convention of the National Association of Gardeners in the US at its annual meeting in Toronto on 7 August 1929 (www.peacegarden.com). It was

Moore...was interested in establishing a garden along the longest unguarded international border in the world that would signal the importance of living in peace.

first sponsored by the National Association of Gardeners of the Untied States and an International Committee of about fifty individuals, half from each country. Moore, a gardener and author, graduated from the School of Horticulture at Kew Gardens, England and taught previously at Cornell University and Ontario Agricultural School in Guelph (IPG, 1946 and 1962). He was most interested in establishing a garden along the longest unguarded international border in the world that would signal the importance of living in peace. Subsequent to this conference, which endorsed his proposal, a team (two Americans and one Canadian) selected a site midway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and within 35 miles (56 km) of the centre of the North American continent, near Rugby, North Dakota. The International Peace Garden became a legal reality in the courts of New York in 1930 as a nonprofit organisation. Both governments approved the site on 25 December 1931.

The proposed garden was in the Turtle Mountains, a beautiful site rich in wildlife and plants (IPG, 1937). Blemele (1991), one of the leading authorities of the region's geomorphology, describes the landforms as follows:

The most rugged kind of topography that was formed by glaciers in North Dakota is the hummocky collapsed glacial topography, which is often referred to as 'dead-ice moraine'. The most extensive area... is found on the Missouri Coteau, which extends from the northwest corner to the south-central part of the state. Another important area... is in the Turtle Mountains, in north central North Dakota. The landforms... are identical in most ways to those on the Missouri Coteau, but the Turtle Mountains have a woodland cover that is generally lacking in the other two areas (p.28).

He describes the steep escarpments bordering the mountains and the water bodies thus:

Thousands of lakes and sloughs of all sizes in areas of hummocky collapsed topography. Many of these lakes occur in the depressions known as 'prairie potholes', which are found between the hummocks that resulted when the highly fluid till slid into place as the ice melted. Many more such depressions formed when buried, or partly buried blocks of stagnant glacial ice melted, causing overlying materials to slump down, forming depressions that are referred to as kettles (p.32).

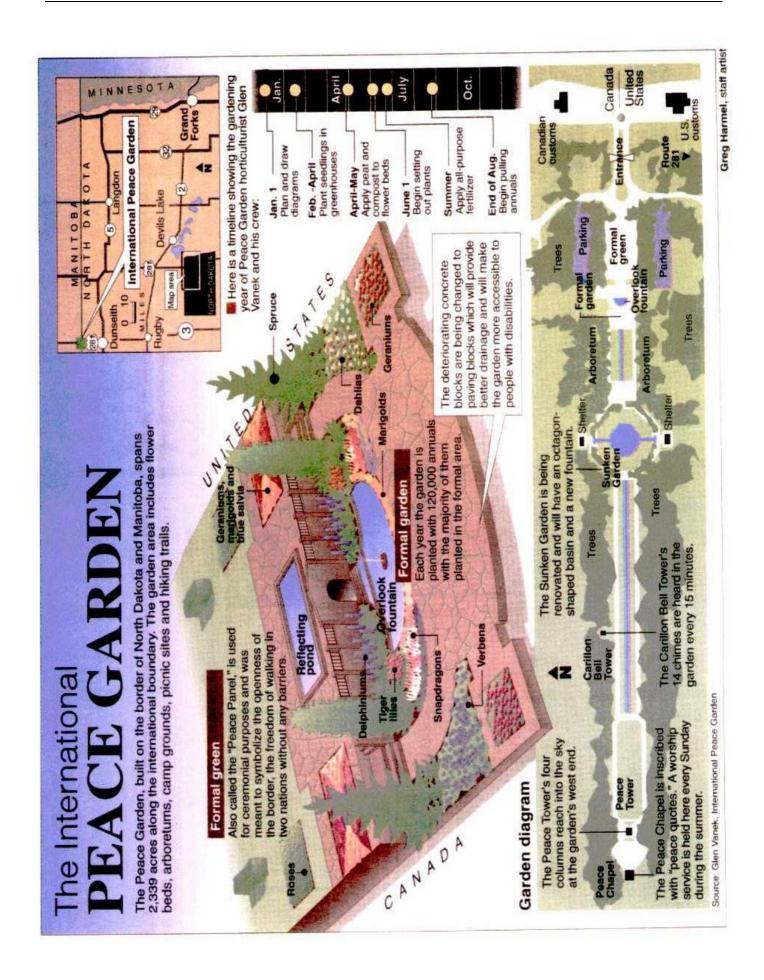
When Moore saw the Turtle Mountain site, he wrote:

What a sight greeted the eye! Those undulating hills rising out of the limitless prairies are filled with lakes and streams. On the south of the unrecognisable boundary wheat everywhere; and on the north, the Manitoba Forest Reserve. What a place for the garden!

He also wrote:

What a paradise is the Turtle Mountain area! And to think that the birds and flowers and animals are to be preserved in the reserve which adjoins the Peace Garden site on its north side and where they will forever abound out of danger of guns and traps of the vandal (www.peacegarden.com).

Actual construction awaited agreements by both the North Dakota and Manitoba governments to donate the required land. Two-thirds (1,431 acres; 586 hectares) of the park's acreage are in Canada; the US portion is 800 acres (360 hectares). The master plan was prepared by the US National Park Service (NPS) in cooperation with the State Historical Society of North Dakota and the National Park Service of Canada (International War Veterans' Alliance 1959). During the late 1930s plans for the



formal garden areas were prepared by a subcommittee of the American Society of Landscape Architects. The garden today is an "Affiliated Area" of the National Park Service, which means it is one of the few nongovernmental parks that receives consultation from the NPS on its administration and management. It was dedicated in 14 July 1932 with more than 50,000 on hand to see the unveiling of the stone (cairn), which carries the following inscription (IPG, 1937 and 1946):

TO THE GLORY OF GOD

We Two Nations

Dedicate This Garden

And Pledge Ourselves

That as Long as Man

Shall Live, We Will

Not Take Up Arms

Against One Another.

Prior to 1937 more than 70,000 human working days were spent on the project... Construction of roads and a lodge in the park began in the early 1930s. In the US it was a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) project - part of Roosevelt's New Deal programme. Company 794 from Lincoln, North Dakota did much of the work on the American side. Prior to 1937 more than 70,000 human working days were spent on the project (IPG, 1937). This brochure reported that:

A fine gesture was made this summer by the Federated Women's Institute of Canada, who brightened the Canadian side by arranging and planting a series of beautiful flowerbeds in the portion of the groups designated as the formal area.

The first projects completed were roads, bridges, the main lodge, shelters, and picnic areas. The CCC work continued until 1941 when World War II broke out; it resumed in the late 1940s with additional monies being provided by the legislatures of North Dakota and Manitoba, the Canadian Parliament and the US Congress. During the next several decades gardens, shrubs and trees were planted and monuments and memorials were erected. Financial support came from governments, entrance fees, concessions, benefactors, and various civic groups and organisations in North Dakota and Canada. The annual budget is about US\$500,000. The current administration includes twenty members, half from each country. The current staff includes an executive director, director of horticulture, financial manager, administrative assistant, buildings and grounds manager, maintenance foreman, program director and a webmaster (www.peacegarden.com). During the summer a number of youths are employed to work in the gardens and on a variety of camp programmes and activities.

COOPERATIVE EXAMPLES

Since the garden's inception there have been many examples of cooperation between the two governments and organisations in both sides of the border. The Canadian and American Red Cross each contributed US\$500 for the plots (IPG, 1946). Individual lifetime memberships could also be obtained for US\$100. These efforts document the spirit of cooperation, that is, where governments, citizen groups and individuals deliberately worked together to achieve and promote an atmosphere of harmony, which has long been the history of relations between the two countries. Specific accomplishments include the initial steps to donate space for the garden and providing financial assistance, which comes from the State of North Dakota and the Province of Manitoba as well as the Canadian Parliament and US Congress.

Park governance is in the hands of a board of directors with equal numbers coming from both Canada and the US; most members come from Manitoba and North Dakota. They are responsible for the garden's planning and operations. Many organisations in both Manitoba and North Dakota have been keenly interested in

financing and taking responsibility for specific projects, such as the Peace Tower, the Carillon Tower, the thematic gardens, lakes, walls, lodges, dining halls, and other facilities for summer visitors (IPG, 1946 and 1989; Graham, 1995). Among the groups that have participated are the Business and Professional Women's Clubs of North Dakota and Canada, Ducks Unlimited, Homemakers Clubs of North Dakota, Junior Red Cross of the United States and Canada, the Knights of Columbus, International War Veterans Alliances of Manitoba, North Dakota, and Minnesota, Daughters of the British Empire, Order of the Eastern Star, and the Independent Order of Oddfellows.

Some organisations donated specific items, such as the granite globe above the cairn by the Canadian National Railway Company, the national flags by the International War Veterans Alliance, the formal entrance gates dedicated in 1965 by the Sovereign Grand Lodge of Oddfellows, the Peace Tower dedicated in 1970 by the Grand Order of the Eastern Star, the Hands of Peace Sculpture and Fountain dedicated in 1975 by the Wally Byam Caravan Club and Citizens of Brandon, Manitoba, the Bulova floral clock (a replica of the one in Berne, Switzerland) by the watch company, the amphitheatre by the Knights of Columbus, the Errick F. Willis (a former Manitoba governor) Memorial Centennial Pavilion (by the Canadian government), picnic shelters sponsored by homemakers' and women's clubs, and a plaque next to the Masonic Lodge with the Ten Commandments that was presented by the Fraternal Order of Eagles in the Dakotas and Manitoba and was dedicated by Charlton Heston in 1956 (IPG 1959; 1989; Dakota Graphic Society, 1985). Further, there is the *Ambassador*, official hot air balloon of the park, sponsored by the Dunseith Community Betterment club that appears in regional shows.

Two examples of the 'blendedness' of the Garden's landscapes are illustrated by the main lodge and the lakes. The main lodge was constructed by the CCC with stone from North Dakota and logs from Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba (IPG, 1994). There are two lakes in the Garden, the one in North Dakota, Lake Udall, is named William Udall, after a newspaper editor from Boisseneau, Manitoba and the other in Manitoba, Lake Storman, after Judge John A. Storman, a judge and former park president, from Rolla, North Dakota. Both individuals were active in the early planning of the park. Maintenance of park facilities is the responsibility of the North Dakota and Manitoba Highway Departments. Assistance is also provided by the North Dakota National Guard, the North Dakota Youth Corp Program, and the Forestry School in Bottineau.

USES AND PUBLICITY

The Garden has been used for a variety of events during its six decades of existence. The Highland Games were held there during the 1930s and music camps since 1956 (Utgaard, 1991). More recently there have been arts and crafts fairs and various music and athletic events scheduled. These are listed on the garden's web site. Scheduled events during summer 1999 included band and handbell concerts, drama workshops, religious services for a number of groups, including Catholics, Lutherans, Anglican, Methodists, Baha'i. In June there was also an International Motorcyclists' Day in June and also the Prairie Arts Show and Sale. The Garden currently attracts about 250,000 visitors annually from all states and provinces and five dozen countries; roughly 95% of all visitors come from within a 150 mile radius of the park (Brand, 1999). It is the second most visited site in North Dakota (after the Badlands).

Aside from the thousands who cross the park travelling north into Canada or south into the US, each year several thousand young people from the prairie region as well as South America, Europe and Asia attend the summer International Music Camp. Fine arts instruction is offered in band, piano, organ, drama, and ballet. On alternate years the Garden's band tours North America and Europe, serving as 'music ambassadors' through a series of concerts. The band has received many honours,

> including the highest rating from the World Band Contest in 1968 in the Netherlands and the Medal of Brussels. The Canadian Legion, Manitoba and Northwest Ontario Command have sponsored track and field camps each summer since 1963. There are indoor and outdoor courts for various sports, horse corrals, and riding trails. The park is also used by the Boy Scouts for international camporees, the Rural Youth of the USA and various meetings of the North Dakota and Manitoba rural and civic organisations.

...key attractions include the Canadian National Drive, the **United States** Cultural Drive, picnic gardens and the eight panels or gardens...

Peace Tower, the

and Peace Chapel.

Other major sites in the park include the Carillon Bell Tower,

The key attractions include the Canadian National Drive, the United States Cultural Drive, picnic gardens and the eight panels or gardens; these are peace, terrace, sunken, cascade, turf, reflecting, and emblem panels. Each garden is the project of a specific organisation. The formal gardens commemorate a specific theme each year; this year it is NASA and space exploits. There are more than 100,000 plants (estimated 80,000 annuals) as well as hundreds of shrubs and trees along walkways and the roads through the park (Graham 1995). The plants include verbenas, dahlias, snapdragons, dusty millers, marigolds, geraniums, and zinnias. There are terraced gardens, flower flags of both countries, and the floral clock. Most annuals are grown from seed in park or nearby greenhouses; actual setting out the plants begins in June. Ideas for the designs and mixtures come from park employees and friends. The annual budget for seeds in 1998 was about US\$20,000. Other major sites in the park include the Peace Tower (120ft/36.8m), the Carillon Bell Tower, and Peace Chapel. The bells were cast in Croydon, England by the British founder of Carillon bells, Gillette and Johnson for the Arma Sifton family who first donated them to the Central United Church in Brandon in 1932 (IPG, 1989). When the church was reorganised, the chimes were donated to the Garden. The tower, comprised of four pillars over 100 feet, is a major feature that rises above the forests; the chapel, built in the 1980s, is used for ecumenical services, baptisms, and weddings. The garden has an interpretative centre and also serves as a bird sanctuary and refuge for waterfowl, deer, beavers, and other wildlife. Efforts are currently underway to restore a number of the CCC structures, including the lodge, built nearly sixty years ago. Funds are being sought from governments and private donations.

Aside from the sales of souvenirs at the Garden's gift shop, the park is promoted through tourist offices as well as its official web site, www.peacegarden.com The Peace Tower is the park's logo on the web. The colourful and attractive web site contains hyperlinks, including its CCC history, virtual tours, lodging, speeches, and a calendar of events. There are photos of the park and garden panels, announcements about the music and athletic camps, and an illustration of the twenty-cent, 30 June 1982 US stamp commemorating the park's fiftieth anniversary. The stamp, designed by Gyo Fujikawa of New York City, contains a maple leaf and the 'peace rose', although neither plant grows in the park. The Web site includes a number of speeches, including those by the park's executive director, Rob Schultz, reports of North Dakota's appropriations' committees, and Dr Moore's Christmas night 1931 radio address announcing the park to the Canadian public. Moore's compassionate speech reflected his distaste for war and the vision for an international peace garden financed in part with school children (he requested five or ten cents) and adults (maximum twenty-five cents) and the support of clergy, teachers, and civic leaders. North Dakota also promotes the park with its license place logo, which reads 'Peace Garden State'. Dunseith has a Peace Garden Avenue and the state's tourist offices promote the park actively.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The International Peace Garden along the North Dakota-Manitoba border serves as a good example of the concept of "locational harmony." It illustrates how states can cooperate in promoting harmonious relations. In this case harmony was promoted by governments and citizens' organisations in two countries by developing a peaceful setting on a scenic border where residents of both countries and visitors from elsewhere could enjoy the beauties of nature, and the quiet and reflection of formal

gardens, lakes, and walkways. Cooperative efforts continue, including discussion in mid-1999 of a Peace Studies Academy at Bottineau (Swanson, 1999).

We believe research into "locational harmony" is an important and worthwhile academic inquiry and would encourage political, social, and cultural geographers to investigate other transboundary parks for border residents, tourists, and wildlife protection (Zbicz and Green, 1997; Zbicz, 1999b). Additional examples where harmony conditions fostered a spirit of cooperation between states and the construction of a landscape feature and which merit study include the Peace Arch dedicated in 1921 along the Washington-British Columbia border between Blaine and Douglas (Evenden and Turbeville, 1992); the Christ of the Andes statue constructed in 1904 along the Argentine-Chilean border to commemorate peace treaties between the two countries, and a series of international wildlife park and protected areas in southern Africa. Studying the histories of cooperative ventures will help geographers and others to identify those political and cultural elements that lead to states to avoid conflict and promote spirits of cooperation and harmony in local areas and along international borders.

Stanley D. Brunn and Douglas C. Munski lecture in the Department of Geography, University of Kentucky and Department of Geography, University of North Dakota respectively. The authors would like to thank the following individuals for their assistance: Carrie Boldish. Diann Brand. Brent Gerhardt, Dorothy Jean Munski, **Douglas Patenaude** and Sandra Slater.

REFERENCES

- Bluemle, J. P. (1991) *The Face of North Dakota*, Bismarck, ND: North Dakota Geological Society, Educational Series No. 21, Rev. ed.
- Brand, D. (1999) 'The International Peace Garden: a humane landscape', unpublished paper.
- Brunn, S. D. (1987) 'A world of peace and military landscapes', *Journal of Geography*, 86: 253-62.
- Brunn, S. D. and Koons, D. (1977) 'Selecting a burial site for contaminated cattle; Kalkaska County vs. the State of Michigan', *East Lakes Geographer*, 12: 58-70.
- Brunn, S. D., Johnson, J. H., Jr. and McGirr, B. (1980) 'Locational conflict and attitudes towards the burial of nuclear wastes', *East Lakes Geographer*, 15: 24-40.
- Brunn, S. D. *et al.* (1996) 'Place, culture and peace: treaty cities and national culture in mediating contemporary international disputes', *GeoJournal*, 39: 331-43.
- Committee on Garden Information (1937) 'International peace garden in the Turtle Mountains', Minot, ND, pamphlet.
- Cox, K. R., Reynolds, D. R. and Rokkan, S. (1974) *Locational approaches to power and conflict*, New York: Halstead.
- Cox, K. R. (1979) *Location and public problems: a political geography*, Chicago: Maaroufa Press.
- Cox, K. R. (1984) 'Neighborhood conflict and urban social movements: questions of historicity, class, and social change', *Urban Geography*, 5: 343-55.
- Dakota Graphic Society (1985) *Getting to know North Dakota: an insider's guide to North Dakota*, Fargo: Dakota Graphic Society.
- Dear, M. J. and Long, J. (1978) 'Community strategies in locational conflict', pp. 113-27 in K. R. Cox (ed.) *Urbanization and conflict in market societies*, Chicago: Maaroufa Press.
- Evenden, L. J. and Turbeville III, D. E. (1992) 'The Pacific Coast borderland and frontier', pp. 52-56 in D.G. Janelle (ed.) *Geographical snapshots of North America*, New York and London: Guilford Press.
- Graham, C. (1995) 'How does your garden grow'? Grand Forks Herald, 26 August: 1-2C.
- Harvey, D. (1985) Consciousness and the urban experience, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- 'International Peace Garden' (1962) pamphlet.

- 'International Peace Garden' (1989) pamphlet.
- 'International Peace Garden' (1994) pamphlet.
- 'International Peace Garden: North America's Living Lesson of Good Will' (1946) pamphlet.
- 'International Peace Garden in the Turtle Mountains' (1937) Minot, North Dakota, pamphlet.
- International War Veterans' Alliance (1959) 'The facts concerning the International Peace Garden', pamphlet.
- Janelle, D. R. and Millward, H. A. (1974) 'The intra-urban pattern of locational conflict', *Proceedings, Association of American Geographers*, 6: 6-10.
- Knutson, D. (1998) 'Peace garden hopes to restore CCC structures', *Grand Forks Herald*, 28 December: 1-2.
- Lake, R. W. (1987) (ed.) *Resolving locational conflict*, New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research.
- Ley, D. and Mercer, J. (1980) 'Locational conflict and the politics of consumption', *Economic Geography*, 56: 239-58.
- Reynolds, D. R. and Knight, D. B. (1989) 'Political geography', pp. 582-618 in G. L. Gaile and C. J. Wilmott (eds) *Geography in America*, Columbus: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Smith, C. (1980) 'Neighborhood effects on mental health', in D. Herbert and R. J. Johnston (eds) *Geography and the Urban Environment*, 3: 363-415.
- Swanson, I. (1999) 'Peace academy urged in Bottineau', *Grand Forks Herald*, 3 September: 2C.
- Timothy, D. J. (1998) 'Tourism and international borders: themes and issues,' *Visions in Leisure and Business*, 17: 3-7.
- Utgaard, M. (1991) *A dream come true: a history of the international music camp, 1956-1983*, Minot: North Dakota Heritage Press.
- Wolpert, J. (1970, 1971) *Research on conflict in locational decisions*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Regional Science, thirteen discussion papers.
- Wolpert, J. et al. (1972) Metropolitan neighborhoods: participation and conflict over change, Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography
- www.peacegarden.com
- Zbicz, D. (1999a) e-mail to authors, 8 September.
- Zbicz, D. (1999b) 'The "nature" of transboundary cooperation', Environment, 41:3, 15-16.
- Zbicz, D. and Green, M. J. B. (1997) 'Status of the world's transfrontier protected areas', *Parks*, 7, 3: 5-10.