



Meriwether Lewis Monument
Cultural Landscape Report
Cultural Resources • Southeast Region

Meriwether Lewis Monument

Cultural Landscape Report

January 2003

Written by Susan L. Hitchcock



**Cultural Resources Division
Southeast Regional Office
National Park Service
100 Alabama Street, SW
ATlanta, GA 30303
404.562.3117**

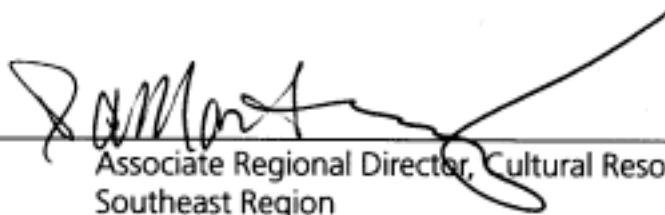
2003
Cultural Landscape Report
Meriwether Lewis Monument
Natchez Trace Parkway
Lewis County, Tennessee

Meriwether Lewis Monument Cultural Landscape Report

Susan L. Hitchcock
Landscape Historian

Cultural Resources Stewardship
Southeast Regional Office
National Park Service

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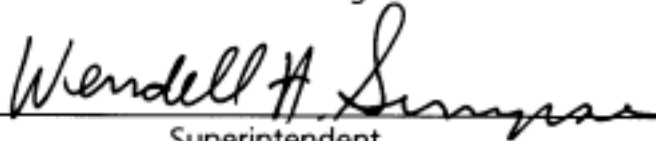


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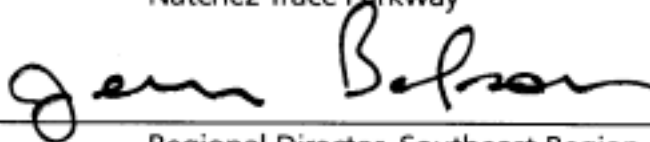


Superintendent,
Natchez Trace Parkway

8/24/02

Date

Concurred by:



Regional Director, Southeast Region

9-4-02

Date

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Foreword

We are pleased to add this volume to our growing library of Cultural Landscape Reports for park units in the Southeast Region. Many individuals and institutions contributed to the successful completion of this work. In particular, we would like to thank Natchez Trace Parkway Superintendent Wendell A. Simpson and Craig Stubblefield, Chief of Resource Management. Finally, we would like to recognize the labor and dedication of Landscape Historian Susan Hitchcock, author of this report. We hope that the study will be a useful tool for park management and for others interested in the history and significance of the Park's many cultural resources.

Kirk A. Cordell
Chief, Culutral Resources Stewardship
National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office
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Introduction

Management Summary

This cultural landscape report documents the landscape history and evaluates the significant features of the historic landscape in order to provide treatment recommendations for the Meriwether Lewis Monument (the Park), Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR), located in Lewis County, Tennessee.¹ The Park was established in 1925 as a memorial to Meriwether Lewis, who died at Grinder's Inn just off the old Natchez Trace in 1809.

There is no detailed information about the original configuration of the Grinder's Inn landscape. By the time of the Monument's erection in 1848, Grinder's Inn was a ruin. The site's historic association with the old Natchez Trace and Grinder's Inn evolved over the years into a commemorative setting that included a community cemetery within the one-acre ellipse containing the Monument. War Department improvements begun in 1925 lasted less than ten years before the Park Service dramatically altered the site by adding four feet of fill to the ellipse.

Little is known about the Grinder's Inn site and the ellipse prior to the brief period in which the landscape design was based on War Department improvements (1925-1935). National Park Service (NPS) changes made in 1935 removed many elements of the War Department design. These alterations leave little information about the historic scene as it appeared before 1935. The Monument ellipse represents the most significant resource of the Park Development era (1933-1942). The 1948 General Development Plan initiated the separation of the historic and recreational areas of the Park, determining the direction of future development at Meriwether Lewis Monument.

The Park is anticipating the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition beginning in 2003 and continuing through 2009 (the

bicentennial of Lewis's death). In view of such planning concerns, the report provides:

- treatment recommendations for the commemorative landscape;
- treatment recommendations for interpreting the old Natchez Trace;
- treatment recommendations for updating National Register of Historic Places documentation;
- direction for future development at the site.

Historical Summary

The first effort to commemorate the location of Meriwether Lewis's grave began in 1848 with the erection of the Monument within a one-acre oval. The land was donated with the stipulation that it be used as a community cemetery, which complicated subsequent efforts to reinforce the commemorative setting of the site. Both the War Department and the Park Service considered the erection of a grander memorial, but concerns about moving burial plots ultimately derailed such plans.

The War Department converted the overgrown rural cemetery into a memorial landscape in the late 1920s. A minimalist approach to grounds management resulted in a simple formal space of trees and lawn, the centerpiece of which was the Monument. This landscape was irrevocably altered by the addition of four feet of fill to the ellipse in 1935 when the regrading of the site occurred. Another important change at this time was the relocation of the entry road, which had historically overlaid the old Natchez Trace. The new design created an axial approach to the Monument.

The 1948 NPS General Development Plan outlined a program to separate the historic and recreational areas within the 300-acre Park. Mission 66 plans specified a museum/visitor center and associated parking in the historic area, as well as recreational facilities along Little Swan Creek (outside of the 300-acre site). The removal of segments of the commemorative road network occurred during development of the recreational facilities. The improvements called for in the historic area were never implemented.

Study Boundary

The Meriwether Lewis Monument site is located in Lewis County, Tennessee, seven miles east of the county seat of Hohenwald and seventy miles southwest of Nashville. The 300-acre site is located in section 1-E of the Natchez Trace Parkway, at approximately milepost 385.9. The Park is accessible both from the parkway and Tennessee 20 and is bounded on the south by Tennessee 20. To the north the site is buffered by second-growth forest. On the east and south, the boundary of Meriwether Lewis Monument merges into the boundary of the Natchez Trace Parkway.

Scope of Work and Methodology

The overall goal of the historical research is to document significant changes to the landscape over time. The research findings are used to draw comparisons to the site's conditions in order to assess what resources remain from the Grinder's Inn site and from later commemorative overlays. Based on this analysis, recommendations are proposed to suggest how the landscape resources can most effectively be treated and interpreted.

Two earlier studies, *Meriwether Lewis Monument and Site: A Compilation of Critical Dates and Developments* (1999) and an *Administrative History* (1967), served as essential starting points for understanding the changes that have occurred at the Meriwether Lewis site. A number of secondary sources provided additional background information on regional geography, culture, and local history. Other park documents reviewed include the 1987 General Management Plan, historical maps and drawings, archival photographs, and various early park documents, including "Superintendent's Reports" for

Meriwether Lewis National Monument. Field research included site visits during March and August 2000. Historical investigation was limited primarily to the review of pre-existing park research and documentation, visits to the state archives and the Lewis County library, and conversations with persons having specific site history information.

Summary of Findings

The primary significance of the setting of the Meriwether Lewis Monument site is as a memorial landscape. The landscape has evolved from a historic site associated with Grinder's Inn and the old Natchez Trace to a landscape that has attained significance as a memorial to Meriwether Lewis. Because of irreversible changes carried out by the Park Service in 1935, the War Department landscape has been irretrievably lost. The one-acre grass ellipse containing the Monument and cemetery is the longest-surviving landscape form of the Park Development era and is a character-defining feature. Its modest look should not be mistaken for an inadequate tribute to Meriwether Lewis, as its simple formal configuration of lawn and trees is evocative of its time. As expressed in the early 1930s, the Park Service felt that the layout heightened the memorial character of the site.

Changes initiated by the 1948 General Development Plan resulted in the separation of the historic and recreational areas of the Park. Removal of segments of the commemorative road network occurred during the construction of recreational facilities at Little Swan in the 1960s. With the removal of the north loop, the Monument regained its position as the terminus of the historic designed landscape. A proposal for a larger interpretive facility within the historic area was included in Mission 66 plans for the Park but was never carried out.

Recent archeological investigations by the Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) indicate that the most likely position of Grinder's Inn is directly to the northwest of the office-museum. Further archeological testing is needed to confirm this hypothesis and would be a valuable tool for determining a period of significance associated with the cultural landscape of Grinder's Inn.²

The landscape treatments proposed are thus devised with multiple purposes in mind:

- to preserve the Park's significant cultural resources;
- to provide a fuller and richer interpretation of the site's history and landscape features;
- to address contemporary planning and management concerns such as improved visitor services.

A program of rehabilitation is the most viable treatment approach for the site with the goal of preserving the open character of the ellipse. Additional treatment recommendations are proposed for the rehabilitation of the ellipse. Treatment recommendations include suggestions for enhancing the visitor experience at the site by improving visitor circulation. Additional recommendations suggest updating the National Register of Historic Places nomination to include the historic landscape at Meriwether Lewis Monument and updating the List of Classified Structures (LCS).

A new design effort is needed to address expanded visitor services of Meriwether Lewis and the expected increase in visitation to the Park in conjunction with the bicentennial celebration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, beginning in 2004. A Development Concept Plan (DCP) will be completed to address how these improvements should be carried out.

Notes

1. On 10 August 1961, Meriwether Lewis National Monument was incorporated legislatively into the Natchez Trace Parkway. Additionally, the law instructed that the Secretary of the Interior should provide an appropriate designation for the site in accordance with the historical events that occurred there. It appears that no redesignation ever occurred, although Natchez Trace Parkway documents, such as the 1987 General Management Plan, refer to the site as Meriwether Lewis. In 2002, NATR requested that the solicitor for the Department of the Interior make a final determination on the national monument

status. Until that determination is made, this report will refer to the Park as Meriwether Lewis Monument.

2. Charles F. Lawson, *Remote Sensing Survey and Archeological Testing of the Meriwether Lewis Monument and Pioneer Cemetery and the Search for Grinder's Stand* (Southeast Archeological Center, 2002), 2.

Part One: Site History

The Death of Meriwether Lewis, 1809

In September 1809, Meriwether Lewis (figure 1) was living in St. Louis as the appointed Governor of the newly acquired Louisiana Territory. The remarkable expedition that he and co-captain William Clark completed from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean just three years earlier had propelled Lewis into the role of national hero.¹ He left St. Louis for Washington, D.C., on 4 September to protest the War Department's denial of payment of certain vouchers that he had submitted for reimbursement. He traveled with a servant named John Pernier (also called Pernia by Lewis).

Lewis traveled to Fort Pickering, Tennessee, intending to proceed down river to New Orleans and then by ship to Washington. Rumors of war, however, changed his mind. Rather than chance having the notes from his famed expedition to the Pacific Ocean fall into enemy hands, he decided to travel overland.

Lewis spent several days at Fort Pickering. He left on 29 September, heading eastward toward Nashville. Major James Neely, Indian Agent to the Chickasaw Indians, assumed the role of Lewis's traveling companion and aide-de-camp. Lewis and his group reached the Natchez Trace on or about 8 October.² During the night of 9 October, Major Neely left the group to find two of the party's horses that had wandered off. Lewis went ahead with Neely's slave and Pernier to find lodging for the night. Lewis arrived at Grinders Stand, a frontier outpost just off the Natchez Trace about seventy miles south of Nashville, on the evening of 10 October.³ The proprietress, Mrs. Robert Grinder, offered him lodging, which he agreed to take.

Mrs. Grinder, whose husband was absent, later reported that she heard two pistols fired in the middle of the night. She and her servants

later found Lewis near death with a pistol wound to the head and another in the chest. He died a short time later, without revealing what had happened. Neely buried Lewis nearby, stating "if there is anything wished by his friends to be done to his grave I will attend to their Instructions."⁴

His last statement to Pernier that "I have done the business my good Servant give me some water;" has been widely construed to mean that he committed suicide, but there were no witnesses to confirm this theory. Much has been written about Lewis's state of mind during the trip from St. Louis that supports the suicide theory, although local legend maintains that Lewis was murdered.⁵ Two years after his death, his gravesite was visited by his friend, ornithologist Alexander Wilson, who described the scene:

He is buried close by the common path, with a few loose rails thrown over his grave. I gave Grinder money to put a post fence around it, to shelter it from the hogs, and from the wolves; and he gave me his written promise he would do it.⁶

There is no detailed information available for the Grinder's Inn landscape. The inn opened sometime between January 1808 and

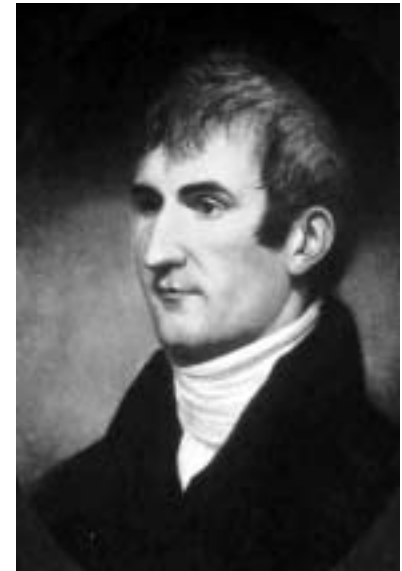


Figure 1. Portrait of Meriwether Lewis.

October 1809, John Brahan's letter to Thomas Jefferson described the Grinder settlement as two houses and a stable. The Grinders likely got their water from the Old Spring, located north of the inn. The exact location and configuration of the structures making up the inn complex are unknown (figure 2). Robert Grinder settled in Hickman County in 1814.⁷

Meriwether Lewis Monument, 1848-1924

Building the Monument, 1848-1849

On 21 December 1843, the Tennessee legislature established Lewis County to "honor" the memory of Meriwether Lewis. In an 1848 amendment to the 1843 act creating Lewis County, the legislature provided \$500 "to preserve the place of interment, where the remains of General Meriwether Lewis were deposited." Four leading citizens of middle Tennessee—Edmund Dillahunt and Barclay Martin of Maury County, Robert A. Smith of Lewis County, and Dr. Samuel B. Moore of Hickman County—were appointed as agents of the legislature to guarantee the proper disbursement of the \$500 appropriated for the preservation of the Meriwether Lewis gravesite.

No written records survive documenting the building of the Monument in 1848 and 1849. The committee reported that they had taken prompt action in selecting a proper design, after consulting with "eminent artists" not identified in the report. Lemuel Kirby, from the Kirby family of stonemasons in Columbia, Tennessee, was chosen to build the Monument. The committee's next task was to locate the grave of Meriwether Lewis. Local resident John McFall wrote the committee:

Gent . . . in relation to the discovery and erection of a monument over the remains of Col. Lewis. I am of opinion beyond a doubt that I can find his remains for the very good reason that I am the man that dug the grave with my own hands and there are some peculiar circumstances connected to the place that I cannot be mistaken. There were six of us when the General was buried and four of them are to my

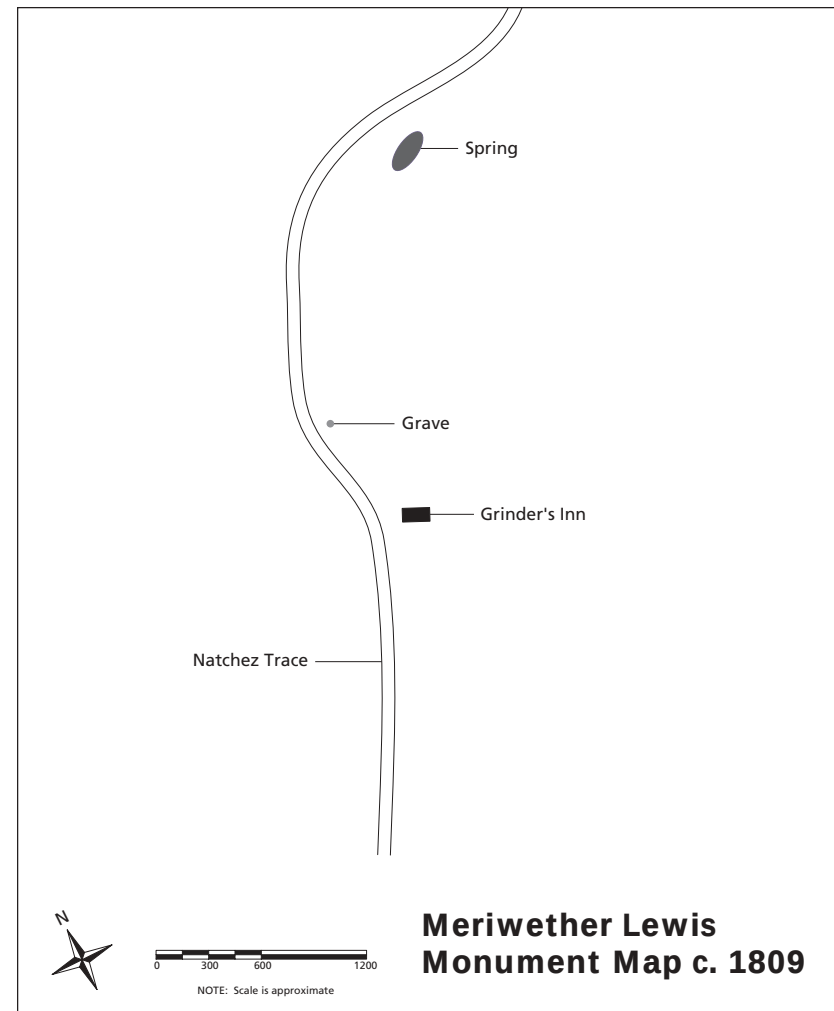


Figure 2. Approximate location of site features, c. 1809.

knowledge dead. Persons not acquainted with the above peculiar circumstances would be liable to be mistaken for there are other graves since the time the General was buried at or near the same spot.⁸

The committee reported that several witnesses agreed upon the location of Lewis's grave, and that they had carefully examined the remains to be sure it was Lewis. The remains were reinterred under the Monument built by the State of Tennessee.⁹

The committee described the completed monument as follows:

The entire monument is twenty and a half feet high. The design is simple, but is intended to express the difficulties, successes and violent termination of a life which was marked by bold enterprise, by manly courage and devoted patriotism.

The base of the monument is of rough, unhewn stone eight feet high, and nine feet square where it rises to the surface of the ground. On this, rests a plinth of cut stone four feet square and eighteen inches in thickness. . . . On this plinth stands a broken column eleven feet high, two and a half feet in diameter at the base, and a few inches smaller at the top. The top is broken to denote the violent and untimely end of a bright and glorious career. The base is composed of a species of sandstone found in the neighborhood of the grave. The plinth and shaft, or column, are made of a fine limestone commonly known as Tennessee marble. Around the monument is erected a handsome wrought-iron rail fence.¹⁰

The most prominent feature of the Monument is the broken off shaft, a common cemetery art motif used on gravestones to represent lives cut short by an untimely death (figure 3). The Monument also features inscriptions cut into all four vertical sides of the plinth.

On 20 August 1849, Hugh Venable conveyed to Lewis County for the consideration of one dollar, one acre to be used as a cemetery. The deed permitted the building of a church and school on the property or "such other public use, but none other" (figure 4).¹¹



Figure 3. Meriwether Lewis Monument, 2002.

Evolution of the Site, 1850-1922

Very little is known about the condition of the site in the earliest years of the Monument's existence. It is known that under the terms of the deed, burials continued to occur in the one-acre ellipse. The oldest original burial marker dates to 1856.

In 1863, a detachment of Confederate General John Bell Hood's army allegedly used the wrought-iron fence surrounding the Monument to make horseshoes and nails to reshoe their horses. This information was reported by Silas Stockard in an interview with NPS personnel in 1933. Stockard's father was a circuit judge, and he regularly visited Grinder's Inn.¹²

The Monument and the remains of Grinder's Inn were seen by people of the community who passed by the site on their way to the county seat in Newburg. An 1889 description of the gravesite states: "Base of monument was somewhat moss grown, the inscriptions on the plinth were scarcely legible, and the iron fence was nearly gone."¹³ In 1893,

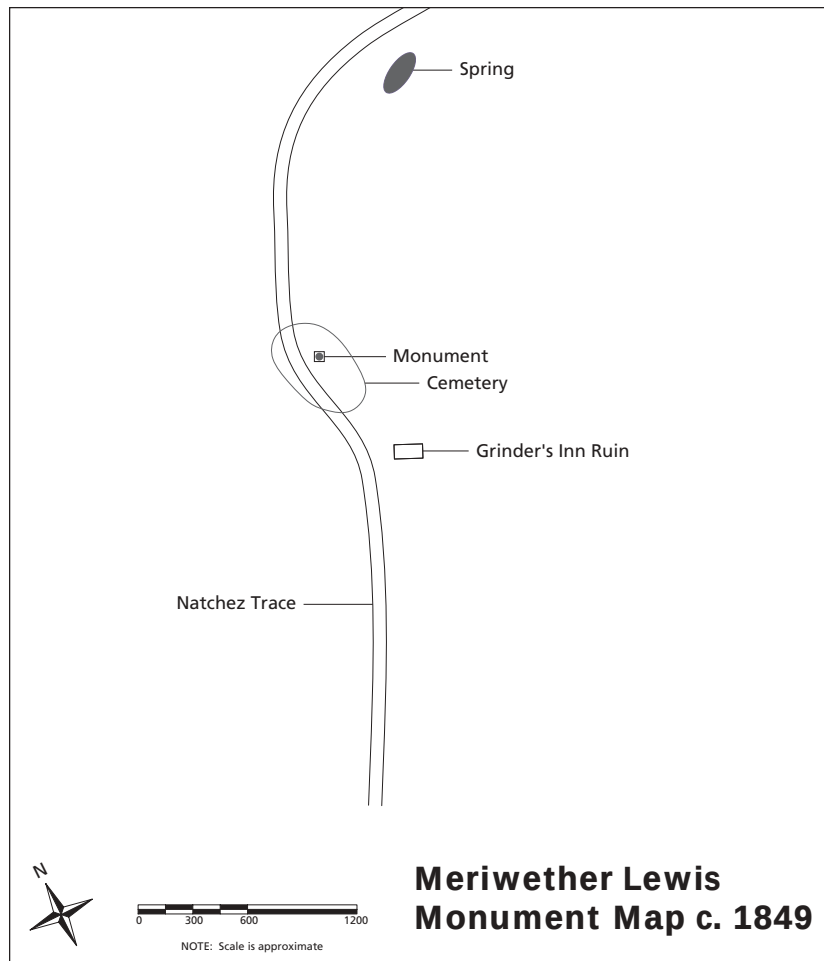


Figure 4. Approximate location of site features, c. 1849.

U.S. Representative Cox introduced a resolution to appropriate \$2,000 for the repair of the Monument. The action failed, and with the removal of the county seat to Hohenwald in 1897, the site fell into disuse.

Two articles about the site appeared in magazines in the early twentieth century. John Swain's 1905 recollection for *Everybody's Magazine*

of his hike over the old Natchez Trace to Lewis's grave found it to be a melancholy place. He described "half a hundred dilapidated grave-stones" around the Monument (figure 5). In 1916, Emerson Hough, who wrote a fictionalized account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, visited the site. He was dismayed at its condition and proposed that a "national park" be established around the Monument. He sought President Theodore Roosevelt's support in his efforts. World War I and the death of both Hough and Roosevelt ended such a proposal at this time.¹⁴

Creation of Meriwether Lewis National Monument, 1923-1925

In 1923, Mr. George M. "Teen" Cothran, maintenance foreman with the Tennessee Department of Highways, opened a section of the old Natchez Trace between Tennessee 20 and the cemetery. Governor Austin Peay noticed the Monument's poor condition when he was campaigning in 1922 (figure 6). His interest in preserving the site aided the Meriwether Lewis Memorial Association (MLMA), whose members were also prominent Tennesseans. MLMA members John Trotwood Moore and P. E. Cox met with President Calvin Coolidge in April 1924 with a letter of introduction from Governor Peay. Their petition asked that the forty-nine acres (donated by Mr. and Mrs. J. Clint Moore, contingent upon the site being designated a national monument) and county-owned tract be proclaimed a national monument.¹⁵

In 1924, the Department of Highways authorized Cothran



Figure 5. Meriwether Lewis Monument, 1905.

to have a survey made and to clear the right-of-way so the county could “make a beautiful driveway out to the monument.” Local residents apparently helped open the road.¹⁶ By December 1924, P. E. Cox wrote that there was a “good automobile road from the State road to and around the monument.”¹⁷ At the time the Park was dedicated, the Nashville paper reported that a “paved road from the Meriwether Lewis highway, through the Park to a spring near the monument, has been completed.”¹⁸

In December 1924, the Moores transferred title of forty-nine acres to the U.S. government and on 5 January 1925, Lewis County transferred the one-acre cemetery tract to the U.S. government. On 6 February 1925, President Coolidge issued a proclamation establishing Meriwether Lewis National Monument.

The condition of the site at this time was described as follows:

When it became a National Monument, the area was in about as bad shape as it could be. The forest had been cut over about eight years before. The cemetery was a mass of fallen trees, briars, and other undergrowth; the headstones were broken and fallen; and the broken column was leaning. . . .¹⁹

In May 1925, the quartermaster general detailed DeLong Rice, superintendent of Shiloh National Military Park (Shiloh NMP), to inspect Meriwether Lewis National Monument. Rice’s report described the site:

Physical Features

The fifty-acre tract holding the grave and monument is high, well drained and sufficiently uneven in surface to be free from any appearance of flatness. It is sparsely wooded and highly adapted to the purposes of a memorial Park.

The old “Natchez Trace,” one of the most famous of pioneer highways, crosses the tract and is still plainly discernable in its original outlines.

Near the long deserted road can be seen the turf-covered ruins of the “Grinders Inn,” wherein Capt. Lewis was quartering at the time of his tragic and mysterious death.

The Monument

The crude monument erected under the provisions of an Act of the Tennessee Legislature, in 1848, while having served a fine purpose in marking the otherwise neglected resting place of Capt. Lewis for more than three quarters of a century, should now be razed . . .

Not only is the monument diminutive and unexpressive in design, but having been built without the use of mortar, the unbonded structure, now 77 years old, is probably dangerous to visitors . . .

Roads and Walks

A first class chert road, at least 16 feet wide, should be built from the State highway . . . to and around the grave and monument as indicated, following the “Natchez Trace.”

From the monument, the road should be extended to the spring with a return along the south-east side of



Figure 6. Meriwether Lewis Monument, undated.

the tract, so as to touch practically the entire area of the Park with a little more than one mile of road.²⁰

The 15th anniversary of Meriwether Lewis's birth on 18 August 1925 marked the national monument's dedication (figure 7).

War Department Administration, 1926-1933

DeLong Rice Improvements, 1926-1929

War Department administration of the Meriwether Lewis National Monument began in 1926 when the Park was placed under the responsibility of Shiloh superintendent DeLong Rice. At this time, the location of the entry road was west of Grinder's Inn. The site of Grinder's Inn, a section of the old Natchez Trace, and the Old Spring were outside of the original fifty-acre tract. In April 1927, Governor Peay signed a bill ceding an additional 250 acres from the state of

Tennessee to the U.S. government.²¹ This acreage, which held the site of Grinder's Inn and the Old Spring, was accepted as part of the national monument by presidential proclamation on 26 December 1927 (figure 8).

No master plan has been located for developments at the site during the War Department administration. Shiloh NMP superintendent DeLong Rice oversaw a number of improvements that were outlined in the quarterly reports. In December 1926, he reported that the Monument shaft had been plumbed and the stone work holding the shaft had been straightened and repointed with cement mortar. The border masonry at the base of the Monument had been leveled,



Figure 7. Dedication of the Meriwether Lewis Monument, 1925.

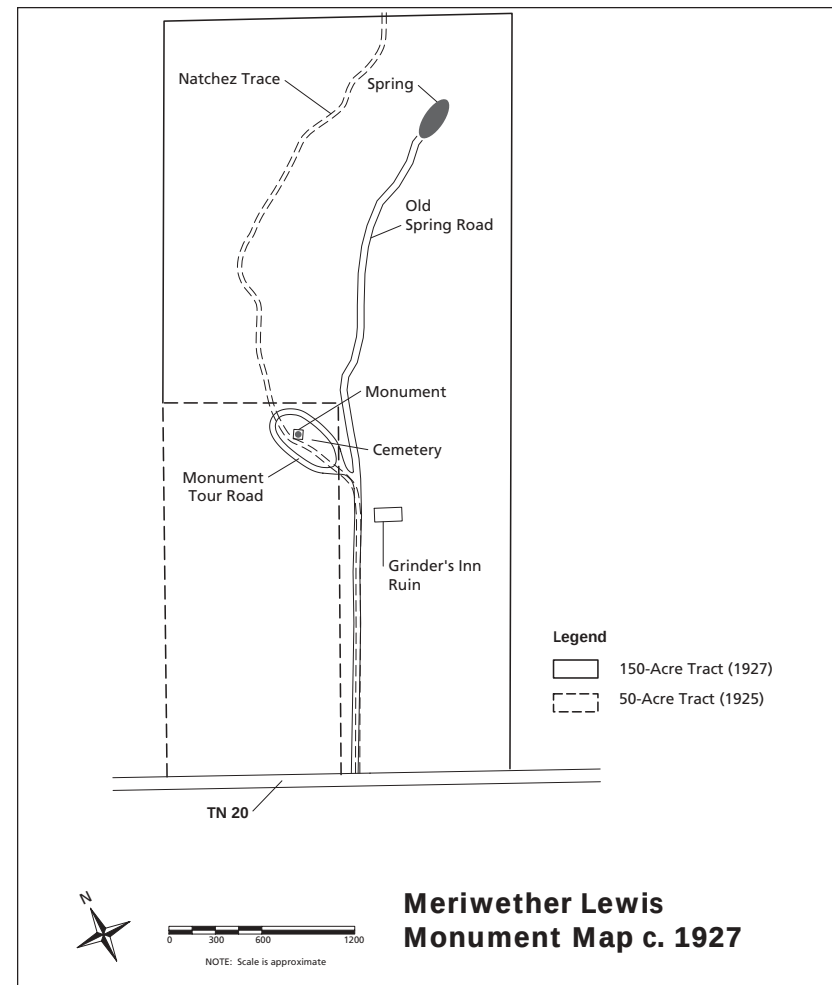


Figure 8. Map showing portion of 250-acre tract .

placed on a base of concrete, and set with twenty cannon balls to “take the place of the old iron fence which was destroyed many years ago” (figure 9).²²

The Park initially proposed erecting a grander memorial to Meriwether Lewis, listing the names of all those buried in the cem-



Figure 9. Meriwether Lewis Monument, c. 1934.

etry. A plan to remove the existing gravestones, level and sod the area, and put in small marble markers flush with the ground at the head of each grave seemed to have local and War Department support instead.²³ In 1927, Rice stated that he could not determine the exact number of graves, due to the deterioration of the graves or graves not being marked. Of those graves marked, nearly all were leaning or entirely down, and some were broken.²⁴ In an article published in the local newspaper, relatives were asked to help identify the graves:

All persons interested in the dead sleeping in the Meriwether Lewis Cem-

etry are requested to meet with Messrs. S. H. Hinson, W. W. Pollock and J. W. Floied at the Cemetery on Friday, March 25, at 1:30 o'clock P.M.

The purpose of this meeting is to place temporary markers at the heads of all graves, preparatory to the placing of permanent stone markers.

The government, through proper authority, has announced the intention of placing marble blocks, flush with the surface of the ground, at all graves, without expense to the people.

Where graves can be identified, the marker will bear the name of the dead, and graves that cannot be identified will be marked unknown, so that no grave will be lost.

In order that the graves of the known dead may be properly marked before the ground is graded and sown in grass, it is necessary that their living people assist the authorities in identifying their graves, so that they may be marked in the presence of interested persons.²⁵

Superintendent Rice stated that the area around the Monument had to be reworked before the new markers were set so that "the grade of the ground be made exactly what it is to be permanently, before these stones are set." In August 1927, 107 grave markers made of Georgia marble from Florence Marble Works in Florence, Alabama, were acquired.²⁶

Improvements to the cemetery were part of a number of improvements made to the site. In September 1927, DeLong Rice requested two siege guns and about 180 shells for "purposes of appropriate ornamentation" for Meriwether Lewis (figure 10). His request was approved on 10 September 1927.²⁷

The following improvements were outlined as completed in quarterly reports from 1926 to 1927 (figure 11):

- Road system: the War Department converted the entrance drive, opened in 1923 and improved by the Highway Department in 1924, to a first class chert road; the road to the Old Spring was also graded.
- Tool/Implement House: two-room framed building for storing tools, implements, and perishable supplies such as cement and lime (non-extant).
- Flagpole: steel construction, seventy-five feet high.



Figure 10. Siege guns at entrance, 1931.



Figure 11. War Department improvements, c. 1934.

- Retaining walls/head walls: 1,100 feet of stone and concrete retaining walls and 1,100 feet of concrete gutter built around the Monument area, using conduit of vitrified tile. A 1,100-foot-long permanent fence of galvanized iron on red cedar posts erected around the ellipse; each post surmounted by a fifty-pound shell.
- Meriwether Lewis Monument: the shaft plumbed and the stone work holding the shaft straightened and repointed with cement mortar. The border masonry at the base of the Monument leveled, placed on a base of concrete, and set with twenty cannon balls to take the place of the old iron fence destroyed many years ago.
- Siege gun entrance guard: two siege guns, each weighing about 4,200 pounds, placed in guard position.
- Old Natchez Trace: in a letter of 2 September 1927, DeLong Rice stated that “a part of the interesting work of establishment is the marking for permanent preservation of the little section of the old Trace which passes through the Meriwether

Lewis Park. This has been identified and is being outlined with a ground border of concrete and stone, and I am now preparing inscriptions for permanent tablets.”²⁸

After the untimely death of DeLong Rice in 1929, Robert Livingston became superintendent of Shiloh NMP and the Meriwether Lewis National Monument. Between 1929 and 1930, requests were made for funds to improve the site, specifically to restore Grinder’s Inn for use as a museum. Congress rejected the bill due to opposition by the War Department, which felt that such projects were not in line with the 1906 National Monument legislation. The department’s intentions were to progressively extend and improve the road system and landscape features of the reservation as public interest increased. The installation of two limestone entrance pillars occurred between 1931 and 1932 (figure 12).²⁹

No planting plan for the ellipse has been located. It appears that the five post oaks (*Quercus stellata*) in the ellipse date to the War Department administration of the site, as archival photographs from the 1930s show trees in place (figure 13).

Vegetation Management

DeLong Rice reported in December 1926 that the clearing of waste and underbrush from the fifty-acre tract was in progress. He reported in December 1927 that the 250-acre tract had yet to be cleared of underbrush and debris. During 1928, a marshy area of about eleven



Figure 12. War Department entrance feature, c. 1932.

acres on the south side of the reservation was thinned of timber and undergrowth and ditched to make it accessible year-round.³⁰

In June 1930, Robert Livingston reported that surface rocks had been removed from the slopes along the drive leading from the Monument to the Old Spring, in order to prepare the area for mowing. The rocks were kept for future use in building gutters. A protective wall of rock and concrete was erected around the Old Spring to prevent surface water from the hillside running into it during rains. Also, concrete steps were built from the level of the drive down to the spring (about six feet). All open spaces had been mowed and “that part of the



Figure 13. View of Monument showing trees in background, c. 1931.

reservation which has been improved now presents a fine appearance” (figure 14).³¹

In May 1931, superintendent Livingston and labor foreman Joseph W. Floied submitted a report of an inspection of the trees and lawn at Meriwether Lewis. They reported that improvement cutting had been used to give immediate results, but that the site needed considerable planting in addition to the trees already growing there naturally in order to avoid a “monotonous, even-aged growth of almost pure blackjack.” They suggested that the silver (*Acer platanoides*) and Norway maples (*Acer saccharinum*) be avoided, because of their short life, and that oaks (*Quercus* spp.), with the

exception of the white oak (*Quercus alba*), be avoided because of the abundance of oaks growing there. They stated that after the improvement cutting, blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*) was the most abundant tree. Water oak (*Quercus nigra*), post oak (*Quercus stellata*), white oak, and chestnut oak (*Quercus prinus*) made up most of the remainder of the stand. Hickory (*Carya* spp.), maple (*Acer* spp.), ash (*Fraxinus* spp.), black gum (*Nyssa sylvatica*), tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), and chestnut (*Castanea dentata*) were more scattered; the understory of dogwood (*Cornus florida*) was carefully preserved where it existed.³²



Figure 14. Old Spring picnic area, 1931.

National Park Service Administration, 1933-Present

The site was transferred from the War Department to NPS on 10 August 1933. Former laborer Floied described the condition of the site at the time of transfer:

The former entry road, Old Trace as far as the camp, and the spring road are graveled. About 900' of this was within the 50 acres, and the remainder, about 4,800', in the 250 acres. The entry road is marked by two stone pillars about 4' square x 10' high, each of which was mounted with one of the two bronze tablets now used as entrance markers. In addition, there were mounted two cannon, presumably the 8-pound Napoleons familiar to most War Department areas. A building, perhaps 10' x 20' with a simple

slope roof, was placed near the present office building and used as a storehouse. This completes developments other than the cemetery itself, which was within the 50-acre tract.

The steel flagpole had been mounted in this cemetery. About the cemetery was an ornamental wire fence, the posts of which were each capped by a cannon ball. The Old Trace itself was marked by two posts at each end of the enclosure and by stone flagging along each side, within the enclosure. The Monument had been repaired by filling the joints with mortar. About it had been constructed a concrete flagging with cannon balls mounted at each corner. In addition, four markers were (to be erected); three of these are yet in place and one, similar to the one with the inscription "Natchez Trace," was removed at the time the cemetery was graded. These all appear to have been within the original 50 acres, though one may be just outside.³³

Historians Olaf T. Hagen and Lewis M. Anderson reported that there were no maps showing the locations of historic spots, such as the Monument, the Natchez Trace, and the site of Grinder's Inn. A local engineer, Charles Grossman, was hired to create a map, so that a general plan for the Park could be prepared (figure 15).³⁴ Historians Hagen and Anderson began excavating the site of the inn on a small scale (using four men) but found little more than the foundation stones of a chimney and a few machine-made nails.³⁵

Park Development Era, 1933-1942

In July 1933, an Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) camp under the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established to undertake erosion control, general cleanup, and nature trail development. In August 1933, Charles Peterson, chief eastern division of the branch of plans and design, visited Meriwether Lewis to inspect the work projects in the Park. At this point, the Washington office realized that the word "trails" was being used by the Park to represent "motor

roads" on proposed ECW programs. The MLMA wanted a road built down to Dye Stone Springs, but Peterson ordered the work on the road stopped until an approved general plan for the area was in hand. It was agreed that the Old Spring Road was in very bad shape, requiring a large amount of sloping and drainage work.

Another area of disagreement was the cleaning out of undergrowth at the Park. The superintendent advocated a thorough cleanup of the 175-acre area of the Park that had never been touched. Some members of the MLMA favored converting additional acres to a more park-like appearance. Charles Peterson intervened and made it clear that living, healthy undergrowth should not be removed. The woodlands were to be kept in a natural state. Peterson felt that the entrance could be improved by the judicious planting of native materials.³⁶



Figure 15. Grossman map, 1933.

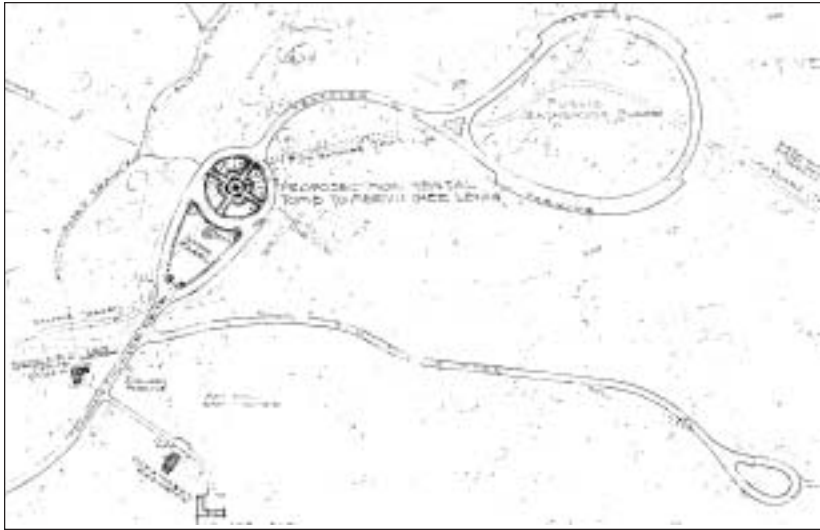


Figure 16. Plan of proposed development, 1933.

A revised program was proposed that included: cleanup and removal of dead and diseased trees only, erosion control, cleaning and sloping of the Trace, preparation of a map of the Park, repair of the main entrance road, planting of native trees and shrubs in the more conspicuous areas of the Park, foot trail construction, and removal of the tool house. The Park felt that the following also deserved consideration: reconstruction of Grinder's Inn; construction of an amphitheater, picnic, parking, and camping grounds; fencing; further planting; and construction of the Dye Stone Springs Road.³⁷

In September 1933, the CCC was constructing a foot trail from the oval tour road passing by Dye Stone Springs and connecting with the old Higgins Road. They were also working on woods cleanup. At this time, however, the camp was abandoned, and all effort was put to repairing the entrance and the Old Spring roads. A detachment of a CCC company stationed at Shiloh occupied the camp for an additional two and one-half months, completing the path to Dye Stone Springs and clearing 50 percent of the Park of all dead wood, including the entire fifty-acre tract, where special care had been given to preserve small trees, shrubs, and vines.³⁸

1938 Master Plan

In April 1934, A. E. Demaray, NPS associate director, wrote the secretary of the MLMA with a list of the various projects approved for the site:

- Construction and improvement of roads, parking areas, and paths — \$41,000
- Utility building — \$9,000
- Headquarters building, including small comfort station — \$5,850
- Residence for superintendent — \$9,000
- Flagpole — \$450
- Electric service, pump, water system — \$2,250.³⁹

In January 1934, Charles Peterson sent the superintendent a copy of the proposed Development Plan for Meriwether Lewis, stating that “we have given the matter a great deal of thought and we feel that from the standpoint of landscape and architectural suitability this plan is about equal to any which could be developed.”⁴⁰ A new curvilinear entrance road brought the visitor into the Park. The road continued past a proposed reconstruction of Grinder's Inn and then circled the Monument. A modified loop road bisected the area south of the Monument, allowing the visitor to circle the Monument and continue north to another loop that enclosed a “public gathering place.” The plan specified a new “monumental tomb” to Meriwether Lewis, with a series of paths forming four cross axes around a “memorial circle.” A formal panel of lawn contained a flagpole, axially aligned with the Monument. Trees were placed symmetrically around the formal configuration. The plan also specified a caretaker's residence and a utility area (figure 16).

In June 1934, assistant landscape architect Kenneth Simmons admitted that a larger number of graves would be affected than was originally thought. The plan was based on an Emergency Conservation Works topographical survey that failed to indicate the location of graves. A new survey, carried out in April 1934, identified which graves would be affected. The proposed redesign of the site affected sixty-four out of

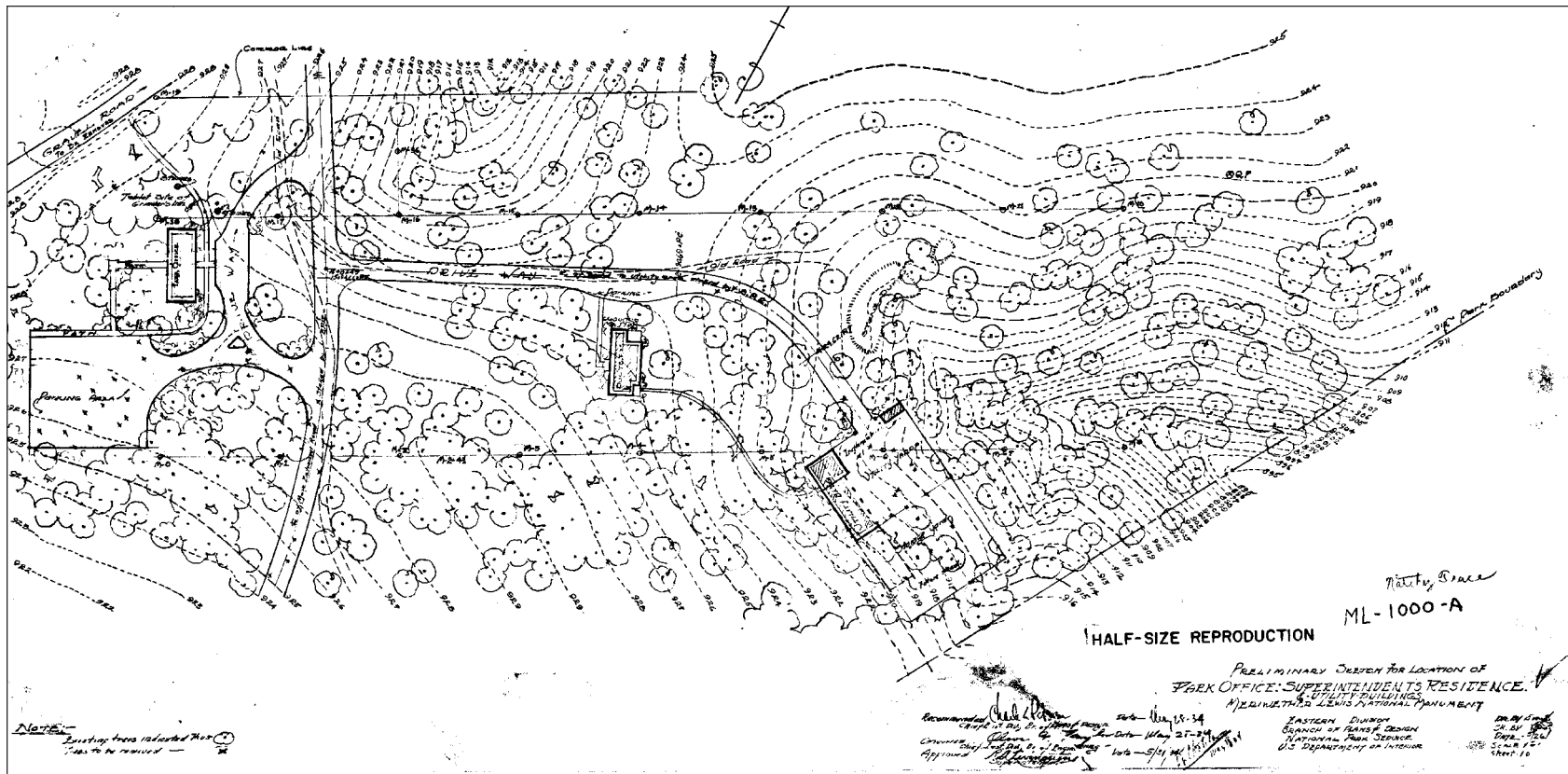


Figure 17. Park office, superintendent's residence, and utility buildings, 1934.

107 graves where the south half of the proposed loop road and crosswalks to the Monument and flagpole cut through the cemetery.

After further consideration, the Park wrote Washington with the following recommendation:

Obviously the practical difficulties and the problems of public sentiment will be very great at Meriwether Lewis if instructions are issued to go forward with moving the graves. Further than this, the cemetery as it is, does not seem out of harmony with the Monu-

ment or the surroundings. As it is now the Monument to the lasting achievement of Meriwether Lewis towers strong above the graves of the lesser names on the small markers below. The significance and memorial character is heightened rather than lessened by the presence of the graves unfamiliar or unknown.⁴¹

NPS director Arno Cammerer agreed and stated that he felt "no graves should be moved."⁴²

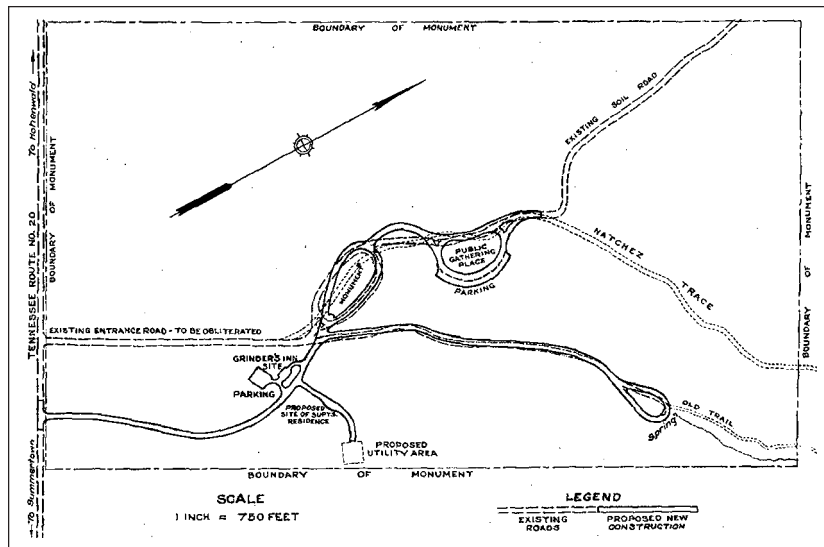


Figure 18. Bureau of Public Roads map, 1935.



Figure 19. New entrance road into park from Tennessee 20, 1941.

The Park's recognition that the simplicity of the oval landscape was appropriate to future development at the site allowed the 1934 plan to go forward without the grandiose design elements. The Park also abandoned plans to reconstruct Grinder's Inn, as the exact design and location could not be determined.⁴³ Instead the Park planned an office-museum building in the style of log cabins of the historic period, as well as a caretaker's residence and utility area (figure 17).

Beginning in 1935, the Park began to implement the 1934 plan in a way that dramatically altered the fifty-acre tract. In May 1935, the local newspaper reported that four feet of fill had been added around the Monument and the cemetery, and that no provision had been made for raising the Monument.⁴⁴ Descriptions of the work to be done included "grading, fertilizing, seeding, planting, and necessary walls and drainage." A letter from the assistant landscape architect explained that "the road plans as prepared by Colonel Lee and myself, which we would like to recommend for approval, would necessitate the changing of grade, but not location, of quite a number of head-



Figure 20. Meriwether Lewis Monument after addition of fill to the ellipse, 1941.



Figure 21. Office-museum with view up to Monument, 1941.



Figure 22. Superintendent's residence, 1940s.

stones.”⁴⁵ It appears that the Park intended to raise the monument base as well. A letter from the associate highway engineer stated: “Since the removal of graves appears to me to be an item outside of a grading contract and is closely linked with the adjustment of grave stones and the monument base, it occurred to me that they should all be linked together.”⁴⁶

The Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) completed the construction of the modified road system between 1935 and 1936 (figure 18). In addition to the change in grade in the ellipse, the approach to the Monument was changed when a curvilinear entrance road was constructed east of the Grinder's Inn site, coming into the park farther down Tennessee 20 (figure 19). This new alignment removed the entry from the old Natchez Trace and was designed as an axial approach to the Monument. All roads and parking areas were surfaced with asphaltic bituminous material. Included in this contract were the turnaround and parking area serving the office-museum, chert utility service court, loop drive at Old Spring, loop drive around Monument, and loop drive and parking north of Monument.⁴⁷

Also at this time the fence that encircled the Monument and cemetery was removed, as well as the stones that outlined the old Natchez Trace (figure 20). As early as 1933, the Park advocated removing the stones and marking the old Natchez Trace with “judicious planting.”⁴⁸

In January 1935, the R. E. Barnes Construction Company of Chattanooga began work on the office-museum, residence, and utility court (figures 21 and 22). In July 1935, Charles Peterson complained about the way the office-museum building was being constructed: “As you know we are trying to imitate the early log cabin in this building and it is absolutely necessary that you be familiar with the local precedent in order to see that our plans are carried out properly.” In September 1935, the work was completed and accepted.⁴⁹

In January 1937, construction work started on the brick walks outside the superintendent's residence and the flagstone landing outside the office-museum. The island in front of the office-museum was planted with trees and the shoulders were sodded. The location of the proposed comfort station was delayed until the alignment of the Natchez

Trace Parkway through Meriwether Lewis National Monument was decided.⁵⁰

Also included in this building program was a four-foot-wide trail approximately two miles long leading from the office-museum past Dye Stone Springs to the Old Spring picnic area. The work included cherting the two-mile trail, repairing footbridges, and constructing rustic benches, steps, and ramps along the way.⁵¹

Sometime between 1933 and 1936, the Park removed the two siege guns from the entrance. According to the superintendent, since Meriwether Lewis was no longer a “military” park under the War Department, they had no more use for them. The guns were later transferred to Fort Donelson National Military Park.⁵²

The 1938 Master Plan articulated all the projects carried out during the Park Development era. The 1938 Development Plan specified a comfort station with a connecting flagstone walk, a cut stone curb around the paved parking area, a drinking fountain near the existing flagpole, an outdoor gathering place, and planting in the entire area according to approved plans (figure 23). The comfort station and outdoor gathering place were never constructed.⁵³ The 1938 Planting and Development Plan indicated a predominantly native plant palette. The 1938 Roads and Trail Map specified alterations to the existing foot trail to Dye Stone Springs and added a segment to the Old Spring picnic area (figure 24). Although a low decorative fence was indicated to replace the one taken down in 1935, there is no evidence that another fence was ever erected.⁵⁴

Natchez Trace Parkway, 1942-Present

With the construction of the Natchez Trace Parkway paralleling the east border of Meriwether Lewis National Monument, the site became an integral part of the planning process for the parkway. In a report submitted to Thomas Vint, chief of planning, resident landscape architect Edward Zimmer explained: “In the first place, it was paramount that the parkway motor road be properly related along the boundaries of Meriwether Lewis National Monument so that an adequate entrance to the Monument from the parkway motor road

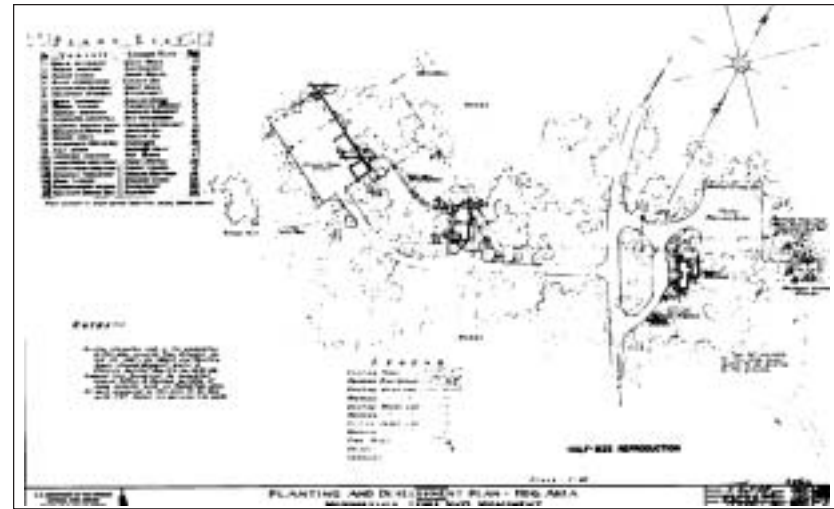


Figure 23. Planting and Development Plan, 1938.

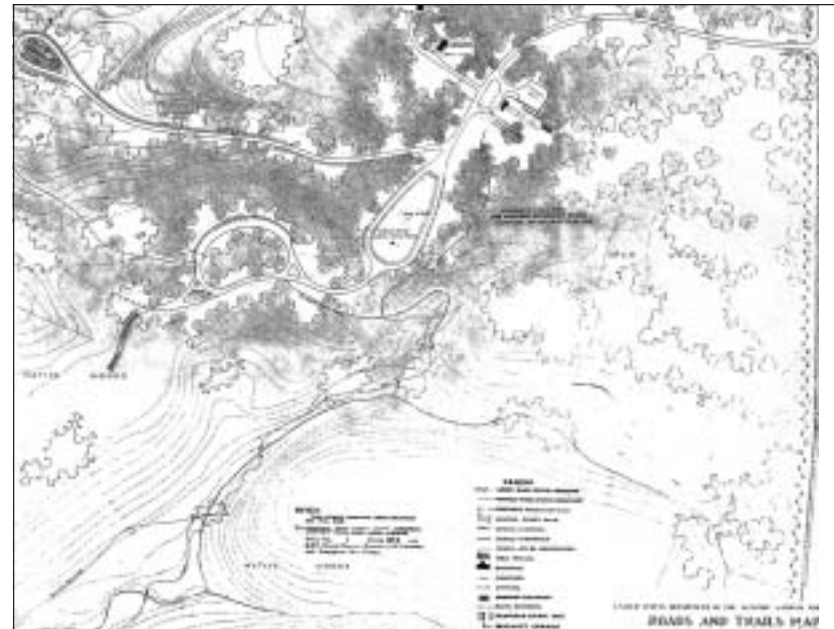


Figure 24. Roads and Trails Map, 1938.



Figure 25. Entrance sign, 1941.

could be effected. In order to reduce the heavy cuts and fills encountered east of Meriwether Lewis, we have worked out a scheme in location and alignment for the parkway center line in that area to underpass State Route 20 through a cut of less than 500 feet.”⁵⁵

In July 1939, Meriwether Lewis National Monument was removed from the jurisdiction of Shiloh NMP to the superintendent of the Natchez Trace Parkway. Archival photographs from 1941 show the bronze War Department entrance plaque that once hung on a stone pillar at the old entrance to the site relocated to the new entrance (figure 25).

Vegetation Management

In 1936, a tree preservation crew completed work at the Park, pruning all trees of deadwood along the roads and in the developed areas. The crew reported that the road and building construction projects carried out in 1935 and 1936 caused a relatively small amount of

damage to the trees in the Park.⁵⁶ In 1941, eight trees were removed from the area where “road and building grading and drainage construction contributed to their eventual death.”⁵⁷

A drought in 1942 contributed to the death and removal of ten more trees in the developed areas of the Park. Dead trees in the undeveloped areas were allowed to stand. A major loss occurred in 1942 when a bad windstorm felled a large white hickory (*Carya tomentosa*). It was initially thought that the tree dated to the time that Meriwether Lewis was at Grinder’s Inn, but cross-sections revealed the tree to be only 100 years old.⁵⁸

Unrestricted grazing of cattle, hogs, and other domestic animals over a period of decades in Lewis County caused considerable damage to the vegetation and soil conditions of the Park. In 1943, Edward Zimmer submitted a proposal for development and maintenance of lands at Meriwether Lewis, with the provision that a fence be erected to insure protection of grounds and improvements.⁵⁹

Between July and November 1944, a rail fence was constructed along the state highway at the entrance to the Park. An effort was made to construct a “period fence,” and the superintendent reported that “all concerned . . . favor a rail fence at the monument.”⁶⁰ In 1945, Lewis County voters approved a closed range law that required grazing animals to be fenced.

A 1951 ice storm damaged many of the Park’s trees. Seventy-seven trees, mainly oaks, were trimmed of storm-damaged limbs later that year. In 1952, the Park removed a maple to open a view to the Monument from the entrance road.⁶¹

1942 Master Plan for Natchez Trace Parkway

Over the next few years, the Park and the Regional Office argued over development plans for Meriwether Lewis. The Park was trying to prepare a revised master plan that addressed how development at Meriwether Lewis could be integrated with adjacent development along the Natchez Trace Parkway. The following items were at issue:

- retention or obliteration of the road system constructed between 1935 and 1936;

- location of the visitor contact point, that is, whether to be placed next to the parkway, at the intersection of the two roads leading into the site from the parkway and Tennessee 20, or at the office-museum;
- location of concession facilities;
- how to integrate recreational facilities with the historic area of the Park.

In November 1944, Thomas Vint, chief historian Kahler, and chief of the museum division Burns met at the Park to discuss future development. Mr. Kahler and Mr. Burns agreed that the present office-museum building would be adequate for the interpretive program at Meriwether Lewis and the parkway. A future office would be located near the junction of the present entrance road and Tennessee 20. Mr. Vint favored eliminating automobile traffic from the oval tour road and the north loop. He agreed with the Regional Office that vehicular traffic should be segregated from foot traffic in the historic area and proposed converting a portion of the existing roads to trails. They suggested that future day-use and overnight facilities be limited to hiking, picnicking, and camping, the development of which would be set apart from the historic area. In a letter commenting on a plan to link the historic area with proposed recreational development along Little Swan Creek, regional director E. M. Lisle stated: "In our opinion, such a plan of circulation would relegate the historic features to secondary importance, and the grave of Meriwether Lewis would become incidental on the route of travel to and from the proposed day-use and overnight area."⁶²

The Regional Office proposed a new entrance road from the parkway on the east that would accommodate vehicular traffic and provide access to the utility area and park housing. The oval tour road would become a walkway, and unused road sections would be obliterated to restore natural conditions and reduce maintenance costs. Picnicking would eventually be eliminated from the Old Spring area in accordance with NPS policy of terminating recreational activities in historic areas. The superintendent's residence would be retained in its present location as long as practicable. Parkway concessions would be located east of the Meriwether Lewis site on parkway lands if and when needed.⁶³

Meriwether Lewis superintendent Malcolm Gardner explained his opposition to such a scheme in a 1945 letter to the regional director:

As I understand the road and layout plan for the Monument now preferred by the Director's Office, all of the present road system would be eliminated for vehicular traffic except about 1400 feet of the present entrance road, which would be tied in with a southeasterly approach to the Natchez Trace Parkway to make an access connection between Tennessee Highway 20 and the parkway motor road. Under this plan the developed area of the Monument would presumably become an adjunct to the parking area located on the curve of the parkway access road, and a curious visitor would go on foot from the parking area to the points of interest in the Monument. I believe the Monument is entitled to a somewhat more pretentious development, particularly since an adequate circulatory road is already in existence, except for a needed change in the road location approaching the utility court.⁶⁴

After several plans had been rejected, the 1948 General Development Plan, part of the 1948 Master Plan for the Natchez Trace Parkway, was signed by acting director Demaray (figure 26). This scheme retained the oval tour road, removed the loop north of the Monument, removed the connection between the superintendent's residence and the oval tour road, expanded the maintenance area, provided a location for park housing, and sited an entrance road from the parkway. Recreational facilities along Little Swan Creek were deleted. This compromise scheme satisfied those who felt the oval tour road should be retained with the Monument as the terminus for the road system. This plan outlined the changes that actually occurred to the 300-acre site, with the exception of the removal of the connecting spur between the oval tour road and the Old Spring Road, which occurred as part of the Mission 66 developments for the parkway along Little Swan Creek.

The 1952 Road and Trail System Plan further articulated this program. As stated in a revision of the Park Operation Prospectus:

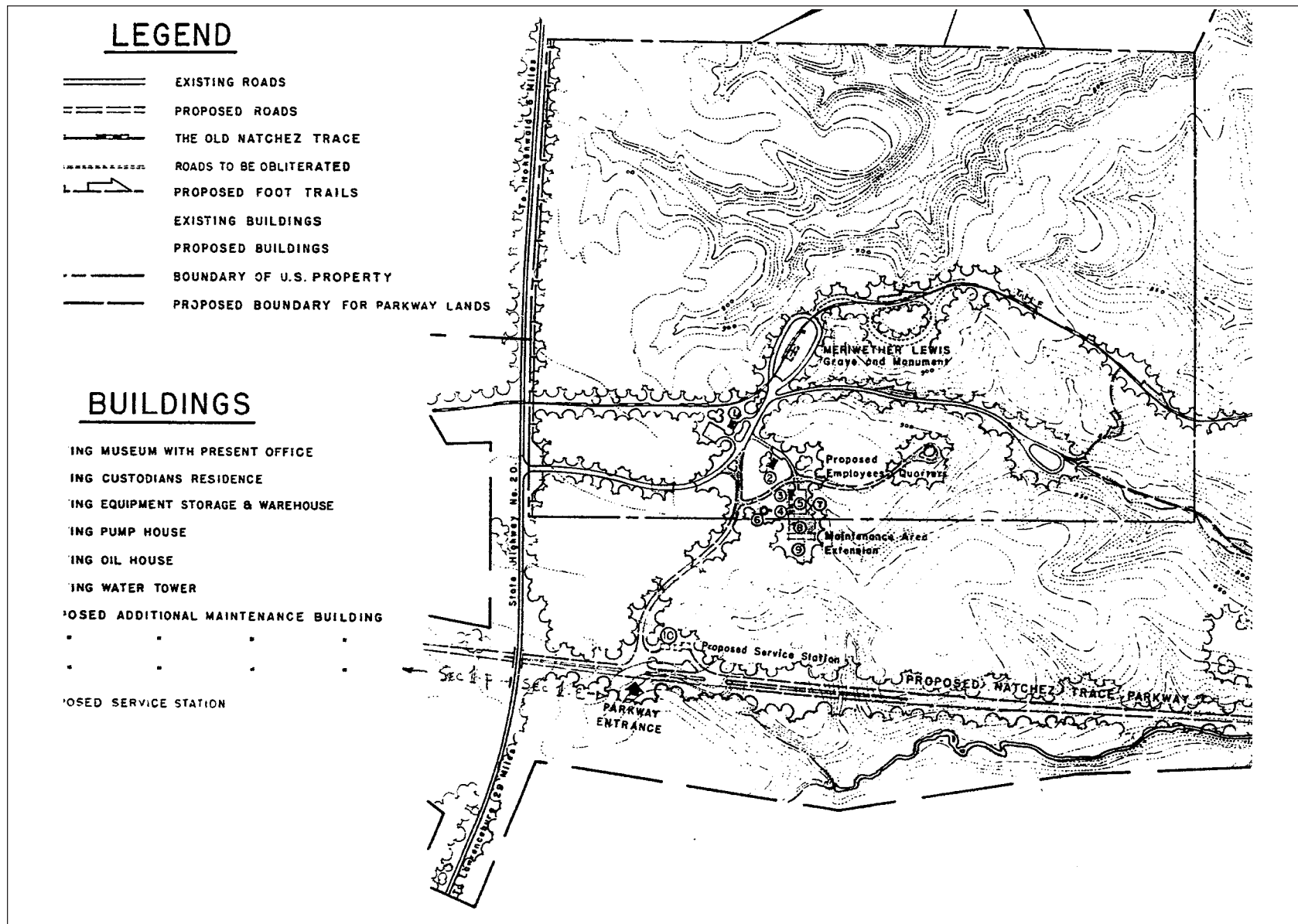


Figure 26. General Development Plan, 1948.

All of the development in MLNM [Meriwether Lewis National Monument] may be considered as a single developed area, centered around the explorer's grave and the associated remains of the Natchez Trace, because of the lack of other important features. This is also in line with the policy of avoiding development on most of the land west of the Old Natchez Trace, permitting that to go back to nature as a small primitive area.

The prospectus also stated: "MLNM is, and is expected to be, strictly a day-use area for visitors, hence no lodge or campgrounds exist or are planned."⁶⁵

Nonetheless, discussion continued as to the final disposition of the roads at Meriwether Lewis National Monument, and the Park continued to push for recreational development along Little Swan Creek. Malcolm Gardner stated:

Meriwether Lewis National Monument will not be complete without the second loop road and development of the parking overlook on it. The extra parking space provided by this road is sometimes needed even now, and those visiting the Monument will want to drive out on it and look over the scenery from here even though other overlooks are provided on the Parkway within a few miles.

A recreational area along the Parkway on Little Swan Creek is a necessity. The picnic facilities at MLNM are sometimes crowded now, with occasional families eating picnic lunches and even building fires in unauthorized places because there is not room for them in the picnic ground.⁶⁶

Eugene De Silets, landscape architect for the parkway, felt that the use of the loop as an overlook would be an expensive addition to Meriwether Lewis. He favored developing recreational facilities at

Little Swan as a parkway facility, divorced from the historic area of the Park, preserving the "serenity and atmosphere of respectful quiet" that he felt the Monument deserved. The Park signed the Road and Trail System Plan on 3 January 1953.⁶⁷

Mission 66

The changes specified in the Road and Trail System Plan had yet to be implemented when plans for Mission 66 were announced in 1955, providing momentum for recreational development along Little Swan Creek. The Mission 66 Prospectus called for "picnic and other recreational facilities . . . on adjacent parkway lands." The Old Spring picnic area would be eliminated. The plan specified the development of a one-way, low-speed access road, utilizing a section of the old Natchez Trace north of the Monument, to connect the two areas. A new office-interpretive building was included.⁶⁸

In 1956, the Park revised its interpretive brochure. Responding to a letter from the Washington office concerning the final copy for the brochure, Malcolm Gardner stated: "It is true that the Master Plan shows no loop road around Lewis' grave. Since the time when this change will be made is highly uncertain, it appears that in this edition, at least, no change should be made."⁶⁹

The 1959 Development Plan for Little Swan—Meriwether Lewis did not follow the Mission 66 recommendation for a one-way road north of the Monument (figure 27). Instead, a spur road off the Tennessee 20 entrance road provided access to the Old Spring area and to recreational facilities at Little Swan. The new maintenance and park housing areas would be accessed from the Natchez Trace Parkway entrance road. These plans reinstated the scheme of converting the oval tour road into a walkway and removing the north loop. The roads linking the historic area with the Old Spring picnic site and the superintendent's residence would no longer be needed. The plan also included a crosswalk at the north end of the oval and a visitor center with associated parking on axis with the Monument to replace the office-museum.

It is not clear exactly when the obliteration of the north loop road and the spur roads occurred, but this likely happened at the same time



that the road was built to the recreational facilities at Little Swan. In fact, the new road utilized part of the alignment of the north loop road. In 1960, the superintendent's residence was relocated to the new housing area, and the maintenance complex was expanded (figures 28 and 29). Installation of the Little Swan recreational area occurred between 1963 and 1967 and included a campground, two comfort stations, a picnic area, and a terminating loop. The oval tour road and the office-museum underwent no changes. A visitor center was never built to replace the office-museum.

On 10 August 1961, the site was incorporated legislatively into the Natchez Trace Parkway.⁷⁰

1969 Master Plan

The 1969 Master Plan restated that the office-museum and oval tour road should be removed and an interpretive facility added. The new building and associated parking were sited close to the existing location of the office-museum.



Figure 28. Superintendent's residence being moved, 1960.

The cabin-museum should be removed and a new interpretive-information facility constructed . . . that will orient the visitor and tell the story of Meriwether Lewis. . . . The nearby physical remains of Grinder's Inn should be interpreted and the old cemetery rehabilitated. . . . The only modification to the existing road system is to remove the short loop drive from around the Meriwether Lewis monument. Additional parking spaces will be necessary in the vicinity of the proposed interpretive facility.⁷¹

The plan also called for the old Natchez Trace to be maintained as a foot trail. No additional information was included to explain how Grinder's Inn should be interpreted or how the cemetery was to be rehabilitated. None of the above changes or additions were carried out, although the old Natchez Trace is being maintained as a foot trail.



Figure 29. Maintenance area, 1962.



Figure 30. Base of Monument during rehabilitation, 2000.

1987 General Management Plan

In 1975, the Meriwether Lewis site was listed in the National Register of Historic Places, as part of the nomination of old Natchez Trace sites in Tennessee.

In 1987, a General Management Plan was written for Natchez Trace Parkway. Plans for Meriwether Lewis included archeology to identify the presence or absence of subsurface remains of Grinder's Inn, repair of the Monument, location and identification of gravesites within the cemetery, relocation of the office-museum to an area adjacent to the entrance road and within view of the parkway road, addition of restrooms, a ranger office, and an exhibit area. The plan included a parking area for ten cars and three buses or recreational vehicles (RV's).

In 1992, a scientific team headed by James Starrs was issued a permit to conduct ground-penetrating radar to develop a sub-surface radar profile of the Monument and gravesite. Scans made over cemetery markers adjacent to the Monument detected only one probable burial site. The Park Service subsequently received an application from professor Starrs for a federal permit under the Archeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) to excavate and exhume the remains of Meriwether Lewis. The permit request was denied by Jerry Belson, southeast regional director, on 24 September 1997, because the application was counter to NPS *Management Policies* for burial sites and cemeteries, which prohibit the disturbance of burials in national park lands "unless threatened with destruction by park development, operational activities, or natural forces." In addition, the proposed project was inconsistent with interpretive objectives outlined in management plans for the Natchez Trace Parkway and the Meriwether Lewis site.⁷² A subsequent appeal to NPS director Bob Stanton was also denied on 22 February 1999.

In 1998, a crew from SEAC utilized an extensive battery of remote sensing techniques in order to identify subsurface anomalies, resources associated with Grinder's Inn, or resources within the cemetery. In addition to the remote sensing surveys, the crew also conducted systematic subsurface testing, a metal detecting survey, and limited excavation. The investigation resulted in recording several anomalies within the cemetery, but due to the potential nature of these resources, no subsurface testing was conducted in the area of the cemetery. SEAC returned later in 1998 to expand the subsurface testing in the area around the office-museum and test the area north

of the cemetery, using a mechanized auger. In 2000, based on a 1927 plat map, additional shovel testing was carried out just east of the turnoff to the Old Spring Road. Based upon the evidence collected during all of these projects, SEAC believes that the most likely position of Grinder's Inn is directly to the northwest of the office-museum. Additional archeology is needed to verify this hypothesis.⁷³

In 1998, a Historic Structure Report (HSR) was completed for the Monument. The report verified that rehabilitation of the 151-year-old stone structure would be required to preserve the Monument. Beginning in April 2000, James Moran Construction Company of Abingdon, Virginia, began rehabilitation and stabilization of the Monument with dismantling of the column, plinth, and stone base. The stone base was unearthed down to a stone foundation, approximately four feet below the existing ground level (figure 30).

Although the original proposal called for leaving the Monument below grade, the contractor discovered that all the base stones needed to be replaced. The Park, the Regional Office, and the Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) decided that a new concrete foundation should be constructed to provide adequate support for the new stone base and the original plinth and column. It was determined that this approach would allow the entire base of the Monument to be exposed above existing grade (figure 31). The new material was in keeping with the rustic and rough-hewn character of the original base stones. This treatment modified the original location of the Monument vertically, but eliminated the need for extensive excavation and regrading of the site or leaving the Monument in a hole. The replacement of the marble curbs at the base of the Monument occurred in December 2001.

Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Celebration Plans

The Natchez Trace Parkway is anticipating the observance of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, beginning in 2003 and continuing through 2009 (the bicentennial of Lewis's death). Given that the site marks the grave of Meriwether Lewis, increased visitation is expected. The Natchez Trace Parkway is planning several events in conjunction with the bicentennial celebration.



Figure 31. Monument after rehabilitation, 2002.

As a result, the parkway applied for and received bicentennial funding for staffing of an interpretive ranger at Meriwether Lewis. The Park has initiated a DCP to make recommendations for the layout of a visitor center and associated parking. These improvements have been

included in the master plans for the Park for some years and would enhance the visitor experience at Meriwether Lewis Monument.

Notes

1. In 1804, President Thomas Jefferson appealed to Congress to fund an overland expedition to explore the land from the mouth of the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. Congress subsequently approved the proposal and appointed Jefferson's private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, to head the expedition. Lewis asked Lieutenant William Clark, a close friend from his early years of military service, to co-command the expedition. By the spring of 1804, Lewis and Clark had assembled the members of their group, known as the "Corps of Discovery." Starting near what is known today as Wood River, Illinois in 1804, they reached the Pacific Ocean in 1805 and returned in 1806, losing only one man to natural causes. For a more detailed account of the expedition, see Stephen Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).
2. The Natchez Trace is believed to be a series of American Indian hunting paths that slowly joined to form a continuous trail between the towns of Natchez, Mississippi and Nashville, Tennessee. In 1733, the French were familiar enough with the trail to place it on a map of the territory. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, farmers in the Ohio River valley had begun to float their products down the rivers to Natchez or New Orleans. Upon reaching their destination, the boatmen who transported these wares would sell their boats for lumber, leaving little choice but an overland trip home over the Natchez Trace. By about 1810, enough improvements had been made to this path that it could be considered a wilderness road.
3. To accommodate travelers on the Natchez Trace, a series of inns, also known as stands, were built that provided little more than a roof to sleep under and a simple meal.
4. D. Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 467.
5. For a comprehensive account of the days leading up to Lewis's death see Dawson Phelps, "The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis," *William and Mary Quarterly* 13 (July 1956): 305-318.
6. Alexander Wilson to [Joseph Dennis], May 28, 1811, printed in *Port Folio* IX (1811): 34-47.
7. Dawson Phelps, "Stands and Travel Accommodations of the Natchez Trace," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 11 (January 1949): 50; Phelps, "The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis," 309.
8. William White, *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1845-1857*, vol. 4 (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1957), 387.
9. The exact location of Lewis's original grave is unknown. It has generally been thought that the Monument was built directly over the original grave, but there is no physical evidence to this effect. Another theory is that the original grave may have been near the intersection of the Natchez Trace and Little Swan Creek, where two other graves were known to exist. See Olaf T. Hagen to C. C. Qualey, 31 July 1933, Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR) archives; Sara Amy Leach, *Meriwether Lewis Monument and Site: A Compilation of Critical Dates and Developments* (NATR, 1999, photocopy), 19.
10. State of Tennessee, *House Journal* (Nashville, 1849), 238-240.
11. William Kay, *Meriwether Lewis National Monument: Its Origin, Development and Administration* (NATR, 1959, typescript), 5.
12. Leach, 10.
13. *Ibid.*, 11.
14. John Swain, "The Natchez Trace," *Everybody's Magazine*, September 1905, 335; Emerson Hough, "A Forgotten Hero," *Southern Women's Magazine*, June 1917, 20.
15. Kay, 7; *Lewis County Herald*, 22 March 1923—17 August 1925.
16. *Lewis County Herald*, 29 May 1924.
17. P.E. Cox to F. G. Coldrum, 4 December 1924, NATR.
18. *Nashville Tennessean*, 18 August 1925.
19. "Master Plan Development Outline" (NATR, 1952, photocopy).
20. DeLong Rice to Quartermaster General, 4 June 1925, NATR.
21. David Clark to Malcolm Gardner, 30 July 1940, NATR.
22. Meriwether Lewis National Monument, "Quarterly Report" (NATR, 31 December 1926).
23. Kay, 11. The last recorded burials at the site occurred in 1925. The families that had previously used the cemetery at Meriwether Lewis developed a new cemetery outside the Park boundary.
24. Leach, 14.
25. *Lewis County Herald*, 17 March 1927. This is the only reference found that refers to the cemetery as the "Meriwether Lewis Cemetery." Historically, obituaries in the local paper simply denoted burial

at the Lewis Monument. The name “Pioneer Cemetery” that is used today seems to date from Mission 66.

26. Leach, 15.

27. DeLong Rice to Quartermaster General, 2 September 1927, NATR.

28. DeLong Rice to Dunbar Roland, 2 September 1927, NATR.

29. See NPS 604/9000.

30. Meriwether Lewis National Monument, “Quarterly Reports” (NATR, 1926-1928).

31. Meriwether Lewis National Monument, “Quarterly Report” (NATR, 30 June 1930).

32. “Inspection of Trees and Lawns at the Meriwether Lewis National Monument” (NATR, 23 October 1931, photocopy).

33. Leach, 18.

34. Olaf T. Hagen and Lewis M. Anderson to Verne E. Chatelain, 21 June 1933, NATR; Hagen and Anderson, memorandum, 20 August 1933, NATR.

35. Hagen and Anderson to Verne E. Chatelain, 24 August 1933, NATR.

36. Charles E. Peterson, memorandum, 8 August 1933, NATR; Arno B. Cammerer to Gordon Browning, 18 September 1933, NATR.

37. Hagen and Anderson to Verne E. Chatelain, 25 August 1933, NATR.

38. Kenneth B. Simmons, memorandum, 25 October 1933, NATR; R. E. Shouse to A. E. Demaray, 29 January 1934, NATR.

39. A. E. Demaray to Hugh Lee Webster, 25 April 1934, NATR.

40. Charles E. Peterson to R. A. Livingston, 3 January 1934, NATR.

41. Ronald Lee to Verne E. Chatelain, 14 June 1934, NATR.

42. Arno Cammerer to Superintendent, Shiloh NMP, 26 June 1934, NATR.

43. Kay, 21; W. W. Lockett to Ronald F. Lee, 8 December 1934, NATR.

44. *Lewis County Herald*, 2 May 1935.

45. Kenneth B. Simmons, memorandum, 15 June 1934, NATR.

46. Associate Highway Engineer to Kenneth B. Simmons, 24 May 1934, NATR.

47. Malcolm Gardner to Region One Director, 17 November 1947, NATR.

48. Hagen and Anderson, memorandum, 2 October 1933, NATR.

49. Charles E. Peterson to Albert A. Gustafson, 23 July 1935, NATR; Albert A. Gustafson to Charles E. Peterson, 20 September 1935, NATR.

50. Leach, 24; Charles S. Dunn to Region One Director, 6 November 1937, NATR.

51. “Landscape Program Report” (NATR, 22 February 1934, photocopy); “Meriwether Lewis National Monument” (NATR, n.d., photocopy).

52. David Clark to Charles Dunn, 28 August 1937, NATR.

53. See NPS 604/2052.

54. Acting Regional Director to Chief Architect, National Park Service, 12 September 1938, NATR.

55. Edward S. Zimmer to T. C. Vint, 30 June 1941, NATR.

56. “Tree Preservation Crew Activities” (NATR, 2 April 1936, photocopy).

57. “Annual Forestry Report” (NATR, 1942, photocopy).

58. Donnell E. O’Brien to Coordinating Superintendent, 15 February 1942, NATR.

59. Edward Zimmer to Superintendent, 12 August 1943, NATR.

60. Oliver G. Taylor to Superintendent, 12 August 1943; Malcolm Gardner to Regional Director, 25 September 1943; see NPS 604/2054.

61. Eugene De Silets to Parkway Engineer, 29 May 1951, NATR; Leach, 40.

62. E. M. Lisle to Superintendent, Natchez Trace Parkway, 23 January 1943, NATR.

63. Meriwether Lewis National Monument, “Superintendent’s Monthly Reports” (NATR, November 1944); Thomas J. Allen to R. J. Spelman, 8 March 1946, NATR.

64. Malcolm Gardner to Regional Director, 17 November 1947, NATR.

65. “Park Operation Prospectus” (NATR, June 1952, photocopy); see NPS 604/2002.

66. J. Fred Roush to Regional Director, 6 September 1952, NATR.

67. H. Reese Smith to Regional Director, 8 September 1952, NATR.

68. “Mission 66 Prospectus Meriwether Lewis National Monument” (National Park Service, 1955, photocopy), 2.

69. Malcolm Gardner to Regional Director, 17 September 1956, NATR.

70. National Park Service, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service*, Supplement II (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of the Interior, 1963), 485-86.

71. “Master Plan Natchez Trace Parkway” (National Park Service, 1969, photocopy), 109-110.

72. “Briefing Statement” (Southeast Regional Office (SERO), 18 February 1999, photocopy); *Management Policies* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2001), 54.

73. Lawson, 2.

Part One: Existing Conditions

Location

The Meriwether Lewis site is located in Lewis County, Tennessee, seven miles east of the county seat of Hohenwald, and seventy miles southwest of Nashville. The 300-acre site is located in section 1-E of the Parkway, at approximately milepost 385.9. The Park is accessible both from the Natchez Trace Parkway and Tennessee 20 (figure 32).

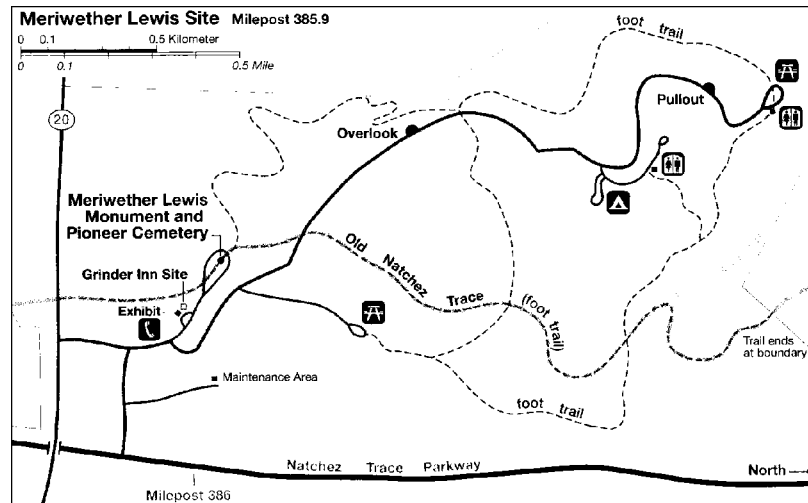


Figure 32. Location map, 1999.

Boundary and Buffering

The site includes the Monument, a 1935 office-museum, an estimated 108 graves within the ellipse, a segment of the old Natchez Trace, a Park Development-era road network, the Old Spring picnic area, a maintenance complex, and the archeological remains/site of Grinder's Inn. Recreational facilities include a nearby campground with picnic facilities located outside of the 300-acre boundary.

Tennessee 20 delimits the site's western edge. To the north the site is buffered by second-growth forest. On the east and south, the boundary of Meriwether Lewis merges into the boundary of the Natchez Trace Parkway.

Topography

The Meriwether Lewis site is part of a flat high bench of the highland rim of middle Tennessee. The site is located on the dividing line between the northeastern edge of a gently rolling upland surface and the tributaries of Little Swan Creek, steeply graded incised drainages to the northeast. The area is heavily forested with mixed hardwoods dominating (figure 33).



Figure 33. Aerial view, 1996.



Figure 34. Overview of ellipse, 2000.



Figure 35. Axial approach to Monument, 2000.

The one-acre ellipse containing the Monument and cemetery is the centerpiece of the Park. The topography of the ellipse was significantly changed in 1935 when four feet of fill was added over the ellipse. A simple open landscape of turf and trees characterizes its park-like appearance (figure 34).

Spatial Organization

The oval tour road enclosing the site with the Monument as its center clearly marks this space as a designed landscape. The 1935 entry road was carefully planned to create an axial approach to the Monument, quite different from the historic approach over the old Natchez Trace (figure 35).

An effort to separate the historic and recreational areas of the Park began in the 1940s. Spur roads directly linking the Monument to these areas were eventually eliminated when the Swan Creek recreational area and an expanded maintenance complex were developed in the 1960s.

Vegetation/Vegetation Management

About 280 of the site's 300 acres are in even-aged, second-growth forest. Oaks (*Quercus* spp.) and hickories (*Carya* spp.) dominate the ridge tops. A wider variety of trees, including tulip poplars (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), beeches (*Fagus grandiflora*), sycamores (*Platanus occidentalis*), black gums (*Nyssa sylvatica*), sweet gums (*Liquidambar styraciflua*), and sourwoods (*Oxydendron arboreum*), occurs in the lower places. Dogwoods (*Cornus florida*) and numerous shrubs add color to the woods in the spring and fall. Fifty kinds of trees and more than 400 kinds of herbaceous plants have been identified in the area (figure 36).

The War Department converted the overgrown rural cemetery into a formal memorial landscape dominated by the Meriwether Lewis Monument in the late 1920s. Four post oaks (*Quercus stellata*) and one tulip poplar are planted in the ellipse. The Park mows the ellipse, the area around the office-museum, the island in front of the office-museum, and the segment of the old Natchez Trace that traverses the site once a week in the summer. Mowing is not necessary during the



Figure 36. Wooded area adjacent to ellipse, 2000.

winter months (figures 37 and 38). Other maintenance tasks include weeding around the office-museum and removing leaves from the turf areas when necessary.

Circulation

A two-way asphalt entry road brings visitors into the Park from Tennessee 20, which leads visitors to the office-museum parking area. The visitor may continue directly to the one-way oval tour road and stop at the office-museum on the way out. The Park Service constructed this road network (.61 miles inclusive) in 1935 as part of the commemorative landscape (figure 39). The entry road from the Natchez Trace Parkway connects with the 1935 entry road. An unpaved foot trail, accessed from the old Natchez Trace segment located north of the Monument, splits at Dye Stone Spring, with one segment continuing to the Old Spring picnic area and one segment continuing to the Little Swan campground (figure 40).

A two-way asphalt road to the Little Swan campground (2.02 miles) also provides access to the Park Development-era road through the



Figure 37. Island in front of office-museum, 2000.



Figure 38. Old Natchez Trace, 2000.



Figure 39. 1935 road network looking back at the office-museum, 2000.



Figure 40. Trail to Dye Stone Springs, 2000.

Old Spring picnic area. A paved service road accesses the maintenance complex and park housing (located outside the Meriwether Lewis boundary) from the Natchez Trace Parkway entry road.

Meriwether Lewis Monument and Ellipse

In November 2000, Phase 1 of the rehabilitation and stabilization of the Monument returned this important component to the historic landscape. Phase 2, completed in December 2001, restored the marble curb at the base of the Monument (figure 41). Eighty-seven of the original 107 cemetery markers acquired in 1927 remain (figure 42). In 2001, the Park began restoring markers that have worn down over time. Six markers have been restored and three are in the process of being restored (figures 43 and 44). Five post oaks and one tulip poplar are planted in the ellipse.



Figure 41. Meriwether Lewis Monument, 2002.

Office-Museum

The office-museum, built in 1935 as a visitor contact station, was never meant to be a reconstruction of Grinder's Inn, although it has always been confused as such. It is the only location where an attempt is made to interpret the historical context of Meriwether Lewis (figure 47). A parking lot for ten cars or three RV's is sited south of the office-museum. Site furnishings adjacent to the parking area include a phone booth, bench, drinking fountain, trash receptacle, and bulletin board (figure 48). Public restroom facilities are located at Little Swan campground.

Old Spring Picnic Area

The Old Spring picnic area dates to the early 1920s but has not retained any of the War Department or Park Development-era improve-

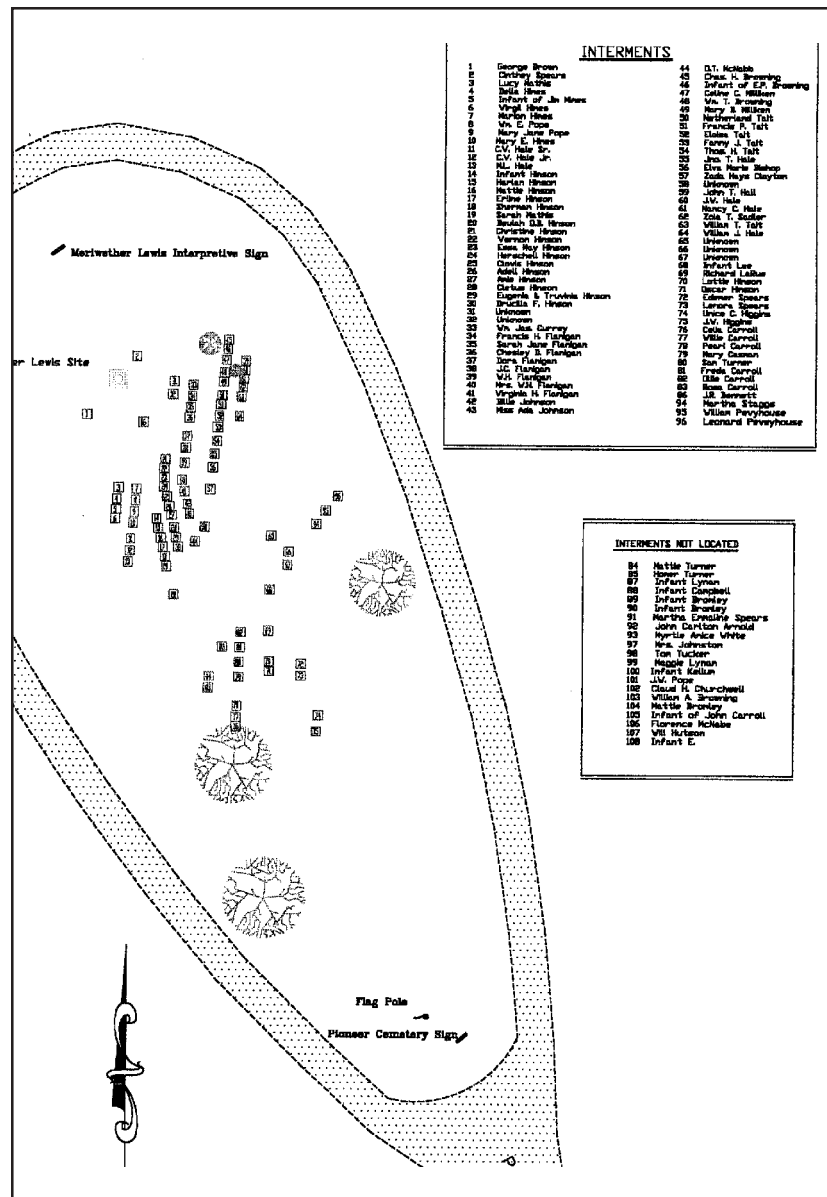


Figure 42. Map locating cemetery markers, 1992.



Figure 43. Cemetery marker before restoration, 2001.



Figure 44. Cemetery marker after restoration, 2001.

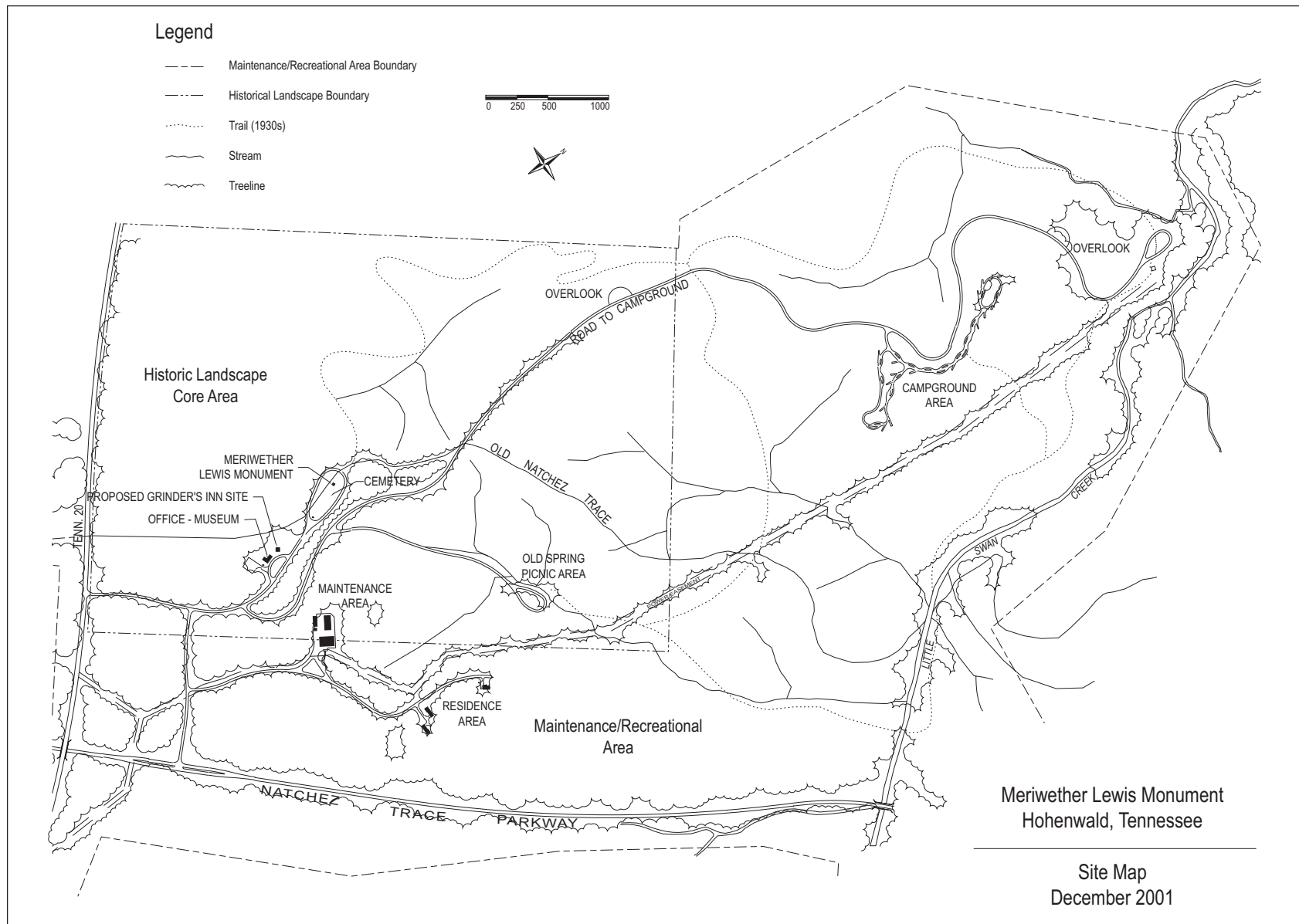


Figure 45. Site Plan Map, 2001.

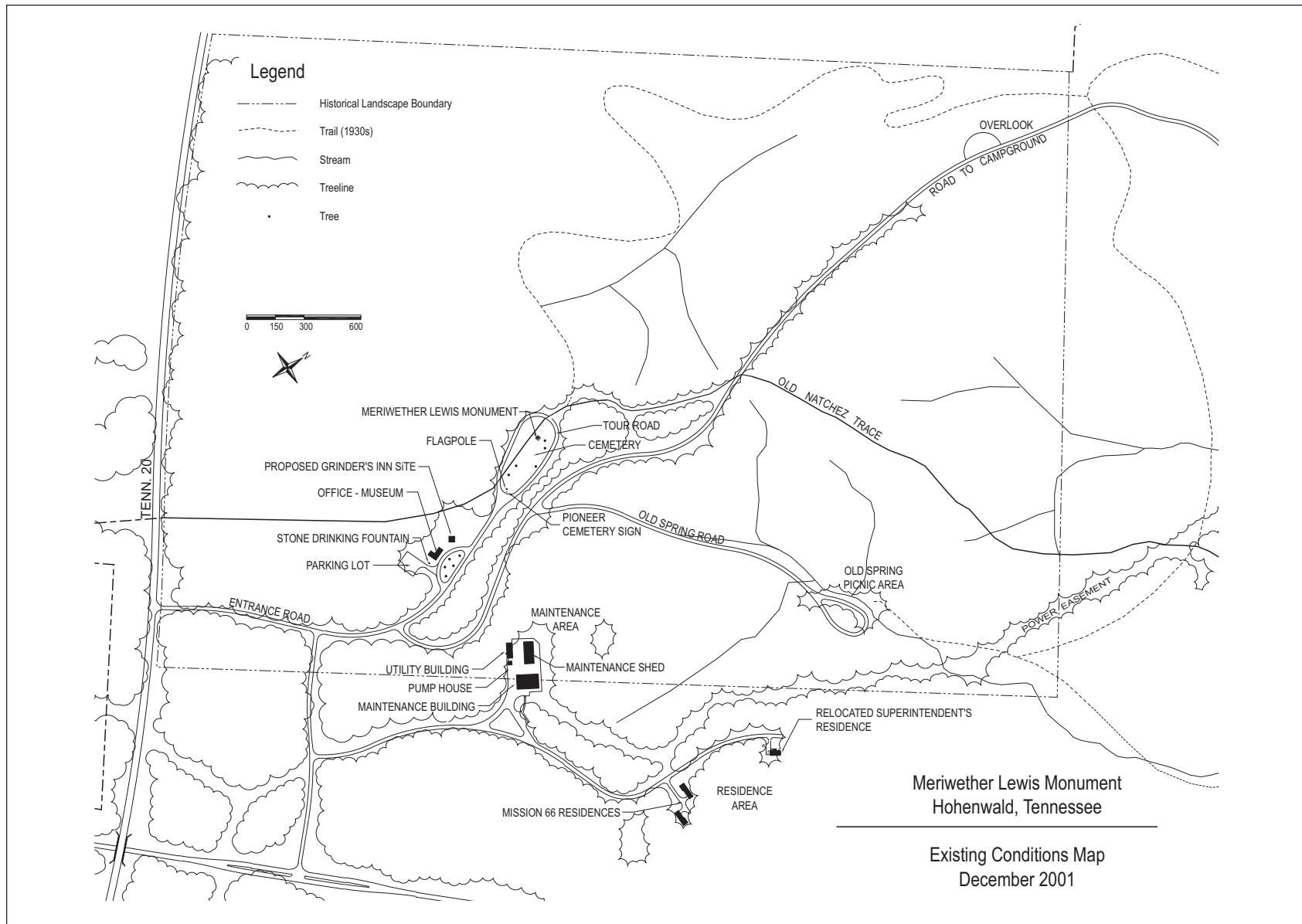


Figure 46. Existing Conditions Map, 2001.



Figure 47. Office-museum, 2000.



Figure 48. Site furnishings, 2000.



Figure 49. Old Spring picnic area, 2000.



Figure 50. Maintenance complex, 2000.

ments such as fireplaces and picnic tables. These items have been replaced with modern barbecue grills and wooden picnic tables (figure 49). Other Park Development-era improvements such as stone-paved gutters with dressed stone head walls are still in place.

Maintenance Complex

A 1960 maintenance building and storage shed, along with the 1935 utility building and pump house, comprise the maintenance complex. Woods surrounding the complex screen it from view (figure 50).

Part One: Analysis and Evaluation

This section compares the findings of the site history with existing conditions in order to identify which extant landscape characteristics and associated features have historical significance. The integrity of each characteristic is evaluated within the context of the landscape as a whole. This process is the groundwork for establishing the period of significance, and for identifying a framework against which all changes in the landscape can be compared. It is an important step for developing appropriate and relevant treatment strategies.

Period of Significance

The analysis of the landscape development at Meriwether Lewis Monument suggests that the appropriate period of significance for the historic designed landscape is 1925 to 1948.¹ The beginning of the period is defined by the change from an overgrown and unkempt rural cemetery to a memorial park (figure 51). Before this date, the Monument and cemetery languished in obscurity and suffered from a loss of setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association integrity. The end of the period coincides with the 1948 General Development Plan (part of the 1948 Master Plan for the Natchez Trace Parkway), which reestablished the Monument as the terminus of the designed historic landscape. The primary landscape significance of the Meriwether Lewis Monument is as a designed historic landscape associated with the memorialization of Meriwether Lewis.

Because of the significant changes that the NPS carried out at the site during the 1930s, there is no earlier historic scene to be restored. There is no detailed information about the configuration of the landscape at the time of Lewis's death. Moreover, the landscape improvements overseen by the War Department (c. 1928) had been in place fewer than ten years when the NPS assumed management of the site. The 1948 General Development Plan and later refinements reflect the culmination of design and development at Meriwether Lewis Monument.

The following analysis of the character-defining features of the designed landscape at Meriwether Lewis Monument will compare current site conditions to the 1948 General Development Plan, which outlined subsequent changes that occurred at the site.

Spatial Organization

The Park has evolved from a site associated with the old Natchez Trace and Grinder's Inn (the place of Meriwether Lewis's death) to a landscape that memorializes Meriwether Lewis. The first effort to commemorate the site began in 1848 with the erection of the Meriwether Lewis Monument. Subsequent efforts to reinforce the commemorative setting were complicated by the use of the one-acre area immediately around the Monument as a local cemetery. Both the



Figure 51. View of ellipse, c. 1934.

War Department and the Park Service considered the erection of a grander memorial, but concerns about moving burial plots ultimately derailed such plans.

The War Department's minimalist approach to grounds management resulted in the replacement of the cemetery headstones with markers laid flush with the ground to make mowing easier, set amid a simple landscape of turf and trees (figures 52 and 53). The War Department used this layout to focus attention on the Monument, and enclosed the area with an ornamental iron fence. The ellipse containing the Monument and the other graves is the longest-surviving landscape form of the Park Development era and is a character-defining feature. Its modest look should not be mistaken for an inadequate tribute to Meriwether Lewis, as its simple formal configuration of lawn and trees is evocative of its time and reflects early twentieth-century attitudes towards the commemoration of famous Americans through landscape architecture. As expressed in the early 1930s, the Park Service felt that the layout heightened the memorial character of the site.

The Park Service's philosophy that historic and recreational areas should be separated affected the spatial organization of the site when



Figure 52. Flush markers, 2000.



Figure 53. View of ellipse, 2002.

segments of the 1935 road system were removed (figure 57). Returning the Monument to its position as the terminus of the designed landscape, however, added prominence to its placement in the landscape. The Park Service also removed the spur road connecting the Old Spring picnic area with the oval tour road when recreational facilities were constructed at Little Swan in the 1960s.

Topography

The topography of the site underwent significant change during the Park Development era. The Park Service took down the ornamental iron fence and added four feet of fill over the area inside the ellipse.



Figure 54. Meriwether Lewis Monument, 1941.

Not only did this action cover the base of the Monument, but also the flush headstones had to be removed and reset after the fill was added (figure 54). This treatment changed the topography of the ellipse and altered the original grade of the old Natchez Trace. The stone curb installed by the War Department was covered up as well. Construction of the 1935 to 1936 road system seems to have motivated these changes in grade.

Circulation

The existing entrance drive alignment and oval tour road date from 1935, representing the Park Service's early vision for developing the site (figures 55 and 56). The tour road's symmetrical design around the Monument creates a strong axis from the approach drive to the Monument and contributes to the Monument's commemorative setting. This rectilinear approach is characteristic of Park Development-era landscapes.

Planning initiatives that specified separation of historic and recreational areas of the Park prompted changes to the Park Development-



Figure 55. Aerial photograph of site showing 1935 road network, 1951.



Figure 56. Symmetrical design of Monument tour road, 2001.

era circulation system. Disagreement about converting the oval tour road into a pedestrian path continued even though a General Development Plan was approved in 1948 that specified its retention. The Park removed sections of the road system when a spur road was built to the campground in the 1960s, but the oval tour road remains essentially intact and has gained significance in its own right as an important character-defining landscape feature (figure 56).

Vegetation

Expanses of turf punctuated by a few native trees define the vegetation of the Monument ellipse and the area around the office-museum (figure 58). The remainder of the Park has been allowed to return to a mixed hardwood second-growth forest.

The conversion of the ellipse from an overgrown rural cemetery to a managed memorial landscape dates from 1925 and has remained unchanged over the years. The formal vegetation pattern is a character-defining element of the commemorative landscape at Meriwether Lewis. The goal of vegetation management throughout the rest of the Park sought to keep the woodlands in a natural state, with the judi-

cious planting of a few native trees in developed areas. A major loss occurred in 1942 when one of the oldest trees in the historic area, a white hickory (*Carya tomentosa*), was blown down in a storm. A major ice storm in 1951 seriously damaged a number of trees, which were pruned of storm-damaged limbs later that year. No plantings from the 1938 Planting Plan survive around the office-museum. Archival photographs from 1941 show a few small trees in the island in front of the office-museum (figure 59). The trees found there today may date from this period or from a 1950 planting plan that is referenced in a letter from the landscape architect.¹

Views

Views from the approach road to the Monument have remained open since its construction in 1935 and are a character-defining feature of the landscape. Landscape management practices over the years helped keep this vista open (figure 60). Likewise, trees screen views from the Monument back to the entrance roads or maintenance complex.

Structures

The Monument, which preceded any of the designed landscape features, is the centerpiece of the commemorative landscape. Dating to 1848, the Monument memorializes the grave of Meriwether Lewis and now dominates the one-acre park-like ellipse. Rehabilitation of the Monument (Phase 1 completed in 2000; Phase 2 completed in 2001) restored an important element of the historic landscape (figure 61).

The relocation of the superintendent's residence and the construction of additional maintenance buildings occurred in 1960. Additional employee housing was also added at this time, adjacent to the relocated superintendent's residence (figure 46). The 1935 utility building, now used as a carpenter's shop, and the pump house retain their original locations.

The Park Development-era office-museum has not been altered and is in good condition. However, it appears out of context with the commemorative setting. Intended to "imitate the early log cabin" of the area, the building is not a reconstruction of Grinder's Inn. Visitors

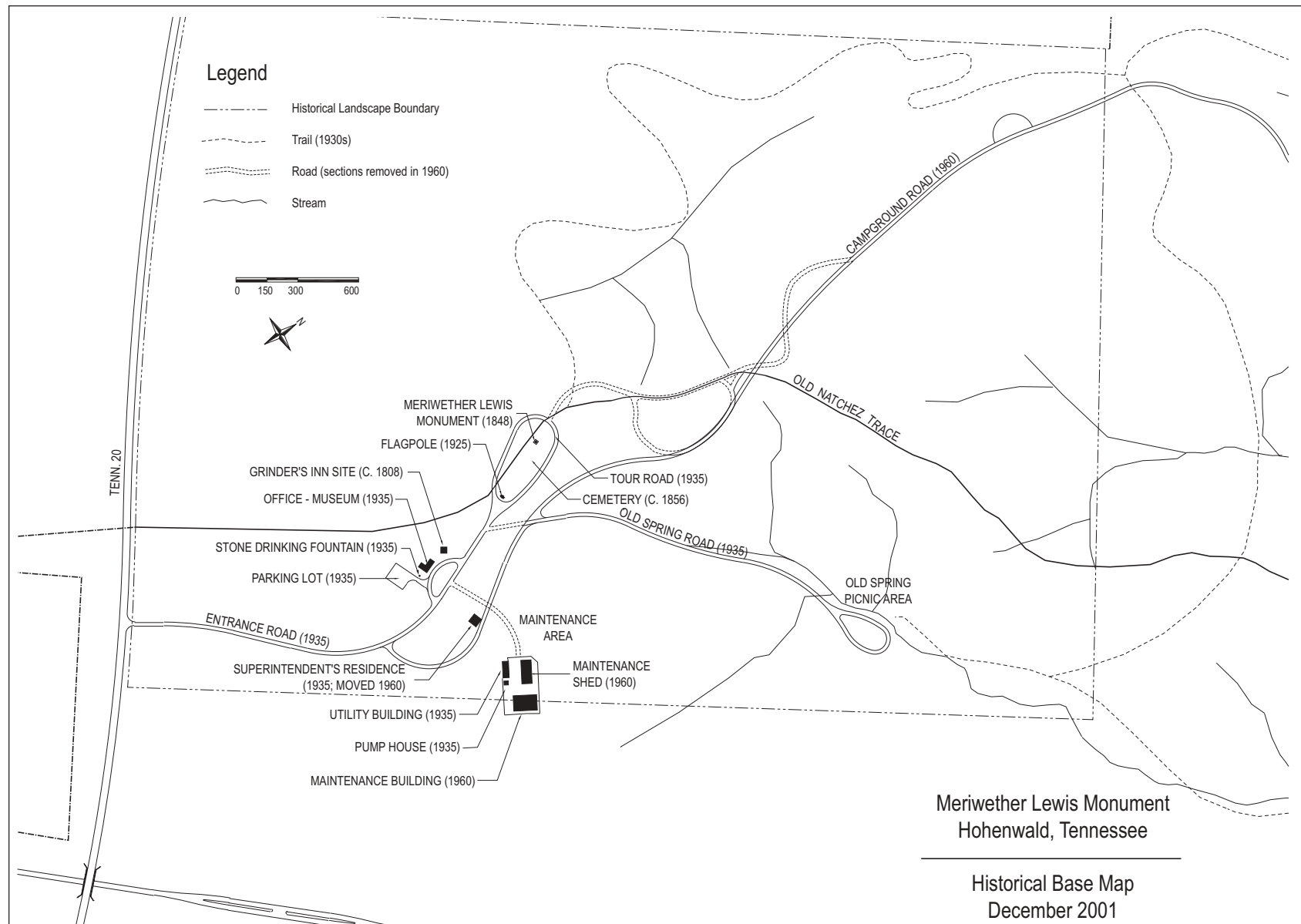


Figure 57. Historical Base Map, 2001.



Figure 58. Trees planted within the ellipse, 2002.



Figure 60. Unobstructed view up to Monument, 2000.



Figure 59. Office-museum, 1941.

often mistake the cabin for a reconstruction because of the sign adjacent to it, indicating that the chimney stones are the remains of Grinder's Inn. Rotting logs have been a major problem with the structure and several repairs have been made. The visitor parking area has undergone no major changes.

Small-Scale Features

The most significant small-scale features are the flush marble cemetery markers installed by the War Department to enhance the memorial character of the Meriwether Lewis Monument (figure 62). The Pioneer Cemetery sign is a Mission 66 addition, as are the phone booth, bench, drinking fountain, and billboard at the visitor parking area. A stone drinking fountain (nonfunctional) adjacent to the office-museum dates to the Park Development era, as do the head walls and masonry gutters associated with the 1935 road network (figures 63 and 64). The rail fence that delineates the site along Tennessee 20 dates from 1944.



Figure 61. Meriwether Lewis Monument, 2002.



Figure 62. Cemetery marker before restoration, 2000.



Figure 63. Stone drinking fountain, 2000.



Figure 64. Stone detailing at Old Spring picnic area, 2001.

Evaluation of Integrity

A landscape that possesses integrity will be able to convey its historical significance. The National Register recognizes seven qualities that, combined, define the integrity of a given site. Those seven criteria are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Several or all of these aspects must be present for a site to retain its historic integrity.²

The following is a preliminary description of the overall condition of the Meriwether Lewis Monument cultural landscape in regards to the seven aspects of integrity.

Location

The site retains moderate to high integrity of location. During its recent rehabilitation, the Meriwether Lewis Monument was relocated

vertically to put it at its correct grade in relation to the adjacent terrain. In 1935, the grading of the site required the flush cemetery markers to be taken up and reset. The office-museum, the original utility building (now a carpenter's shop), and pump house retain integrity of location. The relocation of the superintendent's residence occurred in 1960, when the Park constructed additional employee housing in another area of the Park. The Park Development-era road system retains integrity of location, although segments have been removed over the years.

Design

The site retains moderate to high integrity of design. Rehabilitation of the Monument in 2000 restored major features of the original design. The historic landscape of the ellipse retains integrity of design. Roads constructed during the Park Development era lost design integrity when portions connecting the historic and recreational areas were removed, but the overall form of the elliptical tour road is intact. The office-museum retains integrity of design. Many Park Development-era design details from the Old Spring picnic area and the trail to Dye Stone Spring have been lost.

Setting

The site has evolved from a site associated with Grinder's Inn and the old Natchez Trace to a memorial landscape that marks the grave of Meriwether Lewis. It is the memorial setting that has retained integrity. The landscape of Grinder's Inn has been lost.

The natural settings of the Park's recreational areas remain intact. Early efforts to convert the entire site into a park-like setting were stopped by Charles Peterson in the early days of the Park Development era.

Materials

The features associated with the Meriwether Lewis Monument site retain moderate materials integrity. The replacement of all of the face stones of the base with compatible stones of correct dimension, color, and texture occurred during rehabilitation of the Monument, duplicating the rustic and rough-hewn character of the original. Some of the marble cemetery markers are chipped. Stone, concrete, marble,

asphalt, and brick are historically significant materials used throughout the site.

The grading associated with the Park Development-era improvements ultimately killed several trees in the historic area. No plant materials survive from the 1938 Planting Plan around the office-museum. No planting plan for the ellipse has been located. It appears that the five post oaks in the ellipse date to the War Department administration of the site, as archival photographs from the early 1930s show trees in place. The tulip poplar is a later addition.

Workmanship

The features associated with the Meriwether Lewis Monument site retain high integrity of workmanship. The recent rehabilitation of the Monument returned the workmanship of the stone to a more accurate appearance, restoring an important element of the historic landscape.

The office-museum, the original utility building and pump house, the 1935 circulation system (including the head walls and gutters), and the stone drinking fountain are examples of Park Development-era construction techniques (figures 65 and 66).

Feeling

The landscape management policy, begun by the War Department and continued by the Park Service, of a simple memorial landscape kept the focus on the Monument. The oval monument road reinforced the formal character of the ellipse, which retains a park-like atmosphere in keeping with the desired design character.

Association

The War Department converted the rural overgrown cemetery to a memorial landscape in which the Monument took precedence. The association of the commemorative landscape as a memorial to Meriwether Lewis has remained constant since the 1920s.

The alteration of the original grade of the old Natchez Trace running through the ellipse diminishes its association with the site, as the trace segment is now covered over.

Notes



Figure 65. 1935 utility building, 2001.



Figure 66. 1935 pump house, 2001.

1. If further archeological investigations verify the location of Grinder's Inn, then a period of significance associated with the cultural landscape of Grinder's Inn would be appropriate.
2. Ben R. Chambers, memorandum, 18 January 1950, NATR.
3. National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991), 44.

Part Two: Treatment Recommendations

The treatment section of a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) articulates a preservation strategy for long-term management of a historic landscape based on its significance, existing conditions, and use. Part Two considers management goals, such as public access, preservation of natural resources, contemporary use, and interpretation.

Treatment of a cultural resource must be guided by the policies, guidelines, and standards contained within NPS *Management Policies*, the *Cultural Resource Management Guidelines*, and the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*. These documents identify four types of treatment: preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction.

Specific policies, guidelines, and standards exist for each of the four types of treatments. Collectively, the four treatments form the philosophical basis for responsible preservation practice and enable long-term preservation of a landscape's historic features, qualities, and materials. The four treatments allow for both traditional and contemporary treatment techniques while supporting continued use.

The goal of any treatment program is long-term preservation of a landscape's historic features, qualities, and materials. Generally, the amount of physical intervention in a landscape increases from preservation to reconstruction. Preservation attempts to maintain a landscape in its existing state. Rehabilitation recommends some change to accommodate contemporary use. Restoration often involves removing later additions and reconstructing missing features to depict a landscape at a particular time. Reconstruction replicates a nonsurviving landscape through new construction.

Proposed Preservation Strategy

As defined by the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*, rehabilitation is:

the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values.¹

The Monument landscape has evolved from a historic site associated with Grinder's Inn and the old Natchez Trace to a landscape that has attained significance as a memorial to Meriwether Lewis. Because of the lack of detailed knowledge of the Grinder's Inn landscape and the striking changes to the topography that occurred in 1935, there is no earlier historic landscape to be restored prior to the Park Service alterations. Therefore, a program of rehabilitation that addresses contemporary management, planning, and interpretive concerns while preserving significant cultural resources is the most viable, overarching approach for landscape treatment at the site.

In the course of rehabilitating the Monument in 2000, replacement of deteriorated base stones permitted restoration of the Monument to its full height (figure 67). This treatment modified the original location of the Monument vertically, but eliminated the need for extensive excavation and regrading of the site or leaving the Monument in a hole. The replacement of the marble curb at the base of the Monument was completed in December 2001.



Figure 67. Meriwether Lewis Monument, 2002.

General Recommendations

The following recommendations reflect not only historically based cultural landscape concerns, but also contemporary interpretive and planning issues.

- Emphasize the memorial nature of the site by continuing to mow the turf, which preserves the open quality of the one-acre ellipse, a character-defining feature of the historic landscape.
- Preserve the distinctive commemorative features of the site—the Meriwether Lewis Monument, the 1935 road network, and the cemetery markers.
- Preserve the Old Spring day-use area. The use of the Old Spring as a picnic site predates the establishment of the Park. Although little is left of the War Department and Park Development-era improvements, the Old Spring loop road is an important component of the designed landscape.
- Improve pedestrian circulation up to the Monument. Although never implemented, master plans for the site since the 1940s specified a walkway that would formalize the movement of visitors through the ellipse (see first bullet under “Interpret the old Natchez Trace” below).
- Continue to use a native plant palette for any new trees and shrubs that are added or replanted at the site (see appendix for plant list).
- Complete a DCP to delineate how future improvements will take place at the site. A visitor center with restrooms, offices, and interpretive exhibits is specified in the 1987 Master Plan and still needs to be accomplished.

Specific Treatment Recommendations

Preserve the open character of the ellipse:

- Continue the present mowing regime to maintain the park-like character of the space. The simple formal nature of the ellipse reinforces the Monument and should not be mistaken as an inadequate tribute to Meriwether Lewis (figure 69).

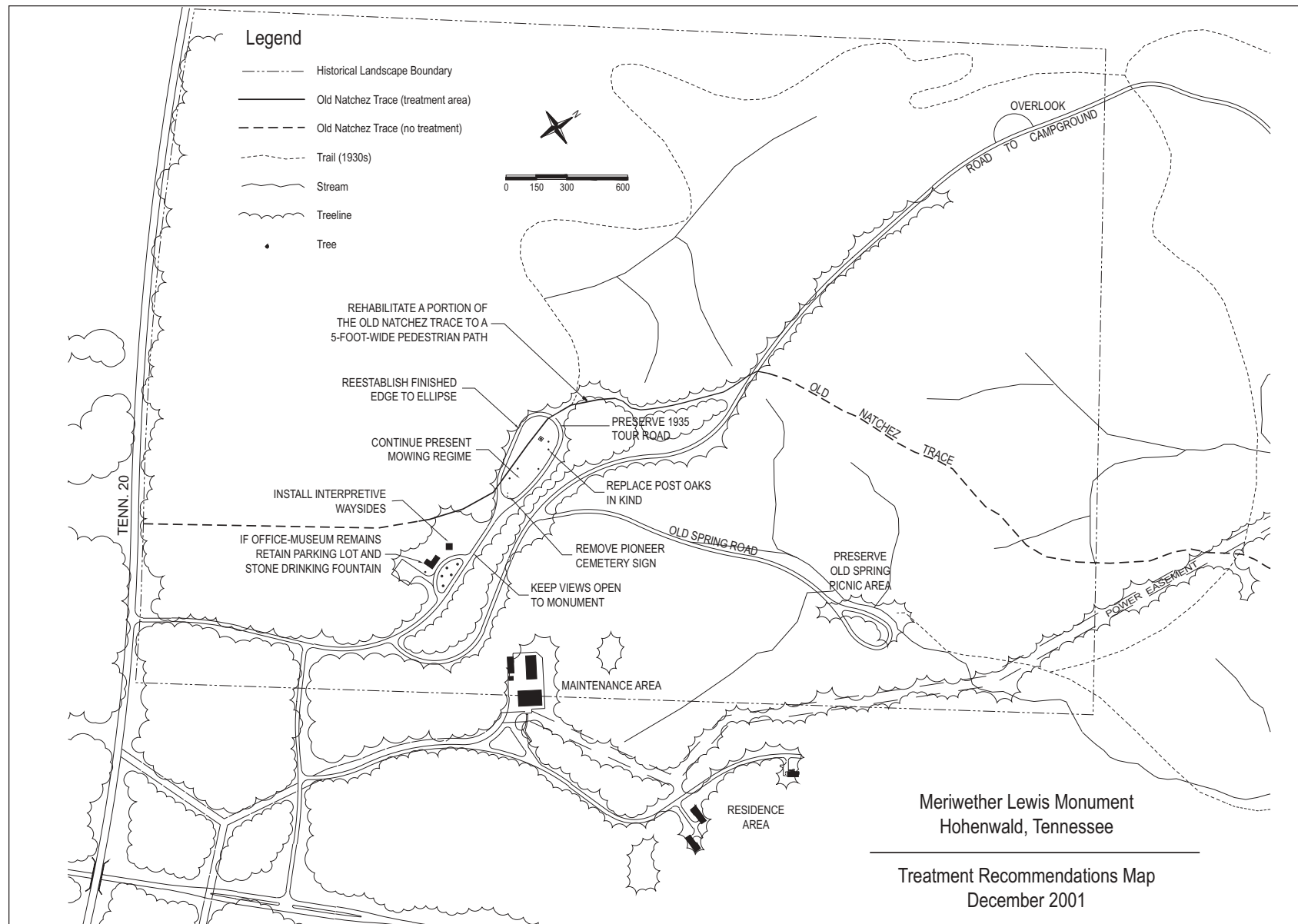


Figure 68. Treatment Recommendations Map, 2001.

- No new trees or shrubs should be planted within the ellipse, except for the existing post oaks, which should be replaced in kind at the appropriate time (death or severe storm damage).
- Vertical elements in the landscape should be discouraged in order to assure the primacy of the Monument.

Rehabilitate the commemorative landscape:

- The restoration of the marble curb at the monument base (four approximately twelve-foot-long sides connected at the corners) was completed in 2001. To prevent the invasion of weeds, a low-maintenance ground cover, such as dwarf mondo grass (*Ophiopogon japonicum* 'Nana'), could be planted in the open space between the base and the curb (figure 70).
- Continue to restore damaged cemetery markers as needed. In 2001, efforts began with nine markers that were restored by the original manufacturer (figure 71).



Figure 69. Open character of the ellipse, 2002.

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- Re-establish a finished edge to the ellipse. In 1935, the Park Service added fill to the ellipse, covering up stone curb improvements completed during the War Department era. A minor excavation should be carried out to locate the original stone curb and determine if it can be retrieved and reset.



Figure 70. Meriwether Lewis Monument, c. 1916, showing invasion of weeds.



Figure 71. Cemetery marker in need of restoration, 2001.

Replacements for missing pieces should be cut to complete the curbs around the ellipse.

- Preserve the 1935 monument tour road. Buses and RV's should be prohibited from driving around the oval monument road because of the tightness of the curve and the potential damage to adjacent edges by these large vehicles (figure 72).
- Remove the Pioneer Cemetery sign. The name "pioneer cemetery" is not historic and should not detract from the simplicity of the ellipse. Interpretation of the cemetery should occur in the proposed visitor center and in a Meriwether Lewis brochure (figure 73).

Preserve the Old Spring day-use area:

- Preserve the Old Spring Road that circles through the site.
- Preserve the rock-paved gutters and dressed stone head walls.
- Consider developing this site as a group picnic area.



Figure 72. Pioneer Cemetery sign, 2002.

Interpret the old Natchez Trace:

- Establish a five-foot-wide pedestrian path that follows the alignment of the old Natchez Trace as it passes through the Meriwether Lewis Monument landscape. Visitors may access this trail from the existing parking lot adjacent to the office-museum. The segment adjacent to the parking lot and north of the ellipse should blend naturally with the wooded area along the trail (figure 74). The segment crossing the ellipse should have a more formal look (see appendix for product recommendations). The entire trail should meet ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act) requirements for accessibility.
- Interpretative waysides explaining the significance of the old Natchez Trace should occur outside of the ellipse, as the original grade is covered over inside the one-acre oval.
- Continue current maintenance practices for the trail to Dye Stone Springs.

Seek funding for a new design effort that addresses expanded visitor services at Meriwether Lewis. An increase in visitation is expected during the bicentennial celebration of the Lewis and Clark expedition beginning in 2004:

- The current office-museum is an inadequate expression of the life and times of Meriwether Lewis. Recommendations for an expanded visitor center facility and associated parking will be addressed in a DCP that is in progress.
- No development should take place within the immediate viewshed of the Monument. Any new development should be placed in a location that does not intrude visually into the ellipse (figure 63).
- The office-museum may remain in its present location or may be moved, but another use should be considered. Visitors to the site often mistake the building for a reconstruction of Grinder's Inn and believe that Lewis died in this location. The



Figure 73. View of section of the Old Natchez Trace north of the Monument, 2000.

final disposition of the office-museum will be decided from the preferred alternative chosen from the DCP.

- No development should take place that would compromise future archeological investigations northwest of the office-museum. The proposed location of Grinder's Inn is important to the cultural landscape and should be managed appropriately to ensure that further deterioration of the site does not occur, and that archeological information can be recovered from it.
- Install waysides that explain the archeological investigations carried out by SEAC. The wayside should explain that the office-museum is not a reconstruction of Grinder's Inn, but rather seeks to imitate the early log cabin typically found on the Old Natchez Trace.

Update National Register and List of Classified Structures (LCS) documentation for the site:

- Prepare a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places for the Meriwether Lewis Monument site.
- Add the Monument, cemetery markers, flagpole, War Department tablets, office-museum, stone drinking fountain, utility building, pump house, superintendent's residence, oval tour road, Old Spring Road, and stone culverts, head walls, and gutters to the LCS.

Notes

1. National Park Service, *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of the Interior, 1996), 48.

Part Three: Record of Treatment

Purpose

As both a follow-up to the CLR's recommendations and as a reference for future historic research, the Park should maintain an accurate record of treatment to document the intent, extent, time, and cost of all implemented treatments. This record should describe the as-built physical work, including any modifications between the proposed and actual treatments. Systematic documentation is important whether treatment is implemented over an extended period of time or in short discrete phases. The record should document specific treatment actions, not routine preservation maintenance, unless maintenance is altered specifically as a result of the treatment recommendations.

Contents and Format

The record of treatment should include copies of field reports, condition assessments, and any contract summaries. Documentation may follow a variety of formats, including as-built construction drawings, plans, details, narrative descriptions, "before" and "after" photographs, and even videos. The Section 106 compliance documentation developed to review and approve recommended treatment actions may, in some cases, be sufficient as the record of treatment.

When treatment recommendations are not implemented immediately following the preparation of the CLR, the record of treatment should also describe any changes that have occurred to the existing condition of the landscape prior to treatment. The record of treatment may be produced as an appendix or addendum to the CLR and designated as "Part Three: Record of Treatment."

Reference Materials

The "Landscape Lines" section of *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports* (1999) explains and provides technical guidance on various landscape survey, research, and treatment techniques that may be employed in preparing a record of treatment. All parks should have received a copy of the guide during the spring of 1999; NATR's copy is housed in the library at park headquarters in Tupelo. Additional copies of the guide are available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402-9325, Stock No. 0245-005-01187-1.

Another useful reference is the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation's *Guide to Developing a Preservation Maintenance Plan for a Historic Landscape* (1998), especially the summary, inspection, and inventory forms provided in Appendix F (p. 62), which could easily be adapted for use in compiling a record of treatment. This publication is included as an appendix to the *Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports* sent to each park. (For additional information regarding this publication, visit the Olmsted Center's web site at <http://www.nps.gov/frla/oclp.htm>.)

Guidelines and standardized forms for preparing a record of treatment will eventually be accessible for park use on the SERO-CRS intranet site, located at <http://crs.sero.nps.gov>.

References

Documentary Materials

Natchez Trace Parkway map and archival collection, Natchez Trace Parkway Headquarters (NATR), Tupelo, Mississippi:

Park Development Plans and Drawings Collection

Map Case 4, Drawer 1, Folder 18, Development and Master Plans, 1939-1964

Design and Construction Plans and Drawings Collection

Map Case 4, Drawer 6, Folder 8

Map Case 4, Drawer 7, Folders 9-11

Map Case 4, Drawer 9, Folders 22-23

Construction Files Collection

Box 1, Folders 2-9

Maintenance Project Completion Report Collection

Box 1, Folders 1-10

Maintenance Photographic Collection

Section 1-E, 46-153

Federal Recalled Records Collection

Box 1, Folders 3, 6-8, 11, 22, 23

Box 5, Folders 48-51, 56, 61-63, 65-66, 70-72

Box 7, Folders 73, 77, 82, 84, 88, 94

Box 8, Folder 100

George A. Grant Collection, Harper's Ferry Center, Harper's Ferry, WV.

Lewis County Library, Hohenwald, TN.

Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

Drawings and Plans

Plans located in NPS archives at Denver Service Center, Technical Information Center (DSC/TIC); some duplicated in NATR map collection:

604/1000	Development Plan, 1934
604/1000-A	Park Office: Superintendent's Residence, 1934
604/1002-B	Utility Building, 1934
604/1004-A	Office Building, 1934
604/1006	Pump Building, 1935
604/1060	Proposed Walks for Office and Residence, 1936
604/2000	General Development, 1943
604/2001	General Development, 1943
604/2002	Road and Trail System Plan, 1952
604/2050	Planting and Development Plan-Hdq. Area, 1938
604/2051	Road and Trails Map, 1938
604/2052	Development Plan Headquarters Area, 1938
604/2053	Meriwether Lewis Topographical & Historical Map, no date
604/2053-A	Meriwether Lewis Topographical & Historical Map, 1942
604/2054	Cattle Guard and Fencing Plan, 1944
604/2057	Meriwether Lewis Development, 1942
604/2057-A	Meriwether Lewis Development, 1945
604/2057-B	Meriwether Lewis Development, no date
604/2057-C	Meriwether Lewis Development, 1947
604/2057-D	Meriwether Lewis Development, 1948
604/2776-B	Access, Entrance, and Residential Roads, 1956
604/2898-B	Development Meriwether Lewis, Little Swan, 1959
604/2988-A	Building Layout Meriwether Lewis Maintenance Area, 1958

604/3138-A Little Swan & Meriwether Lewis Development, 1959
 604/3139-A Meriwether Lewis Layout Plan, 1959
 604/3061 Layout, Meriwether Lewis Headquarters, no date
 604/3255 Section 1-E, 1970
 604/9000 Meriwether Lewis National Monument Entrance, 1931
 604/20003 Meriwether Lewis Development, no date
 604/20004 Meriwether Lewis Development, 1938

Unpublished Reports

The following reports are located in the Natchez Trace Parkway archives, Tupelo, Mississippi. Some may also be available in other NPS libraries.

“Draft Remote Sensing Survey and Archeological Testing.” Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee, FL, 2001. Photocopy.

“Inspection of Trees and Lawns at the Meriwether Lewis National Monument.” Natchez Trace Parkway, October 1931. Photocopy.

Kay, William K. *Meriwether Lewis National Monument: Its Origin, Development and Administration*. Natchez Trace Parkway, 1959. Typescript.

Leach, Sara Amy. *Meriwether Lewis Monument and Site: A Compilation of Critical Dates and Developments*. Natchez Trace Parkway, 1999. Photocopy.

Meriwether Lewis National Monument. *Annual Forestry Reports*.

Meriwether Lewis National Monument. “Quarterly Reports.”

Meriwether Lewis National Monument. *Superintendent’s Monthly Reports*.

“Miscellaneous Roads, Final Construction Report.” Bureau of Public Roads, December 1935. Photocopy.

“Mission 66 Prospectus Brief, Meriwether Lewis National Monument.” Natchez Trace Parkway, August 1955. Photocopy.

Natchez Trace Parkway. *Superintendent’s Annual Reports*.

Published Materials

Alexander Wilson to Alexander Lawson, 18 May 1810. “Particulars of the Death of Capt. Lewis.” *Port Folio* XI (1811): 34-47.

Ambrose, Stephen. *Undaunted Courage*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

Hough, Emerson. “A Forgotten Hero.” *Southern Woman’s Magazine* 9 (June 1917): 18-20, 43.

Jackson, D., ed. *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. 2nd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.

Lewis County Herald. 16 December 1920—5 December 1935.

Nashville Tennessean. 26 October 1924—18 August 1925.

Phelps, Dawson. “Stands and Travel Accommodations of the Natchez Trace.” *The Journal of Mississippi History* 11 (January 1949): 1-54.

Phelps, Dawson. “The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 13 (July 1956): 305-318.

State of Tennessee. *House Journal*. 1849.

Sublett, Harold. *History of Lewis County, Tennessee*. Hohenwald, TN: Sublett’s Studio, 1976.

Swain, John. “The Natchez Trace.” *Everybody’s Magazine* (September 1905): 329-336.

White, William. *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1845-1857*. Vol. 4. Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1957.

Appendix

1938 Planting and Development Plan — Headquarters Area, Plant List

Abelia x grandiflora – Glossy abelia
Rhododendron periclymenoides – Pinxterbloom azalea*
Rhododendron viscosum – Swamp azalea*
Buxus sempervirens – Common box
Calycanthus floridus – Sweetshrub*
Celastrus scandens – Bittersweet*
Cercis canadensis – Redbud*
Cornus florida – Flowering dogwood*
Corylus americana – American hazelnut*
Cotoneaster horizontalis – Rock cotoneaster
Euonymus fortunei var. *radicans* – Wintercreeper euonymous
Gaylussacia brachycera – Huckleberry*
Hedera helix – English ivy
Hydrangea quercifolia – Oakleaf hydrangea*
Ilex opaca – American holly*
Juniperus virginiana – Eastern redcedar*
Lagerstroemia indica rosea – Common crapemyrtle
Prunus caroliniana – Carolina cherrylaurel*
Rhamnus caroliniana – Carolina buckthorn*
Rhus typhina – Staghorn sumac*
Symphoricarpos orbiculatus – Indian currant coralberry*
Vaccinium corymbosum – Highbush blueberry*

*Native

Recommendations for Pedestrian Trail Adjacent to Parking Lot and North of Ellipse

Resin Pavement constructed with Road Oyl Resin Modified Emulsion. Because Resin Pavement bound with Road Oyl retains the natural appearance and coloration of the aggregate selected for the mix, a material should be chosen that blends naturally with the wooded area along the trail.

Recommendations for Pedestrian Trail Crossing the Ellipse

Crusher fines from a local quarry stabilized with Road Oyl or Klingstone 400.

Sources

Road Oyl and Resin Pavement:

Soil Stabilization Products Company, Inc.
P.O. Box 2779
Merced, CA 95344-0779
(800) 523-9992
www.sspco.com

Klingstone 400:

Green Mountain International
235 Pigeon Street
Waynesville, NC 28786
(800) 942-5151
www.mountaingrout.com/Trails/index.html

Dwarf Mondo Grass:

Classic Groundcovers
405 Belmont Road
Athens, GA 30605
(800) 248-8424



Natchez Trace Parkway
2680 Natchez Trace Parkway
Tupelo, MS 38804

www.nps.gov/natr