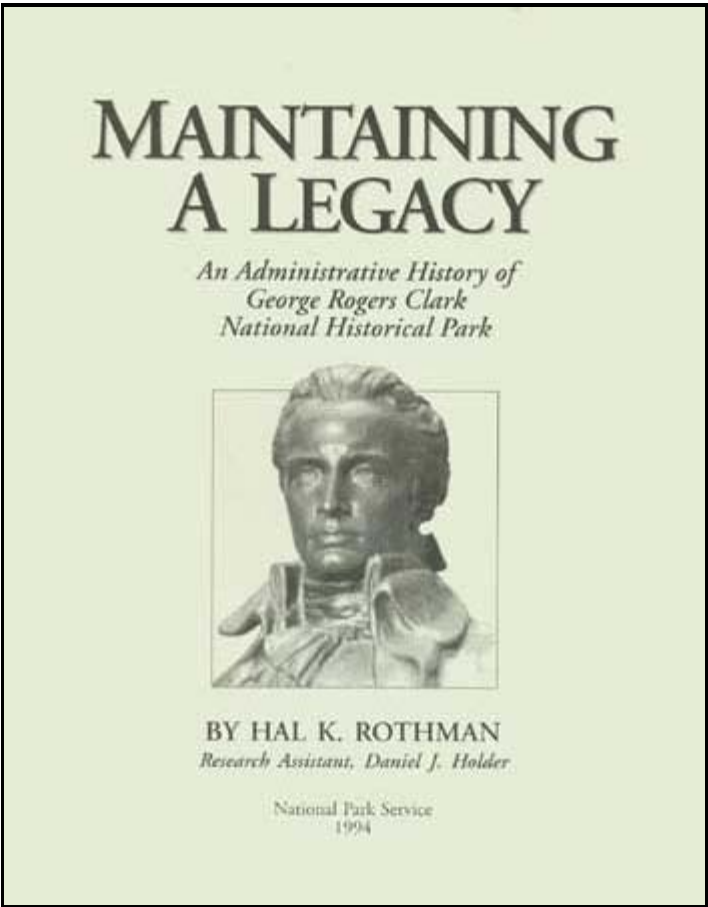


GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Maintaining A Legacy

An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



MAINTAINING A LEGACY

An Administrative
History of George Rogers
Clark National Historical
Park

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was established to commemorate the actions of George Rogers Clark and his Big Knives in the winter of 1778-1779. Their surprise attack and capture of Fort Sackville secured the Old Northwest for the fledgling American republic and set the stage for the creation of a continental nation.

Dedicated in 1936, the Clark memorial passed through a number of administrative entities before the Park Service assumed responsibility in 1966. After construction of the memorial was authorized in 1928, the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission maintained authority over the project until 1940. Between 1940 and the arrival of the Park Service, the Indiana Department of Conservation administered the area.

When the National Park Service began to manage George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, few of the facilities and amenities of a modern park area were extant. Initial agency effort was devoted to basic management and interpretation. Only after a number of years did the Park Service acquire the funds to begin serious capital development.

The development of the park depended on the construction of a visitor center. For complex reasons, this project became extremely controversial not only within the agency, but with the public as well. Park Service efforts to adhere to new regulations complicated its relationship with the community. In the end, officials and local leaders orchestrated a compromise, and the visitor center was constructed.

Maintenance of the memorial structure and grounds has been the major burden of agency management at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. The memorial has numerous problems, the most vexing of which is ongoing leaking. When the Park Service arrived in Vincennes, officials believed the problems of the structure resulted from a dearth of resources available to previous management entities. More than twenty-five years of experience has suggested that the problems of the memorial are endemic, and as the memorial structure ages, maintenance will remain a major budget item at the park.

For managers at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, relationships with the Vincennes community remain extremely important. The people of the area see the park as their own and feel a proprietary interest in its activities. The result is an urban park situation, where park managers have to respond to the demands of the community as well as the rules and regulations of the Park Service and the Department of the Interior. In the early 1990s, as resources became more scarce and people across the nation were asked to do more with less, this relationship had the potential to effect management decisions at the park.

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CHAPTER 1:

George Rogers Clark and the Taking of Fort Sackville

George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was established to commemorate the endeavors of George Rogers Clark and his Big Knives, who marched approximately 175 miles through difficult conditions to launch a surprise attack on the British post of Fort Sackville in the town of Vincennes. The capture of the fort secured the Trans-Appalachian region for the fledgling United States, establishing a presence that gave the new nation broad horizons. Clark's victory had a direct impact on the shape of the American nation. From the territory indirectly secured by actions of Clark's men later came the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and the eastern portion of Minnesota.

A Virginian by birth, Clark determined that his future lay in the Ohio Valley. By the time he turned nineteen, he began studying surveying, a skill of great value on the frontier. Others, such as George Washington, had measured boundaries for land companies in the Ohio Country, simultaneously acquiring title to valuable lands for themselves. Of entrepreneurial bent, Clark headed west first to survey such lands and later to settle on them. [1]

By the time he settled in Kentucky in 1773, Clark was perceived as a leader. A tall man with reddish hair, he had the ability to captivate an audience with his speeches and was renowned for his military prowess. Seen as forthright and talented by his peers, he was an exemplum of a Virginia man of the 1770s. His selection as one of two Kentuckians to take a petition from its people to the Virginia Assembly in 1776 reflected his stature. The following year, when he was chosen as the major in command of the Kentucky militia at the young age of twenty-four, no one expressed surprise. [2]

The Revolutionary War in the Old Northwest preceded George Rogers Clark's involvement, but he galvanized the Americans and elevated their quest from a contest between different kinds of villagers into an imperial expedition. Before Clark, the aims of American settlers in the West were singularly local in ambition. After Clark received carte blanche from the governor of Virginia to pursue the British in the Old Northwest, he sought to implement a plan that would open an immense territory and detach an extremely large area, the Illinois Country, from the British empire. Success would open an American route to the garrison at Detroit, the most important British outpost in the region. In a contest of shifting alliances and minute ambitions, Clark sought to enact a grand scheme. [3]

In this plan, Vincennes played a pivotal role. To secure the region, Clark needed to conquer the settlements on the Mississippi River, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Prairie du Rocher, as well as Vincennes, on the Wabash River. After the capture of the Mississippi River settlements on July 4-6, 1778, Clark dispatched one of his captains, Leonard Helm, and a platoon of men to take Vincennes. They captured the town, and Helm wrapped the British flag around a rock and threw it into the Wabash River. Seemingly Clark and the Americans had attained their

objectives. [4]

Plans for a British counterattack on Vincennes followed the reception of the news of the capture. While planning a venture against Fort Pitt from his base at Detroit, Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton, the "hair buyer" who rewarded Indians for the delivery of American scalps, heard of the capture of the Illinois settlements. He changed objectives, and on October 7, 1778, his force departed for Vincennes. On December 17, he arrived at Vincennes and found the French militia had vanished and the French civilians in the town unprepared to resist. Captain Helm had only three men to defend Fort Sackville, the remainder of his platoon having gone home. Helm surrendered after a promise of good treatment, and Hamilton prepared to wait out the winter and attack the Mississippi River settlements in the spring. [5] He fully expected that the destruction of Clark's force would serve as a prelude to the elimination of the American presence in the Old Northwest.

Clark was informed of these developments by Francis Vigo, a merchant he previously sent to Vincennes to supply Helm, and fashioned a bold response. Most of his options were distasteful; only a winter attack on Vincennes before Hamilton could amass his Indian allies in the spring offered the possibility of saving the West for the Americans. On February 5, 1779, one week after Vigo's arrival in Kaskaskia, Clark and 170 men departed in the freezing cold for Vincennes [6]

For nearly two weeks, the attack force marched across the flooded bottomlands of Illinois toward Vincennes. On February 18, they reached the Wabash River about eleven miles below Vincennes and made camp. Two days later, guards captured five Frenchmen who gave them information and agreed to guide them to Vincennes. Clark realized that his men would have to cross an area of neck-high water to reach their next camp. To inspire them, he blackened his face with moistened gunpowder, gave a war whoop, and headed into the water. Stunned by this display of commitment and leadership, his men followed. Clark ordered singing, all joined in, and the men went, as Clark wrote, "cheerfully." [7]

As they reached the immediate vicinity of Vincennes, Clark faced difficult issues. He needed to know whether the French who lived in Vincennes would side with the Americans; he already had been heartened to find out that Tobacco's Son, a chief of the nearby Piankashaw tribe, recently told British officers that his Piankashaw and their allies, the Kickapoo, would side with the Americans. With this knowledge and the expectation that the French in Vincennes would be lukewarm if not hostile to the British, Clark resolved to have a captured French duck hunter carry a letter back to the citizens of Vincennes. [8]

A battle was imminent. The letter created a stir in town, augmented by the hunter's report that 1,000 Americans were camped outside of town and more would soon arrive. As Clark expected, the local French sided with the Americans. Clark's army approached the town, and on February 23, the battle began. Clark's men occupied the heights southwest of the fort, placed sharpshooters there, and firing ensued. Tobacco's Son arrived to support Clark with nearly 100 warriors. Throughout the night the shooting continued, and at 9 A.M. on February 24, Clark called for a truce and sent a message to Hamilton demanding the surrender of the fort. Hamilton refused, and the firing resumed. [9]

As Hamilton maneuvered for time, Clark performed an act that precipitated the surrender of the fort. Hamilton requested a three-day truce, a proposition Clark countered with a repeat of his demand for immediate capitulation. About the same time, a party of fifteen to twenty Delaware and Ottawa warriors led by a Frenchman returned to the fort. Sent out earlier by Hamilton to find deserters, the group captured two and brought them back to Vincennes. Clark's Kickapoo allies alerted him to the arrival of the party, and Capt. John Williams of Clark's force was sent to greet and capture the incoming men. A lull in the fighting deceived

the French and Indians in the search party. They believed Williams' men had come from the fort to give them a customary greeting. As the two parties approached each other, an Indian leading the group became suspicious, and Williams seized him. The rest fled with the Americans in pursuit. Williams' men captured six (two of them proving to be the Indians' two white prisoners), killed two others, and wounded three. [10]

Clark intended to use his captives to make an impression on the British and Indians within the fort. He wanted the Indians to see that Hamilton was powerless to protect them and so gave the order to have the four prisoners tomahawked in front of the surrounded garrison. Paraded into a circle opposite the front of the main gate to the fort, their hands and feet bound, the Indians were killed one by one, singing their death songs. The white partisan leader who had been captured was also to be executed, but his father, Lieutenant La Croix, a volunteer from Cahokia serving with the Americans, begged for his son's life. Clark granted the request. [11]

The executions had more than the desired effect. Hamilton was so shaken that at 2 P.M., he and his subordinate, Major Jehu Hay, emerged from the fort in full dress uniform to offer a list of conditions for surrender. Clark rejected the terms and again demanded unconditional surrender. After negotiations, the British commander finally capitulated. On the morning of February 25, 1779, Hamilton and his men marched out of the fort to find only Clark's small and ragged band of men. Stunned, the vanquished officer reportedly asked: "Colonel Clark, where is your army?" Clark indicated that what Hamilton saw was all that had come with him, and Hamilton became a prisoner with the full knowledge that he could have continued the fight and probably won. [12]

The battle for the fort came to serve as a metaphor for the spread of the Americans into the Old Northwest. The new frontier embodied much less of the negotiation that characterized the pre-1760s world of British and French alliances and much more of the nature of the expansionist American republic. Although removal of the remaining Indian people from the Old Northwest took almost fifty years to complete, after Fort Sackville, the structure of its conclusion was only occasionally in doubt.

The spread of settlers was incremental, as was the move westward of many Indians, but it became an inexorable process. Despite great Indian victories over the Americans in instances such as the defeats of armies led by Josiah Harmer in 1790 and Arthur St. Clair in 1791, the balance of power shifted away from Indians and to the incoming Americans. [13] The economic and political relationships that so mattered before the battle at Vincennes lost importance as an American hegemony developed.

For more than thirty years after the capture of Fort Sackville, Indians tried numerous strategies to save their homes and lands. Some strategies sought accommodation; treaties that purported to draw a line between whites and Indians and cede in perpetuity all land west of a certain point to Indians were common. In other circumstances, Indians tried to reach mutually agreed upon terms of existence, but the flood of settlers made such agreements impossible to enforce. The only other strategy was war.

Between the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, when Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne crushed the Shawnee and Miamis in Ohio, and the War of 1812, the organizational structure of many Indian tribal groups became fragmented. This mirrored the experience of other Indians in the face of earlier European and American encroachment and caused major problems for Indians who sought to resist incoming settlers. Social arrangements were damaged by the collapse of traditional community and tribal frameworks, and individual groups ceased to be sufficiently numerous and powerful to resist alone. But only in specific circumstances did Indians come together for sustained mutual defense, for their identities as kinship groups, tribes, and bands

superseded any sense of obligation towards people who had been their historic enemies.

In the background were the British in Canada, a potent force prepared to assist the Indians in their efforts to dislodge American settlers from the Old Northwest. But British support was limited; the Indian experience at the battle of Fallen Timbers, where the British shut the gates of their fort to retreating Indians, proved as much. During the War of 1812, the British started out as supporters of an Indian confederacy that sought to remove the Americans, but redirected their objectives to defend Canada from the threat of American attack. In the battle of Fort Malden in 1815, the Indian leader Tecumseh was killed, and with him, died military resistance and his dream of Indian unity. [14] His death cemented the changes that the actions of George Rogers Clark at Fort Sackville in 1779 so clearly foreshadowed.

Despite his seeming aptitude for commercial culture and speculation, Clark fared poorly in the aftermath of his military exploit at Fort Sackville. An expedition he led in 1786 ended in his humiliation. His role as an Indian commissioner ended about the same time. Clark tried to receive reimbursement for expenses of nearly £5,000 incurred in the 1778-1779 Vincennes campaign, but the Commonwealth of Virginia and the federal government refused to pay his claim. Merchants held Clark personally responsible, lawsuits mounted, and Clark was financially ruined. After most of his lands in Kentucky were confiscated, he moved to a crude two-story log house on his remaining parcel of property, across the Ohio River from Louisville and near the point from which his expedition departed in 1778. In 1808, he became partially paralyzed and suffered the amputation of one leg after a fall. The Virginia legislature gave him a \$400 annual pension after these calamities. Clark died in 1818. [15]

By the time of statehood for Indiana in 1816, Clark had become a legend. He had become a mythological figure to a world he never successfully inhabited, a world that could revere but not accommodate him. This was the world that became the cities and farms of Indiana, with its capitol moved from Vincennes to Corydon and finally to Indianapolis, a city of factories and warehouses that reflected the values of an industrial society. It was this city and this society that could and would build a memorial to George Rogers Clark.

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CHAPTER 2:

"Second to None in America, Even East of the Alleghenies": Inventing the George Rogers Clark Memorial

During the 1920s, the United States underwent one of its periodic cultural cataclysms. The upheaval following the end of World War I, the rise of mass communication media such as silent movies and the radio, a dramatic increase in the availability of the automobile, a new cycle of urbanization, and the passage of the Volstead Act and the subsequent era of Prohibition combined to create a culture at war with itself. On one side of this battle were the "Drys," paragons of a kind of preindustrial rural virtue that advocated delayed gratification, faith, and sunup-to-sundown work. On the other were followers of a new order, the "Wets," who embraced urbanization and modernization and who experienced the kind of alienation of which writers such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, author of *The Great Gatsby*, wrote. Coming to a head in the trial of high school biology teacher John T. Scopes in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925 for teaching the forbidden creed of scientific evolution, the decade embodied immense cultural conflict. [16]

An economic dimension of this struggle for cultural dominance also existed. During the 1920s, the availability of consumer goods and widespread credit coupled with the centralization of commodity distribution created a world in which those with the ability to invest did extremely well and those who could not lost ground. Agricultural areas such as the rural Midwest were hit hard; the combination of economic and cultural turmoil during the decade played a part in such phenomena as the resurgence of the nativist Ku Klux Klan in Indiana. [17]

Against this backdrop, the sesquicentennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the beginning of the Revolutionary War approached. Much of the war had been fought along the Eastern seaboard, and the majority of the sites associated with it were there. Yet Vincennes, Indiana, also had a special claim for patriotic importance. The capture of Fort Sackville by George Rogers Clark and his Big Knives in 1779 played a pivotal role in the war, securing what would become the Old Northwest for the fledgling republic. In a time of cultural and economic change that sometimes seemed out of control, when state institutions in Indiana were under scrutiny as a result of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and when the young seemed devoid of an understanding of the salient features of the American past, places such as Vincennes had the potential to be tremendously significant.

The generation who was leading both the nation and the state strongly felt its ties to the past. Following the end of the Civil War, a new kind of reverence arose for the American experience. At many battlefields, Union and Confederate veterans alike gathered on the anniversary of a specific battle to remember their losses; northern politicians harkened back to their Civil War stance or service and "waved the bloody shirt" well into the early twentieth

century. Museums became conduits of cultural transmission, massive temples that served as shrines to commemorate the achievements of American culture. World's fairs and expositions enunciated the triumphs of American technology, virtue, and ideology, seemingly mitigating the dislocation caused by industrialization with the pronouncement of its successes. [18]

In a state such as Indiana, increasingly divided between its urban industrial north and its more rural, agrarian, and less economically well off south, these distinctions had powerful significance. As did southern Illinois to its west, southern Indiana shared in little of the advantages of industrialization, yet its residents were equally exposed to the new world of the 1920s. Everywhere it seemed, even on farms and in small towns, people decried the decline in values and morality, the loss of affection for the standards of the old. Even in the commotion that came to surround the sesquicentennial of the American Revolution, Indiana's primary event, the taking of Fort Sackville, and its ancillary moments of importance in the development of the nation, such as the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, were slighted. The legacy of Clark's capture of Fort Sackville was an integral part of the story of the American Revolution; what remained was to cast that heritage in a manner that reflected the values of the time.

With both economic and cultural needs apparent in southern Indiana, and with the support of strong legislative forces from the rural parts of the state, a combination of politics, local initiative, and opportunism joined to create a small movement that favored commemoration of the efforts of George Rogers Clark and his men. The site of Fort Sackville had become part of downtown Vincennes, the commercial center of Knox County, Indiana. Even in the worst of times, commercial space was valuable, and after the destruction of Fort Sackville, its location became part of the business district of the city. At the onset of the 1920s, a warehouse, grain elevator, feed mill, and a number of run-down boardinghouses covered the site of the most important American victory of the Revolutionary War that occurred west of the Allegheny Mountains. Only a marker placed there in 1905 by the Daughters of the American Revolution attested to its importance. [19]

Such a situation spoke poorly of Indiana as a state. In a nation on the verge of the sesquicentennial of its founding moment, one of its prominent states had in its domain an important historic place that was treated with none of the dignity such a location merited. As 1929, the 150th anniversary of Clark's expedition approached, a nation where the homes of even minor figures of the founding era had become house museums neglected Vincennes, a place of national importance. [20]

By the middle of the 1920s, a movement to arrange for state preservation of the Fort Sackville site had begun among Vincennes area leaders and their organizations. A Vincennes leader, State Representative D. Frank Culbertson served as the catalyst, contacting Dr. Christopher B. Coleman, director of the Indiana Historical Society. Aware of a proposal to construct a new bridge across the Wabash River at the foot of Vigo Street in downtown Vincennes, Culbertson suggested that a statue of Clark be commissioned to grace the entrance to the Indiana side of the bridge. Coleman recognized the potential of the idea, for similar commemorative efforts were in progress in the East. On April 19, 1925, a sesquicentennial reenactment of the midnight ride of Paul Revere was to occur in Massachusetts. To Coleman, the 150th anniversary of the fall of Fort Sackville offered an important opportunity to rescue this local facet of the legacy of the American Revolution from the oblivion into which it had toppled. [21]

Local and state organizations of various kinds joined in the idea. The Vincennes Historical Society petitioned the Indiana Historical Society to initiate a drive to commemorate the location of Fort Sackville. By the end of 1925, the Indiana Historical Society had established the General Clark Sesquicentennial Committee. A local lawyer and longtime history buff,

Ewing Emison, brought the most powerful political entity in the state, the Republican Party, into the drive. At his behest in May 1926, the state party adopted a plank in its platform to commemorate the Clark expedition. [22]

The General Clark Sesquicentennial Committee pursued the same objective. In 1925, its members devised the initial version of the plan to honor the actions of Clark and his men. Committee members envisioned city, county, state, and federal participation in support of the idea, with Vincennes and Knox County acquiring and donating the Fort Sackville site, the state purchasing the remainder of the necessary acreage, and the United States government finding the construction of a memorial. The plan found favor with the local press, and the Vincennes Chamber of Commerce supported the effort wholeheartedly, appropriating \$23,000 for lobbying efforts in both Indianapolis and Washington, D.C.

At the same time as the state Republican party met, the General Clark Sesquicentennial Committee convened a luncheon for approximately 500 people in the gymnasium of Gibault High School in Vincennes. There the committee defined its plan of action. Committee members took a broad-based approach to the issue, planning to seek donations of all of the land on which Fort Sackville had been located, promote the construction of a boulevard along the riverfront that would connect the site of Fort Sackville with nearby Grouseland, home of territorial governor and later United States President William Henry Harrison, reconstruct Fort Sackville, and provide for a suitable museum commemorating Clark and his men near the site of the fort. They planned to invite the president of the United States to address a public meeting in Vincennes in February 1929, the sesquicentennial of the fort's capture. The committee also sought to stage a professional pageant in Vincennes during the summer of 1929, and advocated the minting of a George Rogers Clark commemorative half dollar and postage stamp. In addition, committee members supported the construction of a plaza in front of the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church — also known as the Old Cathedral — adjacent to the Fort Sackville site. The committee also sought commemoration of those who assisted Clark's endeavor — most notably Francis Vigo and Father Pierre Gibault. [23]

Nor did the committee neglect outside sources of support and finding. Committee members envisioned Fort Sackville as a place of national importance and made every effort to plan its development in a national context. Federal support was a key to the success of the plans of the committee, and its idea of a "public meeting" — what could be termed as a conference — and a summer pageant reflected the economic, patriotic, and practical dimensions of having an important national site located in the community. [24]

In this, the leaders of the Vincennes community expanded not only the value and meaning of historic preservation, but also the way in which it was accomplished. In the 1920s, most historic preservation was supported by elite, private groups and was confined to the homes of historic and sometimes merely antiquarian figures. Places such as George Washington's home of Mount Vernon and Thomas Jefferson's estate of Monticello had been preserved by the efforts of private citizens and while the federal government possessed much land, most of it was west of the Mississippi River, far from the location of most of the activity in the eighteenth-century colonies and American Republic. Even the agency designated by the federal government as responsible for preservation, the decade-old National Park Service (NPS), operated few historic places and none of any meaningful patriotic value. At the same time that John D. Rockefeller Jr. planned the restoration of Williamsburg, Virginia, the people of Vincennes, Indiana, fashioned a remarkably similar idea. [25]

Yet the plans to create the Clark memorial were decidedly different from existing efforts at preservation. While being as local in character as other similar efforts, the plans for Vincennes reflected a kind of economic pragmatism that was uncommon in the early history of American preservation. As did their predecessors, the people of Vincennes acted from love

of the meaning of their past and sought help from outside and governmental agencies, but unlike previous efforts, they envisioned local economic benefits and infrastructural improvement from their development. The idea of a boulevard between Grouseland and the Fort Sackville site could only enhance the accessibility, attractiveness, and desirability of downtown Vincennes; such a development indicated a new and different kind of preservation. This was meant to preserve and renew — preserve the past and renew the importance of Vincennes as a community as well as improve its economic fortunes. What remained for the General Clark Sesquicentennial Committee was to marshal its forces and convince all the necessary people and organizations to support its program.

State politics in Indiana helped further this cause. In 1926, Republicans dominated state races, sending a majority to the statehouse in Indianapolis. The Clark commemoration was part of the party platform, and when the General Assembly convened in January 1927, state legislators introduced a bill to create the George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission. Under the terms of the bill, the governor would select this fifteen-member entity, which was expected to make and implement plans to commemorate Clark's expedition and the capture of Fort Sackville. A levy of one-half cent per \$100 of taxable property in the state would be authorized to support committee activities. [26]

The most important power granted in this legislation was the ability to shape the memorial. Besides the authority to acquire property, even by use of the power of eminent domain, the committee was to plan for a structure that would "appropriately, adequately, fittingly, and permanently" commemorate the events at Fort Sackville. The bill allowed for an architectural contest with the winning designer receiving a \$25,000 prize — no small sum during the 1920s. [27]

Passage in the state legislature required some compromise. While the Indiana House approved the bill as proposed, the state senate reduced the levy from five mills to four. Strong support to promote the effort came from Knox County delegates such as state Senator Curtis G. Shake, who insisted that compared to Clark, even "Napoleon's march on Moscow was nothing." [28] Behind-the-scenes lobbying by Culbertson, a former state senator familiar with the personalities and politics of the statehouse, coupled with public work by his political opponent, Ewing Emison, assured passage of the legislation. The local General Clark Sesquicentennial Committee lobbied Governor Edward Jackson three times before it secured his promise to approve the measure. The bill passed the Indiana House of Representatives unanimously in January. It received a large majority in the state Senate in February, and was signed into law by the governor on February 23, 1927, two days before the 148th anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sackville. [29] It was a fitting time for authorization of the project.

Indiana legislators had been impressed with the coherence of the lobbying for the proposal as well as with the potential meaning of the Fort Sackville site. Old rivals Culbertson and Emison put aside differences to support something of benefit to their community and region. Those who met with the governor were businessmen, skilled at negotiations about such difficult issues as the value of real estate for tax purposes and were able to convince the most important official in the state that this was not a frivolous adventure, but one that possessed important economic advantages as well as cultural ideals. Such practical methods appear to have done far more for passage than the thunderous rhetoric for which state Senator Shake was famous. "The historical significance of this memorial and the feats and record of General George Rogers Clark," he told his cheering colleagues in the Statehouse, "are second to none in America, even east of the Alleghenies." But observers of the Indiana political scene credited the success of the proposal to the careful lobbying that accompanied it. [30]

The composition of the resulting commission reflected both the historical importance of the project and the political realities of the state. Of the fifteen members, Governor Jackson

named two: Ewing Emison and William Fortune, president of the Indianapolis chapter of the American Red Cross. The Indiana Historical Society appointed four members, Dr. James A. Woodburn of Bloomington, architect Lee Burns of Indianapolis, Father Francis H. Gavis of Indianapolis, and the Governor's wife, Mrs. Lydia Beaty Pierce Jackson. With its three appointments, the Society of Indiana Pioneers named Frank C. Ball of Muncie, D. Frank Culbertson of Vincennes, and Lew M. O'Bannon of Corydon, while the Indiana Library and Historical Board selected Thomas Taggart of French Lick, Mrs. Anne Studebaker Carlisle of South Bend, and Clem J. Richards of Terre Haute. Lieutenant Governor F. Harold Van Ormen, Speaker of the Indiana House Harry J. Leslie, and Dr. Christopher Coleman of the Historical Bureau were the three ex officio members who made up the remainder of the commission. Fortune was elected president of the commission. Embodying expertise, social standing, and economic and political influence, the commission reflected powerful forces in the state. [31]

One of the tenets agreed upon in 1925 by the local sesquicentennial committee was that the Clark story was part of the national story, not merely state or local in significance, and federal participation in any project that developed was essential. Achieving that success meant harnessing the strength of a strongly Republican, powerful northern state during an era of Republican political ascendancy and securing the support of state representatives in Washington, D.C. While seemingly a relatively simple procedure, the process of building a constituency that could convince national leaders was extremely complicated.

In part, the difficulty resulted from a lack of precedent. In the 1920s, most historic places remained in private hands and the few federally owned sites were battlefields administered by the War Department. Although federal advocates of preservation such as NPS Assistant Director and Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park Horace M. Albright recognized the need for historic preservation in the park system, the National Park Service concentrated its limited resources on large national parks. During the efforts to develop the Clark memorial, the attention NPS officials had for parks east of the Mississippi River was devoted to the development of the Acadia, Great Smoky Mountains, Shenandoah, and Mammoth Cave national parks. [32]

Nor would the idea of building a memorial have been attractive to Albright and agency director Stephen T. Mather at a time when their "crown jewels" often lacked roads and trails. During the 1920s, the agency turned down opportunities to acquire places that might be historically significant, but that lacked historic fabric. In one such case, Tennesseans approached the Park Service to offer the Meriwether Lewis grave site and its environs, only to be rebuffed. Tactical lobbying of Congress and President Calvin Coolidge led to creation of the Meriwether Lewis National Monument over the objections of the agency. Despite the perception of the importance of the Clark site in Indiana, convincing the federal government of its value would require all the political influence and skill available to advocates. [33]

As the state commission became reality and began to organize, Indiana representatives in the U.S. Congress sought to secure federal participation. In the short session of the 69th Congress, U.S. Representative Will R. Wood and U.S. Senator James E. Watson introduced companion resolutions to establish a George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission and expend federal funds on a memorial at Vincennes. The Joint Committee of the Library conducted a series of hearings on the measure. Headed by the powerful U.S. senator from Ohio, Simeon Fess, who initially opposed the idea, the committee offered a hostile venue for advocates of federal participation. [34]

Yet there was much prominent support for the idea. A parade of famous and distinguished people testified at the hearings. These included historians Ross Lockridge, a major Indiana figure, and J. Franklin Jameson, one of the most distinguished professional historians of that

era; both senators from Indiana, Watson and Arthur R. Robinson; Logan Hay, the president of the Lincoln Centennial Association, and the former governor of Minnesota, A. O. Eberhart. Others, including famed author Booth Tarkington, noted historian Charles A. Beard, and the commissioner of major league baseball, the autocratic and powerful Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis, all wrote letters to support the project, while Indiana newspapers and the *New York Times* advocated the proposal in editorials. [35]

The hearings produced the first comprehensive proposal to turn Vincennes into the commemorative center for the history of the Old Northwest. The Clark Committee in Vincennes previously hired a New York architect, H. Van Buren Magonigle, to design a plan for the site of Fort Sackville. Magonigle brought a site plan to Fess' committee that showed a Lincoln Memorial Bridge across the Wabash River and a "Hall of History", which depicted the Old Northwest from its inception into the twentieth century. The hall would be located on the site of Fort Sackville. Magonigle estimated a cost of \$1,376, 858 for the entire project, a sum presumably sufficiently significant to delay, if not deter, action on the proposal. [36] Despite the outpouring of support, the 69th Congress failed to act on the proposal before the short session adjourned. The efforts of Indiana citizens would have to await the next Congress.

The state Clark Commission was determined not to let the proposal languish. At the behest of the commission, Ewing Emison went to Washington, D.C., to pursue his existing dialogue with President Calvin Coolidge. Emison first had discussed the project with Coolidge following the election of 1924. He again approached the Oval Office after the formation of the Indiana memorial commission, securing the notoriously parsimonious Coolidge's agreement that the Clark memorial was a meritorious proposition. In November 1927, Emison again went to see the President to secure support. Coolidge promised to express his approval of the project in his initial message to the 70th Congress. [37]

In the midst of an era of great prosperity and optimism, the support of a president who rarely favored government expenditures carried considerable weight. In his December 5, 1927, message, Coolidge told Congress that the importance of Clark's expedition was "too little known and understood. . . . The Federal Government may well make some provision for the erection, under its own management, of a fitting memorial . . ." [38] Coolidge's message invited the Indiana delegation to again pursue the idea of a federal presence at the former site of Fort Sackville.

Again Senator Watson and Representative Wood took the initiative. Within weeks, they submitted bills in both houses of Congress that were similar to the ones proffered during the 69th session. Wood added a funding measure that would make \$1,750,000 available for a national memorial at Vincennes, \$250,000 of which would be designated for the pageant that local advocates conceived in the Vincennes gymnasium in 1926. The Committee of the Library held new hearings, and representatives of the state commission again pled their case. On February 9, 1928, the committee favorably recommended the resolution to Congress. [39]

Passage of the bill in the Senate presented difficult issues. Under Senate rules, one objection to the hearing of a bill would cause its deferral. Sen. William King of Utah was a well-known obstacle to any memorial measures. He took pride in having voted against every resolution involving a public celebration since the Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition in 1904. To no one's surprise, when the bill came before the Senate, King voiced his objection.

Again advocates were prepared. First to speak in favor of the resolution and to urge King to withdraw his objection was the minority leader, Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas. Senator William C. Bruce of Maryland was next, followed by Senator Watson. The bill's sponsor

reminded the Senate of the national significance of the project. Seeing himself in an overwhelming minority, King withdrew his objection. On February 24, 1928, the Senate unanimously passed the George Rogers Clark proposal. [40]

Although Senate passage was only the first step toward the creation of a Clark memorial, it sparked a celebration in Vincennes. By 1:45 P.M., word of the passage of the bill reached town, and a cacophony followed. Church bells rang, factory whistles blew, and giant firecrackers exploded along Main Street. The *Vincennes Sun*, one of two local newspapers, received more than 100 telephone calls about the bill. [41] It seemed to the people of Vincennes that their efforts had succeeded. From their perspective, no reasonable person could oppose them and a meritorious cause had been upheld.

Senator King had offered a principled objection, but it was one that in this instance, his colleagues did not share. During the 1920s, Republican administrations were characterized by a *laissez-faire* view of the responsibilities of government. This meant almost no intervention in domestic economic affairs and only a little involvement in social affairs. Unlike the aggressive Republicans of the Progressive Era two decades before, 1920s Republicans generally eschewed the symbolic functions of government. The unanimous support of the U.S. Senate for the memorial measure was an anomaly that indicated how important the Clark story was to the nation and reflected the importance of the State of Indiana in Republican politics.

The larger U.S. House of Representatives presented a different kind of challenge. With a two-year election cycle, U.S. representatives were more vulnerable to charges of frivolous spending than were senators with the luxury of six-year terms. When the bill came to the floor of the House, members reduced the appropriation for the memorial from \$1.75 million to \$1 million. The altered measure passed on May 7, 1928, necessitating a conference committee. Although Culbertson and House advocates of the bill were confident they could arrange to restore the eliminated funding, they had little success. House conferees would not yield, and the \$1 million sum remained as the appropriation. On May 23, 1928, with Culbertson and Representative Wood present, President Coolidge signed the bill establishing the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission. Culbertson received the gold pen with which the president affixed his signature to the document. [42]

The fifteen-member federal commission was made up of three members of the U.S. Senate, Watson, Fess, and Senator Kenneth D. McKellar of Tennessee; three members of the U.S. House, Wood, Representatives Albert H. Vestal of Indiana and Ralph Gilbert of Kentucky; three presidential appointees, Emison, Sallie Hert of Kentucky, and Luther E. Smith of Missouri; and six members appointed by the Indiana George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission: Culbertson, Clem J. Richards, former Indianapolis mayor and U.S. Senator Thomas Taggart, Anne Studebaker Carlisle, Lee Bums, and Lew O'Bannon. [43] Again the mix of the committee reflected necessary knowledge and skills and the need for political influence and power and again the commission embodied existing rivalries in Vincennes, for both Culbertson and Emison were members. The ability to develop a project worthy of the goals of the people involved hinged on their ability to work together.

The establishment of the federal commission and its \$1 million appropriation created tripartite responsibility for the proposed memorial. The local committee and the state commission still had unfulfilled missions, and with the addition of the federal commission, a need for some kind of coordination arose. Clearly the local and state committees had a more limited charge than did the federal commission, for neither of them had access to the kind of funding Congress had appropriated. The result was a division of responsibilities, in which the local committee took the lead in assuring local participation, the state commission worked the statehouse in Indianapolis, and the federal commission planned the memorial itself.

By the end of 1928, the federal commission had begun to organize. Its members planned an architectural design contest for the memorial, selecting the architectural firm of Bennett, Parsons, and Frost of Chicago as consultant to the commission. William E. Parsons, one of the principals of the firm, and C. W. Farrier brought drawings of their vision of the grounds to the April 1929 meeting of the commission in the U.S. Senate Library Committee meeting room. Chairman Charles Moore of the U.S. Fine Arts Commission found the plans pleasing, even at the estimated cost of \$450,000 and the commission planned an architectural competition for design of the memorial itself. [44]

The commission sought a design that reflected both the importance of George Rogers Clark and the economic wealth of the United States. Similar to most public buildings of the era, the memorial was to inspire and impress, to articulate in its style, lines, and material the power and prowess of this aspect of national heritage. Buildings were the fashion for such memorials, a fact reflected in the guidelines for the competition. Murals and a portrait statue of Clark were part of the specifications of the contest. So were memorials to Francis Vigo and Oliver Pollock, which were to be located near the bridge, and one to Father Gibault, which was to face the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church. [45]

The competition itself was typical of such architectural endeavors. The commission convened a five-member Jury of Award, made up of commission members Culbertson, Smith, and Bums, and two noted architects, William M. Kendall of McKim, Meade, and White of New York City, and John L. Mauran of Mauran, Russell, and Crowell of New York City. The identities of those submitting designs would be concealed from judges until they made their selection. Six nationally known architects were paid \$2,500 to enter, while others entered at their own expense. Competitors had to sign a declaration of intent to enter by September 15, 1929; the closing date for submission of final plans was January 10, 1930. [46]

When the jury convened in early February 1930, fifty-one designs awaited it. Familiar with the site on which the memorial would be located, the jury spent more than two days evaluating the submissions. Selecting number twenty-eight, the jury sent Culbertson to the national Commission of Fine Arts for approval of the design. The commission agreed with the selection, and on February 14, 1930, Senator Fess opened sealed envelope twenty-eight. In it was the business card of Frederick C. Hirons of Hirons and Mellor of New York City, an experienced architect who specialized in classical designs for museums and banks and who in 1928 won the American Society of Beaux Arts design competition for its headquarters in New York City. [47]

Funds for the project still presented a major problem. Only \$550,000 of the original \$1 million appropriation remained after expenses and the payment of \$400,000 for design of the grounds, and the chances for the additional \$750,000 originally requested were damaged by the changed economic climate. Between the beginning of the contract and the judging, the United States had experienced a pivotal moment. In September 1929, the stock market began a precipitous decline; on "Black Thursday," October 24, prices collapsed as more than 13 million shares were sold. The following Tuesday, "Black Tuesday," another 16 million shares were sold at declining prices. By the middle of November, more than \$30 billion of wealth had been wiped out. The new economic climate forced the commission to consider contingencies. Congress might not restore the funds deleted from the original legislation. Although Fess believed it would be "a shame to emasculate" Hirons' plan, he recognized the possibility that such an eventuality might occur. If Congress would not provide additional funds, then the plan would have to be scaled down. [48]

There were other potential problems that had to be solved before Hirons' design could be turned into a structure. Besides the contracts that needed to be let, a significant amount of money had to be appropriated and the purchase of much land was essential. The

responsibility for acquiring the land on which the memorial would stand fell to the local and state organizations. State commission members sought approval from the Indiana General Assembly for a one-year extension of the existing four-mill tax to raise funds for land acquisition. Although the General Assembly passed the measure, the incoming governor, Harry J. Leslie, refused to sign the bill into law. Governor Leslie blamed strife in the Indiana Commission for his opposition, suggesting that a power play that occurred in June 1928 and led to the replacement of Fortune by Culbertson as head of the commission created a delay that allowed real estate prices to rise. Firm in his objections, he thwarted fund-raising efforts at the state level. Without that support, advocates had to design a new strategy to accomplish land acquisition goals. [49]

The Knox County Council and the City of Vincennes were the targets of the strategy. Headed by Culbertson, a number of Vincennes area businesspeople approached the council in September 1929 with a request for \$100,000 to support land acquisition. The strongest arguments available to Culbertson were the \$1 million appropriation by the U.S. Congress and expenditures of the Indiana Commission in Knox County; clearly, he insisted, each governmental entity had to contribute its share. Council members and county commissioners all agreed, appropriating \$100,000 to complete acquisition by authorizing a small surcharge for every \$100 of taxes paid. After succeeding with the county, Culbertson and his friends approached the City of Vincennes, where the city council added \$100,000 to the coffers of the commission. By the end of January 1930, southern Indiana had supported the Clark memorial project with a sizable portion of its discretionary revenue. [50]

Two other venues remained, the federal government and the state. Culbertson still coveted the remaining \$750,000 that had been deleted from the original federal legislation. With the contributions of southern Indiana guaranteed, he returned to Washington, D.C., to battle for more federal funds. Although the acquisition process remained slow, Senator Fess, head of the Joint Committee of the Library, was pleased with the amount of funding generated at the local level. When Rep. Albert Vestal introduced a bill in the House during the first session of the 71st Congress, Fess' committee conducted hearings on it. [51]

But the change in the economic climate in the nation dimmed chances for further funding. After the stock market crash of October 1929, federal lawmakers became hesitant about funding many kinds of projects, particularly those that seemed frivolous or had little economic merit. This stemmed from the fear which the crash had caused, the lack of available money as a result of the decline in tax revenue that followed the economic collapse, and the aversion of the Republican administration to appropriations for anything that smacked of government intervention in the economy. President Herbert C. Hoover, who followed Coolidge in office, drew clear distinctions about the role of the federal government in even hard economic times. The economy was "fundamentally sound," he told the nation in the aftermath of the Wall Street debacle, and he sincerely believed that if the nation did not panic, the invisible hand of the market soon would correct its problems.

This proved to be wishful thinking. Instead of rebounding, the American economy continued to falter, and Congress became reluctant to appropriate additional money for projects with even the patriotic connotations of the Clark memorial. Although the Joint Committee of the Library held hearings on Vestal's bill in February 1930 and Senator Watson introduced a bill in the Senate, the Senate did not pass the bill June 28. Opponents of such spending delayed the House bill, which did not reach the House floor before the session ended. The plans of advocates had been thwarted by economic catastrophe. [52]

Although advocates worried that the plan was doomed, the "defeat" was only a delay. When the 71st Congress reconvened in December 1930, the House Committee of the Library still held Vestal's bill. During deliberations on the floor of the House, the requested \$750,000 was

reduced to \$500,000. House conferees on the joint committee prevented a restoration of the remainder of the request, but Clark memorial advocates won a concession when the committee agreed to make the money available immediately instead of requiring a separate appropriation. This released \$300,000 for the memorial; the remaining \$200,000 was held until the commission received documentation that the amount was matched by the state, county, or city. Culbertson's work in southern Indiana already had secured that amount, and within a year of Hoover's signing of the legislation on March 2, 1931, the entire sum was available for the project. [53]

With the new federal support, the position of Governor Leslie became increasingly difficult to defend. Federal, county, and local officials had all agreed to fund the project. Nearly \$2 million had been set aside for the memorial, but the State of Indiana had played only a small role. Faced with a situation that made the state appear dilatory and uninterested, Governor Leslie signed into law a measure from the state assembly that levied a one-and-one-half mill tax on each \$100 of assessed property for one year. Although a compromise — for the new levy was less than half of the four-mill tax passed in 1929 — Governor Leslie's signature created additional funds for the project. By the end of 1932, the money necessary to build the project had been set aside. [54]

The change in both federal and state attitudes reflected the dire situation during the Depression. Although Hoover initially believed that the economic crisis soon would be over, it lingered on. Despite his aversion to an activist government in economic affairs, Hoover advocated some kinds of federal spending; the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which received more than \$400 million for public works projects, offered the most prominent example. [55] But small isolated projects such as the Clark memorial also could find favor even in the depths of the Depression. The attitude of state leaders was similar.

The promise of local and county funding seemed to assure more federal money; it also permitted the commission to proceed with details such as sculptures and paintings for the memorial. On August 22, 1930, Hiron brought the work of sculptors Charles Keck and Hermon A. MacNeil and muralists Eugene Savage and Ezra Winter to a meeting of the executive committee. At a subsequent meeting, the committee decided that they preferred Winter's work, and on October 2, 1930, the forty-four-year-old muralist met with the committee. By the end of the day, he had a preliminary contract for seven murals for the interior of the rotunda. [56]

Winter and the commission chose specific themes for the murals. The seven-picture sequence included five murals depicting Clark's expedition — titled *The Wilderness Road*, *Clark Treating with the Indians at Cahokia*, *The March on Vincennes*, *The Attack on Fort Sackville*, and *Fort Sackville-Britain Yields Possession* — and two more of its consequences, *The Proclamation of the Northwest Ordinance at Marietta (Ohio)*, and *Taking Possession for the United States of the Louisiana Territory at St. Louis*. Covering both the story of Clark's expedition and its importance in the development of the nation, the mural sequence further illustrated the national significance of the Clark adventure. [57]

Winter was an easy choice; selecting between the two sculptors Hiron had recommended was more difficult. After long discussions in which no decision was reached, the executive committee of the commission went to New York City to view firsthand the work of the two sculptors. On November 19, they visited Keck and MacNeil in their studios. When they returned to Indiana, they had developed a preference for MacNeil. On December 1, 1930, the full commission agreed to hire MacNeil to sculpt the statuary for the memorial. [58]

The guarantee of federal funding facilitated the contracting process for construction of the memorial. Although state interests, in particular the limestone industry, argued for the

exclusive use of local materials in the project, the commission retained the standards it originally established. This made as much as two-thirds of the aggregate stone in the building native to Indiana. Numerous contractors responded to the contract, for the depressed economic climate meant that few projects of the size of the Clark memorial would come throughout an entire year. Sixteen firms submitted proposals, and three were proffered to the commission. The W. R. Heath Construction Company of Greencastle, Indiana, won with a final bid of \$773,800 for a Stanstead granite exterior and an Indiana limestone interior above the wainscoting. The Heath Company was familiar in Vincennes for the completion of a recent Knox County Courthouse renovation project. The project was given to the Heath Company after the death of the first contractor. [59]

The losing contractors were not prepared to accept the decision and a number challenged the award. The Stanstead Company, which was to supply the granite, was a Canadian company, inspiring much nationalistic ire at the height of economic doldrums. Although not one of the finalists, officials of the Premier Company of Vincennes and Indianapolis cabled Senator Fess when they heard the news. "Your records show our firm is low bidder for Woodbury granite," the message read, "and therefore is entitled to the contract." A. E. Kemmer, another of the finalists, also cabled Fess. "I direct your attention to my status as low bidder for American materials." Watson called on the commission to reconsider the contract, and Fess, stunned and chagrined by the charges, told the press that if the Stanstead firm quarried its granite in Canada and shipped it on Canadian railways, the contract would be void. But, Fess insisted, the memorial would be built of granite. [60]

Fess also sent a team to northern Connecticut to sort out the confusion. The inspectors found that on June 12, 1931, the Woodbury Granite Company leased a large quarry at Woodbury, Connecticut, to the Stanstead Granite Quarries. The leased area contained more than sufficient granite to complete the memorial within the time specified. In addition, the material would be shipped entirely on American railroads and would be prepared by American workers. Only in one instance, when unfinished granite from the Woodbury quarries was shipped to the Beebe Plain plant that the Stanstead Company ran on the international boundary, would the material pass outside of the United States and then only for 8,000 feet. [61]

Fess' representatives brought this information to what quickly became an acrimonious meeting of the commission in the U.S. Senate Finance Committee Meeting Room in Washington, D.C. Warren Austin, U. S. senator from Vermont, supported the investigators, but Representative Wood suspected fraud because the commission had been shown a sample of Canadian rather than American granite. The attorney for the Heath Company, S.C. Kivett, accused Wood and Watson of catering to the Indiana limestone industry. Finally, after nearly five hours of heated debate, Watson offered a motion to void the contract. The motion was defeated by a vote of nine to six. Watson held four proxies — from Hert, Emison, Ball, and Vestal; he, his four proxies, and Wood voted to abrogate the contract; Fess, U.S. Representative Arthur H. Greenwood of Indiana, who held McKellar's proxy, Culbertson, Smith, Burns, O'Bannon, Father Gavisk, and Richards formed a majority of nine. The Heath contract stood and construction could begin. [62]

After all the decisions were finalized, the project proceeded smoothly. Within two years, the Heath Company built the memorial, Hiron quickly inspected and approved it, and at the end of May 1933, the commission accepted it. In December 1934, Winter arrived in Vincennes to mount the murals, kept secretly in town for the previous few days. Beginning on December 4, the murals were hung in a process that lasted until December 13. On December 7, after the stone that would surround the plaque in the floor of the memorial was placed and a pedestal for the statue was positioned, the statue of George Rogers Clark, dressed in the uniform of a Continental Army officer (instead of, as the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial* reported on

December 9, the "tattered nondescript uniform of the Indian fighter") was situated in the rotunda. Thus the structure itself was complete. [63]

There were other aspects of the memorial that awaited additional funding. Statues to commemorate Francis Vigo, Oliver Pollock and Father Gibault also had been part of the original conception. The Francis Vigo Memorial Association had been particularly active, but until additional funds had been secured, there was little the commission could do. Continued lobbying generated an additional \$250,000 in congressional appropriations in 1933, and the commission quickly appropriated some of that money for the two additional statues. In January 1934, two sculptors, Albin Polasek of Chicago and John Angel of New York, were selected — Polasek for a statue of Father Gibault for the plaza in front of the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church and Angel for a statue of Vigo that would be located along the flood wall. [64]

Both sculptors worked quickly. In less than two months, on March 19, 1934, both brought their conceptions to the committee. Polasek's model depicted Father Gibault standing with his face looking toward the sky, both hands pressed against his body, one containing a crucifix, the other a scroll. The committee approved the design. Angel's model depicted Vigo as a full-length statue, but the committee changed its request and asked for a model of Vigo seated. In June 1934, Angel was given a contract for the Vigo statue. [65]

The two statues were located on the grounds within two years. Polasek's Gibault was first positioned in June 1935, but it required some alterations at the nearby Vincennes Foundry and Machine Company. By July 3, it was back in place in the Old Cathedral Plaza. Angel was delayed by a strike of stonecutters, but on April 29, 1936, the statue arrived with an anxious sculptor twelve hours behind. With a reporter, Angel rushed off to check the condition of the statue. With a flashlight, the two determined that the statue had arrived safely. On May 4, it was properly positioned. [66]

The two statues completed the conception of the memorial first discussed nearly a decade before. By 1936, innumerable efforts to secure funding for the project had been initiated, many of which succeeded. The memorial rotunda was completed, replete with a statue of Clark and murals depicting his expedition. Additional statues of figures associated with the episode were in place, and little additional funding seemed likely. What had been built was not everything that advocates wanted when they began the process, but the results were quite impressive.

Yet the national meaning of the George Rogers Clark Memorial needed some kind of public affirmation. Congress had invested a considerable amount of money over an extended period, but the memorial was a freestanding entity. Since the process began late in the 1920s, most historic places of national importance had been consolidated under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. Beginning in August 1933, the agency assumed responsibility for a wide range of historic places to accompany its long list of natural and archeological areas. With federal preservation located so completely in one agency and with the conception of national importance so closely tied to the areas administered by that agency, the George Rogers Clark Memorial lacked a claim on the national consciousness. Its iconography had great meaning, but it seemed apart from the administrative structure designed to advance it.

The initial plans made in February 1936 called for a June dedication of the George Rogers Clark Memorial. In an effort to gather as much attention and cultural significance for the place as possible, advocates beseeched President Franklin D. Roosevelt to participate in its dedication. When Roosevelt accepted the invitation, scheduling had to reflect his availability. June 7, 1936, was the first date selected, but President Roosevelt had to request a change until the following Sunday, June 14. His planned Arkansas-Texas-Indiana train trip only

became feasible with Indiana as the last leg. Because he had a second speech scheduled in Kentucky the day of the dedication, Roosevelt planned only a ninety-minute stay in Vincennes. The schedule upset the committee, and its chairman, Clem Richards, wired the president directly. U.S. Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana, himself a Democrat, also lobbied the president, but without success. Roosevelt's schedule remained firm [67]

The ceremony worked to perfection. The presidential train arrived at the Union Depot in Vincennes right on schedule at 9 A.M. on June 14. Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana and Governor Henry Horner of Illinois welcomed the president and the First Lady, and the official party rode a Packard to the memorial grounds. There an estimated 50,000 people waited to hear the president. The audience included all the principals in the project from committee members to sculptors and painters. Roosevelt gave a vintage speech, championing the conservation of resources and echoing Clark's own 1778 Kaskaskia speech in favor of religious toleration. The president urged that the nation rearm against "new devices of crime and cupidity." As the applause subsided, the presidential party departed for the train station and headed to Louisville. Eleanor Roosevelt stayed on, attending the subsequent dedications of the Gibault and Vigo statues and traveling with Governor Horner to a farmers' picnic in Grayville, Illinois, where she addressed an audience. [68]

The president's stay was brief, but significant. Roosevelt's presence gave the monument a stamp of approval, an indication that the memorial really was of national importance. The Clark commemoration movement, initiated at the behest of a few local people, had become a huge, attractive memorial in remembrance of a formative event in the history of the nation. Almost \$3 million had gone into the project, two-thirds of it federal, an astonishing sum in the economic climate of the 1930s.

In fact, the Depression and the New Deal probably helped further the George Rogers Clark Memorial. When the idea was first conceived during the late 1920s, government took a dim view of such investment of its revenues. The Depression highlighted the need for public works, but the real innovations came during Roosevelt's administration. The federal programs inaugurated in 1933 transformed the role of government throughout the nation, creating a safety net for those who could not find work and also opportunities in publicly funded projects for those who could find a job. When the Clark memorial was conceived, it was an anomaly; by the time it was completed, it was one of a series of built monuments, the most notable of which became the planned Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, which commemorated the American western frontier. What made the George Rogers Clark Memorial anomalous in 1936 was not its existence, but rather its freestanding status — not being a part of the jurisdiction of the federal agency created to manage such places. That independence — and the bifurcated responsibility that accompanied it — was the source of most of the problems associated with the memorial during its first thirty years of existence.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Maintaining A Legacy

An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



CHAPTER 3:

"A Sort of Orphan": The Consequences of Independent Status

The dedication of the memorial in 1936 ended one era of positive development; it did not inaugurate another with any such beneficial results. Instead, during the following thirty years, the George Rogers Clark Memorial languished in a variety of hands as the people who conceived of it proved incapable of satisfactory management, and governmental agencies at the state level sought to shift the cost of its upkeep onto other departments. A newspaper editorial in Vincennes in the 1960s accurately characterized the resulting situation when it referred to the memorial as "a sort of orphan." [1]

Much of this predicament resulted from the problems of maintaining an attraction of national size and caliber within a state system more closely directed at managing small natural areas. Although federal money paid for much of the construction of the memorial, the initial legislation authorizing federal expenditures ceded ongoing responsibility for the memorial to the state of Indiana. This was one of the conditions that underlay federal support. But Indiana simply lacked the required expertise to administer a site devoted to American heritage. Such expertise was vital in an era that increasingly stressed leisure and recreation over patriotic activities. Without professional administration, the memorial had little chance to fulfill the aspirations of its founders.

The lack of expertise of state officials created an independent status for the memorial that made its management a consistent chore. They labored with an expensive albatross — albeit an extremely important one — while the federal agency responsible for similar places grew in significance and power. Between 1936 and 1966, the National Park Service evolved from a small agency in charge of great scenic parks and historic areas into the agency with primary responsibility for nearly every aspect of federal recreation and preservation. It developed clear and distinct standards of service, accommodation, and interpretation, becoming the federal agency of which the American public had the best opinion. Its standards became widely accepted among the American public; even more, visitors associated national importance with the levels of service the agency offered. The Park Service presented mountains and geysers, historic places such as battlefields, recreational areas, and even national lakeshores in a manner that accommodated the needs of a haste-driven; sedentary public. [2] The level of service and maintenance at the Indiana-run George Rogers Clark Memorial never equaled that at similar national park areas.

None of this was apparent in the heady climate that followed the dedication in 1936. The appearance of the President, the vast crowds, and the elaborate ceremonies gave the impression of a place of considerable social and cultural importance. The memorial and the mall upon which it stood were extremely attractive, overlooking not only the Wabash River but downtown Vincennes as well. This symbol, this evocation of a proud past, seemed to have great meaning not only in southern Indiana and its surroundings, but also in the nation

as a whole.

Administering the park presented potential difficulties. The memorial was the responsibility of the national commission, which had a temporary mandate and no ongoing appropriation for management or maintenance. During construction, Congress remained generous; besides the additional \$250,000 funded in 1933, the memorial received another \$50,000 in a deficiency measure first proposed in 1934, but filibustered by U.S. Senator Huey P. Long. A subsequent measure granting the money finally passed in 1936. But after the dedication, Congress became far less willing to support the memorial. In both 1937 and 1938, it turned down financing requests, forcing Culbertson and the commission to seek Works Progress Administration (WPA) support. The WPA declined to fund activities at the memorial, and despite renewal of the mandate of the federal commission twice when it neared expiration, Congress refused to grant any more funding. [3] The money for upkeep would have to come from elsewhere.

The state of Indiana seemed the likely answer, but in fact state officials had already sought to transfer the memorial to the federal government. Although Culbertson did not think that the federal government would take over the memorial, in 1935, the Indiana legislature introduced a bill to transfer it to federal administration. After passage, Governor McNutt signed it into law, but the federal government took no action to accept the memorial. [4] It remained state property, but the desire of state officials to shed themselves of responsibility for the memorial became public knowledge.

In the middle of a period of great expansion, the National Park Service took only slight interest in the Clark memorial. As it emerged as the agency most responsible for the preservation of national heritage in a time when federal funds supported acquisition and development, Park Service officials seemed willing to consider places such as the Clark memorial as additions to the system. Early in the first Roosevelt administration in 1933, Christopher Coleman of the Indiana Historical Society approached the vaunted Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, a Chicagoan. Despite his reputation as a man who "learned his principles of conservation at the feet of Gifford Pinchot" and who might eat "half a dozen ten penny nails and few dozen buttered brick bats for breakfast," Ickes was fond of the Park Service and the concept of preservation. Director Horace M. Albright, who left the agency for private industry immediately before the reorganization of the federal bureaucracy in August 1933, was a particular favorite and Ickes was willing to listen to Coleman. [5] But at a time when the impending reorganization loomed large, he and his staff had little time and less energy for the Clark memorial.

Nor did subsequent attempts prove any more successful. Before the state passed its measure transferring the memorial to the federal government, Coleman again contacted Ickes and received the same result. In 1938, with the mandate of the federal sesquicentennial commission due to expire on June 30, 1939, and the likelihood of a third renewal uncertain at best, a National Park Service official visited the memorial. He told the custodian that he was studying the area, but left the impression that agency officials lacked genuine interest in acquiring the memorial. The memorial was in bad shape, the official averred, but he did suggest that a bill in Congress was a necessary ingredient if the federal government was to acquire the property. [6]

The powerful Indiana delegation in Congress took up the cause. On May 8, 1939, companion bills offered in the House by Representative Fred Landis and in the Senate by Senator Sherman Minton provided for the transfer of the memorial to the National Park Service. There were good reasons for such an idea. The Park Service had a budget and experience with similar kinds of areas, a national memorial required federal administration, and in a period of consolidation of responsibilities, it made far more sense for the Park Service to

administer the area than for it to remain under the jurisdiction of the expiring sesquicentennial commission. The respective library committees reported favorably on the bill, and both houses of Congress passed the measure. [7] The measure seemed assured of success.

But Franklin D. Roosevelt put an end to the idea. On August 5, 1939, he vetoed the bill, pointing out that the state of Indiana agreed to assume the maintenance of the memorial without expense to the federal government in the 1928 legislation that created the national commission. He could see no compelling reason to overturn the directives embodied in the initial statute. [8] The transfer was dead until Roosevelt left office or could be convinced to change his mind. The chances of either occurrence seemed slim in 1939.

This left the administration of the memorial to the state. As required, the national commission dissolved at midnight, June 30, 1939, and the old state commission assumed responsibility for the memorial. This entity lacked many of the advantages bestowed on the national commission. It never had a congressional appropriation nor the national influence of its federal counterpart, and Indiana, its sponsor, had been the most recalcitrant and tight-fisted of the governmental bodies involved in the funding process. State commission members recognized that their task was to safeguard the memorial and maintain it until the proper caretaking agency, state or federal, could be found. With an effort to pass the national memorial legislation underway in Congress and Indiana Governor Francis Townsend seeking to arrange for the state's conservation department to take control of the memorial, some resolution of the administrative dilemma seemed at hand.

In August 1940, Governor Townsend finalized a new administrative arrangement for the Clark memorial. After a delay while the abstracts of deeds for the property were completed, the Indiana commission met in Indianapolis to turn the title over to the state. Although the transaction could not be completed because no quorum appeared at the first meeting on August 13, 1940, one week later, on August 20, the commission abdicated its responsibilities in favor of the Department of Conservation. Governor Townsend thanked the members for their years of work and issued a proclamation dissolving the commission. [9]

During the months spanning the process of transfer, the memorial itself had suffered. Little had been done to maintain the grounds in particular, and aware of the impending end of their mandate and consumed with the process of completing the transfer, state commission members neglected to maintain the condition of the memorial building. By the end of May 1940, the area had not been mowed for an extended period, and grass and weeds were nearly two feet high. Vandalism was rampant; a miscreant even had broken one of the fingers on the Vigo statue. The situation was so bad that at the prompting of a visitor shocked by the condition of the monument, the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial* published a feature story highlighting the dilapidated state of the memorial. [10] The story inspired outrage that led to two separate kinds of responses. Although the Department of Conservation had yet to assume responsibility, its director, Virgil Simmons, promised the public that the memorial would be in fine shape for the Decoration Day (now Memorial Day) holiday at the end of May. Simmons could not fulfill his promise, but a local man, Dexter C. Gardner, paid a crew to cut the grass and weeds, trim the shrubs, and clean the grounds before the holiday. [11]

The state press also picked up the story. On May 30, the most influential newspaper in the state, the *Indianapolis Star*, featured a lead editorial decrying the condition of the memorial and the actions of its various administrative agencies. The situation humiliated Indiana and disgraced an important historical event, the editorial insisted. State plans to charge an admission fee were even worse; in the view of the author, they enhanced the undeserved reputation of the state for parsimonious behavior. The state should take responsibility for the memorial and manage it properly, the editorial writer closed, keeping the memorial in "a

condition worthy of the hero it commemorates." [12]

While such vehemence was shared by newspaper writers, it was not sufficient to change management of the memorial. The beginning of administration by the Department of Conservation meant relatively little in the day-to-day operations of the memorial. Since the dedication, the national commission had a caretaking staff on site; when the state commission assumed jurisdiction, it kept on the employees: Charles L. Kuhn as daytime custodian and John N. Bey as night watchman. The Indiana Department of Conservation previously had budgeted \$7,500 for upkeep of the monument. One of its first acts was to hire two men, John Davidson and Leo Boyer, to maintain the grounds. This suggested better care was in the future; night vandals, loiterers, and others would be subject to monitoring and possible arrest, and the grounds could be kept up in at least the most basic sense. [13]

While such functions as trash removal and cutting the grass were seemingly assured, the Department of Conservation made no effort to interpret the Clark memorial. It was an organization experienced in the management of state recreational parks such as Turkey Run State Park, one of Indiana's most famous natural areas. Accustomed to charging a fee and providing some recreational support, the Department of Conservation had little experience with the needs of the public when interpreting the historic past. Despite the many opportunities to seek the advice of agencies such as the National Park Service, the Department of Conservation did not see that aspect of its obligations at the Clark memorial as a primary need.

By the early 1940s, the National Park Service had established itself as the primary purveyor of historical information to the American public. For more than two decades, the park system had offered interpretation of natural and archeological areas. Nature walks, tours of ruins, pamphlets, books, and museums were all parts of the process; during the 1930s, officials of the agency planned a museum of the fur trade for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis that, in the difficult economic times, was transformed into a museum of national expansion that lauded American experience and showed the difficulties inherent in the process. At some park areas, complete interpretation programs for visitors had been designed and implemented. [14] Despite the need for such programming at the George Rogers Clark Memorial, no formal contact toward establishing a program ever occurred.

Again the independent status of the monument proved a liability. Managed by an agency accustomed to different kinds of activities, the memorial languished at a time when its message had great importance to the American people. During both the Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War, symbols of struggle to overcome adversity had great resonance throughout the nation. Americans believed in their heritage and its institutions in visible and meaningful ways, and in a manner more closely associated with the nineteenth century, revered places that highlighted those experiences. Despite its clear significance in this context, the Clark memorial played little or no part in affirming the public's ideas about the American past.

Even more telling, the Indiana Department of Conservation was unable to successfully maintain the memorial. "I don't believe that I have ever seen a worse mess than it is," Frank Wallace, the acting commissioner of the department, wrote in 1941 in response to one of the many complaints he received. Although department officials made many promises about improving the condition of the monument, they rarely were able to maintain professional-caliber care for long. Part of the problem was funding, a theme Director Hugh Barnhart of the Department of Conservation often repeated. Another problem was the myriad of things wrong with the memorial — the consistent leaking of the roof and terrace, and other structural and mechanical problems. [15] Nor did the position of the memorial as the lone built monument in the state park system and as a piece of cultural heritage in an agency

devoted to preserving natural heritage indicate that any improvement was likely. The George Rogers Clark Memorial was an anomaly and that status assured peripheral treatment of the resource.

The change in cultural climate that followed World War II did little to improve the situation of the memorial. Although Americans had much money saved after the relative austerity of the war years, there was a tremendous amount of pent-up consumer demand. Americans invented new concepts of leisure, exploring widespread automobile travel, staying at resorts, and visiting places that reflected on the patriotism and sacrifice of Americans in general. [16] Although it clearly reflected such themes, the George Rogers Clark Memorial lacked the amenities that the public had come to expect. It was left out of the great expansion in travel during the immediate post war era. The construction of interstate highways made communities such as Vincennes, which were bypassed by these new arteries of rapid travel, more rather than less remote. Much of the growth in travel focused on outdoor recreation. By the early 1960s, a new federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation had been established, the Park Service and the Forest Service both had invested large amounts of time and money into recreational programming and a generation of American children had seen the national parks and had this outdoor recreational message reinforced by cartoons such as "Yogi Bear." Historical interpretation improved greatly; many parks utilized new mediums such as films and movies to educate the public about their resource — interpretation often generated by newly developed teams of specialists within the agency.

But amid this great cultural change in behavior and values, the Clark memorial remained constant. Much of the focus of the new emphasis on recreation centered on western national parks. In the immediate postwar era, Americans could reach these splendid and well-promoted monuments to the grandeur of the continent in their personal vehicles — for the first time. Even in historical interpretation, the myth of the American West took a new kind of precedence in popular culture. During the 1940s and 1950s and culminating in the 1960s, the traditional kind of western movie, highlighted by films usually directed by John Ford and starring John Wayne, reached a new pinnacle; the experiences of the Revolutionary War era, the subject of numerous pre-World War II movies, were surpassed by the symbolic meaning of the Western genre. The heroic attack by George Rogers Clark and his Big Knives on Fort Sackville was overshadowed by equally triumphant, but more recent conquests, in the overall outlook of a nation with immense faith in progress.

Nor did the Department of Conservation take steps to change the Clark memorial. Interpretation programs were still nonexistent, the grounds were maintained to a greater or lesser degree of acceptability and the consistent but small audience for the Clark story continued to visit. Yet little occurred to improve the park or to make its message coincide with the dominant themes of historical interpretation. Of major importance to the founding of the American Republic but anomalous in location and management, the Clark memorial once again suffered as a result of its independent status.

The lack of response to the changing climate increased the perception that the Clark memorial was a relic of an earlier era. Built in the grandiose style of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the structure and its formal landscaping towered over downtown Vincennes. The comparisons with the Lincoln Memorial so often made by proponents during the debates of the 1930s harkened true at least in one respect. The Clark memorial, similar to many of its counterparts, was designed to inspire reverence and awe; it had little in the way of the interactive facilities that had become common in historical parks. The rotunda was a small place, with the statue of Clark in the middle and the murals by Winter on the wall. While people could enter and look around, there was little to do other than to look at the rotunda and walk on the grounds. With only a small souvenir stand inside the door and none of the other interpretive accouterments to which the public had become accustomed, the

Clark memorial offered an experience that culturally was out of time.

The Indiana Department of Conservation lacked both the funds and the inclination to interpret the memorial and pay for the consistently needed upkeep. The Indiana legislature was reasonably generous with the monument, appropriating \$6,300 for upkeep even before the site was transferred to the state and giving the Department of Conservation \$7,500 in fiscal 1941, \$15,000 in fiscal 1942, and \$7,500 in fiscal 1943 for repair and upkeep. Yet the money was not sufficient to meet the ever-growing demand for repairs. [17]

This situation came to characterize conditions at the memorial well into the 1960s. The Indiana Department of Conservation sought to maintain the site, devoting nearly all the resources it had for the memorial to the maintenance and upkeep of the rotunda and the grounds. The people who worked at the Clark memorial were defined as custodians, laborers, and facility attendants, all jobs that connoted more responsibility for the physical plant than for the experiences of visitors. An attractive mall that in many ways overshadowed the adjacent downtown, the Clark memorial never filled the kind of educational function its founders had envisioned.

It also became something of a city park. Located in the heart of downtown in an era before the widespread decay of city centers, the memorial was an important local symbol. Places such as Vincennes experienced difficult times in the aftermath of World War II. Unlike industrial cities such as Anderson or Muncie elsewhere in Indiana that benefitted from the vast expansion of the industrial economy, Vincennes and much of southern Indiana remained more deeply tied to a traditional rural economy. This exacerbated existing economic problems and made the affirmation provided by a place such as the Clark memorial even more significant. Local people felt a continuing strong attachment to the memorial, for it suggested an ongoing national importance. Its location made it part of the ambience of the community. The grounds were often filled with evening walkers, parents pushing children in strollers, and other people in a scene more reminiscent of city parks than shrines devoted to Revolutionary War heroes. In these local uses came an expression of the feelings of the community for what locals regarded as their shrine. The people of Vincennes had been instrumental in the process of creating the memorial and they regarded it as their own. [18]

This complex stasis persisted and the longer it did, the more the meaning of the George Rogers Clark Memorial was buried within layers of different kinds of significance. As the memorial took on characteristics of a city park, as visitors shortened their stay because there was little to see and do, and as long as the state saw its obligations as limited to the maintenance of the area (a reality reinforced when the Department of Conservation became the Department of Natural Resources) the meaning of the park was likely to remain a secondary consideration for all but the most enthusiastic history buffs. The memorial constructed for powerful patriotic reasons had become entirely something else.

As the Clark memorial languished throughout the 1940s and 1950s, its message directed at the people of an earlier time, the National Park Service again reinvented itself. In the aftermath of NPS director Newton Drury's tenure, a preservation-oriented era, the agency responded to new demands on its resources as well as a changing legislative climate. The great onslaught of visitation that followed World War II taxed the infrastructure developed during the 1930s. Noted author Bernard DeVoto argued that if the national parks were not maintained properly, they should be closed. New Deal programs had been sufficient to create facilities for the limited traveling public of that time. During the 1950s, new roads and interstate highways were constructed, a greater percentage of the public possessed the resources for travel, and parks bore much of the brunt of the newfound widespread American ability to travel by car. [19]

The change in leadership brought by Conrad L. Wirth, a twenty-year veteran of the Park Service who emphasized access to park areas, to the directorship in December 1951. Wirth arrived at the best moment for a man of his beliefs; the park system needed roads, facilities, and other accouterments for the middle class traveling public. Wirth began a development campaign that culminated in MISSION 66, a ten-year capital development program during which Congress fought to give the agency ever larger appropriations. Massive facilities programs began, funding the construction of facilities at most of the areas in the national park system. Two particularly important features defined the MISSION 66 program: the construction of visitor centers gave the agency much stronger visibility with the public as well as a venue to display interpretive programs, while the growth in staff reflected the increased importance of national park areas in local economies. By the early 1960s, the National Park Service was in the middle of a peak period in its development. [20]

Also aggressive about acquiring new areas, the agency pursued growth during the decade. A steady stream of new park areas entered the system throughout the 1950s. Beginning in 1960, the number of new additions exploded. In 1960, five new parks joined the system, in 1961, six, and in 1962, nine. Many of these were smaller historical areas such as Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site in Colorado and the Frederick Douglass National Historic Site in the District of Columbia, places with characteristics similar to those of the George Rogers Clark Memorial. [21]

The seemingly rapid growth in these new kinds of areas reflected the increased affluence and optimism of American society, its growing sense of the importance of a meaningful past, and the ever-present efforts of members of Congress to deliver tangible assets to their districts. As park budgets and visitation grew, park areas became valuable assets, particularly in rural areas and small towns. Local and regional businesses and industries could capitalize on the presence of visitors as a new source of revenue, while development of such parks offered myriad opportunities for every facet of the local economy. While this practice, later pejoratively labeled "park barreling," sometimes elevated places with primarily local or regional significance to national status, it had the ability to have a positive impact where there was economic blight. [22]

The increase in areas added to the park system continued during the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson. In 1964, ten new areas joined the system, seven of which were historical in nature. During the peak year of 1965, fourteen new areas entered the system; although fewer of these were historical in character, they emphasized both the growing importance of park areas and their increased significance to Congress. As the different branches fought to assure the Park Service of larger and larger appropriations for the system, members of Congress who did not deliver such benefits to their constituencies risked being regarded as unsuccessful as elections approached. [23]

The Clark memorial remained in its anomalous status, although the change in the manner of creation of national park areas did not escape the Indiana congressional delegation. Similar to many other Midwestern states, Indiana had relatively few places in the national park system. Founded on the principle of large mountaintop scenic vistas — the Sierra Nevada Mountain orientation of Stephen T. Mather and Horace Albright, both Californians — and derived overwhelmingly from federal lands, the park system was distributed unevenly among the regions. Much of the eastern part of the nation was underrepresented. Until the state relinquished part of a state park that became Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial in 1962, Indiana had no national park areas and it acquired its first and only natural area, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (authorized in 1966) after a long and contentious dispute with the state. [24] But as parks developed increasing value to local areas and historic places became more desirable, delegations from states such as Indiana scoured their history for places of appropriate significance.

Indiana was rich in the history of the Old Northwest, the country's frontier in the first post-Revolutionary era of westward expansion. Besides having the location of Fort Sackville, Indiana had been the scene of the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, Abraham Lincoln's boyhood home was located near the Ohio River, and one of the many utopian communities of the 1820s, New Harmony, was within the state's boundaries. As New Harmony was added to the National Historic Landmark category in August 1965, Johnson's Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, announced that the addition of the George Rogers Clark Memorial to the national park system was under consideration. [25]

This development resulted from the activities of Winfield K. Denton, U.S. representative from Indiana. Chairman of the subcommittee on the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the U.S. House Appropriations Committee, Denton wielded tremendous influence. During the Easter congressional recess in 1965, Denton visited Vincennes and saw firsthand the condition of the memorial. A number of influential local people discussed the plight of the memorial and recommended its addition to the national park system. On his return to Washington, D. C., Denton learned of the act of the Indiana state legislature in 1935 that permitted the governor to convey title of the memorial to the federal government. This led to the bill vetoed by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939. In the climate of the 1960s, such presidential opposition seemed far less likely. Denton contacted the governor of Indiana, Roger Branigin, and the director of the Indiana Department of Natural Resources, John Mitchell, to assess their feelings about a transfer to federal status. Both reacted favorably. [26]

From his position on Capitol Hill, Denton was well placed to initiate a transfer. On July 1, 1965, he introduced H.R. 9599, which proposed to grant the National Park Service responsibility for the Clark memorial. This measure reflected both Denton's power and influence, the relative lack of Indiana sites in the National Park System, and the rapid growth of the National Park Service.

Southern Indianians responded with positive, but guarded sentiments. Although editorial writers at the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial* were pleased at the chance to rectify the "sort of orphan" status of the memorial, their first choice would have been a local commission as the managing entity. "Begun with high hopes, the beautiful building on the Wabash has something less than a happy history," the newspaper averred. The National Park Service, with its "ample experience" in the management of historic places, seemed the best candidate for the task of managing the park. [27]

The proposal revived old problems with the memorial. Local control was a major issue in an anti-government state such as Indiana, full of farmers and conservative businesspeople who regarded government intervention in the economy as an anathema. In addition, national control meant a lessening of local prerogative at the memorial, a downside to the many advantages of federal management. "The structure reflects more of what it might have been than what it is," the *Sun-Commercial* reminded its audience while arguing for the federal role. [28] While the local community might remain suspicious of federal management, local people recognized that only the National Park Service had the ability to showcase their site in a manner that would receive national attention.

In a meeting with Representative Denton on August 16 and 17, 1965, ParkService officials argued for a broadened mandate in Vincennes. A study of the proposed park by the Northeast Regional Office suggested an expanded park area that would include Grouseland, the home of William Henry Harrison, along with the Indiana Territory Capitol, a frame structure located on the Vincennes University campus. NPS Chief Historian Robert M. Utley and members of the Division of History reviewed the report, recommending a national historical park that included these other historic sites. At the meeting, Denton saw the revamped

proposal and heard comparisons being made to the relationships between the Park Service and the operators of nearby historical sites at parks such as Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia and the newly established Nez Perce National Historical Park in Idaho. Denton recognized that if cooperative agreement relationships could be reached with officials at Grouseland and at the Indiana Territory Capitol, Vincennes would have a far more important park area. Pleased with the results, Denton requested that the Park Service shape an amended bill in time for a congressional hearing at the end of August 1965. Park Service officials scrambled to provide Denton with the details he needed. [29]

After Secretary Udall's declaration of interest at New Harmony, Park Service officials continued assessing the park and the region. Assistant Director George Palmer of the Northeast Region visited Vincennes and discussed the situation with local leaders. They convinced him that despite the lack of historic fabric, the Vincennes area had important historic characteristics that merited Park Service interpretation. Palmer conveyed this view to Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, a veteran of thirty years and one of the most important historians in the agency, who concurred and recommended the cooperative agreement concept to Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. [30]

This judgment helped clear the way for the transfer of the Clark memorial to federal jurisdiction. On Hartzog's recommendation, Secretary Udall and the Department of the Interior offered support for H.R. 9599; Udall stipulated that the bill be amended to include the provision for cooperative agreements with the owners of other historic properties in the region. This amendment gave the Park Service maximum flexibility in developing its new holding. [31]

With the appropriate local and departmental approval, federal status for the Clark memorial awaited the passage of a bill by Congress and the signature of the president. But the first session of the 89th Congress did not act on the bill, and when the second session convened, Udall again sought to further the effort. He explained in a letter to U.S. Representative Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, that the Interior Department was prepared to spend as much as \$300,000 on the memorial. The funds included money for the construction of a visitor center and a fifty-car parking lot as well as a sizable sum for maintenance. Besides obvious possible additions such as Grouseland, the Territory Capitol, and the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, Udall wanted to know more about the historic features of the community. A survey of historic places in the Vincennes area was included; owners of appropriate sites could have them included in the park or could allow the Park Service to interpret them. [32] The willingness to spend already allocated funds helped clear the way for passage.

Legislative support for the bill grew. When the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation conducted hearings to evaluate the bill on April 25, 1966, a long line of official representatives spoke in favor of the project. Much of the Indiana delegation to Congress came forward, including Denton, Representative William Bray, and Senator Vance Hartke who, along with Senator Birch Bayh, had sponsored the companion bill in the Senate. Former Governor of Indiana Matthew Welch, a native of Vincennes, also spoke in support, as did John Mitchell, head of the Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Mayor Earl C. Lawson of Vincennes, and Judge Curtis G. Shake, one of the initiators of the memorial's construction three decades before. Director Hartzog and Assistant Secretary of the Interior Stanley E. Cain represented the Park Service. The committee responded favorably to the bill, although the clause about cooperative agreements with property owners was changed to limit the arrangement to places within the boundaries of the city of Vincennes. [33]

The approval of the subcommittee was the catalyst for rapid progress. The House of Representatives passed the bill on June 6, 1966. Soon thereafter, the Senate subcommittee

conducted a hearing on the bill. It passed the Senate on July 11. Twelve days later, on July 23, 1966, in front of more than an estimated 20,000 people at the Clark memorial, President Johnson signed the bill into law. [34] The George Rogers Clark Memorial, an independent historical park, had become the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, a unit of the national park system. But such a status alone was not the solution to all the problems of the memorial. In a prescient observation during the discussion of federal status, the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial* noted that the memorial was incomplete; lacking a museum and with its scenic drive unfinished, it had never quite become what its founders dreamed either symbolically or physically. [35] The desire of Park Service officials to enhance the Clark memorial they had acquired with other historic structures dating from the era of the capture of Fort Sackville exacerbated existing problems. Not only had the new park failed to meet local expectations, it was established as a unit of the park system with the expectation it would grow in size and importance as a result of new acquisitions. These different understandings of the meaning of the park, its function in the local community, and the value of the Clark memorial in relation to other historic sites in the Vincennes area made for a complicated genesis.

Yet the transfer represented a reasonable solution for a long-standing local and regional problem. The Clark memorial was too important to be run by local or state concerns; it genuinely represented an important component of national heritage, and unlike many of the lesser sites that entered the system during the same era, the memorial merited national recognition. The National Park Service truly was the agency best suited to administer historic sites and places. The only problem with the transfer was that while the agency had vast experience managing historic places, very little of that experience was with designed landscapes. As a result, the transition to National Park Service management was fraught with more than the usual degree of difficulty.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Maintaining A Legacy

An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



CHAPTER 4:

Depending on Another Park: The Early Years

The establishment of the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was the first step in a long process. The acquisition of the area by the National Park Service solved questions of jurisdiction, but barely broached the fundamental issues of modern park management. Before the park could meet the standards of the agency and live up to the expectations of the public, a great deal of work needed to be accomplished. Besides basic problems, the new park lacked the kind of interpretation for which the Park Service was famous. Bringing it up to the standards of the agency and keeping it there would be a long and arduous task.

The rotunda and its environs were in poor shape when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the bill establishing the national historical park in 1966. In the thirty years since the dedication in 1936, most of the efforts of its managers had been directed at maintenance in response to crisis. The facility presented problems since it opened; the most damaging was the intermittent leaking of the roof and terrace that had the potential to destroy the integrity of the structure. The Indiana Department of Natural Resources had performed basic repairs, but it invested little in communicating the story of George Rogers Clark and his Big Knives to visitors. Slightly creaky and not at all in tune to the needs of the public of the 1960s, the park was a double-edged inheritance. It had vast potential, but as an institution it had a considerably negative history that affected the way in which the public saw it.

In 1966, the Park Service was in the midst of a golden era. Under the strong leadership of George B. Hartzog, Jr., the last agency director in the entrepreneurial mode of Stephen T. Mather and Horace Albright, the agency had an optimistic and forward-looking tenor. MISSION 66, begun a decade before to raise the level of park facilities in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the agency in 1916, had been a resounding success. Across the nation, new and better facilities greeted park visitors, and those visitors responded with resounding favor. MISSION 66 had advantages for the agency. It enhanced the importance of planning, both for immediate and long-term growth, and helped further the trend toward specialization within the agency. With a greater quantity of resources available to them, park managers could devote their time to their individual units while allowing agency professionals to oversee development. [1]

Despite all these advantages, the new George Rogers Clark National Historical Park remained an anomaly in the park system. Most important historical park areas contain genuine material culture resources from the time in question; the earthworks, ramparts, and cannons of Civil War battlefields, many of which were restored by historical technicians during the New Deal, provide the best example. The Clark memorial was a contemporary memorial to an historic event, an entirely modern structure designed to commemorate — but not replicate — the historic events of the place. Although there were other similar places in the park system, Park Service officials in general were more comfortable with actual historic fabric such as that existed elsewhere in Vincennes than they were with modern

commemoration of historical happenings. [2]

This reality influenced Park Service plans even before the passage of the 1966 bill. Although local people saw the memorial as a physical plant designed to highlight the downtown area, the Park Service sought to include much more of the historic fabric of the community within the interpretation that took place. On his first post-establishment visit to Vincennes on November 18, 1966, Northeast Regional Director Lemuel A. (Lon) Garrison emphasized the historical importance of the entire Vincennes area. Expressing interest in "at least eighteen" other historic properties in town, Garrison confirmed that the Park Service would broaden the interpretive concept of the memorial to include the history of the Old Northwest. Those events were "unique in this country," Garrison said. "We want to tell this story." [3]

With nearly an entire year before the July 1, 1967, transfer of the memorial to the federal government, Park Service officials had time to begin planning before they had to implement a program. Garrison and Albert W. Banton, Jr., superintendent of the Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, the official designated as responsible for the new national historical park and head of the planning team, were the first to arrive. They and their agency were "great believers in master planning," Garrison told an audience in Vincennes during the November visit, and the planning team came to Vincennes shortly after Garrison's departure. Surveying the town and talking to its people, the team was able to give residents a feel for the nature of Park Service administration. [4]

Vincennes residents had two primary concerns. They feared that the Park Service wanted to take over all the historic sites in the community and they wondered about the direction the agency planned for the memorial. "We are not here in a power grab," Banton assured the Rotary Club at its November 29, 1966, lunch. "We are here to cooperate, to administer, and to plan." While Banton's openness certainly allayed suspicions, residents could not help but wonder about an agency that quickly could identify nearly twenty local structures important enough to include in its overall plan for interpretation. Banton also articulated the limits of the agency mandate; he explained that the Park Service could not expend money on the library at the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, but the agency could provide technical expertise. The agency could and would build a parking lot to minimize on-street parking by visitors, he said, and it planned a visitor center for the park. The program could be expected to take eight to ten years. "We want to talk about what we plan, and we want to get your ideas," Banton said at the meeting. "You will get direct answers to your questions although you may not always like the answers, but we will be honest and plain." [5]

By early January 1967, the planning team formulated a draft master plan that became the basis of Park Service activity at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. Replacing a management plan concerned primarily with maintenance, the team had to start from the beginning. The team defined a three-pronged mission that included commemorating the Clark expedition and the growth and development of the Old Northwest; communicating that story to the public; and participating in the preservation of the historic character of Vincennes. This dual role, as manager of the park and as catalyst in encouraging broader preservation and interpretation activities in the Vincennes area suited the Park Service well. The master plan also established a list of priorities for the new park, recommending a survey of historic resources in Vincennes, forming a cooperative agreement with St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, and securing visitor parking, temporary office space, and an interpretive facility. Later, the agency could address long-term issues such as assessing the historic resources of the community and their importance to the George Rogers Clark story; developing permanent administrative, maintenance, and interpretive facilities; and accomplishing the necessary rehabilitation on the memorial and its physical plant. [6]

When it assumed responsibility for the Clark memorial, the Park Service also inherited

existing relationships with the local community. Located in the heart of the city, the memorial was surrounded by retail and wholesale businesses, warehouses, and a number of private residences. Parts of the downtown had become seedy, a consequence of the gradual loss of population in Vincennes that had begun after World War II as well as the general decline of downtown areas across the nation. A grain elevator dominated the view from the front of the rotunda, and a colony of mussel shell gatherers had previously established a little settlement called Pearl City on the riverbank southwest of the park. [7] Combined with the railroad siding that crossed the park to the immediate west of the rotunda, these features had an impact upon the park and upon the visitors' experiences.

Although possibly troublesome, this array of activities adjacent to the park had advantages. The planning team judged most of the businesses as relatively stable, and its members even detected a trend toward improvement in privately financed redevelopment in progress along Main Street. Team members recognized that the park experienced a greater impact from the uses around it than it exerted upon the town. Although the patterns of use were well-established, the planners noted that the change in administration meant little to local people. The Clark memorial still was the same; it just was managed differently. [8]

The planning team did envision a positive effect from the Park Service presence in Vincennes. Assuming a role familiar to the agency, the park could provide a stimulus for historic preservation with its technical expertise as well as use its vast experience in interpretation to coordinate such activities in the many historic places in the town. Yet the agency had no power to compel other entities to accept its help. The planners recognized that this sort of interaction depended upon the response of community organizations. [9]

This stance reflected the predisposition of the agency for actual historic places as well as the need to function as a member of the community. For Park Service interpreters, the "real thing" always was attractive. With much early nineteenth-century historic fabric in the community, it seemed imprudent to ignore the possibility of influencing the interpretation conveyed to the public. In addition, the Park Service historically practiced a good-neighbor policy. From the Navajo Reservation to Alaska, from California to Maine, when the Park Service could assist people who lived nearby and were influenced by its actions, it nearly always did. [10]

These choices also reflected a potential issue for the Park Service at Vincennes. The Park Service had yet to develop a framework for interpreting the growing array of built monuments within its jurisdiction. [11] It was easy for the planners to devalue the importance of the memorial, to treat it as a grandiose visitor center from which to kick off a tour of the less spectacular but — from a historical perspective — more important historic structures in the community. The Clark rotunda was impressive, but it required the same sort of information from the ranger stationed there as did any visitor center; it served as a place to orient the public to the story of the surrender of Fort Sackville and the origins and development of the Old Northwest. The places that were part of that history, from the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church to Grouseland, were to remain outside federal control.

This created a complicated management scenario for the Park Service. The creation of the national historical park gave the agency control of an important feature, but only marginally granted the ability to influence the direction and fate of other similarly important places that were nearby. Agency officials would have to tread carefully for fear of offending those whose support they needed to fulfill their objectives. It was not a situation to which 1960s federal officials were accustomed.

The planners envisioned a loosely linked collection of historic places, joined by a local Trailblazer Autotrain and the interpretation offered at the Clark memorial. The message that

came across at the memorial was muddled; it lacked both effective presentation and all encompassing information. A visitor center would supply the venue for interpretation while strong ties to local owners of historic properties would enhance the existing interpretation. [12]

In fashioning a strategy, the master plan set out a management course that was easy to follow, but from which it was difficult to garner satisfactory results. The planners' actions occurred in full view of the people of the town, many of whom felt some kind of proprietary interest in the memorial. The agency had broadened the scope of its responsibilities even before problems that residents and the former state managers had identified were solved. As a result, when the Park Service assumed responsibility for the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park on July 1, 1967, it created expectations and committed itself to long-term projects that included tangible development and much intangible building of relationships with the local community.

At first, the only changes that people could see were the end of the fifty-cent admission charge and the presence of rangers in Park Service uniforms. A five foot-by-ten-foot sign went up proclaiming the new park, and Banton told reporters that he could think only of Williamsburg and of Philadelphia which were as important to United States history as was the Clark memorial. Despite the hyperbole, Banton, his large sign, and the Park Service made a positive impression the first day. [13] The combination suggested a seriousness of purpose that had been lacking under state administration.

But compared to other new parks in the system, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park lacked many amenities. Besides obvious features such as a parking lot and a visitor center, both included in the initial master plan, the park was not autonomous. Banton, already the superintendent at Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, about forty-five miles away, functioned as the official responsible for the new park as well. Even though Robert L. Lagemann was appointed management assistant for the park on September 10, 1967, and he soon became a fixture in Vincennes, it was Banton who retained the real decision-making power over the new park. [14]

In the Park Service, this kind of management always had indicated lesser importance for the park area where the person in charge did not reside. Except in emergency situations, only small and inaccessible parks generally were managed in this fashion; one such relationship, between Navajo National Monument and Rainbow Bridge National Monument, only ended when administrative responsibility for Rainbow Bridge was transferred, not to independent management, but to the new Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Another park, Wright Brothers National Memorial in North Carolina, was administered by Fort Raleigh National Historic Site between 1942 and 1945 and by Cape Hatteras National Seashore from 1945 to 1962. [15] Although many small parks were in such an arrangement when they first entered the system and such groupings occurred any time the agency felt compelled to try to cut costs, this pattern suggested a lack of standing that belied the historic significance associated with George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

Nor did the memorial resemble a national park area when Lagemann arrived. There was no existing office space and the two structures on the grounds aside from the memorial were unsuited for such use. One was designated as a residence for the caretaker, while the other was too dilapidated for use. The maintenance facility was across alternate U.S. Highway 50 (Vigo Street) adjacent to the downtown, in an area with heavy vehicular traffic. This made access and use of some equipment difficult and time consuming. The maintenance crews had to cross as many as three crowded streets to get their equipment to the section of the park upon which the memorial was located. Lagemann had authority over day-to-day park activities, but every major decision had to be cleared through Banton. Nor did Lagemann

have large funds at his disposal; \$100 in petty cash and a credit card to buy fuel for the park pickup truck were the limits of his financial prerogative. [16]

The situation at the park was typical of the conditions in new NPS ventures, particularly when the agency took over a park from another entity. Administration was bifurcated; Lagemann held responsibility for the interpretive and administrative functions of the park while Banton, who visited every Tuesday, directed the maintenance crews. From the former state manager's residence at 115 Dubois Street, which the Park Service previously converted into office space, Lagemann oversaw a clerical staff of one, Janet Ernst, and the three elderly men who had worked for the state and whom the Park Service agreed to keep. Two of them, Walter Minderman and Orval Hedge, handled much of the caretaking, while the third, Frank Werker, spent every day, from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M., in the rotunda.

Until Lagemann forced him to give it up, Werker had a rocking chair that he kept next to the souvenir stand. In the summer, one person was added to the maintenance staff and two seasonal interpreters joined Werker on duty in the rotunda. [17]

The Park Service initiated typically labor intensive interpretive programs designed to accomplish two goals. It was important that the public recognize the difference between NPS interpretation and that of other entities, so the programs were designed to highlight the highly developed interpretation skills of the agency. In addition, Lagemann had noted a lack of interest in Clark and his achievements in Vincennes. The people of the town were more interested in the structure itself. The interpretive program highlighted the expedition of the Big Knives and its importance for the fledgling American Republic. [18]

The Park Service also sought to build bridges with the local community. One of the best means at its disposal was the hiring of seasonal employees in maintenance and interpretation. By bringing locals into annually renewable positions, the park could build loyalty in the community, show that the presence of a federal park area had greater economic advantages for the town than its predecessors could demonstrate, and improve the quality of the services it offered. Hiring locals as seasonal interpreters and maintenance workers helped open doors in Vincennes, but agency officials had much to do before they were close to implementing the conception described in the master plan. There were many owners of historic structures in the community and even more constituencies. Coordinating interpretive and managerial efforts was a complicated puzzle that took years to establish and took even longer to coalesce.

The Park Service had big plans when it arrived in Vincennes, but some agency personnel associated with the park had trouble establishing a rapport with people in the local historical community. The residents of Vincennes had run their sites for a long time and, in some measure, resented the presence of the Park Service. In some circumstances, Park Service people inadvertently could behave in a high-handed manner toward local people, particularly when the quality of visitor experience was in question. Communities could feel threatened when the Park Service offered big plans for their little places, especially when it seemed that the agency was telling people what to do with their own property. Despite Banton's repeated assurances, in fiercely independent southern Indiana the situation created two kinds of tension, one concerning individual rights and another about unwanted government intervention and expansion.

The tension in Vincennes focused on Grouseland, the nineteenth-century home of territorial governor and U.S. President William Henry Harrison. The house was owned by the Francis Vigo Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). Shortly after he arrived in Vincennes, Lagemann paid a visit to Grouseland. He received a cool reception; the ladies on duty even charged him the normal fifty-cent entrance fee. Although everyone was civil,

they were hardly friendly. In search of the reasons for the reception, Lagemann spoke with Northeast Regional Historian Frank Barnes, a skilled and experienced interpretive specialist, who explained the problem. Shortly after the establishment of the national park in 1966, a visiting Park Service team came to Grouseland. One member uttered a phrase including the words, "take over," and as Lagemann recalled, "that was the end of that in [19]66." The DAR was so incensed its members removed the National Historic Landmark plaque that had been awarded to the property in 1965. [19]

An inadvertent comment turned an important relationship for the agency into a poor one. The local DAR felt threatened. Its people had rescued Grouseland from oblivion; in the nineteenth century, the building had become a hotel and a rooming house, and also had been used for storing grain. Early in the twentieth century, the City Water Department, which held property adjacent to the structure, wanted to tear down the building. The DAR bought the property and spent five decades restoring it, creating an historic mansion on the level of many of those in the East. The group resented the threatened intrusion. [20]

Lagemann was given the responsibility to rebuild the relationship. Barnes told him that he would have to "tread lightly and expect to be rebuffed repeatedly," but Lagemann persevered. During 1968, Barnes, Lagemann, and a third NPS official returned to Grouseland; Lagemann paid the entry fee for all three. Visiting Grouseland on an average of twice a year and contacting the leaders of the DAR regularly either by phone, letter, or in the many meetings of the local historical community, Lagemann kept working to build trust. After a few years, he persuaded the DAR that the plaque was an honor. It was remounted on a boulder on the grounds of the property. Eventually, the DAR stopped charging Lagemann admission, a sign that the relationship was improving. [21]

Gradually the Park Service also integrated its representatives into the community. In typical agency fashion, Banton and Lagemann joined civic groups and made themselves available as speakers for all kinds of local activities. In 1969, Banton even served as one of three outside judges in the annual DAR contest for the best essay about heroines of the Revolutionary War. Park Service technicians provided support for the renovation of the library at the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church. [22] Most communities readily welcomed this participatory citizenship and Vincennes was no exception. Federal officials, particularly in uniform, still had prestige, and in a town with much history, people with considerable historical knowledge were always in demand. Lagemann, who was active in community affairs in Vincennes, was in great demand and he made it a point always to appear in public in full agency uniform.

By early 1969, this role had begun to pay dividends for the Park Service. At the beginning of January, a group from the Junior Chamber of Commerce approached Banton about a possible reconstruction of Fort Sackville. Later that month, he spoke to a well-attended meeting, explaining the problems facing the Park Service at the new park as he sought to deter the idea of the reconstruction of the fort. Banton determined that the interest in a reconstruction stemmed from the local sense that the features of the town needed a central point around which the desired increase in visitation could coalesce. From his point of view, implementation of the park's master plan would accomplish that goal. [23]

Local leaders had other ideas for developing their historic resources. On January 28, 1969, Banton met with Judge Curtis G. Shake, Robert R. Stevens, advertising manager of the *Vincennes Valley Advance*, and Thomas S. Emison, president of the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, to develop a strategy to bring the idea of a state Revolutionary War Bicentennial Commission before the state legislature. After meeting on February 4, the group finalized a bill that Emison forwarded to the legislature in the name of the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society. [24]

The first season of Park Service management clearly caught the attention of some prominent members of the Vincennes community. It infused the local business community, as well as those with responsibility for historic structures with new enthusiasm for the potential of the memorial. The presence of the Park Service made people consider economic growth and development along with preservation issues. But the warm reception was only a first step in garnering trust, which was crucial to achieving the kind of results the agency sought.

The Park Service also had begun a dialogue with Vincennes University about its historic properties. Vincennes University is the oldest institution of higher education in Indiana. The school began in 1801 as Jefferson Academy. Five years later the territorial legislature incorporated the institution under the name of Vincennes University. The university had administrative responsibility for the Indiana Territory Capitol and for a 1954 reproduction of the Stout Print Shop where an interpretive exhibit of a Ramage Press of the early 1800s was housed. The Indiana Department of Natural Resources owned the two structures. The school also offered the Trailblazer Autotrain which was so crucial to Park Service plans. On February 14, 1969, Banton met with Dr. Isaac Beckes, president of the university, to discuss cooperation. [25]

From the perspective of the Park Service, the two properties at the university were poorly managed. Banton and Lagemann visited the properties, estimating the size of areas that needed painting, checking wiring and other potential electrical hazards, and assessing the quality of interpretation. The buildings were used for storage, Lagemann recalled with dismay. The conditions were bad, with the interpretation abysmal. But the Park Service and the two responsible entities, the Department of Natural Resources and Vincennes University, worked out a cooperative agreement that gave the Park Service responsibility for maintenance of the two historic structures. [26]

For those more reticent local groups which operated or owned other historic properties, the university was an important barometer. If the university could reach an agreement with the Park Service about mutual interests without compromising what other groups might regard as their independence, then other kinds of relationships could ensue. Although community groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution also had considerable standing, they could gauge the situation from negotiations between the agency and the university.

The dialogue between Beckes and Banton inspired a community-wide meeting of those involved in historic properties and interpretation. On March 4, 1969, a representative of Vincennes University, another from the Art Guild, which was located in the Old State Bank, the regent of the Francis Vigo Chapter of the DAR (which owned Grouseland), Monsignor Leo Conti from St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, William Dawn from the Tourism Promotion Committee of the Vincennes Chamber of Commerce, and Lagemann met to discuss cooperation and communication during the ensuing visitation season. [27]

From Banton's perspective, the meeting was a first step toward the development of cooperative agreements, albeit a "back door way of doing it." [28] By developing a shared agenda as well as complementary senses of the responsibilities of other managers in the area, the beginnings of a cooperative strategy could emerge. Even more, the Park Service could enhance its growing importance and status as a member of the local cultural resources management community. The agency had much to offer Vincennes and its historic resources; its representatives only had to be cautious of seeming to further their own agenda at the expense of others.

But the short-term results of this meeting did little for cooperative relations in Vincennes. Even though university representatives had agreed to Park Service involvement in the two historic properties on the campus, when it came time to sign a cooperative agreement with the

NPS, school and conservation department officials balked. Someone prevailed upon both the university and the Department of Natural Resources to renege on their agreement, but no one knew who. Banton spent three or four weeks frantically trying to discover the identity of this person, but did not succeed. [29] Despite all the efforts of Banton and Lagemann, the chance for a successful cooperative agreement remained remote.

There also was a backlash that resulted from the collapse of the cooperative agreement. George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was a peripheral park for the Northeast Region; the bulk of the region's responsibilities were on the East Coast. After their shock at the demise of the arrangement, the Northeast Region simply lost interest in Vincennes. For as long as the park remained in the region, it rarely would be a priority for development. [30]

National Park Service improvements to the property were one easy way to rebuild the relationship with the local historic resources community. One of the most evident ways that the agency distinguished the management of places it acquired from other entities was through a distinct yet rapidly implemented plan of development of facilities. Geared toward visitor service and particularly toward the needs of its constituency of middle class auto travelers, the Park Service had an inherent strategy for places such as George Rogers Clark; it had practiced applying similar programs since the 1930s. For the Indiana park, located away from major routes of car travel and in the middle of a downtown, amenities for auto travelers were atop the list of priorities. [31]

Most pressing was the need for off-street parking. During the tenure of the state, parking had been a problem. Even the relatively low numbers of visitors (in the early 1960s there was an average of about 30,000 each year) meant considerable parking woes downtown and in what essentially was a residential area south and east of the park. There also were problems with visitors and city parking tickets for expired meters. Although this sort of fee-for-visitation arrangement could generate significant extra revenue for a local community, it also left visitors with bad feelings about a place. Visitor use of downtown parking also could effect local commerce; those who came downtown to shop might not be able to find space in which to park. Clearly the agency needed parking facilities of its own.

On-site parking became the first program undertaken by the Park Service. The initial master plan listed visitor parking as an immediate priority and by March 1969 a contractor, E. H. Montgomery, had been selected and the project had begun. On July 1, 1969, the blacktopping of the parking area was completed, and the Park Service had a fifty-space parking area solely for its own use just southeast of the memorial. [32] Designed to help create an identity for the agency with visitors to Vincennes, the parking lot was the first step in the capital development program for the park.

Other similar changes took place at about the same time. The dilapidated structure on the property, sometimes called the "Alice of Old Vincennes House" for the fictional heroine, was not suited for either office or interpretive use and its location partially blocked the entrance to the new parking area. Plans to demolish the house provoked a small controversy in Vincennes. Some in the community believed the structure to be of historic significance and, in the struggle to convince the local population of the agency's good intentions, the Park Service had to make a strong case. Lagemann himself found the concept of a fictional character having a house silly and sought to explain that the property had no historical value. During construction of the parking area, the Park Service let a contract for removal of the structure. Montgomery, whose crews were building the parking lot, was one of the bidders. He secured the contract and in April 1969, the Alice House came down. [33]

Despite all the improvements and the widespread belief that the construction of a visitor center at George Rogers Clark soon would follow, the park remained peripheral to the plans

of the Park Service. Administered by the distant Northeast Region in Philadelphia and the superintendent of nearby Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, Albert W. Banton, Jr., the park remained on the periphery of agency development plans. Without a direct line to the Regional Office, Lagemann, whose title was management assistant, had to wait for his requests to clear two levels of administration rather than one. Although Banton was a strong advocate of the park, he was an intermittent one. Lincoln Boyhood was his priority, a fact reflected in his decision-making. No matter how hard Lagemann worked, there were clear limits to what he could accomplish. Before George Rogers Clark National Historical Park could attain the full benefits of its new status within the system, a change in administrative procedures and hierarchy had to occur.

The first step in that process began in August 1971, when Lincoln Home National Historic Site was authorized. By December, the three parks (Lincoln Boyhood, George Rogers Clark and Lincoln Home) had been renamed the Indiana-Illinois Group with Banton as general superintendent; of the national park areas in Indiana, only Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, in the northern part of the state, was not included in the grouping. This kind of clustering was typical in the 1960s and early 1970s; in one instance, the parks on or near the Navajo Nation were linked under the Navajo Lands Group, while elsewhere in the nation, parks with geographic proximity and similar or related themes also were linked. These measures were designed to simplify management and cut costs. The Navajo Lands Group, for example, was supposed to pool personnel with the skills that all the parks needed, allowing each to use its personnel for specialized needs. In some cases, the strategy succeeded. In others, it confused patterns of activity and chains of command. [34]

In Indiana and Illinois, this grouping worked well. It allowed one superintendent to represent the interest of the three westernmost parks in the Northeast Region, while giving Banton the opportunity to work on major issues instead of concentrating on day-to-day activities. The addition of the Lincoln Home park also gave Lagemann more autonomy. Banton still affirmed the major decisions for George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. He had to rely upon Lagemann's judgment to a greater degree than before the addition of the new park, for he had less time to spend in Vincennes, and other important management issues with which to contend. [35]

In November 1972, the Park Service implemented new procedures that changed the patterns of management not only for George Rogers Clark, but for the rest of the Indiana-Illinois Group. Banton was appointed superintendent of Lincoln Home National Historic Site, which was severed from the Indiana-Illinois Group and was made a free-standing unit of the park system. Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park remained grouped, although they were renamed the Southern Indiana Group. John C. W. "Bill" Riddle, who had been superintendent at the Mound City Group National Monument in Ohio from 1962 to 1965 and then superintendent at Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site in Pennsylvania from 1965 until the 1972 transfer, was placed in charge. [36]

Again a management change gave Lagemann greater independence. Banton had been associated with George Rogers Clark National Historical Park since its transfer to federal administration. Riddle was a seasoned Park Service veteran, receiving his thirty-year pin from the agency at the end of his first year in charge of the two parks. However, he missed the formative period at the park during which Banton had played an important part. Lagemann, whose objective when he came to George Rogers Clark had been to acquire experience in every facet of the management of a small park, had become more of a manager and less of a subordinate as Banton's responsibilities grew. Lagemann proved an effective administrator and representative. In the year following the arrival of Riddle, Lagemann's experience and perseverance earned him recognition twice: he received his twenty-year pin from the agency and, more importantly, he was promoted to park manager of George Rogers

Clark National Historical Park [37]

This new position affirmed the autonomy that Lagemann had acquired over time while cementing his position as a person who participated in every facet of management. The park manager gave the Kentucky rifle demonstration 139 times on the grounds in 1973 as well as nine times at off-site locations. With Banton's departure, Lagemann officially became the Eastern National Park & Monument Association (ENP&MA) agent, a capacity in which he had acted since the establishment of the park. He also managed maintenance activities, cooperated with interpretive design teams, and did everything else a superintendent would. [38] Lagemann's activities mirrored those of Park Service personnel of a generation before, when many smaller parks had only one permanent employee.

The jack-of-all-trades mentality was a Park Service tradition, but by the 1960s the opportunities to exercise it were increasingly rare. Particularly during MISSION 66, many parks received increases in staff as well as capital improvements. Park Service personnel began a trend toward specialization not only within the administrative levels of the agency, but at the park level as well. Many superintendents went from being hands-on participants in every activity at their park to becoming office-bound managers. Places such as George Rogers Clark National Historical Park operated in a manner counter to that trend.

Yet the park merited considerably more attention than it received from the Northeast Region. By 1973, visitation had risen to 78,225, an immense increase from the approximately 30,000 per annum that the Indiana Department of Natural Resources considered an impressive figure in 1965. [39] Despite the priorities established in the master plan, the park still lacked permanent interpretive, administrative, and maintenance facilities. George Rogers Clark, which was run on a small budget, functioned with temporary facilities. The first eight years of management had initiated many important programs. Fulfilling the potential of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park required the implementation of more comprehensive management programs and modern facilities.

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GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Maintaining A Legacy

An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



CHAPTER 5: The Modern Era

During the middle of the 1970s, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park underwent a series of rapid changes that affirmed the major trends of the decade since the beginning of the federal presence in Vincennes and gave the park the final attributes of a full-fledged independent area in the national park system. These steps were a prelude to the kind of comprehensive management that had become typical throughout the park system; once facilities, personnel, and chains of command were established, the real work of running a modern park area could commence. As a result of the developments of the middle years of the 1970s, both the administration and the physical plant of the park were raised to the level of most agency areas, providing park officials the baseline amenities to conceive and implement the range of programs that distinguished Park Service areas from those run by state or local entities. Supported by efforts to commemorate the upcoming bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence and the birth of the American Republic in 1976, the park's development program gained momentum.

Two separate events defined the coming of age of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park: its final move towards independence with the declaration of its status as a freestanding park beginning July 1, 1975, and the long-awaited construction of the visitor center, itself a controversial series of decisions and responses. Taken together, these two events created a park that for the first time could be managed in the same manner as any other area in the park system and gave it the final and most important piece of its Interpretation and Resource Management program.

The catalyst for these final steps came from an adjustment of regional boundaries within the Park Service that resulted in part from the influx of new areas during Director George B. Hartzog, Jr.'s tenure. Between 1964 and 1972, when Hartzog headed the agency, sixty-nine areas joined the system, nearly seventy-five percent of the total added since the end of the New Deal in 1942. This influx meant an expansion in the size of the agency, both in numbers of staff and in capital and administrative needs. Facing the heightened set of expectations of the American public in the post-World War II era, the Park Service needed more comprehensive and sophisticated management policies and procedures. [1]

Realignment of the regional boundaries offered one kind of solution. Geographic divisions had been contentious since the first regional offices were established during the late 1930s, and the influx of new parks, many of which were in states with few national park areas, made some of the old boundaries archaic. In 1971, the Nixon administration called for common regional boundaries for federal agencies. The Park Service implemented this directive, but found itself with an unwieldy arrangement, with inherent problems exacerbated by the continuous addition of new park areas. As the lack of efficiency embodied in the organizational system became increasingly evident, Park Service officials pushed again for realignment. In December 1973, as part of another reorganization, two new NPS regions were

formed — the Rocky Mountain Region, carved from the Midwest Region, and the North Atlantic Region, derived from the Northeast Region, which was then renamed the Mid-Atlantic Region.

The move had great consequences for parks throughout the Midwest. The new Rocky Mountain Region contained many of the western holdings of the old Midwest Region, which really had been an intermountain region oriented toward its large parks in Wyoming, Montana, and Colorado. Parks in Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota were taken from the old Northeast Region, where they had been anomalous, and added to the new Midwest Region. As did regional offices, the new division finally reflected the geography embodied in name. [2]

For a park such as George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, the transfer to a Midwestern management entity with fewer parks and an entirely different orientation meant new opportunities. In the Northeast Region, the park had been a backwater, peripheral to the main concerns of a geographically large region focused on its eastern holdings. With the array of Revolutionary War and Colonial-era park areas along the eastern seaboard, the Northeast Region had little need to accentuate a park in Indiana devoted to the same themes. The experiences of the Northeast Region in Vincennes had not been good; planners could point to the failed cooperative agreements as a reason for investing little energy in what they regarded as an outpost.

The transfer caused the Midwest Region to reorient its priorities away from the large natural parks of the old region toward the combination of historic places, recreational areas, and other geographically small parks that made up the new region. In this new entity, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was one of three national park areas located in an important state with a powerful congressional delegation. Its management needs mirrored those of other parks in the region, and its context within a community with vast interest in its operation typified the Midwest Region. Under the new management, recently appointed Superintendent Robert Lagemann and his staff had reason to be optimistic.

The construction of the visitor center became the fulcrum on which the future of the park pivoted. Included as a priority in the initial master plan and slated for funding for the first time in 1970, the visitor center was to be the capstone of park development. The acoustics within the rotunda were a detriment to interpretation, and because, as Robert Lagemann and others were fond of saying, "only the Wabash River flowed as it did in the 1770s," the visitor center was essential to the interpretive mission of the Park Service at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. Without it, the park would not be able to offer the level of service common within the NPS system. [3]

In the late 1960s, development seemed to be progressing at the expected pace in Vincennes. With the completion and acceptance of the master plan, the visitor center was slated for construction in 1970. Contractors poured a stub of sidewalk matching the 1930s pavement as part of the parking lot contract in 1969 and with work on the new building scheduled for 1970, park staff and local people expected rapid progress toward a complete facility. Plans for the visitor center located the building south of the rotunda and away from downtown Vincennes, and the stub of sidewalk from the parking lot was intended to be extended to meet the concrete slab of the new structure. [4]

Considerations within the agency delayed the construction of the visitor center. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the proposal to build a national visitor center in the old Union Station in Washington, D.C., gained momentum. An opening date during the bicentennial year of 1976 was the goal for the project, and its capital needs took precedence in the agency. The national visitor center dwarfed projects at parks such as George Rogers Clark National

Historical Park, eventually requiring the transfer of funds allocated for capital development elsewhere in the park system to the Washington, D.C., project. In 1970, the park gave back its construction funds, and the visitor center for Vincennes was delayed until the following year. In 1971, the process was repeated. Vincennes residents first looked for the signs of imminent construction and soon after discovered that the project again was postponed. The delays continued throughout 1972 and 1973. [5]

In Vincennes, where park-town relations had been strained since the appearance of the Park Service, the repeated delays subjected the park to intense local scrutiny. Since 1967, Lagemann had worked long and hard to develop rapport with the historic preservation community and the people of Vincennes. From the DAR to the Kiwanis, he was a well-known figure. Always in his Park Service uniform to show people that he represented the agency and not himself, Lagemann developed personal and professional relationships throughout the community. Vincennes residents trusted Lagemann, and increasingly the uniform he wore, but the repeated delays taxed their patience and threatened the ties he had built. The newspapers had published drawings of the finished grounds and Lagemann discussed the construction plans whenever the opportunity arose, but the people of Vincennes rightfully grew suspicious of agency motives. [6]

The transfer to the Midwest Region was the catalyst for the construction of the visitor center. On March 11 and 12, 1974, Lagemann and Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial Superintendent John C. W. "Bill" Riddle traveled to Omaha, Nebraska, for an introductory meeting with officials in their new regional office. As they met their new superiors, they were able to develop a strong rapport as well as articulate the needs of the park. In the new environment, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park became a much higher priority. With the Bicentennial approaching, it was the only park in the Midwest Region that embodied a Revolutionary War theme. The Midwest Regional Office fought to keep the money for the visitor center instead of returning it to the national visitor center fund. In 1974, the first full year that the park was included in the Midwest Region, funding finally came through. On August 16, 1974, after an extensive local letter-writing campaign and with the lobbying efforts of U.S. Representative Roger Zion of Indiana, Congress appropriated \$535,000 for the visitor center. Plans took shape to build the bi-level structure, with 4,000 square feet for interpretation and administration on the main floor and a 3,000-square-foot maintenance area below, in time for the Bicentennial. [7]

But the delay had been expensive, both in terms of capital and local goodwill. The amount that Congress appropriated in 1974 was the same as first had been allocated in 1970. Despite four years of inflation, no increase in funding for the project was included in the bill. This left the Park Service with a difficult situation; each year of delay translated into a decline in square footage and possibly the elimination of some amenities for visitors. Lagemann recalled that he had to estimate how many seats in the auditorium would be the minimum necessary to meet park needs. At another juncture, private restrooms for park staff were eliminated from the plans. Each year the visitor center seemed smaller to people in Vincennes, taxing their patience, confirming their predisposition to mistrust the federal government, and making it more and more difficult for Lagemann and his staff to maintain credibility. [8]

Their credibility received even more damage from a series of events that followed the congressional appropriation. The Midwest Regional Office previously decided to accept existing development plans for the parks added as a result of the 1973 reorganization; regional officials such as Regional Director Merrill "Dave" Beal and Associate Regional Director for Professional Services John Kawamoto recognized this as a way to maintain continuity and credibility with park staff and local communities. From the perspective of the Regional Office, the visitor center as drawn in the original master plan and funded by

Congress would be built. Bids for construction were let early in 1975 and were opened on January 30. [9]

But opposition to the visitor center as planned existed within the Midwest Regional Office. Early in the summer of 1974, a team that included Regional Historian David Clary, Historical Architect Vance L. Kaminiski, and Landscape Architect Dan L. Wilson visited the park as part of a familiarization trip for Clary, who recently transferred from Washington, D.C. to the Midwest Region. They discovered that while the park had been under the administration of the Northeast Region, a visitor center "smack on the grounds" of the memorial had been approved. The team disapproved of the design; almost twenty years later, Clary referred to it as "a boxy building that looked more or less like a contemporary drive-up bank." Nor did its location seem appropriate. Placed directly to the south of the memorial, in their view it intruded upon the rotunda, the most important historic resource in the park, and transformed an area that the team regarded as "symbolic wilderness" into a part of the urban milieu. [10]

In a September 1974 memorandum, the team informed Kawamoto of four separate points of misgivings. The members regarded the proposed visitor center and its location as an intrusion upon the historic scene that conflicted with agency policy; as a negative impact upon the historic resources of the park; as an alteration of a scene that qualified as a work of art; and as a construction project with serious shortcomings in design and location. In a climate in which the highest echelons of the Park Service insisted on "scrupulous adherence" to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the team asserted that the construction of the visitor center as planned and the agency's finding of "no adverse effect" could be interpreted as acts of bad faith. The construction of the visitor center seemed to the team a poor decision both for the agency as a political entity and for the park as a destination for visitors. [11]

Clary came to the Midwest Region from the Washington office of the Park Service, where he served as coordinator of Environmental and Protection Activities in the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. Under the tutelage of Robert M. Utley, chief historian of the National Park Service, Clary learned to understand the complex government statutes that regularly came across his desk. In the Department of the Interior, he became an expert in the evaluation of documents emanating from the new and poorly understood Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) process. While in the capital, Clary also developed a relationship with Robert R. Garvey, Jr., director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). He played an instrumental role in defining the response of the agency to the publication of procedures for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, issued by the ACHP in 1974. Under Section 106, federal agencies were obligated to review their proposed activities to determine potential impact on cultural resources; the ACHP, then a branch of the Park Service, had the right to comment on these undertakings, affirming or disputing the findings of the federal agency. [12]

Clary argued that the Section 106 compliance effort was marred by an improper determination of effect. The Park Service misunderstood not only the process, Clary believed, but the significance of the features of the park as well. In his view, the memorial was the primary historic resource at the park. Anything that altered its relationship with its surroundings required an assessment of "adverse effect." Otherwise the Park Service ran the risk that the ACHP would challenge the decision, and Clary noted, "the Advisory Council staff is replete with architectural historians likely to recognize [negative effects] on their own." If the Park Service did not recognize an "adverse effect" emanating from the project, Clary insisted, it stood to be "embarrassed considerably and may find the project forestalled well nigh forever." [13]

Clary's perspective reflected the new enthusiasm for historic preservation within the agency.

The ACHP guidelines placed historic preservation in a position of new importance, and within the Park Service, powerful forces supported the concept. Not the least of these was Robert M. Utley, who in 1974 became Assistant to the Director for Historic Preservation, the lead person for agency efforts in that area. The new regulations gave historic preservation a clear agenda within the Park Service for the first time, and people such as David Clary pursued it with missionary zeal.

The argument Clary made centered on the historic resource qualities of the memorial structure and landscape. He and the rest of the team believed that the Clark memorial had intrinsic historic value, and that its layout reflected a spacial organization of the property that showed the progression from wilderness to civilization. Clary and the team asserted but did not document that the grounds had been designed with the intent to flow from a formal design east of the memorial to a less formal area, and then finally to a "symbolic wilderness" area at the west end of the park. This arrangement, Clary asserted, reflected the growth and expansion of the nation. [14]

From the perspective of the Regional Office, the need for compliance stemmed not from the historic qualities of the memorial, but from the automatic listing of the park in the National Register of Historic Places by virtue of its inclusion as a historical unit of the national park system. That the central feature of the park was a relatively modern commemorative structure that likely would not have met National Register criteria did not obviate the automatic designation. In this context, the decision by the Regional Office that the plans for the visitor center created "no adverse effect" on the characteristics that qualified the park for inclusion in the National Register reflected its understanding that the park qualified for the register because of its inclusion and not as a result of specific features within its boundaries. The location of the planned visitor center continued the axial format of the park, offered visitors an entry to the memorial that secluded them from the noise of downtown Vincennes, and allowed the Park Service a crucial feature of its planning anywhere, control of ingress and egress to the primary feature of the park, the memorial structure. [15]

Armed with this perspective and after four years of struggling for funds, regional officials felt the objections were of little relevance. The compliance process was new, and few in the regional office had any experience with its implications. Kawamoto disagreed with the assessment of the team, asserting that it reflected "just [Clary's] personal opinion." After a number of heated discussions, Regional Director Beal received the report. He decided, based on Kawamoto's recommendation and the experience of the agency, that the initial finding of "no adverse effect" would stand. Clary and the other members of the team refused to initial the document, but after the word "consensus" was removed, they assented. [16]

According to Kawamoto, Clary then bypassed the chain of command by sending the report to the Park Service office in Washington, D.C., without informing Kawamoto. Clary used a procedure referred to in the agency as a "blue envelope." This allowed him to take his report to a higher level without the concurrence of his superiors, but did not allow him to do so without informing them. In Kawamoto's view, the use of the "blue envelope" was not the problem; Clary had not followed procedure when he failed to inform Kawamoto that he planned to send the report ahead. [17]

According to Clary, Kawamoto had refused to take the team's objections to higher authority, preferring to address them within his office. Clary regarded this as an effort to stonewall that proved detrimental not only to the development of the park, but also to the role of historic preservation within the Park Service and the prospects of accomplishing the project in a timely manner. He was certain that the ACHP would "blow it up in their faces." Clary had a strong commitment to the practice of historic preservation and sought to develop a stronger ethos within the Park Service. [18] His fidelity to the concept, the statutory obligations of the

agency, and the four-year delay in authorization of the funds combined to create an inflamed situation.

Kawamoto and Clary represented very different traditions within the Park Service. In 1974, Clary fashioned himself part of a new vanguard. In the middle of a meteoric rise in the historical corps of the agency, he had reached the position of regional historian after a stint in an important position in the Washington office of the Park Service. Outspoken and idealistic, Clary had great energy and initiative if relatively little seasoning. Kawamoto was a career official, just past the midpoint of a thirty-five-year career in the Midwest Regional Office. With extensive training and experience in landscape architecture, he was the person with best professional credentials to assess the concept of "symbolic wilderness"; he found it wanting. Kawamoto had considerable hard-won authority, a view of how to proceed, and a penchant for order and hierarchy. The professional values and objectives of these two created a confrontation over the location of the visitor center at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. [19]

The Regional Office found itself in the middle of a situation in which there could be no winners. The powerful historic preservation constituency within the agency advocated a delay of the visitor center until a more appropriate location for it could be determined. This perspective did not take into account the on-the-ground realities of the issue. The people of Vincennes, the park staff, and the Regional Office wanted the long-awaited visitor center in time for the Bicentennial. All the groups interpreted the meaning of the resources of the park in different ways, leading to opposing points of view about the project. Two value systems had come into conflict, and an effective compromise looked very distant.

The point of view that Clary expressed gained momentum after it reached Washington, D.C. Clary framed a preliminary case report of compliance issues at the visitor center, but the report eventually sent to the ACHP seemed likely to elicit a strong response. When the council was asked for comment on the official agency view that the visitor center had "no adverse effect" on the historic resources of the park, it agreed with Clary's and the team's assessment. During a January 23, 1975, visit to the park, Garvey, his associate, Richard Howard, and Indiana State Historic Preservation Officer Carl Armstrong affirmed their view that the location of the visitor center posed a problem. They believed that it intruded upon the historic scene at the memorial. During their visit, the group did not contact Lagemann nor any other member of the park staff, preferring to view the situation without comment from interested parties. But the lack of input made them unaware of local views. On February 15, 1975, the ACHP found that the planned construction of the visitor center would have an "adverse effect" on the historic resources of the park and forced the Park Service to reassess its findings. [20]

The historic significance of the memorial had always been a problem for the Park Service. The Clark memorial was not yet fifty years old in 1975, the age usually required to qualify for the National Register of Historic Places; but as a unit of the National Park System, it was automatically listed in the National Register. This made federal actions affecting it subject to Section 106. The memorial was also a structure significant enough in its own right to merit consideration as a historic resource and a work of art. To the Park Service, steeped in its predisposition for historic authenticity, the Clark memorial was less valuable than might have been a remnant of Fort Sackville from the 1770s. But with the new emphasis upon compliance with historic preservation statutes in the Park Service following new guidelines for the administration of historic preservation issued in 1974, the agency acted in a cautious manner. [21]

As a result of the ACHP opinion, NPS Director Gary Everhardt canceled the visitor center project in February 1975. Section 106 mandated that until the compliance process was

completed, the project could not begin. This made the decision to let the contract by the Midwest Regional Office appear to be inappropriate and possibly illegal. After a meeting with Garvey and the ACHP, Everhardt concurred with their opinion, noting that the location of the planned visitor center would bring "visitors to the central feature of the park by way of the back door." Everhardt sought to take the \$305,000 allocated for the first phase of construction and use it instead for maintenance on the memorial itself. [22]

For staff at the park and in the Midwest Regional Office, the cancellation was a blow of major proportions. Even the vaunted Park Service grapevine did not spare local staff the indignity of not only losing their visitor center, but also of finding out about it on the streets of Vincennes. In early February 1975, while at the local post office, Lagemann encountered Robert Grumieaux, an acquaintance who was vice president of the Montgomery Construction Company. The company had built the parking area at the park, torn down the so-called "Alice House," and bid on the construction of the visitor center. As they deposited their mail, Grumieaux asked Lagemann why the bids on the visitor center were canceled. Lagemann was, in his word, "dumbfounded." The Denver Service Center had informed Grumieaux of the decision, but no one had called the park. When Lagemann called the Regional Office in the morning, Regional Director Beal was also caught unaware. "He took it with more ill will than I did, Lagemann recalled. Late in the afternoon, Beal confirmed Grumieaux's account. For the moment, the visitor center seemed to be dead. [23]

The new situation posed a major problem for Lagemann. After a delay of nearly five years, the Park Service once again failed to deliver for the people of Vincennes. Lagemann had put his personal credibility on the line along with that of his agency, raising local expectations about the importance of the park. Again local people were disappointed and again they blamed the bureaucracy for the problem. As Clary predicted, the situation became an embarrassment for the Park Service. Among the people of Vincennes, the Park Service had a certain odor as winter ended in 1975.

Many theories about the termination of the bid followed the initial announcement. Lagemann himself believed that powerful federal bureaucrats were repaying the Park Service for its role as lead preservation agency. During Stewart Udall's tenure as Secretary of the Interior, which lasted from 1961 until 1969, the agency had been the secretary's vehicle for challenging what he regarded as untoward growth and development. The Park Service became the federal agency that reminded its peers of statutory obligations to comply with historic preservation regulations. On occasion, the agency slowed the development plans of other agencies. Lagemann was told that the situation at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park stemmed from the desire of other agencies to see the Park Service abide by the rules it had championed in other cases. [24] Little evidence supported this explanation, but it was convenient for someone in Lagemann's position, who had to explain to an angry public what had occurred.

Although somewhat conspiratorial, Lagemann's explanation gained credence. It provided a succinct explanation, cleared the Park Service of any direct complicity in the problem, and reaffirmed the local predisposition to regard bureaucracies as venal and ineffectual. The visit of the Garvey team to the area offered a piece of evidence. Not only did they not talk to anyone at the park, but they never even met with representatives of the local community. The decision also accentuated the town's suspicion that for the Park Service and the rest of the federal government, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was not important. The explanation did not solve the problem. It only made the reasons for its existence plausible to a largely uninformed public.

In reality, the causes of this unfortunate situation were far more complex. Within the federal government, and in particular in the Park Service, a growing staff of professionals with a

commitment to historic preservation sought to implement statute. The laws at their disposal resulted from the great destruction of historic resources that occurred in the immense building spree that followed World War II. Urban renewal and interstate highway construction destroyed much historic fabric, and the damming of American rivers inundated more. The preservation laws were a response to those changes, but to some agencies that had to implement them, such as the Park Service, the compliance process represented a challenge to the self-image of the agency. Such agencies believed their actions to be positive; having to account for the impact of their decisions as negative effects could be painful and disconcerting. [25]

The historic orientation of the Park Service had been toward development. With the exception of Newton Drury's decade as director, landscape architects and planners dominated the agency. From Mather and Albright onward, the Park Service pursued a policy of accommodating visitors; from the New Deal through MISSION 66, to build was to advance within the agency. But the post-1960s cultural climate and laws such as the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 forced the agency to adjust its time-honored behavior patterns. The new situation posed a major problem for Lagemann. After a delay of nearly five years, the Park Service once again failed to deliver for the people of Vincennes. Lagemann had put his personal credibility on the line along with that of his agency, raising local expectations about the importance of the park. Again local people were disappointed and again they blamed the bureaucracy for the problem. As Clary predicted, the situation became an embarrassment for the Park Service. Among the people of Vincennes, the Park Service had a certain odor as winter ended in 1975.

There were long-term changes in agency procedures and attitudes that stemmed from the visitor center debacle. For preservationists in the agency, the incident increased their prestige and importance. Instead of being on the fringes of power in the agency, they were perceived as important participants in the planning and development process; David Clary described their post-controversy status as "grudging acceptance." [26] In some ways this led to situations where the agency went too far in accommodating history, for the delay of the visitor center served as a cautionary tale that no one in the agency wanted to repeat. When faced with planning decisions that required compliance with Section 106, as the statute colloquially became known, Park Service officials carefully assessed the implications of their actions.

Personalities and management styles also contributed to the problem. Nearly twenty years after the incident, Clary looked back and described the person he had been in 1975 as "the new hotshot from the big city who had made a career of afflicting the comfortable." [27] The compliance procedures were new to the Regional Office, where they were handled clumsily. Nor were the implications of the choices of actions well understood. In the end, everyone emerged chastened from a convoluted process.

The fiasco over Section 106 compliance for the visitor center also created another major problem for the Park Service. Although the delay was purported to be temporary, in reality it had dire consequences. If construction on the visitor center did not begin in 1975, it could not be completed before the Bicentennial celebration in 1976. Then "our name would really be mud" in Vincennes, Lagemann believed. After the Bicentennial, support for parks with Revolutionary War themes seemed likely to decline. If the park, the Regional Office, and the local community did not quickly forge a plan, on July 4, 1976, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park would be the only Revolutionary War park of any significance in the nation that lacked permanent visitor facilities. Lagemann sorely wanted to avoid this particular distinction. [28]

Park Service officials sought to salvage what local support and goodwill they could. That task

fell to Associate Regional Director John Kawamoto. Kawamoto led an interesting life before he came to the Park Service; his family was among those Japanese-Americans interned as security risks during World War II. During his nearly twenty years at the Regional Office prior to 1975, he had developed a reputation as a tough administrator and a solid problem solver. Kawamoto would require every bit of those skills to resolve the problems that the cancellation of the visitor center created for the Park Service in Vincennes.

Thrown into the situation as both the person to pacify the local community and the one designated to salvage the stake of the Park Service, Kawamoto faced a difficult task. On February 24, 1975, he arrived in Vincennes to meet with community leaders. The group went to the home of William Brooks, editor of the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial* and someone who, despite holding a view that the activities of the federal government should be limited in scope, had become an ardent supporter of the Park Service and the park. [29]

Since before the planning of the memorial in the 1920s, Vincennes had been home to a number of powerful people in Indiana politics. These included major supporters of the memorial and the visitor center. Along with Brooks, Thomas Emison, an eminent attorney and the son of Ewing Emison, who had been instrumental in securing funding for the memorial in the 1930s, also supported the reinstatement of the visitor center. Kawamoto had to convince these two in particular that the project was still worth their efforts.

Kawamoto succeeded. Within one week of his first visit, Brooks' *Sun-Commercial* began to feature a daily front-page story about the visitor center, beginning a string of more than forty successive days of prominent coverage. During the week of March 10, the paper included three editorials on the subject. Every day, David Stayer, a reporter from the paper, dropped by Lagemann's office to discuss the controversy in greater depth. Lagemann provided background information so that Stayer understood the context of the situation. The two developed a rapport; Lagemann recalled confiding off-the-record material to Stayer and never having his trust violated.

The support of the *Sun-Commercial* was crucial, but no more important than that of influential members of the community. Thomas Emison preferred to remain out of public situations regarding the visitor center, but he became a source of information about local and state views for the Park Service. His ties generated information to which neither Lagemann nor Regional Office officials had access. [30]

Support came from other parts of the community. During another Kawamoto visit on March 6, he calmed irate individuals at a noon luncheon called by Mayor E. H. Montgomery, who had secured prior construction projects from the park and so had a vested interest in the project, and quieted a difficult crowd at a later DAR meeting. The day before, the *Indianapolis Star* quoted NPS representative Robert M. Utley as labeling the planning of the location of the visitor center behind the memorial a mistake. The visitor center should have been constructed beyond Vigo Street, Utley noted, affording a view of the "magnificent esplanade" as visitors approached the rotunda. Local residents who attended the meeting were incensed. By disavowing earlier plans, the Park Service left Vincennes without a chance to reacquire the important amenity they regarded as unjustly taken from them. In the view of Vincennes residents, only the community suffered as a result. Again Kawamoto played myriad roles: advocate, counselor, listener of complaints, and galvanizer of local resentment transformed into action. [31]

One outgrowth of the meetings was a postcard campaign to President Gerald R. Ford organized by the President of the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, Mrs. Opal C. Ramsey. After a number of local and regional television and radio appearances in which she championed the visitor center, Mrs. Ramsey initiated a "postcard-to-the-president" campaign.

A local supplier donated 5,000 cards, and students from third grade through high school wrote to the President, asking him to review and reconsider the ACHP and Park Service decision. By March 21, 1975, 4,500 of the 5,000 postcards had been mailed. [32]

The postcard campaign was one of a number of tactics that an energized local community undertook to save their visitor center. During one of his visits, Kawamoto indicated that if the decision was not rescinded prior to March 30, 1975, little chance existed to complete the project before the Bicentennial. A local Chamber of Commerce petition drive seemed likely to net as many as 10,000 signatures. President Ford had a planned visit to South Bend, Indiana, on his schedule for March 18. Before he arrived in Indiana, the White House was inundated with telegrams. Mrs. Ramsey and others beseeched Indiana Governor Otis Bowen to bring up the visitor center issue with Ford. After Bowen discussed the subject, Ford said he would "look into it." On March 18, Bowen's request to Ford was repeated on the NBC network morning program, *The Today Show*. The Indiana congressional delegation, headed by U.S. senators Vance Hartke and Birch Bayh, and U.S. Rep. Philip Hayes, met to consider options. The drive supporting the visitor center had gained much momentum during the two weeks since the cancellation became public knowledge. [33]

The visitor center had taken on, in Robert Lagemann's words, "some of the aura of a crusade." In the immediate post-Watergate era, when the actions of government were inherently suspect, it highlighted a cosmological difference between ordinary Indiana folks and government bureaucrats. Once again, in a place where governmental action was subject to intense scrutiny, the word of individuals representing even positive federal agencies had been proven to be empty. In addition to the history of limited cooperation that already existed in Vincennes, the visitor center incident seemed to be the finale to a relationship that had bogged down before it began.

The initial Park Service response to the cancellation illustrated some of the management problems inherent for the agency in the 1960s and 1970s. Although early directors such as Mather and Albright had a certain autonomy, during the post-war era the Park Service had less control of its destiny than ever before. The politicization of the directorship, a process that began during President Richard Nixon's second administration, had weakened Park Service leadership, and the agency did not seek to challenge edicts from other branches of government. Its mandatory function as the agency that represented historic preservation interests in federal undertakings added to existing problems. The Park Service, as did other federal agencies in the aftermath of the American cultural revolution of the 1960s, operated less on the basis of management principles and more in response to the powerful governmental or public entities around it. [34]

This made for a confused response to situations such as the one at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, where to abide by federal rules and regulations meant to betray a local constituency that already lacked faith in the agency.

Because of the vagaries of this new style of management, in which administrators routinely tossed aside long held objectives when faced with opposition, the Park Service found itself astride a genuine controversy. When the announcement of the cancellation first appeared, NPS officials from Robert Utley to Merrill Beal publicly supported the decision. As the local effort gained momentum, agency officials appeared to switch positions. Although most of the people in the agency probably supported the construction of the visitor center throughout the controversy, many could not say so in public. When NPS officials finally began to push for the center, it seemed to some that they were following rather than leading the community back to the original objective of the agency. The exception to whatever negative sentiments the Vincennes public felt toward the agency was John Kawamoto. He went to Vincennes to smooth out problems four times during the nearly two-month crisis. He spoke clearly and

candidly with the community, helping to assess their options and on one occasion even suggesting that completion of the visitor center before 1979 was unlikely. Such a delay reflected widely held fears and was not welcome news, but the clarity and honesty with which Kawamoto addressed the situation won him the respect not only of the public, but of other NPS officials as well. In a difficult situation, he managed to uphold the integrity of the agency and recapture at least some of the respect it had lost.

The public crusade to save the visitor center drastically altered the gloomy scenario. With much political and public capital amassed, federal officials sought to find a way to resolve the problem to the satisfaction of the local community. Caught in the middle, Park Service officials found themselves contradicting their pronouncements of mere weeks before. By early April, advocates of immediate construction of the visitor center had gained control of the situation.

The entire visitor center issue appeared to hinge on an ACHP meeting in early May. At that time, the council could either affirm the initial stand of the Park Service; suggest that the same structure be built on a different location; or maintain its stated position that the visitor center be halted and the money used for repair of the memorial and the creation of a new master plan for a more comprehensive national historical park. [35] Advocates realized that they could restore the center if they could garner enough support and turn it into influence before the meeting.

The first intimations of a change in the federal perspective appeared in the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*. On April 4, 1975, beneath a headline titled "Extraordinary Circumstances Reason Given for Review of Center Project," the paper trumpeted the first evidence of the success of the campaign. NPS Associate Director for Legislative Affairs Richard Curry remarked that even though the Park Service still believed the initial ACHP decision was correct, a review of the decision had become likely. The original bidders had received information that the project was not canceled, but merely delayed. Local pressure had begun to have an effect. [36]

The pronouncement that a review of the decision to postpone was under consideration energized the already galvanized local population. On April 7, Vincennes Mayor Montgomery informed the community that Senator Bayh asked for written documents to demonstrate the broadest possible base of support for the project. "I think Vincennes can get the visitors' center if we push hard right now," he said. "This is something the city needs and should have." Mrs. Ramsey and others in the local community helped gather new evidence of support, and with the Indiana congressional delegation pledging its backing, the momentum had clearly swung to the advocates of immediate construction. [37]

Even the ACHP began to retreat from its opposition to the project. On April 17, senators Bayh and Hartke took a delegation from Vincennes to meet ACHP Director Robert Garvey. The delegation included Montgomery; Mrs. Ramsey; Mrs. Marshall Miller, who served as president of the Vincennes Francis Vigo Chapter of the DAR; local architect Dan Hebert; and William Brooks of the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*. Garvey told them that the Park Service usually accepted ACHP recommendations but that other factors could influence the process. The objection of the ACHP focused not on the design of the visitor center, but on its location, he reminded the participants. NPS Associate Director Ernest A. Connally echoed this sentiment. Senator Hartke was incensed; the initial ACHP objection had been to the possible destruction of archeological resources that might lie under the proposed site. Later the design had become an issue. Hartke demanded to know "what factors are you talking about?" [38]

Despite the contentiousness of the session, it offered a rapid and relatively painless solution to proponents of immediate construction. They simply had to find another location for the

visitor center. To the west of the initial location was the river; to the south lay Dubois Street; to the north were the park grounds, alternate US 50, and downtown Vincennes. Representative Hayes had been exploring alternative locations since late March. At a community meeting in Vincennes led by William Brooks, and attended by Kawamoto, Kaminiski, Washington Office staff historian Barry Mackintosh, and Ross Gee of the Denver Service Center, the beginnings of a compromise were forged. The NPS people were asked to leave the room. After approximately fifteen minutes they were called back. Brooks announced that although a change in location would disappoint the community, whose members believed that the original site remained the best choice, they would agree to a new location in order to complete the visitor center in time for the Bicentennial. They proposed a location east and slightly south of the memorial, just beyond the southern boundary of the property of St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church. The new proposal found favor in the press. It provided an alternative that allowed everyone to achieve at least part of what they wanted. [39]

The move to quietly compromise gathered momentum. As late as April 21, when U.S. Rep. Roger Zion toured the area, "a slim hope" was all that he believed remained of the plans to construct the visitor center before the Bicentennial. But the location that advocates first offered in the April 17 meeting had many advantages — not the least of which being that it allowed the Park Service to save face and rebuild relationships in the local community. Agency officials called an April 28 conference to formally present the new site to the people of Vincennes. [40]

At 2 P.M. on Monday, April 28, 1975, in the conference room of the Bishop Simon Brute Library located behind the Old Cathedral, what local newspapers had come to call the "Second War of George Rogers Clark" came to an end. In precise words, NPS Associate Director Connally discussed the new location; all the other governmental agencies expressed their willingness to assent to the change in location. Only Brooks, a staunch supporter of the original plan, seemed unwilling, but the overwhelming view of the group of thirty local residents in attendance was to accept the proposal. "I don't see how we can afford to quibble," Judge Curtis G. Shake observed. [41]

The local community interpreted the decision in several ways. To some, the decision proved that the system did work. In the aftermath of the Watergate affair, which caused the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon, this was a reassuring prospect. To others, it showed the power of people when they joined together toward a common goal. Newspapers were full of testimonials to the effectiveness of various proponents of the project. Mrs. Opal C. Ramsey rightly received much of the credit. Only the *Valley Advance* noted that the community might owe Robert Garvey of the ACHP, whom the local press had vilified, an apology for slights to his professional reputation and personal character. [42]

With a tight schedule necessary to complete the visitor center in time for the Bicentennial, NPS officials and contractors began planning again. Within three weeks of the end of the "war," preliminary designs for the visitor center had been approved. Nix Construction of Evansville secured the bid for the project, agreeing to deliver the building on March 30, 1976. On August 20, 1975, a coterie of local leaders, politicians, advocates, and NPS officials all watched as U.S. Sen. Vance Hartke turned the first shovel of dirt for the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park Visitor Center. [43] After nearly half a decade of delay and one cancellation, the groundbreaking had powerful symbolism for the people of Vincennes.

The construction phase of the project became problematic. Weather initially put the project behind schedule, although the Park Service retained faith in Nix Construction. A controversy arose concerning the bricks for the visitor center. Carefully matched in color and texture to the ones used in the new library in the Old Cathedral, the bricks had been delivered from a

kiln in Evansville and built into the walls. A second load followed. Project Supervisor Stanley Fretwell noted that the new ones were different in color from the initial bricks, forcing him to stop the work until the proper bricks could be delivered. The contractor lost more than one week as a result of the initial problem. Park Service officials also rejected a second load; in the commotion related to this refusal, one of the contractors suffered a heart attack. Finally after a total of fourteen lost working days, bricks with the proper coloring were delivered and the project continued. [44]

By the end of 1975, Park Service officials asked legitimate questions about the ability of the contractor to complete the visitor center on time. At that point, twenty-nine percent of the project had been completed in sixty-seven percent of the allotted time, a sure indicator that the contract would have to be extended. There were no problems with the contractor nor with the work of the company. Lagemann recalled that the people in the Nix company were dependable contractors who recognized that this project would be one of their legacies. Unfortunate circumstances simply plagued the project. [45]

In difficult circumstances, Stanley Fretwell, project supervisor for the Park Service, performed extraordinarily. He held the contractor to the specifications of the contract, handled the necessary details, and earned the respect of both Lagemann and contractor Chris Nix. Nix remarked that he found it refreshing to find a government employee who took his work as seriously as did Fretwell, and Lagemann added his kudos. The contractor finally delivered the building in late June, nearly three months after the original delivery date and later than the scheduled date of the initial dedication ceremony. Everyone agreed that the visitor center was a well-built structure that fit aesthetically into the park and possessed the amenities necessary to fulfill its functions. [46]

There remained considerable doubt about whether the project could be finished in time for the Bicentennial. Two seasonal rangers, Willard Cockerham and Gerald "Jerry" Erny, took it upon themselves to do everything they could to assist in the process. When the Harpers Ferry Center team came to the park, the two rangers followed them around and "each time they would finish a project," Cockerham recalled, "we would clean up the mess, right at their heels." The two "turned into maintenance men" in an effort to ready the building for its July 4, 1976, opening. [47]

Their efforts succeeded. In a fitting moment of symbolism, the visitor center officially opened on July 4, 1976, the bicentennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. At 10 A.M., Lagemann opened the door and welcomed a throng of Vincennes residents. The first to enter the new building was the Honorable Curtis G. Shake, who had been involved with the memorial since the 1920s. An array of influential local people who had played a role in the process followed him into the building. [48] For the people of Vincennes, the opening of the building was a triumph of the persistence of local will. For the Park Service, it represented the completion of the basic elements of a physical plant necessary to support a modern park.

The construction of the visitor center created a new level of expectations at the park. Instead of a makeshift office, the Park Service had a gleaming new facility that made George Rogers Clark National Historical Park appear as important as any area in the national park system. The new building also created new obligations for the agency. Visitors who arrived and saw the new center could expect standard Park Service amenities. Yet much of the planning and analysis for such activities remained to be accomplished.

In this respect, George Rogers Clark lagged behind many other park areas. Lacking autonomous status before 1975, the park had not received the kind of attention upon which a staff with direct ties to a regional office could insist. The needs of George Rogers Clark

National Historical Park were paired with those of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, and when Regional Office personnel assessed requests for support, it became easy to regard the two parks as one. When George Rogers Clark National Historical Park acquired independent management status in 1975, a redesigning of park goals took place.

Among the primary objectives of this process was the establishment of formal protocols and practices to support management. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the planning process within the Park Service became more sophisticated in response to the growing demands and concern of the public, and after 1969, in response to the compliance regulations mandated by the National Environmental Policy Act, the National Historic Preservation Act, and other statutes. At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, this meant an effort to bring the standards at the park in line with those of the agency as a whole.

The first intimations that this effort had begun to have an impact at the park occurred in 1978, when Robert Lagemann noted that conditions had improved markedly since the completion of the visitor center. The debut of the new introductory film, "A Few Men Well Conducted," took place in the park auditorium on March 31 of that year. A centerpiece for the interpretation program, the film added the type of interpretation essential to the plans of the park.

On May 27, 1978, the formal dedication of the visitor center affirmed the widely held perspective that things had changed at George Rogers Clark. An array of public officials and local leaders joined the ceremonies, hosted by Midwest Regional Deputy Director Randall Pope and featuring speeches by U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh, Indiana Lt. Gov. Robert Orr, Brooks, Thomas S. Emison, past president of the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, and Mrs. Ramsey. Clark's Volunteers, a group of frontier history reenactors, lent a "colorful and historic" background to the dedication, and the festivities continued the entire day and throughout most of the next. [49] The dedication ceremony took on a celebratory character, as if to welcome the completed park to the full-fledged status within the park system. More than a decade of community and agency efforts finally had paid dividends.

Lagemann, still the central figure in the history of the park, noted other more subtle but equally important changes. The condition of the grounds and buildings had improved, showing that, as Lagemann wrote, they were "cared for at a higher standard than sometimes in the past." Lagemann created sufficient workpower to accomplish park goals by using temporary appointments, and he remembered taking pride in the achievements of the park in interpretation, maintenance, and administration. Despite a temporary park shutdown in March that resulted from a state utilities commission edict during an acute shortage of coal, the park seemed to be headed toward the kind of comprehensive management that characterized the vast majority of Park Service areas. [50]

The bicentennial anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sackville, in February 1979, offered another opportunity to highlight the new park as well as to bring attention to the importance of Vincennes in American history. The U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative postal card from Vincennes in honor of the occasion, while the park staged a mock surrender on the bicentennial date of February 25. [51] Although bad weather limited attendance to approximately eighty people, the activity served to illustrate the heightened stature the park had acquired during the decade since plans for the construction of the visitor center were first considered.

As the 1980s began, Robert Lagemann could look back with considerable pride upon a nearly fifteen-year relationship with George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. With more than twenty-five years in federal service, he considered retirement. On February 29, 1980, he stepped down as superintendent, continuing as a reemployed annuitant until June 29, when

Roy J. Beasley, Jr., who came from Sagamore Hill National Historic Site in New York, became the second superintendent in the history of the park. [52]

This change in leadership reflected the new status of the park as well as a typical kind of evolution for park areas. Lagemann had been a founder and a builder, a man who recognized the needs of a park in its early stages. He spent a significant amount of time in local relations, building strong ties in the surrounding area, and in the most positive sense of the term, becoming a member of the community. Lagemann oversaw the development of the park, the creation of its facilities, and the growth and expansion of its offerings to the public. There was something folksy about Lagemann, who had run a one-man endeavor in difficult circumstances for an interminably long time. His retirement brought an end to the founding era at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

The first task the new superintendent faced was establishing a context for management. Despite the many strides made during the first fifteen years of Park Service management, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park still lacked many of the basic management documents central to park administration. Unlike older more established parks, where there was considerable precedent for management decisions, the combination of the short history of the area as a separate unit of the park system and the idiosyncratic demands upon park staff left a sizable gap in the development of goals and objectives. Beginning in the early 1980s, the entire array of park planning and administrative documents began to be assembled. A Resources Management Plan was completed in 1981 and revised in 1982. The original Statement for Management was revised in 1983 and again in 1989, while the Historic Structure Report, Administrative Data Section and Architectural Data Section for the park was completed in 1983. A Maintenance Management System (MMS) document was devised in 1989, followed by a new Statement for Management and a new Resources Management Plan in 1993. [53]

Nor was the park unaffected by the administrative changes initiated under Secretary of the Interior James Watt and continued throughout the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. Committed to the principle that federal services should pay for themselves when feasible, these administrations initiated programs that sometimes conflicted with longstanding NPS practices as well as the desires of many within the agency. Fee collection within national park areas, which was an attempt to shift some of the cost of the system from taxpayers generally to specific park users, topped the list of such changes.

At many park areas, fee collection was a welcomed step, although enthusiasm for it dampened when park personnel discovered that revenues collected were assigned to the NPS general fund instead for use at a specific park. Some selected parks had a long history of fee collection: Yellowstone National Park had collected entrance fees since before the creation of the Park Service in 1916, but the cost of the fee had declined tremendously. In 1916, ten dollars was the price for automobile entry into the park; in 1960, a fifteen-day permit cost three dollars. [54] In the 1980s, officials at large natural parks and other places far from concentrations of people found that entrance fees created fewer problems. Grand Canyon National Park initiated a \$1-per-car fee in 1926 to cover the cost of water and facilities provided to auto campers. Visitors who came to such places planned their trips, expected to stay for a time, and did not resent paying for the privilege of entry and the basic services they received.

But for parks in or near urban or semi-urban areas, the fees posed a major problem. Such parks had local as well as national constituencies, and local people had patterns of use and accommodation to which they had grown accustomed. Many communities had proprietary feelings about their local national park area and resented changes implemented without their approval when such changes altered the nature of their activities at the park and their

relationship to it.

Vincennes was one such community. The George Rogers Clark National Historical Park once had been its state park, and with the vast historic fabric and widespread consciousness about the past in Vincennes, a decision from far away that required local people to pay to enter the rotunda hinted at the problems between the community and the federal bureaucracy that characterized the early 1970s. Within the Park Service, many were aware of the problem. Early studies made during the transfer from the state suggested that the Park Service would be best served by eliminating the old state fee. These sentiments prevailed and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was not included in early fee initiatives. [55]

In 1988, a fee was first enacted for the park, but the Park Service did not reap the benefits its officials initially anticipated. Projections for the first year indicated the agency could expect \$30,000 in revenue from fees. The actual first-year collection was \$5,998. Officials attributed this marked shortfall to decreased visitation totals as well as resistance to the concept of fees. Almost 4,000 people walked away from the memorial after seeing the sign explaining the charge. [56]

Although the subsequent years revealed a process of accommodation as well as an increase in the amount collected, visitor fees became a harbinger of the difficulties of park management during an era of economic declension. By the early 1990s, the nation was embroiled in an extended economic recession, the federal deficit had grown immensely as a result of the savings and loan scandal of the 1980s, and many major corporations were engaged in "downsizing," trimming their work forces to attain a smaller, more efficient work force. The national mood was grim if not bleak, and it seemed likely that no federal agencies could expect an increase in appropriations except in unusual circumstances.

The conditions of the 1990s posed a tremendous challenge for park managers, not only at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, but throughout the park system. During the 1990s, Americans as a whole were asked to do more with less; the federal system was no exception. Proposed reductions in NPS staff during 1994 typified the way in which park-level personnel were asked to assume greater future burdens. At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, such trends were exacerbated by the manner in which relations between the park and the town functioned. Since its arrival, the NPS sought to offer help and support to the local cultural resources community and the city as a whole. At a time when that help was regarded as more necessary and desirable and was finally received without the fears of the past, particularly in the local cultural resources community, the burden of delivery began to fall upon the resources of the park instead of those of the Regional Office and service entities such as the Harpers Ferry Center and the Denver Service Center. With limits on personnel and budgets, the park was stretched by the need to fulfill its many obligations with less support from the rest of the agency than it had received in the past. If it cannot fulfill such obligations, perceived and real, to the people of Vincennes, the ties that park staff have worked long and hard to build will dissipate; if the park devotes a growing portion of its limited resources to the community, the possibility exists that maintenance, interpretation, and other primary obligations may suffer. This is the dilemma facing park managers during a time of increasing demand and constant or declining resources.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Maintaining A Legacy

An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



CHAPTER 6:

"Never Really Stopped for Long" Maintenance at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park

While the prospect of acquiring a memorial to George Rogers Clark and his Big Knives had tremendous appeal to the National Park Service, the agency inherited immense problems when it assumed responsibility for the park in 1967. First and foremost among these was maintenance of the memorial structure and complex. Within weeks of the structure's completion in the 1930s, it had begun to leak, and in the words of a team of officials who inspected the site in 1978, it "never really stopped for long." [1] For the Park Service, this meant an ongoing and seemingly unsolvable series of problems that consumed vast resources, drew large amounts of agency attention, and repeatedly recurred no matter what Park Service personnel accomplished or attempted.

At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, maintenance became the dominant activity for park staff. The problems of upkeep predated the arrival of the agency and figured into every major decision concerning the memorial — from the argument for transfer of the memorial to the Park Service because the state had failed to maintain it, to the Park Service's effort to appease the local population by offering to use the money from the canceled visitor center for memorial maintenance. Situated as the primary obligation and focus of Park Service activity at the park, maintenance became the most important obligation of the agency at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. To the public, it reflected the seriousness of the approach of the Park Service; to the agency, maintaining the rotunda, the memorial structure, and environs presented an ongoing headache that in most circumstances overwhelmed every other facet of park management.

The roots of these problems dated from the inception of the idea of constructing the memorial. In late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century America, public buildings were designed to be important symbolic parts of a culture of veneration. Often mimicking or mirroring Greek or Roman design styles, such grandiose and expensive public buildings were testimonies to the success of the American Republic and to the moral right of democracy. They also stemmed from a time when labor was inexpensive and the construction standards for buildings and expectations of the public for their upkeep were less stringent than they later became.

The George Rogers Clark Memorial posed problems almost from the moment of its premature acceptance by the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission. On May 26, 1933, when contractor W.R. Heath informed the commission that the structure was complete, architect Frederick Hiron made a cursory inspection tour. He noted only the need for minor changes, and the commission accepted the building essentially as the Heath Company had offered it. But the building had been constructed hastily with second-rate

materials substituted for the best available choices. The decision to accept the building without a thorough inspection set the stage for the ongoing series of maintenance problems that continued to plague the structure almost since the day it was accepted. [2]

Within six weeks of the acceptance of the memorial by the commission, water seepage into the memorial and the basement became a major problem. The initial leaks appeared throughout the basement in the area between the exterior columns and the outside wall of the rotunda as well as in the memorial itself from a small leak in the skylight. The commission turned to the Heath Construction Company, which tried to assign blame to the roofing contractor. Further inspection determined that the leakage resulted from, as Hiron noted, "imperfect construction and defective workmanship" on the stonework. [3]

The situation posed immediate problems. The water heater and the electrical fixtures in the basement both had been subjected to the leakage and the potential for further damage seemed real. The leakage through the skylight threatened to damage the bronze statue of Clark and the floor of the rotunda. Although commission staff and the building superintendent took emergency measures, it quickly became clear that the building would require additional work. [4]

The commission held the Heath Construction Company squarely responsible and company officials began to formulate a program in response to the problems. The initial effort was a stopgap measure; in April 1934, the company arranged to send workers to remove a number of joints in the terrace and to recaulk them. This limited measure failed to lead to any permanent solution of the problem. Other Heath Construction Company representatives tried different methods — all without even an inkling of genuine success. [5] The work was costly and the Heath Construction Company sought recompense from the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission. In a heated exchange at a June 12, 1934, meeting, Charles McGaughey, who represented the company because of the illness of W.R. Heath, argued that the leak was the commission's fault. Its choice of the Stanstead Granite instead of the Mount Airy Granite contributed to the problem, he charged, as did the "method of construction called for in the plans and specifications." McGaughey offered a thinly disguised threat. If the commission did not bear some of the responsibility for the problem, as well as some of the cost, then the Heath Construction Company would cease to seek ways to stop the seepage. [6]

Frederick Hiron countered McGaughey. From the architect's perspective, it was clear that the leakage stemmed from shortcomings in the performance of the contractor. Hiron believed that the circumferential joints neither had been grouted nor had been caulked in accordance with the contract specifications. At his insistence, the commission requested that the Heath Construction Company complete the specifications of the original contract. [7]

Early in the summer of 1934, the Heath Construction Company undertook a substantial waterproofing project, but it barely began to solve the problem when more rain highlighted new seepage. During a storm that dumped four inches of rain in late August 1934, nearly a month after the Heath Construction Company again had guaranteed that the joints had been recaulked and the leakage stopped, the custodian's office and the boiler room began to profusely leak. In December 1934, new seepage appeared, and by March 1935, the building superintendent had counted seventeen major points where water regularly was present. Besides the electrical equipment room, always a source of concern, the boiler and meter rooms were leaking, as were numerous other places. Water came running through the floodlight boxes and it was seeping through the granite floor joists. In places, pools of standing water remained on the floor. By 1936 the situation had worsened. The custodian's office was drenched; after storms the water stood as much as one-half inch deep on granite floors, and even the murals were threatened by leaks in the side walls. [8] The entire building

seemed to gush water.

The Heath Construction Company continued to claim that the seepage was not its responsibility. Its communications with the commission emphasized the company's belief that substandard materials and faulty design were to blame for the problems. Even though the caulking work accomplished under its auspices had no evident effect on the problem, the company audaciously billed the commission for its waterproofing work, much of which in fact seemed to exacerbate existing problems. [9]

Despite the faulty work by the W. R. Heath Construction Company, the commission chose not to pursue legal remedies. Instead the commission allowed the company to escape the situation, leaving the memorial awash in water. Transitions in leadership within the commission may have played a role in its decisions. After Dr. Christopher B. Coleman resigned as executive secretary to become full-time director of the Indiana Historical Bureau in April 1935, he was replaced by Clem J. Richards, a commission member from Terre Haute. Richards stepped aside in favor of Simeon Fess, who lost his U.S. Senate seat in the 1934 Democratic landslide. After Fess died in the summer of 1936, D. Frank Culbertson assumed the secretariat. In the controversy over who should be awarded the contract for the structure in 1931, Culbertson had supported the use of Indiana limestone, a material prominent in Heath's bid. When it came time to decide upon legal action, Culbertson already had assumed the leadership of the commission. Rather than engage in a protracted lawsuit in Vincennes, Culbertson and the commission chose to absolve W. R. Heath Construction Company of any further obligations. [10]

By 1938, even Culbertson had to notice the continual leakage throughout the building. He and the commission hired C. W. Nothnagel, a structural consultant from Bedford, Indiana, to undertake another study of the moisture problem. Nothnagel determined that the earlier work had been deficient; flashing was missing in certain places, vertical joints in the granite had not been filled with mortar, and the grouting was improper. [11] All of these flaws in workmanship could have been attributed to the Heath Construction Company, but the commission again decided to pursue other solutions.

After a visit to the memorial, commission members worried that they had a potential scandal facing them. The tour revealed four-foot stalactites in the basement, a five-ton block of granite out of alignment as result of water damage near the top of the rotunda, and water stains on the interior walls of the rotunda as well as more ordinary damage. The newly built George Rogers Clark Memorial, gleaming a mere three years before at its dedication, was in abysmal condition. [12] The commission selected a new architectural firm, Schucker and Bixby of Vincennes, to complete a study of the memorial and its problems. This study offered new and substantially better information about the structure's problems. Schucker and Bixby determined that the leakage in the roof occurred through open joints in the circular wall. This had caused a significant increase in the circumference of the circular wall as well as numerous other problems in the years since the building had opened. In the basement, the architects found the leakage resulted from damage to the waterproof membrane which occurred when Heath Construction Company workers positioned the granite slabs and poured the pebble concrete. Another contributory factor was the installation of improperly positioned terrace drains. [13]

Schucker and Bixby also offered suggestions for solutions to the problem. Although the optimal response to the problems in the attic was to tear out the wall above the roof lines and to rebuild it with expansion joints, the cost of such an endeavor was prohibitive. Instead, they recommended the caulking of all open joints and the waterproofing of the entire inner side of the circular wall. In the basement, they recommended sealing all joints and cracks in the finish slabs with a caulking material and the application of a colorless waterproofing

substance to the entire terrace to seal it. A copper catch basin was to be attached to the system of drains to collect excess water. Although not as comprehensive a solution as the best alternative — which was the removal of the granite slabs and pebble-concrete terrace along with the replacement of the fractured waterproof membrane — this second option had the possibility of being accomplished with the limited funds available to the commission. [14]

The rehabilitation of the nearly new structure become embroiled in the difficulties of the transfer to the state of Indiana. By the time the Schucker and Bixby report was complete, the mandate of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission was about to expire. The confusion concerning the transfer of deed lasted into the middle of 1940, and for an entire year after the report, no one administered the memorial. When the Indiana Department of Conservation finally assumed responsibility for the structure in August 1940, its budget contained no funds for the upkeep of the Clark memorial. Only in 1941, two years after the Schucker and Bixby report, did the state agency begin to assess the problems at the memorial.

In less than a decade, the George Rogers Clark Memorial had gone from being the center of a significant amount of local, state, and federal attention to becoming a remote and dilapidated structure owned by a state agency which had little expertise in site management and retained only intermittent interest in the structure. Four years after President Franklin D. Roosevelt came to Vincennes to dedicate the memorial, the structure as yet had not fulfilled any of the hopes of its founders. Its condition declined each year as every leak helped create the opportunity for new ones while the contractor sought to avoid responsibility and commission members pondered their problems. It was a sad ending to the first stage of management for the Clark memorial.

The condition of the memorial did not impress the director of the Indiana Department of Conservation, Hugh Barnhart, when he first visited the memorial October 8, 1941. Barnhart and his staff met with Mayor A. B. Taylor of Vincennes and members of the local chamber of commerce, informing them that the recently disbanded George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission had appropriated \$7,500 for rehabilitation of the structure before it expired. Barnhart also promised to seek funding to solve the problems plaguing the memorial and to maintain it in a better manner than had the sesquicentennial commission. [15]

The Department of Conservation appeared willing to solve the major administrative problem facing the memorial, its independent status. The sesquicentennial commission, despite its belief in the importance of commemorating the Clark story, was a free-standing entity without the expertise to maintain the memorial. Its members had no training in the management of parks or buildings, and it lacked the funding to secure a staff capable of properly maintaining the structure and its environs. The Department of Conservation appeared to have the budget, skills, and the position within state government to achieve better management of the memorial.

The first step in that process was the \$7,500 rehabilitative legacy from the sesquicentennial commission. The Department of Conservation supplied workpower. At the same time local skilled craftsmen were hired, and Schucker and Bixby oversaw the work. Still the money did not go as far as planned. As a result, electrical and mechanical repairs that had been anticipated could not be undertaken, although the heating system was repaired, a parapet wall between the inner and outer roof was installed, and other renovations were completed. [16] Despite the best intentions of the Indiana Department of Conservation, the George Rogers Clark memorial had the potential to become an immense drain on agency resources.

By the middle of the 1940s, upkeep of the memorial had become the single largest chore

associated with its management. The 1941 repairs failed to solve the leakage problems and a new rehabilitation program was slated for 1943 and 1944. By then Barnhart and his staff recognized that controlling the leakage would take large sums of money and much of the energy and ingenuity of the department. The 1943 Indiana legislature appropriated \$40,000 for the repair of the memorial with \$25,000 of that being made available during fiscal year 1944 and the remainder to follow in 1945. [17] Finally, it seemed, the resources to accomplish the task were available to the overseers of the memorial.

The finding was sufficient to provide for substantial repair of the entire structure. The contractor, Austin Snyder of the Snyder Construction Company in Vincennes, secured both parts of the contract let by the Department of Conservation. The first, repair of the outer roof, included the application of a tar-and-gravel roof with a twenty-year guarantee. Work on the roof began at the end of November and was completed within a month. The real test was the rainy season that came each spring. The new roof held during the rains, and for the first time since the sesquicentennial commission accepted the building from the contractor, it appeared that the leakage in the roof might be stopped. The Snyder Construction crews also recaulked joints in the terrace, balustrade walls, stylobates, entablature, and bridge approach, as well as in an area near the Vigo statue. [18]

This rehabilitation appeared to accomplish important goals. The leakage in the roof did not resume and seepage into the basement slowed considerably. There appeared to be little reason to expect further problems. Once again, advocates of the memorial and those worried about its upkeep could look forward to a brighter future.

But bad weather in 1948 began a series of new problems with the roof. During a windstorm March 12, 1948, the copper flashing surrounding the dome of the rotunda was torn loose. The prospect of heavy rain made the torn flashing a threat to the murals inside the rotunda; if a significant amount of rain fell, Winter's murals were certain to be damaged. Although emergency repairs temporarily solved the problem, more permanent repair work again was essential.

The leaking roof came to symbolize the tenure of the Department of Conservation at the George Rogers Clark memorial. Following the windstorm, the outer roof again began to leak. Throughout the remainder of state administration, continuous leakage plagued the memorial and its managers. Despite optimistic proclamations such as that of Chief Engineer Henry C. Prange, who in 1950 asserted that "the leaky condition of this roof has finally been eliminated," efforts to repair the roof in 1950 and 1954 only offered temporary respite from the water. After the first repairs, fresh seepage became evident within two years. The second repair effort in 1954 lasted four years before it, too, succumbed, and in 1958, the roof again began to allow water into the rotunda. [19]

The pebble-terrace also continued to leak water into the basement, and by 1952, the situation became intolerable. Prange estimated that the cost of the repairs would reach \$9,000, but received little positive response from the department. The memorial rightly had acquired the reputation of an expensive albatross and department officials began to look for ways to distance themselves from responsibility for it. A heavy rain on March 10, 1952, forced the issue. A large amount of water ran into the basement from the terrace, short-circuiting the electrical wiring. Departmental officials recognized that if they did not act to stop the leakage, the entire electrical system could be destroyed by water damage. This would necessitate an enormous expenditure. Shortly afterward, they budgeted funds for the repair. The terrace was covered with blacktop which slowed, but failed to stop, the leakages. The blacktop became an eye sore. [20]

In 1954, the Department of Conservation sought to devise a comprehensive solution to all the

memorial's problems. The damage to the structure, according to a team of engineers from the Western Waterproofing Company of St. Louis hired to assess the situation, was vast. Only the sheltered parts of the outer wall of memorial, shielded from the elements by the columns, had escaped significant damage. Much of the rest of the structure was in poor shape. The engineers recommended full-scale renovation at the cost of \$11,500. [21]

But securing funds for the project posed a major obstacle. Robert Starrett, a curator for the Department of Conservation who took a strong interest in the memorial, wondered where the money could be found and who would "catch Doxie [Moore, Director of the Department of Conservation] when he comes flying off the mezzanine after he sees the estimate?" The director's response was the least of the problems that those who wanted to renovate the memorial faced. When Cougill brought forward a request for \$23,500 for repair of the Clark memorial in 1955, the Indiana legislature refused to act on the measure. Only after three more years of ongoing seepage did the legislature finally appropriate \$25,000 for the repair of the memorial. [22]

Again an expensive and valiant effort to stop the leakage was undertaken; again it appeared to solve the problem, but soon afterwards the seepage resumed. Western Waterproofing, which secured the contract, tried a number of sealants, including a pliable plastic called Thiokol, latex grout, and other materials. In November 1958, one month after the work was complete, Starrett and Prange were in Vincennes during a heavy downpour. Anxious to see whether the new work would keep out the water, they asked the custodian to inspect the structure. He found no leaks, the first time the structure had remained dry during a major storm since the state of Indiana assumed responsibility for the memorial. But within a few years, the old pattern returned. First small leaks, then flooding, followed by damage to the equipment. By 1965, custodian Walter Minderman complained that the restrooms in the basement consistently were flooded and unusable. [23]

The Park Service assumed responsibility for this situation when it acquired the memorial in 1967. For more than twenty-five years, the state continuously had expended funds with only short-term successes. The physical condition of the memorial declined every year and even efforts to repair damage ultimately were futile because they sought to address the effects of the problem rather than its source. The efforts of individual state officials such as Henry Prange and Robert Starrett were laudable, as was the effort of the Indiana Department of Conservation, but the demands of the upkeep proved to be greater than the resources available to maintain the building. When the Park Service expressed interest in the structure, state officials surely must have been pleased.

By 1966, the National Park Service had reached an important juncture. As MISSION 66, the ten-year capital development program designed to spruce up the park system in time for the 1966 observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Park Service, wound down, agency officials could look to a promising future. A strong and powerful director, George B. Hartzog, Jr., with close ties to important national leaders, broad-based bipartisan support in Congress for agency goals, and the admiration and respect of much of the public for Park Service areas, facilities, and programs were only three of its many strengths. Despite the growing suspicion with which the environmental community regarded the Park Service, there was no better time to seek to expand the responsibilities of the agency. [24]

By the 1960s, the Park Service had expanded its interest in history and historical places. Inclusion of the themes of American history within the system had been one of the goals of Stephen T. Mather and Horace M. Albright in the early years of the agency, but little was accomplished prior to the New Deal. By the end of the 1930s, the Park Service had responsibility for many of the important national historical places. It also had constructed a number of parks with patriotic themes, such as the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in

St. Louis, and had taken responsibility for existing commemorative structures such as Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial in Ohio. [25] By the 1960s, taking on the George Rogers Clark memorial was well within the purview of the agency.

There were additional reasons to perceive the Clark memorial as a valuable addition to the system despite the building's many problems. The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 prompted new perspectives of the significance of historic structures within the federal government; a legal mandate guaranteed that federal agencies must assess historic structures within their purview. Director Hartzog made sure the Park Service played an important role in the implementation of the new legislation. Between 1964 and 1968, as historic preservation increased in importance, more than twenty historical areas were added to the park system. [26] The addition of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park fit the objectives of the agency.

By 1967, the agency also had vast experience in the management of structures, facilities, and other park features. The problems of the Clark memorial were large from the perspective of a state agency, but to the Park Service with its workpower, budget, and widespread support, these difficulties seemed less daunting. Even in its initial reports on the area, in particular the 1967 master plan, agency officials regarded the problems of the park as technical rather than structural in nature. Inspectors and planners recognized the severity of the leakage in the terrace as well as the damage to the electrical system, but believed that the application of agency experience, energy, and resources easily would solve those problems. [27]

The Park Service also intended to practice proactive management rather than the reactive kinds of policies that the state agency had been compelled to follow. The depth of agency resources and expertise, combined with the planning process, allowed more thorough assessment of the long- and short-term needs of the structure. Park officials had the resources to plan ahead, to foresee problems in the future, and to prepare strategies to anticipate others. The establishment of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park seemed an extraordinary meeting between an important place in need of care and an agency capable of offering it.

Park Service efforts to refurbish the memorial began slowly. The first few years of management of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park were consumed with the details of establishing administrative procedures, planning, and developing a constituency for the park. Despite the overwhelming importance of maintaining the structure, the situation of the park as a marginal area in the Northeast Region limited access to funds and programs. Most of the maintenance work that occurred in this period was a reactive response to crisis situations. Only in the early 1970s did typically thorough Park Service efforts to restore the structure and solve its problems begin in earnest.

One of the first efforts involved Ezra Winter's murals in the rotunda. In the nearly forty years the murals had been on the walls of the rotunda, they never had been cleaned and had been subjected to myriad negative influences. Strong sunlight caused some fading, which was noticeable as early as 1947 when Ezra Winter visited the memorial. [28] The boiler safety valve had let off excess pressure on a number of occasions, sending steam and moisture into the rotunda, and in at least one instance, leaving the walls and murals dripping with water. A huge mud dauber's nest had affixed to the side of the second painting, which shows Clark offering the Indians a choice of beaded belts. Dirt and grime in the air, much of which entered the rotunda on the shoes and clothing of visitors, circulated throughout the air and adhered to the surface of the murals. At the time of installation, the murals had been coated with a mixture of buttermilk and cornstarch as a protective covering. The coating was supposed to be removed and reapplied every two years, but no one had ever undertaken the task. Throughout the years, moisture and humidity softened the starchy coating, making it a magnet for dirt and grime in the air. The lack of any kind of air-handling system exposed the

murals to outside air during an era of consistent air pollution from leaded gasoline, industrial activity, and other sources. In addition, the continuous leakage had caused a general dampness inside the rotunda, making the prospect of damage to the murals from mold and mildew quite likely. One account in 1972 estimated that the visibility of the murals had been obscured by fifty percent since they had been hung; one ranger remembered the paintings as being "so dingy that you could hardly see the labeling at the bottom of the painting." [29]

In 1971, with funding from the National Park Foundation, Harpers Ferry Center Museum Specialist Walter A. Nitkiewicz and a team of art students embarked on a program of cleaning and restoration. Cleaning the rough-textured paint by hand was the project's focus, and upon the project's conclusion, the application of a protective coating of polyvinyl acetate varnish assured a finish that moisture, dirt, and grime could not penetrate. [30]

Nitkiewicz also noted the need for an air-handling system and other protective measures against the intrusion of dirt and grime. He was the first to recognize that much of the dirt in the building came in with visitors. He also noticed another major problem. The location of heat registers at floor level forced warm air up through the building. But in the winter, incoming cooler air at the top of the structure coupled with the heat blown through the registers, in essence, applied any air-borne dirt from the ground level to the murals' surfaces. Nitkiewicz watched this occur during the cleaning; within a week after sections of the mural had been cleaned, new grime clearly was evident upon the surfaces. An air-conditioning system for the memorial was essential, as were humidity and temperature controls. [31]

Others in the agency recognized the need that Nitkiewicz articulated. Lagemann supported the idea, as did Russell J. Hendricksen, Chief of the Division of Museums, and Mechanical Engineer Wayne Veach, who inspected the memorial in 1971. Nitkiewicz had suggested a kind of modernized protection that was popular in the agency and extremely useful in maintaining the features in national parks. The murals were the major interpretive focus at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. They merited the best available handling and treatment. [32]

These repairs, along with Veach's suggestion to change the way in which the air filtering system was used, constituted the first maintenance problems with the murals in the Clark memorial. Although fundamentally small in scale, and in some ways less important than solving the problems of leakage at the memorial, these steps inaugurated proactive management. Park Service specialists sought to eliminate root causes instead of providing short-term solutions to ongoing problems, establish maintenance schedules and repair schedules, and begin the process of developing a long-term strategy to maintain the memorial's resources. After protecting the historic resources, park personnel again turned their attention to the oldest and most vexing of managerial problems, the seemingly eternal leakage throughout the structure.

The first Park Service effort to address this problem also began in 1972. Aware of the number of failed attempts to stop the leakage in the basement of the memorial, NPS officials searched for a remedy. The best solution — lifting the granite slabs off the terrace and replacing the fractured membrane underneath — remained prohibitive in cost. The best affordable alternative was judged to be the application of Dex-o-Tex, a waterproof covering, over the surface of the terrace. As had many previous remedies, this one worked well for a while, but began to deteriorate within a few years. Covering the surface of the terrace, it was less attractive than the original pebbled concrete. [33] As a result, the agency considered temporary solutions. Proactive management was not always easy or possible.

The maintenance of the memorial also became a side issue in the controversy surrounding the construction of the visitor center. After the Park Service decided it could not build the new

structure south of the memorial on the location recommended in the original planning and that it again would delay construction, agency officials sought to soften the blow to Vincennes. The Park Service promised to spend the \$305,000 that had been appropriated for the visitor center on much-needed maintenance for the memorial. This would, at the very least, remind the angry populace of Vincennes that the Park Service retained an interest in their park. In 1975, a team of Park Service specialists with expertise in historical architecture, history, park planning, and landscape architecture visited the park to collect data to support a comprehensive rehabilitation program. [34]

Fully aware of the political implications of their visit, the team members assessed the park's needs. They encountered a set of problems essentially unchanged from the 1930s — roofing that leaked, damage to the stones from water, missing or poorly applied caulking, damaged flashing, damaged and unattractive materials such as the Dex-o-Tex atop the terrace, and many other similar problems. They recommended an entirely new roof and flashing, the repointing and sealing of the brickwork in the rotunda, and repointing of all stone masonry. [35]

The preliminary investigation for comprehensive rehabilitation set the stage for a series of repair projects at the memorial. Even though the visitor center was constructed, albeit it in a different location than originally planned, the need for repair work remained predominant. Especially after the completion of the visitor center, a significant investment of agency resources, the needs of the principal historic resource at the park merited ongoing attention.

In 1977, Denver Service Center's Midwest/Rocky Mountain team prepared a special structural analysis of the memorial. In a thorough study of the building and its problems, the team noted the skylight, the outer built-up roof, and the outer portion of the parapet wall as major problems in need of immediate repair. Numerous other areas required the kind of ongoing attention that the memorial had always needed, but rarely received. [36]

The 1977 study inaugurated a period of intense activity at the memorial. During the subsequent eighteen months, temporary emergency repairs were made to the inner copper roof; the outer roof was patched; the skylight rehabilitated, its cracked glass was repaired, and new neoprene gaskets were installed; the basement areas were plastered and painted by the park maintenance staff; the parapet wall was treated with new elastic caulking; and the Dex-o-Tex on the terrace was repaired. The first phase of a roof-testing program was completed as well. [37]

Ongoing repairs continued after the studies were completed, accelerating the repair cycle for the structure. In 1979, the entrance doors and gates to the memorial received much needed repairs while in 1980, tests were initiated to determine how to clean the stone were initiated. In 1981, Harpers Ferry museum specialists investigated the preservation problems caused by unfiltered light coming through the skylight, while at nearly the same time, core tests of the parapet in the memorial roof were taken under the direction of structural engineer Renzo Riddo of the Denver Service Center. Despite almost constant exposure to moisture, the bricks on the parapet wall remained in fine condition. [38]

Also in 1981, the original maintenance shop was razed. After the construction of the visitor center, the maintenance division had moved into the new structure's lower level. Although in some ways a less than optimal arrangement, the maintenance shop functioned better being closer to the workings of the park. Its old location, on the downtown side of Vigo Street (alternate U.S. 50) had been far from the administrative offices of the park. In 1978, plans to raze the shop had been contemplated and a Form 10-238 for the construction of a utilitarian storage shed in the western part of the park had been filed. In 1981, the old maintenance building was taken down and the site landscaped with twenty-two columnar junipers, twenty

upright yews, thirty-eight lelandi firethorns, and one sugar maple. Wood chips and bluegrass filled out the area's landscaping. A small storage building adjacent to the basement entrance of the visitor center was constructed in 1985. [39]

In 1983, the rehabilitation and repair of the memorial roof began. The projected cost exceeded \$645,000 and included replacing the inner and outer roofs, repointing and flashing the inside of the brick portions of the parapet; removing, cleaning, repairing, and resetting the parapet stone; cleaning and repairing the terrace walls, columns, portico ceiling, and entablature; and preserving the bronze statue of Clark. An additional \$283,000 was projected to cover the cost of the restoration of the terrace and the skylight. By December 1983, the work on the first two phases was eighty percent complete. [40]

Improvements at the memorial continued during the middle of the 1980s. In 1984, the Park Service let a contract for the study of the heating and cooling system in the memorial. Although updated on a number of occasions, this system fundamentally was the same one that had been installed during the 1930s; by the 1970s, it was antiquated. It had been the source of some of the memorial's problems, because the boiler safety valve had blown numerous times and the air-circulation system had been at least partially responsible for removing the grime in the air and depositing it onto the murals. Gove and Associates, an engineering firm, undertook the project in 1985. [41]

Also during 1985, other projects were completed. A stabilization effort to mend areas of extensive spalling and cracking of the parapet — the top forty-four inches of the floodwall protecting the park from the Wabash River — was completed, as also was still another rehabilitation of the memorial deck. A ramp with handrails to accommodate handicapped visitors was constructed between the visitor center and the memorial with rails being added to the steps. This created better access for those who has difficulty with walking or who were in wheelchairs. [42]

The rise of resources management as the lead category of park-level endeavors in the mid-1980s had an impact on George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. By the middle of the 1980s, resources management had become the label under which the Park Service established its management priorities at the park level. It had been transformed from conceptual genesis as part of a division status within the system, a change in administrative procedures and hierarchy had of Interpretation and Resources Management at nearly every park. By the early 1980s, most national park areas had a resources management plan that broadened the definition of the category by offering its wish list of projects; this new rubric gave park staff a way to standardize management practices as well as to rank competing projects that were different in character. By 1985, resources management had become the fashionable area of management within the agency.

It also had a malleable meaning. In essence, the broad definition meant that nearly everything within a park was a resource — historical, archeological, natural, interpretive, or anything else. As a result, managers and regional office officials could compare projects within a park to each other with greater precision, but the decisions between resources management priorities of different kinds of parks had even less clarity than ever before. For some parks, resources management was a way to accomplish long-deferred goals; for others, it was another mechanism that stood in the way of park managers' objectives.

At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, this conceptually new definition of historic responsibilities grew from existing maintenance functions and began to be incorporated into official park documents during the middle of the 1980s. Soon afterwards, the types of activities labeled resources management at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park were handled by the maintenance division. The elevation of such functions as the

replacement of trees to decisions of interpretive importance accentuated a trend that began with the battle for the visitor center. During that controversy the one argument for moving the location from behind the memorial suggested that the less-developed area behind the building reflected the wilderness surrounding Clark while the landscaped area in front represented civilization. The development of resources management at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park reflected this predisposition to include every facet of Park Service activity within the historical context.

Integrating this new concept into park programming took time. Beginning in the middle of the 1970s, "Interpretation and Resources Management" began to appear as a category in the annual reports. The initial designation of resources management as a separate category at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park came as part of the 1985 annual report. In it, Interpretation and Resources Management were classed together, but the description of activities within this new and broader category mirrored previous interpretive reports. In the setting of Interpretation, this new idea did not seem to offer the park much of an advantage in accomplishing goals. The ongoing, expensive, and time-consuming issues at the park were far from questions of interpretation. By 1987, park managers recognized how best to utilize the new management tool; that year, Resources Management was classed with Maintenance in the annual report for the first time. This was a much more appropriate pairing for this particular park, although it did not always work system-wide. Activities reported include landscaping and special projects such as floodwall studies. This categorization persisted at the memorial and became the model for its operations. [43]

This new joint heading allowed park managers to accomplish the tasks necessary to preserve the park and its historic features. A study of the rehabilitation of the heating and air conditioning system in the memorial and of asbestos removal began in 1987. During that same year, Patrick Engineering Inc., of Glen Ellyn, Illinois, began a study of the Wabash River floodwall. This study showed that the floodwall still functioned properly, although it had become "degraded aesthetically" in several places. It did not appear to need substantial structural repair, but some cosmetic work, mostly to make the wall uniform in texture and color, was necessary from the Park Service's perspective. Only the parapet and the coping needed eventual replacement. Although the sidewalk at the southern end of the floodwall had settled and pulled away from the floodwall, Patrick Engineering Inc. described this as the result of a one-time settlement of the fill material from which the levee had been constructed. Only monitoring of the area was deemed necessary. [44]

In 1989, another step toward the implementation of long-standing plans took place. The Park Service hired Krishna Engineering Consultants Inc., of Des Moines, Iowa, to study rehabilitation of the HVAC — the heating, ventilation, and air conditioning system — as well as to plan the removal of asbestos from the memorial. The study made clear the presence of asbestos, detailing the location of the substance within the memorial. It also articulated the need for revamping the HVAC and set up protocols to cover both processes. [45]

In January 1991, both projects got under way. Asbestos removal began under a contract issued to the J&W Allen Construction Co., of Marion, Illinois. The material was removed from all building ducts and insulated piping, and contaminated soil from the basement was also taken out. Subsequent to removal of the asbestos, the company installed two air conditioners, an air-handling system, two boilers, connecting piping and ductwork, and a computerized system monitor and control center. This new system was designed to regulate humidity in the memorial at fifty-five percent and temperature at sixty-five degrees Fahrenheit. [46]

Construction of the new maintenance facility also began in 1991. This structure first had been requested by Superintendent Roy J. Beasley Jr., in 1982, but at the Regional Office, this

request had encountered some opposition. Associate Regional Director for Planning and Resource Preservation John Kawamoto was one opponent. He believed that Beasley's proposal was not feasible, for it contemplated construction of the facility upon a 100-year flood plain. Kawamoto felt a better location could be found. [47]

Beasley persisted, advocating an underground storage facility if the problem of the one-foot difference in the level of the projected 100-year flood and the bottom of the new maintenance facility could not be resolved. The situation was urgent, Beasley insisted, because health and safety inspections had revealed the maintenance shop arrangement in the basement of the visitor center was "substandard, hazardous, and a high risk." [48]

Beasley had found a way to generate a response within the Regional Office. There were a total of seven alternatives that the architectural division in the Regional Office presented. The underground structure that Beasley advocated cost 3.5 times the amount of a similar aboveground building; that made its selection an unlikely choice. A location in the historic district of the city, where the original shop had been, was across Vigo Street, far from the central operations of the park. A new building there would require a design that would blend in with the nearby historic structures. A location on Willow Street, near a property the Park Service planned to acquire, was viable, but it would cause a delay until acquisition was completed. A site near the parking lot would require compatibility with the visitor center and the presence of visitors might interfere with work. Another property northeast of the park, which also was proposed for addition to the park, again posed the problem of time. It would be several years before construction could begin. The agency could request rental space from the General Services Administration, but this would only delay permanent resolution. The best available option was to raise the floor of the building 1.5 feet so that it was above the level of the projected 100-year flood and to build the foundation with monolithic reinforced concrete so that if the area did flood, the structure still would be water-resistant. The option to build in the flood plain with a raised floor made economic sense and was precisely what Beasley wanted all along. [49]

The J&W Allen Construction Company received the contract to build the structure. Their work began in 1991 and was completed in 1992. Regional Chief of Maintenance Ted Hillmer dedicated the building in front of a crowd of approximately 100 on August 23, 1992, and the Maintenance Division moved out of the visitor center and into its new building. [50]

Despite the improvement to the physical plant and in nearly every phase of resources management and maintenance at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, the same ongoing problems continued to plague the memorial. First and foremost was, as always, water leakage. The Dex-o-Tex, first installed in 1972, had deteriorated badly by the early 1990s. It failed to keep water out of the basement as well as off the top of the pebbled surfaces of the memorial. It had become quite unsightly and somewhat hazardous to visitors who walked upon it. Its removal was pleasing aesthetically but that removal also heightened the oldest of problems at the memorial — after the covering was taken away, more water entered the basement than had while it was in place. The oldest issue at the park became the most important one. In 1992, Superintendent James H. Holcomb identified water leakage into the basement of the memorial as "the major concern of park management." [51]

In many ways, this admission brought the park full circle. More than twenty-five years of Park Service management had vastly improved conditions at the memorial and in every phase of its operation, but some problems seemed unsolvable. By the 1990s, at least three different administrations — the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, the Indiana Department of Conservation, and the National Park Service — had all grappled with the problem of leakage. The Park Service had the most success, virtually stopping the leaking from the roof, but the problem of water in the basement continued to vex managers. None of

the wide range of options tried ever did more than temporarily stop the leakage.

The rise of resources management played an important role in helping George Rogers Clark National Historical Park achieve its management objectives. The new category allowed for a broader concept of what was important at the Regional Office and national levels while elevating concerns that acquired greater significance when construed as resources management rather than as maintenance. In the new arrangement, with parks specifying priorities through the resources management process, places such as the Clark memorial could acquire more of what its managers felt was essential.

For this and other reasons, at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, maintenance and resources management will continue to be linked as a primary emphasis of management. The Park Service inherited a flawed physical plant when it accepted the memorial; nearly thirty years of effort, during an era when the standards of acceptable conditions have increased, has begun to solve some of the problems. But issues of maintaining the monument will continue to plague park managers and dig deeply into their budgets. Creating a historic park from a memorial entails expensive and ongoing obligations. As the memorial itself ages, this obligation only can grow in significance and cost.

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GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Maintaining A Legacy

An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



CHAPTER 7:

Interpreting George Rogers Clark and His Legacy

When the Park Service assumed control of the Clark memorial in 1967, little that legitimately could be called an interpretive program existed. Inside the memorial, a souvenir counter stood replete with postcards and knickknacks, but there was little effort to communicate to visitors the importance of the Clark story and the memorial that commemorated it. The echo within the rotunda did not help matters; one interpreter remarked that giving a talk in the rotunda was "like trying to deliver a lecture in a corn silo." Even if a visitor had a question and the state custodian knew the answer, his words often were unintelligible because of the noise. By Park Service standards, much interpretive work was necessary at the new park. [1]

The management of the memorial by the Indiana Department of Conservation, later the Department of Natural Resources, was one reason for the lack of interpretation. Similar to many other state entities, it had a small budget and a limited vision of what it could provide. Indiana had numerous parks such as Turkey Run State Park, an expansive natural area in the west central part of the state, dominating the attention of the state park system. Thus, no one in the Indiana Department of Natural Resources seemed to consider that a visitor to the memorial might need to be told of its significance.

Nor was the orientation of such state agencies directed toward the communication of heritage. In places such as state-run museums and battlefields, reverence was expected of visitors; in others, such as the privately owned homes of historic figures, guides assumed that the visiting public knew a considerable amount about the person whose house they came to visit. Only the Park Service invested heavily in the development of programs designed to educate and enlighten the uninitiated. [2]

Even if the Department of Conservation had been inclined to develop an interpretive program, it lacked the resources and experience available to the National Park Service. Since the 1920s, the agency consistently had sought to improve its techniques and procedures for explaining the areas within its purview to the growing numbers of the public who visited them. By the 1960s, the Park Service had forty years of experience to support a standardized series of methods for reaching its audience. The George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was another opportunity to exercise that experience.

As the Park Service acquired the Clark memorial, the agency also had begun to implement its decades-old objective of systematic planning. Throughout the park system, MISSION 66, a ten-year capital development program which concluded just as George Rogers Clark National Historical Park came into the park system, enabled broad-based and proactive planning. MISSION 66 brought the park system up to the demands of the moment; after it, planning could proceed with an eye toward anticipating the needs of the future instead of solving the problems of the present.

But at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, management issues defied agency precedent. Prior to the 1960s, there were few places in the park system where the agency had to develop a comprehensive interpretive and management plan for a designed historic landscape. At George Rogers Clark, the Park Service defined new standards for a different kind of responsibility. During an era that required a greater degree of attention to procedures and regulations, this added a range of dimensions to the park's administration.

Interpretation was an integral part of this matrix. Its function to communicate the park's meaning to the public was essential in a situation where the Park Service had to "sell" itself to the local community. It also became the basis for the way visitors remembered the park, for their recall often centered on how the park looked and how the visitors felt they were treated. In this context, the implementation of interpretive programming was as important as were other crucial areas such as local relations and maintenance of the structures.

Yet the timing of the acquisition of the Clark memorial was not ideal. Beginning in the 1960s and continuing for the following three decades, interpretation toppled from its prior position of relative importance within the agency. Studies undertaken in the early 1970s showed what many in the agency had already recognized; Park Service personnel themselves noted a decline in the importance of interpretation within the agency and evidence of lessened professionalism among interpreters. Contributing factors included organizational changes that linked interpretation and resources management while divesting interpreters of leadership opportunities, a heightened emphasis on law enforcement after the legendary disturbance in Yosemite National Park in 1970, and the increase in both the number of park areas and visitation without commensurate growth in personnel. After 1970, no NPS division in the Washington, D.C., offices had any direct links to interpretation; a few years later, the position of regional chief of interpretation was abolished. [3] It was a difficult era in which to initiate a quality interpretive program, even at parks with exclusively historical themes.

When Robert Lagemann arrived in Vincennes in September 1967, he found a park without an interpretive program. State efforts to interpret the memorial had been extremely limited; the personnel the state hired simply were not interpreters. Their obligations had been limited to maintenance and protection of the property. As did many other state agencies with similar responsibilities across the nation, the Department of Conservation proceeded under the assumption that members of the public who visited the memorial came because they already possessed some prior knowledge of its importance.

The Park Service did not have the resources immediately available to rectify this situation. Lagemann had entered a void and found himself "at liberty to try anything within reason in the interpretive division," while the master plan study team determined that to communicate the importance of Clark's capture of Fort Sackville required a modern visitor center. The lack of historic resources at the site complicated problems even more. [4] Interpretation of the memorial structure was relatively easy, for the building stood as a testament to its importance. Communicating the story of the capture of Fort Sackville and its implications for the growth of the American Republic, however, would have to proceed without any actual remnants to display.

Early efforts at interpretation depended upon the efforts of Albert W. Banton Jr., and the implementation skills of Robert Lagemann. Lagemann focused much of his efforts on the interpretive program. Although Frank Werker, the state employee retained as rotunda guide by the Park Service, was a genial and dependable person, his method of interpretation did not meet NPS standards. Werker had memorized much material about the Clark expedition and the memorial, and in response to questions, merely would recite that material. Skilled at speaking, he could interpret in a manner that led visitors to believe he actually was speaking

rather than reciting. His one failing was that when interrupted, he could not always pick up where he had stopped. [5] Yet for the Park Service, the vanguard in historical interpretation, such a presentation — even when successful or when Werker did speak extemporaneously — was deficient. More professional interpretative strategies were essential to the Park Service's plans.

Lagemann quickly found a problem about which the planners peripherally were cognizant, but not wholly aware. A historian by training and experience who came to George Rogers Clark National Historical Park from Antietam National Battlefield, Lagemann expected visitors to have the same kind of intuitive feeling for George Rogers Clark and his experiences as they did for the Civil War. He recounted disappointment in the attitudes of visitors, most of whom were more interested in the story of the memorial building than they were in the history of the Clark expedition and its subsequent impact upon the nation. To Lagemann's dismay, after about five minutes, many visitors grew restless and impatient. A number were visibly bored. The people of Vincennes in particular were more concerned with "statistical bits" concerning the memorial — what it cost, where the stone came from, and other similar details — than they were with Clark. Some even told Lagemann that they did not want him telling their visiting friends and relatives the Clark story; he was, in their view, to concentrate on the structure itself. [6]

As the sole full-time Park Service professional at the park, Lagemann sought to use his experience to enlighten visitors. Werker worked Wednesday through Sunday and Lagemann was in the rotunda the other two days. He also spelled Werker during lunch on weekends and made it a point to be on duty every Sunday, which he regarded as the heaviest visitation day of the week. When not in the rotunda, Lagemann roamed the grounds, seeking to "engage visitors in some kind of interpretive discussions." He also spent considerable time reading the history of the Clark expedition in order to improve the interpretation the park offered. [7]

The Park Service made major changes in the visitor experience at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. Werker had been accustomed to keeping a streetcar token deposit box at the front desk to accept the 25-cent fee visitors paid to enter the state-run memorial. Werker referred to himself as "conductor of the memorial." He pulled down the arm of the machine every time someone deposited a coin in, and a bell would sound. True to the promise Banton made to the local press, the agency did not implement a fee. Although some in the Regional Office in Philadelphia advocated a new fifty-cent fee, Banton adamantly opposed it. He won this debate, but had to keep fighting it again and again throughout his tenure. [8]

Another major change included the beginning of an interpretive audio program. The memorial had an echo so overwhelming that unless a speaker whispered, any verbal communication quickly became incomprehensible. The echo became a feature of the memorial prior to the arrival of the Park Service. Teachers with school groups would stand their children in a semicircle facing the murals, move to the far end of the memorial, and whisper. Every child could hear the teacher's words. But the echo made traditional Park Service interpretation difficult. In 1968, Banton acquired 100 headsets, Lagemann strung antenna wiring along the inside of the rotunda about ten feet above the floor, and the audio-visual department of the Park Service provided an announcer who spoke for a four-minute interpretive tape. Visitors could walk around without wires and clearly hear the announcer explaining the significance of each mural. George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was the first NPS site to implement such a technique, and the headsets were a significant step forward in interpretation.

In an effort to interest the public in the history of George Rogers Clark and the Old Northwest, Banton asked Lagemann to begin a firearms demonstration program, using

weapons from the park's historic period. An agency expert in such matters, Harold Peterson, offered a seminar at the Harpers Ferry Center in the spring of 1968 and Lagemann attended. There Lagemann learned to use flintlock weapons similar to the ones used by Clark and his men. Upon his return, the park ordered a Pennsylvania Rifle, commonly known as a long rifle. Lagemann taught himself to use the rifle, and in May 1968, gave the first demonstration for a school group; by the following year, the rifle firings were scheduled events. [9]

Striving for verisimilitude, Lagemann began to wear items resembling the clothing of Clark's men. In 1968 and 1969, he had worn the daily Park Service uniform for the demonstrations. Banton suggested that Lagemann perform the demonstrations while in costume. "That's what he brought, a costume" and not historic period clothing, Lagemann exclaimed many years later. "I had no intention of standing in public wearing a very chintzy looking costume." Lagemann enlisted the help of a home economics teacher at Vincennes Lincoln High School. She made him a hunter's frock from cowhide with a rough exterior that resembled buckskin. At first, when tour groups arrived, Lagemann simply replaced his regulation Park Service shirt and tie with the knee-length frock, slung a powder horn over his shoulder, picked up a rifle, and went to his demonstration still wearing regulation pants and shoes. Later he acquired some pajama-like pants and high-laced moccasin boots. [10] Lagemann may not have been completely accurate, but to the untrained eye, he certainly looked the part.

The seasonal rangers also helped develop the interpretive program. Two, Willard Cockerham, who started in 1968, and Gerald "Jerry" Erny, who began two years later, became mainstays of the program. Both were teachers in the local public schools and brought the enthusiasm, vigor, and expertise of their profession to their ranger activities. [11] In a growing and increasingly busy park, their duties took on vast importance. No longer did visitors have to endure memorized recitations. During the summer of 1968, under the guidance of Lagemann and through the efforts of the seasonal staff, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park began to offer the kind of interpretation for which the Park Service was known.

But the growth of the program and the caliber of interpretation it presented were subject to the same limitations that characterized every facet of activity at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. The demands of the physical plant were, as always, paramount. Planning for interpretation was in an embryonic stage, leaving the park little to implement even when resources were available. Since its head official, Albert Banton, also served as superintendent of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, the park and its needs were near the end of a very long queue. Only through the preparation of characteristic NPS documents, such as an interpretive prospectus, could the park initiate any truly comprehensive development.

The preparation of the first Interpretive Prospectus for the park became an important step forward in the developmental program. Prepared in 1969, the prospectus reflected the standards of interpretation of that era. It sought to articulate important themes to be presented by the park. At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, these themes included historical and present-day objectives as well as the kind of civics lesson often embedded within interpretation before the middle of the 1970s. According to the prospectus, the park was to tell the story of Clark's expedition and relate it to the development of the American Republic throughout the Old Northwest. It also was to present an "appreciative concept of the way by which a territory became a full-fledged, equal state," and relate the Clark memorial to the other historical features of Vincennes and the surrounding area. [12] This was a tremendously bold and overarching set of responsibilities for the staff of the new park to undertake.

Yet the lack of both a historic setting and relics had a powerful impact upon the conception of interpretation. Although the 1779 capture of Fort Sackville was "the climax of the whole

campaign," the Park Service had nothing dating from that era which could be shown to the public. Nor did it have the necessary framework in which to present a comprehensive interpretive program. The rotunda was suited poorly to spoken interpretation and the park lacked a visitor center. Despite such problems, the prospectus recommended the use of a motion picture depicting the Clark expedition as the primary source of interpretation. Used as an introduction to the story behind the memorial, the report's authors believed the film would augment and focus visitors' knowledge before they walked to the rotunda. [13]

The Interpretive Prospectus confirmed the importance of a visitor center to the operation of the park. Without such a structure, an amenity taken for granted at most park areas (especially during the aftermath of MISSION 66) the Vincennes park could not begin even to thoroughly accomplish one of its most important obligations. This stemmed partially from the lack of 1770s material which the park needed for interpretation, but it also reflected the influence of MISSION 66 upon the thinking of the agency. In the aftermath of the largest capital development program the national park system ever had experienced, construction of a new physical plant for George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was considered the prerequisite for successful implementation of new programs.

This mirrored the pattern of development for interpretation at parks acquired after the New Deal. In most such cases, the construction of facilities became the signal moment in the history of development at a park, for without amenities, interpretation was an extremely labor-intensive process. By the 1950s, the old standard of taking the majority of visitors on guided tours through park areas had disappeared under the weight of the post-war upsurge in numbers. Interpretation became a standardized activity generally administered through technological devices. At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, where the Park Service lacked the kind of historic fabric to which it was accustomed, the need for the visitor center was even greater than usual.

In the meantime, the kind of interpretation that had been characteristic of the park continued. The headphones in the rotunda, a typical Park Service melding of technology and circumstance, served as a mainstay in the process. Visitors heard the four-minute presentation, asked questions of the person stationed in the rotunda, and went on their way. In 1974, the tape was played 7,053 times for 32,790 visitors. The black powder demonstrations, a popular feature, served as counterpoint, but only were available for groups or presented on a fixed schedule. In 1973, for example, Lagemann fired the long rifle 139 times for a total audience of 2,821 out of the more than 78,000 visits recorded at the park that year. During August 1973, when park officials added a Brown Bess musket demonstration, replete with seasonal interpreter Jerry Erny dressed in the redcoat uniform of the King's 8th Regiment, another 1,661 spectators witnessed seventy-two firings. Inside the memorial, Lagemann reported, interpretation was the same as the previous year. [14] As a result of the combination of conditions at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park and the manner in which the initial interpretive prospectus was fashioned, interpretation became a stagnant activity until the visitor center could be constructed.

The approach of the Bicentennial meant increased demand for the use both of the park and of park officials' expertise. Beginning about 1974 and accelerating with the approach of the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, local and regional groups requested the participation of the Park Service in activities associated with the 1976 celebration. These activities included the making of Park Service films about Vincennes and Fort Sackville that were made available to Knox County schools, and the development of a "striking" poster of George Rogers Clark donated to the eighteen fourth-grade classrooms in Vincennes. The park was to be used by groups such as the Old Northwest Bicentennial Corporation of Vincennes, which planned events throughout 1976, as well as the Brigade of the American Revolution, Northwest Division, whose members planned to demonstrate

eighteenth-century military procedures and practices on the grounds. In addition there was to be the placement of ten U.S. Army Quartermaster Corps headstones in honor of American Revolutionary War soldiers buried in the Old Cathedral Cemetery adjacent to the park. [15] Such activities heightened awareness of the park and contributed to its interpretive mission.

But genuine change in the caliber of interpretive activities at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park only could come with the completion of the array of amenities characteristic of park areas. The controversy over the visitor center seemed to indicate that interpretation would not change significantly for a number of years, but the resolution of the debate offered hope. Throughout the winter of 1975-1976, park personnel excitedly anticipated the programs they could offer in the new structure.

Their expectations were deflated by a worsening climate for interpretation throughout the Park Service. By the middle of the 1970s, the agency had taken official steps to rectify the growing problems with interpretation, but the NPS faced an onslaught of additional visitors. Between 1970 and 1974, every measurable facet of interpretive services — conducted tours, visitors per conducted tour, and attendance at interpretive demonstrations — increased by at least seventy-four percent. During that same period, the number of permanent interpreters throughout the Park Service increased from 525 to 600. Even under this evident strain, interpretation faced a budget cut in 1975. [16] In an agency redefining itself and the nature of its obligations, interpretation slipped further behind other activities.

At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, this impact was blunted. The park was new and needed an interpretive program, so it was immune to some of the problems of other existing programs. With the approach of the Bicentennial, the park played an important role for the Midwest Region to which it recently had been transferred. Unlike the Northeast Region, the Midwest Region had no other parks with Bicentennial themes. As a result, the system-wide problems in interpretation were lessened at the park.

The opening of the visitor center on July 4, 1976, inaugurated a new phase in the park's history of interpretation. The new building, with twelve new museum exhibits and a ninety-six seat auditorium to show films, gave the Park Service a setting in which to offer a typical set of programs designed to leave the visitor with a fixed impression of the park and the importance of its themes. During the first half of 1976, Robert Lagemann, recently promoted to park superintendent, noted that the interpretive program remained as it had been. But following the opening of the visitor center, the park had a new and dazzling array of options at the disposal of its interpreters. [17] With the new structure in place, staff efforts turned to the implementation of programs established for the park.

A film depicting the events of Clark's 1778-1779 military campaign had been a crucial element in interpretive planning. This film, planners believed, would carry much of the burden of orientation as it did at most parks. At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, it was even more important than usual. The film had to replace the lack of historic materials for interpretation throughout the park's boundaries. The main feature at the park remained the rotunda; splendid in its grandeur, its presence had the ability to detract from the story to be interpreted. The orientation film had to provide a basis that would draw visitors' attention to the story of Clark and his men and not to the story of the memorial and its construction.

When the visitor center opened, the park was without a film that directly explained the story of George Rogers Clark and the taking of Fort Sackville. The Park Service had contracted for a film about the history of the park, but when it was submitted late in 1975, it was rejected as inappropriate by the agency. A new version of the film was planned, but work on it had not begun when the visitor center opened. The park was forced to improvise, using John Huston's

Bicentennial film, *Independence*, and a twenty-seven minute feature entitled *George Rogers Clark and the Winning of the West*, produced by the Indiana State Museum. The two films became staples for the visitor center. One of the two was featured daily on a four-times-a-day schedule during the peak season. After 1976, *Independence* no longer was shown, and the movie about Clark became the mainstay of orientation and interpretation. In 1977, 17,954 visitors viewed 1,031 showings of this film. [18]

But these were just temporary remedies, only used while a movie to serve the needs of the park was being produced. Finally, on March 31, 1978, the twenty-three minute film, *A Few Men Well Conducted*, produced by the Harpers Ferry Center and directed by Brian Jones, debuted. The film was an instant success; park personnel were complimented on the film time and again by local residents and visitors. Lagemann himself judged the movie an "excellent product." In the final nine months of 1978, the film was seen by 20,111 park visitors. [19]

The movie became the single most important component of the interpretive program. The movie's significance increased annually. By 1984, the 41,882 visitors who viewed the movie surpassed the 24,488 who heard the tape in the memorial; by 1987, both numbers had decreased, with 25,573 visitors viewing the film and only 6,326 hearing the tape in the memorial. Although occasionally the number listening to the audio tape in the rotunda increased, in general, the trend was clear. [20] The Park Service had shifted control of interpretation to its visitor center, thus emphasizing the importance of the story of Clark's march and the capture of Fort Sackville over the history of the memorial and its construction. This kind of quality presentation set Park Service interpretation apart from that offered by state and local entities.

Other activities augmented the interpretive program. At the May 27, 1978, dedication ceremony for the visitor center, more than 180 members of the North West Territory Alliance (a group of historical reenactors patterned after the Brigade of the American Revolution, which was a similar group operating throughout the East) lent a historic feel. They drilled in uniform, set up an eighteenth-century camp through which they conducted visitors during the Memorial Day weekend, and generally contributed to an eighteenth-century atmosphere at the park. [21] This initial activity became an annual reenactment program, the Spirit of Vincennes Rendezvous. The Rendezvous occurs in conjunction with the Memorial Day weekend and highlights the cooperative arrangements between the park, organizations with similar objectives, and those who advocate historical endeavors within the Vincennes community.

The park's living history program also benefitted from the enthusiasm surrounding the Bicentennial. Prior to 1976, the program had been limited to Robert Lagemann and seasonal interpreters Willard Cockerham and Jeny Erny, who while dressed in facsimiles of period clothing, fired an American rifle and a British musket. A combination of members from the North West Territory Alliance and from the Spirit of Vincennes Rendezvous helped highlight living history at the park. After the Bicentennial, the living history program became more than just the firing of weapons. The park demonstrated pioneer activities, allowed visitors to sample food of the Revolutionary War era, and displayed what Ranger Dennis Latta, one of the mainstays of the living history program, called a "potpourri of equipment" characteristic of the people of the time. [22]

Even though it worked well at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, living history remained problematic for the Park Service. Although there had been instances of living history interpretation in the national park system before the 1960s, during that decade programs began to proliferate. Firearms demonstrations were typical at parks such as Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park and at Antietam National Battlefield (where Robert Lagemann participated before he came to George Rogers Clark National

Historical Park). In 1965, Fort Davis National Historic Site began to dress its interpreters in period clothing. Under Director George B. Hartzog Jr., the agency picked up on a 1965 suggestion from Marion Clawson (a noted resources scholar and previously one of the first directors of the Bureau of Land Management). Writing in the journal, *Agricultural History*, Clawson called for a nationwide series of living history farms. Because of political circumstances, the Park Service carved out an independent strategy for living history programs within park areas. [23]

One of the parks selected for a living history program during the late 1960s was Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial. Its superintendent, Albert W. Banton, Jr., also was the superintendent for the new George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. At Lincoln Boyhood, the living history program was a success, adding valuable depth to the interpretation of the area. Banton's successor, John C. W. "Bill" Riddle, had come from Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site, where a living history program existed by 1968. [24] With Lagemann's Antietam background, the emphasis on living history at Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and later within the Indiana-Illinois Group, the development of a program at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park seemed preordained.

Two kinds of criticism concerning content plagued living history programs. Some critics, such as former chief historian Robert M. Utley, believed that "the public's enthusiasm for living history [has] push[ed] us from interpretation of the park's features and values into productions that, however entertaining, do not directly support the central park themes." In this view, living history did little to educate; rather it put the agency in the entertainment business. Others, such as Frank Barnes, a talented and highly regarded interpretive specialist for the Northeast Region, believed that an emphasis upon living history could reflect the failure of traditional interpretation. In the demoralized interpretive climate of the 1970s, Barnes' suggestion sounded uncannily accurate. [25]

The other complaint about living history was its high cost. Labor intensive and effective at serving small groups or individuals, even the most limited living history programs required the investment of significant resources. At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, Latta estimated that living history programs cost roughly \$1 per person while the park could serve five visitors with conventional static interpretation for the same sum. Since interpretation was the easiest place to trim the agency budget, living history programs flourished only when parks invested the bulk of their interpretive resources toward that the effort. By the 1980s, the federal ethos became "do more with less," first for political and later for economic reasons. Based upon this philosophy, living history programs sometimes became regarded as expensive and ineffective extravagances. [26]

At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, living history became an essential facet of the interpretive program. It was the closest link to the historic past within the boundaries of the park. The ongoing nature of the programs during the summer season, varying from three to eight times a day depending upon visitation, accentuated the program's importance. Even in the late 1980s, when resources were scarce throughout the park system, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park acquired resources to support living history. [27] This allowed for the program's expansion to include people reenacting British soldiers, frontier men and women, and others. Indians in the living history program remained conspicuous by their absence as late as 1994. Eventually the interpretive staff hopes to be able to add the depiction of a Frenchman and Indian to the living history program, thus complementing the current portrayal of an American frontiersman and British soldier.

With the primary ingredients of a respectable modern interpretive program in place, the Park Service could begin the long process of developing the protocols to support continual excellence in the area. In the 1970s and 1980, views of the meaning of history and the

presentation of that meaning began to change rapidly, making archaic some previously acceptable modes of communication. Treatment of Native American and African American themes became complex, fraught with the complicated politics of self-awareness that began in the 1960s and which reached new heights during the 1980s and early 1990s. As a federal agency, committed by law and desire to eliminate vestiges of historic discrimination (not only in action but increasingly also by words), the Park Service took special care to remove remnants of any patronizing and derogatory interpretation. This led to reassessment not only of the material presented in parks, but, in many cases, also of the mode and manner of presentations as well.

At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, the original exhibits had been conceived and executed hastily in order to have them in the visitor center when it opened in 1976. In the estimation of Chief Ranger Robert J. Holden, a mainstay of the park's interpretive efforts during his more than fifteen-year tenure, the exhibits did not do "what they were supposed to do and what they do in parks that have superior exhibits." [28] As a result, they merited continual reassessment and reevaluation.

In Vincennes, redefinition of interpretive themes and modes intersected with the influential tourism industry, one of the mainstays of the local economy. Relations between the park and the cultural resources community had improved greatly in the aftermath of the construction of the visitor center. The increase in visitation to the park spilled over to the community's other historic sites. This created the kind of relationship that the Park Service coveted in the 1960s when it assumed responsibility for the memorial, but it also gave a new constituency reason to assess each and every move the Park Service made at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

In most situations, this posed little problem. Holden himself set the stage for the reevaluation of interpretive material. After his arrival in 1979, he made the improvement of the visitor center exhibits his priority. A frequent participant in training seminars at the Mather Training Center at Harpers Ferry, he made it a point to "campaign" for the upgrading of the park's interpretive program with members of the exhibit preparation team. [29]

Holden's efforts and his desire for a more comprehensive interpretation set the stage for a gradual reassessment of interpretation at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. At his instigation, efforts to redesign written interpretation at the park began in 1984. Text and a mock-up for a completely revised park brochure were submitted to the Harpers Ferry Center, along with a proposal for a new visitor center exhibits plan. In 1990, an interpretive planning team that included park staff, Regional Office Division of Interpretation personnel, and members of the Harpers Ferry Center staff met at the park. The group developed a plan for the rehabilitation of the exhibits in the visitor center, the interpretation within the memorial rotunda, and the park's wayside signs. This proposed overhaul was the first since the visitor center opened in 1976. [30]

In the end, Holden remarked, "I got everything that I wanted and that I stressed" for the rehabilitation. The new exhibits were designed to give visitors a much better sense of how the people of the times, Indian, European, and American, appeared. The exhibits had a combination of text and drawings as well as maps and artifacts. This would answer most of the questions that occurred to the average visitor and might inspire some visitors to ask more. In 1993, Holden expressed confidence that the new exhibits would be superior to the long-essential film in communicating the park's themes to its audience. [31]

By the early 1990s, the plan was in the process of being implemented. The original exhibits will be replaced, and the new ones constructed to tell a story that will be both chronological in character and that, in Holden's words, "makes sense as a person enters the [visitor center]

building." The exhibits will detail the lives of the Indians, the French, the British, and the Americans. Also highlighted will be Clark's march, and if space allows, the territorial period and the War of 1812. This broader conception will allow the park to interpret not only Clark and his expedition, but also the broader themes of the expansion of the American Republic into the Old Northwest. All of these themes were part of the organic legislation for the park. [32] Interpretation had come a considerable distance from the days when local visitors discouraged Robert Lagemann from telling Clark's story, instead requesting the story of construction of the memorial and the grounds.

With the rehabilitation of the exhibits, only one additional feature of the interpretation program will require updating: the film. Since its debut in 1978, *A Few Men Well Conducted* had been a mainstay at the park. But as part of a comprehensive interpretive program, Holden envisioned a new film. The existing film was outstanding and had served well. Holden admitted that it would "not be easy to come up with a much greater film as it will be to come up with tremendously greater exhibits." But *A Few Men Well Conducted* slighted the role which Indians played in shaping the course of the Revolutionary War as well as their participation in events throughout the Old Northwest Territory during the war's aftermath. Holden believed that the history of native peoples was essential to a full-fledged, first-rate program that conveyed the breadth and depth of the region and its past. Although he expected to retire before its completion, Holden believed this feature would complete the interpretation at the park. [33]

This kind of broad-based interpretation was what the Park Service aspired to achieve in places such as George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. With its evident patriotic importance and ties to the major national historical themes, the park required only the investment of agency energy and resources to affirm its importance. At many post-1960s park areas there was a need to demonstrate a level of significance appropriate to national park system status. At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, that significance was clear. The problem became devising an interpretive scheme that reflected the themes the Park Service sought to convey, while at the same time overcoming the lack of material culture and historic remnants associated with the 1770s. Splendid in its grandeur and replete with murals depicting the saga of Clark and his men, the rotunda still was a product of the twentieth century. As such, it reflected a modern view of the eighteenth century. As a result, while it attracted visitors to the park, it also presented interpretive difficulties.

The difference between the rotunda and the Clark story compelled an exceptional and ongoing level of interpretation at the park. In essence, park staff had to educate the local public as well as visitors about its view of what was important at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. This turned interpretation into a part of community relations for the park. Vincennes remained a history-conscious community with a cultural and economic investment in its past. As a result, the Park Service carved out a role that took interpretation beyond the boundaries of the park and into a series of local and regional venues.

Robert J. Holden played an instrumental role in this process. Beginning in the early 1980s, Holden authored a biweekly column entitled "Muskets, Tomahawks, and Long Rifles," which was a regular feature of twelve area newspapers. This reached a public constituency far broader than those who came to the park, and although not every newspaper reader may have cared to read the column, it became another piece of evidence that demonstrated the importance of an ongoing and mutually beneficial relationship between the park and the community. [34]

He was also instrumental in developing a research library at the park. When Holden arrived, he found one metal bookcase in the superintendent's office that held the resource library for the park. Its seventy-five books represented the entire park collection. Using money at the

end of the fiscal year, Holden began to buy large numbers of books. Within five years, the park had between 600 and 700 volumes that addressed two main themes — the Revolutionary War era and the Trans-Appalachian frontier. This impressive library helps support the interpretive efforts of the park staff.

Holden also sought to bring more specialized constituencies into contact with the park. At his instigation, the first Annual George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier Conference was conducted in 1983. Holden frequently attended the conferences of professional historians and it seemed to him that the trans-Appalachian frontier had been neglected in comparison to the trans-Mississippi West. A few years before, at Lowell National Historical Park, the Park Service had begun a similar event to address questions concerning the history of industrialization. The events of the 1770s and the aftermath of the Revolutionary War throughout the Old Northwest merited greater scholarly scrutiny, Holden believed. With the immense significance of Clark's impact, no better location than Vincennes could be selected for a gathering of researchers specializing in the subject. In cooperation with Vincennes University, the park invited scholars to present their research. The conference became an annual event, spawning five volumes of selected papers from the conferences. Publication of the series was sponsored by Eastern National Park & Monument Association and the books were printed by Vincennes University. Holden remained the prime mover behind the conference for all of its first decade. Only by the mid-1990s, as Holden approached retirement, was the conference turned over to Vincennes University. [35]

The conferences were more important than they appeared to a lay audience. Although Holden never succeeded in attracting the broad local support he wanted, the gatherings served an important purpose for the agency and its history program. Park Service history and interpretation faced problems of professional legitimacy; agency historians often found it difficult to be taken seriously by other professional historians. This lack of peer group standing circumscribed the power of historians within the agency. They received minimal support from professional historical groups and Park Service historians often believed they had to demonstrate both their merit and their professionalism on a continuous basis to the rest of the historical world. The conferences fostered stronger ties between the park, agency historians, and others in the historical profession. Such a link had been a longstanding goal of the History Division. This was worthy of note within the agency; NPS journals such as the *Courier* and *In Touch* joined local and regional media in their coverage of the annual event. Other parks, such as the Lincoln Home National Historic Site, began their own conferences. [36]

Much of the conference's success, as well as the success of interpretation in general, was attributable to Robert J. Holden. A veteran of more than thirty years in the Park Service, Holden became one of the leading interpreters in the agency and most respected advocates of interpretation in the agency. During the 1980s alone, his accomplishments were many and varied. He gave technical assistance to the committee studying the feasibility of adding Fort Knox II (the old fort site a few miles upriver from Vincennes) to the park. He edited the five volumes of selected papers from the annual Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conferences. He conducted oral history interviews with both Robert Lagemann, and (with the assistance of Ranger Dennis Latta) with others involved in the park's history. Holden made a preliminary assessment to determine if the route taken by Clark and his men from Kaskaskia to Vincennes could qualify as a national historic trail. For his efforts, he was awarded a range of regional and national Park Service honors, including the 1987 national Appleman-Judd Award, regional Freeman Tilden awards in 1985 and 1988, and the 1991 Interpretation Sequoia award — all were important honors. [37]

Holden's brand of energy, resourcefulness, and innovation played an important role in the development of interpretation at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. A seasoned

professional, he was able to shape the features of the park into a broad-based assessment of the region's history. His emphasis upon accuracy and professional interpretation made a considerable difference at a park where only three decades before, a custodian who referred to himself as the conductor of the memorial would ring a bell upon receipt of an entrance fee. In that context, the achievements of the Park Service in interpretation were impressive.

In Chief Ranger Robert J. Holden's estimation in 1993, the interpretive program at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park quickly was becoming an "operation that I think we'll really be proud of." A new film, depicting the Clark expedition in its broadest context, would complete the necessary media. In addition, the staff had the training and experience to offer visitors the proper quantity and depth of interpretation for each individual. The living history program had matured; the interpretation in the rotunda offered the story of the murals, the statue, and the structure; and the visitor center housed the exhibits, the film, and the primary contact station. In Holden's words, upon completion of the exhibits and particularly after the debut of the new film, the interpretive program at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park will be "much enhanced." [38]

By the middle of the 1990s, interpretation at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park embodied a range of functions that reflected the complexity of the mandate of the Park Service. Interpretation required the telling of the story of George Rogers Clark and the memorial constructed to commemorate his march. That interpretation was to be presented with generally constant resources to an increasing number of people each year. This meant maintaining continuity even though public expectations changed, as historical interpretation offered a wider range of perspectives, and as the public itself knew less of the story. The presence throughout the 1980s and early 1990s of a committed and dedicated staff counteracted the problems of a public still geared to appreciate the architecture of the memorial and who appeared to have inherently less interest in the history of George Rogers Clark, his Big Knives, and the Old Northwest. As conditions within the agency change, personnel retire or move to other posts, and reorganizations have an impact upon where expertise can be found within and outside the agency, the responsibility for conveying to a changing public that story which was framed and articulated in the 1980s and 1990s will become more complex.

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GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Maintaining A Legacy

An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



CHAPTER 8:

The Park in a Local Context

The National Park system contains two distinct kinds of parks located in urban and semi-urban areas. One category, urban recreational parks designed to offer large numbers of people recreational opportunities, developed during the 1960s and 1970s under the leadership of National Park Service Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. Parks such as Cape Cod National Seashore and Point Reyes National Seashore were typical of early versions of this category; later and more comprehensively urban parks such as Golden Gate National Recreation Area have become characteristic of the genre. [1] These parks had been conceived and developed with the recreational use of a sizeable urban public as a goal. Their constituency was largely local and regional in character.

Other parks with more traditional Park Service themes were also located in urban areas. As the American population grew and more and more people coveted suburban and rural living, many parks acquired de facto urban characteristics. Places such as Bandelier National Monument, with its impressive archeological ruins and its proximity to the town of Los Alamos, New Mexico, developed dual functions. While catering to the national traveling public, they also served as city parks for the people of their locale. [2] Despite the organic legislation of such parks, which usually emphasized historic, archeological, natural, or cultural themes, park officials in such places had to adjust their management to account for the input of local constituencies as well as accommodate their needs.

George Rogers Clark National Historical Park embodied all of the characteristics of the latter category. Located within the city of Vincennes but established to commemorate the historic events that occurred there in 1779, the park embodied two additional distinct functions. An important entity in the regional economy, the park offered a centerpiece for tourism in Knox County. Located in the middle of downtown, the park had become an integral part of local public life. The combination of these functions created a park with a complicated mission.

At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, the Park Service had to fulfill the needs of the community, of visitors, and of the local economy as well as maintain Park Service standards, preserve the memorial structure and its environs, and interpret the park for the public. In this situation, Park Service officials operated within tight constraints that often pitted important objectives and equally significant constituencies against one another. Issues such as administration, local relations, and impingements on the character of the park all preceded the arrival of the Park Service and shaped not only management strategy but relations with the community as well.

In this, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park faced an atypical situation. At the majority of park areas, new development outside the park initiated conditions that affected the park in some manner. At the Vincennes park, most of these situations were inherited, predating the arrival of the agency and reflecting local culture and custom as well as

conditions that prevailed before 1966. In some cases, challenges to the integrity of the park reflected the aspirations of Vincennes' business or educational communities and their sense of the importance of the historical and cultural features of the town.

As a result, at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park ongoing local relationships dominated the management horizon. The Park Service presence functioned as a component of the cultural resources community, a mainstay of the local tourism industry, and a factor in area business. Agency decision-making had to account for the web of community mores, values, and expectations. This meant that the community served as both a source of solutions to the problems facing the park as well as a catalyst for those same issues. In this urban context, as in many others throughout the nation, the agency found itself with a difficult management mandate to follow.

By the time the Park Service arrived in 1967 to assume responsibility for the memorial, an entire range of management issues with long histories to which the agency presence was only an appendage existed. These issues addressed questions that dated from the inception of the idea of the memorial, focusing on land acquisition to support the historic *mise-en-scene*, protection of the park from natural elements such as the intermittent flooding of the Wabash River, and the local setting in which the park operated. At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, the Park Service faced a wholly formed situation upon its arrival; it had to operate within the constraints of preexisting conditions.

One issue that vexed park managers from the outset was the railroad spur that crossed the park between the memorial and the river, to the immediate west of the rotunda. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad maintained a track through the proposed park that, during the 1920s, served industries to the south. As early as the late 1920s, advocates of the memorial requested the removal of the track. On July 29, 1929, in the Cincinnati, Ohio, offices of the railroad, state and federal commission members and their supporters met with railroad officials to discuss moving its location. Representatives of the railroad "showed a sympathetic attitude" toward the project and expressed their willingness to help, but they could not commit to removal of the track. [3]

As in much of the early planning for the memorial, D. Frank Culbertson played an instrumental role in efforts to acquire the land under the railroad track. The meeting in 1929 was the result of nearly three years of his work. He first contacted the railroad at its Baltimore headquarters in 1926, but the plan for the memorial did not persuade the company. [4] Three years later, when Culbertson headed the delegation to the Cincinnati meeting, he expected success. Although he did not secure a firm promise, Culbertson and his supporters had reason to be optimistic.

The stock market crash of 1929 did much to dash that optimism. Like most other American businesses, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad suffered losses in conjunction with the economic downturn. Changing the location of their track, a seemingly minor expense before the decline in national economic fortunes, took on the appearance of an unnecessary outlay for a company strapped by adverse circumstances. The company remained sympathetic, but failed to fulfill what Culbertson had interpreted as a promise in 1929. [5]

By 1935, the economic conditions in the nation had changed, and a new opportunity to remove the railroad tracks appeared. The Central States Gas Company once operated an artificial gas plant south of the newly constructed memorial that supplied the city of Vincennes. It had been a major reason for constructing the railroad tracks. By 1935, the coke works had become obsolete, as the advent of natural gas as a fuel in the first decade of the twentieth century ended the demand for the inferior artificial gas. The company sold the property to the memorial commission in 1936. The demolition of the plant removed the

primary reason for maintaining the railroad spur. In 1935, negotiations with the railroad resulted in a promise from its president, Daniel Willard, to remove the tracks. [6]

By the middle of 1937, the process again had slowed. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had not yet fulfilled what Culbertson and the rest of the commission regarded as its promise to relinquish the track bed. Culbertson envisioned a boulevard beginning within the memorial grounds and following the track bed along the river north through town. This was an attractive proposition for the town, and it suggested the possibility of linking Grouseland, William Henry Harrison's home, with the memorial. But the plan depended on the actions of the railroad, and the Baltimore and Ohio did not seem predisposed to step aside. By the time the final mandate of the sesquicentennial commission expired in 1939, no further progress had been achieved. [7]

Local legend held that a transfer of the track to the memorial commission was stymied by an act of fate. According to an oft-repeated story, Culbertson had reached agreement with an unnamed vice-president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who promised to arrange the transfer and pay for landscaping to cover the scar from the removed rail bed. But before he could fulfill his promise the man died of a heart attack. His successor opposed the arrangement and either did not believe Culbertson when he explained the agreement to the new official or decided against its implementation. The railroad track through the park remained in service. [8]

The Indiana Department of Conservation did not pursue the removal of the railroad track with any evident vigor. The maintenance of the memorial building was an enormous task, and the state agency lacked the resources to stay abreast even of the seepage problem. Represented only by caretakers, the department did not have on-site personnel with the standing to negotiate for the track. From 1940 until the Park Service arrived more than one-quarter century later, the railroad remained a dormant issue.

The first Park Service officials to visit the park in conjunction with the transfer of administration recognized the importance of the acquisition of the railroad spur, but initial efforts at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park were directed at maintenance and interpretation. The first Master Plan noted the existence of the railroad spur, but did not set an aggressive acquisition strategy. During Lagemann's first years at the park, one train daily, pulled by a diesel engine and as many as eight freight cars, would make the trip through the park to the Vincennes Sand and Gravel Company pit located south of town. Although this constituted most of the rail traffic through the park, during the fall, when the wheat harvest peaked, Cargill Inc. used the track within the park as a siding for cars filled with grain. Sometimes the cars reached into the park so far that they were directly parallel with the rotunda. Although the cars generally remained on the siding for no more than one day, Lagemann and visiting Park Service officials regarded their presence as an intrusion. [9]

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Park Service made a series of inquiries about acquiring the track. Access to the gravel pit remained its sole active use, and NPS officials believed the gravel pit could be accommodated without using the park as a thoroughfare. In their view, the railroad cars parked on the grounds during harvest season could be transferred to another siding. During the middle of the 1970s, Lagemann conducted a study of alternative rail routes to the gravel pit. A recently abandoned New York Central Railroad track offered an option. This track could be connected to the Baltimore and Ohio track to create a loop that went to the northeast of the pit, away from the park, instead of through the park to the northwest. Although Park Service officials became extremely positive about the plan, it went no further than Lagemann's report. [10]

During 1980, in conjunction with efforts to create a memorial mall that linked the park with

Grouseland, recommendations to remove the railroad line surfaced again. Since its arrival in Vincennes, the Park Service had an interest in the mall concept. In 1965, a planning team that visited the park to assess its feasibility as a national park system unit noted that a "combined area" that included the memorial and other historic places in the community could be established by extending the memorial mall. The 1980 Vincennes Memorial Mall sprang from that idea, for agency officials recognized that access to Grouseland and other historic places in the community enhanced the significance of the national park. The proposal emanated from the cooperation between the community and the Park Service in the heady atmosphere that followed the construction of the visitor center. City officials took the lead. As early as October 1976, Park Service officials met with local leaders to explore the possibility of creating a mall, but the role of the Park Service in the development was limited to planning assistance. [11] By the end of 1978, a full-scale planning process undertaken by the Park Service to provide the city with a mall, developed in accordance with NPS standards and eventually to be added to the park, was in progress. Yet the Park Service remained subject to strictures. As late as October 1979, while the Park Service prepared a study of the concept, Regional Director J. L. Dunning carefully pointed out that without Congressional authorization, the Park Service could not contribute funds to the effort, even though the agency recognized many advantages of the mall proposal. "The Park Service supports your efforts in seeing that the mall becomes a reality," Dunning informed Dr. Isaac K. Beckes, president of Vincennes University, located at the north end of the proposed mall, but even though the Park Service would handle the planning, the impetus for the project would have to come from the university or the community. [12]

Aspects of the plan posed difficulties for some of the major industries in Vincennes. Vincennes Steel Corporation, which was located several blocks north of the proposed mall area, depended upon the railroad to supply it with raw material and carry products to its customers. As the proposal developed, Andrew Day, executive officer of the company, came to Lagemann to express his concerns. If the plant could not receive rail service, its relocation would cost \$25,000,000. Lagemann sympathized, expressed Day's worries to the regional director, and sought to mitigate the impact in the planning process. [13] Such concerns made planning the mall an intricate process.

The plan that the Park Service presented to the public on July 29, 1980, was impressive. The proposed park included all of the major historical features in Vincennes, from St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church to the Old French House, the Indiana Territory Capitol, and a proposed reconstruction of Jefferson Academy, the forerunner of Vincennes University, which the university wanted to use to interpret early education throughout the Indiana Territory. [14] The plan covered the length of the riverfront from the existing park to Grouseland, bringing in other features by bending away from the river. With many interpretive facilities and programs, a "greenscape suitable for walking or learning," the proposed mall served both educational and recreational functions. It would be a fulcrum for the downtown, possibly preventing the kind of urban decay that had become common among small cities. As it was proposed, the memorial mall would more than fulfill D. Frank Culbertson's fifty-year-old dream of a "boulevard."

But the mall project clearly hinged upon the removal of the track through the entire section. Failure to eliminate railroad traffic "will require an entirely new plan," the planning report attested, "or more likely no plan at all." [15] No matter what Park Service, Vincennes University, or city officials planned, the key to the project was the resolution of the situation with the railroad track. Without its removal, the development of the mall could not proceed.

The proposal rerouted much of the rail traffic through downtown Vincennes. Among the proposed changes was the elimination of the railroad track that passed through the park on the way to the gravel pit. Removal of the track assured that the southern portion of the proposed

mall, the existing national historical park, would be free of rail traffic, but rail access to the Vincennes Steel Corporation would be curtailed. The proposal relocated rail service so that rather than running the length of the proposed mall, it crossed the park in one location, just south of Grouseland and the Indiana Territory Capitol, and tied directly into the railroad bridge across the Wabash River. The proposal required that Vincennes University offer land for the new rail connection. In addition, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad line stopped short of the Vincennes Sand and Gravel Company. In the plan, this stretch of track would be extended to provide service to the gravel pit. [16]

With the help of local leaders, the Park Service had crafted a bold step to enhance George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. The mall concept solved many of the problems the agency faced at the park. It gave the Park Service a form of supervisory control over the interpretive scheme of the entire historic resources community of Vincennes, ended the vexing dilemma of the railroad in-holding, and compelled the local owners of important cultural resources into some kind of cooperative arrangement with the Park Service. For the city, the plan offered an outstanding supplement to the existing park, a way to attract visitation from far and near, and finally, creation of a park worthy of the national significance of the story of Fort Sackville's capture and the settling of the Old Northwest. It seemed as if the original ideas for the Clark memorial finally would be fulfilled.

But without acquisition of the north-south railroad track through the existing park and the proposed mall area, the project could not proceed. Negotiations for the track were ongoing, but in the early 1980s, nothing was accomplished. During the Reagan administration, the Department of the Interior espoused different goals than had its predecessors. Under an edict from Secretary of the Interior James Watt, whose priority for the park system was upgrading of existing facilities and capital development, the Park Service found itself unable to acquire new park lands even when Congress allocated funds for such transactions. [17] Although the Vincennes Memorial Mall was as much a local project as one developed by the Park Service, other Reagan-era cuts in support to communities, such as the gradual elimination of the Community Block Development Grant (CBDG) program that many communities used to refurbish blighted and declining areas, doomed the chances of outside funding. The mall proposal fizzled.

Late in the decade, another effort to make the mall concept work gathered momentum. It began in 1987, when the city put forward the idea to convert the west end of Main Street, adjacent to the north end of the park, into a plaza that would overlook the river. It was to include park-like amenities such as a band shell and walkways, designed to create a recreational focus for the downtown area. But other city projects received higher priority, and by 1989, this plan faded. [18]

As the effort to extend the park along the riverfront faded, another project that aimed at expanding park boundaries gained momentum. Fort Knox II, three miles from town, had been the location of the Vincennes garrison between 1803 and 1813. Although little remained of the fort, the Indiana Historical Society acquired the property and sought to evaluate its options. The society nominated the site to the National Register of Historic Places in 1979, but it was rejected. Throughout the 1980s, the historical society sought to find a responsible entity to manage the fort site. Toward the end of the decade, they fixed their attention on the Park Service. Members of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park staff had participated in the Fort Knox II committee of the historical society, and in the view of state officials, the Park Service seemed a solid candidate to include the fort in an expanded George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. [19]

For the Park Service, the potential addition of the fort site presented a significant public relations problem. As early as 1960, Park Service historians decided that the fort had state,

not national significance. The review of the national register nomination in 1979 reaffirmed that decision. Influential members of the community regarded the fort as worthy of inclusion, and the Indiana Historical Society exerted its influence. Three years later, on March 3, 1982, the fort was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The park received \$40,000 for a new area study of Fort Knox II in 1989 through the offices of senators Richard Lugar and J. Danforth Quayle. The Park Service previously had made clear that it did not want the fort, but in Vincennes, with the superintendent and the chief of Interpretation and Resources Management sitting on the Fort Knox II committee, the park could not express vehement opposition. Historical significance, local desire, and political clout were on a collision course. [20]

The new area study supported the existing NPS view that Fort Knox II had only state significance and did not merit inclusion in the national park system. The team, headed by Superintendent Steven Kesselman of Herbert Hoover National Historic Site and including Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial Superintendent Norman Hellmers and Superintendent Terry M. DiMattio, held a public meeting in Vincennes on January 25, 1989, to introduce the project, and another on May 3 to discuss alternatives. The team determined that even with new information derived from recent archeological endeavors, the fort lacked national significance. [21]

Local supporters sought to apply pressure through the Indiana congressional delegation in Washington, D.C. Jeffrey Kolb, a partner in the Vincennes law firm of Emison, Doolittle, and Kolb, initiated a campaign to "turn up the heat," and although the Park Service clearly defined its objections, political maneuvering posed a threat to the standards of the agency. [22] This age-old issue reflected the dual position of the Park Service as a political entity responsive to pressure and a professional one determined to uphold its definitions of significance.

Both DiMattio and his successor, Superintendent James Holcomb, who arrived in Vincennes in August 1990, worked to keep the Fort Knox II issue in the realm of the professional instead of the political. Since the historical record showed that little of national significance occurred at the Fort Knox II site, DiMattio suggested that it would simply provide ammunition to those who "pursue[d] a political solution to what should be a professional decision" to indicate that the site might have potential archeological significance. Showing strong fidelity to agency standards, Holcomb assessed the situation and agreed with the dominant NPS viewpoint. The Park Service, Holcomb's words, "politely bowed out." The Indiana Department of Natural Resources later expressed interest in administering the fort, and an agreement was finalized. The state took over the site on September 18, 1994. [23]

In 1990, another effort to develop the riverfront emanated from the Vincennes Area Chamber of Commerce. Utilizing its political influence, the chamber brought a proposal to U.S. Senator Dan Coats to turn eight-tenths of a mile of riverfront land into a pedestrian walkway and greenbelt that would link the Vincennes University complex and Grouseland to the national historical park. The Chamber of Commerce sought Community Focus Fund support for the project, and in its list of cooperating entities included the National Park Service, along with the city of Vincennes and the Indiana State Museum Commission. [24]

From the Park Service perspective, the new idea had problems. It failed to resolve the rail bed issue or add other historic places to the park. Nor did it offer a mall as large and impressive as the one the 1980 plan contemplated; in essence, the Chamber asked the Park Service to assume responsibility for an extended footpath. After viewing the area with Chamber of Commerce Executive Director Belle Kasting, Superintendent James Holcomb reported to Regional Director Don Castleberry that he did not believe the area contained national significance. [25]

The proposal continued to attract attention. In February 1992, the Vincennes Board of Public Works and Safety voted to donate the greenbelt lands to the Park Service, and chamber officials pressed the state congressional delegation for support. The proposal also sparked the interest of the local press, with the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial* publishing an editorial that supported the donation of the land and encouraged "careful, and favorable, consideration" of the idea by the Park Service. [26]

At the behest of the Chamber of Commerce, the Indiana congressional delegation began to support the idea. Between February and June of 1992, the city of Vincennes began to improve the area slated to be the greenbelt, a development that met with the approval of James Holcomb. In June 1992, Senator Coats introduced a bill for a study of the proposal, another development that met with the approval of the Park Service. But local residents saw the study as an expensive distraction, and Holcomb was forced to defend the idea in a letter to the editor of the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*. "The greatest threats to our national parks . . . [are] the frequent proposals of congressmen to create national parks in home districts which are of state and local significance and [do not include] the National Park Service's study program in the proposal process," Holcomb wrote. "I would like to see the *Sun-Commercial* join the team [of cultural resources supporters] to promote and encourage the development of historic Vincennes. Holcomb had become a supporter of the greenbelt project, but that support was predicated upon the city embracing a dominant role in development. [27]

In 1994, Superintendent Holcomb believed the proposal for the greenbelt was at its strongest. City officials changed their tactics; prior to 1992, they spent their time trying to arrange for donation of the land for the greenbelt to the federal government. Beginning in 1992, the emphasis shifted, and the city began to develop the land on its own. Parts of the paved area, including the defunct Culbertson Boulevard, were prepared to be planted with grass, and a general cleanup of the area was under way. "They're taking steps to improve it themselves," Holcomb noted in 1993. [28]

Holcomb perceived the efforts of the city as an advantage if a federal study indicated that the takeover was a valid concept. "The city will be in a stronger position," Holcomb suggested, for having "demonstrated that they are willing to use their own resources." In 1994, the study bill, which had died at the end of the previous congressional session, was expected to be reintroduced. [29]

The issue of the riverfront land revealed the degree to which the development of Vincennes had become a function of relationships. The attitudes of the 1960s long since had passed; in the competitive climate of the 1990s, when most of America was expected to do more with less, none of the local entities alone had sufficient influence to achieve desired goals. Instead local, state, and federal entities had to work together. This situation forced the acknowledgment of a kind of interdependence that reflected the realities of the time. With coinciding objectives, the various groups could achieve much; without mutual goals, their chances of success diminished.

In fact, that interdependence had historic roots. Since the construction of the memorial, its keepers — sesquicentennial commission, state agency, and National Park Service — all had been part of the community. All were dependent upon the same systems. Most notable of these systems was the array of levees and floodwalls that kept the Wabash River from spilling over its banks during floods and inundating downtown and all its historic and modern places. North of the Lincoln Memorial Bridge was 286 feet of the Vincennes floodwall; within the park the memorial floodwall offered protection; and to the south of the park began the Brevoort Levee. [30]

The intricate system of levees and floodwalls that protected the park and downtown dated

from the 1930s. In January 1930, a flood breached the existing levee, first constructed in 1916, and sent water cascading into the town. This reminded the planners of the memorial of the need for flood protection. The floodwall within the park was built as part of the original memorial project. It linked to the existing local levee system, stretching 1,000 feet in length. The twenty-three-foot-high wall was both decorative and functional, built with reinforced concrete and designed to blend in with the memorial structure. Under the auspices of the Flood Control Act of 1936, the levee repaired after the 1930 flood was replaced with a new one reaching higher than 31.2 feet above the river channel. This earthen development, called the Brevoort Levee, was the largest project heretofore undertaken by the Louisville District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. At its completion, it stretched more than forty miles in length. [31]

By the time the Park Service arrived in Vincennes, maintenance of the floodwall was its major obligation concerning flood prevention. The Brevoort Levee and the floodwall remained under the jurisdiction of the Corps of Engineers, with the Park Service assuming responsibility for the portion of the 1,000-foot floodwall above the level of the sidewalk. Once each year, two Corps engineers would inspect the entire wall for flood damage from the preceding year. For the length of Lagemann's tenure, the wall remained solid, requiring only the occasional repair of fissures near its top. Lagemann did discover erosion between the bank of the river and the floodwall. When he arrived in 1967, he noticed a row of cottonwood trees roughly halfway between the wall and the riverbank; by the middle of the 1970s, the roots of the trees were exposed, and if the erosion was allowed to continue, in a matter of years, the floodwall itself would become the riverbank. Although several solutions such as rip-rapping the bank were suggested, the only action taken was to insist that the Illinois and Indiana highway departments, which maintained the Lincoln Memorial Bridge, immediately remove logjams that piled up during floods. This would help regulate the flow of the river. [32]

Contract research commissioned during the 1980s suggested that the floodwall remained viable, although erosion posed an increasing threat. A 1989 study by Patrick Engineering Inc., of Glen Ellyn, Illinois, affirmed that the wall was essentially intact and suggested that as long as its underdrain system, which the company believed to be functional, continued to work, the floodwall would provide an effective barrier against the river. Although isolated non-load bearing locations required some maintenance, the study said, with only minor attention the floodwall could continue to withstand annual flooding. Erosion presented a more formidable problem. The riverbank was eroding at the rate of six inches to one foot each year, meaning that in as little as twenty years, the riverbank might disappear and the river would abut the floodwall. The company recommended the application of Tri-Lock concrete blocks over a woven monofilament filter fabric. These blocks would be placed along the base of the floodwall at a projected cost in the range of \$150,000. [33]

From the perspective of the Park Service, the Tri-Lock proved an inappropriate solution. Late in 1989, DiMattio learned that because of the inclusion of the Wabash River in the Nationwide Rivers Inventory, the use of structural methods to control erosion was less desirable than natural methods such as the planting of vegetation. Clearly erosion remained a major problem; the answer to the combination of statute and policy governing management was less clear. [34]

The floodwall faced a major test in January 1991, when the Wabash River flooded at Vincennes. After an extended period of heavy rain, on December 31, 1990, the National Weather Service forecasted a twenty-seven-foot crest to the flood that would peak in Vincennes on January 7, 1991. According to park figures, this meant the water would not reach the top of the floodwall, but would come within three feet of it. The entire community pitched in with consistent sandbagging along the river. As part of the response, the Park

Service sandbagged the wall at the top of the ramp leading to the river bottom. The water rose quickly, reaching 22.7 feet by 4 P.M. on January 2, 24.6 feet by the same time the next day, and 25.5 feet by 9 A.M. on January 5. At that time, water had come into the park at the north end where a chain link fence was the only protection. The sandbags at the top of the ramp remained above water, but the rest of the ramp was inundated. [35]

The subsequent seventy-two hours were crucial. Between January 4 and January 6, the river continued to rise, first to 25.8 feet at 4 P.M. on the first day and later to 26.4 feet by 9 A.M. on January 5. Although the floodwall and the sandbags held, if the water continued to rise, wholesale flooding became a possibility. The water reached to within three feet of the top of the sandbags, the walkway in the park north of the bridge was under water, and water seeped through the wall south of the Vigo statue. The water continued to hold at 26.4 feet throughout January 5 and January 6. If it did not rise any higher, the park would not sustain major damage. [36]

By January 7, the crisis ended and the Park Service could assess the impact of the flood. The floodwaters had begun to recede, falling to 25.8 feet by 9 A.M. January 7 and continuing to diminish for subsequent weeks. By January 18, the water had fallen to 17 feet, only three feet above flood stage. Within the park, the damage was negligible. Although water reached within thirty inches of the top of the floodwall, no buildings or basements flooded, and the flooding of sidewalks that did occur was inconsequential. In some places, small amounts of water leaked through cracks in the upper floodwall and created "heavy rain-like deposits" along the sidewalks. Local residents referred to the flood as "bad but not that unusual," and park staff could take pride in knowing that the combination of the facilities, their efforts, and those of the community had minimized potential damage from the flood. [37]

The flood also accentuated the importance of widespread cooperation in Vincennes. It reflected another of the many situations in which different entities within the community working together gave everyone greater capability. When Superintendent James Holcomb remarked that "the park possesses the resources along with community support to contend with similar flooding conditions," he was only restating the most prominent of the general principles of life in Vincennes. [38] At George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, cooperation with the community was the key to success in any kind of local endeavor.

The roots of this cooperation were imbedded in the legislation proclaiming the park. From its inception, staff members at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park were to serve as advisors and supporters of the cultural resources community in Vincennes. The Park Service expected to offer its expertise to the community. Robert Lagemann, who exhibited considerable skill in relations with the various entities in town, served in the foreground of this effort, but despite his consistent efforts at a range of activities, early relationships between the local cultural resources community and the park often were cool.

Part of this stemmed from the obvious resentment that a well-funded, professional management agency staffed with trained specialists could generate, but it also resulted from a lack of understanding of the mission of the Park Service in Vincennes. The authorizing legislation for the park allowed it to offer technical assistance to local cultural resources groups, but gave it no funds for development of resources outside of park boundaries. In a number of instances, local groups felt a proprietary sort of control over their historic sites; they wanted to run them as they saw fit and would have liked to have Park Service resources at their disposal. When the Park Service could not deliver what they wanted, these organizations questioned the efficacy of the federal presence. In many ways, the legislative basis for the relationship created expectations that could not be sustained.

Despite the inherent limitations in the mandate of the Park Service, George Rogers Clark

National Historical Park served as an important catalyst for economic development in Vincennes. National park areas were national attractions, differentiated from the sometimes interesting, often bizarre collection of local and state attractions that came to dot American highways. In the 1960s and 1970s, visitors became discriminating out of necessity; only so many could stop at the world's largest ball of twine without wondering why they bothered. The brown signs that indicated national park areas were a form of quality control for the traveling public. The presence of the Park Service assured levels of service, and in general, a caliber of attraction worthy of their attention. Nor did visitors have to worry about excessive prices in the controlled environment of national park areas.

After the arrival of the Park Service, visitation numbers grew in Vincennes. While the memorial attracted about 25,000 people in the peak years of state administration, by the opening of the visitor center in 1976, the total reached nearly 130,000. Many of these were from outside of Vincennes and nearly all spent at least some money in the town. In comparison to the minimal development that resulted from state management, the presence of the national park area initiated an economic boomlet.

The Park Service enhanced the local sense of its importance as its members participated in a range of local organizations, civic groups, and cultural resource activities. Lagemann initiated the tradition in Vincennes, and successive park superintendents continued it. In 1981, Superintendent Roy J. Beasley, Jr., was elected a director of the Vincennes Rotary Club and was named to the Vincennes University Advisory Board on Historic Preservation, while Ranger Dennis Latta served as vice president of the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society. Chief of Interpretation Robert J. Holden was already a local fixture as a result of his biweekly "Muskets, Tomahawks, and Long Rifles" column, carried by twelve regional newspapers. In 1980 and 1981, Holden also assisted the Fort Knox II Committee of the Indiana Historical Society with its efforts to open the fort to the public. In 1984, Superintendent Johnny D. Neal engaged in similar local activities; he consulted with the Knox County Chamber of Commerce and representatives of other historic places in Vincennes about a new historic sites brochure. He also met with a committee to plan the first day of issue activities for the Francis Vigo postage stamp in 1986. [39] Such participation became a hallmark of park staff in Vincennes.

When Superintendent James Holcomb arrived in 1990, the tradition was already established, but he carried it to a new level. "A major part of park management is community relations," Holcomb wrote in his first annual report, and his actions reflected that commitment. In 1990, Park Service involvement in the community included participation in the Kiwanis Club, the Old Northwest Corporation, the Spirit of Vincennes Rendezvous, Four Rivers Tourism Association, Historic Southern Indiana, the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, the Vincennes Area Chamber of Commerce, and the Indiana Department of Natural Resources State Conservation and Outdoor Recreation Plan Advisory Committee. [40] The breadth of staff involvement reflected the importance of strong ties with the local community in Vincennes.

The ties in the community were useful in fending off proposals for nearby unwanted land uses. In 1981, the American National Bank, which had a facility located immediately adjacent to the park on the north side of Vigo Street, sought to secure a right-of-way across the park for their drive-in facilities there. This was the third such effort by the bank since 1964, but the most potent because the request came to the park through the office of Representative Joel Deckard, U.S. congressman from the 8th District. The Park Service refused the request, but in 1982, the bank tried again. A land exchange was proposed, but the bank could not secure the area that the Park Service wanted and the deal failed. In January 1984, Robert J. Holden, in his capacity as acting superintendent, spent the month using his contacts to fend off an attempt to locate a city sanitation department and trash transfer station

within one-quarter mile of the park boundary. Utilizing the media, the city council, individuals, and organizations, he was able to sway enough of the public to assure the defeat of the measure in the city council meeting of January 23, 1984 over the objections of the mayor of Vincennes. [41] In situations such as these, NPS ties helped further the mission of the park and preserve its physical integrity.

The kind of activities in which park staff engaged served multiple functions. In these organizations, park officials could offer information and build friendships and alliances that later served to defend the park against the projection of local desires and goals onto NPS programs and projects. It also established a presence for the agency in the minds of civic-minded local residents. Part altruism, recreation, and "horse sense," local involvement became a cornerstone of park activity at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

These ties also helped develop the oldest and least successful of Park Service objectives in Vincennes, the cooperative agreements program. The park had originally been developed with the idea that cooperative agreements with entities such as St. Xavier Catholic Church, Grouseland, Vincennes University, which administered the Indiana Territory Capitol and the Stout Print Shop, the Old State Bank, and other local historical properties would further the purposes of the agency, the cultural resources community, and the local economy.

During the first twenty years in Vincennes, the program made little headway. Although the founding legislation of the park had been modeled after that of Nez Perce National Historical Park, where similar conditions existed, local conditions in Vincennes were not conducive to cooperative agreements. Even with the cooperation of Vincennes University and its president, Dr. Isaac K. Beckes, who as early as 1969 advocated having the Park Service interpret the Indiana Territory Capitol and the reconstructed printing press, other local groups were not inclined to cede even technical functions to the Park Service. [42]

These initial efforts were thwarted by feelings in town that the Park Service was an organization of interlopers who had come to Vincennes to take control of its historic places. The chilly relations with the DAR at Grouseland were emblematic of the problem, and the suspicion ran so deep that only the passage of time offered resolution. For more than twenty years, NPS officials from Albert W. Banton to Johnny Neal built bridges with the community that established respect and trust. Finally in 1988, the Park Service reached its first memorandums of understanding with local entities. The agency and St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church agreed to allow the church to maintain a floodlight on park property to illuminate the church steeple. Also during 1988, Vincennes and Park Service officials signed a memorandum of understanding for a welcome sign located next to Vigo Street. In addition, the park and the local police department reached a memorandum of understanding that defined the law enforcement responsibilities of both within park boundaries. These were narrowly defined agreements, small in scale, that generally affirmed existing practice or allowed uses of park land. They were not what park planners envisioned in 1967, but they were a beginning. [43]

During 1988 and 1989, DiMattio began an initiative to develop the kind of cooperative agreements called for in the enabling legislation. He contacted other parks with similar arrangements, researched the history of earlier park efforts to initiate cooperative agreements, and prepared the way for new attempts. In March 1989, he organized a committee of historic site administrators and managers in Vincennes. Meeting quarterly, the group, which included managers from Grouseland, the Old French House, the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, the Indiana Territory State Historic Site, Fort Knox II, the Old State Bank State Historic Site, and the park, shared knowledge and expertise in interpretation, resource preservation and maintenance, and planning and development. The group also coordinated signage for visitors to the community and revised the historic guidebook for the city, worked to advance historic

preservation and cultural resources management, and addressed questions of staff training. [44] It was a significant step toward a new level of cooperation throughout the cultural resources community.

DiMattio also took the initiative with the Indiana Department of Natural Resources. Approaching Dr. Lee S. Theisen, director of the Division of Museums and Historic Sites for the department, DiMattio sought an agreement concerning the territorial capitol and the print shop. DiMattio; Theisen; August "Augie" Schultheis, the director of historic preservation at Vincennes University and the curator of the capitol and the print shop; William Hopper, president of the Vincennes City Council; Richard Henderson, executive director of the Vincennes Area Chamber of Commerce; and Richard Day, a noteworthy local historian and president of the Old Northwest Corporation, met to discuss the advantages of cooperative agreements. DiMattio explained that at other parks, such as San Antonio Missions National Historical Park and Lowell National Historical Park, cooperative arrangements had become "springboards for economic development and the promotion of tourism." Theisen, Henderson, and Hopper were intrigued by the idea. [45]

DiMattio continued to pursue cooperative arrangements with the state. He contacted Theisen and his successor, Richard Gantz, who had become acting director of the Division of Museums and Historic Sites. On October 5, 1989, DiMattio met with Schultheis, Gantz, and Cary Floyd, director of Historic Sites under Gantz. After a discussion in which Floyd and Gantz told DiMattio that they did not envision any opposition to a cooperative agreement, the superintendent volunteered to write a draft agreement that would include the territorial capitol in the park and provide for greater cooperation between the Park Service and the Department of Natural Resources. [46]

The rapid move toward cooperation surprised DiMattio, but it stemmed from the perennial problem of state historic sites: money. DiMattio recognized that some of the interest in cooperation resulted from the omission of funding for historic sites in the state budget; at an earlier meeting, he anticipated that the issue would arise. In the October meeting, Gantz "half jokingly" asked if the Park Service would assume total administration of the capitol. DiMattio responded that he doubted that possibility. Later Gantz suggested an arrangement in which his department provided the funds and the Park Service provided administration. From DiMattio's point of view, this was a stronger possibility, but for the moment, Park Service assistance was likely to be limited to technical matters. [47]

The move to create cooperative agreements continued to gather momentum. DiMattio pursued a similar arrangement with St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, and late in 1990, the prospect of securing some sort of working relationship for the administration of the historic places in Vincennes seemed better than ever before. DiMattio offered a draft agreement to the state early in 1990 and continued his discussions with the church. Later in the year, he added Grouseland to the list of interested parties, but this remained the most complicated of the potential arrangements. By the time DiMattio departed for his new post at Cabrillo National Monument in California in May 1990, he had developed a strong beginning for cooperative agreements in Vincennes. [48]

But securing permanent agreements became more difficult than it appeared in 1990. State officials indicated that they would like to begin the implementation of the agreement covering the territorial capitol and the print shop in 1991, when a new biennial budget cycle began. By late 1992, the draft agreement was still being reviewed. Nor had significant progress been made with either the church or Grouseland. Recognizing that the Park Service had little to gain and much to lose by pushing hard for the agreements, Superintendent James Holcomb determined that the park was "in no hurry to push this process, and will, when and if the opportunity presents itself, establish such agreements." [49]

The irony of the situation stemmed from the question of funding. As the Park Service was compelled to do more with less, it lost the ability to seemingly and magically conjure up resources to close deals for coveted properties. At the same time, state and local historic sites suffered great financial need and turned to the Park Service for support. In the 1960s, when the agency had access to resources to commit to solve local management problems, local entities often sought to maintain their autonomy; when such places needed the resources, the Park Service no longer had them to give.

Yet the cooperative agreements were more evidence of the interdependence of the situation in Vincennes. In this town in southern Indiana, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park was an important part of the local community. Its decisions were affected by the needs of the community as well as by the mandate of the Park Service. In general, the demands on the park were complimentary rather than competitive; by fulfilling agency mandates, the park helped support Vincennes and its people responded. Yet as was the case in many urban park areas, this arrangement sometimes required park managers to engage in a balancing act. Local cooperation, judicious decision-making at the park and the ability to convey its importance to the regional office have always been and will remain prerequisites for success at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

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Maintaining A Legacy

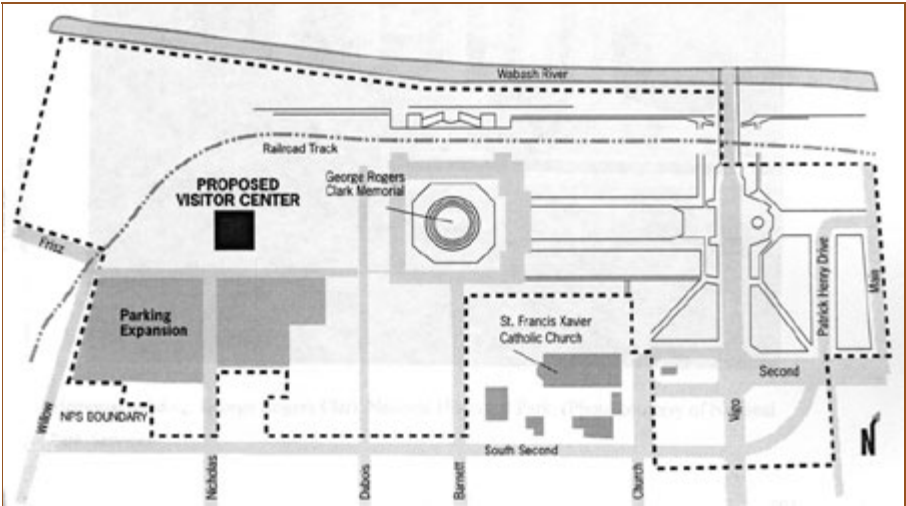
An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



APPENDIX A: Map, George Rogers Clark National Park



Present-day George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



Proposed additions (early 1970s) George Rogers Clark NHP

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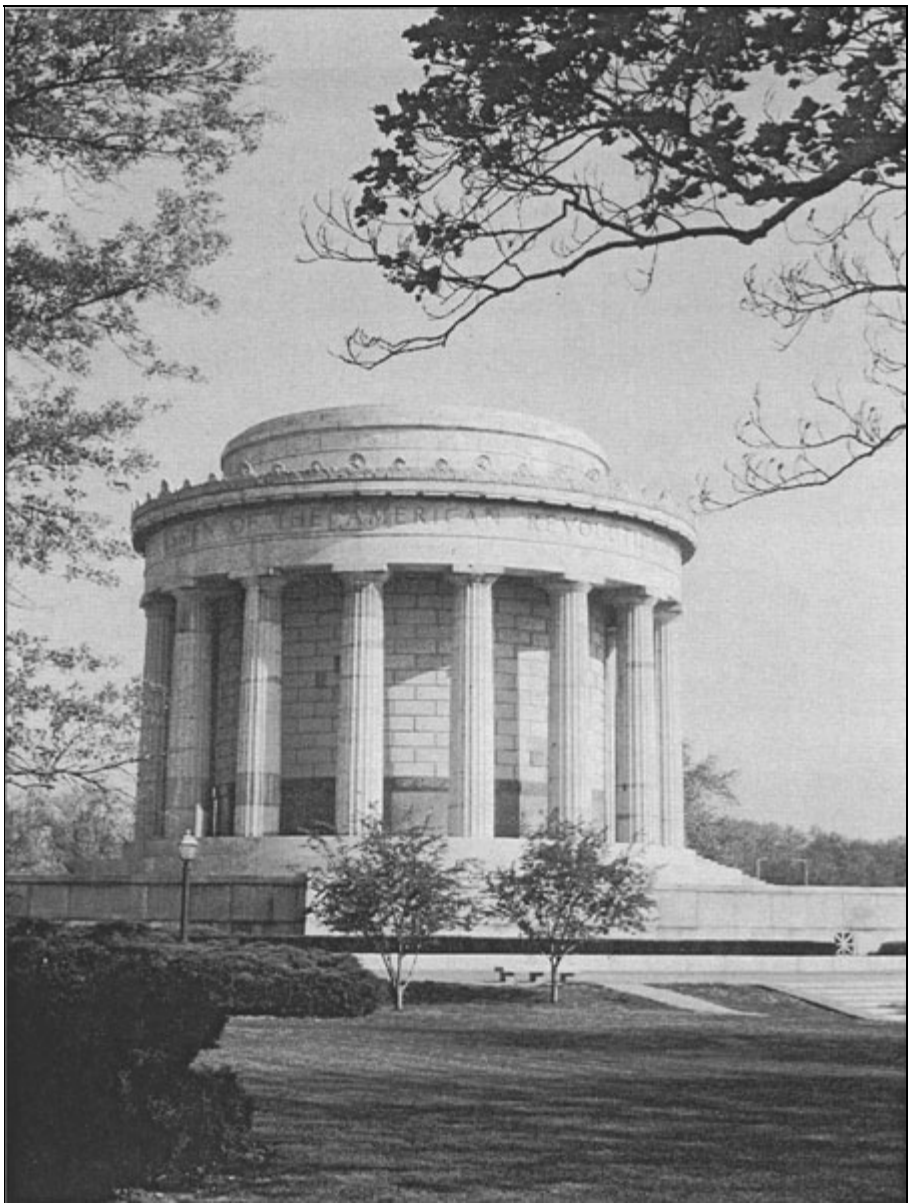
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

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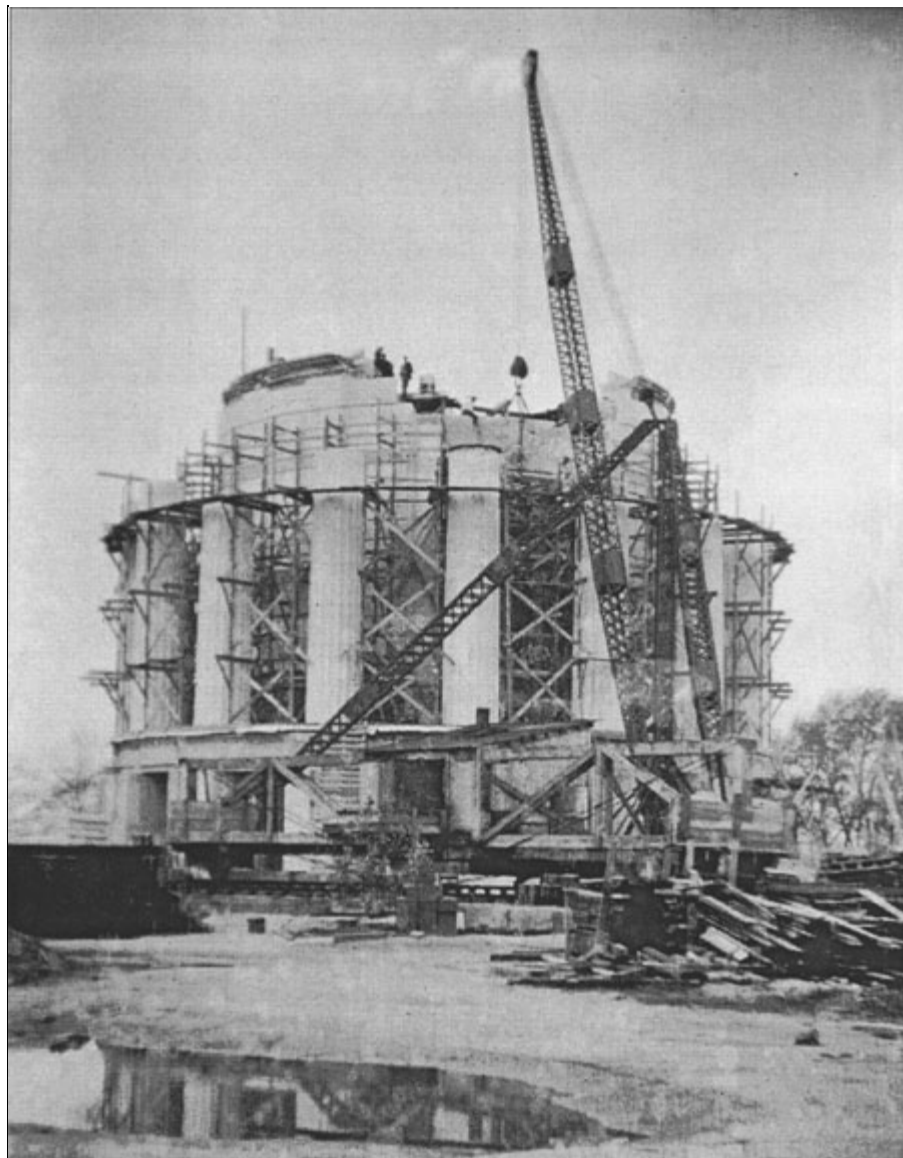
An Administrative History of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park



APPENDIX B: Photographs



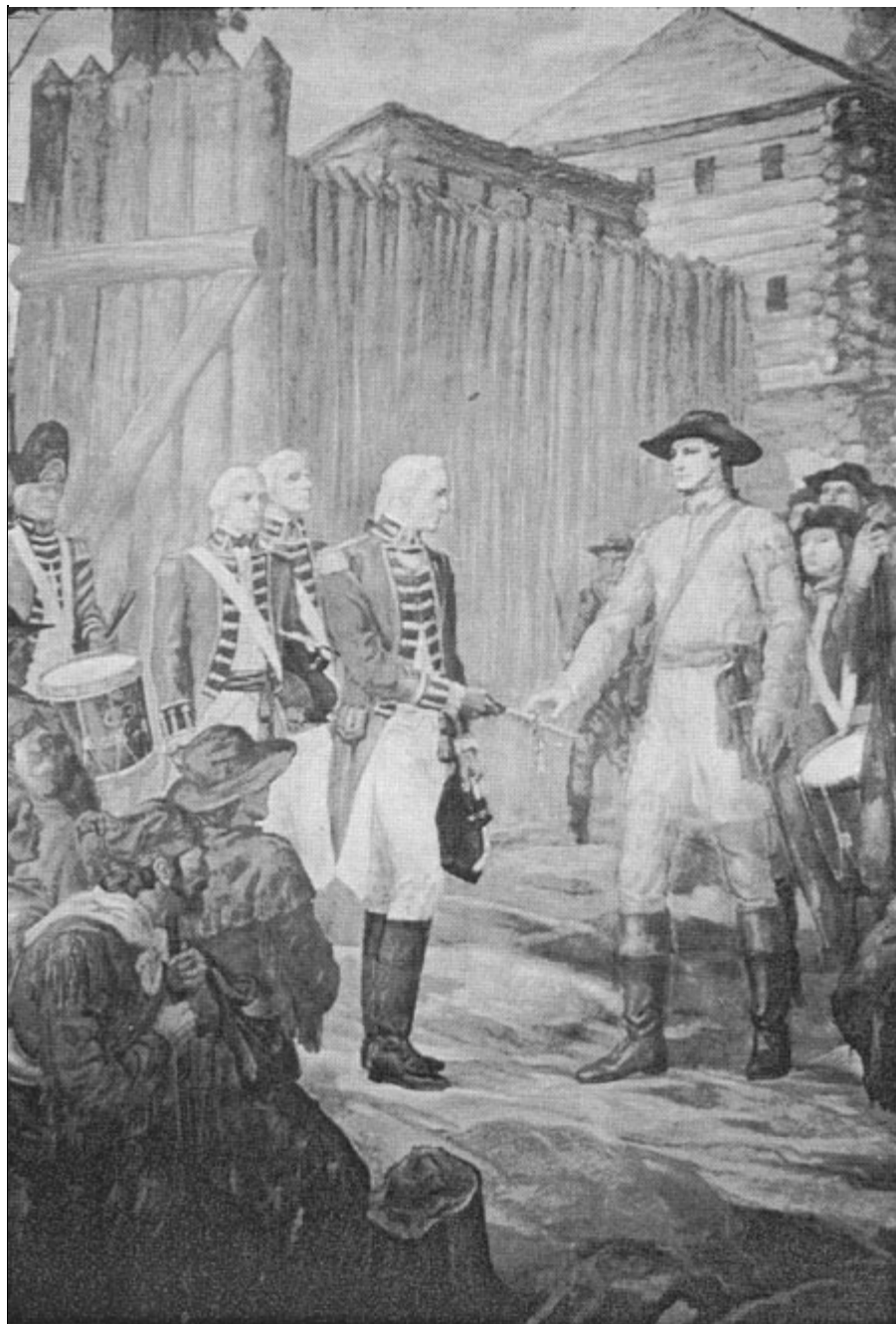
Memorial building. George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. *(Photo courtesy of National Park Service)*



George Rogers Clark memorial under construction, 1932. *(Photo courtesy of National Park Service)*



George Rogers Clark statue, sculpted by Hermon A. MacNeil. *(Photo courtesy of National Park Service)*



Fort Sackville — Britain Yields Possession. Mural by Erza Winter. (Photo courtesy of National Park Service)



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APPENDIX C: Significant Dates

1928

May 23 — President Calvin Coolidge signs bill establishing the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission.

1930

February 14 — Frederick C. Hirons is selected as architect of the memorial.

October 2 — Commission selects Erza Winter to paint the memorial murals.

December 1 — Hermon MacNeil is selected to sculpt statuary.

1933

May 26— Contractor W R. Heath informs George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission that memorial is complete.

1934

April — Heath Construction Company arranges to have workers make first in a series of repairs of structure to try and stop leakage.

1936

June 14 — President Franklin D. Roosevelt participates in dedication of George Rogers Clark Memorial.

1939

June 30 — George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission dissolves at midnight State commission assumes responsibility for memorial.

1940

August — Indiana Governor Clifford Townsend finalizes new administrative arrangement for memorial.

August 20 — State commission turns responsibility for memorial to Indiana Department of Conservation.

1966

June 6 — U.S. House of Representatives passes bill authorizing transfer of George Rogers Clark Memorial to the National Park Service.

July 11 — U.S. Senate passes transfer bill.

July 23 — President Lyndon B. Johnson signs bill in Vincennes creating George Rogers

Clark National Historical Park.

1967

July 1 — Ownership of George Rogers Clark Memorial is transferred to the federal government.

September 10 — Robert L. Lagemann is appointed management assistant for the park.

1968

May — Robert Lagemann gives first firearms demonstration at George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

Summer — Seasonal rangers join park's interpretative program.

1969

April — "Alice of Old Vincennes House" is torn down.

July 1 — Construction of fifty-space parking lot is completed.

1971

August — Lincoln Home National Historic Site is authorized.

Winter — Harpers Ferry Center Museum Specialist Walter A. Nitkiewicz leads team in cleaning murals in memorial.

December — George Rogers Clark, Lincoln Boyhood and Lincoln Home are renamed Indiana-Illinois Group.

1972

November — Lincoln Home is severed from Indiana-Illinois Group. George Rogers Clark and Lincoln Boyhood are administratively combined in the Southern Indiana group. John C.W. "Bilk" Riddle is placed in charge of group.

1973

February — R-K Electric installs mercury vapor lighting in memorial skylight and new fluorescent lighting in memorial basement.

June-September — Cincinnati Floor Company removes surface and eight inches of concrete on memorial terrace and installs new concrete and Dex-o-Tex covering.

September — Preliminary meeting held with representatives of park, Harpers Ferry Center, Denver Service Center and Regional Office to set forth requirements for new visitor center.

December — As part of National Park Service realignment, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park is placed in Midwest Region.

1974

March — Administration of park shifts from old Northeast Region to Midwest Region.

May 6 — Regional director approves preliminary plans drawn by James Associates for proposed visitor center.

June — Day-labor contract completed on floodwall. Fresh coat of stucco applied on park side. June — Contract for installing air conditioning in memorial let. Project completed in December.

August 16 — Congress approves appropriation bill which includes \$535,000 for George Rogers Clark Visitor Center.

September — Group of Park Service officials express disapproval of visitor center design and location.

November — Midwest Regional Office approves final form of plans for visitor center. Opening of bids scheduled for January 1975.

1975

January 30— Bids for new visitor center opened.

February — Regional director and park superintendent learn that President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation believes selected site for visitor center would be a "visual intrusion on the historic scene." Director decides to eliminate project from construction, at least until problem of location can be resolved.

April 17 — Vincennes delegation meets Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Director Robert Garvey to discuss visitor center. A compromise on location is devised during a community meeting in Vincennes.

April 21 — Landscaping project begins. More than 700 shrubs and trees planted.

April 28 — NPS Associate Director Ernest A. Connally discussed the new location for the visitor center at a Vincennes meeting.

June 8 — Dedication ceremony held for ten headstones for Revolutionary War soldiers buried in the Old Cathedral Cemetery.

July 1 — George Rogers Clark National Historical Park officially separates from Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and becomes an independent unit.

July 22-23 — Special Bicentennial production "We've Come Back For a Little Look Around" is presented on grounds behind memorial.

July 23 — Bids on the revised visitor center opened and reported.

August 20 — Official groundbreaking for new visitor center.

1976

February 23 — "Kaskaskia Long Knives" arrive at park after completing 180-mile hike commemorating Clark's march of February 1779.

May 28 — Historic marker in honor of Sieur de Vincennes dedicated at corner of Second and Main streets, just inside park boundary.

June 5-6 — Brigade of the American Revolution holds encampment and military drill on park grounds behind Clark memorial.

July 4 — George Rogers Clark National Historical Park Visitor Center is officially opened.

November — Maintenance operations completes moves from old shop on alley to new basement facilities.

1977

January 18 — Indiana Governor Otis Bowen and Mrs. Bowen visit park and visitor center.

July 9-10 — Members of the Old North West Alliance in encampment on park grounds.

December 21 — Emergency repairs (rehabilitative maintenance) on memorial roof completed.

1978

March — Coal shortage forces park to suspend all but the most basic maintenance functions.

March 31 — The movie "A Few Men Well Conducted" makes its debut at park.

May 27 — Formal dedication of visitor center. Attending are U.S. Senator Birch Bayh, Indiana Lieutenant Governor Robert Orr and National Park Service Midwest Deputy Regional Director Randall Pope.

September — Cincinnati Floor Company repairs twelve areas on memorial terrace for cracks in Dex-o-Tex.

October 4 — Park planner Tom Balsanek, Midwest Regional Office, meets with Vincennes community leaders to discuss development of First Street-River Front area.

1979

February 25 — U.S. Postal Service issues commemorative postal card on the bicentennial of Clark's capture of Fort Sackville. Mock surrender ceremony held inside memorial rotunda.

May 26-27 — Members of Old North West Territory Alliance encamp on park grounds.

September 10 — Contract let to Cincinnati Floor Company to replace upper two layers and surface of Dex-o-Tex waterproof decking originally laid in 1973 on memorial terrace.

1980

February 29— Robert Lagemann steps down as park superintendent, continuing as a reemployed annuitant until new superintendent arrives.

June 29 — Roy J. Beasley, Jr. transfers from Sagamore Hill National Historic Site to become park superintendent.

July 29— NPS employees Tom Balsanek and George Painter present plan for Vincennes Memorial Mall.

September 29 — Chief of Interpretation Robert Holden begins series of biweekly articles, "Muskets, Tomahawks, and Long Rifles" in the *Valley Advance*, a local newspaper.

1981

August 18 — Park's Resources Management Plan completed. Approved by regional director on November 3.

November 9-11 — Brick work on the inside of the memorial roof parapet wall inspected.

1982

April — Major nighttime safety hazard created when exterior lights around memorial fail due to accumulated moisture damage.

October 13 — State of Indiana ceded concurrent jurisdiction over park property to the United States.

1983

September 23 — Park's Statement for Management is revised.

October 22 — First Annual George Rogers Clark Trans-Appalachian Frontier History Conference held in cooperation with Vincennes University.

December — George Rogers Clark National Historical Park Historic Structures Report, Administrative Data Section and Architectural Data Section, is received.

December — Park learns that mayor of Vincennes and board of public works planning to build a trash transfer station less than one quarter-mile from the park boundary. Project defeated by city council on January 23, 1984.

December 11 — Superintendent Roy F. Beasley, Jr., transfers to Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area.

1984

March 18 — Johnny D. Neal begins duty as park superintendent.

March 21 — Park personnel meet with members of the USS Vincennes Memorial Committee to discuss proposed memorial to U.S. Navy ships bearing name USS Vincennes.

June — Junior Ranger program is initiated.

1986

June — Junior Ranger program runs through month with 20 local children participating

November 19 — Park personnel meet with board of directors for the Spirit of Vincennes Rendezvous to discuss the group's acquisition of property just south and west of the park.

December 12 — The Army Corps of Engineers holds a meeting in Vincennes to discuss the Wabash River Reconnaissance Study, a proposal to make the river navigable for river traffic.

1987

April — Robert Holden stops writing "Muskets, Tomahawks and Long Rifles" after writing one hundred and fifty articles for area newspapers.

July 13 — Bicentennial celebration of the Northwest Ordinance held. Indiana Governor Robert Orr and U.S. Senator Dan Quayle attend ceremony.

November 19— Superintendent John Neal transfers to George Washington Carver National Monument. Ray Kimpel, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, arrives to be acting superintendent.

1988

January — Revised Statement for Management submitted for regional review.

January 31 — Terry DiMattio transfers from Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine to become park superintendent.

April 1 — Park staff begins collecting entrance fee inside Clark memorial.

August 25 — Park observes 72nd birthday of National Park Service with open house.

1989

January 11 — Patrick Engineering, Inc., conducts test borings along the floodwall as part of study for the preservation and repair of the floodwall. Foundation of the floodwall is also

examined.

March 9 — Statement for Management approved by regional director.

April 1 — Second year of fee collection begins.

June — Ultra-violet filtration system installed on the glass windows on the east side of the memorial.

August 9 — USS Vincennes Association dedicates USS Vincennes memorial. Park takes extra security precautions.

August — Park prepares a Preliminary Assessment of the Qualifications of the Route of George Rogers Clark as a National Historic Trail.

October — Park maintenance crew plants 48 linden trees on memorial mall. December — Francis Vigo exhibit on display at the park.

1990

January — Nose on the Francis Vigo statue is broken.

May — Superintendent Terry DiMattio transfers to Cabrillo National Monument.

August — James Holcomb transfers to George Rogers Clark National Historical Park as new superintendent from Morristown National Historical Park.

October 24 — Restoration sculptor Harold Vogel repairs Francis Vigo statue.

October — Vincennes Area Chamber of Commerce informs park that it is gathering support to donate 42 acres of Wabash River greenbelt land to the National Park Service.

1991

January — Wabash River floods at Vincennes. River reaches height of 26.4 feet, within 30 inches of top of floodwall.

January — Projects to study the rehabilitation of the memorial heating, ventilation and air conditioning system, and the removal of asbestos begin.

August 25 — 75th anniversary of the National Park Service and the 25th anniversary of authorization of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park celebrated. Former park superintendent Robert Lagemann is speaker.

1992

July — Park maintenance operation moves into new maintenance building.

August 2-4 — Midwest Regional Museum Specialist Abby Sue Fisher visits park to conduct a Collection Condition Survey.

August 23 — New maintenance building is dedicated.

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APPENDIX D: Enabling Legislation

U.S. Senate Committee on the Library. *George Rogers Clark Memorial*. 70th Cong., 1st sess., 1928. S. Rept. 277.

U.S. House Committee on the Library. *George Rogers Clark National Memorial*. 70th Cong., 1st sess., 1939. H. Rept. 1386.

U.S. House. *Participation in the Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Conquest of the Northwest Territory*. 70th Cong., 1st sess., 1928. H. Rept. 1806.

U.S. Senate Committee on the Library. *George Rogers Clark Memorial*. 72d Cong., 2d sess., 1933. S. Rept. 1239.

U.S. House, Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union. *Appropriation for George Rogers Clark Memorial at Vincennes, Ind.* 72d Cong., 2d sess., 1933. H. Rept. 2173.

U.S. House Committee on the Library. *Creation of the George Rogers Clark National Memorial*. 70th Cong., 1st sess., 1939. H. Rept. 800.

U.S. Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to Accept a Donation by the State of Indiana of the George Rogers Clark Memorial for Establishment as the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park*. 89th Cong., 2d sess., 1966. S. Rept. 1354.

U.S. House Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union. *Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to Accept a Donation by the State of Indiana of the George Rogers Clark Memorial for Establishment as the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park*. 89th Cong., 2d sess., 1966. H. Rept. 1562.

Public Law 89-517
89th Congress, H. R. 9599
July 23, 1966

An Act

To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept a donation by the State of Indiana of the George Rogers Clark Memorial for establishment as the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, and for other purposes.

80 STAT. 325

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept the donation by the State of Indiana of approximately seventeen acres of land comprising the George Rogers Clark Memorial in Vincennes, Indiana, for establishment and administration as the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

George Rogers
Clark National
Historical
Park, Ind.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior may enter into cooperative agreements with the owners of property in Vincennes, Indiana, historically associated with George Rogers Clark and the Northwest Territory for the inclusion of such property in the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. Under such agreements the Secretary may assist in the preservation, renewal, and interpretation of the property.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior shall administer, protect, develop; and maintain the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.), as amended and supplemented.

Administration.

Approved July 23, 1966.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 1562 (Comm. on Interior & Insular Affairs).

SENATE REPORT No. 1354 (Comm. on Interior & Insular Affairs).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 112 (1966):

June 6: Considered and passed House.

July 11: Considered and passed Senate.

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APPENDIX E: Park Personnel

1973

Superintendent
Riddle, John
Park Manager
Lagemann, Robert
Office Staff
Gognat, Constance
Intermittent Interpreters
Duesterberg, Mary
Erny, Gerald
Kinsella, James
Intermittent Laborers
Cockerham, Mike
Myers, Erick
Maintenance
Hedge, Donald E.

1974

Superintendent
Riddle, John
Park Manager
Lagemann, Robert
Maintenance
Hedge, Don
Office Staff
Gognat, Constance
Seasonal Interpreters
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Owens, Patricia
Seasonal Laborers
Beaman, Don
Myers, Erick
Subject-to-Furlough Employees
Litherland, Larry
Snyder, Warren
Park Technician
Boehm, Myron

1983

Superintendent
Beasley, Roy (transferred December 11)
Office Staff
Utt, Terri
Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
Shreve, Billy (transferred December 11)
Park Ranger
Holden, Robert
Seasonal Laborers
Morris, William
Myers, Erick
Park Technician, Leader
Latta, Dennis
Park Technicians
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Finnerty, Leo (transferred May 14)
Manley, Marquita
Park Gardener
Mattingly, Dan
Park Technicians, Seasonal
Emison, Janet
Stevens, James
Maintenance Worker, Leader
Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Seasonal Laborers
Johnson, David
Martin, Rusty
Custodial Worker
Roach, Elmer

1984

Superintendent

1975

Superintendent
 Lagemann, Robert
Maintenance
 Hedge, Donald E.
 Hedge, Orval
 Litherland, Larry
Office Staff
 Gognat, Constance
Park Technician
 Snyder, Warren
Park Technicians, Intermittent
 Boehm, Myron
 Emison, Janet
Seasonal Interpreters
 Cockerham, Willard
 Erny, Gerald
 Owens, Patricia
Seasonal Laborers
 Morris, William
 Myers, Erick

1976

Superintendent
 Lagemann, Robert
Office Staff
 Gognat, Constance
 Junkin Terri
Park Ranger
 Pearson, Roger
Seasonal Laborers
 Morris, William
 Myers, Erick
Park Technicians
 Boehm, Myron
 Cockerham, Willard
 Erny, Gerald
 Latta, Dennis
Park Technicians, Intermittent
 Emison, Janet
 Ernst, Janet
Maintenance
 Hedge, Donald E.
 Litherland, Larry
 Miley, Dale
Seasonal Laborers
 Cockerham, Mike
 Johnson, Gary

1977

 Neal, Johnny D. (started March 18)
Office Staff
 Utt, Terri
 Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
 Terbolic, Frank (started May 13)
Park Ranger, Supervisory
 Holden, Robert (temporary Park
Manager, December 11, 1983, to March 17)
Park Technician, Leader
 Latta, Dennis
Park Gardener
 Mattingly, Dan
Maintenance Worker, Leader
 Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
 Litherland, Larry
 Miley, Dale
Laborer
 Harrington, Sam
Custodial Worker
 Roach, Elmer (retired June 30)
Temporaries
 Cockerham, Willard
 Ernst, LeAnn
 Erny, Gerald
 Gentry, Greg
 Gregg, Betty
 Manley, Marquita

1985

Superintendent
 Neal, Johnny D.
Office Staff
 Utt, Terri
 Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
 Terbolic, Frank (transferred July 7)
 Lighty, Verdene (started October 13)
Park Ranger, Supervisory
 Holden, Robert
Park Technician, Leader
 Latta, Dennis
Park Gardener
 Mattingly, Dan
Maintenance Worker
 Hedge, Donald E.
 Miley, Dale
Maintenance
 Litherland, Larry (temporary promotion
to Maintenance Foreman from July 7 to
October 13)
Laborer

Superintendent
Lagemann, Robert
Office Staff
Gognat, Constance
Junkin, Terri
Maintenance Foreman
Hart, Ivan
Gardener
Sorg, David
Park Ranger
Pearson, Roger
Seasonal Laborers
Morris, William
Myers, Erick
Park Technicians
Boehm, Myron (died June 7)
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Latta, Dennis
Park Technicians, Seasonal
Emison, Janet
Stevens, James
Maintenance
Hedge, Donald E.
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Seasonal Laborers
Johnson, David
Martin, Rusty
Janitor
Hackensmith, Perry (started
November 6, part-time)

1978
Superintendent
Lagemann, Robert
Office Staff
Gognat, Constance
Utt, Terri
Maintenance Foreman
Hart, Ivan
Gardener
Sorg, David (retired October 11)
Park Ranger
Pearson, Roger (extended sick
leave starting December 17)
Seasonal Laborers
Morris, William
Myers, Erick
Park Technicians
Burgette, Daniel
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald

Harrington, Sam (discharged May 11)
Temporaries
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Gregg, Betty
Jackson, Misty
Litherland, Delbert
Manley, Marquita
Nolan, Pamela

1986
Superintendent
Neal, Johnny D.
Office Staff
Utt, Terri
Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
Lighty, Verdene
Park Ranger, Supervisory
Holden, Robert
Park Ranger
Latta, Dennis
Park Gardener
Mattingly, Dan
Maintenance Worker
Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Temporaries
Blome, Doug
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Jackson, Misty
Litherland, Delbert
Manley, Marquita (resigned November
9)
Nolan, Pamela
Plahn, Bill

1987
Superintendent
Neal, Johnny D. (transferred November
8)
Kimpel, Ray (started November 19 as
Acting Superintendent)
Office Staff
Utt, Terri
Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
Lighty, Verdene
Park Ranger, Supervisory

Horen, Joshua
Latta, Dennis
Park Technicians, Seasonal
Emison, Janet
Stevens, James
Maintenance
Hedge, Donald E.
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Seasonal Laborers
Johnson, David
Martin, Rusty
Janitor
Hackensmith, Perry (resigned
May 11)

1979
Superintendent
Lagemann, Robert
Office Staff
Gognat, Constance
Utt, Terri
Maintenance Foreman
Hart, Ivan (transferred October
21)
Park Rangers
Holden, Robert (began
September 21)
Pearson, Roger (retired February
21)
Seasonal Laborers
Morris, William
Myers, Erick
Park Technicians
Burgette, Daniel
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Horen, Joshua
Latta, Dennis
Park Gardener
Mattingly, Dan
Park Technicians, Seasonal
Emison, Janet
Stevens, James
Maintenance Worker, Leader
Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Seasonal Laborers
Johnson, David
Martin, Rusty (resigned May 11)

Holden, Robert
Park Ranger (LE)
Carter, Kevin (started May 10)
Park Ranger
Latta, Dennis
Park Gardener
Mattingly, Dan
Maintenance Worker
Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Temporaries
Blome, Doug
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Litherland, Delbert
Nolan, Pamela
Plahn, Bill

1988
Superintendent
Kimpel, Ray (Acting Superintendent)
DiMattio, Terry (started January 31)
Office Staff
Utt, Terri
Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
Lighty, Verdene
Park Ranger, Supervisory
Holden, Robert
Park Ranger (LE)
Carter, Kevin
Park Ranger
Latta, Dennis
Park Gardener
Mattingly, Dan
Maintenance Worker
Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Temporaries
Blome, Doug
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Litherland, Delbert
Nolan, Pamela
Plahn, Bill

1989
Superintendent

1980

Superintendent
 Lagemann, Robert (retired
February 29; reemployed annuitant
until June 28)
 Beasley, Roy (started June 29)
Office Staff
 Gognat, Constance
 Utt, Terri
Maintenance Foreman
 Shreve, Billy (started February
24)
Park Ranger
 Holden, Robert
Seasonal Laborers
 Morris, William
 Myers, Erick
Park Technicians
 Burgette, Daniel
 Cockerham, Willard
 Erny, Gerald
 Horen, Joshua
 Latta, Dennis
Park Gardener
 Mattingly, Dan
Park Technicians, Seasonal
 Emison, Janet
 Stevens, James
Maintenance Worker, Leader
 Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
 Litherland, Larry
 Miley, Dale
Seasonal Laborers
 Johnson, David
 Martin, Rusty

1981

Superintendent
 Beasley, Roy
Office Staff
 Gognat, Constance (transferred
July 10)
 Utt, Terri
 Wilkerson, Pat (started
September 20)
Maintenance Foreman
 Shreve, Billy
Park Ranger
 Holden, Robert
Seasonal Laborers
 Morris, William

DiMattio, Terry
Office Staff
 Utt, Terri
 Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
 Lighty, Verdene (transferred during year)
 Mattingly, Dan
Park Ranger, Supervisory
 Holden, Robert
Park Ranger (LE)
 Carter, Kevin
Park Ranger
 Latta, Dennis
Park Ranger, Intermittent Seasonal
 Day, Richard
Park Gardener
 Mattingly, Dan
Maintenance Worker
 Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
 Litherland, Larry
 Miley, Dale
Temporaries
 Blome, Doug
 Cockerham, Willard
 Erny, Gerald
 Litherland, Delbert
 Nolan, Pamela

1990

Superintendent
 DiMattio, Terry (transferred in May)
 Holcomb, James (started in August)
Office Staff
 Utt, Terri
 Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
 Mattingly, Dan
Park Ranger, Supervisory
 Holden, Robert
Park Ranger (LE)
 Carter, Kevin
Park Ranger
 Latta, Dennis
Park Ranger, Intermittent Seasonal
 Day, Richard
Maintenance Worker
 Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
 Litherland, Larry
 Miley, Dale
Temporaries
 Blome, Doug

Myers, Erick
Park Technician, Leader
Latta, Dennis
Park Technicians
Burgette, Daniel (transferred
September 20)
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Horen, Joshua (resigned August 22)
Hunnicut, Mary (started
September 20)
Park Gardener
Mattingly, Dan
Park Technicians, Seasonal
Emison, Janet
Stevens, James
Maintenance Worker, Leader
Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Seasonal Laborers
Johnson, David
Martin, Rusty
Custodial Worker
Roach, Elmer

1982

Superintendent
Beasley, Roy
Office Staff
Utt, Terri
Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
Shreve, Billy
Park Ranger
Holden, Robert
Seasonal Laborers
Morris, William
Myers, Erick
Park Technician, Leader
Latta, Dennis
Park Technicians
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Finnerty, Leo (started April 18)
Hunnicut, Mary (resigned
February 11)
Richmond, Norwood (started
April 4; resigned September 17)
Park Gardener
Mattingly, Dan
Park Technicians, Seasonal

Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Litherland, Delbert
Nolan, Pamela

1991

Superintendent
Holcomb, James
Office Staff
Utt, Terri
Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
Mattingly, Dan
Park Ranger, Supervisory
Holden, Robert
Park Ranger (LE)
Carter, Kevin (transferred in March)
Park Ranger
Finnerty, Leo (started in April)
Latta, Dennis
Park Ranger, Intermittent Seasonal
Day, Richard
Maintenance Worker
Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Temporaries
Blome, Doug
Cockerham, Willard
Erny, Gerald
Litherland, Delbert
Nolan, Pamela

1992

Superintendent
Holcomb, James
Office Staff
Utt, Terri
Wilkerson, Pat
Maintenance Foreman
Mattingly, Dan
Park Ranger, Supervisory
Holden, Robert
Park Ranger
Finnerty, Leo
Latta, Dennis
Park Ranger, Intermittent Seasonal
Day, Richard
Interpreter, Intermittent
Hayes, Claud
Maintenance Worker

Emison, Janet
Stevens, James
Maintenance Worker, Leader
Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Seasonal Laborers
Johnson, David
Martin, Rusty
Custodial Worker
Roach, Elmer

Hedge, Donald E.
Maintenance
Litherland, Larry
Miley, Dale
Temporaries
Blome, Doug
Cockerham, Willard
Nolan, Pamela
Laborer, Seasonal
Oliver, Travis

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APPENDIX F:

Annual Visitation

Year	Total	Memorial Grounds Visitor Center		
1968	58,712			
1969	57,507			
1970	68,201			
1971	66,329			
1972	71,578			
1973	78,225			
1974	77,305			
1975	92,119	46,576		45,543
1976	129,823	62,996	56,319	41,197
1977	69,407			42,819
1978	67,463	35,914		
1979	78,748			
1980	80,773	37,746	32,693	47,746
1981	95,153	38,635	46,748	48,245
1982	107,746	39,975	49,722	58,123
1983	111,083	35,325	53,889	57,194
1984	112,747	37,984	54,903	57,689
1985	121,555	38,591	63,217	57,933
1986	120,939	37,873	64,990	55,984
1987	119,724			
1988	113,783			
1989	118,085			
1990	120,000			
1991	128,000			
1992	136,000			

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Latta, Dennis

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⁴Robert C. Alberts, *George Rogers Clark and the Winning of the Old Northwest* (Washington, D. C.: National Park Service, Office of Publications, 1975), 1-19.

⁵*Ibid.*, 21-26.

⁶*Ibid.*, 26-29.

⁷*Ibid.*, 38.

⁸White, *The Middle Ground*, 371; Alberts, *George Rogers Clark*, 44-45.

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¹⁰*Ibid.*, 48-49.

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¹²Alberts, *George Rogers Clark*, 50.

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¹⁴Eckert, *A Sorrow in Our Heart*, 627-78; White, *The Middle Ground*, 516-57; Ogg, *The Old Northwest*, 148-54.

¹⁵Alberts, *George Rogers Clark*, 62; James, *The Life of George Rogers Clark*, 322-473.

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¹⁹Edwin C. Bearss, *George Rogers Clark Memorial, Historic Structures Report, Historical Data* (Washington, D. C.: National Park Service, Office of History and Historic Architecture, 1970), 5-6.

²⁰Hinsley, Jr., *Savages and Scientists*, 21-122.

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²⁴Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 8.

²⁵Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1981), PP; Horace M. Albright as told to Robert Cahn, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-1933* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers Press, 1985), 243-47, 293-97; Hal Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 187-99.

²⁶Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 9.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 9; *Vincennes Commercial*, January 28, 1927.

²⁸*Vincennes Commercial*, February 20, 1927.

²⁹Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 11.

³⁰Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 10-11; *Vincennes Commercial*, February 20, 1927.

³¹Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 11.

³²Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 2nd. ed., 114-18; Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 173, 189, 199.

³³Albright as told to Cahn, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 243-47; Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 193-201; John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), 271-300. Meriwether Lewis National Monument was incorporated into Natchez Trace Parkway in 1961.

³⁴Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, July 13, 1931, Record Group 148, Records of Minor Congressional Committees.

³⁵Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 13-14.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 14-15.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 14-15.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 15-16.

³⁹*History Bulletin* V. 5, no. 3, December 1927, 47.

⁴⁰*Vincennes Commercial*, February 22, 1928; *Vincennes Commercial*, February 25, 1928.

⁴¹*Vincennes Commercial*, February 24, 1928.

⁴²Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 19-20.

⁴³*Vincennes Commercial*, June 10, 1928.

⁴⁴Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, April 18, 1929, NA, RG 148; *Vincennes Commercial*, April 19, 1929.

⁴⁵Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, June 20, 1929, NA, RG 148.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*; The George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, Program of a Competition for the Selection of an Architect for Designing and Constructing in Vincennes, Indiana, a Permanent Memorial Commemorating the Winning of the Old Northwest and the Achievements of George Rogers Clark and his Associates in the War of the American Revolution; Wm. E. Parsons, Architectural Adviser [sic]; (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1929), 1-29.

⁴⁷Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission,

February 14, 1930, NA, RG 148.

⁴⁸Ibid.; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 56-58; for information about the Crash of 1929 and the economic calamities that followed, see William L. Leuchrenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963).

⁴⁹Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 21-29.

⁵⁰*Vincennes Commercial*, January 28, 1930.

⁵¹Ibid., January 19, 1930.

⁵²Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 26-28.

⁵³Ibid., 28.

⁵⁴Ibid., 28-29; *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, March 2, 1931.

⁵⁵Leuchrenberg, *The New Deal*, 11-17.

⁵⁶Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, August 22, 1930; Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, September 17, 1930; Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, October 2, 1930, NA, RG 148.

⁵⁷Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, November 18-19, 1930, NA, RG 148.

⁵⁸Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 87-88; Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, December 1, 1930, NA, RG 148.

⁵⁹Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 59-64.

⁶⁰*Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, September 3, 1931.

⁶¹James C. Ford, Inspector in Charge, District Headquarters, U.S. Commissioner of Immigration, Montreal, Canada, Subdistrict: Newport, Vermont, to Honorable Walter W. Husband, 2nd. Assistant Secretary of Labor, August 29, 1931; Luther E. Smith and Clem J. Richards, to the Executive Committee of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, September 26, 1931, NA, RG 148, Records of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission.

⁶²Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, September 28, 1931, NA, RG 148, Records of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission.

⁶⁴Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 90-93.

⁶⁵Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, March 14, 1934, NA, RG 148; Minutes of the Meeting of the

Executive Committee, George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, June 15, 1934, NA, RG 148, Records of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission.

⁶³Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 67-78, 83-86; *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, December 9, 1934.

⁶⁶Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 92-93.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 36.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 37.

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¹"Of National Concern," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, July 7, 1965.

²Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 51-59; Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 517-72.

³Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 34-35.

⁴*Ibid.*, 39-41.

⁵Christopher Coleman to Harold L. Ickes, July 11, 1933; Christopher Coleman to D. Frank Culbertson, November 2, 1934, National Archives, Record Group 148; Donald Swain, "Harold Ickes, Horace Albright and the Hundred Days: A Study in Conservation Administration," *Pacific Historical Review*, 34 (November 1965): 455-65; Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 162-65.

⁶Christopher Coleman to D. Frank Culbertson, November 2, 1934, NA, RG 148; Christopher Coleman to D. Frank Culbertson, August 23, 1938, NA, RG 148.

⁷*Vincennes Post*, May 9, 1939.

⁸Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 41-42.

⁹Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, August 20, 1939.

¹⁰[?]*Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, June 27, 1940.

¹¹Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 44.

¹²*Indianapolis Star*, May 30, 1940.

¹³Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 43.

¹⁴Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 173-78; Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: Division of History, National Park Service, 1986), 12-25.

¹⁵Frank Wallace to Austin Snyder, May 22, 1941; E. Dean Miller, Attorney-at-Law, to Governor, State of Indiana, July 25, 1941; Hugh Barnhart, Director, Indiana Department of Conservation, Floyd Stoelting, Secretary-Manager, Vincennes Chamber of Commerce, September 8, 1941, Indiana Department of Conservation, George Rogers Clark Memorial, 1941, 44F, 63, R2007, Indiana State Archives.

¹⁶Warren J. Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1979), 129-73; John Jakie, *The Tourist in Twentieth Century America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986).

¹⁷Marc G. Waggener to Hugh A. Barnhart, October 10, 1941, Indiana Department of Conservation, George Rogers Clark Memorial, 1941, 44F, 63, R2007, Indiana State Archives.

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¹⁹Runte, *National Parks*, 171-79; Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 443-466.

²⁰Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 534-72; Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 52-56.

²¹Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service Division of Publications, 1985), 62-63.

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²³Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*, 62-68, 76-77.

²⁴Ron Cockrell, *A Signature of Time and Eternity: The Administrative History of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana* (Omaha, Nebr.: National Park Service, 1988), 81-89; Jill York O'Bright, *There I Grew Up: A History of the Administration of Abraham Lincoln's Boyhood Home* (Omaha, Nebr.: National Park Service, 1987), 124-27.

²⁵"Interior Secretary Udall Declares Clark Memorial Plan Under Study," *The Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, August 22, 1965, 2.

²⁶Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 46.

²⁷"Of National Concern," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, July 7, 1965.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Notes by C. DeMarco, "Special Meeting, August 17, 1965, GERO, Legislation (89th Congress P.L. 517), George Rogers Clark National Historical Park; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 47-48.

³⁰Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 48.

³¹Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 49.

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Department of the Interior News Release, February 4, 1966.

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³⁴Ross Garrigus, "LBJ Visit Recalls FDR Speech in '36," *Valley Advance*, July 28, 1966; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 51.

³⁵"Of National Concern," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, July 6, 1965.

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³"U.S. To Take Over Memorial Next Summer," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, November 18, 1966.

⁴"U.S. To Take Over Memorial Next Summer," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, November 18, 1966; "Park Service Experts Survey Local Shrines," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, November 30, 1966.

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⁶"A Master Plan: George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, Knox County, Indiana," National Park Service, January 1967.

⁷*Ibid.*, 6.

⁸*Ibid.*, 7-8.

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¹¹Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 190-209.

¹²"Master Plan," January 1967, 33.

¹³"U.S. Takes Control of Clark Memorial," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, July 2, 1967.

¹⁴O'Bright, *There I Grew Up: A History of the Administration of Abraham Lincoln's Boyhood*

Home, 126-27; *National Park Service Officials* (Centennial Edition) (Washington, D. C.: National Park Service, 1972), 64.

¹⁵Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 65-67; *National Park Service Officials*, 114.

¹⁶Robert Lagemann, interview by Robert J. Holden, no date, circa January 1989, tape 1, 2, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 17-22; Robert Lagemann, interview by Robert J. Holden, January 23, 1989, tape 2, 13, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

¹⁸Lagemann interview, tape 1, 7-10.

¹⁹Lagemann interview, tape 4, 17-21.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 19.

²¹Lagemann interview, tape 4, 21-22.

²²Memorandum, Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park to Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities and Public Affairs, February 25, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial; Memorandum, Coordinating Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park to Regional Director, Northeast Region, February 28, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.

²³Memorandum, Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park to Regional Director, Northeast Region, February 28, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Memorandum, Acting Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park to Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities and Public Affairs, February 14, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.

²⁶Lagemann interview, tape 4, 14-15.

²⁷Memorandum, Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park to Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities and Public Affairs, February 25, 1969, A3623.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Memorandum, Superintendent, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Director, Northeast Region, November 20, 1970, F62, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park; Lagemann interview, tape 4, 15-16. Only many years later did Lagemann uncover the identity of the person, but because he was sworn to secrecy, he refused to disclose the name. He did remark that "persons acquainted with Vincennes public affairs during the period would be very much surprised if not shocked. I was when I learned."

³⁰Lagemann interview, tape 4, 16-17.

³¹Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 192-209; "Master Plan," January 1967, 43.

³²Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities and Public Affairs, March 12, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial; Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities and Public Affairs, March 26, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial; Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities and Public Affairs, May 14, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial; Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities and Public Affairs, July 2, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.

³³Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial and George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities and Public Affairs, April 23, 1969, A3623, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial; Lagemann interview, tape 1, 24-25.

³⁴O'Bright, *There I Grew Up*, 127; Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 80-82.

³⁵O'Bright, *There I Grew Up*, 127; Lagemann interview, tape 3, 4.

³⁶O'Bright, *There I Grew Up*, 127; *National Park Service Officials*, 1972, 74, 86; Acting Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial to Assistant Director, Cooperative Programs, January 19, 1973, A2621, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.

³⁷Memorandum, Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial to Assistant Director, Cooperative Programs, MAR, February 8, 1974, A2621, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.

³⁸Memorandum, Park Manager, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to General Superintendent, Southern Indiana Group, February 8, 1974, Annual Narrative Report, A2621, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

³⁹*Ibid.*

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¹Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 62-63.

²*Ibid.*, 112-13.

³Lagemann interview, tape 5, 7-9; Lagemann interview, tape 1, 4.

⁴Lagemann interview, tape 5, 13-14; "Master Plan," 1967, 42.

Lagemann interview, tape 5, 15.

⁶Lagemann interview, tape 5, 15-16.

⁷Ibid., 16; "Ford Assures Clark Grant of \$535,000," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, September 12, 1974; Memorandum, Park Manager, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Regional Director, Midwest Region, through Superintendent, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, January 27, 1975.

⁸Lagemann interview, tape 5, 16.

⁹John Kawamoto, interview by Hal Rothman, December 20, 1993; Memorandum, Superintendent George Rogers Clark to Regional Director, Midwest Region, A2621, January 26, 1976, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

¹⁰David A. Clary, "Memoir of a Dogfight: The George Rogers Clark Visitor Center Affray, Twenty Years Later," May 31, 1994, to Hal Rothman, possession of Hal Rothman; Regional Historian David A. Clary, Historical Architect Vance Kaminiski, and Landscape Architect Dan Wilson to Associate Regional Director, Professional Services, MWRO, John Kawamoto, September 27, 1974, D3415 079 87 0003, Federal Records Center, Kansas City, Missouri.

¹¹Regional Historian David A. Clary, Historical Architect Vance Kaminiski, and Landscape Architect Dan Wilson to Associate Regional Director, Professional Services, MWRO, John Kawamoto, September 27, 1974.

¹²Barry Mackintosh, *The National Historic Preservation Act and the National Park Service*. Washington, D. C.: National Park Service, History Division, 1986, 79-85.

¹³Clary, Kaminiski, and Wilson to Kawamoto, Memorandum, September 27, 1974.

¹⁴Ibid.; Regional Historian Ron Cockrell to Hal Rothman, September 14, 1994; Christina Petlichkoff Jones, "The Cultural Landscape Report for George Rogers Clark National Historical Park," (unpublished MA thesis, Ball State University, 1994), 40-51.

¹⁶Clary, "Memoir of a Dogfight."

¹⁷Kawamoto interview; in "Memoir of a Dogfight," Clary remarks that he does not recall the "blue envelope" procedure as Kawamoto described it. He suggests that Kawamoto may have responded to the possibility that Clary threatened to go over Kawamoto's head with the memo David Clary, Personal Diary, October 18, 1974, notes he "spent all of this week drafting a preliminary report and letters to ACHP [Advisory Council on Historic Preservation] & SHPO [State Historic Preservation Office]." It is not clear from the record whether this was required of Clary or if this might be the behavior to which Kawamoto referred as a "blue envelope." Also in "Dogfight," Clary alludes to the preparation of a 106 report, which he asserts, Kawamoto changed into a "rather duplicitous" version that went to the regional director, and avers that he talked to "his colleagues in WASO [Washington Office] and even in ACHP, but that was routine because professionals share factual information with each other all the time."

¹⁵Regional Historian Ron Cockrell to Hal Rothman, September 9, 1994.

¹⁸David A. Clary, Personal Diary, September 30, 1974; October 18, 1974, copies in possession of Hal Rothman; Cockrell to Rothman, September 9, 1994.

- ¹⁹Clary, "Memoir of a Dogfight;" Kawamoto interview; Ron Cockrell, conversation with Hal Rothman, December 23, 1993; Barry Mackintosh, conversation with Hal Rothman, June 2, 1994.
- ²⁰Memorandum, Acting Associate Director, Professional Services, WASO to E. U. Curtis Bohlen, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife and Parks, April 4, 1975, L58, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park; Memorandum, Superintendent, George Rogers Clark to Regional Director, Midwest Region, A2621, January 26, 1975, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park; Robert M. Utley, "Toward a New Preservation Ethic," *NPS Newsletter* 19 8 (October 15, 1974); Clary, "Memoir of a Dogfight;" "Preliminary case report, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park Visitor Center," October 1975, copy courtesy of David A. Clary.
- ²¹Utley, "Toward a New Preservation Ethic"; Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 361-66; Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 132-36.
- ²²Ernest A. Connally to Director Gary Everhardt, *Immediate Attention*, Subject: George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, February 28, 1975, H30 079 88 0001, Federal Records Center, Kansas City, Mo.; Memorandum, Director Gary Everhardt to Regional Director Merrill D. Beal, February 28, 1975, H30, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, Midwest Regional Office; Memorandum, Acting Associate Director, Professional Services, WASO to E. U. Curtis Bohlen, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife and Parks, April 4, 1975.
- ²³Lagemann interview, tape 5, 19-20.
- ²⁴Lagemann interview, tape 6, 1-3.
- ²⁵Clary, "Memoir of a Dogfight."
- ²⁶David A. Clary, telephone interview with Hal Rothman, June 17, 1994.
- ²⁷*Ibid.*
- ²⁸Lagemann interview, tape 6, 3-4.
- ²⁹Lagemann interview, tape 6, 5.
- ³⁰Lagemann interview, tape 6, 5.
- ³¹*Ibid.*, 5-6; "Center at Clark Memorial called Mistake," *Indianapolis Star*, March 5, 1975; Memorandum, Superintendent George Rogers Clark to Regional Director, Midwest Region, A2621, January 26, 1976.
- ³²Superintendent, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Regional Director, March 22, 1975, L58, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.
- ³³*Ibid.*, "Park Service: It's Our Mistake: Visitor Center Out for Bicentennial," *Vincennes Shopper*, March 12, 1975.
- ³⁴Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 59-92; Hal K. Rothman, "The End

of Federal Hegemony: The Wilderness Act and Federal Land Management on the Pajarito Plateau, 1955-1980," *Environmental History Review* 16 2 (Summer 1992): 39-61.

³⁵"Park Service Would Improve Memorial With Center Funds," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, March 9, 1975; "3 Ways to Go on Visitors' Center," *Sun-Commercial*, April 13, 1975.

³⁶David Stayer, "Extraordinary Circumstances' Reason Given for Review of Center Project," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, April 4, 1975.

³⁷"Mayor Launches Drive for Visitors' Center," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, April 7, 1975.

³⁸"Decision By May 8 for Visitors' Center," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, April 17, 1975; "Park Service Objects to Center's Site," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, April 20, 1975.

³⁹"Hayes Looks at Visitors' Center Alternatives," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, March 31, 1975; Lagemann, tape 6, 7-8; Memorandum, Superintendent George Rogers Clark to Regional Director, Midwest Region, A2621, January 26, 1976.

⁴⁰"Project Held on Elite List," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, April 21, 1974; "Orr Says Park Service Chose Best Site," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, April 27, 1975.

⁴¹"New Visitor Center Approved," *Vincennes Shopper*, April 30, 1975; "Visitor Center Victory is Won," *Vincennes Valley Advance*, April 29, 1975.

⁴²"The System Does Work," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, April 30, 1975; "Proud ... But Embarrassed," *Vincennes Valley Advance*, April 29, 1975; "Credit Where it is Due," *Vincennes Shopper*, May 7, 1975.

⁴³"Preliminary Plans OK for Visitors Center," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, May 14, 1975; "Visitor Stop Plans on Course as Construction Bids Opened," *Vincennes Valley Advance*, July 29, 1975; David Stayer, "Ground is Broken for Visitors' Center," *Vincennes Sun Commercial*, August 20, 1975.

⁴⁴Lagemann interview, tape 6, 10-14; David Stayer, "Visitors' Center Work is Running Behind Schedule," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, November 21, 1975; Annual Report, Superintendent, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Regional Director, Midwest Region, January 26, 1976.

⁴⁵Lagemann interview, tape 6, 14-16; Annual Report, Superintendent, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, to Regional Director, Midwest Region, January 26, 1976.

⁴⁶Lagemann interview, tape 6, 17-19; David Stayer, "Dedication is Delayed for Visitors' Center," *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*, March 26, 1976.

⁴⁷Willard Cockerham, interview with Daniel J. Holder, December 5, 1993, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 12.

⁴⁸Lagemann interview, tape 6, 20-21; Annual Report, Superintendent, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park to Regional Director, Midwest Region, February 24, 1977.

⁴⁹Annual Report for 1978, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 1-2, park files.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 6.

⁵¹Superintendent's Annual Report for the Year 1979, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 1.

⁵²Superintendent's Annual Report, 1980, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 1.

⁵³Resources Management Plan, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 1981; revised, 1982, revised 1993; Statement for Management, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 1983, revised 1989, 1993; Historic Structure Report, Administrative Data Section and Architectural Data Section, 1983; Maintenance Management System, 1989.

⁵⁴Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 623; Barry Mackintosh, *Visitor Fees in the National Park System: A Legislative and Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, History Division, 1983), 55-82.

⁵⁵Superintendent's Annual Report — 1981, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, A2621, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

⁵⁶George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 1988 Annual Report, A2621, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

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¹Robert E. Whissen, Renzo Riddo, Thomas Busch, "Roof Investigation Memorial Structure, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park," Denver Service Center, September 1, 1978.

²Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission Executive Committee, May 26, 1933, National Archives, Record Group 148, Records of Minor Congressional Committees; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 77-78.

³Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission Executive Committee, March 26, 1934, NA, RG 148; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 122-23.

⁴Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 123.

⁵Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 124; Minutes of the Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission Executive Committee, April 21, 1934, NA, RG 148.

⁶Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission Executive Committee, June 15, 1934, NA, RG 148; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 124-25.

⁷Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission Executive Committee, June 15, 1934, NA, RG 148; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 125-26.

⁸Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 126-28.

⁹*Ibid.*, 128-30.

¹⁰Ibid., 128-30.

¹¹C. W. Nothnagel to D. Frank Culbertson, December 31, 1938, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park files, transferred from Indiana Department of Conservation.

¹²Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 131.

¹³Schucker and Bixby, "Report of Findings in the Inspection and Testing for Water Leakage also for Defective Electrical Wiring and Recommendations for Correction," George Rogers Clark National Historical Park files, transferred from Indiana Department of Conservation.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Vincennes *Sun-Commercial*, October 9, 1941.

¹⁶Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 136-42.

¹⁷Ibid., 142.

¹⁸Ibid., 142-46.

¹⁹Henry C. Prange to K. R. Cougill, Director, Indiana State Parks, Land and Water, August 29, 1950; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 148-53.

²⁰K. R. Cougill to Kenneth Kunkel, Director, Indiana Department of Conservation, March 13, 1952; Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 152-55.

²¹Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 155-56.

²²Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 156-58; Vincennes *Sun-Commercial*, July 21, 1954; Henry Prange to William H. Hardwick, October 17, 1957.

²³Bearss, *Historic Structures Report*, 156-60; Walter Minderman to Robert Starrett, November 6, 1965.

²⁴Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 52-55; Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 222-23; Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 534-56.

²⁵Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 187-211; Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 129-32; Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 27, 37, 58.

²⁶Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 132-33; Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 339-78.

²⁷"Master Plan: George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, Knox County, Indiana," National Park Service, January 1967, 30-32.

²⁸Ezra Winter to Robert F. Wirsching, February 1, 1947, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.

²⁹Ralph T. Roan, Acting Director, Harpers Ferry Center to Director, Northeast Region, May

9, 1972, D6215, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park; Cockerham interview, 17.

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- ¹⁸Superintendent James Holcomb, interview with Daniel J. Holder, December 3, 1993, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 13; Superintendent Terry M. DiMattio to Regional Director Don Castleberry, April 17, 1990, L58, Reading File, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park; Superintendent Terry M. DiMattio to Mayor William D. Rose, April 17, 1990, L58, Vincennes Memorial Mall, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park.
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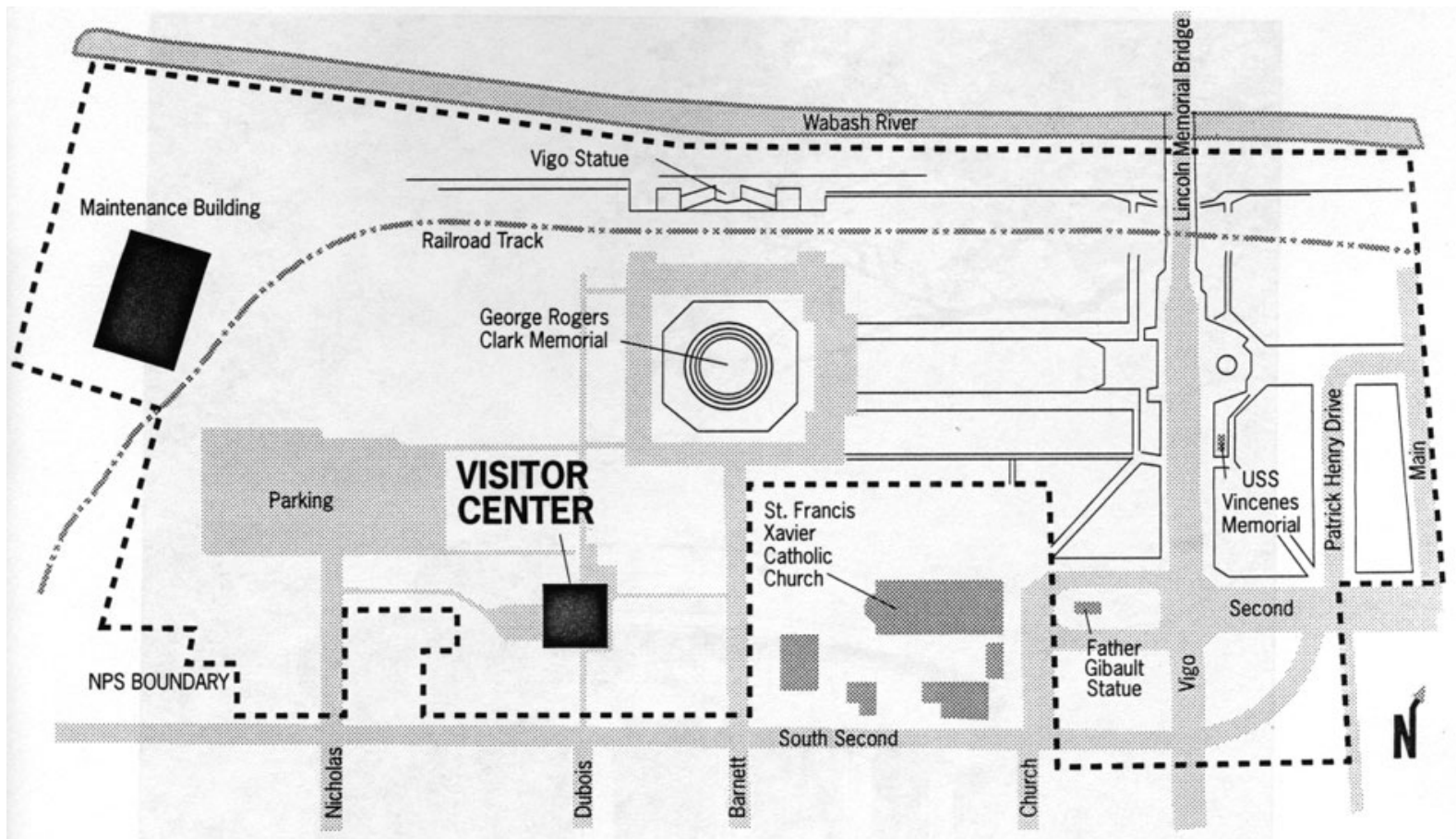
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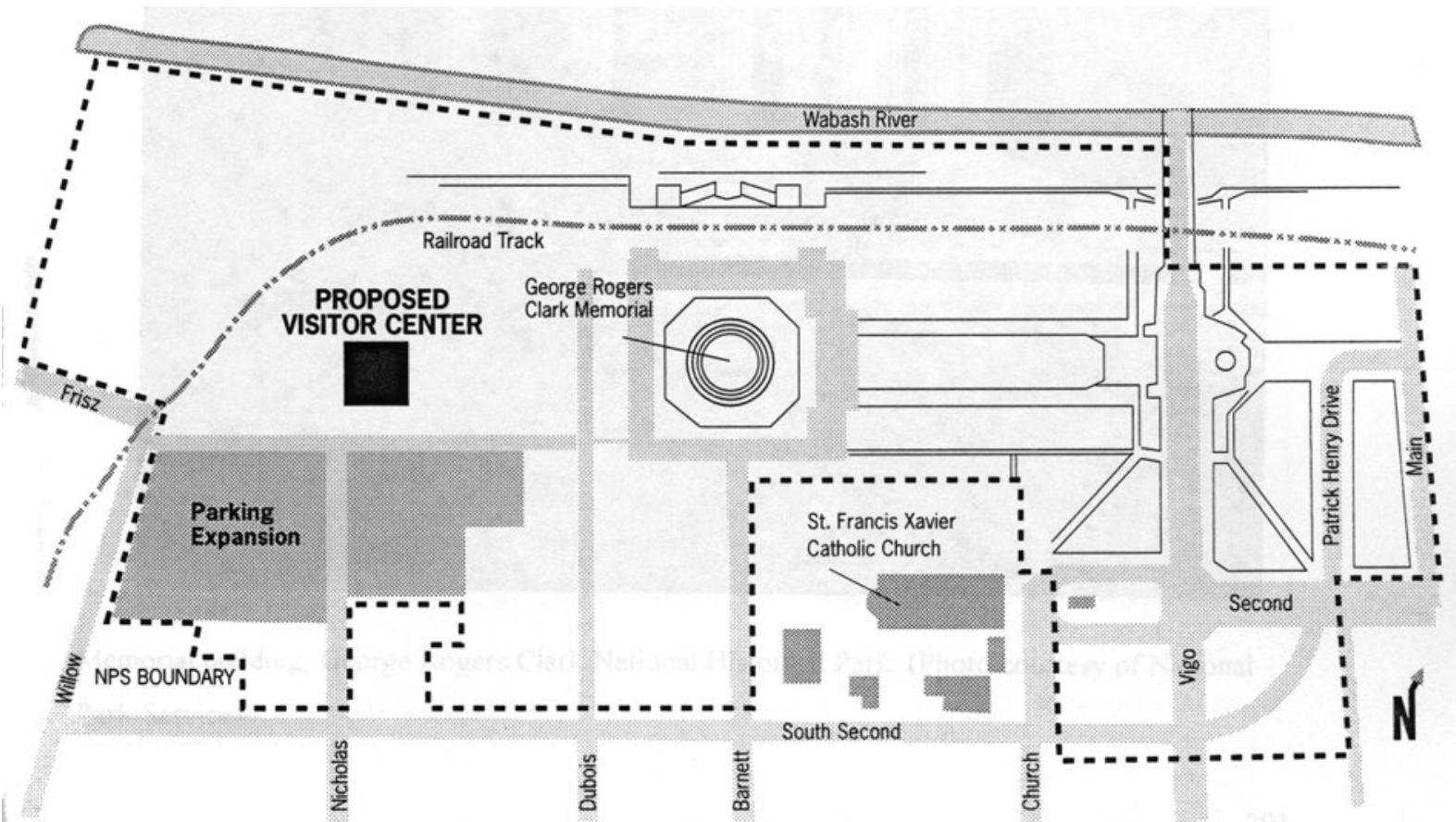
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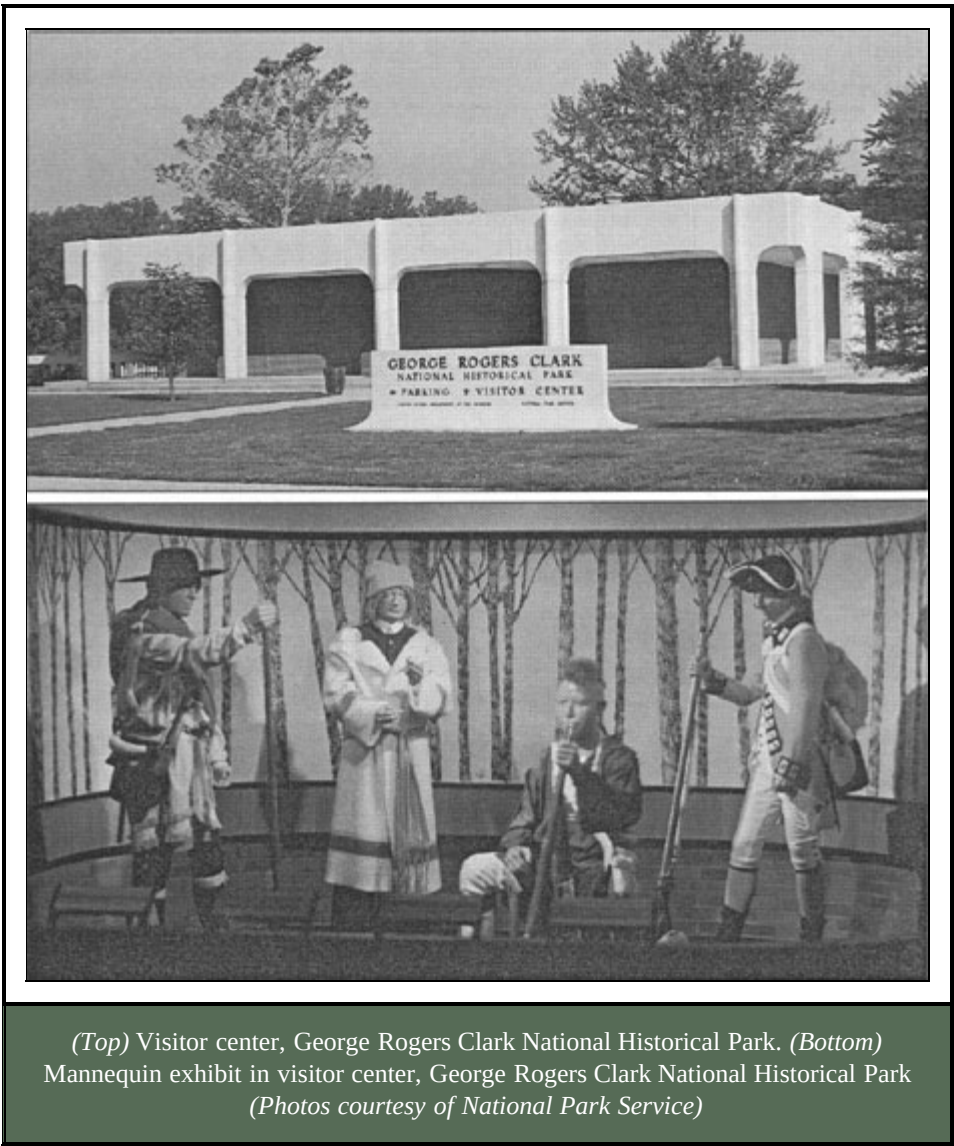
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Maintaining A Legacy

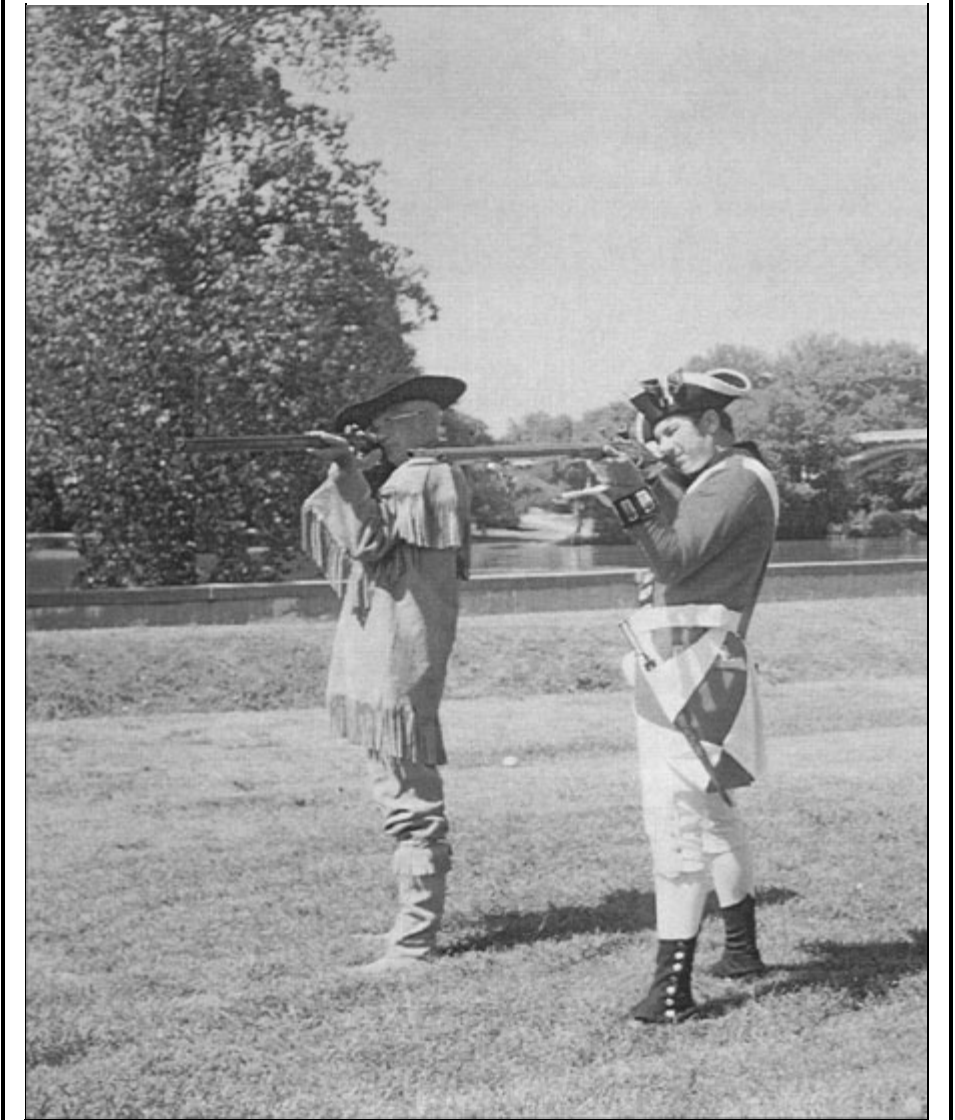
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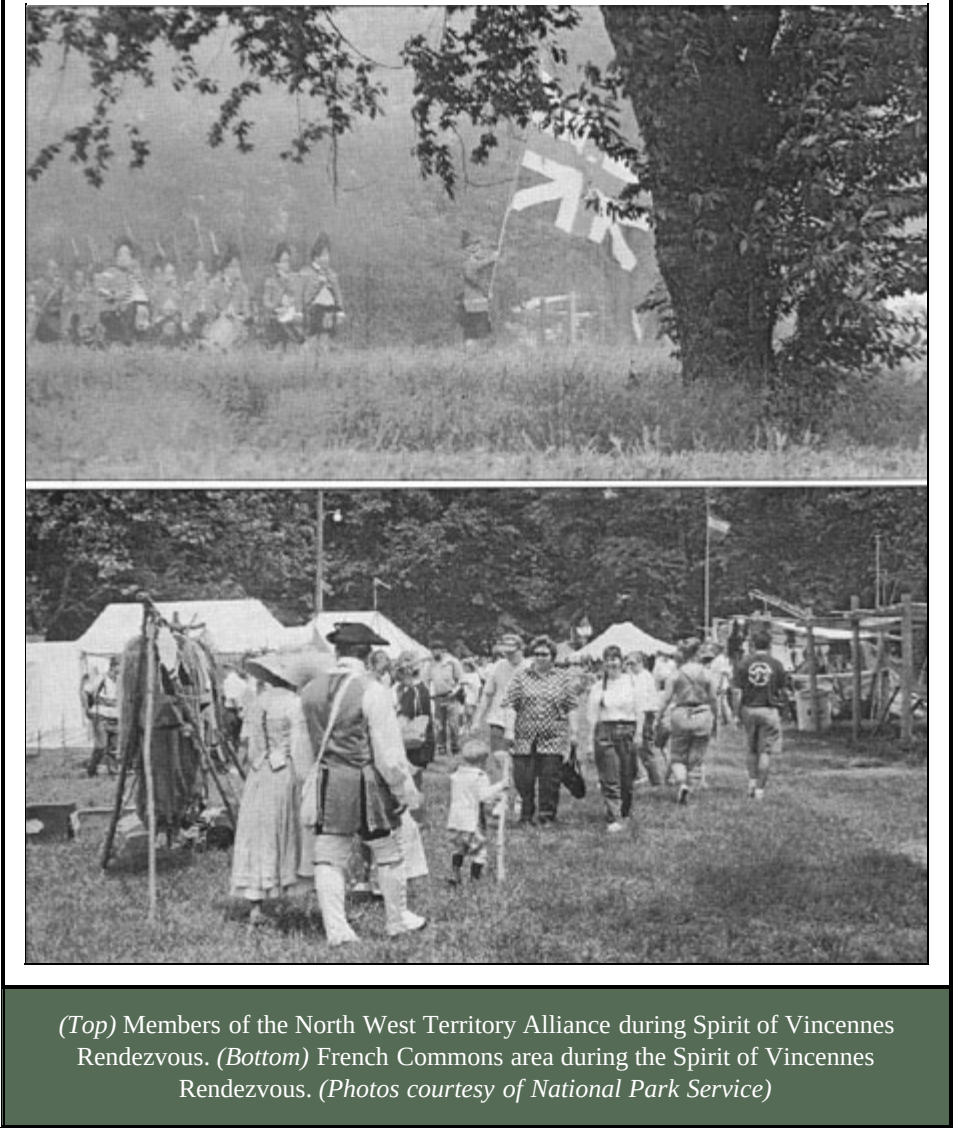
APPENDIX B: Photographs



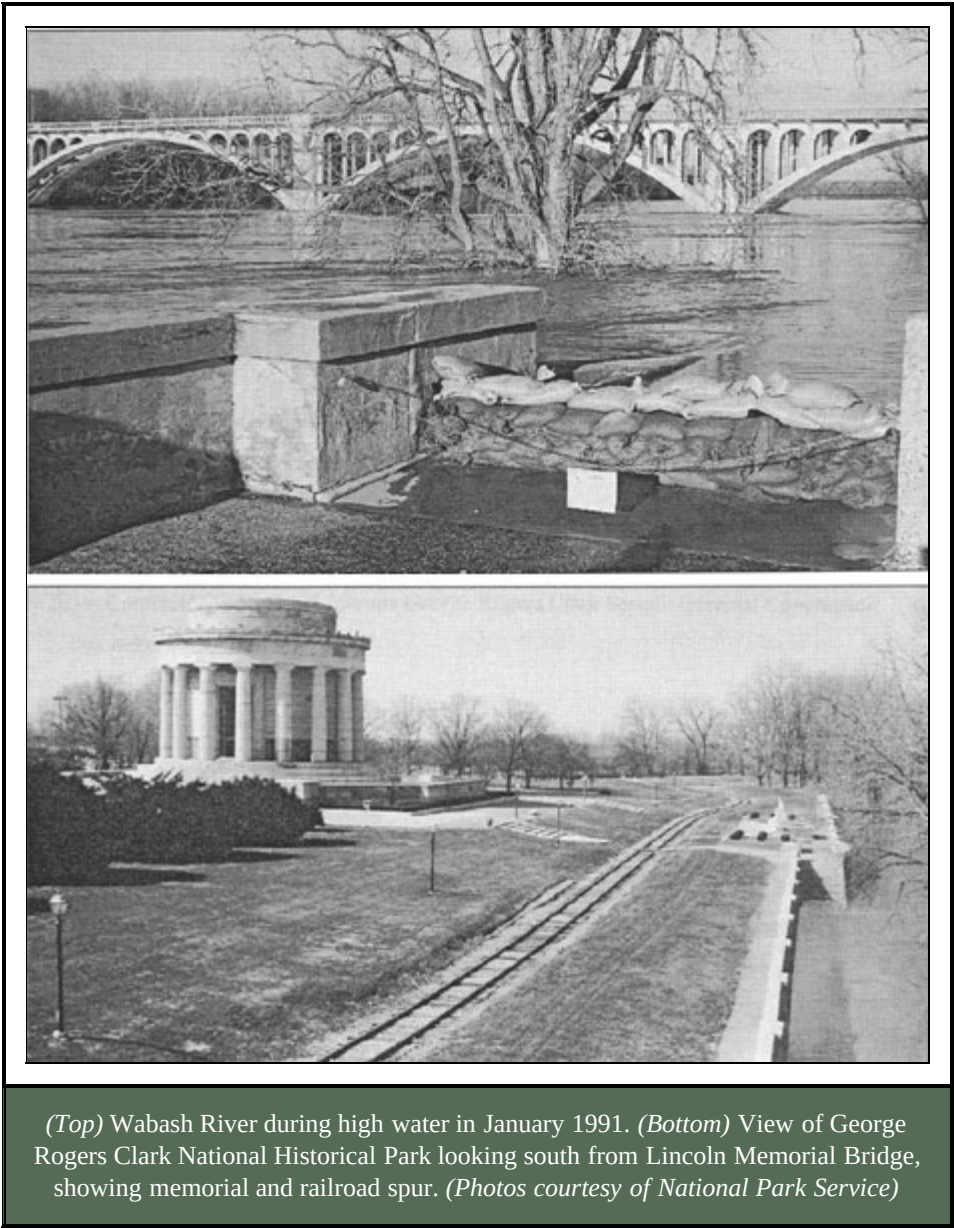
(Top) Visitor center, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. (Bottom) Mannequin exhibit in visitor center, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park
(Photos courtesy of National Park Service)



Park Superintendent Robert Lagemann (*left*) and seasonal ranger Jerry Erny giving a firearms demonstration. (*Photo courtesy of National Park Service*)



George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. *(Photo courtesy of National Park Service)*



(Top) Wabash River during high water in January 1991. *(Bottom)* View of George Rogers Clark National Historical Park looking south from Lincoln Memorial Bridge, showing memorial and railroad spur. *(Photos courtesy of National Park Service)*

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