COMMEMORATION AND COLLABORATION:

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Jackie Gonzales, Ph.D.
Emily Greenwald, Ph.D.

2018



NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Commemoration and Collaboration: An Administrative History of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail

U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Midwest Regional Office and Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail
Omaha, Nebraska

2018

Recommended/Associate Regional Director,
Cultural Resources, Midwest Region — Date: 4/9/2018

Concurred/Superintendent,
Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail — Date: 4-10-2018

Approved/ Regional Director, Midwest Regional Office — Date: 4/12/2018

Table of Contents

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS XI

INTRODUCTION 1

Project Team 1
Methodology 1
Acknowledgments 1
The Corps of Discovery: A Brief Overview 2
Creating the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 3
The Resource 4
Purpose of the Study 6

CHAPTER 1. COMMEMORATING LEWIS AND CLARK 7

Publication of the Journals and Narratives of the Journey 7
Claim to Western Territories 9
Emblems of the Closing Frontier 12
Centennial Commemorations 14
Commemorating Sacagawea 19
Memorials and Pageants 21
Tracing Roads and Damming Rivers 22
Sesquicentennial Celebrations 26

CHAPTER 2. LEWIS AND CLARK AND THE NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM (1957–1968) 31

Lewis and Clark National Tourway 31
Federal Protection of Lewis and Clark Sites 33
Recreation and Natural Resource Ribbons: A Lewis and Clark Trail 35
The Lewis and Clark Trail Commission 38
Origins of the National Trails System Idea 43
The National Trails System Act of 1968 47

CHAPTER 3. ESTABLISHING THE LEWIS AND CLARK NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL (1968–1978) 53

The Commission Becomes the Foundation 53
Lewis and Clark Trail Study: Take Two 55
A National Historic Trails Category 58
Omnibus National Parks Bills 64
Passage of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 66

CHAPTER 4. DEVELOPING THE TRAIL (1978–1992) 71

FUNDING CHALLENGES 71
ASSIGNING A REGION 71
ANDRUS DEMANDS RESULTS 73
THE COMPREHENSIVE MANAGEMENT PLAN 75
STUDIES AND SEGMENT SELECTION 75
RECREATION RESOURCE STUDY 77
PUBLIC INPUT 80
RECOMMENDATIONS 81
STAFFING THE TRAIL 86
TRAIL DEVELOPMENT AND PARTNERSHIPS 87
STATE-LEVEL PARTNERSHIPS 88
LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION 91
SITE AND SEGMENT CERTIFICATION 94
THE ADVISORY COUNCIL 96
CREATING THE COUNCIL 96
MEETINGS 97
LAPSE AND DISINTEGRATION 99
NHT COORDINATION 100

CHAPTER 5. VISITOR CENTERS (1983–2017) 103

INTRODUCTION 103
LEWIS & CLARK STATE HISTORIC SITE (HARTFORD, IL) 104
MISSOURI RIVER BASIN LEWIS & CLARK VISITOR CENTER (NEBRASKA CITY, NE) 107
WESTERN HISTORIC TRAILS CENTER (COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA) 111
LEWIS & CLARK INTERPRETIVE CENTER (WASHBURN, ND) 113
POMPEYS PILLAR NATIONAL MONUMENT (POMPEYS PILLAR, MT) 115
LEWIS AND CLARK NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL INTERPRETIVE CENTER (GREAT FALLS, MT) 117
LEWIS AND CLARK NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (ASTORIA, OR) 120
FEDERAL PARTNER SITES 122

CHAPTER 6. PLANNING THE BICENTENNIAL (1993–2002) 127

PLANS AND PARTNERSHIPS 127
THE BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL 127
FIRST NPS PLANNING FOR THE BICENTENNIAL 131
BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL DEVELOPMENT 135
LEWIS AND CLARK FEVER 140
BICENTENNIAL INITIATIVES IN CONGRESS 142
FEDERAL INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP 145
TRIBAL OUTREACH AND ASSOCIATED TRAIL DEVELOPMENT 151
"LISTENING SESSIONS" 152
GERARD BAKER 156
CIRCLE OF TRIBAL ADVISORS (COTA) 160
BAKER'S ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES 165

CHALLENGE COST SHARE GRANTS **169**
ADMINISTRATION 169
PROJECTS 174

CHAPTER 7. CORPS II: THE LEWIS AND CLARK BICENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION 179

CORPS II PLANNING **179**
INITIAL IDEAS 179
JEFFERSON NATIONAL EXPANSION MEMORIAL CORPS II PROPOSAL 181
TENT OF MANY VOICES 186
CORPS II EXHIBIT PLANNING 188
BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL CRISIS 192
CORPS II FABRICATION 196
BICENTENNIAL STAFF AND VOLUNTEERS **201**
LEADERSHIP, STAFF, AND BUDGETS 202
VOLUNTEER PROGRAM 206
CORPS II ON THE ROAD **207**
THE EXHIBIT 208
TRAVELING AND HOSTING LOGISTICS OF CORPS II 216
STAFFING LOGISTICS 218
SIGNATURE EVENTS 221
OTHER CORPS II EVENTS 226
STOP LEWIS AND CLARK MOVEMENT 228
MEDIA AND PUBLICITY 231
EDUCATIONAL PRODUCTS 234
CORPS II PARTNERSHIPS **236**
BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL 236
COTA 239
LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION 243
CORPS II IN RETROSPECT **243**

CHAPTER 8. THE TRAIL IN TRANSITION (2004–2009) 249

RESTRUCTURING TRAIL ADMINISTRATION **249**
CORE OPERATIONS ANALYSIS 249
STAFF AND ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION 254
LEWIS AND CLARK NHT VISITOR CENTER IN OMAHA 256
COMPREHENSIVE MANAGEMENT PLAN 260
EASTERN LEGACY EXTENSION PLANNING 260
EVOLVING PARTNERSHIPS AND PROGRAMS **261**
CHALLENGE COST SHARE GRANTS 262
LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION 263
TRIBAL PARTNERSHIPS 266
CERTIFIED SITES PROGRAM 268
INTERPRETIVE WAYSIDES 269

CHAPTER 9. BEYOND THE BICENTENNIAL (2009–2017) 271

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES UNDER WEEKLEY 271
NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM DEFINITIONS 273
INTEGRATED RESOURCES STEWARDSHIP DIVISION 275
COMPLIANCE WITH ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION LAWS 276
WAYSHOWING 281
OUTDOOR RECREATION AND MAPPING 282
SCOPE OF COLLECTIONS STATEMENT 284
INTERPRETATION, EDUCATION, AND VOLUNTEER SERVICES 285
INTERPRETATION 286
CURRICULUM 286
PUBLICATIONS AND MEDIA 288
MANAGEMENT OF VOLUNTEERS 290
VISITOR CENTER OPERATIONS 291
2011 MISSOURI RIVER FLOOD 293
PLANNING 294
COMPREHENSIVE MANAGEMENT PLAN 294
FOUNDATION DOCUMENT 295
EASTERN LEGACY EXTENSION PLANNING 296
HIGH POTENTIAL HISTORIC SITES AND ROUTE SEGMENTS 298
CENTENNIAL PLAN 302
NEW AND REVAMPED PARTNERSHIPS 303
PARTNER GRANTS 303
LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION (LCTHF) 304
LEWIS AND CLARK TRUST 308
TRIBAL PARTNERSHIPS 309
OTHER PARTNERSHIPS 310

CHAPTER 10. THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OF LEWIS AND CLARK NHT 311

ESTABLISHMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF LEWIS AND CLARK NHT IN RETROSPECT 311
FUTURE CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS 312

BIBLIOGRAPHY 317

ARCHIVES 317
STUDIES AND SURVEYS 317
GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS 318
ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS 320
FILM 321
BOOKS AND ARTICLES 321
NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS 327

INDEX 329

APPENDIX A. CERTIFIED SITES AND SEGMENTS A-1

APPENDIX B. LEWIS AND CLARK NHT ADVISORY COUNCIL MEMBERS B-1

APPENDIX C. TRAIL BUDGET C-1

APPENDIX D. CIRCLE OF STATE ADVISORS D-1

APPENDIX E. LEWIS AND CLARK NHT STAFF E-1

APPENDIX F. SIGNATURE EVENTS AND OTHER CORPS II STOPS F-1

APPENDIX G. CIRCLE OF TRIBAL ADVISORS MEMBERS G-1

APPENDIX H. CIRCLE OF TRIBAL ADVISORS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE COMMEMORATIONS H-1

APPENDIX I. LITERARY OUTCOMES OF THE BICENTENNIAL I-1

APPENDIX J. HIGH POTENTIAL HISTORIC SITES J-1

APPENDIX K. LEGISLATION K-1

List of Tables

Table 1. Chronology of Benchmark Events in the Establishment of Lewis and Clark NHT 69

Table 2. Midwest Region and Lewis and Clark NHT operational funds provided to the Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Visitor Center in Nebraska City, Nebraska. 111

Table 3. Lewis and Clark NHT Challenge Cost Share Program, 1995–2006 171

List of Figures

Figure 1. The narrative of the Expedition published by Nicholas Biddle included the above sketches of Meriwether Lewis (left) and William Clark (right), 1814. 9

Figure 2. Expedition members drew sketches of flora and fauna that they encountered. Here, William Clark's drawing of a "white salmon trout" (coho salmon, Oncorhynchus kisutch) in his journal on March 16, 1806. 11

Figure 3. The Floyd Memorial Association built the Sergeant Floyd Monument in Sioux City, Iowa, in 1901. It became a National Historic Landmark in 1960. Pictured here, 2013. 14

Figure 4. Poster for the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon, 1905. 15

Figure 5. A bronze statue of Sacagawea by Alice Cooper, unveiled at the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon, 1905. The statue currently stands in Portland's Washington Park. 20

Figure 6. Lolo Motorway, Forest Road 500, was completed in the 1930s. 23

Figure 7. Gavin's Point Dam on the Missouri River between Yankton County, South Dakota, and Cedar County, Nebraska, was built as part of the Missouri River Basin Development Program and opened in 1957. Pictured here, 2016. 25

Figure 8. The Seaside Lions Club constructing a replica of the Expedition's salt works on the Oregon coast, 1955. 28

Figure 9. The Gateway Arch under construction in St. Louis, Missouri, after Congress authorized the appropriation of funds for the project in 1954. 34
Figure 10. Ding Darling, political cartoonist, conservationist, and creator of the Duck Stamp, pictured here purchasing the first duck stamps, which included his artwork, 1934. 36
Figure 11. Roadside markers created by the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission. 40
Figure 12. Map of the Lewis and Clark Trail included in the 1965 report, The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development, 1965. 42
Figure 13. Cover of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation's Trails for America report, 1966. 46
Figure 14. The final piece of the Lewis and Clark Highway, the portion of U.S. Highway 12 over Lolo Pass between Idaho and Montana, was completed in 1962, thanks in large part to the efforts of Idaho Senator Frank Church. 49
Figure 15. The Missouri River near Niobrara, Nebraska, is part of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. Congress later designated the area a wild and scenic river under the 1968 National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. 51
Figure 16. The LCTHF, whose logo is pictured here, was established after the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission disbanded in 1969. 54
Figure 17. Senator Frank Church (D-ID) (right) with President Jimmy Carter, 1977. 65
Figure 18. Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus (right), former Governor of Idaho, expressed personal interest in the Lewis and Clark NHT and its tourism potential for Trail states, c.1979. 74
Figure 19. The Dalles Dam, completed in 1957, is one of several dams along the Columbia River that have dramatically reshaped the hydrology and landscape of the Corps of Discovery's route. Pictured here, 2013. 77
Figure 20. Camping was one of many recreational opportunities proposed in the 1982 Comprehensive Management Plan. Here, a tent at a boat-in campsite along Lake Roosevelt, a dammed section of the Columbia River, 2016. 78
Figure 21. The Lolo Trail corridor on the Montana–Idaho border is one of the few stretches of the Lewis and Clark NHT where one can retrace the Expedition's route on foot. 80
Figure 22. The majority of the Lewis and Clark NHT consists of water trails, since the Corps of Discovery traveled by boat for most of the journey. Here, the Missouri River near Fort Benton, Montana, 2005. 83
Figure 23. Lewis and Clark NHT signs (top, 2011) supplemented Lewis and Clark Trail Commission highway signs (bottom, 2007) but did not replace them. 84
Figure 24. Eldon G. "Frenchy" Chuinard, M.D. (1904–1993). 90
Figure 25. Tom Gilbert (second from left) and Steve Elkinton (second from right) at a "Hike the Hill" event, 2014. 101
Figure 26. The Lewis and Clark State Historic Site in Hartford, Illinois, is a certified site along the Lewis and Clark NHT and therefore displays the Lewis and Clark NHT marker. Pictured here, 2007. 104
Figure 27. The Lewis and Clark Visitor Center in Hartford, Illinois, which opened in 2003. Pictured here, 2007. 106
Figure 28. The Lewis and Clark Visitor Center in Hartford, Illinois, includes a replica of the Camp River Dubois where the Corps of Discovery crew stayed over the winter of 1803–1804. Pictured here, 2007. 107
Figure 29. Replica pirogues on the Missouri River in Nebraska City during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 2004. 109
Figure 30. The McLean County Historical Society built a replica of Fort Mandan in the 1970s. Pictured here, 2006. 114
Figure 31. William Clark's engraved signature in the rock outcropping known as Pompeys Pillar in Montana. Pictured here, 2012. 115
Figure 32. Pompeys Pillar and the BLM Visitor Center in Pompeys Pillar, Montana, 2012. 116
Figure 33. Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center, Great Falls, Montana, 2012. 120
Figure 34. Living history presentations at Fort Clatsop, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park, Astoria, Oregon, 2013. 121
Figure 35. Dick and Roberta Basch and two of their children, Lorraine and Charlotte, at a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial event in Eagle Butte, South Dakota, 2004. 122

Figure 36. The Gateway Arch, Eads Bridge, and the Mississippi River from the Illinois side of the river, 2011. 123
Figure 37. Gavin's Point Dam, Yankton, South Dakota, 2011. 124
Figure 38. Dick Williams (right) joined the Trail in 1991 as Trail coordinator. His title later changed to program manager and then chief of resource management. Pictured here with a Trail partner in Nebraska City, 2004. 128
Figure 39. Allen Pinkham, member of the Bicentennial Council and of the Nez Perce Tribe, pictured here (left) speaking to Matt Buckner, an NPS employee, during the bicentennial, 2004. 130
Figure 40. The Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial in 1993 did not elicit protests from tribes as the Columbus Quincentennial did. Here, the view from the National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center in Baker City, Oregon, 2017. 134
Figure 41. The Bicentennial Council held its 1996 annual planning meeting along the Columbia River at Skamania Lodge in Stevenson, Washington. Pictured here, 1995. 135
Figure 42. Stephen Ambrose's book about the Expedition, Undaunted Courage, sparked widespread interest in Lewis and Clark, 1997. 140
Figure 43. Senator Byron Dorgan (D-ND) (left) at a Corps II event in Bismarck, North Dakota, 2004. To his right are Trail Superintendent Gerard Baker and Tex Hall, then the President of the National Congress of American Indians and Chairman of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation. 143
Figure 44. Gerard Baker and Jeff Olson at a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional reception in Washington, DC, 2003. 143
Figure 45. Members of Congress and representatives from the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation gather in the U.S. Capitol rotunda for the unveiling of a Sakakawea statue, donated to the National Statuary Hall Collection by the State of North Dakota, 2003. 144
Figure 46. Margaret Gorski of the USFS was an active member of the interagency working group. Pictured here in St. Louis, Missouri, 2006. 147
Figure 47. The BLM, a signatory to the interagency working group MOU, manages much of the land through which the Lewis and Clark NHT passes. Pictured here is BLM employee Dick Fichtler, who participated in bicentennial commemorations. 148
Figure 48. Historian Gary Moulton republished the Corps of Discovery journals during the bicentennial, with the help of NEH funding. Pictured here speaking to Corps II employees in Nebraska City, Nebraska, 2004. 149
Figure 49. Otis Halfmoon, former American Indian Liaison for the Lewis and Clark NHT, pictured here with Corps II interpreter Karla Sigala in Louisville, Kentucky, 2003. 154
Figure 50. Bobbie Conner, director of the Tamástslikt Cultural Institution at the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, attended several listening sessions in 1999. Pictured here in traditional clothing in Great Falls, Montana, 2005. 155
Figure 51. Gerard Baker speaks at a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial event, 2003. 158
Figure 52. Superintendent Gerard Baker, a career NPS employee, grew up on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Baker (left) is pictured here with Tex Hall, former Chairman of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation and president of the National Congress of American Indians, at a bicentennial event in New Town, North Dakota. 159
Figure 53. Chief Cliff Snider of the Chinook Tribe speaks during a bicentennial event in St. Louis, 2006. 161
Figure 54. Amy Mossett, member of the Bicentennial Council board, COTA, and the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation, gives a presentation at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in North Dakota, 2006. 162
Figure 55. Ed Hall was the Bureau of Indian Affairs representative to the interagency working group and to COTA. Pictured here in Washington, DC, 2003. 163
Figure 56. A meeting of Bicentennial Council and COTA board members. On the near side of the table, from left to right, Daphne Richards-Cook, Chris Howell, Karen Goering. On the far side, Bobbie Conner, Bob Miller, and Robert Archibald, 2003. 164
Figure 57. COTA members Chris Howell and Amy Mossett with Trail employees Dick Basch, Jeff Olson, and Gerard Baker, presumably making a joke of how often the bicentennial required them to be on their phones, 2003. 165

Figure 58. Administrative Officer Betty Boyko managed the Trail's administrative structure and finances for most of the bicentennial, 2006. 166
Figure 59. Otis Halfmoon, the Trail's first American Indian liaison, reached out to tribes across the nation asking them to participate in the bicentennial. Here, Halfmoon giving a presentation during the bicentennial. 167
Figure 60. Dick Basch (center) joined the Trail as American Indian liaison in 2003. Basch is pictured here in St. Louis, Missouri, with Darrell Martin (left), who also served as an American Indian liaison for the Trail for a brief period, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Craig Manson (right, in foreground), and Chief of Interpretation Pat Jones (far right), 2004. 168
Figure 61. Department of the Interior Challenge Cost Share funding, 1987–2009. 170
Figure 62. The Tamástslikt Cultural Institute on the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation received CCS funding for several projects during the bicentennial. 173
Figure 63. A 2003 CCS grant to the Kansas Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission enabled the construction of this riverfront pavilion in Atchison. Pictured here, 2013. 175
Figure 64. A FY 2000 CCS grant funded wayside exhibits in Elk Point City Park in Elk Point, South Dakota. Pictured here, 2015. 175
Figure 65. The Sacajawea Interpretive Center in Salmon, Idaho, received CCS funds from Lewis and Clark NHT during the bicentennial. Pictured here, 2004. 176
Figure 66. Mark Engler, chief of interpretation at JNEM in 1998, drafted the first detailed Corps II plan with his staff and was named the first superintendent of Corps II. 182
Figure 67. The NPS trademarked this Corps II logo in 1999. 185
Figure 68. The Tent of Many Voices was a forum for presentations by educators, government groups, tribes, historians, reenactors, and more. Here, members of the Blackfeet Tribe and the Lewis and Clark Honor Guard wait to enter the Tent of Many Voices at Monticello, 2003. 188
Figure 69. Carol McBryant joined the Trail in 2001 and was responsible for coordinating logistics of the Corps II exhibit. Pictured here in Washington, DC, 2003. 189
Figure 70. Busch Creative designed a Corps II exhibit that would have repurposed the Newscapade, 2002. 190
Figure 71 and 72. At a bicentennial event at the Missouri History Museum in 2004, Bob Archibald (center) receives a tribal blanket from Amy Mossett. In the second photo, Karen Goering (far left) stands with Amy Mossett, Jim Gray of the Osage Nation, and Bobbie Conner. 194
Figure 73. Legacy Transportation Company won the contract to construct and transport the trailer that would hold the Corps II exhibit. Here, NPS staff and Legacy Transportation staff examine the trailer during construction. 200
Figure 74. The final exhibit tents (left) and Tent of Many Voices, seen here assembled and ready for visitors, 2003. 201
Figure 75. Jeff Olson joined the Trail as public information officer in 2003. Pictured here in the Tent of Many Voices, 2005. 202
Figure 76. Pat Jones joined Corps II staff in 2002 as chief of interpretation. Pictured here in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 2003. 203
Figure 77. Steve Adams became the Lewis and Clark NHT superintendent in 2004. Adams is pictured here after receiving the gift of a traditional northwest tribal paddle while attending the Clatsop-Nehalem potlatch in Seaside, Oregon, during the "Destination: the Pacific" Signature Event, 2005. 204
Figure 78. Group photos of Corps II staff in 2004, 2005, and 2006. 206
Figure 79. Volunteers helped the NPS staff the welcome desk to the exhibit tents. Here, a volunteer with Corps II interpretive ranger Karla Sigala, 2003. 207
Figure 80. An aerial view of Corps II exhibit tents assembled and open to the public in Bismarck, North Dakota. 208
Figure 81. The Corps II exhibit tents fit in a trailer, pictured here, with exterior artwork by Michael Haynes. 208
Figure 82. Denver and Shanna Cain drove the Corps II trailer for the entire bicentennial. 209
Figure 83. Corps II staff assemble the exhibit in Bismarck, North Dakota, with help from the National Guard, 2004. 210
Figure 84. Steve Morehouse, USBR employee, traveled with Corps II along with his dugout canoe, 2006. 211

Figure 85. Other agencies set up tents at Corps II events. Here, USFS, BLM, and U.S. General Land Office tents at a Corps II event in Lewiston, Idaho, 2006. 212
Figure 86. USACE employees provided interpretation at the replica keelboat for signature events, and Corps II staff presented tours of it for other events. Pictured here, 2005. 213
Figure 87. Corps II employee Rebecca Havens sets up the tipi in the Gros Ventre twist style, 2006. 214
Figure 88. Corps II interpretive ranger John Phillips, at the touchtable of props outside of the Corps II tipi, speaks to a young dancer at the Oceti Sakowin Signature Event in Oacama, South Dakota. 215
Figure 89. At the month-long "Circle of Cultures, Time of Renewal & Exchange" Signature Event in Bismarck, North Dakota, Mandan, White Shield, Twin Buttes and Mandaree tribal communities constructed four full-sized traditional earth lodges. After the event finished, the lodges were dismantled and then reassembled in the participating tribal communities. 216
Figure 90. Logistics for Corps II were complicated. Here, fencing and amended traffic patterns to allow for visitors and school groups, Warm Springs, Oregon, 2006. 217
Figure 91. Corps II staff became close in their years of travels. Pictured here, January 2005. 219
Figure 92. USACE staff member at a signature event in St. Louis, Missouri, 2006. 220
Figure 93. Program cover page and table of contents for "Jefferson's West" signature event. 221
Figure 94. Leaders of the Osage Nation at a signature event in St. Louis, 2004. This marked the first time Osage Nation leaders had been welcomed back to their ancestral homeland. 223
Figure 95. The Discovery Expedition of St. Charles reenactors approach a signature event in St. Charles, Missouri, on the Missouri River, 2004. 223
Figure 96. Many signature events included indigenous games. 224
Figure 97. At the "Among the Niimiipuu" signature event in Lewiston, Idaho. Tent of Many Voices presentations included a panel with Cynthia Blackeagle, Allen Pinkham, Brian McCormick, and Crystal White, 2006. 225
Figure 98. Hasan Davis, as York, at a Corps II signature event in New Town, North Dakota, 2006. 225
Figure 99. A procession at the Billings, Montana, signature event, during which Corps II tents were set up adjacent to Pompeys Pillar, 2006. 226
Figure 100. Dancers at a Corps II event hosted by the Crow Tribe in Crow Agency in Montana, 2006. 227
Figure 101. Jack Gladstone (Blackfeet) performs at the Tent of Many Voices at a Corps II off-trail stop in Tucson, Arizona, 2005. 227
Figure 102. Discovery Expedition of St. Charles in Louisville, Kentucky, 2003. 228
Figure 103. Teaching a ring dance at the Oceti Sakowin signature event in Chamberlain, South Dakota, 2004. 230
Figure 104. Corps II press conference on the National Mall in Washington, DC. Superintendent Gerard Baker is standing in the middle, with Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton in front of him, facing the video camera, 2003. 231
Figure 105. Gerard Baker being interviewed in Hartford, Illinois, 2003. 232
Figure 106. Bobbie Conner (left) and Amy Mossett (right) pose next to a billboard advertising Corps II with Mossett's image on it, 2005. 233
Figure 107. NPS staff and partners created educational products for children at Corps II and in schools across the nation. Here, children examine historic props at a Corps II stop in Washington, DC, 2003. 235
Figure 108. The U.S. Mint issued a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemorative silver dollar in 2004. Proceeds from its sale went to the Bicentennial Council and the LCTHF. 237
Figure 109. The Rocky Boy Reservation hosted a Corps II event, 2005. 239
Figure 110. Bobbie Conner speaking at the final signature event in St. Louis, Missouri, surrounded by tribal flags, 2006. 241
Figure 111. Sammye Meadows (shown here in St. Louis in 2006), Bobbie Conner, and Ed Hall edited Enough Good People, a book documenting contributions that tribes made during the bicentennial and offering suggestions for future cooperation among tribes, non-tribal communities, and the government. 242
Figure 112. Superintendent Steve Adams at the Corps II closing ceremony with tribal flags behind him, 2006. 243
Figure 113. Performers prepare to enter the Tent of Many Voices in Missoula, Montana, 2006. 245

Figure 114. The Tent of Many Voices provided a forum to share stories. Here, Jeff Guillory, an elder of the Nez Perce Tribe, in Clarkston, Washington, 2005. 247
Figure 115. Transitional Position Management Chart, Lewis and Clark NHT, 2007. 252
Figure 116. Target Position Management Chart, Lewis and Clark NHT, 2007. 253
Figure 117. Dan Wiley, chief of the Integrated Resources Stewardship Division. 255
Figure 118. The Carl T. Curtis Midwest Regional Headquarters building, which opened in 2004. Pictured here, 2012. 256
Figure 119. Interior of the Lewis and Clark NHT Visitor Center in Omaha, 2016. 259
Figure 120. Visitor center exhibits included tribal flags from American Indian nations along the Trail. Flag processions by tribal nations were an important part of bicentennial commemorations. Pictured here, 2015. 259
Figure 121. Trail staff assisted with interpretive planning for the Bob Kerrey Pedestrian Bridge and partnered with the City of Omaha and the NPS MWRO to hold programs on or near the bridge. 259
Figure 122. The Western National Parks Association operates Riverfront Books in the Lewis and Clark NHT Omaha visitor center. Pictured here, 2015. 259
Figure 123. Chris Howell, pictured here (left) next to Gerard Baker during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, became president of the LCTHF in 2009. 264
Figure 124. Trail staff still partner with tribes, but maintaining those partnerships has become more difficult without the frequent opportunities for collaboration that came during the bicentennial. Here, a girl poses during a special program outside the MWRO building along the Missouri River, Omaha, Nebraska, 2009. 267
Figure 125. Superintendent Mark Weekley (right), pictured here with Jay Buckley (left) of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF), 2012. 272
Figure 126. Lewis and Clark NHT staff photo, 2010. 273
Figure 127. Trail resources stewardship staff monitor development along the Trail corridor, such as the liquefied natural gas development in the Columbia River Gorge. Pictured here, 2004. 278
Figure 128. American Indian Liaison Dick Basch has conducted extensive outreach to tribes and other partners in the northwest. Cannon Beach, Oregon, has been the site of archeological investigations in recent years. Pictured here, 2004. 280
Figure 129. Trail staff completed an interactive Trail Atlas in 2012 and have continued to make improvements to it. Pictured here as it appears online, 2017. 283
Figure 130. Washington State University's Ella Inglebret, Gerard Baker, Dick Basch, and Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs at the unveiling of the Honoring Tribal Legacies curriculum, 2015. 288
Figure 131. Lewis and Clark NHT Junior Ranger Patch, 2017. 289
Figure 132. Rachel Daniels presented an interpretive program for Omaha area youth, 2013. 292
Figure 133. In the draft extension study report, the MWRO recommended that the NPS extend the Trail as far as Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Pictured here, 2003. 298
Figure 134. The Big Bend of the Missouri is listed as an HPHS. 300
Figure 135. The "Two Medicine Fight Site," south of Cut Bank, Montana, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is included in the list of HPHS. Here, Blackfeet Cultural Director Curly Bear Wagner speaks to Corps II staff near the site, 2005. 301
Figure 136. BLM staff preparing to canoe in the Upper Missouri River Breaks National Monument, a section of the Trail managed by the BLM and listed by the NPS as a possible high potential route segment for the Lewis and Clark NHT. 302
Figure 137. Margaret Gorksi (left) and Jay Buckley (right) shepherded the LCTHF through several rocky years. 306
Figure 138. LCTHF members from the Idaho chapter maintaining a Trail segment near Lolo Pass, 2015. 307
Figure 139. Jim Mallory (right) pictured here in 2009 with Cam Sholly, Superintendent of Natchez Trace Parkway, at an anniversary commemoration of the death of Meriwether Lewis. Mallory was instrumental in the creation of the Lewis and Clark Trust. Sholly later became NPS Midwest Regional Director. 308

List of Abbreviations

AIM	American Indian Movement
ATC	Appalachian Trail Conservancy
BBNHS	Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BLM	Bureau of Land Management
BOR	Bureau of Outdoor Recreation
CCS	Challenge Cost Share
CIRCLE	Council for Indigenous, Relevance, Communication, Leadership and Excellence
CMP	Comprehensive Management Plan
CNRA	Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008
COA	Core Operations Analysis
COCA	Circle of Conservation Advisors
COEA	Circle of Education Advisors
Corps II	Corps of Discovery II
COSA	Circle of State Advisors
COTA	Circle of Tribal Advisors
CSU	Colorado State University
DAR	Daughters of the American Revolution
DOEd	Department of Education
DOI	Department of the Interior
DSC	Denver Service Center
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ERTS	Electronic Review Tracking System
FHWA	Federal Highway Administration

FWA	Federal Works Agency
FY	Fiscal Year
GIS	geographic information system
HCRS	Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service
HFC	Harpers Ferry Center
HPHS	High Potential Historic Sites
IHPA	Illinois Historic Preservation Agency
ISTEA	Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991
JNEHA	Jefferson National Expansion Historical Association
JNEM	Jefferson National Expansion Memorial
LCBO	Lewis and Clark Bicentennial of Oregon
LCTHF	Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation
LCTSE	Lewis and Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment
MHS	Missouri Historical Society
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRBLCC	Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Interpretive Trail and Visitor Center Foundation
MWRO	Midwest Regional Office
NEH	National Endowment for the Humanities
NHL	National Historic Landmark
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NHS	National Historic Site
NHT	National Historic Trail
NPRA	National Parks and Recreation Act
NPS	National Park Service
NRA	National Recreation Area
NSHSB	National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

NST	National Scenic Trail
NTS	National Trails System
NTSA	National Trails System Act
ORRRC	Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission
PKI	Peter Kiewet Institute
PNRO	Pacific Northwest Regional Office
PNTS	Partnership for the National Trails System
PSAs	public service announcements
PSP	Partner Support Program
RTCA	Rivers and Trails Conservation Assistance
SCA	Student Conservation Association
SHPO(s)	State Historic Preservation Officer(s)
URBSN	United Remnant Band of the Shawnee Nation of Ohio
USACE	U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
USBR	U.S. Bureau of Reclamation
USFS	U.S. Forest Service
USFWS	U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
USGS	U.S. Geological Survey
VIP	Volunteers in Parks
WASO	National Park Service Washington Support Office
WNPA	Western National Parks Association
WSHS	Washington State Historical Society

Introduction

Project Team

The Midwest Regional Office (MWRO) of the National Park Service (NPS) hired Historical Research Associates, Inc. (HRA), in 2016 to prepare this administrative history of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT). Emily Greenwald served as the project manager and participated in the research, oral-history interviews, and writing. HRA historian Jackie Gonzales conducted many of the interviews and wrote much of the report. HRA historians Kayla Blackman, Bradley Gills, and Nick Kryloff, along with editor Dawn Vogel and production specialists Pamela Cobb and Jessi Frank, also contributed to the project.

Methodology

HRA collected most of the documents used for this report at the Lewis and Clark NHT headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska. They came primarily from the Trail's Central Files and from its electronic files. Trail staff also provided us with copies of relevant records stored at the NPS multipark storage facility in Independence, Missouri. We conducted additional archival research at the William P. Sherman Library and Archives in Great Falls, Montana, the National Archives and Records Administration in Kansas City, Missouri, the National Archives and Records Administration Federal Records Center in Lenexa, Kansas, the Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center in St. Louis, Missouri, and the Montana State Historical Society Archives in Helena, Montana. We used several online digitized databases to collect legislative history records, and we also found some useful electronic records through the NPS website.

We conducted twenty-three in-person oral-history interviews with people associated with the Trail, including current and former NPS staff, leaders of the Circle of Tribal Advisors, leaders of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, and staff from other federal agencies who were involved in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. They are listed in the bibliography.

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank Superintendent Mark Weekley and the staff at the Lewis and Clark NHT for their assistance throughout the project. We especially appreciate the efforts of Cultural Resources Program Manager Dan Jackson, who was our primary point of contact at the Trail. He coordinated HRA's visits to Trail headquarters in Omaha, connected us with other staff at the Trail and at the MWRO, and provided us with electronic documents and photographs that were central to the administrative history.

Senior Historian Ron Cockrell at the MWRO served as the contracting officer's representative for this project. This is the third project HRA has completed under Ron's supervision, and it is always a pleasure to work with him.

We greatly appreciate the willingness of the interview participants to share their experiences. They welcomed us into their homes and offices, and they accommodated our schedules as we hopped around the country to conduct the interviews. They shared books, photographs, and other objects connected to the Trail's history and graciously answered follow-up questions as we finished the report.

We would also like to thank staff at the archives where we conducted research for this project: the William P. Sherman Library and Archives in Great Falls, Montana, the National Archives and Records Administration in Kansas City, Missouri, the National Archives and Records Administration Federal Records Center in Lenexa, Kansas, the Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center in St. Louis, Missouri, and the Montana State Historical Society Archives in Helena, Montana.

The Corps of Discovery: A Brief Overview

On January 18, 1803, President Thomas Jefferson asked Congress to authorize $2,500 "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the U.S." He spoke of expanding the fur trade with American Indians up the Missouri River, but he noted that "[t]he river Missouri, & the Indians inhabiting it, are not as well known as is desirable . . . ." Relying on "the best accounts," he optimistically predicted that a cross-continental water route could be found by traveling up the Missouri to its source and, "possibly with a single portage," traveling on a similar river to the Pacific Ocean. He spoke of employing "[a]n intelligent officer with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it" who

> might explore the whole line, even to the Western ocean, having conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders as others are admitted, agree on convenient deposits for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers.[1]

Jefferson selected Captain Meriwether Lewis to lead this expedition. Lewis spent the next several months preparing for the journey and enlisted his friend William Clark to serve as co-commander.

Between May 1804 and September 1806, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and their Corps of Discovery traveled a total of 8,229 miles from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean and back again. They mapped the region, collected data on natural resources, identified species of plants and

[1] Thomas Jefferson to Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, January 18, 1803, in Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition With Related Documents* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 10–13 (quotations on 12–13).

animals previously known only to American Indians, and established diplomatic relations with many American Indian tribes. The Lewis and Clark Expedition opened trade routes to the Pacific and set the stage for subsequent U.S. territorial expansion and emigration of Americans and others to what is now the Pacific Northwest.

Creating the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail[2]

During the nineteenth century, the Corps of Discovery became an important cultural touchstone for European Americans, who associated the Expedition with U.S. expansionist success and a glorious frontier era. They celebrated the Expedition's centennial with two world's fairs and a variety of local pageants and other events. Automobile travel in the early twentieth century allowed people to begin tracing the explorers' route. States and local groups advocated construction of Lewis and Clark highways and promoted sites along the trail, trying both to attract tourists and to associate themselves with the national narrative. In the 1950s, during and after the Corps of Discovery sesquicentennial, Congress began protecting certain Lewis and Clark sites as national landmarks, national monuments, and national historic sites.

As early as 1948, members of Congress advocated a "Lewis and Clark Tourway" to be established between St. Louis, Missouri, and Three Forks, Montana. Although the project never came to fruition, it inspired future efforts to preserve and interpret the Corps of Discovery's route. In the early 1960s, with an extra push from a foundation established in honor of conservation advocate Jay Norwood "Ding" Darling, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall commissioned the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) to create a plan for identifying, protecting, developing, and interpreting the Lewis and Clark route. The resulting study recommended the creation of an interpretive trail designed for motorists, horseback riders, boaters, and hikers. Although not immediately implemented, the completed plan contributed both to the movement toward a national trails system and to the establishment of a national trail specific to Lewis and Clark.[3]

The origins of the National Trails System in America are generally traced to the 1920s establishment of the first interstate recreational trail, the Appalachian Trail. Seizing upon the growing popularity of hiking and other outdoor activities in the 1960s, President Lyndon B. Johnson called for a national trails system and urged the federal government to "make full use of rights-of-way and other public paths" to accomplish this goal.[4] In 1968, Congress passed the National Trails

---

[2] The history summarized in this section is covered in greater detail in Chapters 1–3.

[3] U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI), Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR), *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 1965).

[4] Sandra L. Johnson, "Overview of the National Trails System Act of 1968," American Trails, December 11, 1998, http://www.americantrails.org/resources/feds/NatTrSysOverview.html.

System Act (NTSA), a milestone in the conservation movement.[5] The NTSA initially only established criteria for three categories of trails: national scenic trails, national recreation trails, and national connecting and side trails. The NTSA directed further study of the Lewis and Clark Trail under the national scenic trails guidelines, but the resulting study determined that the national scenic trails criteria effectively disqualified historic migration trails from inclusion in the national trails system. Congress amended the NTSA in 1978, adding national historic trails as an official category and establishing the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.[6] The 1978 legislation assigned the Department of the Interior (DOI) responsibility for administering the Lewis and Clark NHT, and DOI delegated that authority to the NPS.[7]

The Resource

The Lewis and Clark NHT passes through eleven states and stretches for more than 3,700 miles, starting at Wood River, Illinois, and ending at the Pacific Ocean in Oregon.[8] The Lewis and Clark NHT, as designated by Congress, does not possess property (land) of its own. Instead, federal, tribal, state, local, and private stakeholders manage land, waterways, and sites along the Corps of Discovery's route. The Lewis and Clark NHT administration works in partnership with stakeholders to fulfill its purpose, described as follows:

> The purpose of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is to commemorate the 1804 to 1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition through the identification; protection; interpretation; public use and enjoyment; and preservation of historic, cultural, and natural resources associated with the expedition and its place in U.S. and tribal history.[9]

The Lewis and Clark NHT's significance primarily derives from its association with the Corps of Discovery. It educates the public about the history of the 1804 to 1806 journey, and it provides visitors with direct experience of the places and landscapes through which the explorers traveled. It also interprets human and natural history along the trail over time, connecting visitors both to the past and to current communities and environmental conditions.[10]

The Lewis and Clark NHT's 2012 Foundation Document describes two categories of fundamental resources and values: the historic route and associated natural history, and American

---

[5] Act of October 2, 1968, 82 Stat. 919.

[6] Act of October 2, 1968, 82 Stat. 919; Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467.

[7] Act of October 2, 1968, 82 Stat. 919; Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3512.

[8] DOI, National Park Service (NPS), *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Omaha, NE: MWRO, September 2012), 4.

[9] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 7.

[10] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 7–8.

Indian tribes and tribal cultural resources.[11] It identifies a number of components under each category:

- Historic Route and Associated Natural History
  - Routes of Corps of Discovery along historic waterways and adjacent terrain.
  - Corresponding locations along contemporary waterways.
  - Overland routes crossing the Rocky Mountains on the westward journey.
  - Multiple overland and water routes of the Corps of Discovery on the return journey.
  - Physical and biotic components of the lands through which the routes pass and that define the various ecosystems encountered.
  - Experience of the historic routes through opportunities to interact with scenery, sounds, smells, weather, lands, plants, and animals similar to those experienced by the Expedition.
  - Public access to the historic trail and surrounding landscapes.[12]
- American Indian Tribes and Tribal Cultural Resources
  - Tribal homelands.
  - Tribal and nontribal organizations.
  - Individuals.
  - Tribal agencies.
  - Tribal enterprises.
  - Tribal educational institutions.[13]

The Foundation Document also identifies two critical supporting resources: primary documentation ("journals, maps, oral histories, plant and animal specimens, artifacts, drawings, diagrams, and letters and correspondence") and partnerships. It explains the latter as follows:

> For the National Park Service to manage and achieve its legislative mandate, national historic trail partners and partner organizations are critical. The length and complexity of the trail and the fact that very little of the trail is under NPS ownership means that many activities must be in collaboration with partners, landowners, and governmental organizations.[14]

[11] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 13.

[12] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 14.

[13] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 19.

[14] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Omaha, NE: MWRO, September 2012), 23.

The lack of property and reliance on partnerships are key ways in which the Lewis and Clark NHT stands apart from most other NPS units (such as parks, monuments, and historic sites), and they are also the source of many of the management challenges that the Lewis and Clark NHT has faced.

Purpose of the Study

This administrative history traces the establishment and management of the Lewis and Clark NHT up to 2017. The goal of an administrative history is "to obtain an accurate, thorough, and well-written account of the origin and evolution of each unit of the National Park System." The NPS further describes it as follows:

> A park administrative history explains how the park was conceived and established and how it has been administered up to the present. It focuses on the history of the park as a park, to include the history of various park programs and activities. The history of the event, movement, or person that a historical park commemorates need be addressed only to the extent that it affected the establishment of the park and its administration. In contrast to the administrative history of individual parks, the administrative history of the National Park Service documents and analyzes important aspects of the history of the Service as a federal agency and deals with the establishment and administration of servicewide programs and policies.[15]

This report begins with early commemorations of the Corps of Discovery. It then examines the creation of the Lewis and Clark NHT, situating it in the historical contexts of conservation, public recreation, and national trails legislation. From there, the report covers the early administration of the Trail, planning for and carrying out a large-scale commemoration of the Expedition's bicentennial, the transition to a new era of administration after the bicentennial, and the challenges facing the Lewis and Clark NHT today.

[15] NPS, "National Park Service Administrative History: A Guide," 2004, 4.

Chapter 1. Commemorating Lewis and Clark

During the nineteenth century, the Corps of Discovery became embedded in public memory. Americans used Lewis and Clark as cultural symbols, deploying them for a variety of purposes and transforming them into larger-than-life heroes. That transformation took place in three phases: (1) the publication of the journals and written narratives of the Lewis and Clark Expedition starting soon after the Corps returned, which made Lewis and Clark household names, (2) the use of the Expedition to make a legal claim to western lands in the mid-nineteenth century, and (3) the association of Lewis and Clark with nostalgia for the frontier era at the end of the nineteenth century.

Significant commemoration of the Expedition did not begin until its centennial, by which time the European American public had invested it with such meaning that celebrating the Corps was a centerpiece of two world's fairs. By the sesquicentennial of the Expedition, state and local interest in the story and its potential to attract tourists led to highway building along the route and memorialization of sites associated with the journey.

Publication of the Journals and Narratives of the Journey

The first account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition appeared in print only a year after the expedition ended: David M'Keehan published Sergeant Patrick Gass's journals in 1807.[1] Gass's journals had not been officially sanctioned for publication by Jefferson or by Lewis, who had expected to publish his own journals soon after his return.[2] While the public awaited an official history of the journey, various presses in the United States and Great Britain began printing counterfeit narratives, drawing from a variety of sources that were not necessarily associated with

[1] Patrick Gass, *A journal of the voyages and travels of a corps of discovery, under the command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the army of the United States: from the mouth of the river Missouri through the interior parts of North America to the Pacific Ocean, during the years 1804, 1805 & 1806; containing an authentic relation of the most interesting transactions during the expedition, --a description of the country, --and an account of its inhabitants, soil, climate, curiosities and vegetable and animal productions* (Pittsburgh: Printed by Zadok Cramer, for David M'Keehan, publisher and proprietor, 1807).

[2] Paul Russell Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 19–32.

the Expedition.[3] Counterfeit accounts published in the 1810s and 1820s included an 1822 fabricated tale by an Irishman who claimed to have participated in the Expedition.[4]

The first sanctioned narrative of the Expedition was published in 1814, written by Nicholas Biddle and edited by Paul Allen.[5] While the Biddle and Allen narrative drew from the journals as source materials, it did not reprint the full text of the journals. Instead, it presented a narrative synopsis of the Corps of Discovery's journey. The Biddle and Allen narrative was reprinted over a dozen times in the nineteenth century.[6] After the Biddle and Allen narrative, there were no new publications related to the journey until 1893, apart from an 1859 biography on Gass.[7]

The continuous reprintings of Biddle and Allen's narrative and the various counterfeit narratives indicate a persistent interest in Lewis and Clark throughout the nineteenth century. Attention to the two men was great enough that when William Clark died in 1838, the *St. Louis Republican* noted, "The history of the pioneer trip of Lewis and Clark is familiar to every reader."[8]

---

[3] Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Jonathan Carver, and Alexander Mackenzie, *The travels of Capts. Lewis & Clarke: by order of the government of the United States: performed in the years 1804, 1805, & 1806: being upwards of three thousand miles, from St. Louis, by way of the Missouri, and Columbia rivers, to the Pacifick ocean: containing an account of the Indian tribes, who inhabit the western part of the continent unexplored, and unknown before: with copious delineations of the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the Indians* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Lester, 1809); Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, 33, 35.

[4] George Phillips, *Travels in North America* (Dublin: C. Bentham, 1822); Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, 38. Cutright describes Phillips's book as follows: "Also spurious, but quite different, was a book published in Dublin in 1822 . . . This purports to narrate the experiences of one George Philips, an Irishman who left home for an extended tour in America. After visiting the West Indies and Mexico, he arrived in St. Louis, where he attached himself to Lewis and Clark for the traverse of the continent. On the return he left the party at Fort Mandan to travel in Canada."

[5] Gary E. Moulton, "Introduction: The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, History of the Expedition," in *Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary Moulton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Nicholas Biddle, Paul Allen, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark, *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky mountains and down the river Columbia to the Pacific ocean, performed during the years 1804–5–6; by order of the government of the United States* (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814); Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, 18–33.

[6] Online searches for reprints of the Biddle and Allen narrative found Harper reprints from at least the following years: 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1847, 1855, 1861, 1868, and 1876. Some of these may have been apocryphal editions published without appropriate copyright permissions. For more on the apocrypha, see Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, 33–39.

[7] Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, 32, 73; J. G. Jacob, *The life and times of Patrick Gass, now sole survivor of the overland expedition to the Pacific, under Lewis and Clark, in 1804–5–6; also, a soldier in the war with Great Britain, from 1812 to 1815, and a participant in the battle of Lundy's Lane. Together with Gass' journal of the expedition condensed; and sketches of some events occurring during the last century in the upper Ohio country, biographies, reminiscences, etc.* (Wellsburg, VA: Jacob & Smith, 1859); Wallace G. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark: Early Commemorations and the Origins of the National Historic Trail.* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2010), 9, 12.

[8] Reprinted at 55 Niles National Reg. (1838–9), 33.

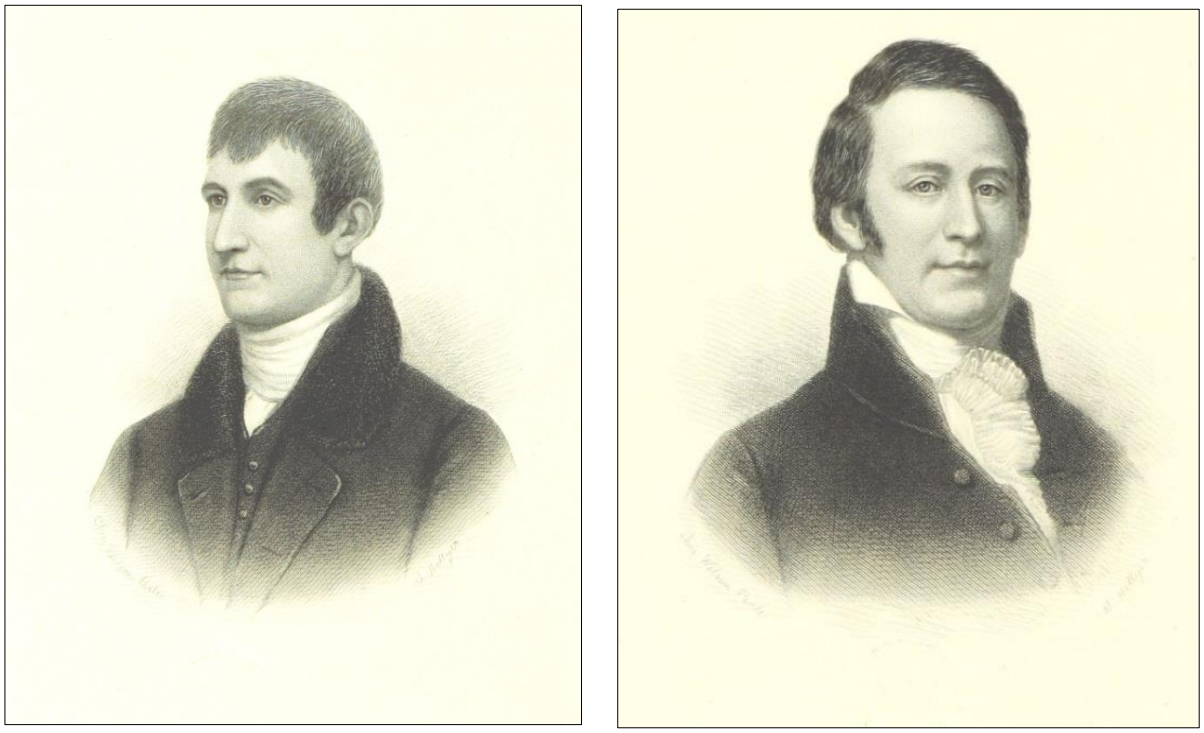


Figure 1. The narrative of the Expedition published by Nicholas Biddle included the above sketches of Meriwether Lewis (*left*) and William Clark (*right*), 1814.

Source: Biddle, et al., *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark*, 6, 8.

Claim to Western Territories

During the mid-nineteenth century, the Lewis and Clark Expedition gained additional popularity because of its usefulness to the agenda of American territorial expansion. American politicians invoked Lewis and Clark as a legal justification to claim American Indian lands through the "Doctrine of Discovery," and they used Lewis and Clark to challenge other nations' territorial claims.[9]

During conflicts over claims to the Oregon Territory (roughly 1818–1846), the United States government used the Lewis and Clark Expedition and John Jacob Astor's trading posts on the

[9] Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006). On the floor of the House in 1836, Virginia Representative John M. Patton expressed his support for a naval expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas by comparing it to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Patton commented that "every gentleman would recollect the expedition of Lewis and Clark to the Rocky Mountains." 12 Part 3 Cong. Deb. 3557 (1836). On education's incorporation of Lewis and Clark, see Robert R. Archibald, "The significance of the National Lewis and Clark Commemoration," *Indiana Magazine of History* 99, no. 3 (September 2003): 254–62, 254; William Grimshaw, *History of the United States from Their First Settlement as Colonies to the Period of the Fifth Census in 1830* (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliott, 1835), 222–23.

Columbia River to claim the area of present-day Oregon and Washington.[10] Britain hoped to justify its own claim through the Hudson's Bay Company's use of the region, but Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri reminded colleagues that the Hudson's Bay Company's trading routes were only possible thanks to the scouting work of Lewis and Clark.[11] An 1845 article in the *Albany Argus* newspaper explained how Lewis and Clark established legal claim to the Oregon Territory:

> The American title rests upon the strong and acknowledged right of discovery. . . As if to perfect our title, it is not denied that the Lewis and Clark and Wallamette [*sic*] rivers, its tributaries which spread through all Oregon, were first explored by the Americans by the expedition sent out by the American congress at the suggestion of Jefferson, under Captains Lewis and Clark. There was a minuteness and a fulness [*sic*] in their discoveries which gave the highest authenticity to a title founded upon prior discovery.[12]

The U.S. succeeded in gaining control of the Oregon Territory in 1846, opening a wave of European American migration to that region.[13]

Journals from the Expedition served a new purpose during the era of expansion and westward migration: they became foundational texts for helping European Americans understand western geography, ecology, folklore, and American Indians.[14] European Americans who traveled to Oregon and elsewhere in the American West used Lewis and Clark's journals to prepare for life in unknown lands.[15] Politicians and speculators used the journals to describe and promote the bountiful resources of the northwestern United States, botanists used the journals in their works on flora and

---

[10] Cong. Globe, 25th Cong., 2d Sess. 566 (1838); Caleb Cushing, Late Commissioner of the United States to China, "Lecture on Oregon," in *Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street, 1845), 1–12, here 5. In 1901, Oregon historian F. G. Young looked back on the Oregon territorial disputes and remarked, "While our title to the Oregon region was in question and our claim to the Pacific Northwest was disputed by England, it was customary to name the Lewis and Clark expedition as one of four or five links in the chain of our right." Young, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition in American History," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 2, no. 4 (Dec. 1901): 410–22, here 416.

[11] Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 1st Sess. 916–18 (1846).

[12] *Albany Argus*, April 19, 1845. Printed as "The Oregon Territory," 68 55 Niles National Reg. 97 (1845), 105.

[13] For more on the Oregon boundary dispute, see Frederick Merk, *The Oregon Question: Essays in Anglo-American Diplomacy and Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) and Donald Rakestraw, *For Honor or Destiny: The Anglo-American Crisis over the Oregon Territory* (New York: Peter Land, 1995).

[14] For examples of how Lewis and Clark's journey was invoked to describe changing locations of American Indian tribes, see "The West: From the Rocky Mountains and New-Mexico—Indians on the Plains, &c.," *New York Daily Times*, August 11, 1852, 1; "Gleanings from the Mails: A Boston Girl's Freak. She Joins an Indian Tribe to Learn its Traditions," *New York Times*, February 11, 1882, 2.

[15] In 1853, the *New York Daily Times* wrote about the Washington territory using descriptions from Lewis and Clark's journals: "The interior portion of this section is but imperfectly known. . . . The narrative of Lewis and Clark, the book on Oregon Missions, by Father De Smet, published in New-York in 1847, and Irving's Astoria (the last edition) are the chief publications of value on this ground." "Washington Territory," *New York Daily Times*, March 30, 1853, 2.

fauna of the American West, and European Americans used the journals as guides to unfamiliar weather patterns.[16]



Figure 2. Expedition members drew sketches of flora and fauna that they encountered. Here, William Clark's drawing of a "white salmon trout" (coho salmon, *Oncorhynchus kisutch*) in his journal on March 16, 1806.

Source: Voorhis Journal 2. William Clark, 30 January 1806–3 April 1806, p. 105, NS 26621, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, Missouri.

Despite frequent references to Lewis and Clark for political, territorial, and agricultural gains in the mid-nineteenth century, the fiftieth anniversary of the Corps of Discovery Expedition came and went with little fanfare. This oversight did not necessarily indicate a lack of public interest in Lewis and Clark—it likely had more to do with the infrequency of commemorations of any sort in nineteenth-century America until almost the turn of the century.[17]

[16] W. J. Hays, "The Mule Deer," *The American Naturalist* 3, no. 4 (June 1869): 180–81; J. D. Caton, "The American Antelope, or Prong Buck," *The American Naturalist* 10, no. 4 (April 1876): 193–205; Asa Gray, "Contributions to North American Botany," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 19 (May 1883–May 1884): 1–96, 95; 55 Niles National Reg. (1838–1839), 143.

[17] "Special commemorations increased markedly during the late nineteenth century when, as Barba Powell has noted, 'patriotism, renewed and confirmed publicly in commemorative celebrations, was considered by many concerned Americans to be a crucial element in the resolution of the social, economic, and political problems affecting the nation.'" Wilbur Zelinsky, *Nation Into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 80.

Emblems of the Closing Frontier

As populations of western states and territories increased, new residents, along with European Americans generally, began to develop nostalgia for a less-crowded, more adventurous frontier past.[18] As early as the 1870s, renowned geographer Ferdinand V. Hayden referred to the era of a sparsely populated West as the "days of Lewis and Clark."[19] The railroad, a symbol of westward expansion, used Lewis and Clark's journals as a resource in siting the route of the Northern Pacific Railway.[20] Following the 1890 census, the U.S. Census Bureau declared that the frontier, defined as a line beyond which population density was less than two persons per square mile, no longer existed in the continental United States. The Census Bureau announced that the frontier had officially "closed." Historian Frederick Jackson Turner, delivering an address in 1893, argued that American character was a product of frontier conditions, and thus the closing of the frontier was a cause for concern. Lewis and Clark now became associated with a glorious past, for which European Americans felt a sense of loss.[21]

The 1893 publication of Elliot Coues's account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, released at this time of nostalgia for the frontier, revived interest in the explorers.[22] The Coues book was the first new narrative about the Corps of Discovery since the Biddle and Allen's in 1814.[23] Coues had rediscovered the original journals at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia and incorporated new material into his manuscript.[24] His research led to a string of discoveries over the next two decades, which included the surfacing of Sergeant Charles Floyd's journal; Private Joseph

---

[18] In 1874, the *New York Times* reported on Montana's growth, noting that although others had been there since Lewis and Clark, European Americans did not know much about the state. "Montana's Rapid Growth: A Territory Reclaimed from the Indian—A Glimpse of Beautiful Scenery—Busy Crowds in Miles City—Indians Brought under the Law—Settlers Crowding into the Territory," *New York Times*, June 23, 1879, 2. For more on population growth trends in western states, see Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops, U.S. Census Bureau, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*, Census 2000 Special Reports, Series CENSR-4 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 2002), 7–48.

[19] F. V. Hayden, "Address. Our Great West, and the Scenery of Our Natural Parks," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 6 (1874): 196–211, 196.

[20] "History of a Great Road: Jay Cooke tells about the Northern Pacific. Early Struggles of a big railroad enterprise—checked by the Franco-Prussian War and stopped by the Panic of 1873," *New York Times*, October 31, 1891, 3.

[21] Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Report of the American Historical Association* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1894): 199–227; Historian Wallace G. Lewis argues that "anxiety over the closing of the frontier may have stimulated interest in Lewis and Clark at the end of the nineteenth century." Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 132.

[22] Elliott Coues, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, et al., *History of the expedition under the command of Lewis and Clark: to the sources of the Missouri River, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean, performed during the years 1804–5–6, by order of the government of the United States*, a new edition (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1893).

[23] Moulton, "Introduction: The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."

[24] Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, 85–6; Moulton, "Introduction: The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."

Whitehouse's journal; various maps, journals, and letters from Clark; Meriwether Lewis's "Ohio journal"; and Sergeant John Ordway's journal.[25] Coues's widely circulated account reinvigorated Lewis and Clark scholarship, archival investigations, and public interest in the Expedition.[26]

Other authors picked up the Lewis and Clark story. In 1896, Theodore Roosevelt—already a public figure, but not yet president—published a chapter on Lewis and Clark in his sixth and final volume of *The Winning of the West*.[27] He established them as central figures in the epic saga of western settlement:

> No man had ever crossed or explored that part of the continent which the United States had just acquired [the Oregon Territory]—a part far better fitted to be the home of our stock than the regions to the north or south. It was the explorations of Lewis and Clark, and not those of Mackenzie in the North or of the Spaniards in the South, which were to bear fruit, because they pointed the way to the tens of thousands of settlers who were to come after them, and who were to build thriving commonwealths in the lonely wilderness which they had traversed.[28]

While Roosevelt added little to scholarship on the Expedition, he helped popularize Lewis and Clark.[29]

Building on the growing nostalgia for the old West, the first Lewis and Clark commemorative organization, the Floyd Memorial Association, was founded in 1895. Reuben Gold Thwaites had rediscovered Sergeant Charles Floyd's journals the previous year, sparking renewed interest in his story as the only member of the Corps of Discovery to have died during the Expedition. The Floyd Memorial Association formed with the purpose of honoring Floyd's legacy and protecting his gravesite on the banks of the Missouri River, above Sioux City, Iowa.[30] In 1897, Elliott Coues published a memorial to Floyd on behalf of the association, using the newly discovered journals.[31]

---

[25] Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, 128.

[26] "His modified excerpts but served to whet the appetites of Western historians, and thus led to the project for their eventual publication in extenso and with literal accuracy." Reuben Gold Thwaites, "The Story of Lewis and Clark's Journals," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 6, no. 1 (March 1905): 26–53, 46; Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 9; Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*, 103.

[27] Roosevelt had published the first volume in 1889. Frederick J. Turner, "Review of *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt," *The American Historical Review* 2, no. 1 (October 1896): 171–76.

[28] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), 166.

[29] Turner, review of *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt, 171–76; John Spencer, "'We are not dealing entirely with the past': Americans Remember Lewis & Clark," in *Lewis and Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives*, ed. Kris Fresonke and Mark David Spence (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 159–83, 170.

[30] Floyd, the only member of the Corps of Discovery to die during the journey, was buried by fellow expedition members near present-day Sioux City, IA. Elliott Coues, *In Memoriam. Sergeant Charles Floyd. Report of the Floyd Memorial Association* (Sioux City, IA: Press of Perkins Bros. Company, 1897), https://archive.org/details/inmemoriamsergea00floy; "Floyd Monument," Sioux City History, accessed February 28, 2017, http://www.siouxcityhistory.org/historic-sites/102-sergeant-floyd-monument.

[31] Coues, *In Memoriam. Sergeant Charles Floyd.*

The association also raised over $13,000 from federal, state, and local governments and private sources, including backing from the Pacific Railway Company, for a monument on Floyd's gravesite. They held a dedication ceremony for the monument on May 30, 1901.[32]



Figure 3. The Floyd Memorial Association built the Sergeant Floyd Monument in Sioux City, Iowa, in 1901. It became a National Historic Landmark in 1960. Pictured here, 2013.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Centennial Commemorations

When the centennial of the Corps of Discovery arrived, Americans were ready to celebrate it. Not one but two world's fairs in the early twentieth century elevated Lewis and Clark to an international stage.[33] The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri, and the 1905 World's Fair in Portland, Oregon, were the first major commemorations of Lewis and Clark. Exhibits at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition included a life-size replica of Fort Clatsop.[34] The 1905 World's Fair, which was titled "The Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition," christened its main thoroughfare "the trail," and advertisements in newspapers across the country encouraged the public to "take the Lewis and Clark trail" to Oregon.[35]

---

[32] "Floyd Monument," *Sioux City History*.

[33] World's Fairs were the primary venue for "mobilizing national sentiment" in the early twentieth century, writes America cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky. Zelinsky, *Nation Into State*, 85.

[34] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 18.

[35] "Thirty-Five Shows $7: Prices on the Lewis and Clark Trail Easy," *Traverse City Evening Record,* June 12, 1905, 2; Advertisement, "Go to the Lewis and Clark Trail Exposition at Portland, Oregon," *Washington Post*, March 4, 1905, 11.

The 1905 centennial exposition portrayed the Expedition as a manifest destiny success story.[36] American imperialism was overt and on full display. The fair's motto was "Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way."[37] An official emblem depicted a female incarnation of Liberty draped with an American flag, her arms around Lewis and Clark as they all gazed out over the Pacific toward a setting sun (designed to look like a Japanese rising sun and thereby suggesting American trade prowess in the Pacific).[38]

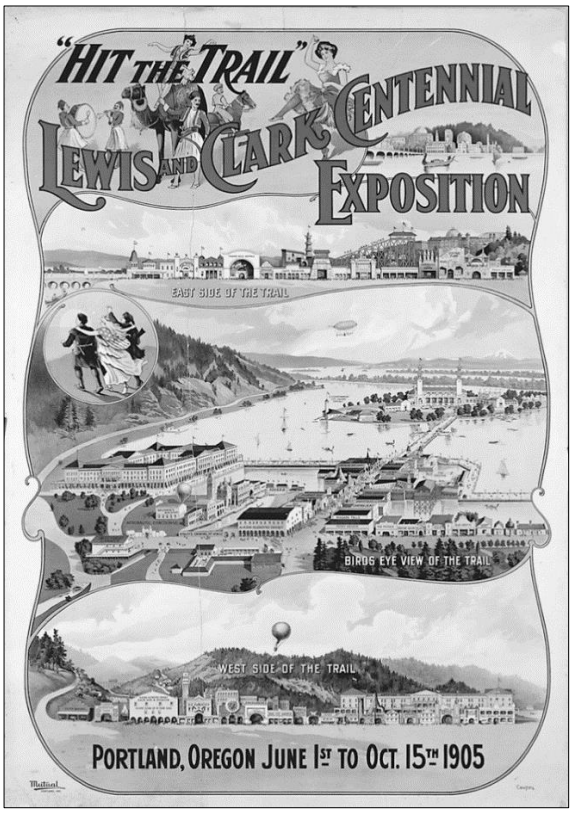


Figure 4. Poster for the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon, 1905.

Source: Oregon Historical Society.

Planners of the exposition deliberately placed Lewis and Clark at the heart of American imperialism. Oregon historian F. G. Young and the Oregon Historical Society played a major role in lobbying for Lewis and Clark as the exposition's theme.[39] Young credited the "the Lewis and Clark

[36] Or, as Wallace G. Lewis puts it, "The two celebrations came at a time when America's imperialistic ambitions beyond its shores, particularly in the western Pacific, were in full flood and provided an anodyne to anxiety about the recent closing of the frontier." Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 17–18.

[37] Lisa Blee, "Completing Lewis and Clark's Westward March," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 106, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 232–53, 246–47.

[38] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 15–16.

[39] F. G. Young, "The Lewis and Clark Centennial. The Occasion and its Observance," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 4, no. 1 (March 1903): 1–20, 5; Young, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition in American History," *The*

narrative" with helping to "kindle the Oregon fever in this pioneer population" of the earlier Midwestern frontier.[40] As early as 1901, Young recorded his vision of how the exposition should commemorate the past and point toward the future through the lens of Lewis and Clark:

> The Lewis and Clark exploration that was fraught with as much of this glorious outcome as any single event can be should have its centennial anniversary appropriately celebrated; and what will be the most appropriate commemoration of the event through which our national attention was first directed to this Oregon and in which national representatives first trod this soil? That Lewis and Clark Centennial will be the most appropriate, which is the means of the largest, highest, and, therefore, most permanent good. It should be planned so that its central aim appeals to the deepest patriotism of the people of the Pacific Northwest. The Pacific Northwest is unique in its natural wonders. . . . The centennial, too, should leave a monument from which there would perennially radiate for all the people of this region the best light of research, of history, and of patriotic love for the welfare of the Pacific Northwest.[41]

Young regarded Lewis and Clark as American heroes whose legacy could promote American expansion while also showcasing patriotism of European Americans.[42] The Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition would be a grand display of "western history and western problems," coupled with the technology to solve them.[43]

The exposition increased the popularity of Lewis and Clark and contributed to a demand for literature on the Expedition. Several books published before 1905 experienced increased circulation as a result of the fair. Noah Brooks and Thomas Lighton both wrote narratives of the Expedition in 1901, and both the Biddle-Allen and Coues books were reprinted in the early 1900s.[44] Olin D.

Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society 2, no. 4 (Dec. 1901): 422. Young was a good friend of Reuben Gold Thwaites and a professor of history at the University of Oregon. John Spencer calls him "a leading booster of Portland's centennial fair." Spencer, "'We are not dealing entirely with the past'," 170.

[40] Young, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition in American History," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 2, no. 4 (Dec. 1901): 418.

[41] Young, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition in American History," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 2, no. 4 (Dec. 1901): 420.

[42] Young writes, "Lewis and Clark had their opportunity and seized it as heroes and benefactors of the nation. The heritage of their glorious achievement is an inspiration uniting the people of the Pacific Northwest in a project aiming at the largest and most far-reaching good that their resources." Young, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition in American History," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 2, no. 4 (Dec. 1901): 422.

[43] Young, "The Lewis and Clark Centennial. The Occasion and its Observance," 2.

[44] The *New York Times* reported that "a demand has spring up, in consequence of the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland, for Noah Brooks's 'First Across the Continent: The Story of Lewis and Clark Expedition,' bearing the imprint of Charles Scribner's Sons." "Some Good Sellers," *New York Times*, June 24, 1905, BR421. Brooks had written his account as a more cost-effective version that could also appeal to younger readers. Noah Brooks, *First across the continent: the story of the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1804–5–6* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901), vi. Other editions published in the early 1900s included: Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Nicholas Biddle, and Paul Allen, *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky mountains and down the river Columbia to the Pacific ocean, performed during the years 1804–5–6; by order of the government of the United States* (New York: New Amsterdam B'k co., 1900); Nicholas Biddle, Paul Allen, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *History of the expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark 180–5–6; reprinted from the edition of 1814*, edited by James K. Hosmer (Chicago: McClurg, 1902); Paul Allen, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, et al., *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clarke: to the sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains, and down the river Columbia to the Pacific Ocean: performed during the years*

Wheeler published a narrative of the Expedition in 1904 while working for the Northern Pacific Railway, which hoped the story of Lewis and Clark would "entice ridership on its route," whether on their way to the fair or otherwise.[45] Close behind Wheeler's publication came a multi-volume edition of Lewis and Clark's journals by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Thwaites's edition, published 1904–1905, was the first to print the actual text of the journals, and it enjoyed wide readership.[46] When Thwaites published the fourth volume in 1905, the *New York Times* issued an unenthusiastic announcement of "Another Lewis and Clark Book."[47] Riding the tide of the 1904 and 1905 centennial commemorations, Wheeler and Thwaites brought Lewis and Clark to the masses.[48]

Centennial commemorations of the Corps of Discovery occurred largely without federal funding. Congress appropriated some money to support the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, but only at the insistence of President Theodore Roosevelt.[49] Organizers of the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition applied to the U.S. Postal Service for a commemorative stamp, but after the Louisiana Purchase Exposition stamps lost money in 1904, the Postal Service declined to issue a Lewis and Clark stamp.[50]

Alongside the two world's fairs, a variety of local Lewis and Clark commemorations took place in states along the trail during and immediately after the centennial. The local commemorations reflected a new focus on specific sites along the trail, facilitated by Wheeler's book and Northern Pacific Railway publicity.[51]

1804, 1805, 1806, revised and abridged by Archibald M'Vickar (New York: A. L. Fowle, 1902); William R. Lighton, *Lewis and Clark* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901).

[45] Olin D. Wheeler, *Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804–1904: A Story of the great exploration across the continent in 1804–06, with a description of the old trail, based upon actual travel over it, and of the changes found a century later* (New York: G P Putnam Sons, 1904); Cindy Ott, "Why Lewis and Clark Matter: History, Landscape, and Regional Identity," *Historical Geography* 35 (2007): 114–35, 116, 120; "The Trail of Lewis and Clark," *New York Times,* June 25, 1904, BR430; "Lewis and Clark Salt Cairn Historic Site at Seaside, Oregon," *The North Coaster* 20, no. 4 (July–August 1949): 4.

[46] Thwaites's edition lacked some journals that surfaced in the years following its publication, but it remained the definitive published source of the journals for nearly fifty years. Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, et al., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1905); Moulton, "Introduction: The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."

[47] "Another Lewis and Clark Book," *New York Times*, April 15, 1905, BR249.

[48] "Lewis and Clark: Olin Wheeler's Two Interesting Volumes Describing the Old Trail and the Changes Found a Century Later," *New York Times*, August 13, 1904, BR543.

[49] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 16.

[50] "The Big Postage Stamp: Department Refuses to Issue Any for the Lewis and Clark Exposition," *New York Times*, October 3, 1904, 8.

[51] Wallace G. Lewis identifies Olin Wheeler's narrative of the journey as a "clear landmark in public thinking about the expedition, the beginning of a slow shift away from the focus on individual frontier 'heroism' toward a focus on the trail and its significant locations." Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 80.

No group did more to commemorate Lewis and Clark in local communities than the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR).[52] Across the long route of the Expedition, but especially near populous areas, the DAR and other civic groups began marking historic sites along the trail.[53] These new markers prompted tourists, for the first time, to trace the trail so that they could see all of the historic spots.[54] DAR chapters carried the banner of commemoration, pomp, and pageantry to all corners of the United States. In Dayton, Ohio, and Peoria, Illinois, local DAR chapters held Lewis and Clark essay contests.[55] The Iowa DAR reported in 1905, "The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition have found places on nearly all the programmes the past year."[56]

One especially elaborate DAR commemoration of the centennial took place at the original "Council Bluff" in Fort Calhoun, Nebraska. On August 3, 1904, Nebraska DAR chapters observed the one-hundredth anniversary of the meeting between the Corps of Discovery and Otoe and Missouri Indians at Council Bluff. The DAR arranged for a ten-ton "bowlder" to be brought by rail from near Lincoln. Some of Fort Calhoun's 600 residents gathered materials from the ruins of Fort Atkinson, which had been built in 1820 at the site of the meeting place. With these materials, they crafted a historic pedestal on which to place the glacial erratic.[57] Four thousand Nebraskans, an indirect descendent of Meriwether Lewis, former governors, Nebraska's senators, and an army battalion turned out for the event. President Roosevelt could not attend, but he sent a letter applauding the efforts.[58] The DAR partnered with the Sons of the American Revolution and the State Historical Society of Nebraska to carve "Lewis and Clark, 1804–1904" into the boulder under the DAR insignia and, on the back, the names of organizations who financed the monument.[59] The

---

[52] In the early twentieth century, DAR and other voluntary associations "pushed the cause of what he considered to be Americanism" that "sought to instill nationalism 'by cultivating an informed interest in the country's 'storied past—preserving its historic sites, commemorating its great historic events, spreading knowledge of is great warriors, statesmen, and literary figures.'" Zelinsky, *Nation Into State*, 106.

[53] By 1907, DAR chapters had begun marking historic spots along other historic migration routes, as well, including the Santa Fe Trail, the Great Salt Lake Trail, and the Chisholm Trail. "Current Gossip," *Racine Daily Journal*, October 14, 1907, 4. On Montana civic groups marking parts of the route, see Ott, "Why Lewis and Clark Matter," 119.

[54] Unlike later tracing of the trail, Wheeler described and praised changes along the route since the expedition as a sign of economic development. This was very different from mid-twentieth century trail-tracing trend and helped push for national trail, which "an environmental ethic was behind." Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 79.

[55] Mrs. J. L. Botsford, "Ohio," *Eighth Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1904 to October 11, 1905* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906), 154; Mrs. Charles H. Deere, "Illinois," *Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1903 to October 11, 1904* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1905), 187.

[56] Mrs. Maria Purdy Peck, "Iowa," *Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1903 to October 11, 1904* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1905), 197.

[57] Mrs. Abraham Allee, "Nebraska," *Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1903 to October 11, 1904* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1905), 241–48.

[58] Allee, "Nebraska," 245.

[59] Allee, "Nebraska," 242.

Knights of Aksarben of Omaha reenacted the council meeting of 1804, as DAR leaders later recounted:

> [T]he busy citizens of the comparatively new Commonwealth listened and realized for the first time, as the representatives of Lewis and Clark and the solemn Indian chiefs told their stories of exploration and occupation and passed the pipe of peace from hand to hand in ratification of the new obligations assumed, the importance of this event, the beginning of their history as a part of the United States of America.[60]

In staging this reenactment, the DAR wove Nebraska into the national narrative of American expansion and manifest destiny. Like other states along the trail, Nebraska used the centennial to incorporate Lewis and Clark into its founding myth.[61]

Commemorating Sacagawea

In addition to spearheading local Lewis and Clark commemorations, women's groups at the turn of the century played a major role in elevating Sacagawea to mythical status.[62] Sacagawea first received significant attention in Coues's 1893 narrative of the Expedition, but Eva Emery Dye's 1903 historical novel *Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark* cast Sacagawea as a heroine for the women's suffrage movement.[63] Dye, a leader of the movement in the Pacific Northwest, consciously portrayed Sacagawea in a way that would aid her cause.[64] Dye painted Sacagawea as a feminine guide who overcame hardships to take charge and venture into new territory, much as women's suffrage advocates hoped to do in the early 1900s.[65] Dye's Sacagawea was strong, knowledgeable, wise, beautiful, and domestically inclined. She was a heroine with beauty, grace, wisdom, "and a husband who sometimes carried the baby."[66] (Sacagawea's name has several possible spellings, including

---

[60] Allee, "Nebraska," 243.

[61] Fresonke and Spence write, "The expedition has become an origin story of the first order that invariably portrays Lewis and Clark as prophets of the future" and that in every publication in the early twentieth century, "the expedition was celebrated as the foremost symbol of a new century's faith in material progress and overseas empire." Fresonke and Spence, eds., *Lewis and Clark*, 157.

[62] For more on Sacagawea and the women's suffrage movement, see Joanna Brooks, "Sacajawea, Meet Cogewea: A Red Progressive Revision of Frontier Romance," in Fresonke and Spence, eds., *Lewis and Clark*, 184–88; Diya Shah, "The Appropriation of Sacajawea by the Women's Suffrage Movement," Honors Program Thesis, University of Utah, 2015.

[63] Ronald W. Taber, "Sacagawea and the Suffragettes: An Interpretation of a Myth," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (January 1967): 7–13, 7.

[64] April R. Summitt, *Sacagawea: A Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), 114.

[65] Eva Emery Dye, *Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903). Dye frequently calls Sacagawea an "Indian Princess" (see pages 228, 251, 290). For more on Dye, see Sheri Bartlett Browne, *Eva Emery Dye: Romance with the West* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004).

[66] Dye, *Conquest*, 252. For more on Dye's intent to make Sacagawea a heroine fit for the women's suffrage movement, see Jan C. Dawson, "Sacagawea: Pilot or Pioneer Mother?" *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (January 1992): 22–28; Taber, "Sacagawea and the Suffragettes," 7–13.

Sacajawea, Sacagawea, and Sakakawea. The debate about how to spell her name is linked to the debate over her origins and heritage. "Sacajawea" would mean "boat launcher" in Shoshoni, but in the Hidatsa language, "Sacagawea" translates to "bird woman."[67])



Figure 5. A bronze statue of Sacagawea by Alice Cooper, unveiled at the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon, 1905. The statue currently stands in Portland's Washington Park.

Source: Oregon State University Special Collections and Archives Research Center.

After publishing *Conquest,* Dye and other members of the Portland Women's Club formed the Sacajawea Statue Association and promptly raised $7,000 to commission it in time for Portland's Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition.[68] Other women's groups across the nation adopted Dye's characterization of Sacagawea, building memorials, sculptures, and plaques commemorating Sacagawea.[69] The preponderance of Sacagawea statues in the first two decades of the twentieth

[67] James P. Ronda, "Appendix: A Note on Sacagawea," in *Lewis & Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 256–57.

[68] Dye spoke at the dedication of the Sacajawea statue at the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland and at the Multnomah, Oregon Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1906. "Eva Emery Dye Papers, 1776–1997," Archives West, accessed November 16, 2016, http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv23270. See also Dawson, "Sacagawea: Pilot or Pioneer Mother?" 24; Taber, "Sacagawea and the Suffragettes," 8.

[69] Mrs. Moses A. Phelps, "Washington," *Eighth Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1904 to October 11, 1905* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1906), 188; 47 Cong. Rec. 2947 (July 15, 1911). The Charlottesville, Virginia statue of Sacagawea was the first time her likeness was represented alongside Lewis and Clark. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 3, 26, 30, 47.

century is especially notable because of the early twentieth-century lack of physical monuments depicting the two male leaders of the Expedition.[70]

Memorials and Pageants

In one of the earliest efforts to memorialize the explorers, Representative Paul C. Edmunds (D-VA) introduced a bill in 1890 to purchase a portrait of Meriwether Lewis.[71] Following the centennial, several states undertook efforts to build such statues of, or memorials to, Lewis and Clark, but many failed to secure funding. For instance, a 1917 bill in the Montana state legislature would have built "heroic-sized bronze statues" of Lewis and Clark in Great Falls and Three Forks, but it failed.[72] Montana did, however, commission murals depicting Lewis and Clark for the state capitol in the 1910s.[73] The following decade, the Society for Montana Pioneers promoted a Lewis and Clark monument, but it could not win the state legislature's support.[74] In Oregon, commemoration of the Corps of Discovery met fewer roadblocks. Citizens of Astoria, Oregon, dedicated the grandiose Astoria column in 1926, funded by the Great Northern Railway (as part of a new string of tourist attractions along its route) and Vincent Astor (great-grandson of fur trade tycoon John Jacob Astor).[75]

Pageants commemorating the Corps of Discovery proliferated in the 1910s and 1920s. These community-based, civic ceremonies were popular during the Progressive Era.[76] Major 1914 pageants in St. Louis and North Dakota commemorated the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition.[77] In Armistice, Montana, the DAR organized a pageant in 1915 to commemorate Lewis and Clark. Helena, Montana, staged yearly weeklong celebrations of the Lewis and Clark anniversary over the Fourth of July, complete with pageants, parades, and military demonstrations.[78] Pageant

---

[70] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 26–40.

[71] 21 Cong. Rec. 707 (January 20, 1890).

[72] The bill was passed by both houses, but the Society of Montana Pioneers would have to raise an additional $15,000 to get $5,000 in state funds. They did not, so statue was never built. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 34.

[73] Charlie Russell and Edgar Paxson painted the murals. Ott, "Why Lewis and Clark Matter," 119.

[74] Hoping they would have more luck with the federal government, the Three Forks, Montana Chamber of Commerce lobbied the federal government in 1928 for a Missouri headwater memorial to the Expedition, but congressional representatives rejected the proposal. Ott, "Why Lewis and Clark Matter," 119.

[75] Friends of Astoria Column, "History of the Column," 2016, accessed November 17, 2016, http://astoriacolumn.org/about/history-of-the-column/; Donald MacRae, "The Columbia River Historical Expedition," *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (July 1926): 163–67, 166–67.

[76] For more on the historical pageantry movement, see David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

[77] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 114–15.

[78] "Now for the Carnival," *Helena Independent Record*, April 14, 1908, 4; "The Inter-Mountain Carnival," *Helena Independent Record*, January 31, 1908, 4.

organizers, who were mostly white women, often invited American Indians to perform as "supernumeraries to the main action."[79]

Tracing Roads and Damming Rivers

Railroads had taken late nineteenth-century tourists past sites along the Expedition's route, but the automobile brought twentieth-century tourists directly to them.[80] Apart from attempts by the famed pioneer Ezra Meeker to commemorate the country's migration routes with historic markers, almost no one advocated preservation of the route itself before the 1920s.[81] That changed with the start of the automobile age. Cars opened up a new era of exploration in the American West. Individual citizens could traverse even unforgiving climates quickly and relatively safely, bound only by fuel and terrain.[82] Community leaders in the West saw economic opportunities in automobile tourism. Historian Wallace G. Lewis noted that local business leaders in the Pacific Northwest and Northern Plains "were hoping to cash in on the relationship between the new long-distance highways and the routes Lewis and Clark took . . . the highway served as a surrogate for the trail."[83]

When people began tracing the Corps of Discovery's route in the 1920s, few roads existed in the Dakotas or Montana.[84] Difficult terrain and a lack of roads did not stop the newly formed Lewis and Clark Memorial Association of Lewiston, Idaho, from planning a series of historic markers along the route. The Lewiston group lobbied state and federal governments to "expedite the completion of a highway following the route" in order to better memorialize the Expedition. It also sought to protect and mark historic points along the route and to educate the public about the role Lewis and Clark played in their state's history.[85] Members even hoped to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the Expedition, but the plans stalled with the onset of the Great Depression.[86] Meanwhile, in

---

[79] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 116.

[80] Northern Pacific had brought tourists through the northern interior west since 1883, but "even then, a lack of transportation limited most access to sites" since railroad travel carried tourists past sites. The infrastructure to stop easily at sites did not exist until the automobile. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 3.

[81] "Pioneer Pathfinder Arrives in Chicago," *Emmetsburg Palo Alto Tribune (Iowa)*, September 13, 1911, 3. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 12. Lewis writes that, "Virtually no one set out to follow and describe any of these places with the purpose of commemorating the expedition, at least not before the 1890s."

[82] On the history of automobiles and tourism in the American West, see Christopher W. Wells, *Car Country: An Environmental History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014); Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); and Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998).

[83] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark,* 3.

[84] As of 1914, Montana had less than 78 miles of "good roads" (defined as paved with macadam, brick, or concrete), South Dakota had 10, and North Dakota had none. Peter J. Hugill, "Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States 1880–1929," *Geographical Review* 72, no. 3 (July 1982): 327–49, 338–39.

[85] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 98.

[86] Congress passed a resolution on May 22, 1930, to send a committee of three Senators and three House members to represent the Congress of the United States at the 125th anniversary of the celebration of American independence by

Missouri, the Columbia River and Missouri Historical Expedition organized a 1925 "pilgrimage" to sites along the route, led by Great Northern Railway President Ralph Budd, who had also orchestrated the construction of the Astoria column.[87]



Figure 6. Lolo Motorway, Forest Road 500, was completed in the 1930s.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Highways became the preferred avenue to memorialize Lewis and Clark in the 1930s, opening twentieth-century frontiers. As federal funding for road building increased with New Deal expenditures, state officials named highways after Lewis and Clark to commemorate the explorers as forerunners of the progress and economic expansion that road building now fulfilled. Supporters of highway construction in Oregon, Idaho, and Montana drew upon the potential tourist appeal of Lewis and Clark to push forward new highway projects. Civilian Conservation Corps crews assisted Idaho in construction of the Lolo Motorway and developed the "Lewis and Clark Cavern" as a tourist attraction near Sappington, Montana, in the mid-1930s.[88]

---

the Lewis and Clark Expedition on July 4, 1805, at a point adjacent to what is now Great Falls, Montana, but the celebration never occurred. 72 Cong. Rec. 9374 (May 22, 1930).

[87] Solon J. Buck, "The Upper Missouri Historical Expedition," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12, no. 3 (December 1925): 385–91.

[88] "'Lewis and Clark' Cavern on Northern Pacific Proves Vast," *The North Coaster* 7, no. 6 (November 1936): 3; "'Lewis and Clark' Cavern Opens to Sight-seers," *The North Coaster* 5, no. 5 (September 1939): 2; "The Lolo Trail," *Idaho State Historical Society Reference Series* 286 (August 1970), accessed March 1, 2017, https://history.idaho.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/reference-series/0286.pdf; U.S. Forest Service, Clearwater

States sought federal funding to complete roadways along the Lewis and Clark route in the 1930s. By then, the only significant gap in highways following the Expedition's route was at Lolo Pass between Montana and Idaho, where U.S. Highway 12 had been proposed. In 1939, Washington, Montana, Oregon, and Idaho passed identical resolutions urging completion of the Lewis and Clark Highway.[89] No state or federal funds were made available to complete that section of highway before World War II, but other monument building along the route continued. In the early 1940s, the Works Progress Administration partnered with the state of Oregon and a local civic group to construct a Lewis and Clark monument memorial near Highway 30 in The Dalles, Oregon. After completion of the twenty-five-foot stone base, however, the U.S. entered World War II and funding for the monument evaporated. The base remained standing in the Dalles—converted by a local Lions Club into a picnic shelter—until the city removed it in 2014.[90]

After World War II, when the U.S. government again had funding for domestic infrastructure, states and the federal government resurrected the idea of a continuous highway along the Expedition's route. In 1947, the Northwest Conservation League organized a Lewis and Clark caravan as a way to promote a fully drivable Lewis and Clark Tourway.[91] The National Park Service (NPS) joined the effort in 1948 with a proposal for a Lewis and Clark Tourway that stretched the entire route of the Expedition, but that proposal floundered at the federal level (see Chapter 2).[92]

New highways created new opportunities for tourism along the Lewis and Clark route. In the 1950s, tourists came armed with historic editions of the journals and with newly published site-by-site editions that encouraged and equipped tourists to trace the route themselves.[93] Ralph Gray drove the entire route of the Expedition with his family in 1953, then published an article in *National Geographic* about the journey.[94] The Grays' family station wagon carried them across the vast landscape of the interior like the wagons of yore. They canoed, camped, and met with "Shoshone

---

National Forest, Lochsa Ranger District, "Driving the Lolo Motorway," accessed November 11, 2016, http://www.idahostateatv.org/publications/Driving_the_Lolo_Motorway.pdf.

[89] 84 Cong. Rec. 2686 (March 14, 1939); 84 Cong. Rec. 2922 (March 20, 1939); 84 Cong. Rec. 1570 (February 20, 1939); 84 Cong. Rec. 2255 (March 6, 1939).

[90] Mark Gibson, "Monument Base Removal Underway," *The Dalles Chronicle*, January 17, 2014, http://www.thedalleschronicle.com/news/2014/jan/17/monument-base-removal-underway/.

[91] "Trip Via Lolo Pass Nearing." *Walla Walla Union Bulletin*, July 24, 1947, 17. See also "Caravan to Travel Historic Route: Conservation Meet Being Planned," *Butte Montana Standard*, July 27, 1947, 21.

[92] For more on the National Park Service (NPS) Tourway proposal, see Chapter 2. DOI, BOR, "Introduction," *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1965), http://www.npshistory.com/publications/lecl/proposal-for-development/intro.htm.

[93] According to Lewis, twentieth-century publications of portions of the journals by Thwaites, Quaife, Staples Osgood, Jackson, and DeVoto "largely account for expanding interest in the expedition" in the mid-twentieth century. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 10, 108.

[94] Ralph Gray, "Following the Trail of Lewis and Clark," *National Geographic Magazine* (June 1953): 707–50.

Princess" Alberta St. Clair, who, according a *National Geographic* caption, was "also a coed at the University of Wyoming."[95] The Gray family's journey established a pattern for subsequent automobile travel on the route.[96] That same year, well-known historian Bernard DeVoto published a new edition of the Lewis and Clark journals after tracing the route of the journey by car.[97] This wave of 1950s publications encouraged Americans, for the first time, to follow in the footsteps of Lewis and Clark, a journey made possible for the masses thanks to automobiles and highways.

While states built roads along the segments that the Corps had traversed on foot, the federal government flooded many of the Expedition's water routes. Fifteen dams went up along the Missouri River alone between 1890 and 1963. The most comprehensive dam-building project along the Missouri was the Missouri River Basin Development Program, also known as the Pick-Sloan Plan, approved by Congress in 1944.[98] The Pick-Sloan Plan alone created 107 dams, inundated over 550 square miles of tribal land in North Dakota and South Dakota, and forced more than 900 American Indian families to move from their homes.[99] It dramatically altered the geographical and ecological profile of the Missouri River and forever changed the lives of those who had lived in its valley.



Figure 7. Gavin's Point Dam on the Missouri River between Yankton County, South Dakota, and Cedar County, Nebraska, was built as part of the Missouri River Basin Development Program and opened in 1957. Pictured here, 2016.

Source: USACE, Omaha District.

[95] "Pictures: 1950s Family Retraces Lewis and Clark's American Journey," *National Geographic,* August 16, 2014, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/08/pictures/140816-lewis-clark-family-vacation-1950s-cross-country-missouri-river/.

[96] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 101–3.

[97] Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, et al., *Journals of Lewis and Clark*, edited by Bernard DeVoto (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953); Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 110.

[98] For more on the Pick-Sloan plan, see Michael L. Lawson, *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944–1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).

[99] Lawson, *Dammed Indians*, 20, 27–29.

Amid this dam building, the NPS worked with the Bureau of Reclamation and the Smithsonian Institution to examine potential historic sites in the footprint of planned water control projects. In Montana, NPS historians and archeologists mapped and photographed sites associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition along the Missouri River, its tributaries, and the Yellowstone River.[100] This limited surveying only took place in the path of dams, but the study represented the first extensive examination of Lewis and Clark sites. It created a benchmark for future Lewis and Clark research by the NPS. Fred Fagergren, NPS Midwest regional director in the 1960s, cited the postwar studies in advance of dam-building as evidence that "the National Park Service has long been concerned with the identification and preservation of sites associated with captains Lewis and Clark."[101]

Sesquicentennial Celebrations

Sesquicentennial celebrations of the Corps of Discovery were organized almost exclusively at the state and local levels.[102] The federal government made only a few small gestures to commemorate the sesquicentennial: the Postal Service issued a commemorative three-cent stamp in 1954, and Congress considered some site-specific bills in the mid-1950s, passing a few (see Chapter 2).[103] Only Montana and the states west of it held large-scale commemorations. These four states—Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon—organized sesquicentennial celebrations at the May 1954 Pacific Northwest Historical conference in Helena. Their governors declared 1955 "Lewis and Clark Year" and named the American Pioneer Trails Association the official sponsor of the sesquicentennial.[104] Newly built interstate highways facilitated this cooperation and also prompted states to encourage long-distance tracing of the trail for the first time. For example, in 1955, the Greater Clarkston (WA)

---

[100] The 1935 Historic Sites Act provided legislative authority for these surveys. See Fred C. Fagergren, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, "The National Park Service Interest in the Lewis and Clark Trail, Montana," February 1966, FRC 079-88-001-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1966 thru Dec 1972, Federal Records Center, Lenexa, KS (hereafter Lenexa FRC).

[101] Fred C. Fagergren, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, "The National Park Service Interest in the Lewis and Clark Trail, Montana," February 1966, FRC 079-88-001-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1966 thru Dec 1972, Lenexa FRC.

[102] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 127. Lewis identifies the NPS focus on specific and defined geographic locations as the reason that they did not get involved in the 1950s. This interpretation does not adequately account for the Lewis and Clark Tourway proposal and assistance by the NPS, but Lewis is correct that the federal government played virtually no role in the sesquicentennial celebrations.

[103] "Issue Three-Cent Stamp in Honor of Lewis and Clark," *The North Coaster* 25, no. 4 (July–August 1954): 4; Daniel Piazza, National Postal Museum, "Lewis & Clark Expedition Issue," *Arago: People, Postage, & the Post*, from Papers of the Third Assistant Postmaster General, Stamp Design Files, Folder for Scott #1063, accessed November 15, 2016, http://arago.si.edu/category_2029247.html.

[104] "PNW Historians Plan Lewis and Clark Fete: Observance of Sesquicentennial Will Culminate Next Year at Astoria," *The North Coaster* 25, no. 3 (May–June 1954): 2.

Association sponsored an automobile caravan of the route, while one thousand Boy Scouts traced the Expedition route from Great Falls to Astoria "using dugout canoes and packhorses."[105]

Americans celebrated the sesquicentennial with pageants, plays, films, and physical memorials to the explorers.[106] In Montana, the state highway commission worked with professors at the University of Montana to put on yearly pageants in Three Forks. Residents of Salmon and Lewiston, Idaho, staged their own pageants in 1955, and Orofino centered its "Lumberjack Days" festival around Lewis and Clark. Sesquicentennial commemorations in Washington included events in Pasco and at the southeastern Washington Fair in Walla Walla.[107]

Towns and states also built physical memorials to the explorers. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company donated copper to build a memorial at Pompeys Pillar in Montana, and in Helena, the Montana Historical Society commissioned a Lewis and Clark diorama at its new museum.[108] In Oregon, the Lions Club and the Clatsop County Historical Society partnered with several local organizations and the lumber company Crown Zellerbach Corporation to build a recreation of Fort Clatsop, the lodge in which Expedition members spent the winter of 1805 to 1806, and the salt cairn that crew members had built near the Oregon coast.[109] Communities and state governments saw the economic potential of Lewis and Clark tourism, and they took the opportunity of the sesquicentennial to build up related resources.

Like the states and towns along the route, railroads took advantage of the sesquicentennial to build business. As it had done at the turn of the century, the Northern Pacific Railway used the story of Lewis and Clark as a nostalgic hook to increase ridership. This time, the railway promoted local sesquicentennial commemorations in Northern Pacific's magazine.[110] To further capitalize upon the sesquicentennial, Northern Pacific created a new luxury buffet-lounge car on their trains called the "Lewis and Clark Traveller's Rest Car."[111] The railroad company exhibited the car in seven cities and

---

[105] Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 124–25.

[106] Lewis called pageants "the most complex sesquicentennial activities" that took place among a series of other events and commemorations. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 124.

[107] "Coming events in the Northern Pacific Country," *The North Coaster* 21, no. 2 (March–April 1951): 3. "Three Forks, Montana Offers Lewis and Clark Pageant and Blackfeet Indians in Dances," *The North Coaster* 24, no. 3 (May–June 1953): 2. "Numerous Cities Along Lewis and Clark Trail Celebrating This Year," *The North Coaster* 26, no. 3 (May–June 1955): 1. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 116–19, 123–24.

[108] "Lewis and Clark Diorama is Unveiled in Helena Museum," *The North Coaster* 26, no. 1 (January–February 1955): 1; "Pompey's Pillar to be developed as Historical Site," *The North Coaster* 26, no. 2 (March–April 1955): 2.

[109] Ott, "Why Lewis and Clark Matter," 120; Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 33; The Daily Astorian, *Fort Clatsop: Rebuilding an Icon* (Portland, OR: Ooligan Press, 2007), 27–33.

[110] "Numerous Cities Along Lewis and Clark Trail Celebrating This Year," *The North Coaster* 26, no. 3 (May–June 1955): 1.

[111] "NP Shows Traveller's Rest, Holiday Lounge Cars in Seven Cities: DeLuxe Passenger Cars Viewed by 4,200 persons from Chicago to Coast," *The North Coaster* 27, no. 6 (November–December 1956): 1, 3.

even had its president visit the actual Travellers Rest site in Montana to promote the new cars.[112] The Northern Pacific worked with the Washington State Historical Society to publish a booklet, which it distributed for free on its routes, that provided a historical summary of Lewis and Clark's route and included a map showing how closely the train followed the route.[113] Travelers, riding in the comfort of state-of-the-art buffet cars, were encouraged to see themselves as explorers in the vein of Lewis and Clark, without the "arduous" aspects of the journey.[114]

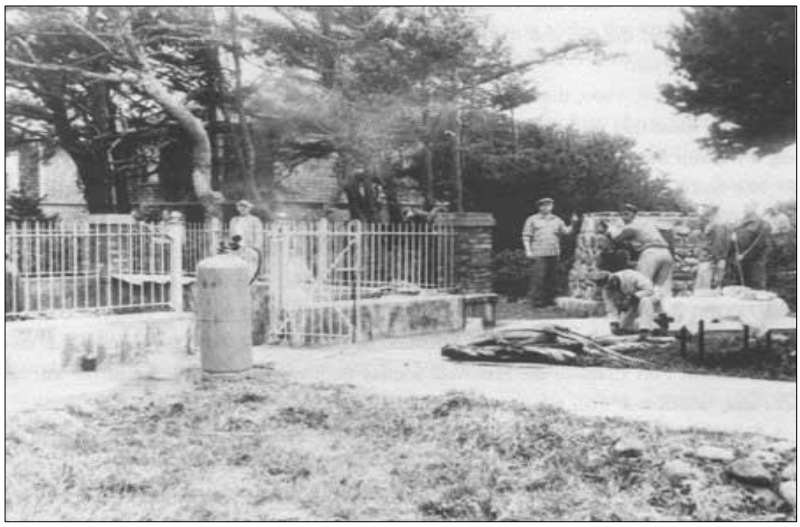


Figure 8. The Seaside Lions Club constructing a replica of the Expedition's salt works on the Oregon coast, 1955.

Source: National Park Service

In addition to local events, movies on Lewis and Clark debuted in this period. Dan E. Clark of the University of Oregon worked with *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1950 to produce a short film on Lewis and Clark, and Paramount Pictures released the wildly historically inaccurate *Far Horizons* in 1955.[115]

---

[112] "NP Shows Traveller's Rest, Holiday Lounge Cars in Seven Cities," 1, 3; "NP President Visits Traveller's Rest, Site of Lewis & Clark Camp: New North Coast Limited Buffet-Lounge Cars Named for Famed Explorer's Camps," *The North Coaster* 26, no. 6 (November–December 1955): 4.

[113] "Ask for Free Booklet on Lewis and Clark Car," *The North Coaster* 26, no. 5 (September–October 1955): 1; James Stevens, Robert MacFarlane, and Kenn E. Johnson, *Lewis and Clark: Our National Epic of Exploration* (Tacoma: Northern Pacific Railway Co. and Washington State Historical Society, 1955).

[114] "May 14, 150 Years Ago, Lewis and Clark Began Trip To Explore land to North Pacific Coast for U.S.," *The North Coaster* 25, no. 2 (March–April 1954): 2.

[115] Lewis writes that *Far Horizons* "virtually ignored historical fact in favor of rather typical cinematic clichés about the West . . . Even at the folk level, residents of communities on or near the trail knew the Hollywood version failed to accord with commonly understood events in the Lewis and Clark narrative." Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark*, 107–8.

From the completion of the journey in 1806 to the sesquicentennial celebrations in the 1950s, the Corps of Discovery had served a variety of symbolic purposes for European Americans. Over this time, the explorers and their route became invested with layered meanings, simultaneously embodying manifest destiny, new worlds of knowledge, a connection to the frontier past, and (for some) women's rights. The Corps of Discovery also became a tourist draw, adding to local and state interest in building highways and memorializing sites along the route.

Both the centennial and sesquicentennial commemorations of the Corps of Discovery were organized and carried out primarily by local residents in states through which the Corps had passed. European Americans organized the commemorations, and while they occasionally invited tribes for entertainment purposes, they gave little consideration to American Indian perspectives of Lewis and Clark. The narrative of Lewis and Clark as heroes who conquered new territories gained ground with no thought to the communities displaced by that "progress." When planning began for the bicentennial of the Expedition, commemoration of Lewis and Clark began to offer a more critical analysis of European American expansion and its consequences (see Chapter 6).

Chapter 2. Lewis and Clark and the National Trails System (1957–1968)

Early efforts to establish a national Lewis and Clark Trail originated in the highway-building era of the mid-twentieth century. They emerged from intertwining interests in public recreation and state and local tourism. Members of Congress from states along the trail introduced legislation to create a national tourway along the Expedition's route, but their bills failed. However, they succeeded in obtaining federal protection of specific sites associated with the Corps of Discovery.

In the 1960s, the Lewis and Clark Trail idea gained new attention, due to conservation efforts of the J. N. "Ding" Darling Foundation and the Department of the Interior's (DOI's) increased emphasis on public recreation. Congress initially endorsed the trail idea through a concurrent resolution, and then it established the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission to coordinate marking and promoting the trail.

Meanwhile, the DOI's focus shifted from roadways to long-distance foot paths, modeled on the Appalachian Trail. President Lyndon B. Johnson gave the trails movement a significant boost in 1965, when he called for a national system of trails. As Congress debated bills for a national trail system, members from Lewis and Clark states advocated for inclusion of a trail along the Expedition's route. Congress passed the National Trails System Act (NTSA) in 1968, providing authorization for establishing and maintaining recreational trails. While it did not establish a national Lewis and Clark Trail, the act called for a feasibility study to determine whether the Lewis and Clark route should become a part of the new national trail system.

Lewis and Clark National Tourway

The 1936 Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act authorized the National Park Service (NPS) to create scenic highways and directed the NPS to work with states to study and create recreation areas.[1] Parkways allowed Americans, still relatively new to cars in the 1930s and 1940s, to visit distant destinations and to view national parks and other scenic areas through their windshields.[2] As part of this era of road-building, the NPS proposed a "Lewis and Clark Tourway"

[1] The Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act authorized federal assistance to states to develop park, parkway, and recreational assets. Act of June 23, 1936, to authorize a study of the park, parkway, and recreational-area programs in the United States, and for other purposes, 49 Stat. 1894 (P.L. 770 ½).

[2] For more on road-building trends on public lands in the mid-twentieth century, see Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild. How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004)

in 1948 that would follow the Missouri River from St. Louis, Missouri, to Three Forks, Montana.[3] A national tourway would coordinate disparate state efforts to designate Lewis and Clark highways. It would also standardize the logos, themes, signs, and nomenclature that varied across state lines.

Senator Warren Magnuson (D-WA) launched the first congressional effort to create a Lewis and Clark National Tourway in 1950.[4] His joint resolution would have authorized the commissioner of public roads "to designate a highway system to be known as the Lewis and Clark National Tourway."[5] Magnuson, who served in the Senate for a total of six terms, championed legislation from the Civil Rights Act to consumer protection to creation of the Columbia and Snake River dams.[6] He recognized that federal endorsement of state-run Lewis and Clark highways would help boost tourism. The Lewis and Clark National Tourway resolution did not pass, but Magnuson was not deterred. Magnuson and Senator Henry Martin "Scoop" Jackson (D-WA) introduced identical Lewis and Clark Tourway resolutions in 1952, 1953, 1956, and 1957. By the late 1950s, Montana's congressional delegation had joined the chorus calling for a Lewis and Clark National Tourway.[7]

Despite the multitude of proposals, no Lewis and Clark Tourway resolution ever passed Congress. Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst recommended against the tourway and instead urged the creation of individual NPS sites at specific locations along the route.[8] In the absence of a national tourway, states constructed Lewis and Clark highways themselves, asking Congress to appropriate federal monies to assist in the efforts and using NPS technical assistance made available under the 1936 Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act.[9] In 1959, the DOI predicted that

---

and David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's. National Parks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

[3] Department of the Interior (DOI), Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR), "Introduction," *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 1965), http://www.npshistory.com/publications/lecl/proposal-for-development/intro.htm.

[4] 96 Cong. Rec. 11777 (August 4, 1950); 96 Cong. Rec. 723 (January 20, 1950); "Lewis-Clark National Tourway is Proposed," *Moberly Monitor Index*, August 5, 1950, 1. For more on Magnuson, see Shelby Scates, *Warren G. Magnuson and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).

[5] 96 Cong. Rec. 11777 (August 4, 1950); 96 Cong. Rec. 723 (January 20, 1950).

[6] Scates, *Warren G. Magnuson and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century America*, 3–4, 226–38.

[7] 103 Cong. Rec. 2851 (March 1, 1957); "Tourway Trip is Planned by Auto Caravan," *Walla Walla Union Bulletin*, May 10, 1952, 1; 99 Cong. Rec. 729 (February 2, 1953); 102 Cong. Rec. 860 (January 18, 1956); 103 Cong. Rec. 933 (January 24, 1957).

[8] Ernst wrote that "it does not seem feasible to connect them [Jefferson Expansion, Fort Clatsop] with a tourway." Roger Ernst, Secretary of the Interior, to Senator James E. Murray, December 8, 1959, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From March 1956 thru Dec 1966, Federal Records Center, Lenexa, KS (hereafter Lenexa FRC). Wallace G. Lewis also notes that the NPS focused on specific geographic locations, rather than more complex or linear parks, before the 1960s. See Wallace G. Lewis, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark: Early Commemorations and the Origins of the National Historic Trail.* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2010), 127.

[9] For example, North Dakota passed a resolution requesting Congress to "authorize and appropriate sufficient moneys to provide for the construction and completion of said unfinished link in said Lewis and Clark Highway at the

the Lewis and Clark Tourway would be completed within two years, despite the absence of federal legislation designating it.[10] States, not the federal government, created a piecemeal "Tourway" through their mid-twentieth century road-building efforts along the Lewis and Clark route.

Federal Protection of Lewis and Clark Sites

As discussed in Chapter 1, federal-level commemoration of the Corps in the 1950s consisted primarily of site-specific memorialization. In 1954, during sesquicentennial commemorations, Congress passed the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Act, which authorized the construction of the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, Missouri.[11] The structure would memorialize western expansion in general, but the bill specifically mentioned "the great explorers, Lewis and Clark," an indication that Congress and the NPS saw the duo as important to the narrative the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (JNEM) would tell.[12] Other sesquicentennial tributes in Congress included establishing Fort Clatsop National Memorial in Oregon at the site where the Corps of Discovery spent the winter of 1805–1806 after reaching the Pacific. Senators Richard Neuberger (D-OR), Wayne Morse (R-OR),and Henry Dworshak (R-ID) introduced the Fort Clatsop bill in 1955, along with a bill that would have established a national monument in Idaho's Lolo National Forest at the site of three rock cairns known as "Indian Post Office."[13] Congress did not pass the Indian Post Office bill, but President Dwight Eisenhower signed the Fort Clatsop bill into law in 1958, making it the first National Historic Site along the Lewis and Clark route.[14] And in 1960, the Sergeant Floyd Grave and Memorial in Sioux City, Iowa, became one of the first national historic

---

earliest practicable date." 103 Cong. Rec. 4734 (March 29, 1957). "Highway to Montana Is Given Boost," *Walla Walla Union Bulletin,* February 18, 1951, 98.

[10] In 1959, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst wrote, "The final uncompleted link of the Lewis-Clark Highway between Missoula, Mont., and Lewiston, Idaho will be completed in 1961 and will be known as the Lewis and Clark Tourway, following the route of the Lewis and Clark Expedition between St. Louis, Mo. And Astoria, Oreg. . . The Nez Perce Tribe is currently undertaking a program to mark and develop historic sites on the Nez Perce Reservation along the route of the Lewis and Clark Tourway." S. Rep. No. 867, at 2 (1959).

[11] Act of March 17, 1954, 68 Stat. 98 (P.L. 83-361). While authorization for construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (JNEM) occurred in the 1950s, plans had been underway for the memorial since the 1930s. The U.S. Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission, created in 1934, developed and authorized the plan for the construction of JNEM. Pub. Res. No. 32, 48 Stat. 967 (1934). In 1935, President Roosevelt signed an executive order establishing JNEM. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Volume Four* (New York: Random House, 1935), 607.

[12] Act of March 17, 1954, 68 Stat. 98 (P.L. 83-361). Pub. Res. No. 32, 48 Stat. 967 (1934). See also Sharon A. Brown, *Administrative History: Jefferson National Expansion Memorial National Historic Site* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1991), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/jeff/adhit.htm.

[13] 101 Cong. Rec. 10292 (July 12, 1955).

[14] Kelly Cannon, "Chapter Three: Legislative History," *Fort Clatsop Administrative History* (Seattle, WA: DOI, NPS, 1995), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/focl/adhi3.htm; Act of May 29, 1958, 72 Stat. 153 (P.L. 85-435).

landmarks, thanks to effective lobbying by local residents who were eager for federal recognition of Lewis and Clark sites.[15]

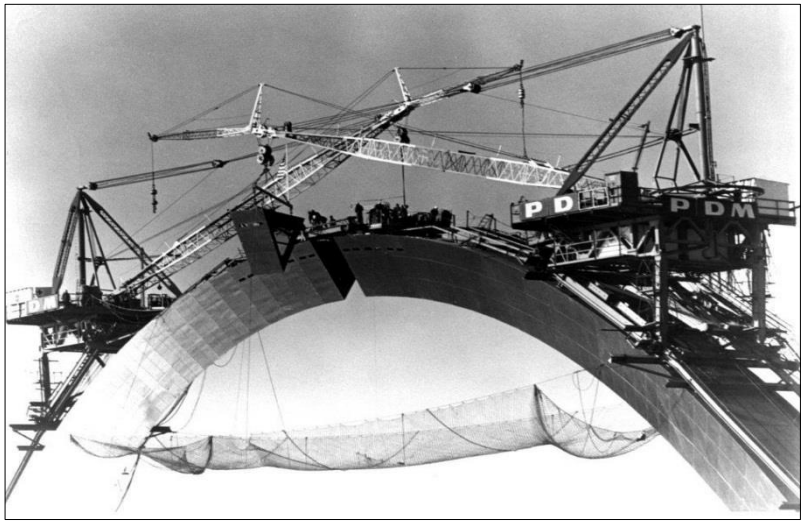


Figure 9. The Gateway Arch under construction in St. Louis, Missouri, after Congress authorized the appropriation of funds for the project in 1954.

Source: National Park Service.

Protection of the Sergeant Floyd gravesite was part of the NPS reactivation of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings (NSHSB) in 1957. NSHSB research led to protection of other sites associated with the Corps of Discovery. The NSHSB enabled the NPS to survey Corps of Discovery sites "comprehensively instead of limiting it to the area of water control development," which had been the case during studies conducted prior to dam building along the Missouri and Columbia Rivers.[16] Ray H. Mattison drafted a Lewis and Clark special study in conjunction with the NSHSB in 1958, focusing on historic site preservation possibilities along the Lewis and Clark Trail.[17] His report resulted in the designation of several Lewis and Clark sites as national historic landmarks, including the Three Forks of the Missouri (MT), Lemhi Pass (ID), Lolo Trail (ID), Travellers Rest (MT), and Pompeys Pillar (MT). Mattison's fieldwork laid the ground for additional NPS surveys in

[15] Barry Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History* (Washington, DC: NPS, History Division, 1985), 41–46, http://npshistory.com/publications/historic-sites-survey-nhl.pdf.

[16] Fred C. Fagergren, Midwest Regional Director, National Park Service (NPS), "The National Park Service Interest in the Lewis and Clark Trail, Montana," February 1966, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1966 thru Dec 1972, Lenexa FRC.

[17] Mattison drafted a similar report on sites along the Santa Fe Trail at the same time. The Regional Chief of Interpretation identified a persistent theme with Lewis and Clark, and all long trail, studies: they necessitated huge studies, which took a lot of staff time and money; as a result, many were rushed, incomplete, and understaffed. Memorandum, H. Raymond Gregg, Region Two Chief of Interpretation, National Park Service, to Director, National Park Service, October 7, 1958, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From March 1956 thru Dec 1966," Lenexa FRC.

the early 1960s. Together, those field studies comprised the bulk of the data used to draft a 1965 proposal for a Lewis and Clark Trail.[18]

Recreation and Natural Resource Ribbons: A Lewis and Clark Trail

Interior officials revisited the idea of a trail or a tourway in the early 1960s, when the legacy of Jay Norwood "Ding" Darling, a newly expansionist NPS, and a conservation-minded Secretary of the Interior created a more favorable environment for it at the national level. Ding Darling grew up enjoying the marshes and wild spaces along the Missouri River in Sioux City, Iowa. As an adult, he became one of the river's most energetic advocates. Darling began writing political cartoons at the turn of the twentieth century in Iowa. By the 1920s, New York papers had syndicated his cartoons, which often addressed conservation issues, and he eventually won two Pulitzer Prizes for his drawings. Throughout his career, Darling participated actively in conservation organizations such as the Men's Garden Club and the Izaak Walton League. Darling turned his conservation hobby into a career in the 1930s when Franklin D. Roosevelt placed him on a committee working to conserve migrating waterfowl habitat. In 1934, Roosevelt appointed Darling chief of the Biological Survey (today part of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service).[19] Still a cartoonist, Darling both designed and implemented the first Duck Stamp.[20]

Darling only spent twenty months as chief of the Biological Survey, but he maintained a lifelong love of the Missouri River.[21] Upon returning to Iowa, Darling proposed the creation of a series of interstate parks along the Missouri River in Iowa and Nebraska along the Lewis and Clark route. This proposal went nowhere in the 1950s, but a year before his death in 1962, Darling told friend and fellow Iowa Conservation Commission member Sherry Fisher that he wanted to protect the

---

[18] Roy Appleman assisted Mattison with the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings (NSHSB) fieldwork and continued to conduct much of the fieldwork for the 1965 study. Roy E. Appleman, "Lewis and Clark: The Route 160 Years After," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (January 1966): 8–12, 8; Fred C. Fagergren, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, "The National Park Service Interest in the Lewis and Clark Trail, Montana," February 1966, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1966 thru Dec 1972, Lenexa FRC.

[19] Darling was also a cofounder of the National Wildlife Federation. Biographical material from: Iowa Digital Library, "Who Was Ding Darling," The Editorial Cartoons of J. N. Ding Darling (Iowa City: The University of Iowa, 2013), http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/ding/who.php; University of Iowa Special Collections and University Archives, "Finding Aid: The Papers of Jay Norwood 'Ding' Darling," accessed October 7, 2016, http://www.lib.uiowa.edu/scua/msc/tomsc200/msc170/msc170_darlingding.html; J.N. "Ding" Darling Foundation, "About the Foundation," accessed October 6, 2016, http://www.dingdarling.org/foundation.html; David L. Lendt, *Ding: The Life of Jay Norwood Darling* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979).

[20] Mark Madison, "A History of the Federal Duck Stamp," U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, September 12, 2016, https://usfwsnortheast.wordpress.com/2016/09/12/a-history-of-the-federal-duck-stamp/.

[21] University of Iowa Special Collections and University Archives, "Finding Aid: The Papers of Jay Norwood 'Ding' Darling," accessed October 7, 2016, http://www.lib.uiowa.edu/scua/msc/tomsc200/msc170/msc170_darlingding.html.

Missouri River as part of a "national outdoor recreation and natural resources ribbon along the historic trail of Lewis and Clark."[22] Fisher later recounted the conversation for Darling's biographer:

> Although Darling's health was poor, Fisher recalled he was bubbling with excitement over the prospect. He looked Fisher in the eye. "I can't live to do these things, but I'd like to know you'd try to do it for me," he said. "I'll try," Fisher promised.[23]

Darling saw this recreational and scenic "ribbon" as a way to protect both wildlife and the historic legacy of Lewis and Clark.[24] After Darling's death, Fisher wasted no time in trying to make Darling's idea for a federally protected Lewis and Clark route—one that would conserve wildlife and habitat in addition to history—a reality.[25]

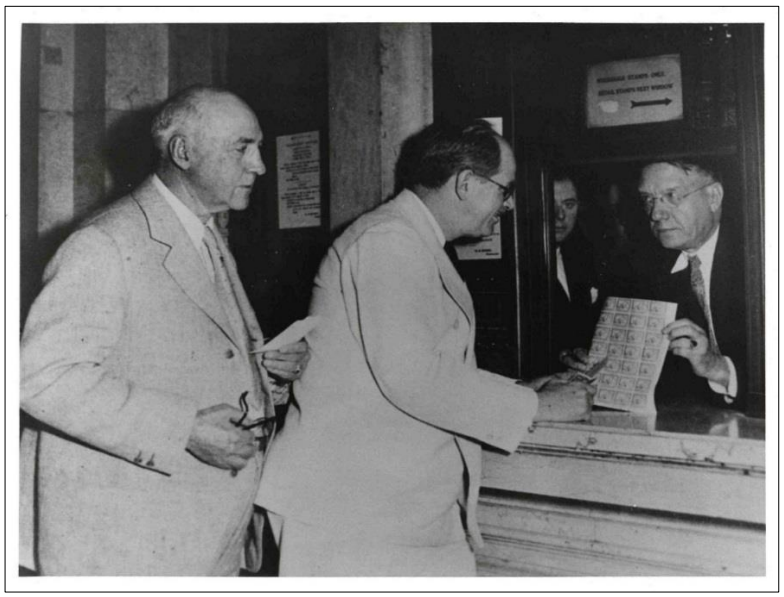


Figure 10. Ding Darling, political cartoonist, conservationist, and creator of the Duck Stamp, pictured here purchasing the first duck stamps, which included his artwork, 1934.

Source: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Within a year of Darling's passing, Fisher founded the J. N. "Ding" Darling Foundation. The foundation's advisory board included two former presidents (Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman), newspapermen, cartoonists, and various friends of Darling.[26] Foundation leadership met with Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall as one of its earliest tasks. Udall and

---

[22] Keith G. Hay, "Present at the Creation: The Conservation Roots of the LCTHF," scanned and formatted by Bob Gatten, 2011, 2, originally published in *We Proceeded On* 32, no. 2 (May 2006): 38–40 and 32, no. 3 (August 2006): 37–38.

[23] Lendt, *Ding: The Life of Jay Norwood Darling*, 154.

[24] Lendt, *Ding: The Life of Jay Norwood Darling*, 37–38.

[25] The NPS Midwest Region objected to giving Darling credit for the Lewis and Clark Trail idea (as Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall did in the 1965 *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*), citing the NPS's long history of proposals regarding Lewis and Clark sites and the Missouri River. Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Director, NPS, "Summary – Lewis and Clark Trail Study," memorandum, May 21, 1965, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark & Lewis & Clark Tourway, March 1956 to Jan. 1966, Lenexa FRC.

[26] Lendt, *Ding: The Life of Jay Norwood Darling*, 166.

his DOI were supportive of a Lewis and Clark Trail, which would fit well with specific Lewis and Clark historic site additions like Fort Clatsop and other NPS expansion efforts in the 1960s.[27]

Interior officials told Darling Foundation leaders that they would need grassroots endorsements from all ten Lewis and Clark states to get the trail plan off the ground.[28] The Darling Foundation did just that. It then co-organized two meetings with the DOI in 1962—in Portland, Oregon, in October and in Omaha, Nebraska, in December—at which sixty-seven representatives of federal, state, and local governments and private organizations endorsed a Lewis and Clark Trail that would build upon the already extant preserves, public lands, and historic sites along the Corps of Discovery's route.[29]

Meanwhile, in Washington, the DOI took a deliberate turn toward recreation. In 1958, Congress created the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) and tasked it with determining the next forty years of outdoor recreation demands and supplies, which would enable Congress to craft a policy to help the latter keep up with the former.[30] The ORRRC legitimized recreation as a federal priority for various federal agencies that had already begun implementing outdoor recreation initiatives in the late 1950s. It also stimulated research in outdoor recreation.[31] Among the ORRRC's recommendations was the creation of a new agency to oversee federal recreation planning. In 1962, President John F. Kennedy fulfilled that recommendation by establishing the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR).[32] The following year, Congress passed Public Law 88-29, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to "[f]ormulate and maintain a comprehensive nationwide outdoor recreation plan."[33] Armed now with a legislative mandate, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall emphasized recreation throughout the remainder of his tenure. However, the establishment of the BOR generated tension within the DOI. The NPS, accustomed to managing recreation alone, disliked a new agency taking over duties that the NPS had previously performed. For example, on the Lewis and Clark Trail, the NPS had conducted the

---

[27] Richard Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), Chapter 5, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/sellars/chap5.htm.

[28] This number is ten, not eleven, because early proposals did not include Illinois among Lewis and Clark member states. Hay, "Present at the Creation."

[29] Lendt, *Ding: The Life of Jay Norwood Darling*, 166; Hay, "Present at the Creation," 37–38.

[30] Act of June 28, 1958, 72 Stat. 238 (P.L. 85-470); George H. Siehl, "The Policy Path to the Great Outdoors: A History of the Outdoor Recreation Review Commissions," *Resources for the Future Background Study*, prepared for the Outdoor Resources Review Group (October 2008), 2–3.

[31] Siehl, "The Policy Path to the Great Outdoors," 3–6.

[32] John F. Kennedy, "Special Message to the Congress on Conservation," March 1, 1962, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=9081.

[33] Act of May 28, 1963, 77 Stat. 49 (P.L. 88-29).

research and fieldwork for a trail proposal (as part of the NSHSB survey), but the BOR ended up publishing the initial proposal for the trail.[34]

The DOI's focus on recreation and the Darling Foundation's political advocacy prompted Congress to pass a concurrent resolution expressing support for a Lewis and Clark Trail in 1963.[35] This was the first federal proposal in Congress to call for a Lewis and Clark *trail* rather than a tourway. Congress resolved that the entire route of Lewis and Clark "should, to the greatest extent feasible, be identified, marked, and kept available for the inspiration and enjoyment of the American people." The resolution directed the departments of the Interior, Agriculture, and Defense to work together "to preserve and mark in an appropriate fashion the route wherever it crosses lands which they administer and to assure public access to the lands so crossed," while also cooperating with "all States, counties, municipalities, and private parties who own land along the route or are otherwise interested in the success of this project."[36] Although a concurrent resolution is not signed by the president as a law would be, this resolution, along with a donation from the Darling Foundation, enabled the BOR to prepare a feasibility study for a national Lewis and Clark Trail.[37]

The Lewis and Clark Trail Commission

While the concurrent resolution was an important step forward, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and the Darling Foundation continued to advocate legislative authorization of a national Lewis and Clark Trail. In August 1964, Representative John Kyl, Representative Ben Jensen, and Senator

---

[34] Historian Ronald A. Foresta writes that the NPS saw the creation of the BOR as a "thinly veiled condemnation of the agency for failing to discharge its recreation responsibilities." Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1984), 176. Udall to Director, National Park Service, July 10, 1964, "Memorandum re: management of the National Park System," reprinted in *Administrative Policies for Recreation Areas of the National Park System,* 64–66.

[35] DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*; Lewis and Clark Trail, H. Cong. Res. 61, 77 Stat. 946 (August 28, 1963). Senator Jack Miller (R-IA) had also introduced a similar resolution in the Senate the same year (S. Con. Res. 13). 109 Cong. Rec. 1169 (January 28, 1963). Other similar resolutions were introduced in the House: on January 28, 1963, Representative Ralph F. Beerman of Nebraska of introduced H. Con. Res. 64 and North Dakota Representatives Hjalmar Carl Nygaard and Don L. Short introduced H. Con. Res. 65 and 67, to condone a Lewis and Clark Trail. 109 Cong. Rec. 1270 (January 29, 1963). See also 109 Cong. Rec. D218 (daily ed. May 20, 1963); 109 Cong. Rec. 16099 (August 28, 1963); 109 Cong. Rec. 1438 (January 31, 1963); 109 Cong. Rec. D420 (daily ed. August 28, 1963).

[36] Lewis and Clark Trail, H. Cong. Res. 61, 77 Stat. 946 (August 28, 1963). The Army was included in relevant agencies because of the many U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE)-managed dams along the water route.

[37] Stewart L. Udall, "Foreword," DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*. For more on concurrent resolutions and the legislative gray territory they occupy, see Rankin M. Gibson, "Congressional Concurrent Resolutions: An Aid Statutory Interpretation?" *American Bar Association Journal* 37, no. 6 (June 1951): 421–24, 479–83. The glossary on the Library of Congress's "Congress.gov" website defines concurrent resolutions as "A form of legislative measure used for the regulation of business within both chambers of Congress, not for proposing changes in law." Library of Congress, "Legislative Glossary," accessed October 24, 2016, https://www.congress.gov/help/legislative-glossary.

Jack Miller of Iowa introduced bills to establish a Lewis and Clark Trail Commission.[38] It was no accident that all of the congressmen who introduced Lewis and Clark Trail Commission legislation were from Iowa: the Darling Foundation was the driving force behind it.[39] Fisher and the foundation saw the commission as a necessary organizational structure to support the creation of a vast federal trail built on partnerships.[40] While the concurrent resolution expressed general support for a Lewis and Clark Trail, the commission would translate that support into an actual trail on the ground.

Lyndon B. Johnson signed the act establishing the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission on October 6, 1964.[41] Because the Darling Foundation had proposed and shepherded the legislation through Congress, four members of the twenty-seven-member commission would be appointed by the foundation.[42] Other members included a representative from each of the ten Lewis and Clark states (this legislation also left out Illinois, as had the 1963 resolution), four from the Senate and four from the House of Representatives (two Democrats and two Republicans from each), and one representative from each of the following federal agencies: Agriculture; Interior; Defense; Commerce; and Health, Education, and Welfare.[43]

The Lewis and Clark Trail Commission served as a central body for Lewis and Clark-related preservation and promotion. The commission would be advisory only, but it would submit a minimum of one report within two years and a final report in five years. Congress provided funding of $25,000 per year and required that commission members "serve without compensation."[44] The

---

[38] The bill numbers were H.R. 12289 and S. 3116. 110 Cong. Rec. 18625 (August 7, 1964); 110 Cong. Rec. 19381 (August 13, 1964).

[39] Senator Jack Miller of Iowa gave the Darling Foundation credit for the legislation on the Senate Floor on August 14, 1964: "The Lewis and Clark Trail project is largely the work of the 'Ding' Darling Foundation, formed to further the objectives of the late J. N. 'Ding' Darling of Des Moines, Iowa, one of the Nation's leading conservationists." 110 Cong. Rec. 19381 (August 13, 1964).

[40] 110 Cong. Rec. 19381 (August 13, 1964).

[41] Act of October 6, 1964, 78 Stat. 1005 (P.L. 88-630); 110 Cong. Rec. 22417–8 (September 22, 1964); "FG 242 (Lewis and Clark Trail Commission)," Nixon Library, accessed October 6, 2016, https://nixonlibrary.gov/forresearchers/find/textual/central/subject/FG242.php.

[42] Act of October 6, 1964, 78 Stat. 1005 (P.L. 88-630).

[43] Representative Melvin Price of Illinois introduced legislation that added Illinois to the list of states that had a presence on the Lewis and Clark Commission. It passed Congress and was signed into law in 1966. Act of June 29, 1966, 80 Stat. 229 (P.L. 89-475); Act of October 6, 1964 78 Stat. 1005 (P.L. 88-630).

[44] 110 Cong. Rec. 22417–9 (September 22, 1964). A later proposal would raise appropriations, though not to the $50,000 level originally proposed in H.R. 12290: ". . . the Commission has received in the past $25,000 for its activities and this year there is before the Appropriations Committee $35,000." *Nationwide Trails System: Hearings on H. R. 4865, and Related Bills, Day 1, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation*, 90th Cong. 54 (1967) (statement of Edward C. Crafts, Director, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation).

commission was temporary: the act stated that after five years and the submission of a final report, "the Commission shall cease to exist."[45]

Perhaps the most important accomplishment of the commission was the creation and implementation of a uniform highway marker to mark the approximate route of the Corps of Discovery.[46] The commission also assisted states with identifying and wayshowing the route, published one million Lewis and Clark brochures to publicize it, worked with travel agencies to utilize the Lewis and Clark theme to promote tourism, advocated for archeological surveys along the route, assisted with the construction of wayside markers, fostered the development of volunteer organizations, and encouraged states to create new historic sites and recreation areas.[47]

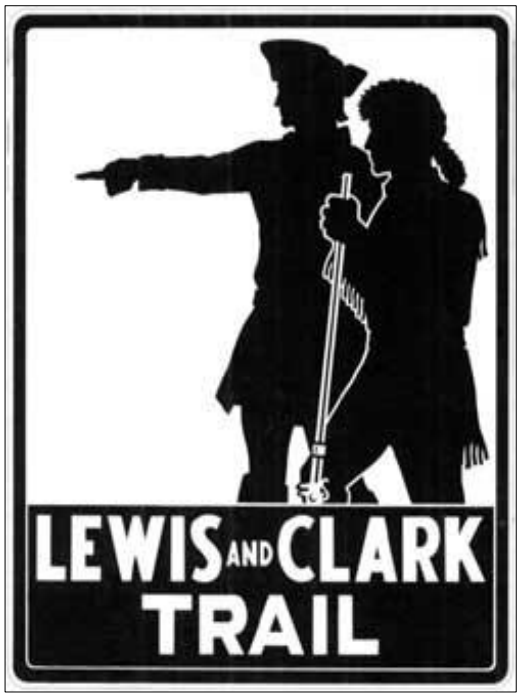


Figure 11. Roadside markers created by the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

By the end of its tenure, the commission had orchestrated the establishment of eleven state Lewis and Clark Trail committees, assisted with the creation of dozens of new state parks, promoted the establishment of four new national historic landmarks, and supported legislative actions that would generate tourism along the historic route.[48] The commission even helped to encourage private enterprise and historical scholarship around Lewis and Clark. They applauded and almost took credit for Bernard DeVoto's republishing of the Expedition's journals in 1969.[49] The commission provided

[45] Act of October 6, 1964, 78 Stat. 1005 (P.L. 88-630).

[46] The 1982 Comprehensive Management Plan for LCNHT stated, "An outgrowth of the Commission's work has been the publication by various Federal, State, and local agencies of brochures and reports related to the Trail." DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use* (Washington, DC: GPO, January 1982), 1.

[47] Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *An Interim Report to the President and to the Congress* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1966), 4–5; Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *Final Report to the President and to the Congress* (Washington, DC: GPO, October 1969), 1, 3, 11–13, 29.

[48] Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *Final Report*, 3–17.

[49] DeVoto had published *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* in 1953. Bernard DeVoto, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1953). The Lewis and Clark Trail Commission called the republishing "a significant achievement of the private sector." Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *Final Report*, 3; Meriwether Lewis,

uniformity in defining the Lewis and Clark brand across the eleven states promoting it.

A year into the commission's five-year tenure, the BOR completed *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development.* Undertaken at the direction of Secretary Udall and funded by the Darling Foundation, the 1965 study drew heavily from data collected during NSHSB fieldwork conducted from 1956 to 1965 by Roy Appleman, NPS staff, and the University of Chicago geography department.[50] The NPS aim for a Lewis and Clark Trail was "to formulate a program with the joint purpose of memorializing the Expedition and enhancing the resources along the route for the benefit of the region and for those from all over the Nation who will be attracted to it."[51] The report advocated for Darling's proposal of a "recreation ribbon" along the route and recommended the trail be a cooperative enterprise rather than a purely federal initiative.[52]

In the years following the 1965 report, the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission moved ahead with publicity and branding efforts. The commission worked with the Boy Scouts of America, who organized a 1968 "Lewis and Clark Expedition Project," in which twenty-four Boy Scout councils in Lewis and Clark states encouraged scouts to hike or canoe segments of the Corps' route.[53] The commission also worked with Lewis and Clark College in Portland and publicized an effort in which students traversed "by canoe and on foot" the Expedition's route from Lolo Pass on the Idaho–Montana border to Portland, Oregon."[54] Commission members—who by design were part of local, state, and federal governments—worked with all levels of administration to promote the Lewis and Clark brand and to facilitate future trail, park, or historic site creation. States along the trail developed dozens of new state parks, campgrounds, recreation areas, fishing access points, boating

---

William Clark, et al., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (New York: Arno Press, 1969).

[50] Chester C. Brown, Assistant Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Director, NPS, June 1, 1962, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1966 thru Dec 1972, Lenexa FRC; Appleman, "Lewis and Clark: The Route 160 Years After," 8.

[51] DOI, BOR, "Introduction" and Stewart L. Udall, "Foreword," in *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*. In Udall's foreword, he suggests that the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission was the impetus for the 1965 study, but discussions were underway prior to the commission's establishment.

[52] The report defines "recreation ribbon" well in the following recommendation: "A network of good first-class highways now parallels much of the route. If appropriately marked, these roads would make it possible for automobile travelers to visit the Expedition campsites and to follow the route rather closely as it winds across the plains, the mountains, and through the Pacific Northwest. Many of these roads, now under a combination of Federal, State, and local jurisdictions and financing arrangements, possess considerable scenic qualities which, with certain improvements, could provide continuity and access to the 'recreation ribbon' of historic, wildlife, and other areas along the route." DOI, BOR, "Summary," *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*. See also Udall, "Foreword," DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*.

[53] Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *Second Interim Report to the President and to the Congress* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1968), 3.

[54] Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *Second Interim Report*, 3.

facilities, and historic sites between 1965 and 1969, often with the guidance of the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission.[55]

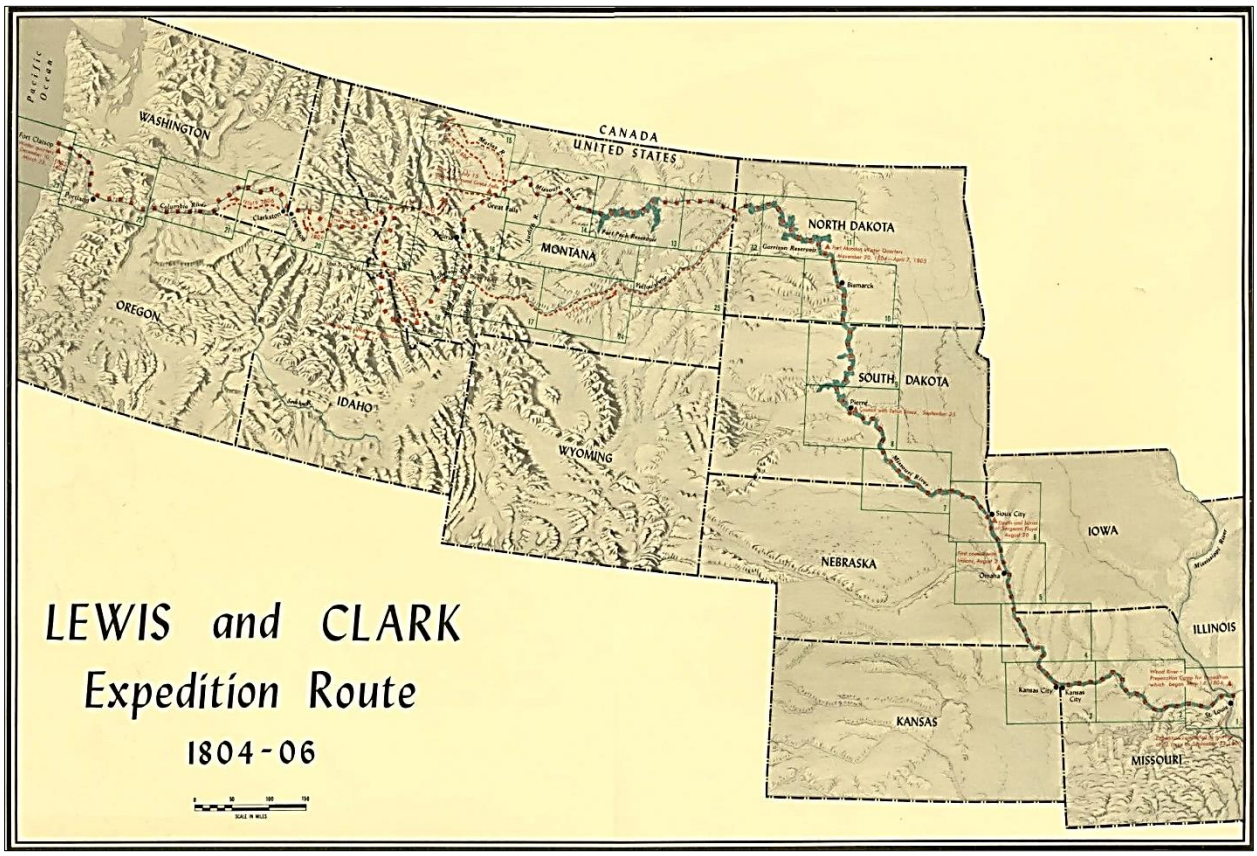


Figure 12. Map of the Lewis and Clark Trail included in the 1965 report, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*, 1965.

Source: Department of the Interior.

The 1965 report and the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission envisioned the Lewis and Clark Trail as a highway route for the most part, with parks, interpretive centers, historic sites, and waterways along the way. The report's primary recommendation—and the commission's aim—was to mark and identify the route, thereby ensuring tourist traffic for the states through which Lewis and Clark had passed.[56] While both the report title and the commission's name included the word "trail," neither saw the Lewis and Clark Trail as a continuous footpath. Rather, the NPS and the

[55] For an overview of these, see Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *Final Report*, 11–13.

[56] The BOR was especially concerned that the interstate highway system might "have the effect of funneling tourists and recreationists right past the recreation opportunities." DOI, BOR, "Outdoor Recreation Demand Along the Lewis and Clark Trail," *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development.*

BOR envisioned it as a series of highways, waterways, and discrete state, local, or national park sites that allowed travelers to follow and commemorate Lewis and Clark's historic route.

Around the time that the BOR published *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*, the NPS promoted the creation of a "Lewis and Clark National Wilderness Waterway" along the Expedition's route.[57] In 1965, *Saturday Evening Post* reporters joined NPS and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) staff for a three-week trip from Omaha to Three Forks along the Missouri River to promote the Wilderness Waterway. Some tension existed between NPS and the USACE at the time, since any proposed Lewis and Clark trail or waterway included the Missouri River's dams and reservoirs, which the USACE controlled.[58] At the state level, historical groups supported a Lewis and Clark Wilderness Waterway, but USACE objections drowned them out.[59]

The main issue the USACE had with the Wilderness Waterway proposal was the "wilderness" part.[60] Ultimately, objections from the USACE stalled the Lewis and Clark Wilderness Waterway. However, the proposal reflected the NPS's increasing emphasis on conservation in connection with preserving the Corps of Discovery's route. The Wilderness Waterway proposal came out just as Congress established the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission. It was during this turn toward conservation in the 1960s that the NPS began calling the Lewis and Clark route a "trail" instead of "tourway." This change in terminology and the NPS's increased focus on conservation of ecological resources connected its Lewis and Clark proposals to the growing national trails movement.[61]

Origins of the National Trails System Idea

Efforts to create long-distance recreational trails stretched back to the 1920s. The first long-distance recreational footpath, the Appalachian Trail, was conceived and run in its early years by a

---

[57] John Kawamoto, Acting Assistant to the Regional Director, Midwest Region, NPS, to Ross E. Sharp, July 11, 1956, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1966 thru Dec 1972, Lenexa FRC.

[58] Merrill J. Mattes, Acting Resource Studies Advisor, Midwest Region, NPS, to Midwest Regional Director, NPS, "Missouri River Trip, July 10–31, 1965," memorandum, August 12, 1965, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From March 1956 thru Dec 1966, Lenexa FRC.

[59] Merrill J. Mattes, Acting Resource Studies Advisor, Midwest Region, NPS, to Midwest Regional Director, NPS, "Trip Report: Great Falls and Helena, Montana, February 2–5, 1966," memorandum, February 7, 1966, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1966 thru Dec 1972, Lenexa FRC.

[60] Fred C. Fagergren, Midwest Regional Director, National Park Service, "The National Park Service Interest in the Lewis and Clark Trail, Montana," February 1966, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1966 thru Dec 1972, Lenexa FRC.

[61] Letter from Edward C. Crafts, Director, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, September 16, 1966, in DOI, BOR, *Trails for America: Report on the Nationwide Trails Study* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1966), 3. This shift to trails occurred during an agency-wide shift away from car-based recreation development at national park sites. For more on that shift, see Louter, *Windshield Wilderness*.

private organization and did not receive federal funding until 1938.[62] In 1945, Representative Daniel Hoch of Pennsylvania proposed a national system of "foot trails" with the Appalachian Trail as its centerpiece. Hoch sought to create this trail system by amending the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944, rather than working through land management agencies like the DOI or the U.S. Forest Service.[63] However, the Federal Works Agency (FWA), which had oversight of public roads at that time, had little experience with or interest in footpaths. Although the public expressed interest in the bill, the FWA gave it an unfavorable report.[64] The FWA's lack of support prevented the foot path legislation from moving out of committee, and Congress did not revisit the national trails idea until the 1960s.

In 1962, an ORRRC report revived momentum for trails. The report, *Outdoor Recreation for America*, recommended an interconnected national system of trails built on public-private partnerships to create low-cost, affordable recreation opportunities for all Americans.[65] The following year, Senator Jennings Randolph (D-WV) introduced a bill "for the development of an adequate system of roads and trails in the National Forest" and Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-WI) introduced a bill to "gain Congressional recognition of the Appalachian Trail."[66] Neither bill made it out of committee. Senator Nelson reintroduced his bill in 1965, but it again failed to move to the floor.[67] Nelson introduced a second trails bill later in 1965 that would authorize establishment of a national hiking trails system. That bill also failed to move out of committee.[68]

---

[62] The NPS provided that federal funding in 1938. "Appalachian Trailway Agreement," *Appalachian Trailway News* 1, no. 1 (January 1939), as cited in Steven Elkinton, *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment* (Washington, DC: NPS, 2008), 6.

[63] *A bill to amend the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 to authorize the construction of a national system of foot trails: Hearings on H.R. 2142, Before the Committee on Roads*, 79th Cong. (1945) (letter from Philip B. Fleming, Major General, U.S. Army, to J. W. Robinson, Chairman, House Committee on Roads), 1–3.

[64] A Federal Works Agency letter to the Chairman said "the system proposed would be so limited in scope that it would reach only a very small part of the country and would be accessible to relatively few people. The result would be that the vast majority of persons who might be disposed to use such a system of trails would be forced to use those now being provided along the public highways, or to use the public highways themselves. The Agency, therefore, does not believe that the proposed bill is necessary and recommends against favorable action thereon." *A bill to amend the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 to authorize the construction of a national system of foot trails: Hearings on H.R. 2142, Before the Committee on Roads*, 79th Cong. (1945) (letter from Philip B. Fleming, Major General, U.S. Army, to J. W. Robinson, Chairman, House Committee on Roads), 1–3.

[65] Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, *Outdoor recreation for America, a report to the President and to the Congress* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1962), 162.

[66] Randolph's bill was S. 1147; Nelson's bill was S. 622. DOI, BOR, *Trails for America*, 19–20.

[67] Senator Gaylord Nelson connected his bill on the Appalachian Trail to Johnson's message of natural beauty in a February 9, 1965 speech on the Senate floor. 111 Cong. Rec. 2378 (February 9, 1965); DOI, BOR, *Trails for America*, 20.

[68] 111 Cong. Rec. 25819–20 (October 1, 1965); DOI, BOR, *Trails for America*, 20.

It took an act not of Congress but of the president to move national trails legislation forward. On February 8, 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson delivered a speech to Congress on "natural beauty."[69] In it, he addressed various conservation and environmental concerns of the time. Among other appeals, Johnson called for the development of a national system of trails with integrated management and cooperation across jurisdictions. Johnson envisioned the trails system as a space without motor vehicles:

> The forgotten outdoorsmen of today are those who like to walk, hike, ride horseback or bicycle. For them we must have trails as well as highways. Nor should motor vehicles be permitted to tyrannize the more leisurely human traffic. Old and young alike can participate. Our doctors recommend and encourage such activity for fitness and fun.
>
> I am requesting, therefore, that the Secretary of the Interior work with his colleagues in the federal government and with state and local leaders and recommend to me a cooperative program to encourage a national system of trails, building up the more than hundred thousand miles of trails in our National Forests and Parks . . . .
>
> As with so much of our quest for beauty and quality, each community has opportunities for action. We can and should have an abundance of trails for walking, cycling and horseback riding, in and close to our cities. In the back country we need to copy the great Appalachian Trail in all parts of America, and to make full use of rights of way and other public paths.[70]

Johnson's call for a National Trails System that was only for hikers, horseback riders, and cyclists set a standard that ultimately became an obstacle for historic migration trails, many of which had already been paved over with asphalt.

In conjunction with Johnson's speech, Secretary Udall directed the BOR to study the feasibility of establishing a National Trails System "in cooperation with State and local governments and private interests."[71] The BOR conducted the study within a year and a half. Its 1966 report to the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture, *Trails for America,* recommended the creation of a national system of trails, specified criteria for selecting such trails, and provided a list of which trails to authorize first.[72] The report identified three categories of trails: national scenic trails, which would be

---

[69] Partial text of speech available in DOI, BOR*, Trails for America*, 3. For the full text of Johnson's speech, see President Lyndon B. Johnson, "Special Message to the Congress on Conservation and Natural Beauty, February 8, 1965," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965*, Volume I, entry 54 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1966), 155–65, available online at the LBJ Library website, http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/speeches.hom/650208.asp.

[70] Johnson, "Special Message to the Congress on Conservation and Natural Beauty, February 8, 1965."

[71] Letter from Edward C. Crafts, Director, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, September 16, 1966, in DOI, BOR, *Trails for America*, 3. This shift to trails occurred during an agency-wide shift away from car-based recreation development at national park sites. For more on that shift, see Louter, *Windshield Wilderness.*

[72] USDA, "Nationwide System of Trails Recommended to Interior and Agriculture Secretaries," news release, January 12, 1967, USDA 109_67, Forest History Society online archives,

several hundred miles in length; park and forest trails, which would be developed within existing federal lands; and metropolitan area trails, which would be shorter but within easy access of major population centers. Under the national scenic trail category, the BOR further divided proposed trails into three groups: those that should be established immediately, those that "merit[ed] consideration" for national scenic trails status whose study "should be undertaken promptly," and those recommended for study but with less urgency. The Lewis and Clark Trail, along with four other historic routes, made the list of scenic trails whose study the BOR recommended be undertaken "promptly."[73]

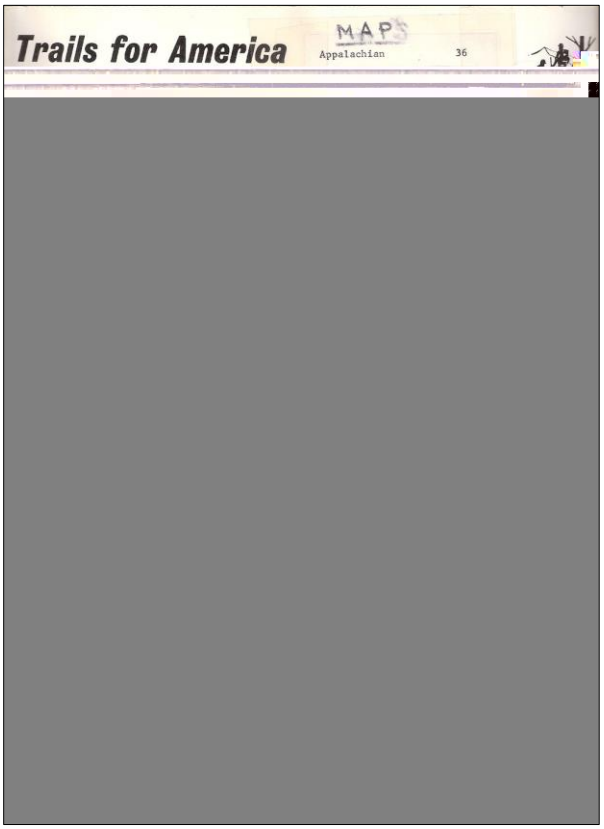


Figure 13. Cover of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation's *Trails for America* report, 1966.

Source: Department of the Interior.

http://www.foresthistory.org/ASPNET/policy/Recreation/trails/SystemofTrailsRecommended.pdf; DOI, BOR, *Trails for America*.

[73] *Trails for America* also recommended the immediate established of the Appalachian Trail, Pacific Crest Trail, Potomac Heritage Trail, Continental Divide Trail, and studies of sixteen other potential National Scenic Trails. DOI, BOR, *Trails for America*, 13–14; USDA, "Nationwide System of Trails Recommended to Interior and Agriculture Secretaries," 2–3.

The National Trails System Act of 1968

In 1967, Representative Roy A. Taylor (D-NC) introduced a bill on the DOI's behalf that would establish a procedure for creating national trails, as suggested in *Trails for America*. Taylor emphasized the democratic nature of trails:

> Hiking and bicycle riding are simple pleasures within the economic reach of all American citizens and are more relaxing than traveling by automobile on crowded roads. In this program a little money goes a long way and provides much recreational opportunity. I believe that we should give careful thought to establishing a nationwide system of trails.[74]

Taylor's bill, like *Trails for America*, recommended that Congress designate the Appalachian Trail a national scenic trail and directed the study of eight additional trails, including Lewis and Clark.[75] Representative Melvin Price (D-IL) introduced a similar bill in 1967. Price recommended four additional potential trails for study and specifically requested that a Lewis and Clark Trail extend from Wood River, Illinois, the Expedition's starting point.[76] Meanwhile, Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson (D-WA) introduced S. 827, the companion to Taylor's House bill.[77] All of the bills relied on the same definition of a national scenic trail: "an extended trail which has natural, scenic, or historic qualities that give the trail recreation use potential of national significance."[78] The scenic trail category was the only category that mentioned historic significance and the only category intended for extended trails. This meant that potential historic trails like Lewis and Clark or the Oregon Trail would be studied for inclusion using the criteria for national scenic trails.[79]

Congressional hearings on National Trails System legislation began in March 1967. Historic trails, including Lewis and Clark, were less of a focus than partially extant scenic trails like the Appalachian and Pacific Crest trails. A variety of conservation, outdoor activity, and environmental organizations testified in support of national trails. Among them were the Sierra Club, Appalachian Mountain Club, Save the Dunes Council, Izaak Walton League, Appalachian Trail Conference, National Parks Association, National Wildlife Federation, North American Trail Ride Conference,

---

[74] Taylor's bill was H.R. 4865. 113 Cong. Rec. 2554 (February 6, 1967).

[75] 113 Cong. Rec. 2554 (February 6, 1967).

[76] For full text of H.R. 1145, see *Nationwide System of Trails: Hearings on S. 827, Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,* 90th Cong. 6–10 (1967). Price was a vocal advocate of extending any Lewis and Clark Trail to Wood River. He successfully shepherded legislation to include Illinois in the Lewis and Clark Commission in 1966 and later amended the National Trails System Act to identify the eastern terminus of the Lewis and Clark Trail as Wood River, Illinois rather than St. Louis, Missouri. *Nationwide System of Trails: Hearings on S. 827, Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,* 90th Cong. 20 (1967) (statement of Melvin Price, U.S. Representative from Illinois).

[77] *Nationwide Trails System: Hearings on H.R. 4865, and Related Bills, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation*, 90th Cong. 1–9 (1967).

[78] This language was the same as that of H.R. 4865 and H.R. 1145. *Nationwide System of Trails: Hearings on S. 827, Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 90th Cong. 1 (1967) (statement of Frank E. Moss, Senator from Utah).

[79] *Nationwide System of Trails: Hearings on S. 827, Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 90th Cong. 2 (1967).

and the Green Mountain Horse Association.[80] None of these organizations mentioned a Lewis and Clark Trail in their congressional testimony; rather, their support was for foot trails in general.

Some members of Congress worried that modeling national scenic trail standards on the Appalachian Trail, a footpath, would result in historic trails being undervalued and underrepresented in the National Trails System. Representative Joe Skubitz (R-KS) argued this point to Secretary Udall in regard to a trail through his state, the Chisholm Trail.[81] In response, Udall defended historic trails and their significance to any National Trails System:

> I do not want us to slight the importance of historical trails. I do not think we should do that. In fact, I think the Congress has emphasized historical significance already by its action in this area 3 years ago in establishing the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission. The reason for this was historic significance, first, the wonderful outdoor recreation opportunities, second. So, let us combine the two. Let us think of them both together.[82]

Udall further explained that the DOI selected potential historic trails "along which the pioneers and those who were moving westward or who were attempting to achieve particular objectives in the history of our country traveled," trails that developed "as part of the growth of our country."[83]

Historic trails remained in National Trails System legislation thanks in large part to the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission. Members like Senator Frank E. Church (D-ID), Representative Joe Skubitz (R-KS), and Representative John Kyl (R-IA) promoted the Lewis and Clark Trail and other historic trails, both in hearings for the proposed legislation and behind the scenes. Church had been promoting the Lewis and Clark Trail in Idaho for over a decade, and his colleagues credited him with completing the Lewis and Clark Highway over Lolo Pass on the Idaho–Montana border.[84] Skubitz fought for historic trails in hearings to ensure they remained part of National Trails System bills.[85]And Kyl argued for proposed bills to include segmented trails, rather than too fastidiously adhering to an ideal of unbroken trails, inspired by the Appalachian Trail:

> The Lewis and Clark Trail, for instance, there right now we are contemplating, I am contemplating especially because it is my personal area of consideration at the moment, a water trail. It is very easy to

---

[80] *Nationwide Trails System: Hearings on H.R. 4865, and Related Bills, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation*, 90th Cong. iii–v (1967).

[81] *Nationwide Trails System: Hearings on H.R. 4865, and Related Bills, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation*, 90th Cong. 44 (1967) (statement of Joe Skubitz, U.S. Representative from Kansas).

[82] *Nationwide Trails System: Hearings on H.R. 4865, and Related Bills, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation*, 90th Cong. 44 (1967) (statement of Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior).

[83] *Nationwide Trails System: Hearings on H.R. 4865, and Related Bills, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation*, 90th Cong. 25 (1967) (statement of Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior).

[84] 108 Cong. Rec. 2296 (February 15, 1962).

[85] Skubitz told Udall at congressional hearings, "I do not want us to slight the importance of historical trails." *Nationwide System of Trails: Hearings on S. 827, Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,* 90th Cong. 44 (1967) (statement of Joe Skubitz, U.S. Representative from Kansas).

> boat from Fort Benton clear down to Yankton, S. Dak., because the water is comparatively placid and the engineers tell where you enter and leave so you do not get into trouble with the dams. There are other areas south of Yankton where you cannot possibly put a boat in safely because the current is too swift. So you do not have an unbroken trail. You should not have. In some of these cases we are going to have to have broken trails.[86]

The persistence of congressional members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission and the commission's simultaneous publicity efforts secured the Lewis and Clark Trail's inclusion in National Trails System legislation.



Figure 14. The final piece of the Lewis and Clark Highway, the portion of U.S. Highway 12 over Lolo Pass between Idaho and Montana, was completed in 1962, thanks in large part to the efforts of Idaho Senator Frank Church.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

In June 1968, the Senate reported Senator Jackson's bill (S. 827) out of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The committee emphasized outdoor recreation and conservation in explaining the need for a national trails system.[87] The committee kept the number of trails to be established at four (Appalachian, Pacific Crest, Continental Divide, and Potomac Heritage) and recommended eleven other trails for study, up from the eight initially included. Lewis and Clark remained on the list of trails to be studied, but the committee still put the trail's start at St. Louis, Missouri, rather than across the Mississippi River at Wood River, Illinois, as Representative Melvin Price had proposed in the House.[88] The committee noted that additional acts of Congress would be required in order to establish trails listed for study in the bill.[89]

---

[86] *Nationwide Trails System: Hearings on H.R. 4865, and Related Bills, Day 1, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation*, 90th Cong. 32 (1967) (statement of John Kyl, U.S. Representative from Iowa).

[87] S. Rep. No. 90-1233, at 1–2 (1968).

[88] "The studies, with recommendations, would be submitted to the President, who in turn would make recommendations to the Congress." S. Rep. No. 90-1233, at 11 (1968); *Nationwide System of Trails: Hearings on S. 827, Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,* 90th Cong., 20 (1967) (statement of Melvin Price, U.S. Representative from Illinois).

[89] S. Rep. No. 90-1233, at 10 (1968).

A month later, the House reported Taylor's bill (H.R. 4865) out of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.[90] The House bill only established the Appalachian Trail and moved the Pacific Crest, Continental Divide, and Potomac Heritage trails to the list of trails to study. House committee members expanded on the work of the Senate to specify what the agency studies of these prospective trails should entail and how agencies and partner organizations should conduct them. The studies, according to House amendments, were required to contain (1) the proposed route of the trail; (2) areas adjacent and their scenic, historic, natural, cultural, or developmental purposes; (3) characteristics that merit its establishment as a national scenic trail; (4) current status of land ownership and use; (5) estimated land acquisition costs, if applicable; (6) maintenance and development plans and costs; (7) the proposed federal administering agency (spelling out that the manager of any "national scenic trail wholly or substantially within a national forest shall be the Department of Agriculture"); (8) the extent to which states or local governments might acquire land for the trail; and (9) anticipated uses, benefits, and additional employment generated. Notably, the House bill changed the beginning of the Lewis and Clark Trail to Wood River, Illinois.[91]

In September 1968, a conference committee took up the National Trails System bills, with Representative Wayne N. Aspinall (D-CO), chair of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, presiding.[92] Of the ten members of Congress on the conference committee, three were from Lewis and Clark states: Senators Scoop Jackson (D-WA) and Len B. Jordan (R-ID), and Representative Joe Skubitz (R-KS).[93] All but Jackson were on the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, but Jackson had already demonstrated his commitment to commemorating a Lewis and Clark route, having sponsored numerous Lewis and Clark Tourway resolutions in the 1950s, as well as S. 827.

The bill that came out of conference established the Appalachian and the Pacific Crest trails—a compromise between the House and Senate bills—and encouraged future national scenic trail development.[94] It included the detailed provisions for study of future national scenic trails, as outlined in the House amendments, and it added one trail to the prior list (El Camino Real in Florida). The final version extended the Lewis and Clark Trail to Wood River, as in the House bill. It

[90] H. Rep. No. 90-1631, at 12 (1968).

[91] H. Rep. No. 90-1631, at 3 (1968).

[92] H. Rep. No. 90-1891, at 10 (1968) (Conf. Rep.). Conference committees are joint House/Senate committees convened when differences still exist on bills that have already passed both chambers of Congress. See U.S. Senate, "Conference Committee," Glossary Term, accessed November 14, 2016, http://www.senate.gov/reference/glossary_term/conference_committee.htm.

[93] H. Rep. No. 90-1891, at 10 (1968) (Conf. Rep.).

[94] The Conference Report emphasized the importance of future trail establishment: "Another important objective of the two bills was to encourage the establishment and development of national scenic trails." H.R. Rep. No. 90-1891, at 10 (1968) (Conf. Rep.).

also limited condemnation in national scenic trails to less than 25 acres per mile of trail and prohibited condemnation along the Pacific Crest Trail "because approximately four-fifths of the land in that area is already publicly owned."[95]



Figure 15. The Missouri River near Niobrara, Nebraska, is part of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. Congress later designated the area a wild and scenic river under the 1968 National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the NTSA into law on October 2, 1968. The act officially ordered the study of the Lewis and Clark Trail, along with thirteen others.[96] Johnson included the NTSA signing in a ceremony along with laws that established the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System, Redwood National Park in California, and North Cascades National Park in Washington.[97] At the ceremony, Johnson underscored the importance of exercise, recreation, and federal land management for both urban and rural citizens, a central theme of his conservation initiatives in the 1960s.[98] Senator Frank Church, in addition to supporting a Lewis and Clark Trail, also shepherded the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act through Congress. That act later enabled conservation of

[95] H.R. Rep. No. 90-1891, at 11 (1968) (Conf. Rep.). This clause, while seemingly minor, set precedents for future National Scenic and Historic Trails in coming decades. Thomas L. Gilbert, "The Origins of the Land Acquisition Prohibition in Section 10(c)(1) of the National Trails System Act," January 17, 2001, 2.

[96] Final legislation established the Appalachian and Pacific Crest trails, while directing the study of the following trails: Continental Divide Trail, Potomac Heritage Trail, Old Cattle Trails of the Southwest (including the Chisholm Trail), Lewis and Clark Trail, Natchez Trace, North Country Trail, Kittanning Trail, Oregon Trail, Santa Fe Trail, Long Trail, Mormon Trail, Gold Rush Trails in Alaska, Mormon Battalion Trail, and the El Camino Real. Act of October 2, 1968, 82 Stat. 919 (P.L. 90-543).

[97] President Lyndon B. Johnson, "Remarks Upon Signing Four Bills Relating to Conservation and Outdoor Recreation," October 2, 1968, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, accessed November 3, 2016, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29150.

[98] Johnson, "Remarks Upon Signing Four Bills Relating to Conservation and Outdoor Recreation," October 2, 1968.

approximately 250 linear miles of the riparian area along the Lewis and Clark route.[99] Thanks to the efforts of Church, Skubitz, Kyl, Jordan, Jackson, and the Darling Foundation, the Corps of Discovery's route would now be studied for inclusion in the newly established National Trails System.

[99] Church had also been an energetic sponsor of the Wilderness Act and was responsible for conservation of various lands in his home state of Idaho. For more, see Sara Dant, "Making Wilderness Work: Frank Church and the American Wilderness Movement," *Pacific Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (May 2008): 237–72.

Chapter 3. Establishing the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (1968–1978)

The Commission Becomes the Foundation

In 1969, the year following the passage of the National Trails System Act (NTSA), the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission disbanded, as its formative legislation had intended. A few members of the commission promoted legislation that would have extended it, but those efforts failed.[1] In lieu of a federal group, the commission recommended in its final report that its work be continued by a private entity.[2] Representatives from the commission and nine state Lewis and Clark Trail Committees met in St. Louis the following year and voted to establish the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) as the extension of the commission. In November 1970, the new foundation elected its first president and designated as its board of directors the state Lewis and Clark Trail committee chairmen.[3] The LCTHF continued the commission's work as the central body for promoting the Lewis and Clark Trail.

Because the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission had included members of Congress and influential individuals from the private sector, the LCTHF started with the connections and political clout to make its voice heard in Washington, DC.[4] The foundation targeted its lobbying efforts at those who might be willing to carry Lewis and Clark Trail legislation through Congress, and it incorporated National Park Service (NPS) leaders into its governance structure.[5] The foundation

[1] Sherry Fisher, Chairman, Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, to James Biddle, President, National Trust for Historic Preservation, June 2, 1969, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) Records, Series V, Box 2, Folder: Box 1 Folder 2 – Lewis and Clark Trail Commission 1968–69, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT.

[2] Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *Final Report to the President and to the Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 1969), 17.

[3] The LCTHF elected as its first president Dr. E. G. "Frenchy" Chuinard of Portland, Oregon. Keith G. Hay, "Present at the Creation: The Conservation Roots of the LCTHF," scanned and formatted by Bob Gatten, 2011, 4, originally published in *We Proceeded On* 32, no. 2 (May 2006): 38–40, and 32, no. 3 (August 2006): 37–38.

[4] Ivan Parker, Superintendent of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (JNEM), confirmed the political connectedness of LCTHF members: "As you know, the members of this foundation are all very influential people." Parker to Midwest Regional Director, National Park Service (NPS), "National Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Conference, St. Louis—August 21 thru 24, 1973," memorandum, August 28, 1973, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, File "L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1973 thru Dec 1974," Federal Records Center, Lenexa, KS (hereafter Lenexa FRC).

[5] Senators Mark Hatfield (R-OR) and Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson (D-WA) were top legislative supporters of LCTHF priorities, and Ivan Parker, Superintendent of JNEM, was elected LCTHF secretary in 1973. Minutes of Meeting, LCTHF, August 22, 1973, LCTHF Records, Series II, Box 1, Folder "August 22, 1973 Board," William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT; Cornelius W. Heine, Chief, Historical and Architectural Surveys Division, NPS, to Gary Leppart, President, LCTHF, January 9, 1975, FRC 079-88-

exerted steady pressure on political leaders and the Department of the Interior (DOI) to establish a Lewis and Clark Trail. LCTHF newsletters included reminders to write to members of Congress in support of key bills (such as one that would make the salt cairn part of Fort Clatsop National Memorial) and requests to submit comments on draft DOI studies.[6] Foundation members also made frequent recommendations for national historic landmarks along the Corps of Discovery's route.[7]

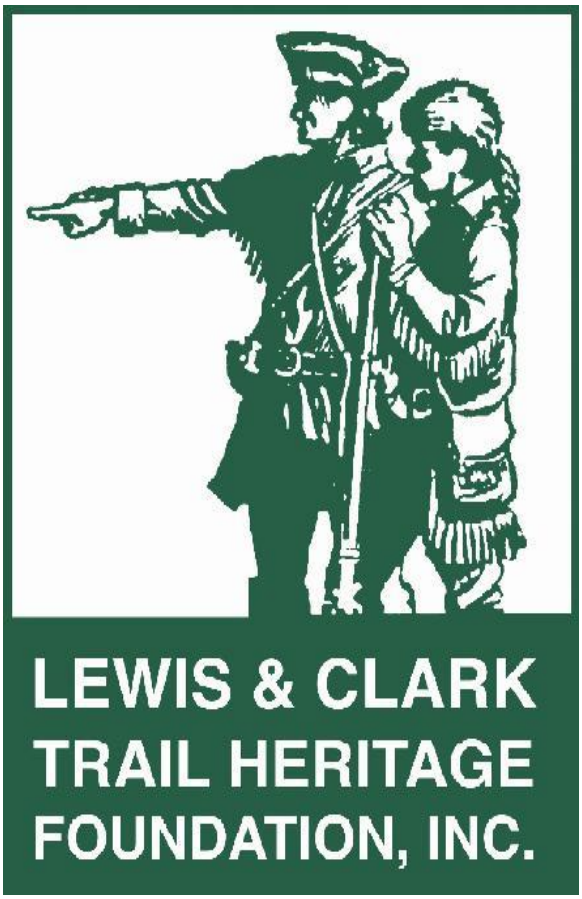


Figure 16. The LCTHF, whose logo is pictured here, was established after the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission disbanded in 1969.

Source: Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, Book No. 8, From Jan 1975 thru Dec 1975, Lenexa FRC.

[6] "Salt Cairn Legislation Re-introduced," *We Proceeded On* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1975): 10; "Senator Hatfield to Introduce 'Salt Cairn' Legislation," *We Proceeded On* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1974–1975): 11; "BOR Completes Lewis and Clark Trail Study," *We Proceeded On* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1974–1975): 9.

[7] J. Leonard Volz, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Deputy Director, NPS, "Recommendation of Superintendent Parker to study team – Lewis and Clark Trail Study," memorandum, August 30, 1973, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1973 thru Dec 1974, Lenexa FRC.

Lewis and Clark Trail Study: Take Two

While the LCTHF continued to push for legislation creating a national Lewis and Clark Trail, the DOI worked on the Lewis and Clark Trail study mandated in the NTSA. The primary purpose of this study, and the reason to even have a second study, was to assess whether the Lewis and Clark Trail fit the NTSA requirements for a national scenic trail. As with the 1965 Lewis and Clark Trail report, the DOI delegated this study to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR), not the NPS. The NPS was, however, allowed one representative on the BOR study team. Former congressman and Lewis and Clark Trail Commission member John Kyl, who by 1973 had become the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, tried to make Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (JNEM) Superintendent Ivan Parker that representative, but the NPS Midwest regional director vetoed Parker in favor of an NPS historian.[8]

The BOR completed a draft of the Lewis and Clark Trail study in 1975. Officials from most states reacted very positively to the proposed establishment of a Lewis and Clark Trail. Oregon's governor, Robert Straub, reminded the DOI that Oregon had "long recognized the significance of this historic route."[9] Iowa's governor requested that the trail be continuous, even if it meant increased costs, and Missouri's governor hoped for land-based recreation adjacent to water recreation on the Missouri River.[10] The governors of Montana, Idaho, North Dakota, and South Dakota also wrote letters to express their support for the trail.[11]

---

[8] J. Leonard Volz, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Deputy Director, NPS, "Recommendation of Superintendent Parker to study team – Lewis and Clark Trail Study," memorandum, August 30, 1973, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1973 thru Dec 1974, Lenexa FRC; Ivan D. Parker, Superintendent, JNEM, to Midwest Regional Director, NPS, "National Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Conference, St. Louis—August 21 thru 24, 1973," memorandum, August 28, 1973, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, From Jan 1973 thru Dec 1974, Lenexa FRC.

[9] Robert W. Straub, Governor, Oregon, to Douglas P. Wheeler, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, October 1, 1975, in Department of the Interior (DOI), Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR), *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1977), 69.

[10] Iowa Governor Robert D. Ray wrote, "It is my opinion that such a trail should be a continuous one . . .involving considerably more land acquisition and easement than the current proposal. Such an action would be more costly, but would, I feel, better recreate for its users the spirit and significance of the expedition itself." Robert D. Ray, Governor of Iowa, to Douglas T. Wheeler, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, September 22, 1975, and Christopher S. Bond, Governor, Missouri, to Kent Frizzell, Acting Secretary of the Interior, September 18, 1975, in DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 64–65.

[11] Richard F. Kneip, Governor, South Dakota, to Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, September 26, 1975; Gary Leppart, Director, Parks and Recreation, North Dakota, to Douglas P. Wheeler, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, September 8, 1975; Thomas L. Judge, Governor, Montana, to Douglas P. Wheeler, April 29, 1976; Cecil D. Andrus, Governor, Idaho, to Darrell P. Thompson, Regional Director, BOR, May 6, 1976; Daniel J. Evans, Governor, Washington, to Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, September 12, 1976; all printed in DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 65–69.

The NPS reviewed the BOR study and identified some potential problems. Richard C. Curry, NPS Associate Director for Legislation, had serious concerns that the Lewis and Clark proposal prioritized recreation over protection of historic resources. Curry wrote,

> Recreation potential certainly exists on many of the proposed trail segments, and the general area certainly has associations with the Lewis and Clark expedition. However, with the exception of a few relatively untouched segments, the components being considered are not historic . . . we have no objections to a marked highway route or to recreational use of the reservoirs. Because the proposal attempts to claim as historic settings those which are not historic and shows little preparation to protect actual historic resources, we strongly disagree with the study recommendation and we recommend that the report be disapproved.[12]

NPS leadership argued that "considerable additional study is required" to identify cultural resources along the route, which the BOR study failed to do. While some stretches of the route had already been dramatically altered by dam building or urban growth, others retained historic integrity and, the NPS believed, "should be vigorously protected as nationally significant cultural properties." A particularly important piece of that protection, according to senior NPS officials, was a management structure with more than just one responsible administrator and the capacity of the DOI to acquire lands that possessed historical integrity.[13]

In April 1977, the BOR released its final report, titled *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*. Like the 1965 study, it recommended a cooperative model of administration in which "close coordination [would] be established and maintained among local agencies, Indian Tribes, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and other private trail organizations along the route of the trail."[14] Federal agencies, states, local governments, and private organizations that controlled land along the route would continue to manage those areas. The DOI would have "overall responsibility" for coordination of Lewis and Clark Trail matters, which would include establishing the trail route, preparing a management plan, and identifying initial components. Like the 1965 report, the 1977 study did not call for the NPS to bear any administrative responsibility.[15]

Most significantly, the 1977 study found that the legislative requirements for a national scenic trail did not fit historic trails. The NTSA specified that the "use of motorized vehicles by the general

---

[12] Richard C. Curry, Associate Director, Legislation, NPS, to Director, BOR, "Review of proposed report on the Lewis and Clark Trail Study," memorandum, October 15, 1975, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, Book No. 8, From Jan 1975 thru Dec 1975, Lenexa FRC.

[13] Raymond L. Freeman, Associate Director of Park System Management, NPS, to Regional Director, BOR, Mid-Continent Region, "Draft Environmental Statement, Proposed Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (DES 75-50)," memorandum, October 30, 1975, FRC 079-88-0001-0022-0029, Box 22, Folder: L58 Lewis & Clark Tourway & Trail, Book No. 8, From Jan 1975 thru Dec 1975, Lenexa FRC.

[14] DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 3.

[15] DOI, BOR, "Recommendations," *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1965), http://npshistory.com/publications/lewis-and-clark-trail/recommendations.htm; DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 59–60.

public along any national scenic trail shall be prohibited."[16] It was this language, which stemmed from the act's roots in Appalachian Trail-inspired footpaths, that disqualified most historic routes from becoming national scenic trails. Furthermore, since Lewis and Clark's journey included substantial water travel, a continuous footpath along the route was not possible. The BOR summarized the problem as follows:

> In comparing the Lewis and Clark Trail with the criteria established for a national scenic trail, it became clear that several segments of the trail would not qualify as a land based national scenic trail. The Lewis and Clark Expedition was primarily water based. A large portion of the trail has been destroyed by acts of man and nature. Many of the elements considered objectionable for a national scenic trail, including highways, motor roads, mining areas, power transmission lines, commercial and industrial developments, and range fences, are found along the route. Segments of the water route have been channelized or inundated by a series of large reservoirs, and, due to these and other actions, some expedition campsites and other points of interest can no longer be seen. As a result, a nonmotorized hiking route would probably not receive a significant amount of public use along its entire length. Therefore, a continuous hiking trail along the original Lewis and Clark route would be neither desirable nor practical.[17]

The BOR was forced to conclude that "substantial segments of the route do not qualify for National Scenic Trail designation."[18] The BOR determined that Congress would need to amend the NTSA before it could establish a national Lewis and Clark Trail.[19]

Even before the 1977 Lewis and Clark study, the BOR was aware of the problem motor vehicle prohibitions posed for historic trails. As early as its first outdoor recreation plan in 1973, it had recommended the creation of a national historic trails category.[20] Then, in 1976, the BOR told Congress in a national trails questionnaire that the Oregon, Lewis and Clark, and Mormon trails could not be established under the national scenic trails criteria as passed in the NTSA. The BOR described the inhospitality of historic trails for long-distance travel by foot, horseback, or bicycle travel:

> The routes often pass through long stretches of harsh, unvarying terrain and landscape where extremes of temperature may exist; highways and railroads which follow the same route, since it was often the best (pioneers selected the most passable routes, not the most scenic), present significant intrusions; in semi-arid regions forested areas are often closed during the fire season; and, the availability of potable water to trail users may be a problem . . . with these conditions obtaining, the

---

[16] Act of October 2, 1968, 82 Stat. 919 at 23 (P.L. 90-543).

[17] DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 2, footnote.

[18] DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 2.

[19] DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 2.

[20] Congress had directed the outdoor recreation plan at the recommendations of the ORRRC. An Act of May 28, 1963, 77 Stat. 49 (P.L. 88-29). DOI, BOR, *Outdoor Recreation: A Legacy for America* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1973), 39.

> affixing of a scenic trail label as would be required under the current Trails Act to many historic routes would be misleading.[21]

The unforgiving terrain and climate of these routes, coupled with the development of roads, railroads, and reservoirs along these historic "best passages," made them neither scenic nor continuous.[22] Congress would have to create a new category of national trail in order to adequately protect such routes.[23]

A National Historic Trails Category

President Jimmy Carter publicized the BOR recommendation to create a national historic trails category in a May 23, 1977, message to Congress on the environment. Carter stated that his administration would work to "restore and broaden the National Trails System," in part by "adding a new category—Historic Trails," and promised to give early attention to submitting trails in this new category.[24] Carter's Secretary of the Interior, Cecil D. Andrus (who had supported a Lewis and Clark Trail as governor of Idaho the previous year), sent draft NTSA amendments to Vice President Walter F. Mondale that same week.[25] Andrus laid out the need for a national historic trails category:

> During the course of its studies of the routes listed in the National Trails System Act for possible designation as national scenic trails, the Department of the Interior has found that many of the routes which are historically notable lack substantial scenic characteristics throughout much of their length. They often traverse country which is not particularly amendable to long-distance foot, horseback, or bicycle travel. These trail routes although important for their historic aspects, do not fit readily into the scenic trail mold. They are, however, significant routes which have played major roles in the history of our country. For that reason, and because certain segments of the routes can provide nationally significant interpretive/recreation opportunities and have high potential for enhancing the public's identification with the Nation's heritage, these routes merit Federal recognition.
>
> To facilitate recognition of routes of segments thereof which meet historic/interpretive/recreation criteria, it is recommended that the National Trails System Act be amended to include a new category

---

[21] *Oversight on the National Trails System Act of 1968: Hearings, Before the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,* 94th Cong. 266–67 (March 11–12, 1976) (Text from questionnaire completed by the BOR).

[22] *Oversight on the National Trails System Act of 1968: Hearings,* 94th Cong. 58 (March 11–12, 1976) (statement of A. Heaton Underhill, Assistant Director, State Programs, BOR).

[23] During the 1976 hearings, the BOR previewed amendments to the National Trails System Act. BOR staff were still considering the best definition for a new category and mentioned "Historic Trail" and "Historic Travelway" as two possible terms. *Oversight on the National Trails System Act of 1968: Hearings,* 94th Cong. 58 (March 11–12, 1976) (Text from questionnaire completed by the BOR).

[24] Jimmy Carter, "The Environment Message to the Congress," May 23, 1977, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=7561.

[25] Cecil D. Andrus, Governor, Idaho, to Darrell P. Thompson, Regional Director, BOR, May 6, 1976, in DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 67; *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings on H. R. 6900, S. 929, S. 2659, S. 2663, S. 2664, S. 2705, S. 2978, Before the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources* 95th Cong. 13 (May 1, 1978) (Cecil B. Andrus Secretary of the Interior, to Walter F. Mondale, President, Senate, May 26, 1977).

> of trails, national historic trails. Establishment of such a category would provide a new means of achieving the goals of the National Trails System Act in terms of these special types of trails—combining the provision of quality outdoor recreation opportunities in close asociation [*sic*] with historic events of national significance.[26]

Several legislators introduced national historic trails bills in 1977, but all stalled in Congress.[27] Then, in January 1978, DOI officials sent *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail* to Congress, along with their preferred draft bill to establish the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT).[28] They sent a separate draft bill that would amend the NTSA to establish the category of national historic trail.[29] The DOI bill reflected the study's conclusion that Lewis and Clark's route, despite "extensive developments and alterations of the lands and of the water courses," still contained "substantial segments" with "historical, scenic, and recreational" potential.[30]

From March to May 1978, members of Congress introduced a flurry of bills on national historic trails. Three originated with the DOI and were sponsored by Senator James Abourezk (D-SD) in March 1978: one that would establish national historic trails as a new category within the national trails system (S. 2659), a second that would establish a Lewis and Clark NHT (S. 2664), and a third that would establish an Oregon NHT (S. 2663).[31] Meanwhile, other legislators circulated similar bills. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) introduced one that would create a national historic trails category and establish the Mormon Pioneer Trail in his home state of Utah (S. 2705), and Representative James P. Johnson (R-CO) offered a bill that would create a national historic trails category and establish the Oregon NHT (H. R. 6900).[32]

Abourezk's DOI-written Lewis and Clark NHT bill (S. 2664) included the department's preferred terms for the trail. The bill would "commemorate the entire route" of the Expedition, but only portions of trail on federally administered land would be designated as distinct components of the Lewis and Clark NHT.[33] In other words, land along the route in private ownership would remain

---

[26] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 13 (May 1, 1978) (Cecil B. Andrus Secretary of the Interior, to Walter F. Mondale, President, Senate, May 26, 1977).

[27] 123 Cong. Rec. 6513–4 (March 7, 1977); 123 Cong. Rec. 10448 (April 5, 1977).

[28] DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, in *Lewis and Clark Trail: Proposed National Historic Trail, Communication from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior*, H. Doc. No. 95-277, at 5–76 (January 19, 1978).

[29] In his letter to Congress, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Robert Herbst wrote that "legislation to establish a category of National Historic Trails within the National Trails System has been submitted to the Congress separately." Herbst to Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker. U.S. House of Representatives, December 14, 1977, in *Lewis and Clark Trail: Proposed National Historic Trail, Communication from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior*, H. Doc. No. 95-277, at 2 (January 19, 1978).

[30] DOI, BOR, *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*, 1.

[31] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 19–21, 27–28 (May 1, 1978).

[32] 124 Cong. Rec. 6244 (March 9, 1978); 124 Cong. Rec. 8471 (April 3, 1978).

[33] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 27–28 (May 1, 1978) (text of S. 2664).

private. By avoiding the need for federal land purchases, S. 2664 aimed to mitigate public opposition and increase local support. If states, localities, or private groups wanted certain lands or waters to be a part of a national historic trails area, they could apply to have the Secretary of the Interior designate them as such, but only if the administration of those lands did not cost the federal government anything.[34] Abourezk's bill gave the Secretary of the Interior responsibility for "overall coordination of National Historic Trail matters" and directed the DOI to work with other affected federal and state agencies.[35] It did not extend the Lewis and Clark Trail to Illinois, but the DOI later requested an amendment to correct this omission.[36]

National historic trails bills introduced by other senators and representatives differed slightly from Interior's language in Abourezk's bills. Representative James P. Johnson's (R-CO) H.R. 6900 was the first national historic trails bill to pass out of committee, which happened in March 1978.[37] Johnson's bill authorized the Oregon NHT and did not include the Lewis and Clark Trail, but it contained administrative provisions that became part of the final legislation creating the new category of national historic trails.[38] These included: (1) NPS Advisory Board recommendations for national historic trail establishment; (2) specific criteria to qualify for national historic trail status; (3) advisory councils for all national scenic and historic trails; (4) comprehensive plan requirements and submission deadlines; (5) removal of the motor vehicle ban and addition of a prohibition against motor vehicle use "within high potential historic sites and high potential route segments"; (6) signage requirements; (7) greater acquisition authority for the Secretary of the Interior, but only within high potential segments; and (8) a plea to states to consider national historic trails in their comprehensive statewide historic preservation plans.[39]

The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs significantly changed H.R. 6900's provisions related to land acquisition. In deleting a two-year waiting period during which only states (and not the DOI) could acquire land, the amended bill permitted the Secretary of the Interior to take immediate acquisition measures. The committee explained,

---

[34] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 27–28 (May 1, 1978) (text of S. 2664).

[35] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 28 (May 1, 1978) (text of S. 2664).

[36] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 29–30 (May 1, 1978) (Bob Herbst, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Henry M. Jackson, Chairman, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, April 28, 1978).

[37] H. Rep. No. 95-1022, at 6–8 (March 30, 1978).

[38] 124 Cong. Rec. H6327–9 (daily ed. July 10, 1978) (text of amended H.R. 6900).

[39] H. Rep. No. 95-1022, at 4, 10–11 (March 30, 1978).

> It remains the committee's full intention that the states should take whatever initial action they may be willing and able to take to assure adequate protection of the trail, and that Federal action would constitute a second defense.[40]

The amended H.R. 6900 stipulated that direct federal acquisition could only occur within "high potential historic sites" or "high potential route segments," as determined through a comprehensive planning process. The committee expected historic trails to remain segmented, and it had no objection to land acquisition:

> It is anticipated that the general pattern for protection and acquisition along national historic trails will be segmented, and seldom, if ever, continuous for prolonged stretches. These high potential sites and segments are the areas identified as worthy of principal protection efforts along the trail route. The language of this provision is not meant to preclude various protective actions taken by others along the trail route outside of the indicated high potential sites of segments, including the use of Federal funds.[41]

Following these committee amendments, the House passed H.R. 6900 on April 3, 1978.[42]

In the Senate, Frank Church (D-ID) wanted to be sure that a Lewis and Clark Trail would be a part of any national historic trails legislation.[43] Church, a longtime advocate of the trail, worked with ten co-sponsors to "[tie] together all of these [national historic trails] proposals in one omnibus trails bill."[44] In late April, Church introduced S. 2974, which would designate as national historic trails the Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, Lewis and Clark, and Iditarod trails—all of the historic routes that the BOR had already studied and recommended for inclusion in the National Trails System.[45] Detailed eligibility criteria for national historic trails were first passed in the House as part of H.R. 6900, then included verbatim in Senator Frank Church's national historic trails compromise bill, S. 2974. That same language made its way into the final legislation. To be eligible for establishment as a national historic trail,

> A. It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernable trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should generally accurately follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variation offering a more pleasurable recreational experience. Such deviations shall be so noted on site. Trail segments no longer possible to travel by trail due to subsequent development as

---

[40] H. Rep. No. 95-1022, at 11 (March 30, 1978).

[41] H. Rep. No. 95-1022, at 11 (March 30, 1978).

[42] H.R. 6900 amendments also included a $5 million authorization for the Oregon National Historic Trail, but no appropriations for other national historic trails. H. Rep. No. 95-1022, at 11 (March 30, 1978). The Senate later removed the Oregon Trail appropriation authorization. S. Rep. No. 95-1034, at 12–13 (July 21, 1978).

[43] S. Rep. No. 95-1034, at 12 (July 21, 1978).

[44] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 99 (May 1, 1978) (statement of Frank Church, U.S. Senator from Idaho).

[45] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 37–41 (May 1, 1978) (text of S. 2947).

> motorized transportation routes may be designated and marked onsite as segments which link to the historic trail.
>
> B. It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of native Americans may be included.
>
> C. It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails, and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.[46]

The DOI preferred to leave trail criteria out of the legislation, instead proposing to include criteria in the "administrative mechanism which creates the trail," which could make future trail creation easier.[47]

Another point of contention in national historic trails bills was the issue of segmented trails. The NTSA definition of national scenic trails as "extended trails" effectively disqualified all national historic trails because they consisted of discontinuous segments.[48] Some national historic trails bills included language that trails "may not" be continuous, but the DOI worried that the phrase "may not" could be interpreted to mean that national historic trails were not allowed to be continuous. Instead, the DOI preferred the following language: "Designation of such trails or routes shall be continuous, but the established or developed trail, and the acquisition thereof, need not be continuous onsite."[49] Both Abourezk's and Church's bills included this language. The "need not be continuous onsite" language allowed for realities like private holdings, non-accessible dams, or other gaps in historic trails.[50]

In hearings on the national historic trails bills, the DOI expressed concern about minimizing costs and regulatory burdens. The DOI wanted to distinguish between historically significant parts

---

[46] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 43–44 (May 1, 1978) (text of S. 2947).

[47] Hales reiterated that, "Certainly we have no objection to those three concepts [the national historic trails criteria] and believe that they should be clearly embodied in the hearing record as the intent of Congress with the full agreement and support of the administration. But to put that much detail in a law with the difficulty of amending those as times change and situations change would not be the best course to follow. So we would agree with the intent very much." *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 93 (May 1, 1978) (statement of David Hales, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, DOI).

[48] Act of October 2, 1968, 82 Stat. 919 (P.L. 90-543).

[49] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 40 (May 1, 1978) (text of S. 2947).

[50] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 85 (May 1, 1978) (statement of David Hales, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, DOI).

of a trail and other sections in order to avoid additional regulatory steps for highway building.[51] To further reduce spending, the DOI did not want national historic trails bills to appropriate funds for land acquisition unless lands were "expressly needed to maintain historic integrity or provide for interpretation and preservation."[52] Interior officials hoped that states and private organizations could step in to fill trail gaps with the help of Land and Water Conservation Fund grants.[53] Abourezk, Church, and Johnson's bills did not authorize appropriation of funds for land acquisition, but they allowed the federal government to accept donated land if costs were incurred by other government levels or private organizations.[54]

The Senate held a hearing on national historic trails legislation in May 1978. Despite continued public interest in Lewis and Clark in the 1970s, only one member of the public testified at the hearing, and only a few others, including a few members of the LCTHF, submitted letters supporting the Lewis and Clark NHT.[55] The only private citizen to testify at the national historic trails hearing was Edward B. Garvey, a legislative representative for the American Hiking Society.[56] The American Hiking Society cared more about footpaths (and advocated especially for completing the Continental Divide and Potomac Heritage trails), but Garvey relayed the organization's support for the inclusion of Lewis and Clark, Mormon, Oregon, and Iditarod trails in the National Trails System.[57] A few other non-governmental organizations expressed support for national historic trails in general: the National Trails Council passed a resolution supporting amendments to the NTSA to

[51] Interior representative David Hales stated, "It is not our intent that the designation of a trail would automatically make the entire route subject to the requirements of section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act or section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act." *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 86 (May 1, 1978) (statement of David Hales, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, DOI).

[52] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 86 (May 1, 1978) (statement of David Hales, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, DOI).

[53] Hales stated, "We believe that with the recent increases in funds available to the States through the land and water conservation fund, that the States should and will play a major role in the development of historic trails." *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 86–87 (May 1, 1978) (statement of David Hales, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, DOI).

[54] S. Rep. No. 95-1034, at 12 (July 21, 1978).

[55] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 135, 138–44 (May 1, 1978) (Dayton W. Canaday, Director, South Dakota Department of Education and Cultural Affairs, to James Abourezk, Senator from South Dakota, April 25, 1978, and G. Edward "Gus" Budde, editor, *Lewis and Clark Trail Newsletter*.

[56] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 103, 102–5, 108–9 (1978) (statement of Edward B. Garvey, Legislative Representative, American Hiking Society).

[57] *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 103 (1978) (statement of Edward B. Garvey, Legislative Representative, American Hiking Society).

create "the category of National Historic Trails and Travelways," and the National Council of State Garden Clubs, Inc., had a "Historic Trails Committee" that endorsed historic trails legislation.[58]

Omnibus National Parks Bills

In the same months that legislators introduced national historic trails legislation, they also proposed a wide array of bills pertaining to, and often requested by, the NPS. These national park-related bills included legislation to raise appropriation ceilings, increase land acquisition authorities, permit boundary changes, and establish new park units. In the Senate, Abourezk introduced an omnibus national park bill in April 1978 that addressed many of these DOI priorities, but it did not include creation of a national historic trails category.[59]

Then, in early May, Representative Phillip Burton (D-CA), the "powerful chairman" of the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs, introduced a hundred-odd-page national parks omnibus bill in the House (H.R. 12536), the first omnibus bill to include the establishment of a national historic trails category.[60] Burton and Abourezk reasoned that an omnibus bill was the best way to ensure that legislative delays did not impede operations of the NPS. This "lengthy and complex omnibus bill," Burton wrote,

> combines a large number of separate issues which have been brought to the attention of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs. In the past, many of the items represented in this omnibus bill such as the establishment of new units of the national park system have been handled in separate legislation. However, I believe that it is advantageous to use an omnibus approach in this instance, to assure that the committees of the Congress will have an opportunity to resolve many of the issues contained in this legislation which have lain too long before the Legislature.[61]

Despite its provision to create a national historic trails category, Burton's bill did not establish a Lewis and Clark NHT.

By July 1978, Burton had introduced amendments to the omnibus national parks bill that included creation of a national historic trails category, but H.R. 12536 still did not include

---

[58] 124 Cong. Rec. 22422 (July 24, 1978); *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings* 95th Cong. 135 (May 1, 1978) (Betty Millar, National Council of State Garden Clubs, Inc., Historic Trails Committee, to James Abourezk, Senator from South Dakota, May 24, 1978).

[59] *National Park Omnibus Legislation: Hearings on S. 2876, Before the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources* 95th Cong. 2–24 (1978).

[60] "Powerful chairman" quote is from NPS, *The National Park Service: Shaping the System*, Rev. ed. of Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks* (1991) (Washington, DC: GPO, 2005), 85; Phillip Burton, "Brief Explanatory Remarks of the Author of H. R. 12536, Honorable Phillip Burton," in *Legislative History of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-625)*, compiled by the House Subcommittee on National Parks, 95th Cong., Committee Print No. 11, at 114 (December 1978).

[61] Burton, "Brief Explanatory Remarks," in *Legislative History of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-625)*, compiled by the House Subcommittee on National Parks, 95th Cong., Committee Print No. 11, at 114 (December 1978).

authorization for a Lewis and Clark NHT.[62] New provisions in Burton's bill that concerned national historic trails included the following: (1) three years for the DOI to complete studies of the listed national historic trails; (2) a requirement that that the NPS Advisory Board make recommendations for future trails; (3) establishment of advisory councils for each national historic trail, and (4) a two-year deadline for general management plans for the newly established sites.[63] Burton's bill also allowed trails to vary from their historic routes to improve accessibility, limited acquisition to high potential route segments or historic sites, encouraged states to consider needs and opportunities for these routes in other plans, and specified that national historic trails would not contribute to growth of the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, a DOI agency established in January 1978 that took over the duties of the recently abolished BOR.[64]



Figure 17. Senator Frank Church (D-ID) (*right*) with President Jimmy Carter, 1977.

Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

House and Senate debates on omnibus national parks legislation continued through the summer and fall of 1978. For the section on national historic trails, Burton's proposed language remained largely unchanged through to the bill's final passage. The Senate, largely due to the efforts of Frank Church, added a provision creating the Lewis and Clark NHT to the national historic trails section.[65]

---

[62] Burton, "Brief Explanatory Remarks," in *Legislative History of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-625)*, compiled by the House Subcommittee on National Parks, 95th Cong., Committee Print No. 11, at 114–116 (December 1978); 124 Cong. Rec. H6327 (daily ed. July 10, 1978) (text of amended H.R. 6900).

[63] 124 Cong. Rec. H6328 (daily ed. July 10, 1978) (text of amended H.R. 6900).

[64] 124 Cong. Rec. H6328–9 (daily ed. July 10, 1978) (text of amended H.R. 6900). For a timeline of when the BOR turned into the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, see U.S. National Archives, "Records of the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service," accessed March 7, 2017, https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/368.html.

[65] *Legislative History of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-625)*, compiled by the House Subcommittee on National Parks, 95th Cong., Committee Print No. 11, at 741 (December 1978).

The Senate also added a clause to allow motor vehicles on national historic trails "where established use occurs."[66] This solved the problem of how to use legislation originally designed for footpaths to designate a preexisting road as part of a historic trail. Historic trails on national wildlife refuges and wilderness areas where motor vehicle usage was prohibited would remain closed to such use. Roads and highways along major historic routes could now be included in the National Trails System.[67]

Passage of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978

By mid-October of 1978, both the House and Senate had passed the omnibus NPS bill.[68] On November 11, President Jimmy Carter signed the National Parks and Recreation Act (NPRA) into law. The NPRA officially created a national historic trails category and established the Lewis and Clark National NHT.[69] The act also included a vast assortment of NPS-related provisions, from the establishment of over twelve new NPS sites to the expansion or addition of designated wilderness within various existing national parks and sites. President Carter made an official statement in which he thanked Representative Burton and Senator Abourezk for securing passage of the bill.[70] Carter did not mention the new national historic trails category or the Lewis and Clark NHT, so extensive were the other provisions of the bill.[71] However, the omnibus technique of passing a myriad of NPS bills was not without critics, many of whom called it "park barrel" legislation.[72]

In its final form, the NPRA set guidelines for national historic trails and established the first four such trails: Lewis and Clark, Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, and Iditarod. It also established the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail.[73] The act specified that the Secretary of the Interior would administer the Lewis and Clark NHT, which would stretch "from Wood River, Illinois, to the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon," approximately 3,700 miles.[74] It defined national historic trails as "extended trails which follow as closely as possible and practicable the original trails or

---

[66] S. Rep. No. 95-1034, at 12–13 (July 21, 1978).

[67] 124 Cong. Rec. H12310 (daily ed. October 11, 1978).

[68] 124 Cong. Rec. H12690 (daily ed. October 13, 1978) (statement of Rep. Phillip Burton).

[69] Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 (P.L. 95-265).

[70] Jimmy Carter, "National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978: Statement on Signing S. 791 Into Law," November 10, 1978, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, accessed October 11, 2016, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=30143.

[71] Carter, "National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978," November 10, 1978.

[72] NPS, *The National Park Service: Shaping the System*, 85.

[73] Inclusion of the Continental Divide Trail in the national historic trails amendments caused future land acquisition authority issues. See Thomas L. Gilbert, "The Origin of the Land Acquisition Prohibition in Section 10(c)(1) of the National Trails System Act." January 17, 2001, 2. Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 at 512 (P.L. 95-265).

[74] Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 (P.L. 95-265).

routes of travel of national historical significance."[75] With the creation of the four national historic trails and the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail, the act tripled the size of the national trails system.[76]

The NPRA included the following amendments to the National Trails System Act of 1968 relating to national historic trails:

- Provided that trail designation should be continuous, "but the established or developed trail, and the acquisition thereof, need not be continuous onsite"
- Stated as purpose of national historic trails: "the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment"
- Limited national historic trails to federal land
- Required feasibility studies be completed and submitted to Congress within three years, including:
    - Recommendations on historic significance from the Secretary of the Interior's National Park System Advisory Board
    - Analysis of the anticipated impact recreation use will have on significant historic and archeological features
- Laid out criteria for a national historic trail. To qualify, a trail must:
    - Be established by historic use and follow that historic route. The route can vary slightly, but must be noted onsite if it does
    - Be "of national significance," which legislation defined as having "had a far-reaching effect on broad qualifications, patterns of American culture"
    - Have "significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest"
- Provided for establishment of Advisory Councils within one year
- Allowed use of motor vehicles along route
- Limited land acquisition to "high potential route segments or high potential historic sites"
- Exempted land along trail from compliance with extensive historical preservation laws

[75] Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 at 3511 (P.L. 95-265).

[76] "Summary of Report of Major Items Included in P.L. 95-625," in *Legislative History of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-625)*, compiled by the House Subcommittee on National Parks, 95th Cong., Committee Print No. 11, at 985 (December 1978).

- Directed the Secretary of the Interior to encourage states to consider future national historic trails in statewide historic preservation plans
- Prohibited federal appropriation for land acquisition along national historic trails[77]

In a separate section, but one with significant implications for Lewis and Clark NHT, the NPRA designated a segment of the Missouri River a Wild and Scenic River.[78] Senator Frank Church, who had secured the trail's inclusion in the omnibus parks package, understood that protecting the Missouri would enhance the new trail:

> There exists along the Missouri between the tailwaters of each dam and the start of the next reservoir below them unique pockets of river much like they might have been before the dams were constructed. Even more importantly, there exists a nearly 60-mile stretch of river between the tailwaters of Gavins Point Dam and Ponca State Park which looks very much like it did when the Lewis and Clark expedition worked their way upstream in search of the Northwest Passage. This is the segment of the Missouri we are concerned with in this amendment. Can you imagine the unique recreational opportunity this area might provide, especially at a time when we are considering making the Missouri part of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail?[79]

The Secretary of the Interior would administer the Missouri River from Gavins Point Dam, South Dakota, to Ponca State Park, Nebraska, as a recreational river. Unlike the national historic trails provisions, the Wild and Scenic Rivers section came with funding, including $21 million for "acquisition of lands and interests in lands and for development" of the Missouri River segment alone.[80]

The NPRA authorized the appropriation of funds necessary to implement its national trails system amendments, but it explicitly stated that "no funds may be expended for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands" for Lewis and Clark, Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, and Iditarod National Historic Trails, and the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail.[81] It also gave agencies two years to develop a comprehensive management plan for the new historic trail.[82] For Lewis and Clark NHT, work on the comprehensive management plan would begin the following year (see Chapter 4).

---

[77] Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 at 511–17 (P.L. 95-265).

[78] Bruce G. Harvey and Deborah Harvey, *Managing the Mighty MO: Administrative History of the Missouri National Recreational River, Nebraska and South Dakota* (Omaha, NE: NPS MWRO, 2016), 3–7.

[79] 124 Cong. Rec. S18527 (daily ed. October 12, 1978) (statement of Sen. Frank Church).

[80] Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 at 3528–29 (P.L. 95-625).

[81] Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 at 3517 (P.L. 95-625).

[82] Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 at 3515 (P.L. 95-625).

Table 1. Chronology of Benchmark Events in the Establishment of Lewis and Clark NHT

Year	Event
1936	Congress passes the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act
1948	NPS proposes a Lewis and Clark Tourway
1958	Congress establishes Fort Clatsop National Memorial
1958	Congress creates the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission
1962	President John F. Kennedy creates the BOR
1962	ORRRC issues *Outdoor Recreation for America*
1963	Sherry Fisher establishes the J. N. "Ding" Darling Foundation
1963	Congress passes a concurrent resolution in support of a Lewis and Clark Trail
1964	Congress establishes the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission
1965	President Lyndon B. Johnson calls for a national trails system
1965	BOR issues *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*
1965	First bills to create a National Trails System introduced in Congress.
1966	BOR issues *Trails for America*
1968	Congress passes the NTSA
1969	Lewis and Clark Trail Commission submits its final report and disbands
1970	Former Lewis and Clark Trail Commission members establish the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation
1975	BOR submits a draft Lewis and Clark Trail study
1977	BOR issues *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail*
1977	President Jimmy Carter calls for adding a historic trails category to the NTSA
1978	Congress passes the NPRA, which adds the category of national historic trails and establishes Lewis and Clark NHT

Chapter 4. Developing the Trail (1978–1992)

The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT) was authorized by the 1978 amendments to the National Trails System Act (NTSA), but it took shape only slowly in the 1980s. National Park Service (NPS) leaders debated where to headquarter the Trail, its administrative structure, and how to translate the Trail's legislative establishing language into an organizational framework. Funding shortages led to delays in fulfilling initial congressional mandates, such as the completion of a Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) and the establishment of an Advisory Council. While the NPS slowly laid groundwork for the management of national historic trails, partner organizations and governments conducted interpretive, maintenance, and publicity work on the ground.[1]

Funding Challenges

After authorizing several national scenic and national historic trails in 1978, Congress appropriated almost nothing for their planning, establishment, or operation. NPS staff scrambled to cobble together enough funds to complete the mandated "comprehensive plan for the management, and use" of the Lewis and Clark NHT in two years, as required under the 1978 act.[2] The early years of the Trail's existence were dominated by pleas for funds and staff time to meet the CMP deadline.

Assigning a Region

Before beginning any studies, the NPS needed to determine which region would manage the Lewis and Clark NHT, which included considerable mileage in the Midwest, Pacific Northwest, and Rocky Mountain regions. NPS leaders in Washington determined in April 1979 that the Midwest Region would shoulder primary responsibility for Lewis and Clark NHT, in part because the Mormon Pioneer and Oregon national historic trails would also need regional leads.[3] Since the Oregon NHT had its most significant segments in the Pacific Northwest Region and the Mormon

[1] This chapter examines Trail development in the 1980s and 1990s, with the exception of two topics: the development of partner visitor centers (Chapter 5) and bicentennial preparations (covered in Chapter 6).

[2] Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3515 (P.L. 95-625).

[3] Randall R. Pope, Acting Midwest Regional Director, U.S. National Park Service (NPS), to Assistant for Advisory Boards and Commissions, NPS Washington, DC, office (WASO) (003), NPS, memorandum, April 3, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Federal Records Center, Lenexa, KS (hereafter Lenexa FRC); Richard A. Strait, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NPS, to Delmar A. Broers, Assistant Chief, Regulatory Functions Branch, Operations Division, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), May 17, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

Pioneer NHT's Utah terminus fell in the Rocky Mountain Region, Lewis and Clark NHT and its hundreds of miles of Missouri River water trail were assigned to the Midwest Regional Office (MWRO) in Omaha, Nebraska.[4]

MWRO duties included drafting the Lewis and Clark NHT CMP and coordinating the congressionally mandated Advisory Council for the Trail. The NPS Washington Support Office (WASO) created an NHT oversight committee that consisted of one high-level administrative or planning representative from each of the three regions. The oversight committee would "be responsible for overall management, coordination and consistency for the three trails."[5]

When Congress failed to appropriate funds for the mandated planning efforts, the regions struggled to figure out who would shoulder the financial burden of the CMPs. The MWRO had only one person, Bill Farrand, designated to work on rivers, trails, and water resources—functions that had been absorbed by the NPS upon the folding of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) into the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS) in 1978.[6] By contrast, the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Northwest regional offices had received personnel transfers from the BOR and therefore had several employees to work on trails, rivers, and water resources. Richard A. Strait, Rocky Mountain Regional Office associate director for planning and resource preservation, argued that those personnel transfers enabled the Rocky Mountain Region

> to proceed on the plans using base-funded Regional people. The Midwest Region has had to absorb the function transfer and has one staff person to handle all three transferred responsibilities—rivers, trails, and water resources. Hence, it was necessary for the Midwest Region to depend on Denver Service Center support and to depend on substantial funding levels.[7]

In addition to relying on the NPS Denver Service Center (DSC) for general planning for Lewis and Clark NHT, MWRO leadership recommended that the DSC take the lead on interpretative planning to ensure continuity.[8] The DSC would require an additional full-time historian before

---

[4] Pope to Assistant for Advisory Boards and Commissions, WASO, memorandum, April 3, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC; Catherine G. Dawson, Acting Program Coordinator, Midwest Region, NPS, to External Affairs, Midwest Region, NPS, memorandum, April 12, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[5] Randall R. Pope, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Assistant for Advisory Boards and Commissions, WASO (003), NPS, memorandum, April 3, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[6] Thomas Gilbert, interview by Emily Greenwald, June 14, 2017, Middleton, Wisconsin; Department of the Interior (DOI), Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, *The Third Nationwide Outdoor Recreation Plan: The Assessment* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 1979), 73.

[7] Richard A. Strait, Associate Rocky Mountain Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NPS, to Chief, Office of Park Planning and Environmental Quality, NPS, memorandum, January 21, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

[8] The Midwest Regional Office (MWRO) recommended the Denver Service Center (DSC) over Harper's Ferry Center (HFC) since interpretive planners at DSC would more likely have "familiarity with 2 of 3 regions involved,"

beginning work on the project, however, and making a hire was unlikely because Lewis and Clark NHT received only $10,000 for planning in fiscal year (FY) 1979.[9] That amount, which had not been congressionally appropriated but rather redirected from Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore funds, represented less than 5 percent of the total projected planning costs of $276,000.[10] Donald Purse of the DSC recommended that, in light of these shortfalls, the NPS request an extension of the congressional deadline for the CMP.[11]

Andrus Demands Results

Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus (in office 1977–1981), former governor of Idaho, had been involved in the development of the Lewis and Clark Trail in Idaho for decades, and he personally checked on the planning of Lewis and Clark NHT in 1979. He "expressed considerable interest in the Trail" and asked his staff about the minutia of Lewis and Clark NHT initiatives, such as when the NPS planned to install interpretive markers along the Trail.[12] Pressed for action by Andrus, but lacking funds from Congress, the MWRO faced looming deadlines with no easy way to meet them.

MWRO leaders and the DSC searched for funding to complete the CMP and satisfy Andrus. The NPS-wide general management plan program for 1980 included $50,000 for Lewis and Clark NHT, nothing for Oregon NHT, and $36,000 for Mormon Pioneer NHT. David G. Wright, NPS chief of planning, wanted to pool that $86,000 and coordinate the three national historic trail plans, especially where they covered the same ground.[13] WASO leaders preferred to split Lewis and Clark NHT funds with the Oregon NHT, since the Pacific Northwest Regional Office (PNRO) had

---

which MWRO leadership preferred. Catherine G. Dawson, Acting Program Coordinator, Midwest Region, NPS, to External Affairs, Midwest Region, NPS, memorandum, April 12, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[9] CR Cummings, Plan Review Comments, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT) Task Directive, March 27, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC; R. Neil Thorne, Acting Financial Manager, NPS, memorandum of telephone call with Linwood Jackson, Budget Division, WASO, NPS, memorandum, July 10, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[10] NPS, "Program Change/Innovation Proposal: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail General Management Plan," July 12, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[11] Purse to MWRO Director, NPS, March 30, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[12] R. Neil Thorne, Acting Financial Manager, NPS, memorandum, memorandum of telephone call with Linwood Jackson, Budget Division, WASO, NPS, July 10, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[13] David G. Wright, Chief, Office of Park Planning and Environmental Quality, NPS, to Regional Directors, Midwest, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific Northwest Regions, and Manager, DSC, NPS, December 14, 1979, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

already made significant progress on the Oregon NHT plan.[14] MWRO Director J. L. Dunning, however, argued that split funds would be insufficient for any meaningful Lewis and Clark NHT work, especially since the MWRO was short on planning staff. Dunning instead recommended that the DSC "suspend all efforts on the Lewis and Clark Trail," and that instead the MWRO "resume direct responsibility for the trail plan until such time that the project is fully funded."[15]



Figure 18. Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus (*right*), former Governor of Idaho, expressed personal interest in the Lewis and Clark NHT and its tourism potential for Trail states, c.1979.

Source: Cecil D. Andrus Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Boise State University.

Dunning's protests fell on deaf ears. In February 1980, NPS Director William D. Whalen notified Dunning that, regardless of MWRO hesitations, the Lewis and Clark NHT study would be finished by the congressional deadline, period, using the $25,000 that it had left after splitting funds with the PNRO for the Oregon NHT planning effort.[16] DSC historians would conduct historical resource work "on a reimbursable basis," and the MWRO would contract out a recreation resource study, as originally planned. Dunning disagreed, but he was forced to follow WASO orders. Still, he continued to push for the additional funding. Dunning knew Congress was unlikely to appropriate

[14] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Manager, DSC, NPS, memorandum, January 11, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

[15] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Manager, DSC, NPS, memorandum, January 11, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

[16] "Director Whalen has now informed me that the study is to be completed on the date directed by Congress. The Region is prepared to do so, making some adjustments because of the severe limitations imposed by the lack of time." J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Associate Director, Administration WASO (200), NPS, memorandum, February 11, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

the $200,000 needed to complete the Lewis and Clark NHT CMP according to congressional requirements, but he repeatedly went on record to request it.[17]

The Comprehensive Management Plan

Before they could draft a CMP, NPS planners and partners needed to determine the geographical location of the Trail. Planners in the MWRO worked with historians in the DSC to begin this process. A team from the University of Iowa then conducted a study of existing and potential recreational resources along that route. After these processes, park planners completed the full CMP, using MWRO-developed guidelines for national historic trail planning.[18] Planners identified Trail segments and historic sites lacking protection and proposed ways to include them in the Trail.[19] The final CMP established an operating framework for national historic trails, a new concept in the NPS, which included recommendations for cooperative management with other agencies and private landowners.

Studies and Segment Selection

Bill Farrand, the MWRO rivers and trails planner, met with the DSC historians who would be drafting the historical resources study in February 1980, despite a continued lack of funding.[20] John Latschar was the "coordinating historian" for Mormon Pioneer, Lewis and Clark, and Oregon NHTs, and David Fritz, who had devoted minimal unfunded time to Lewis and Clark NHT planning as early as July 1979, would work specifically on Lewis and Clark NHT.[21] Fritz's "bare-bones" strategy for Lewis and Clark NHT planning called for two months of basic overview

---

[17] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Associate Director, Administration WASO (200), NPS, memorandum, February 11, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

[18] Informational Package, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (1980?), Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1980–1981, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Central Files, Omaha, NE (hereafter LCNHT Central Files).

[19] Informational Package, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (1980?), Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1980–1981, LCNHT Central Files.

[20] William E. Farrand, Rivers, Trails, & Water Resources Coordinator, NPS, "Trip Report, February 25, 1960, Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail," memorandum, February 25, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC; "For Mr. Dunning's Traveling File, Rivers, Trails and New Areas Planning, Funding of Planner (Farrand) and Secretary," June 19, 1980, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail (LCT) 1980, LCNHT Central Files.

[21] Latschar's name is also spelled "Latscher" in some documents, though "Latschar" appears from other NPS materials to be the correct spelling. J. L. Dunning, Regional Director, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Manager, DSC, NPS, memorandum, January 11, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC; R. Neil Thorne, Acting Financial Manager, NPS, memorandum of telephone call with Linwood Jackson, Budget Division, WASO, NPS, memorandum, July 10, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Lenexa FRC.

consultation with three to four historical subject matter experts, two months for field work, and two months for writing.[22]

Tracing of the historical route could be difficult, Farrand warned. He suggested that a "preliminary list of sites and segments . . . be compiled from the DeVoto volumes" of journals from the Corps of Discovery. In the case that "alterations of rivers" for dams caused problems in pinpointing the route, MWRO planners would have a say in deciding upon the "preferred routing."[23] Fritz and Latschar consulted with experts Roy Appleman and Robert Lange, both of whom had spent considerable time researching and writing about the Expedition.[24] Fritz and Latschar sought to synthesize and compile existing information about the route, rather than gather new data. The most important role of the plan's historical studies, according to their proposal, would be:

> Identifying the most significant historical sites and trail segments and ascertaining the feasibility of the NPS either obtaining ownership of these sites or establishing Cooperative Agreements with other governmental agencies (Federal, State and Local) or private individuals. These Cooperative Agreements would be sought after in instances where local problems indicated this method to be the preferred way or preserving a site. The fact that the Trail Study would not be a Federal Land Grab would be emphasized.[25]

Cooperating with partners, keeping local landowners happy, and minimizing federal land ownership were high priorities throughout the Trail planning process.

---

[22] David L. Fritz, Historian, Branch of Historic Preservation, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, DSC, NPS, to David R. Laux, Landscape Architect, Branch of Planning, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, DSC, NPS, memorandum, January 10, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC; William E. Farrand, Rivers, Trails, & Water Resources Coordinator, NPS, "Trip Report, February 25, 1960, Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail," memorandum, February 25, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

[23] William E. Farrand, Rivers, Trails, & Water Resources Coordinator, NPS, "Trip Report, February 25, 1960, Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail," memorandum, February 25, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

[24] Appleman, an NPS historian, had conducted the research for several Lewis and Clark sites in 1958 as part of the NPS Historic Sites and Buildings Survey and wrote the 1965 Lewis and Clark study. His biography is available at George Davidson, "Roy E. Appleman (1904–1992)," in *National Park Service: The First 75 Years, Biographical Vignettes*, accessed January 11, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/sontag/appleman.htm.

[25] David L. Fritz, Historian, Branch of Historic Preservation, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, DSC, NPS, "The Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail: A Proposal," February 25, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.



Figure 19. The Dalles Dam, completed in 1957, is one of several dams along the Columbia River that have dramatically reshaped the hydrology and landscape of the Corps of Discovery's route. Pictured here, 2013.
Source: Bonneville Power Administration.

Recreation Resource Study

The Iowa State University Design Research Institute won the contract to carry out the recreation resource study, a component of the NPS planning process.[26] Kenneth Lane, professor of landscape architecture at Iowa State University, led the study, with Jim and Jan Fritzhuspen and Doug Prchal on the field team. The Iowa State team left for Wood River, Illinois, on May 27, 1980, and proceeded to cover the entire route of the Expedition, making note of recreational opportunities and needs along the way. They covered 50–60 river miles a day (sometimes considerably longer in highway miles), investigated "all access points to the River, [and] photograph[ed] scenic vistas,

[26] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Douglas K. Bereuter, U.S. Representative, June 13, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC; H. L. Garland, Regional Contracting Officer, NPS, to Richard E. Hasbrook, Contract & Grants Officer, Iowa State University, May 28, 1980, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

campgrounds, boat access points, and other points of recreational interest" as they traveled along the route.[27] They completed the fieldwork in late summer and the study in October.[28]



Figure 20. Camping was one of many recreational opportunities proposed in the 1982 Comprehensive Management Plan. Here, a tent at a boat-in campsite along Lake Roosevelt, a dammed section of the Columbia River, 2016.

Source: National Park Service.

The final products of the study included detailed U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) maps, seven books with site inventory forms and photo index forms, thirty carousel slide trays from field reconnaissance, and recommendations for recreational development and management.[29] Recreational activities identified along the route included backpacking, hiking, camping, horseback riding, picnicking, swimming, bicycling, fishing, hunting, boating, driving on scenic roads, rock hunting, rock climbing, skiing (downhill and cross-country), birdwatching, and "delving into the history of our country and its people."[30] The report stressed the importance of cooperative development in recreational opportunities, including both "plugging-in" to existing Corps of Discovery interpretive programs and adding materials about the Expedition to peripherally related sites along the route. A few sites managed by other agencies, states, or local governments, the report concluded, were prime for new visitor centers, among them the mouth of the Missouri River near

[27] Foster R. Freeman, New Areas Coordinator, NPS, to Executive Assistant to the Regional Director, memorandum, June 27, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC; Randall R. Pope, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Regional Forester, Intermountain Region 4, USFS, June 18, 1980, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail (LCT) 1980, LCNHT Central Files.

[28] Kenneth F. Lane, *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Ames: Iowa State University, 1980), LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[29] Lane, Iowa State University Design Research Institute, to Midwest Region, NPS, October 23, 1980, accompanying *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, LCNHT Digital Files

[30] Lane, *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 12–13.

St. Louis and the Lewis and Clark State Memorial Park in Illinois.[31] By working with federal, state, and local partners, the NPS could minimize costs and still develop new recreational and interpretive opportunities along the Trail.

Lane recommended developing water-based recreation and scenic drives through partnerships with other land management agencies along the route. For instance, the report recommended that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), which managed hundreds of continuous miles of the Missouri and Columbia River Systems, work in partnership with the new Lewis and Clark NHT to include interpretation of the Expedition in its existing recreational resources.[32] The report also urged the NPS to designate wild and scenic rivers, recommend sites for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, cooperate with states to protect historic sites, and implement management protection plans through partner agencies like the U.S. Forest Service (USFS), USACE, and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM).[33]

Lane and his Iowa State researchers identified certain "problems along the Trail." These challenges included a lack of greenspace in cities along the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, long sections of the route with little interpretation, portions only reachable by long gravel roads in more rural areas, possible vandalism of signs in remote locations, and a variety of industrial operations along the route that diminished its aesthetic qualities. After two centuries, Lane noted, "very little of the trail's surroundings remain today as they were in the time of Lewis and Clark." He lamented that "great dams on the Missouri and Columbia River systems have blotted out those rivers almost entirely, leaving large lakes instead," and that "the prairies which the expedition crossed have become farms and ranches. Forested areas have been logged."[34] The language establishing national historic trails accounted for industrial and agricultural developments by allowing national historic trail routes to "deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variation offering a more pleasurable recreational experience."[35] Man-made lakes and roads removed the route from its historical location, but they facilitated recreational activities.

The 1980 recreation resource study concluded that "it is not necessary to have a 'pristine wilderness' trail environment or a geographically exact and correct trail location to appreciate what the expedition experienced." Instead, the "spirit of the expedition is more important than the 'letter' or exact location of the trail which the expedition followed." Despite the popularity of footpaths like

---

[31] Lane, *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 16.

[32] Lane, *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 20.

[33] Lane, *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 21.

[34] Lane, *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 20.

[35] An Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3513 (P.L. 95-625).

the Appalachian National Scenic Trail, the report concluded that it was "not realistic" to expect visitors to walk the length of the Corps of Discovery's route, and highways and scenic drives would be central to the visitor experience. Of the changed landscape, Lane wrote,

> The spirit under which the Lewis and Clark expedition was conceived was one of entrepreneurship that envisioned commercial development, business opportunities and, of course, change. It would be historically incorrect, from the expedition's point of view, to lament the fact that change has occurred along the expedition route. Change, therefore, is a major interpretive theme that might be employed in areas where great changes have occurred since Lewis and Clark passed through.[36]

The experience of the modern traveler would vary greatly from the Corps' experience, but the historical and recreational values of the route remained significant.



Figure 21. The Lolo Trail corridor on the Montana–Idaho border is one of the few stretches of the Lewis and Clark NHT where one can retrace the Expedition's route on foot.

Source: U.S. Forest Service.

Public Input

In early 1981, right before a series of public meetings on the CMP, the MWRO gained an additional rivers and trails planner. The opportunity arose when incoming Secretary of the Interior James Watt abolished the HCRS. The NPS absorbed the former agency, relocating staff from HCRS's planning office in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to Omaha. MWRO leadership asked Thomas Gilbert, a HCRS outdoor recreation planner responsible for trails in the Midwest Region, to move to Omaha immediately to help Farrand with the Lewis and Clark NHT study, in the hopes of completing it by the congressionally established deadline.[37]

---

[36] Lane, *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, 21.

[37] Gilbert, interview.

Dunning, Farrand, and Gilbert held a series of workshops along the Expedition's route in April and May 1981 to solicit public and interagency opinions on the draft CMP.[38] They held four meetings in the Northwest (Billings, Helena, Boise, and Portland) and three in the Midwest (Jefferson City, Omaha, and Bismarck).[39] The goal of these workshops was to develop a consensus among partners about how to manage and operate the new national historic trail. Participants included representatives from the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF), state-level Lewis and Clark commissions, local politicians, state park agencies, tourism industry professionals, and other federal agency representatives.[40] Farrand and Gilbert combined partner input from these meetings with recommendations from the recreation resource study and NTSA guidelines to develop the CMP. As the work progressed, Dunning sent out draft versions of the plan and requested comments and feedback from elected officials in Trail states and federal agency representatives.[41]

Recommendations

For the final CMP, Farrand and Gilbert drew heavily from the 1977 BOR trail proposal and the 1965 Appleman study, in addition to including public comment and national recreation study findings.[42] One major difference between the 1977 report and the 1982 CMP was how they approached land acquisition, since the 1978 NTSA amendments limited land acquisition along national trails. The 1982 CMP therefore omitted recommendations for occasional limited land acquisition purchases and instead recommended easements. Gilbert and Farrand explained,

> As originally passed in 1968, the National Trails System Act provided for a fairly comprehensive Federal land acquisition program. However, amendments in 1978 and 1980 have restricted that authority. Expenditure of funds by Federal agencies to acquire lands or interests in lands is now restricted to acquisition of non-Federal lands within the boundaries of existing Federal areas. This acquisition is intended to be done by the agencies which manage the Federal areas when deemed necessary to carry out the purposes of the Trail. Federal land managing agencies may also establish

[38] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Status Report," March 30, 1980, FRC 079-89-0004-0002-0003, Box 4, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1980–Dec 1981, Lenexa FRC.

[39] J. L. Dunning to Regional Director, Pacific Northwest Region, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Workshops," memorandum, June 3, 1981, and "Announcement: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Planning Workshops," May 15, 1981, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1980–1981, LCNHT Central Files.

[40] J. L. Dunning to Regional Director, Pacific Northwest Region, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Workshops," memorandum, June 3, 1981, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1980–1981, LCNHT Central Files.

[41] Dunning to Larry Craig, House of Representatives, May 17, 1982, and Randall Pope, Acting Regional Director, May 13, 1982, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1982–1983, LCNHT Central Files.

[42] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1982), 7–12; Roy Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places Associated with Their Transcontinental Expedition, 1804–06*, edited by Robert G. Ferris (Washington, DC: GPO, 1975).

> Trail rights-of-way across private lands within their boundaries through agreements with private landowners.[43]

In the absence of land acquisition authority, the CMP suggested that the NPS "carefully monitor" and, if necessary, modify, any land uses that "adversely affect sites and segments."[44]

Gilbert and Farrand gave historic resource protection precedence over recreation development, but they recognized that the initial process of accurately locating the route could be a challenge. The Trail would consist of trail sites, trail segments (defined as "aggregations" of historic and recreation sites), and motor routes (to "provide continuity"). It would include over 500 "existing and proposed historic and recreation sites," 3,250 miles of water trails, 350 miles of land trails, and 900 miles of marked motor routes.[45] Gilbert and Farrand recognized that a predominately water-based trail would cause confusion among the public, who considered "trails" to be footpaths. For that reason, the few land-based segments of the Trail were "of great importance" to the public and the CMP recommended that they be prioritized for development.[46]

To comply with the Trail's founding legislation, the CMP emphasized partnerships. "In accordance with Section 7 of the National Trails System Act," the CMP explained, "major portions of the task of actually developing and managing the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail will be accomplished through cooperating interests."[47] NPS responsibilities would be limited to an "oversight and assistance role to encourage Trail development and ensure consistency with the Plan." This role included (1) coordinating private or other agency efforts to establish new sites or segments, (2) certifying non-Federal areas, (3) negotiating and maintaining cooperative agreements with public and private partners, (4) providing Trail signage to partners, (5) coordinating and working with the Trail Advisory Council, and (6) developing and managing NPS-owned segments and sites on the Trail. All non-NPS sites and segments would be funded "through their own sources," not by the NPS.[48] Even the foundational task of establishing boundaries and resolving disputes over land use would be the responsibility of "the various agencies and organizations which administer Trail sites and segments," not the NPS.[49] MWRO Director Dunning recognized that the

---

[43] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 96.

[44] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 98.

[45] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 5, 13, 27, 94; LCNHT Advisory Council, minutes, August 4–5, 1984, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT Advisory Council, LCNHT Central Files.

[46] Thomas L. Gilbert, Coordinator, LCNHT, to Karl Roenke, Forest Archeologist, Clearwater National Forest, January 21, 1986, FRC 79_94_0001_0015_0016, Box 15, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1986–1987, Lenexa FRC.

[47] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 106.

[48] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 95.

[49] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 100.

"ultimate realization of this project will depend on the levels of interest of the non-Federal partners."[50]



Figure 22. The majority of the Lewis and Clark NHT consists of water trails, since the Corps of Discovery traveled by boat for most of the journey. Here, the Missouri River near Fort Benton, Montana, 2005.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The CMP laid out a structure for "certification," to establish official portions of the Trail with partners on the ground. Gilbert and Farrand modeled the Lewis and Clark NHT certification process after that proposed for the Mormon NHT, which NPS planners had modeled on national recreation trails certification procedures.[51] Their blueprint for certification, however, departed from the authorization given by the NTSA.[52] The amended NTSA authorized the Secretary of the Interior to "certify other [non-federal] lands as protected segments of an historic trail upon application from State or local governmental agencies or private interests."[53] This language only authorized the certification of segments of the Trail, but in the CMP, Gilbert and Farrand laid out a process in which the NPS could certify both segments and historic sites. They did not acknowledge in the CMP that this was a departure from NTSA legislative authority, and no comments on the CMP in the 1980s objected to the inclusion of historic sites in the certification process. The issue as to whether sites could legally be certified did not arise until the early 2000s (see Chapter 8).

---

[50] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Joseph A. McElwain, Chairperson of the Board, Montana Power Company, May 4, 1982, FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 3, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[51] Gilbert, interview.

[52] A USACE District Engineer wrote in 1983, "The trail is really more a concept than an entity. It is made real through the provision of access to identified sites and through identifying and interpretive markers." William R. Andrews, Jr., Colonel, District Engineer, USACE, to Representative Douglas Bereuter, March 29, 1983, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1982–1983, LCNHT Central Files.

[53] An Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3511 (P.L. 95-625).

Segments or sites would merit certification if they met six criteria: qualification (significance), readiness, availability, size, location, and management adequate to keep the site in operation long-term. The CMP included a sample application for certification and specified how NPS officials would review applications.[54] Certified sites and designated Trail segments would receive an official Trail sign, which featured a pointing silhouette of Lewis and Clark, like the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission's sign. But rather than a square backdrop, the Lewis and Clark NHT sign was triangular with the words "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail" printed on the border of the image. The sign would mark both water and land segments of the Lewis and Clark NHT.[55]



Figure 23. Lewis and Clark NHT signs (*top, 2011*) supplemented Lewis and Clark Trail Commission highway signs (*bottom, 2007*) but did not replace them.

Source: Doug Kerr (*top*), Mark Goebel (*bottom*).

[54] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 123–24.

[55] The signs were to be made with fiberglass so that they would reflect light, and in order to keep costs low. Warren H. Hill, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Doug Bereuter, U.S. Representative, Nebraska, December 29, 1988, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

Gilbert and Farrand made it clear that the Trail sign would not replace Lewis and Clark Highway signs created by the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission in the 1960s. Commission highway signs were different from "motor route" Lewis and Clark NHT signs, Dunning later explained, because the Lewis and Clark NHT signs marked motor routes along the "actual route of the expedition," whereas the trail commission's highway signs provided "an approximate retracement."[56] The CMP emphasized that the commission's highway marking "should be maintained or completed to ensure the continued existence of this complementary commemorative project."[57] In instances where a Lewis and Clark highway overlapped with a Lewis and Clark NHT motor route, both signs would be placed along the route. These "two complementary systems . . . serve different portions of the public," concluded the CMP, and both increased public awareness about the Expedition.[58]

The CMP laid out both immediate implementation priorities and longer-term goals. Immediate implementation priorities included:

- Publishing the route in the Federal Register (required by NTSA).
- Appointing a full-time NPS administrator of the Trail.
- Funding the following: an administrator, marking the Trail, brochure, operating costs of the Advisory Council, and costs of technical assistance to managing agencies.
- Publishing a brochure.
- Establishing memoranda of understanding (MOUs) with federal agencies.
- Producing enough trail markers for near future needs.
- Working to ensure existing NPS areas along the Trail included Lewis and Clark interpretive materials.
- Encouraging the LCTHF to declare implementation and establishment of the Trail as a primary goal.[59]

---

[56] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to E. G. Chuinard, Chairman, Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, April 26, 1983, 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[57] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 14.

[58] The CMP further clarified, "It is not the intent of this Plan that the National Historic Trail replace or supersede the system of State Lewis and Clark Trail highways. On the contrary, at their option, the States are encouraged to continue to maintain and improve the designated system. Some States are building new scenic highways along the actual water route of Lewis and Clark. This is heartily encouraged." DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 119.

[59] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 120–21.

To fulfill the first item, the selected segments were listed in the Federal Register in July 1983.[60] On the last point, the CMP clarified that that LCTHF, in adopting the Trail's success as a central goal, would become a "national focal point" for the Trail-interested public. Also noteworthy in these priorities is the relatively low expectation for operational funding, to cover only the costs of a "full-time Trail administrator and support services."[61]

Staffing the Trail

Staffing at Lewis and Clark NHT was minimal, in part because the concept of national scenic and national historic trails was new and the NPS was still deciding how to manage them.[62] Their uncertain status and low budgets in the 1980s prompted the MWRO to build the Lewis and Clark NHT primarily through partner organizations, rather than hiring dedicated staff for the Trail. Yet, from the early years of the Trail, internal communications suggested that the NPS assumed that Lewis and Clark NHT would someday have interpreters along the route.[63] Throughout the 1980s, MWRO and Trail staff worked to justify greater appropriations and staffing for the Trail.

Gilbert served as a coordinator for the Lewis and Clark NHT, as well as for North Country and Ice Age national scenic trails, as early as 1984.[64] Richard A. Clark, planner for the MWRO, supported Gilbert as assistant coordinator in the late 1980s.[65] Gilbert worked from the Omaha MWRO headquarters until 1987, when Congress appropriated funds for Ice Age National Scenic Trail (NST) headquarters in Madison, Wisconsin. Gilbert, hoping to focus on one trail instead of three, applied for the position of director of Ice Age NST, confident he would get the job since he had written the management plan for that trail, too. Instead, the NPS moved a superintendent from another park into that position, and Gilbert remained in Omaha to work on the Lewis and Clark NHT and North Country NST. When the first director of Ice Age NST retired in 1989, Gilbert

---

[60] Randall R. Pope, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Notification of Route Selection and Availability of the Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use," Doc. 83-20214, Fed. Reg. 48, no. 147, 14527 (July 29, 1983).

[61] DOI, NPS, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use*, 120.

[62] The 1978 amendments to the NTSA defining national historic trails do not designate these trails as units of the NPS, but the issue of whether they should be considered units has been debated by NPS managers in the intervening decades. For more on this, see Chapter 8.

[63] MWRO staff argued in 1979 that while the use of Midwest interpretive personnel for "that portion of the trail within the Midwest Region is virtually a foregone conclusion," assigning Midwest personnel along entire route "would stretch our personnel resources at the expense of other regional projects." Catherine G. Dawson, Acting Program Coordinator, Midwest Region, NPS, to External Affairs, Midwest Region, NPS, memorandum, April 12, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[64] Thomas L. Gilbert, Coordinator, LCNHT, to John S. Lionberger, Jr., July 13, 1984, FRC 079-92-0004_009_0010, Box 9, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1984–1985, Lenexa FRC.

[65] Richard A. Clark, Assistant Coordinator, LCNHT, to John Barnes, Outdoor Recreation Planner, Idaho Department of Parks & Recreation, April 19, 1989, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

applied for and got the job, but this time, MWRO leadership decided to move administration of Lewis and Clark NHT and North Country NST to Madison, as well. Gilbert thus became manager of all three trails.[66]

When Gilbert arrived in Madison, he worked with Jan Lee, an administrative employee who had worked with the previous Ice Age NST director. Lee continued to work on the three trails with Gilbert. In 1990, MWRO leadership permitted Gilbert to change his title to superintendent, since the Santa Fe NHT had recently hired a manager, and that position was given the title of superintendent.[67] In 1991, Gilbert hired Dick Williams, an NPS interpreter, as an outdoor recreation planner for the Madison trails office. Gilbert assigned Williams to manage day-to-day needs of Lewis and Clark NHT, while Gilbert focused on Ice Age NST.[68] Thirteen years after its establishment, Lewis and Clark NHT had its first full-time employee.[69] Williams's job consisted primarily of working with partner organizations, like the LCTHF. Williams oversaw the development of a Trail brochure and slide show in the early 1990s through collaboration with the LCTHF, the MWRO, and the Harpers Ferry Center (HFC).[70]

Trail Development and Partnerships

After the completion of the CMP, Gilbert worked with partners in Trail states to establish the Lewis and Clark NHT on the ground. MWRO Director Dunning urged governors to develop state committees similar to those that existed under the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission in the 1960s. Oregon, which still had its original Lewis and Clark Trail Committee from the 1960s, formalized its partnership with the Trail in 1987. Meanwhile, the Trail's primary partner, the LCTHF, assisted with the production of interpretive materials, trail stewardship, and site inventories. Gilbert also worked with the LCTHF to codify the site certification process and to begin certifying sites and segments along the Trail as official affiliates. Partners organized conferences, managed trail stewardship along the trail, and assisted with public outreach. By the end of the 1990s, the Trail had MOUs with the Missouri Historical Society, North Dakota Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Foundation, North Dakota

---

[66] Gilbert, interview; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[67] Gilbert, interview; DOI, Briefing Statement, Wisconsin, prepared for Secretary Lujan, October 10, 1991, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[68] Gilbert, interview; Richard Williams, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 2, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[69] Gilbert later requested funding for a seasonal historian to further assist with the workload, but there is no evidence that the NPS fulfilled his request. Gilbert, to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, MWRO, February 24, 1992, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1989–1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[70] Williams, interview.

Historical Society, Montana Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commission, Idaho Historical Society, Washington State Historical Society, LCTHF, and the Bicentennial Council.[71]

State-Level Partnerships

Dunning recognized that while the Trail would involve "new management responsibilities" for the NPS, partner organizations would take the lead administrative role for Trail sites and segments.[72] Dunning envisioned a lead agency in each state responsible for coordinating non-federal Lewis and Clark NHT project involvement for that state.[73] In a letter to South Dakota Governor William J. Janklow, Dunning called state-level Lewis and Clark committees, in the mold of the 1960s Lewis and Clark Trail Commission state committees:

> a most effective way to coordinate implementation and development of the Trail. The National Trails System Act assigns overall responsibility for administration of the Trail to the Department of the Interior, but it also envisions that the task of developing and maintaining the interpretive and public use opportunities will require the active involvement of many levels of public and private interests. It is appropriate for the states to play a key role in coordinating these interests through Lewis and Clark Trail committees or other similar organizations. I urge you to establish or reestablish such a committee or designate some other organization to actively promote and coordinate the development and use of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.[74]

Discussing the mechanics of partnering with entities of varying sizes, Dunning wrote,

> In all relationships between jurisdictions on Lewis and Clark projects, the NPS will seek to establish the simplest and most flexible management framework possible. With over 500 trail sites identified in the management plan that stretch over 4,500 miles in 11-States, we feel it will be imperative to keep formal agreements to an efficient minimum. Letter agreements or statements of management intent for small projects or jurisdiction seem like a reasonable approach, reserving the formal agreements for large jurisdictions and complex projects.[75]

---

[71] DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; Cal Calabrese, Interim Superintendent, LCNHT, to Secretary Babbitt, DOI, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Budget Projections," briefing statement, February 17, 2000, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[72] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to E. G. Chuinard, Chairman, Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, May 2, 1982, 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[73] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, to Victor Atiyeh, Governor of Oregon, October 28, 1982, Drawer: L con't – end [20 of 24], Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1982–1983, LCNHT Central Files.

[74] Dunning to Janklow, August 27, 1981, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1980–1981, LCNHT Central Files.

[75] Dunning to E. G. Chuinard, Chairman, Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, May 2, 1982, 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

MWRO officials would still be available to smaller partners for consultation, technical assistance, or to facilitate development of agreements between field offices and non-federal interests, in the model of the Appalachian and North Country national scenic trails.

Dunning and other NPS officials hoped that the partnership approach to implementation and management of all national historic trails would "make them highly cost effective."[76] The NPS faced "austere budgets" in the 1980s, as well as political pressures to partner with private organizations.[77] Early Trail management and budgets reflect these realities.[78] Private partners, not the federal government, would "assume the largest share of the task of developing and managing the trail," which included developing volunteer systems to create and maintain Trail segments and taking "the lead in publishing and distributing detailed trail maps and guidebooks."[79] That left very little to the NPS other than coordination of all the moving parts.

Gilbert and other MWRO staff held workshops with partners about how to make the most of public-private collaborations.[80] NPS officials highlighted certain partnerships as examples of the high return on investment for national trails, such as North Dakota's development of a canoe trail along the Missouri River, and the timber company Crown Zellerbach's work with the City of Seaside and Clatsop County in Oregon to develop a hiking trail from Fort Clatsop National Historic Site to Cannon Beach.[81] In Nebraska and South Dakota, state committees held interagency meetings in 1985 with representatives from community organizations, tribes, federal agencies, state agencies, and local governments to generate ideas for other partnership opportunities.[82]

---

[76] Emphasis in original. NPS, "Information Requested by Mr. Ric Davidge on Administration of National Scenic and Historic Trails," (ca. 1983?), FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[77] Dunning to Joseph A. McElwain, Chairperson of the Board, Montana Power Company, May 4, 1982, FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 3, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[78] In fiscal year 1984, the NPS requested only $138,000 for management of all national scenic trails, national historic trails, and wild and scenic rivers. NPS, "Information Requested by Mr. Ric Davidge on Administration of National Scenic and Historic Trails," (ca. 1983?), FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[79] Emphasis in original. NPS, "Information Requested by Mr. Ric Davidge on Administration of National Scenic and Historic Trails," (ca. 1983?), FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[80] Preserving the Legacy of Lewis and Clark: A Workshop on Utilizing Public-Private Partnerships to Establish the National Historic Trail, August 11, 1988, agenda, Drawer: L con't – end [20 of 24], Folder: L6017 LECL NHT, LCNHT Central Files.

[81] NPS, "Information Requested by Mr. Ric Davidge on Administration of National Scenic and Historic Trails," (ca. 1983?), FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[82] "Minutes: Lewis & Clark Interagency Meeting," March 26, 1985, Drawer L cont'd – end Folder "L6017 LECL 1984–1989," LCNHT Central Files; "Minutes: Lewis & Clark Interagency Meeting," October 29, 1985, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL 1984–1989, LCNHT Central Files.

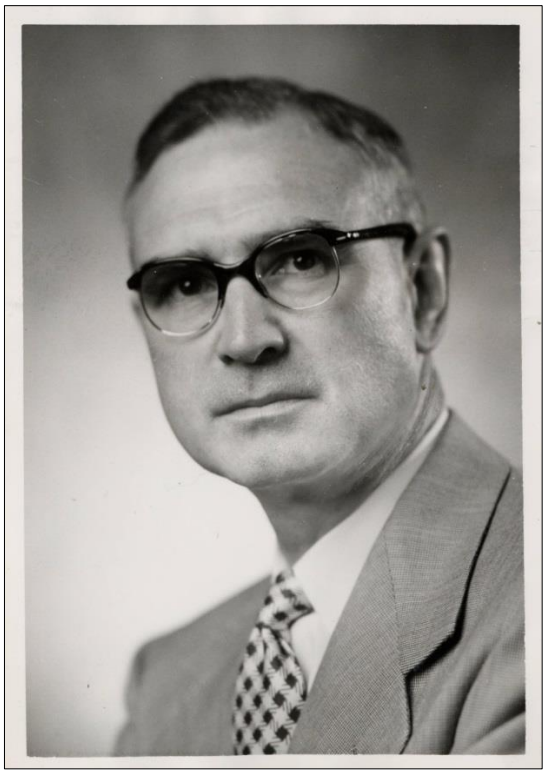


Figure 24. Eldon G. "Frenchy" Chuinard, M.D. (1904–1993).

Source: Oregon Health and Science University Historical Collections and Archives.

Oregon's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee was perhaps the most effective state committee in the 1980s, having remained intact and active since its establishment during the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission era.[83] Like other state committees, its leaders, most notably Dr. E. G. "Frenchy" Chuinard, were also leaders of the LCTHF.[84] Chuinard wanted to keep the partnership informal—a simple letter of intent would suffice, he argued—but Dunning and the NPS wanted formal contracts for Lewis and Clark NHT cooperating agreements.[85] Dunning pressed for a formal MOU, which the state of Oregon and the NPS signed in 1984. Both parties agreed to "coordinate all of their activities and programs related to the Trail in Oregon to assure that the efforts of each are complementary."[86]

---

[83] Charles H. Odegaard, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Associate Director, Planning and Development, WASO, NPS, July 3, 1984, FRC 79_92_0004_0001_0010, Box 1, Folder: A44: Oregon – Lewis & Clark, 1984, Lenexa FRC.

[84] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to E. G. Chuinard, Chairman, Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, March 29, 1983, FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[85] E. G. Chuinard, Chairman, Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, to J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, February 14, 1983, FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[86] Memorandum of Understanding between the National Park Service and the State of Oregon, signed August 2, 1984, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail – State of Oregon, Memorandum of Understanding (LCT-OR MOA), LCNHT Central Files.

The MOU assigned the NPS responsibility for communicating with other federal agencies along the Trail, processing certification applications, and distributing Trail markers, while the state would communicate with non-federal partners in Oregon and assess signage and certification needs on an annual basis. Both the NPS and the Oregon committee would conduct publicity work for the Trail.[87]

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

MWRO staff relied heavily on the LCTHF in the early 1980s, using it as the Trail's fundraising, communication, and interpretive arm.[88] NPS leaders saw the Appalachian Trail Conservancy (ATC), the Appalachian Trail's principal non-profit partner, as a model for what the LCTHF might be: a non-profit partner that carried out maintenance, interpretation, and stewardship of the Trail.[89] NPS representatives attended LCTHF meetings regularly to stay apprised of the group's actions, to share NPS priorities, and to obtain advice for working with states and localities along the route.[90] The LCTHF partnered with the MWRO to create the first Lewis and Clark NHT brochure and made its own slide program to complement an NPS-made Lewis and Clark interpretive slide program.[91] The LCTHF also issued a quarterly journal, *We Proceeded On*, which became an important mechanism through which the MWRO disseminated information and updates about the Trail to the broader public.[92]

In 1987, the LCTHF signed a formal MOU with the NPS, which called the LCTHF the NPS's "primary private sector partner in the effort to establish the trail."[93] The MOU spelled out the role

---

[87] Memorandum of Understanding between the National Park Service and the State of Oregon, signed August 2, 1984, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail – State of Oregon, Memorandum of Understanding (LCT-OR MOA), LCNHT Central Files; Thomas Gilbert, "Oregon and National Park Service to Cooperative on Lewis and Clark Trail," press release, undated (1987?), Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail – State of Oregon, Memorandum of Understanding (LCT-OR MOA), LCT Foundation MOU, LCNHT Central Files.

[88] The NPS also kept up a relationship with the Darling Foundation in the 1980s and solicited donations from it, as well. Charles E. Odegaard, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Kip Koss, J. N. "Ding" Darling Foundation, June 4, 1985, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL 1984–1989, LCNHT Central Files.

[89] Williams, interview.

[90] Charles H. Odegaard, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Irving Anderson, LCTHF, March 5, 1986, and Irving Anderson, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, to William Penn Mott, Jr., Director, NPS, January 24, 1986, FRC 79_94_0001_0015_0016, Box 15, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1986–1987, Lenexa FRC.

[91]Williams, interview; Tom Gilbert and Bob Healy, "Lewis and Clark Trail Brochure Available from National Park Service," press release, August 20, 1986, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LECL 1984–1989, LCNHT Central Files; Slide Show Script: The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, no date, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: Lewis and Clark Slide Show Script, LCNHT Central Files; John E. Foote, "President Foote's message," *We Proceeded On* 13, no. 2 (May 1987): 3.

[92] The LCTHF first published *We Proceeded On* in 1974. For a full index of issues, see LCTHF, "All Issues: *We Proceeded On*: Our quarterly Journal," accessed October 10, 2017, http://www.lewisandclark.org/wpo/issue_index.php.

[93] Memorandum of Understanding between the National Park Service and the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., July 10, 1987, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LCT Foundation MOU, LCNHT Central Files.

of the LCTHF in management, which included publicizing the Trail, encouraging visitation and membership, informally monitoring interpretive sites in the field to ensure their upkeep, and maintaining official Trail markers.[94] The NPS would contribute funds to the LCTHF to subsidize initiatives at specific sites, publicize the Trail, monitor the Trail to ensure that certified sites remained well-maintained, recruit volunteers, and hire staff to manage these tasks.[95] In 1987, the LCTHF hired Richard Codding as national trail coordinator with NPS funds made available through the MOU.[96]

The LCTHF sought other ways to make itself useful to the NPS. In 1988, LCTHF President Donald F. Nell wrote to the new MWRO Director, Don Castleberry, with suggestions for additional ways that the LCTHF could be of service, including serving as a central authority for Trail site verification, policing the Trail for problems (such as a movement in the late 1980s to eliminate a few historic sites along the Missouri River), updating plans for the Trail, and communicating Trail news and information. Nell reiterated the willingness of LCTHF members to take on any task that could help the Trail. "The excitement of the Lewis & Clark Trail is growing daily," Nell wrote.[97] When federal funding was scarce, the LCTHF sustained the Trail's momentum with enthusiasm and volunteer assistance.

In 1992, the LCTHF signed an updated cooperative agreement with the Trail to complete an inventory of all historic and contemporary sites along the Trail related to Lewis and Clark. The inventory would update the recommendations of the 1982 CMP by documenting exiting Trail sites, determining potential interpretive sites, and ascertaining which states still had Lewis and Clark Trail highway signs.[98] In previous years, the NPS had relied on a variety of partners to conduct the Trail inventory by region, but the LCTHF agreement aimed for a more comprehensive approach.[99] Work on the inventory stalled in the 1990s, but a significant push came in 1997 when Carole and Chelsey Schart volunteered for the project. The Scharts spent the summer of 1997 traveling nearly 12,000

---

[94] Memorandum of Understanding between the National Park Service and the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., July 10, 1987, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LCT Foundation MOU, LCNHT Central Files.

[95] John E. Foote, President, LCTHF, to Don H. Castleberry, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, July 10, 1987, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LCT Foundation MOU, LCNHT Central Files.

[96] Donald F. Nell, President, LCTHF, to Don H. Castleberry, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, September 7, 1988, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL 1984–1989, LCNHT Central Files.

[97] Donald F. Nell, President, LCTHF, to Don H. Castleberry, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, September 7, 1988, Central Files, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL 1984–1989, LCNHT Central Files.

[98] Williams, Coordinator, LCNHT, to Darold W. Jackson, Lewis and Clark Center, St. Charles, MO, April 3, 1995, LCTHF Organizational Records, Series V, Box 13, Folder: Box 31 Folder 8 Lewis and Clark Trail – Missouri, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT; Williams, interview.

[99] Chief, Recreation Programs, Pacific Northwest Region, to Trails Coordinator, Northwest Region, February 6, 1989, memorandum (and attachments), Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1989–1993, LCNHT Central Files; Robert K. Doerk, Jr., "President Doerk's Message," *We Proceeded On* 15, no. 4 (November 1989): 2; Bob Doerk, "Second National Trails Conference," *We Proceeded On* 18, no. 1 (January 1992): 28.

miles in their motorhome to collect data on over 600 interpretive sites, which Williams then distributed to Trail partners to provide baseline data for existing initiatives and to spur new projects.[100] LCTHF chapters also conducted an inventory of private lands along the Trail in the early 2000s, an initiative led by LCTHF Trail Coordinator Jeff Olson.[101]

Gilbert and Williams hoped that the NPS could promote the professionalization of the LCTHF by providing funding for staff, which would then increase the group's programmatic and fundraising capacity.[102] In 1994, the LCTHF signed a cooperative agreement with the Trail through which the NPS provided funds to hire LCTHF's first executive director, Jay Vogt, in a part-time role.[103] Vogt served as director for two years before resigning due to other work obligations. The LCTHF board then appointed Barbara Kubik to the position of interim executive director, still supported with NPS funds, and Kubik became the executive director outright in 1996.[104]

The LCTHF briefly shared an executive director position with the Bicentennial Council in the 1990s (see Chapter 6). In 1998, the NPS again funded a full-time executive director at LCTHF, and the foundation hired Sammye Meadows for the position.[105] The foundation's capacity grew in the 1990s as a result of membership growth (increasing by 3,000 in that decade) and the formation of over ten new chapters.[106]

---

[100] Chelsey and Carole Schart, "Volunteers for Trail Project Say, 'It was Great!'," *We Proceeded On* 23, no. 3 (August 1997): 18–22; Richard Williams to Donald Nell, LCTHF, January 14, 1997, Drawer L – cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL General Correspondence, LCNHT Central Files.

[101] Jeff Olson, "Reflections on September 11; protecting Bozeman Pass and Tower Rock," *We Proceeded On* 27, no. 4 (November 2001): 6; Jeff Olson, "Fire update; industrial site threatens Pompey's Pillar; private lands inventory," *We Proceeded On* 26, no. 4 (November 2000): 6; Jeff Olson, "Advice to trail stewards: Thinking 'small' can yield big results," *We Proceeded On* 28, no. 2 (May 2002): 7; "'Trail Guy' Jeff Olson moves over to Park Service," *We Proceeded On* 29, no. 2 (May 2003): 46.

[102] Williams, interview; Gilbert, interview.

[103] Robert E. Gatten, Jr., "President's Message," *We Proceeded On* 20, no. 4 (November 1994): 31; Robert E. Gatten, Jr., "President's Message," *We Proceeded On* 21, no. 1 (February 1995): 31.

[104] Robert E. Gatten, Jr., "President's Message," *We Proceeded On* 22, no. 2 (May 1996): 3, 31; Clyde G. "Sid" Huggins, "President's Message," *We Proceeded On* 22, no. 4 (November 1996): 3.

[105] Clyde G. "Sid" Huggins, "President's Message," *We Proceeded On* 23, no. 1 (February 1997): 31; Joint Meeting: Executive Board: Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and The Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Council, Skamania Lodge, Stevenson, WA, minutes, July 26, 1997, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 27, 1997 Stevenson, WA, National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Papers, Missouri History Museum; Clyde G. "Sid" Huggins, "President's Message," *We Proceeded On* 23, no. 3 (August 1997): 31; Williams to Sid Huggins, President, LCTHF, November 7, 1996, LCTHF Organizational Records, Series VI, Box 5, Folder: Box 46 Folder 2 – Foundation Headquarters – Nat. Council of L&C Bicentennial Proposed Agreement, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT; Williams, interview.

[106] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; "Notes from August 16–17, 2001," August 16–7, 2001, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

The LCTHF focused primarily on historic interpretation, trail stewardship, and resource protection. In 1999, the LCTHF proposed a project that would continue previous stewardship work, update the Trail's master plan, and promote responsible use of the Trail during the bicentennial.[107] LCTHF leaders envisioned four phases of this project, which included interagency cooperation and information gathering, recommendation of local sites, a "Trail Travel Planning Kit" for tourists and other educational materials, and public education through national media coverage.[108]

Site and Segment Certification

The MWRO quickly followed the CMP recommendations on site and segment certification. As mentioned previously, there was no discussion of whether the process to certify both segments and historic sites overstepped the NPS's legislatively granted authorities. All federally managed areas with Lewis and Clark-related interpretive themes automatically became official segments or sites along the Trail.[109] For private or state sites, the NPS preferred certification applications go through state Lewis and Clark committees, once formed. The certification application included questions about who managed the site, user fees charged, land classification, and details on operation of the site.[110] To establish Trail segments, Dunning recommended that lead agencies proceed on their own and then request formal certification of the site later.[111] By 1988, 42 places along the Trail had applied for and received certification as official Trail sites or segments. The state with the most certified sites (by a magnitude of four) was North Dakota. Although the CMP had identified only seven "potential certifiable sites" in North Dakota, the state had 23 by 1988.[112]

David Shonk (MWRO associate regional director for cooperative activities), Gilbert, and Richard Clark (MWRO planner who was assigned to assist Gilbert with Lewis and Clark NHT

---

[107] Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, "Prospectus: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Stewardship Project," (c.1999), Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A22 L&C Trail Heritage Foundation c1999, LCNHT Central Files.

[108] Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, "Prospectus: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Stewardship Project," (c.1999), Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A22 L&C Trail Heritage Foundation c1999, LCNHT Central Files.

[109] An Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3511 (P.L. 95-625).

[110] LCNHT, Certification Application: Consolidated application for multiple site designation, April 8, 1988, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: 6017 LECLE NHT ND Certification Consolidated APS, LCNHT Central Files.

[111] J. L. Dunning, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to E. G. Chuinard, Chairman, Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, May 2, 1982, 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[112] "Certified Sites of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail that area administered by non-federal land managing authorities," August 1, 1988, Series V, Box 1, Folder: Box 28 Folder 1 – Lewis and Clark Trail – National Trail System, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Organizational Records, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT.

matters) were responsible for most of the site certifications during the 1980s.[113] They distributed written instructions for preparing applications and assisted applicants with the process as needed.[114] Shonk, Gilbert, and Clark also sought to convince partners that certifying sites would be beneficial, even using humor if it served the purpose. In 1989, Clark wrote to an interested Idaho site, "Potential disadvantages to certifying a site as part of the Lewis and Clark NHT are increased tourism."[115] Clark assured partners that sites could later be decertified at the written request of either the site managers or the NPS.[116] Politicians also promoted certification. In Nebraska, U.S. Representative Doug Bereuter worked with state and local sites and kept in frequent contact with MWRO officials to speed certification and the tourism opportunities that would come with it.[117]

One advantage to certification was posting the official Lewis and Clark NHT sign at or on the way to sites, making it easier for tourists to find them. The MWRO distributed the first official trail signs in 1984, and from that point forward, small historic sites, tribes, and state park agencies frequently wrote to the NPS requesting official Trail signs.[118] Demand for signs was high enough that Clark ordered larger, more visible Trail signs for certified sites in 1989.[119]

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Trail staff continued to use the certification process as a valuable tool for formalizing partnerships and building visibility and status for the Trail. Williams managed the certification program from the time he joined the Trail in 1991 until his retirement in 2006. As of April 5, 1999, Lewis and Clark NHT had 88 non-federal certified sites and over 90 federal sites,

---

[113] Warren H. Hill, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Doug Bereuter, U.S. Representative, Nebraska, December 29, 1988, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC; Email between the author and Tom Gilbert, October 23, 2017.

[114] LCNHT, Cover sheet, Instructions and Format for Preparing an Application for Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Certification, no date, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1989–1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[115] Richard A. Clark, Assistant Coordinator, LCNHT, to John Barnes, Outdoor Recreation Planner, Idaho Department of Parks & Recreation, April 19, 1989, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

[116] Richard A. Clark, Assistant Coordinator, LCNHT, to John Barnes, Outdoor Recreation Planner, Idaho Department of Parks & Recreation, April 19, 1989, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

[117] Warren H. Hill, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Doug Bereuter, U.S. Representative, Nebraska, December 29, 1988, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

[118] "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council Minutes," August 4–5, 1984, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT Advisory Council, LCNHT Central Files; Thomas L. Gilbert, Coordinator, LCNHT, to Robert L. Astleford, Director, Parks, Recreation and Public Properties Department, Omaha/Douglas Civic Center, January 13, 1985, Drawer L6017, Folder: L5817, LCNHT Central Files; Greg White, Natural Resources Technician, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Tribes, to Richard A. Clark, Assistant Coordinator, LCNHT, May 8, 1989, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT Certification information & workshops, LCNHT Central Files.

[119] Richard A. Clark, Assistant Coordinator, LCNHT, to All Managers of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Certified Sites, March 10, 1989, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT Certification information & workshops, LCNHT Central Files.

and by 2005, the Trail recognized 118 non-federal certified sites and segments (see Appendix A for full list of certified sites and segments).[120] Certification crept east in the 1990s, and in 2002, the Trail certified Monticello as an official Trail site.[121] Certification of off-Trail sites entered a murky legal territory (see Chapter 8).

The Advisory Council

NTSA amendments mandated the establishment of a Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council. Representatives included LCTHF members and political or tourism leaders from Trail states, but low funding and lapses in appointments prevented the council from being very active. In 1989, its term expired without renewal.

Creating the Council

The 1978 amendments to the NTSA instructed the Secretary of the Interior to establish an advisory council within one calendar year of the creation of a national historic trail and required that the council include members from each state through which the trail passed, each federal agency administering land along the route, and private organizations with "an established and recognized interest" in the trail.[122] Anticipating a small budget, Acting MWRO Director Randall Pope proposed a "core council" of twenty-two members for the Lewis and Clark NHT in 1979, consisting of members from "eleven states, six Federal agencies, one landowner group, one historical preservation group, one recreation group, one environmental group, and one Indian group."[123]

MWRO staff drafted the charter for the Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council in 1979, then sent it to the Pacific Northwest and Rocky Mountain regional offices to use in drafting advisory council charters for Oregon and Mormon Pioneer NHTs.[124] The draft charter spelled out organizational and funding requirements and expectations of the advisory council. Although the council's duties would be "solely advisory," the charter required that the council meet at least semi-

---

[120] DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[121] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; NPS, LCNHT, "Lewis & Clark NHT Certified Sites," [2005?], LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[122] An Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3514 (P.L. 95-625).

[123] The full Advisory Council the following year would have up to twenty-five members. Randall R. Pope, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Assistant for Advisory Boards and Commissions, WASO (003), NPS, memorandum, April 3, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[124] Randall R. Pope, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Assistant for Advisory Boards and Commissions, WASO (003), NPS, memorandum, April 3, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

annually with Department of the Interior (DOI) officials to advise on important matters, including "selection of right-of-way, standards for the erection and maintenance of trail markers, and the administration of the Trail."[125] As the NTSA amendments provided, the council would terminate in ten years, and the NPS would support the expense of convening the council, including reimbursing members for costs incurred in the line of duty.[126]

MWRO staff prepared a list of "Suggested Membership" that would comply with the legislative requirements. For the landowner group, they hoped to include a representative of the Missouri River Bank Stabilization Association out of Nebraska. They preferred that state representatives be the state historic preservation officer, from a state park or conservation agency, or from a private group with demonstrated interest in the Trail. MWRO staff preferred the LCTHF as the historic preservation group, the National Recreation and Parks Association as the recreation group, and the Sierra Club as the environmental group. The MWRO did not have a preference for who would be the "Indian Interest Group," but it requested that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) participate as a partner agency since the Trail went through reservation lands.[127] Acting MWRO Director Randall Pope wanted a representative of the LCTHF to chair the council.[128] The eventual membership of the Advisory Council surpassed the recommended maximum of twenty-five and included many individuals who did not hold a formal role in historic preservation in the state that they represented (for a complete list of the initial members of the Advisory Council, see Appendix B).

Meetings

The Advisory Council first convened in June 1981, well behind the semi-annual meeting requirements that its charter laid out. MWRO staff decided to split up the group into eastern and western halves, holding the eastern meeting on June 17 in Omaha and the western meeting on June 24 in Portland, Oregon. Dunning served as chair of the council, and MWRO employees Farrand and Gilbert attended.[129] Both meetings discussed the general purpose of the Advisory Council and held

---

[125] Draft Charter, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[126] MWRO, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council Suggested Membership for FY 79," 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[127] MWRO, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council Suggested Membership for FY 79," 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[128] Randall R. Pope, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Assistant for Advisory Boards and Commissions, WASO (003), NPS, memorandum, April 3, 1979, FRC 079-89-0007-0006-0010, Box 1, Folder: L58/7 Lewis & Clark Trails & Tourway, Jan 1979–Dec 1979, Lenexa FRC.

[129] LCNHT Advisory Council (Eastern Half) Meeting, Omaha, NE, minutes, June 17, 1981, FRC 79_89_0003_0001_0006, Box 1, Folder: A18 Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1980–1981, Lenexa FRC; LCNHT Advisory Council (Western Half) Meeting, Portland, OR, minutes, June 24, 1981, FRC

votes on a variety of issues, including whether the NPS should try to amend the NTSA so that western terminus would be "the Pacific Ocean at the mouth of the Columbia River" (rather than "the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon"), whether the NPS should request state governors to create Lewis and Clark Committees, and whether the official trail marker should be "buckskin brown" or "a distinct brilliant red."[130] NPS staff emphasized that the Advisory Council played "a key role in coordinating" various public and private Trail partners.[131]

NPS officials hoped that grouping the meetings geographically would keep travel costs down, but the lengthy process of coordinating and resolving differences between two meetings prompted NPS coordinators to hold future meetings with the full council.[132] The next Advisory Council meeting took place in September 1982 with the full council present. A significant portion of that meeting's discussion involved the Advisory Council's role in coordinating local public and private partners.[133] Then, in 1984, the MWRO planned the Advisory Council meeting in conjunction with the annual LCTHF meeting, since the two memberships overlapped.[134]

Advisory Council meetings also provided a forum for comment on NPS management, decisions, and proposals. Rudy Clements, a member of the Advisory Council, criticized the CMP for failing to emphasize the history and culture of tribes along the route and their role in the Expedition's history. Clements pointed out at the September 1982 meeting

> that although some Indian tribes have been relocated, they should still be consulted about interpretation of their former villages and cultural sites along the expedition route. The National Park

79_89_0003_0001_0006, Box 1, Folder: A18 Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1980–1981, Lenexa FRC.

[130] Chuinard worried that brown signs might blend into western landscapes, and the council agreed and passed a resolution that the logo figures be presented "in a distinct brilliant color such as red." Washington committee leaders pushed the terminus language change to show the centrality of both Washington and Oregon to the Trail. LCNHT Advisory Council (Western Half) Meeting, Portland, OR, minutes, June 24, 1981, FRC 79_89_0003_0001_0006, Box 1, Folder: A18 Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1980–1981, Lenexa FRC; LCNHT Advisory Council (Eastern Half) Meeting, Omaha, NE, minutes, June 17, 1981, FRC 79_89_0003_0001_0006, Box 1, Folder: A18 Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1980–1981, Lenexa FRC.

[131] LCNHT Advisory Council (Eastern Half) Meeting, Omaha, NE, minutes, June 17, 1981, FRC 79_89_0003_0001_0006, Box 1, Folder: A18 Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1980–1981, Lenexa FRC.

[132] William Farrand, Acting Associate Regional Director, Recreation Services and External Affairs, Midwest Region, NPS, to Associate Director, Recreation Resources, WASO, NPS, August 17, 1982, FRC 79_90_0003_0003_0003, Box 6, Folder: L5817 Lewis & Clark Trail, Jan 1982–Dec 1983, Lenexa FRC.

[133] Dunning to LCNHT Advisory Council members, August 2, 1982, FRC 79_90_0002_0001_0007, Box 1, Folder: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1982–1983, Lenexa FRC.

[134] This coordination of meetings had been suggested at the September 1982 council meeting. LCNHT Advisory Council Meeting, minutes, September 11, 1982, FRC 79_90_0002_0001_0007, Box 1, Folder: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1982–1983, Lenexa FRC; Thomas L. Gilbert, Coordinator, LCNHT, to John S. Lionberger, Jr., July 13, 1984, FRC 79_92_0004_0009_0010, Box 6, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1984–1985, Lenexa FRC.

> Service staff agreed with the importance of interpreting the native cultures that were contacted by Lewis and Clark.[135]

Other council members took the opportunity to ask about land acquisition plans for the Trail (of which there were none, per NTSA amendments) and to suggest greater use of easements than the NPS had in mind.[136] Council members offered feedback on the brochures, which the MWRO created in partnership with the LCTHF, and on the certification process, of which most council members approved.[137] They also hoped to build additional partnerships with schools, other private foundations, and the media.[138]

Lapse and Disintegration

After the 1984 meeting, DOI leaders failed to reappoint Advisory Council members for several years, resulting in a gap in council meetings.[139] The MWRO tried to reconvene the council in conjunction with the 1986 LCTHF meeting, but it failed to obtain the funds necessary to do so. Interagency tensions arose when WASO informed the MWRO in 1987 that "the bureau that administers the most significant or largest amount of land" along the Trail would be the DOI voting representative on any national trail advisory council.[140] For Lewis and Clark NHT, that agency was the BLM. MWRO leaders were disappointed with the decision, but the issue became moot in 1989, when the council's tenure expired.[141] Members expressed the need for a coordinating mechanism

---

[135] LCNHT Advisory Council Meeting, minutes, September 11, 1982, FRC 79_90_0002_0001_0007, Box 1, Folder: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1982–1983, Lenexa FRC.

[136] LCNHT Advisory Council (Eastern Half) Meeting, Omaha, NE, minutes, June 17, 1981, FRC 79_90_0002_0001_0007, Box 1, Folder: A18 Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1982–1983, Lenexa FRC; Richard A. Clark, Assistant Coordinator, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, to John Barnes, Outdoor Recreation Planner, Idaho Department of Parks & Recreation, April 19, 1989, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

[137] LCNHT, Advisory Council Meeting, minutes, August 4–5, 1984, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT Advisory Council, LCNHT Central Files. At the September 1982 meeting, Advisory Council members expressed support for the certification process and a willingness to participate with NPS to get the process moving. LCNHT, Advisory Council Meeting, minutes, September 11, 1982, FRC 79_90_0002_0001_0007, Box 1, Folder: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1982–1983, Lenexa FRC.

[138] LCNHT Advisory Council Meeting, minutes, August 4–5, 1984, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT Advisory Council, LCNHT Central Files.

[139] Gilbert to Frank Whetstone, Office Suppliers, August 7, 1990, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1989–1993, LCNHT Central Files; Don H. Castleberry, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Director, NPS, WASO, memorandum, January 15, 1988, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017: Lewis & Clark, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

[140] Acting Director, NPS, to All Regional Directors, NPS, memorandum, December 24, 1987, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017: Lewis & Clark, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

[141] "Notes on Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council," (1987?), Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT Advisory Council, LCNHT Central Files.

after the expiration of the council at a final meeting in 1989, but they failed to agree on a concrete solution.[142] With that, the Advisory Council disbanded.

NHT Coordination

A decade after the establishment of the first national historic trails, the NPS still struggled to answer key questions: What was a national historic trail? How should one be managed? These questions were connected to a broader effort to organize and institutionalize management of the National Trails System (NTS). When Secretary of the Interior James Watt had disbanded the HCRS in 1981, it also meant the end of the HCRS-led Interagency Trail Task Force, which had been established by Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel in 1969 to coordinate NTS policy among federal agencies with trail management responsibilities.[143] The NPS continued general trails planning in the 1980s, publishing a National Trails Assessment in 1986, as required by 1983 amendments to the NTSA, which evaluated the state of trail system, proposed future coordination and planning needs, encouraged cooperation to manage trails, and provided full contact information for all land management agencies responsible for trails.[144]

Gilbert organized a 1988 "National Conference on National Scenic and National Historic Trails" in Hartland, Wisconsin, co-sponsored by the NPS, USFS, and BLM. This was the first NPS-hosted meeting of national historic trail and national scenic trail leadership.[145] The agencies debated the definition of national historic and national scenic trails, what partnerships looked like, how to improve coordination and communications between agencies, and how to deal with some of the "growing pains" that came with the NTS's rapid expansion.[146] Representatives from the Appalachian and Pacific Crest national scenic trails, the American Hiking Society, and the Ice Age Park and Trail Foundation attended. The Hartland meeting, along with a follow-up meeting of partners in the Columbia River Gorge the following year, led WASO to hire Steve Elkinton as the first ever program leader for the NTS in 1989.[147] Partner organizations have hosted biennial national scenic

---

[142] LCNHT Advisory Council Meeting, agenda, August 6 – 7, 1988, Kirkwood Motor Inn, Bismarck, North Dakota," August 7, 1988, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017: Lewis & Clark, 1988–1989, Lenexa FRC.

[143] Steven Elkinton, *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment* (Washington, DC: NPS, 2008), 32.

[144] DOI, NPS, *National Trails Assessment* (Washington, DC: DOI, NPS, 1986), 5–30, 131–55; An Act to amend the National Trails System Act, March 28, 1983, 97 Stat. 46 (P.L. 98-11).

[145] Elkinton, *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment*, 30.

[146] Warren H. Hill, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to X [form letter], June 23, 1988, FRC 79_96_0003_0011_0013, Box 11, Folder: L6017 National Trails System, Lenexa FRC; Gilbert, interview.

[147] Gilbert, interview; Partnership for the National Trails System, "Steve Elkinton," accessed October 11, 2017, http://pnts.org/new/steve-elkington/; Elkinton, *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment*, 30.

and historic trails conferences since those first two meetings.[148] These interagency trails meetings also led to the formation of the "Committee of 17," a coalition of partners advocating for increased budget and staff for national historic and scenic trails, which later changed its name to the Partnership for the National Trails System and organized annual "Hike the Hill" trail advocacy days in Washington, DC, starting in 1995.[149]



Figure 25. Tom Gilbert (*second from left*) and Steve Elkinton (*second from right*) at a "Hike the Hill" event, 2014. Source: American Hiking Society.

At some point in the early 1990s, the NPS created an internal National Scenic and Historic Trails Policy Task Force.[150] There is little information about this group apart from a "Proposed National Park Service Management Policy (Chapter 11) for National Scenic and National Historic Trails" report, dated March 1991.[151] The task force, comprising representatives from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, PNRO, and MWRO, as well as the Appalachian Trail project office and Steve Elkinton from WASO, drafted an NPS management policy for national scenic and historic trails in 1991. The report clarified the NPS role in management, partnerships, planning, cultural and natural resource management, compliance, and site certification. The policy directive is especially relevant for how the Trail managed compliance work in the post-bicentennial period. Authors of the

[148] Elkinton, *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment*, 32

[149] Elkinton, *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment*, 31.

[150] National Scenic and Historic Trails Policy Task Force, "Proposed National Park Service Management Policy (Chapter 11) for National Scenic and National Historic Trails," March 1991, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: National Trail System, LCNHT Central Files.

[151] For instance, Elkinton does not mention the National Scenic and Historic Trails Policy Task Force in his report on the National Trails System. Elkinton, *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment*.

report declared that segments, sites, and facilities were eligible for certification and recommended flexible certification procedures and renewal every five years.[152]



The MWRO and, once hired, Trail staff created a framework for administering the Lewis and Clark NHT in the 1980s and early 1990s. They determined NPS management responsibilities for establishing the Trail on the ground. Much of this task fell to partner organizations like the LCTHF and state-level Lewis and Clark trail committees. Minimal funding and staff rendered Trail development a slow and haphazard process that sometimes failed to meet congressionally mandated requirements. Despite delays, the certification process and trail signs facilitated relationships with partners and increased awareness of the new national historic trail.

[152] National Scenic and Historic Trails Policy Task Force, "Proposed National Park Service Management Policy (Chapter 11) for National Scenic and National Historic Trails," March 1991, Drawer L con't – end, Folder: National Trail System, LCNHT Central Files.

Chapter 5. Visitor Centers (1983–2017)

Introduction

Many Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT) partners have developed visitor centers along the Trail. New visitor center creation accelerated thanks to a 1983 amendment to the National Trails System Act (NTSA) introduced by Representative Douglas Bereuter (R-NE).[1] Bereuter's amendment permitted agencies managing national trails to provide funding for interpretive sites, which would, if possible, be managed by states:

> The appropriate Secretary may also provide for trail interpretation sites, which shall be located at historic sites along the route of any national scenic or national historic trail, in order to present information to the public about the trail, at the lowest possible cost, with emphasis on the portion of the trail passing through the State in which the site is located. Wherever possible, the sites shall be maintained by a State agency under a cooperative agreement between the appropriate Secretary and the State agency.[2]

The amendment included an exception to the land acquisition prohibition, allowing for the purchase of land for "one trail interpretation site . . . in each State crossed by the trail."[3] Bereuter had a potential visitor center in Nebraska City in mind, which would come to fruition later in the decade. His amendment became the basis of visitor center development along the Trail and led to a flood of proposals for state- or privately-run visitor centers.[4] The Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, which occurred from 2003 to 2006, led to a second rush of visitor center proposals and increased funding for new and existing projects. Lewis and Clark NHT staff were involved, to a greater or lesser degree, in helping to establish and support a number of visitor centers along the Trail.

[1] 129 Cong. Rec. H1167 (daily ed. March 15, 1983). The bill was first introduced in 1980. 126 Cong. Rec. H12341 (daily ed. December 11, 1980).

[2] An Act to amend the National Trails System Act by designating additional national scenic and historic trails, and for other purposes, March 28, 1983, 97 Stat. 46 (P.L. 98-11), Sec. 7(a)(1)(c).

[3] An Act to amend the National Trails System Act by designating additional national scenic and historic trails, and for other purposes, March 28, 1983, 97 Stat. 49 (P.L. 98-11).

[4] Richard Williams, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 2, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

Lewis & Clark State Historic Site (Hartford, IL)



Figure 26. The Lewis and Clark State Historic Site in Hartford, Illinois, is a certified site along the Lewis and Clark NHT and therefore displays the Lewis and Clark NHT marker. Pictured here, 2007.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

In 1990 in Hartford, Illinois, the Lewis and Clark Society of America (a group loosely affiliated with the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation [LCTHF]), pushed the state of Illinois to appropriate $440,000 to build an interpretive center commemorating Camp Dubois, despite state reluctance. It also secured $115,000 in federal funds for the National Park Service (NPS) to purchase a 39.11-acre tract of agricultural lands adjacent to lands owned by the state of Illinois and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE).[5] That sale went through in May 1990, with the idea that the state of Illinois would then build an interpretive center on the federal lands.[6] This made the Hartford

[5] Department of the Interior (DOI), "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail-Wood River Interpretive Center," briefing statement, September 10, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Central Files, Omaha, NE (hereafter LCNHT Central Files).

[6] DOI, Briefing Statement, March 2, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

site, along with Nebraska City, one of only two places where the Lewis and Clark NHT owned land at that time.[7]

Plans were for the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency (IHPA) to run the center once it was completed. The state of Illinois, however, wanted to exchange 14 state-owned acres for the NPS-owned acreage on which the new interpretive center was to be located.[8] Since this had never been done before, the NPS Midwest Regional Office (MWRO) asked for an opinion from the Department of the Interior (DOI) regional solicitor. A DOI internal briefing statement on the matter from March 1992 stated,

> The Regional Solicitor has determined that NPS does have authority, under the National Trails System Act, to exchange lands provided we make the determination (our decision) that the land lies in the "right-of-way" for the trail. However, the solicitor recommends that we explore the State's willingness to accept a permanent easement in place of an exchange of fee interests.[9]

While the NPS explored alternatives, Congress appropriated an additional $60,000 for the NPS to "conduct preliminary engineering studies on the site and prepare a concept plan for the site and facility."[10] From the beginning, the cooperating parties agreed that the IHPA would design, construct, and operate the visitor center.[11]

In 1997, Trail coordinator Dick Williams planned to enter into an agreement with the state of Illinois by which the NPS would transfer its land to Illinois but not contribute to operating expenses, as per the NTSA.[12] By 1999, the state of Illinois and Congress had each appropriated over $4 million for design and construction of the facility.[13] Still, the problem of land ownership remained. The NPS wanted to transfer the land to the state, but it needed congressional authority to do so. Representative Jerry Costello (D-IL) therefore introduced legislation in 1999 that would allow

---

[7] Williams, interview.

[8] DOI, Briefing Statement, March 2, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[9] DOI, Briefing Statement, March 2, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[10] DOI, National Park Service (NPS), "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail-Wood River Interpretive Center," briefing statement, September 10, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re:CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[11] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail-Wood River Interpretive Center," briefing statement, September 10, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re:CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[12] Dick Williams to Donald L. Hastings, Jr., June 16, 1997, Drawer L Cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL General Correspondence, LCNHT Central Files.

[13] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail-Wood River Interpretive Center," briefing statement, September 10, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files; DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

for the transfer of NPS property to the state of Illinois at no cost, which MWRO Director Bill Schenk endorsed.[14] NPS officials saw this site as a "very important point on the Lewis and Clark NHT" because the Expedition had started there, and MWRO and Trail staff fought for this interpretive center more than they did for the Nebraska City center. Also, since a "significant amount funding and planning" had already gone into the project, NPS leadership supported the land transfer to finish it.[15] Costello's bill passed easily with its support from the NPS and with the late 1990s anticipatory publicity surrounding the bicentennial.[16] In late 2002, thanks in large part to Costello's sustained efforts, the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center opened in Hartford, Illinois.[17] Trail staff provided interpretive assistance and funded small projects at the center, such as the purchase of blacksmithing tools in 2014.[18]



Figure 27. The Lewis and Clark Visitor Center in Hartford, Illinois, which opened in 2003. Pictured here, 2007.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[14] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail-Wood River Interpretive Center," briefing statement, September 10, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[15] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail-Wood River Interpretive Center," briefing statement, September 10, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[16] Act of December 9, 1999, 113 Stat. 1743 (P.L. 106-157); Dick Williams recounted that the bill passed with little public input, as part of "some late-night deal." Williams, interview.

[17] Jerry Costello, House of Representatives, to Robert Newston. April 25, 2000, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: Legislation/WASO, LCNHT Central Files.

[18] "Lewis & Clark State Park (IL)," LECL Squad Meeting FY 14, July 29, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Squad Meeting Notes, May 25, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files.



Figure 28. The Lewis and Clark Visitor Center in Hartford, Illinois, includes a replica of the Camp River Dubois where the Corps of Discovery crew stayed over the winter of 1803–1804. Pictured here, 2007.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Missouri River Basin Lewis & Clark Visitor Center (Nebraska City, NE)

Nebraska City won a Trail-affiliated interpretive center in the early 1990s. The campaign for it was led by Nancy Hoch, a Nebraska City tourism booster who had run for Senate in 1986 and had close ties to Representative Bereuter, Ronald Reagan, and NPS Midwest Regional Director Bill Schenk.[19] The NPS hesitated to support a visitor center in Nebraska City for which land acquisition would be required, since it would fulfill Nebraska's one allowance of land acquisition for an interpretive center, as per the 1983 NTSA amendment, while other sites in Nebraska were more historically significant to the Corps of Discovery.[20] Hoch and other local citizens, however, lobbied Bereuter effectively, and the NPS opinion did not factor into legislative decisions.[21] Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE) joined Bereuter in support of the Nebraska City visitor center. Citizens from other Nebraska towns along the Trail, who had hoped their towns might win the Nebraska Lewis and Clark NHT visitor center, opposed the Nebraska City initiative and wrote negative editorials in Nebraska papers.[22]

---

[19] Williams, interview; William Robbins, "2 Women Leading in Nebraska Race," *New York Times*, March 30, 1986, http://www.nytimes.com/1986/03/30/us/2-women-leading-in-nebraska-race.html.

[20] Williams, interview.

[21] DOI, Briefing Statement, Nebraska, prepared for Assistant Secretary Hayden, June 5, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[22] DOI, Briefing Statement, Nebraska, prepared for Assistant Secretary Hayden, June 5, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

Bereuter used legislative strategies to sidestep skepticism that Nebraska City was the right place for an interpretive center. At the behest of Hoch, Bereuter slipped language into fiscal year (FY) 1990 federal appropriations legislation that mandated the NPS plan the center, followed by appropriations in 1992 of $1.6 million to carry out preliminary plans and designs.[23] The NPS acquired the first tract of land (64.92 acres) for the visitor center site in March 1992 for $84,400.[24] This purchase made Nebraska City one of only two sites where the Lewis and Clark NHT owned land along the route. Local organizers wanted to purchase a second piece of land for an overlook, but Congress placed a hold on further federal expenditures until the nonprofit managing the site raised matching non-federal funds to support the center's design.[25] This was because under the 1983 amendment to the NTSA, trail visitor centers were to be maintained by a non-federal entity, if possible. While the Nebraska Game and Parks Commission had "indicated an interest in operating and maintaining the site," the state had made no formal commitment as of 1992.[26] The congressional hold on funds lasted several years as a result of poorly defined partnerships, stalling development at the center.[27]

In 1999, Nancy Hoch incorporated the Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Interpretive Trail and Visitor Center Foundation (MRBLCC Foundation) as a non-profit organization to facilitate fundraising for the center.[28] Lewis and Clark NHT Coordinator Dick Williams met with the foundation regularly.[29] The NPS solicited bids for the construction of the center, after the MRBLCC

---

[23] Manager, Central Team, Denver Service Center (DSC), to Regional Director, Midwest Region, NPS, memorandum, October 17, 1990, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1989–1993, LCNHT Central Files; DOI, Briefing Statement, Nebraska, prepared for Assistant Secretary Hayden, June 5, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; Williams, interview.

[24] DOI, Briefing Statement, Nebraska, prepared for Assistant Secretary Hayden, June 5, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[25] DOI, Briefing Statement, Nebraska, prepared for Assistant Secretary Hayden, June 5, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[26] DOI, Briefing Statement, Nebraska, prepared for Assistant Secretary Hayden, June 5, 1992, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; An Act to Amend the National Trails System Act, March 28, 1983, 97 Stat. 46 (P.L. 98-11), Sec. 7(a)(1)(c).

[27] "Nebraska City Planning Underway: Federal Funds Lacking for Many Trails Centers," *We Proceeded On* 17, no. 1 (February 1991): 27, originally published in the *Lincoln Journal*, December 26, 1990; DOI, Briefing Statement, Nebraska, prepared for Assistant Secretary Hayden, June 5, 1992. Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[28] Nebraska Secretary of State, Corporate and Business Search, "Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Trail and Visitor Center Foundation," accessed October 19, 2017, https://www.nebraska.gov/sos/corp/corpsearch.cgi?acct-number=10005715.

[29] Williams, interview. Midwest Regional Director William Schenk later served on the board of directors. Nebraska Secretary of State, Corporate and Business Search, "Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Trail and Visitor Center Foundation," accessed October 19, 2017, https://www.nebraska.gov/sos/corp/corpsearch.cgi?acct-number=10005715.

Foundation raised matching funds for the development of the center and installation of the exhibits. The Missouri River Basin Lewis & Clark Visitor Center opened to the public in 2004, operated by the foundation.[30]



Figure 29. Replica pirogues on the Missouri River in Nebraska City during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 2004. Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The NPS owned the property that the center sat on, but MWRO leadership wanted to transfer ownership to the MRBLCC Foundation.[31] In 2005 and again in 2007, members of Congress unsuccessfully introduced measures to convey the land.[32] In a Senate hearing, Sue Masica of the NPS

[30] Missouri River Basin Lewis & Clark Visitor Center, "About: Funding/Foundation," accessed May 15, 2017, https://lewisandclarkvisitorcenter.org/about/.

[31] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[32] *Designate As Wilderness Lands In Rocky Mountain National Park; Japanese Americans Confinement Sites; Convey Land To Lewis And Clark Visitor Center; Including Col Barrett Farm In The NPS; Designate The National Museum Of Wildlife Art And Grand Teton National Park Land Addition, Hearings on S. 1510, S. 1719, S. 1957 S. 2034, S. 2252, S. 2403, H.R. 1492, H.R. 394, Before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*, 109th Cong. 1 (2006); "S.471 - A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey to The Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark

explained the need to transfer the land to the foundation and how the transfer would ultimately save the federal government money:

> The NTSA specifies that, wherever possible, the facility is to be operated by a non-federal entity. The Foundation was established as the non-federal operating partner and raised the necessary funds. The NPS has provided approximately $1.1 million to purchase the land, to provide design and construction supervision services, and to develop the facilities and exhibits. The Foundation raised about $2.2 million toward the cost and development of the visitor center.
>
> By owning the Center, the Foundation could collect entrance and special use fees to supplement donations for operations and maintenance . . . . The passage of S. 1957 would authorize $150,000 a year for 10 years to assist in the operation of the facility. The NPS spends approximately $50,000 more than this amount to subsidize current operations. The savings would then be used to assist with other trail partnerships and perhaps contingency issues in other national park units of the Midwest Region.[33]

Congress finally conveyed the land as part of the Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008 (CNRA), which also authorized the appropriations of $150,000 per year for up to ten years to assist with the operations of the center.[34]

Following the passage of the CNRA, Trail staff prepared documents and materials needed to transfer ownership of the center from the NPS to the MRBLCC Foundation. These included a draft memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the NPS and the foundation, a new cooperative agreement between the two parties to enable transfer of the annual operating support and to clarify expectations of each party, and a briefing statement for proposed entry fees.[35] The NPS finalized the transfer of the land and associated road easements to the foundation in 2009.[36] After the transfer, Congress failed to appropriate the annual funding authorized in the CNRA, which led to persistent financial troubles at the center. Trail leadership tried to scrape together NPS funding for the center in early years, but the center continued to face financial stresses.[37]

From 2005 to 2018, the NPS has provided significant funding for the center's operation. In FY 2005, the NPS provided $2,000,000 for exhibits at the center. The NPS spent approximately

---

Interpretive Trail and Visitor Center Foundation, Inc. certain Federal land associated with the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in Nebraska, to be used as an historical interpretive site along the trail," 110th Cong. (2007); Adams, "Superintendent's 2005 Annual Report," March 20, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[33] *Designate As Wilderness* . . . , 109th Cong. 11–2 (2006) (statement of Sue Masica, Associate Director, Park Planning, Facilities, and Lands, National Park Service, Department of the Interior).

[34] Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008, May 8, 2008, 122 Stat. 796 (P.L. 110–229).

[35] Stephen E. Adams, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 8.

[36] Staff Meeting, minutes, June 3, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LECL Squad Meeting, agenda, May 5, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1

[37] Mark Weekley, "From the Superintendent: Shortage of Funds Causes Concerns for Visitor Center," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2014): 2–3; LECL Squad Meeting FY 14, notes, July 15, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

$600,000 cumulatively from FY 2005 to FY 2008 to support operations at the center. In 2008, Congress authorized annual funding for the center of up to $150,000 per year for 10 years, but Congress never appropriated any funding. Once ownership was transferred from NPS in 2009, MWRO and Lewis and Clark NHT used agency operational funds to help support the center. For detailed NPS appropriations to the Missouri River Basin Lewis & Clark Visitor Center from FY 2009 to FY 2018, not including Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grant funds, see Table 2.

Table 2. Midwest Region and Lewis and Clark NHT operational funds provided to the Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Visitor Center in Nebraska City, Nebraska.

Fiscal Year (FY)	Amount of NPS Funding Provided	Source
FY 2009	$150,000.00	MWRO
FY 2010	$150,000.00	MWRO
FY 2011	$150,000.00	MWRO
FY 2012	$150,000.00	MWRO
FY 2013	$ 50,000.00	MWRO
FY 2014	$130,000.00	Lewis and Clark NHT
FY 2015	$150,000.00	Lewis and Clark NHT
FY 2016 (obligated in FY 15)	$ 70,000.00	Lewis and Clark NHT
FY 2016 (obligated in FY16)	$ 80,000.00	Lewis and Clark NHT
FY 2017 (obligated in FY 16)	$150,000.00	Lewis and Clark NHT
FY 2018 (obligated in FY 17)	$ 50,000.00	Lewis and Clark NHT

Western Historic Trails Center (Council Bluffs, IA)

Council Bluffs, Iowa, obtained a federally funded national historic trails visitor center over NPS objections. The City of Council Bluffs had first requested NPS assistance to plan for a trails visitor center in 1986. The Western Historic Trails Center proposal received strong local support, and Representative Jim Lightfoot (R-IA) and Senators Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Chuck Grassley (R-IA) strongly and consistently supported it.[38] In 1987, Representatives Lightfoot and Howard C. Nielson (R-UT) introduced legislation that would have established a Western Historic Trails Center at

[38] DOI, Briefing Statement, Iowa, prepared for Secretary Lujan, April 30, 1991, Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

Council Bluffs as a unit of the National Park System.[39] Senators Harkin and Grassley introduced corresponding legislation in the Senate, with support from the Council Bluffs Chamber of Commerce, historian Gary Moulton, and Iowa state legislators. The proposed legislation was unsuccessful.[40]

In 1989, Senators Harkin and Grassley introduced a new bill authorizing a trails interpretation center at Council Bluffs. Unlike the prior version, the senators called for the center to be private, rather than an NPS site. The goal of the Council Bluffs center was to serve as "a central information, archival, and interpretive facility devoted to the vital role of the western trails in the development of the United States."[41] The bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire lands for the site, accept donations to fund the center, enter into cooperative agreements to operate and maintain the facility, and fund up to 80 percent or $10 million of the center, whichever was less. Non-federal funds had to match federal funds on a two-to-one basis.[42]

In this cooperative—rather than NPS-led—arrangement, the MWRO offered to "provide technical assistance in planning and preparation of materials," but the state and city would work together to create those materials. NPS Deputy Director Denis P. Galvin described the agency's opposition to federal funding for the center:

> We believe our role should be limited to providing technical assistance to the city and private interests, which we can provide under existing authority. While we have made no formal estimates of the costs of the proposed center, we understand from staff discussions with the city and other proponents that a development cost of as much as $30 million is being considered. We cannot support Federal funds for such a project. There is no historic fabric here that would be preserved and protected, and the Center would be contemporary construction. We believe, in light of the scarce Federal dollars available for new and existing parks, that our funds should be spent on high priority resource needs instead [43]

Galvin concluded that while the NTSA authorized the NPS to provide for interpretation along national historic trail routes, Council Bluffs was not a priority location since none of the

---

[39] 133 Cong. Rec. 5667 (March 12, 1987).

[40] 133 Cong. Rec. D668 (daily ed. October 6, 1987); 133 Cong. Rec. 18804 (July 7, 1987).

[41] *Harpers Ferry; Niobrara River; and Council Bluffs, Iowa Trails Interpretation Center, Hearings on S. 85, S. 280, and S. 338, Before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks, and Forests of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*, 101st Cong. 15-19 (1989); A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the development of a trails interpretation center in the city of Council Bluffs, Iowa, and for other purposes, S. 338, 101st Cong. (1989).

[42] A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the development of a trails interpretation center in the city of Council Bluffs, Iowa, and for other purposes, S. 338, 101st Cong. (1989).

[43] *Harpers Ferry* . . . , 101st Cong., 102 (statement of Denis P. Galvin, Deputy Director, NPS).

Comprehensive Management Plans (CMPs) of the three associated trails—Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, and Lewis and Clark—recommended an interpretive center at that site.[44]

Despite Galvin's objections, Harkin and Grassley's second bill sailed through Congress and President George H. W. Bush signed it into law in November 1989.[45] It authorized $8.4 million to plan and design the Western Historic Trails Center, to be operated by Western Historic Trails Center, Inc., and the Iowa State Historical Society, as long as those partners raised $4.2 million in matching funds.[46] Although the state and a private organization would cooperate to manage the center, the DOI was responsible for public review, a draft comprehensive plan, and an environmental assessment.[47] The MWRO led these review processes, with input from Tom Gilbert, manager of the Lewis and Clark NHT.[48] The Western Historic Trails Center officially opened in 1997 and became a central information point for the Mormon Pioneer, Oregon, and Lewis and Clark national historic trails.[49] Lewis and Clark NHT staff continued to be involved in providing interpretive and planning assistance to the center.[50] Support from the NPS and from the state of Iowa has greatly declined in recent years. In 2017, Congressman David Young (R-IA), introduced legislation that would end the NPS reversionary interest in this site, effectively ending the NPS role in the center. As of 2017, the future of the center was uncertain.[51]

Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center (Washburn, ND)

In the 1970s, the McLean County Historical Society constructed a replica of Fort Mandan in Washburn, North Dakota, along the Missouri River. In 1991, the Lewis & Clark Fort Mandan Foundation formed to raise funds for an interpretive center near the replica.[52] In 1997, the

---

[44] *Harpers Ferry* . . . , 101st Cong., 103 (statement of Denis P. Galvin, Deputy Director, NPS).

[45] Act of November 29, 1989, 103 Stat. 1697 (P.L. 101-191).

[46] DOI, Briefing Statement, Iowa, prepared for Secretary Lujan, April 30, 1991. Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[47] DOI, Briefing Statement, Iowa, prepared for Secretary Lujan, April 30, 1991. Drawer A46—C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[48] Thomas Gilbert, Manager, National Trails Project Office, Midwest Region, to Midwest Regional Director, NPS, memorandum, November 29, 1990, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 LECL NHT 1989–1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[49] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[50] "Regarding the road expansion project near the Western Historic Trails Center: Iowa Department of Transportation has stated they will only offer $1.2 million for the land they want. Federal Highways has determined this is not a 4-F issue." Staff Meeting Minutes, April 1, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[51] Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017.

[52] "Our History," Lewis & Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, accessed May 22, 2017, http://www.fortmandan.com/about/our-history/; Williams, interview.

foundation opened the North Dakota Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center at Fort Mandan in Washburn, North Dakota, with financial support from the state of North Dakota, private donations, and the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA).[53] The foundation assumed control of the nearby Fort Mandan replica. David Borlaug, a member of the LCTHF board, served as chairman of the board for the new interpretive center.[54] The Fort Mandan Foundation received NPS Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants from the Lewis and Clark NHT in the late 1990s and funding from the Trail's Partner Support Program in later years to support interpretive exhibits and programming.[55] In 2015, the Fort Mandan Foundation transferred management and all assets in the center to the State of North Dakota.[56]



Figure 30. The McLean County Historical Society built a replica of Fort Mandan in the 1970s. Pictured here, 2006. Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[53] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[54] Martin L. Erickson, "From the Editor's Desk," *We Proceeded On* 23, no. 2 (May 1997): 3.

[55] Mark Weekley, "North Dakota Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Celebrates 15 Years," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2012): 2–3; Weekley, "From the Superintendent: Partners Grow, Adapt, Expand," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2013): 3.

[56] Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017.

Pompeys Pillar National Monument (Pompeys Pillar, MT)

In 1806, William Clark engraved his name on a sandstone butte next to the Yellowstone River, leaving a unique physical remnant of the Corps of Discovery. This rock, called Pompeys Pillar, had been designated a National Historic Landmark in 1965, but it remained in private ownership.[57] The owners allowed visitors to access the site for many years, but increasing liability risks in the late 1980s prompted them to close the site to the public. By 1990, John Foote, the landowner whose property included Pompeys Pillar, had retired and wanted to sell his land to the United States.[58] Foote called Gilbert and expressed his desire that the historic rock be owned by the Lewis and Clark NHT. Gilbert agreed and hoped that the NPS would purchase the land through the amended NTSA's land acquisition authority for interpretive centers.[59] Under Gilbert's instructions, Foote worked with his congressman to request that the NPS purchase the land. When the letter made its way down the chain of command to Gilbert, he and the MWRO director concluded that the amended NTSA gave the NPS the authority to purchase the land. However, National Trails System Coordinator Steven Elkinton disagreed, causing the NPS to back out as a potential buyer.[60]

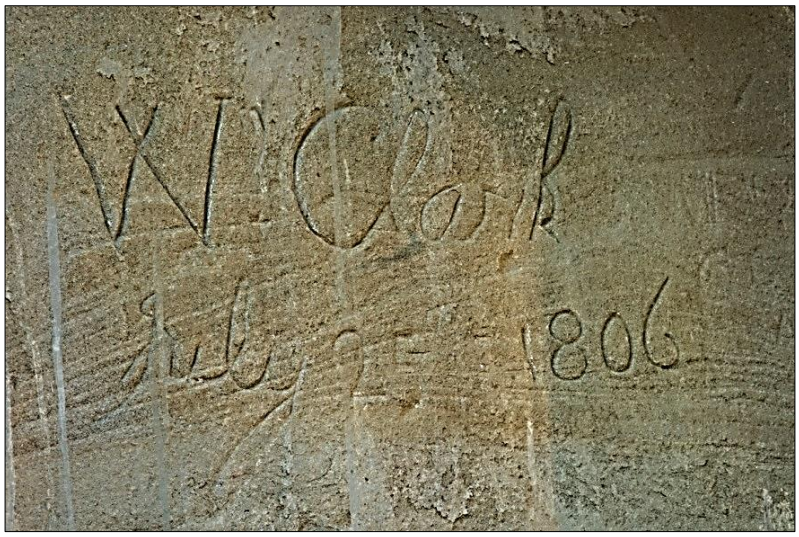


Figure 31. William Clark's engraved signature in the rock outcropping known as Pompeys Pillar in Montana. Pictured here, 2012.

Source: Bureau of Land Management.

At that point, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) offered Foote $632,000 for the land. Foote rejected the offer and countered with a price 50 percent higher, citing its historic value.

---

[57] Friends of Pompeys Pillar, "History," accessed May 24, 2017, http://www.pompeyspillar.org/history/.

[58] Thomas Gilbert, interview by Emily Greenwald, June 14, 2017, Middleton, Wisconsin; Thomas L. Gilbert, Manager, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT), memorandum of telephone call with John Foote, owner, Pompeys Pillar National Historic Landmark (NHL), November 30, 1990, FRC 79_99_0002_0009_0010, Box 9, Folder: L6017: Lewis & Clark Trail, 1990–1991, Federal Records Center, Lenexa, KS (hereafter Lenexa FRC).

[59] An Act to amend the National Trails System Act, Mach 28, 1983, 97 Stat. 46 (P.L. 98-11), Sec. 7(a)(1)(c).

[60] Gilbert, interview.

Gilbert, discouraged by the NPS decision not to purchase the land, still hoped that a "generous individual or corporation" might be found who would be willing to buy the property and then donate it to the NPS. Gilbert worked with the LCTHF to find such an individual, but to no avail.[61] In 1991, Montana Senators Max Baucus (D-MT) and Conrad Burns (R-MT) presented legislation authorizing BLM to purchase the land, re-open the site to the public, and "provide a badly needed recreation site for the people of Billings and eastern Montana."[62] Congress approved the request, and the BLM purchased 366 acres containing the site from Foote the following year.[63]

Over the next ten years, BLM officials worked with the Pompeys Pillar Historical Association, later known as Friends of Pompeys Pillar, to provide interpretation at the site and to construct a new center next to the butte.[64] In 1998, plans for a BLM visitor center at the site estimated costs at $3.5 million, with a targeted completion date of 2003.[65] These plans hit a snag in 2000, when United Harvest, a Portland-based grain company, began construction on a grain handling facility 1,200 yards south of Pompeys Pillar. The LCTHF and the Friends of Pompeys Pillar publicly fought this industrial development so close to the national historic landmark.[66] Lewis and Clark NHT staff stayed abreast of the controversy, noting that it was a "very political situation" and that "Congress is not very happy about this." But the NPS let the BLM take the lead in addressing the problem, since the BLM owned the site.[67]



Figure 32. Pompeys Pillar and the BLM Visitor Center in Pompeys Pillar, Montana, 2012.

Source: Bureau of Land Management

[61] Thomas L. Gilbert, Manager, LCNHT, memorandum of telephone call with John Foote, owner, Pompeys Pillar NHL, November 30, 1990, FRC 79_99_0002_0009_0010, Box 9, Folder: L6017: Lewis & Clark Trail, 1990–1991, Lenexa FRC.

[62] 137 Cong. Rec. S13402 (daily ed., September 20, 1991).

[63] "BLM Purchases Historic Pompeys Pillar," *We Proceeded On* 18, no. 1 (January 1992): 29.

[64] Friends of Pompeys Pillar, "History," accessed May 15, 2017, http://www.pompeyspillar.org/history/.

[65] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[66] The company was United Harvest, LLC, out of Portland, OR. Jeffrey Olson, "Fire Update; industrial site threatens Pompey's Pillar; private lands inventory," *We Proceeded On* 26, no. 4 (November 2000): 6; Olson, "Pompey's Pillar, Breaks closer to Monument status; respecting sacred sites," *We Proceeded On* 27, no. 1 (February 2001): 8.

[67] "Lewis and Clark Staff Meeting," October 20, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

Public outcry against the grain processing facility led President Bill Clinton to use the authority of the 1906 Antiquities Act to designate 51 acres of BLM land at Pompeys Pillar as a National Monument in January 2001.[68] LCTHF members hoped that this designation would deter United Harvest from completing work on the grain-handling facility, but, despite the designation, Montana issued the company an air quality permit to proceed with construction and United Harvest completed construction of the facility soon after.[69] Meanwhile, the BLM continued work on the interpretive center, which opened in 2006. That interpretive center remains open seasonally and the Friends of Pompeys Pillar assist with visitor services to the public in the summer.[70]

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center (Great Falls, MT)

In 1984, Representative Ron Marlenee (R-MT) and Senator John Melcher (D-MT) introduced bills to establish the Lewis and Clark National Historic Site near Great Falls, Montana. Their bills would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to build an interpretive center, which would be run jointly by the state of Montana and the NPS, at the site of Giant Springs State Park and allowed for appropriations of up to $5 million for construction.[71] When his bill was unsuccessful, Marlenee reintroduced it in 1985 with the backing of the LCTHF and its Portage Route Chapter in Great Falls, but it never reached committee.[72] This was in part because it lacked support of NPS officials, who opposed a visitor center at Giant Springs because it was not a site of historic significance along the Expedition's route.[73] In 1987, Marlenee and Melcher introduced companion bills to create a Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center in Great Falls that, unlike their earlier

[68] Proclamation No. 7396, 66 Fed. Reg. 7351 (Jan. 17, 2001); Clinton also designated the Upper Missouri River Breaks National Monument in central Montana before leaving office. Proclamation No. 7398, 66 Fed. Reg. 7359 (Jan. 17, 2001).

[69] Jeffrey Olson, "Pompey's Pillar, Breaks closer to Monument status; respecting sacred sites," *We Proceeded On* 27, no. 1 (February 2001): 8; Jeffrey Gordon Olson, interview by Nicolai Kryloff, May 15, 2017, Washington, DC; "Grain Car Consolidation Facility Impact Analysis," in *2010 Montana State Rail Plan* 2010, 5–9, accessed October 11, 2017, https://www.mdt.mt.gov/publications/docs/brochures/railways/railplan_sect5.pdf.

[70] Friends of Pompeys Pillar, "Historical Timeline," accessed October 11, 2017, http://www.pompeyspillar.org/history/.

[71] "Subcommittee hears testimony regarding L&C visitor center," *We Proceeded On* 14, no. 1 (February 1988): 23.

[72] A bill to authorize the establishment of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Site in the State of Montana, H.R.1064, 99th Cong. (1986), accessed January 12, 2017, https://www.congress.gov/bill/99th-congress/house-bill/1064/; "Great Falls L. & C. enthusiasts Organize New Foundation Chapter," *We Proceeded On* 9, no. 3 (August 1983): 1; Margaret Gorski, interview by Emily Greenwald, February 23, 2017, Missoula, Montana.

[73] 133 Cong. Rec. 24704 (1987); An Act of October 28, 1988, 102 Stat. 2766 (P.L. 100-552).

bills, assigned the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) responsibility for running the center, thereby skirting NPS opposition.[74]

Marlenee and Melcher found a willing partner in the USFS. The Lewis and Clark National Forest had its headquarters in Great Falls, and advocates of the interpretive center from the LCTHF Portage Chapter had close connections with the USFS. Marlenee recommended to other lawmakers that they think twice before working with the NPS, if they had an option:

> I also want to note for the record that in committee we changed the management of the center, from the National Park Service to the U.S. Forest Service, which was one of the major concerns of the administration. I think that other Members who have similar opportunities in their districts should review my bill before they automatically place the National Park Service as the managing agency. We must look to other agencies such as the U.S. Forest Service, and the Bureau of Land Management to provide more of our Nation's growing demand for recreation and for the preservation and interpretation of our history.[75]

On October 28, 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed the legislation authorizing a Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center in Great Falls. The final legislation designated the USFS as the managing agency, authorized $3.5 million for construction of the center, and provided for the LCTHF to supply educational and interpretive materials for the center.[76] The act also changed the agency responsible for a visitor center at the Upper Missouri Wild and Scenic River (which had been designated in 1976 and would later become the Upper Missouri River Breaks National Monument), from the NPS to the BLM.[77]

Financial challenges plagued USFS efforts to build the Great Falls interpretive center. Although planning started in 1989, lack of appropriated funds in 1991 stalled design work. The Lewis and Clark National Forest ran out of money in the fall of 1990 after spending $200,000 on conceptual designs, and the USFS still needed another $9.5 million to complete the building.[78] The state of Montana agreed to donate 50 acres of land west of the existing Giant Springs State Park for the project, and state legislators hoped to procure state funding to relocate a road. The Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Fund, Inc., a nonprofit incorporated by members of the LCTHF, raised

---

[74] Dick Williams recalls that "Montana wanted an interpretive center. And they wanted the Park Service to come in and do it. And the Park Service refused to do it." Williams, interview.

[75] 134 Cong. Rec. 18897 (July 26, 1988).

[76] An Act to authorize the establishment of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center in the State of Montana, and for other purposes, October 28, 1988, 102 Stat. 2766 (P.L. 100-552); "Support Needed to Help Garner Center Funds," *We Proceeded On* 17, no. 1 (February 1991): 29, originally published in *Great Falls Tribune*, November 16, 1990.

[77] An Act to authorize the establishment of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center in the State of Montana, and for other purposes, October 28, 1988, 102 Stat. 2768 (P.L. 100-552).

[78] Jane Weber, "Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Comes Into Focus," *We Proceeded On* 17, no. 2 (May 1991): 11.

$300,000 in order to release $700,000 in state funds for the project.[79] Back in Congress, Marlenee secured a commitment from the USFS in 1991 to pay for half of the construction and development costs (a total of $9.45 million) in FY 2003.[80] Private funds flowed in soon after from the Montana Power Co., William P. Sherman (a co-founder and former president of the LCTHF), and the Great Falls Shipping Association.[81]

Groundbreaking occurred in 1996 and the center officially opened in June 1998 (Bill Clinton was scheduled to speak at the center's grand opening on July 4, 1998, but he did not make it).[82] Although the NPS did not fund the construction and Marlenee had made sure that the NPS would not operate the facility, the USFS and NPS signed a cooperative agreement to house a NPS interpretive specialist at the Great Falls center.[83] Laurie Heupel was hired into that position in May 1999. Heupel, who reported to Lewis and Clark NHT Coordinator Dick Williams, also functioned as a liaison to the LCTHF, since the organization's headquarters and archives were in the same building.[84] Jane Weber of the USFS was appointed director of the center, after having shepherded the project through construction and design phases.[85] When Heupel left her position as interpretive specialist in 2006, Trail Superintendent Steve Adams changed the position's duty station from Great Falls to Omaha, in order to provide interpretive expertise at headquarters.[86] Removing that position and the NPS-funded automobile in Great Falls caused some problems in the relationship between Trail staff and the USFS, but they did not last, and the USFS soon hired a USFS interpreter into a similar position at the center.[87]

---

[79] "Artist Donates Proceeds for Great Falls Interpretive Center," *We Proceeded On* 18, no. 2 (May 1992): 31.

[80]; *Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1991: Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations*, 101st Cong., 580–81 (June 12, 1991).

[81] "MPC Donates $1.1 Million to Center," *We Proceeded On* 20, no. 2 (May 1994): 29–30, originally published in *Great Falls Tribune,* February 12, 1994; "Community Committed to Finding Funding for Center," *We Proceeded On* 19, no. 4 (November 1993): 29; Gorski, interview; "LCTHF co-founder Bill Sherman," *We Proceeded On* 19, no. 2 (May 2003): 48.

[82] Photo Caption, "The shovels were poised and ready for the groundbreaking ceremony at the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great falls in August," *We Proceeded On* 22, no. 4 (November 1996): 30; DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[83] Dale Bosworth, Regional Forester, U.S. Forest Service (USFS), to William W. Schenk, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, November 6, 1997, Drawer No Label [drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC – Early issues, Subfolder: NLCBC Meeting 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[84] DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[85] Gorski, interview; Williams, interview; DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[86] LCNHT, "Core Operations Analysis Final Report," May 30, 2007, LCNHT Digital Files, 19.

[87] Adams said, "We did have some bumps in the road with the Forest Service facility in Great Falls, because we had that one paid position which had been out there for quite a while. And as far as administering the Trail, that really wasn't addressing anything beyond that local area. Because it was essentially turned into a Forest Service resource." Stephen E.



Figure 33. Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center, Great Falls, Montana, 2012.

Source: U.S. Forest Service.

Lewis and Clark National Historical Park (Astoria, OR)

Fort Clatsop, located in Astoria, Oregon, was the log fort in Clatsop territory where the Corps of Discovery spent the winter of 1805–1806. In 1955, the state of Oregon erected a replica fort near its original site, and in 1958, President Eisenhower signed legislation establishing Fort Clatsop National Memorial.[88] Fort Clatsop's mission centered solely on interpretation of the Corps of Discovery, the only NPS-managed site along the route to do so.

In 2004, during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Congress changed the name of Fort Clatsop National Memorial to Lewis and Clark National Historical Park.[89] Introduced by Senator Maria Cantwell (D-WA) and Representative Brian Baird (D-WA), the Lewis and Clark National Historical Park Act of 2004 (S. 2167, H. R. 3819) protected the nearby areas of Dismal Nitch, Cape Disappointment, and Station Camp, and authorized further cooperation with the states of Oregon

Adams, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 3, 2017, Oro Valley, Arizona; Mary Ellen Ergle, "Mary Ellen Ergle: My Story," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (June 2015): 8–10.

[88] An Act to provide for the establishment of Fort Clatsop National Memorial in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes, May 29, 1958, 72 Stat. 153 (P.L. 85-435).

[89] *Truman Ecological and Historic Preserve; Martin Luther Kind Land Exchange; Establish Lewis and Clark National Historical Park; and Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, Hearings on H.R. 1616, S. 1672, S. 1789, S. 2167, S. 2173, Before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*, 108th Cong. 2-3 (2004).

and Washington.[90] Washington-based historian Rex Ziak relayed to Congress that "local people are very excited" about this expansion of the park.[91]



Figure 34. Living history presentations at Fort Clatsop, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park, Astoria, Oregon, 2013.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Around the same time, Fort Clatsop's interpretive approach shifted. The NPS had presented the story of Fort Clatsop from the point of view of Lewis, Clark, and other members of the Corps of Discovery for most of the site's history. That changed in the early 2000s, thanks in part to the efforts of Charlotte Basch, the daughter of Dick Basch (the American Indian liaison for the Trail beginning in 2003) and a member of the Clatsop-Nehalem Tribe. In the early 2000s, Charlotte, Dick, and Superintendent Chip Jenkins remade the park's interpretive film into one that did not portray Indians as "sickly, scrawny, dirty, cowering" or imply that the Clatsop people who had lived in the region had gone extinct, but instead told the story from the American Indian point of view.[92] After almost fifty years of telling the story of the Corps of Discovery without regard to the perspective of the Clatsop people, the NPS flipped the narrative at Fort Clatsop and finally told the story of the Corps of Discovery from the riverbanks, rather than from the boat.

[90] *Truman Ecological and Historic Preserve* . . . , 108th Cong. 2-3 (2004). Lewis and Clark National Historical Park Act of 2004, S. 2167, 108th Cong. (2004).

[91] *Truman Ecological and Historic Preserve* . . . , 108th Cong. 25 (2004).

[92] Basch, interview.



Figure 35. Dick and Roberta Basch and two of their children, Lorraine and Charlotte, at a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial event in Eagle Butte, South Dakota, 2004.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

In October 2005, the replica Fort Clatsop burned down in an apparent accident. Investigations by the NPS, the federal bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives, and Oregon fire departments after the incident concluded that the fire started from embers left in one of the fort's fireplaces from living history demonstrations earlier in the day. The loss of the fifty-year old replica fort was compounded by the timing of the fire: only six weeks before the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemorations were scheduled to occur at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park.[93] The bicentennial events began near Fort Clatsop before the fort was rebuilt, and the reconstruction process became an integral part of the bicentennial commemorations in Astoria. Over 600 volunteers participated in the fort's reconstruction and the construction of the 6.5 mile "Fort to Sea Trail" that stretched from Fort Clatsop to the Pacific Ocean.[94]

Federal Partner Sites

In addition to the Fort Clatsop National Memorial, NPS sites along the Trail that interpret aspects of the Corps of Discovery story are Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (MO), Missouri National Recreational River (SD, NE), Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (ND), Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (MT), Big Hole National Battlefield (MT), and Nez Perce

[93] The Daily Astorian, *Fort Clatsop: Rebuilding an Icon* (Portland, OR: Ooligan Press, 2007), 20–22.

[94] Lewis & Clark Bicentennial in Oregon, *Lewis & Clark Bicentennial in Oregon: Final Report* (June 2006), 6, 31; Oregon State University, "Rebuilding Fort Clatsop," accessed January 11, 2017, http://www.cof.orst.edu/cof/news/myOSUnews/0706.php.

National Historical Park (ID). As funding for Lewis and Clark-related initiatives increased in advance of the bicentennial, these sites expanded their programming related to the Corps of Discovery. The Lewis and Clark NHT opened its own visitor center in 2005, thanks to extra bicentennial funding and a new MWRO building in Omaha (see Chapter 8).

Partner federal agencies developed and supplemented existing visitor centers and interpretation (along with natural and cultural resource protection) along the Lewis and Clark NHT. At Lemhi Pass, the USFS and BLM worked with non-governmental partner organizations and the states of Montana and Idaho to consider additional interpretive facilities.[95] The USACE managed large segments of the Lewis and Clark NHT along the Missouri and Columbia River basins and increased Lewis and Clark-related interpretive materials at visitor centers like the Fort Peck Dam in Montana and the Gavin's Point Dam in Nebraska.[96] In 2000, the NPS staffed an interpretive position at the USACE's Gavin Point Dam through the Missouri National Recreational River, the first time that had been done, to prepare for increased visitation associated with bicentennial commemorations.[97]

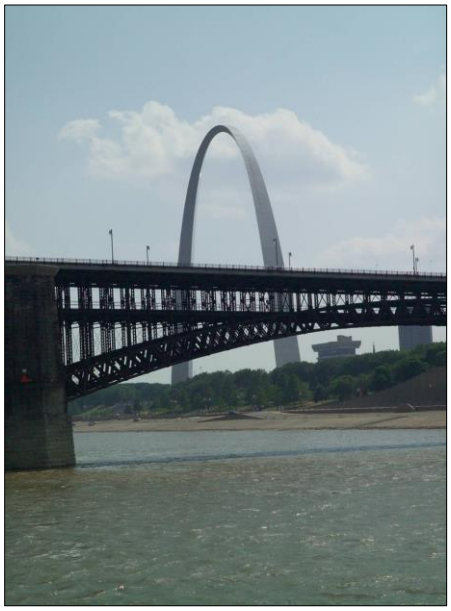


Figure 36. The Gateway Arch, Eads Bridge, and the Mississippi River from the Illinois side of the river, 2011.

Source: National Park Service.

[95] DOI, NPS, Briefing Statement, prepared for Jana Prewitt, Director, Office of External Affairs, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files; Williams, interview; Gilbert, interview.

[96] DOI, NPS, Briefing Statement, prepared for Jana Prewitt, Director, Office of External Affairs, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files; Williams, interview; Gilbert, interview; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[97] This NPS employee was not a Lewis and Clark NHT employee. Bruce G. Harvey and Deborah Harvey, *Managing the Mighty MO: Administrative History of the Missouri National Recreational River Nebraska and South Dakota* (Omaha, NE: NPS MWRO, 2016), 222–23.



Figure 37. Gavin's Point Dam, Yankton, South Dakota, 2011.
Source: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Other visitor centers at sites managed by federal agencies had been in the works for years. Gilbert worked closely with USFS planners as they completed the Lolo Trail System Action Plan for Clearwater National Forest (ID and MT) in 1984. David Shonk, Special Assistant to the Midwest Regional Director for Cooperative Activities, reiterated what Gilbert had written in the CMP, that the Lolo Trail was "one of the most important segments of the entire Lewis and Clark Trail" because of its potential as a footpath for hikers—a rarity on the Lewis and Clark NHT.[98] The USFS plan for Lolo Trail was somewhat bare-bones, including "no improvement other than signing," but the MWRO believed that increasing future use of the trail "may justify expending funds to reestablish the historic trail itself."[99] The Lewis and Clark highway that went over Lolo Pass would remain a separate entity from the new national historic trail.[100]

Visitor center development along the Lewis and Clark NHT demanded considerable staff attention and NPS funding. After Bereuter's 1983 amendment to the NTSA allowing the NPS to provide funding to acquire land for partner visitor centers, states and private organizations worked to secure those funds. Authorization of funds did not always mean appropriation, and some sites languished as a result. NPS CCS funding during the bicentennial spurred another boom in visitor

[98] David H. Shonk, Special Assistant to the Regional Director for Cooperative Activities, NPS, to James C. Bates, Forest Supervisor, Clearwater National Forest, USFS, April 27, 1984, FRC 79_92_0004_0009_0010, Box 6, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1984–1985, Lenexa FRC.

[99] Thomas L. Gilbert, Coordinator, LCNHT, to Karl Roenke, Forest Archeologist, Clearwater National Forest, January 21, 1986, FRC 79_94_0001_0015_0016, Box 15, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1986–1987, Lenexa FRC.

[100] Thomas L. Gilbert, Coordinator, LCNHT, to Karl Roenke, Forest Archeologist, Clearwater National Forest, January 21, 1986, FRC 79_94_0001_0015_0016, Box 15, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Trail, 1986–1987, Lenexa FRC.

center development on the Trail. In addition to the visitor centers mentioned above, other private, state, and tribal visitor centers have received NPS funding over the years. These include the National Frontier Trails Center in Independence, Missouri; the Fort Leavenworth Frontier Army Museum in Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas; the Sergeant Floyd Welcome Center in Sioux City, Iowa; the Wapka Sica Historical Society in Pierre, Idaho; and the Columbia Gorge Interpretive Center in Stevenson, Washington.[101] Trail staff and MWRO planners have provided interpretive assistance, planning help, and regulatory guidance for these and other visitor centers along the Expedition's route.

[101] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Interpretive Centers on the Lewis and Clark Trail," January 26, 1998, Drawer K-42 – L5417, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

Chapter 6. Planning the Bicentennial (1993–2002)

The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT) received its first line-item operating budget in 1992. Over the next ten years, the National Park Service (NPS) budget for Lewis and Clark NHT went from $50,000 to $1.7 million—a thirty-four-fold increase (see Appendix C).[1] Planning for the upcoming bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition largely drove the rise in funding, as the NPS—and Lewis and Clark NHT more specifically—took charge of the national effort. As with the development of the Trail itself, bicentennial planning occurred through partnerships with organizations such as the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF), state and local organizations, federal agencies, and Congress. The NPS also forged new partnerships with American Indian tribes, seeking their meaningful participation in the bicentennial. Tribal partners helped to reshape the goals and messages of the bicentennial, transforming it from celebration to commemoration and opening the door to a wider range of perspectives on the meaning of the Expedition.

Plans and Partnerships

The LCTHF, Lewis and Clark NHT's primary nonprofit partner, began planning for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial almost a decade before the NPS did. It formed a bicentennial planning arm and then spun it off as a separate nonprofit, the Bicentennial Council. The NPS ultimately stepped in and began to coordinate bicentennial efforts, relying on the Bicentennial Council as its primary partner for fundraising. Even members of Congress experienced Lewis and Clark fever, and they provided increasing funding to the NPS and the Bicentennial Council to help their home states benefit from the bicentennial's anticipated boom in tourism along the Trail.

The Bicentennial Council

In 1986, the LCTHF created an internal Bicentennial Committee.[2] The committee, through its mission statement, proposed to stimulate interest in the Expedition, highlight its contributions to

[1] These amounts did not include Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grant funds funneled through the Trail. "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), Central Files, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Omaha, NE (hereafter LCNHT Central Files); Francis "Cal" Calabrese, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 4, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

[2] Thomas L. Gilbert, Superintendent, Ice Age, North Country, and Lewis and Clark National Trails, to Field Director, Midwest Field Area, memorandum, June 24, 1996, Box 7, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark Historic Trail, 1995–1996, Federal Records Center, Lenexa, KS (hereafter Lenexa FRC).

American history, promote tourism and recreation programs that enhanced understanding about Lewis and Clark, and increase the visibility of LCTHF through education, public events, research, publications, and "entrepreneurial opportunities."[3] Like the LCTHF as a whole, the Bicentennial Committee worked closely with NPS staff. Trail Superintendent Tom Gilbert and Trail Coordinator Dick Williams (hired in 1991) both became members of the committee.[4] The committee was also called the "Bicentennial Celebration Committee" in its early years, reflecting the celebratory emphasis of early planning.[5]



Figure 38. Dick Williams (*right*) joined the Trail in 1991 as Trail coordinator. His title later changed to program manager and then chief of resource management. Pictured here with a Trail partner in Nebraska City, 2004.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

In August 1993, the LCTHF board voted to establish the entity as a separate nonprofit corporation and to change its name to the Bicentennial Council.[6] The founding incorporators of the Bicentennial Council were Stu Knapp, Bob Gatten, and Harry Hubbard.[7] These three men, longtime

[3] The Bicentennial Committee did not write the mission statement until 1991. Bicentennial Committee, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF), "Internal Mission Statement," August 1991, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[4] LCTHF, "Bicentennial Committee, Year ending June 30, 1992," 1992(?), Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[5] Jerry Garrett, Chair, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Celebration Committee, to Members, Lewis and Clark Celebration Committee, April 1, 1993, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[6] Bob Gatten notes that this transition occurred with "reluctant and grudging" permission from the LCTHF board. Bob Gatten, "Perspectives on the History of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation," August 10, 2007, rev. May 27, 2016, http://www.lewisandclark.org/about/essays/gatten_bob.pdf. See also Harry Hubbard, Chairman, Bicentennial Committee, LCTHF, to the Bicentennial Committee, October 11, 1993, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[7] National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council (NLCBC), Board of Directors Meeting, minutes, December 18, 1993, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting December 18, 1993 (Council's First Meeting via

members of the LCTHF, believed that a separate nonprofit organization would be able to raise funds more effectively and have greater flexibility in responding to the unique challenges of the bicentennial. Hubbard, a Seattle-based former naval officer who was well-versed in advertising and public relations, and the other Bicentennial Council incorporators wanted to start planning early to prevent other organizations from co-opting the bicentennial from the LCTHF, which they considered the foremost national authority on the Corps of Discovery.[8] Hubbard noted that interest in the bicentennial was already high, and that if the LCTHF did not act to create a bicentennial organizing group, someone else might:

> The Lewis and Clark Expedition and the Bicentennial is not the exclusive province of the Foundation. Some entity will surely come forward to plan and arrange national public celebrations and activities if it became apparent that there was an opportunity. The interest in and the appeal of the Lewis and Clark adventure is too great to pass up. . .
>
> There is a need and the Foundation has a duty to exercise leadership in developing plans and coordinating the Bicentennial. For some time now, various government agencies and private entities have inquired of us about plans for the Bicentennial. These people are anxious that their plans will mesh with an overall national observance.[9]

Hubbard hoped that the Bicentennial Council could create capacity for a major national event, while keeping that event under the umbrella of the LCTHF.

While the LCTHF as an organization had emphasized preserving the history of the Expedition, the Bicentennial Council focused on economic development, tourism, politics, and relationships with American Indians.[10] Its initial priorities were to establish a national advisory committee, establish and copyright a logo, organize conferences to promote the bicentennial, develop plans for displays, and receive a "congressional mandate" for the Bicentennial Council's leadership role in the bicentennial commemorations.[11] Among its early promotional ideas were a television segment titled

---

telephone conference call), National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Papers, Missouri History Museum (hereafter NCLCBC Papers, MHM).

[8] Carole Beers, "Harry Hubbard, 78, Worked to Fulfill Not One, But Two of His Life Dreams," *The Seattle Times*, August 2, 1998, http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive/?date=19980802&slug=2764318; Karen Goering, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 18, 2017, St. Louis, Missouri.

[9] Harry Hubbard, Director and Chairman, Bicentennial Committee, LCTHF, to Stuart E. Knapp, President, LCTHF, August 20, 1993, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT, [1993–1994] Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[10] Information on priorities of the Bicentennial Council and why it split off is from Richard Williams, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 2, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

[11] Jerry Garrett, Chair, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Celebration Committee, to Members, Lewis and Clark Celebration Committee, April 1, 1993, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files; Program, "Building Partnerships: The National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Council in cooperation with the North Dakota Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Foundation Third Annual Planning Workshop," April 26–28, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files; Harry Hubbard, Chairman, Bicentennial Committee, LCTHF, to Stuart E. Knapp, President, LCTHF, August 20, 1993, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

"Lewis and Clark Minutes," recurring articles in *USA Today,* a cross-country Lewis and Clark train trip, and the creation of a symphony as an ode to the Expedition.[12] At the center of it all, Hubbard envisioned a "traveling theater and traveling museum," an idea that was the genesis of the "Corps of Discovery II" (Corps II) traveling exhibit (see Chapter 7).[13] Hubbard and the council prioritized lobbying Congress and kept in close contact with Gilbert and Williams in the hopes that the NPS might fund the traveling museum idea.[14]



Figure 39. Allen Pinkham, member of the Bicentennial Council and of the Nez Perce Tribe, pictured here (*left*) speaking to Matt Buckner, an NPS employee, during the bicentennial, 2004.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The Bicentennial Council held annual board meetings in conjunction with LCTHF annual meetings starting in 1994.[15] The council had reached out early to tribes whose historic homelands were along the Expedition's route and elected its first three American Indian board members, Lawrence Wetsit (Assiniboine), Jeanne Eder (Dakota), and Allen V. Pinkham, Sr. (Nez Perce), that

[12] Robert E. Gatten, Jr., LCTHF, "Minutes of Bicentennial Committee Meeting," August 2, 1993, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[13] LCTHF, "Minutes of Bicentennial Committee Meeting, Collinsville, IL," August 2, 1993, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[14] National Park Service (NPS), Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT), "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future,' A Project of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial 1994–2006" (September 2008), 13.

[15] Harry Hubbard, President, Bicentennial Council, to Directors, Bicentennial Council April 24, 1994, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

same year.[16] Having tribal representatives on the board did not magically remove the conflict related to commemorating a difficult history. Pinkham, a U.S. Forest Service (USFS) employee at Clearwater National Forest, recalled friction over the use of the word "celebration" in relation to the bicentennial at the March 1995 meeting, the first that he and Eder attended:

> So, I and Jeanne show up at this Fort Leavenworth meeting. And one of the first things they said [was], "Well, we've got to do a preamble for the bicentennial committee so it will kind of give us guidance on what we're going to do and how we're going to do it." And the purpose, of course. And they went through, and then it says, "We will celebrate Lewis and Clark Bicentennial."
>
> And Jeanne kind of blew up and says, "You will not put no celebration in this preamble because we will not celebrate Lewis and Clark and what they did. We Indian people will not do that." And I agreed with her. And we argued a little bit, probably about an hour or so, about that one word.
>
> And we took a break and we came back again. And they said, "Well, why don't we find another word instead of 'celebrate?'" They finally got the message, you know? [laughs] And somebody said, "Well, why don't we say 'commemorate' Lewis and Clark?" You know, that's kind of an inclusive word about other people. I says, "Well, that sounds a little bit better."
>
> So, we changed that one word and we became a little bit more satisfied. But this was the attitude of these scholars and historians and educators.[17]

The council ultimately adopted a mission statement that it would "commemorate that journey, re-kindle its spirit of discovery, and acclaim the contributions and goodwill of the native peoples."[18] Striking the word celebration from the preamble was a step toward inclusion, but it did not erase many council leaders' celebratory approach to the bicentennial.[19]

First NPS Planning for the Bicentennial

The NPS approached the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial on the heels of a major failure: the 1992 Columbus Quincentennial. In advance of that anniversary, the NPS had designated thirty-nine "Columbus Quincentennial units" to host celebrations in October 1992.[20] Although the NPS planned to showcase "Hispanic, Native American, and other ethnic group contributions to American history and culture," indigenous groups across the Americas had little interest in

---

[16] Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), NLCBC, *Enough Good People: Reflections on Tribal Involvements and Inter-Cultural Collaboration 2003–2006* (Gunnison, CO: 2009), 91; Allen V. Pinkham, Sr., interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 24, 2017, Lapwai, Idaho; Margaret Gorski, interview by Emily Greenwald, February 23, 2017, Missoula, Montana.

[17] Pinkham, interview.

[18] LCTHF, NLCBC, "Prospectus: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Stewardship Project," (c.1999), Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A22 L&C Trail Heritage Foundation c1999, LCNHT Central Files.

[19] NLCBC, "Post-Celebration Wish List," March 5, 1995, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council, Inc., LCNHT Central Files.

[20] Department of the Interior (DOI), NPS, "Columbus Quincentennial Projects: A Directory" (Washington, DC: NPS, [1992?]), 51.

celebrating an anniversary of an event that devastated their civilizations. As Williams put it, "And then all of a sudden they [NPS] found out that . . . there's Indians still out here, [and] they just weren't crazy about Columbus at all . . . . And the Park Service said oh, shoot, maybe we should have talked to them."[21] A later NPS briefing statement summarized the debacle:

> Prior to 1992, the government and other organizations spent a great deal of money and effort on plans to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. When the time came to celebrate the event, there were many disenfranchised American Indians who criticized the event. The media reported the story as yet another slap in the face of the American Indians who suffered greatly from the "invasion" of the Europeans.[22]

Many American Indian groups not only boycotted the NPS Columbus Quincentennial events but also joined Quecha, Aztec, and other indigenous North and South Americans in Mexico City to protest Columbus Day celebrations.[23] In response to the widespread boycotts, the NPS abandoned its Columbus Quincentennial plans.[24]

Williams saw this episode as a cautionary tale. He wrote that American Indian involvement in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial would be "imperative, if we are to avoid the kind of back lash that occurred with the Quincentennial of Columbus discovery of America." Williams and Gilbert began meeting with tribes as early as 1992, starting in South Dakota, and "informed them that the National Park Service wants to get the Native American population involved early in the planning for the bicentennial." Williams also encouraged LCTHF members to get in touch with tribes along the Expedition route to develop relationships early and avoid the public fallout of the Quincentennial.[25]

After the establishment of the Bicentennial Council in 1993, Williams and Gilbert began more formal planning for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial.[26] In May 1994, Gilbert convened the first NPS bicentennial planning meeting in Omaha, in response to LCTHF planning efforts that were already underway. In attendance at the meeting were staff from the Trail (Gilbert, Williams, and an administrative assistant), the Midwest Regional Office (MWRO) (Bill Schenk, Ron Cockrell, Thomas

---

[21] Williams, interview.

[22] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, American Indian Perspective," briefing statement, March 30, 1998, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[23] American Indian groups had gained momentum in the preceding decades with several major protests like the second Wounded Knee and the occupation at Alcatraz, facilitated by the development of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the previous decades. James Brooke, "Indians in Protest Against Columbus," *New York Times*, October 13, 1992, http://www.nytimes.com/1992/10/13/world/indians-in-protest-against-columbus.html.

[24] Sammye Meadows, interview by Jackie Gonzales, January 30, 2017, Gunnison, Colorado; Robert J. Miller, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 2, 2017, Chandler, Arizona.

[25] Richard N. Williams, Coordinator, LCNHT, NPS, to Jerry Garrett, April 14, 1992, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[26] Williams and Gilbert often followed the LCTHF in setting priorities in the Trail's early years, which was in line with the Appalachian Trail model that many national scenic and historic trails followed.

Thiessen, and Warren Bielenberg), the NPS Washington Office (WASO) (Sandy Webber), the Rocky Mountain Trails Coordinator (Rodd Wheaton), and representatives from Lewis and Clark-related units, including Fort Clatsop (Cindy Orlando), Knife River Indian Villages (Chas Cartwright), the Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways (Warren Hill), Nez Perce National Historical Park (NHP) (unnamed representative), and Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (Ken Schaefer and Mark Engler).[27] Gerard Baker, then Superintendent of Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, was also invited, but he did not attend.[28] All NPS staff present in Omaha agreed that ten years out was not too early to start planning, based on NPS experience from the successful 1976 U.S. Bicentennial, the 1989 U.S. Constitution Bicentennial, and the botched 1992 Columbus Quincentennial.[29]

NPS staff sought to answer a number of questions at the Omaha meeting. Should the NPS take a leadership role in bicentennial commemorations? What role should the NPS play in coordinating/providing technical assistance? How long should the bicentennial last? Would it be tied to the Louisiana Purchase and westward expansion? Should the NPS make interpretive materials for the bicentennial? And how should a bicentennial committee be organized? They agreed unanimously that the NPS should organize the bicentennial commemoration, while closely coordinating with the LCTHF. They reasoned that the NPS was "the only agency with a national perspective on the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition" and that no other organization had a mandate "to preserve and interpret the heritage of the whole Lewis and Clark Expedition."[30]

Participants in the Omaha meeting also decided that Lewis and Clark NHT staff in Madison (Gilbert and Williams), not the MWRO, should take the lead in NPS bicentennial planning.[31] Gilbert proposed "the formation of an ad hoc committee of NPS managers and staff personnel to advise the Midwest Regional Director and the Director on policy and strategy recommendations" for the

---

[27] Thomas D. Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, May 11, 1994, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[28] Thomas L. Gilbert, Manager, Ice Age, North Country, and Lewis and Clark National Trails, NPS, to Tom Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, list of invitees attached to memorandum, April 6, 1994, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT [1993–1994] Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[29] Thomas D. Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, May 11, 1994, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[30] Thomas L. Gilbert, Manager, Ice Age, North Country, and Lewis and Clark National Trails, NPS, to Tom Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, April 6, 1994, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT [1993–1994] Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[31] Thomas D. Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, May 11, 1994, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

Lewis and Clark Bicentennial.[32] Those present advised against the establishment of an official bicentennial commission based on the politically messy 1976 U.S. Bicentennial Commission, concluding that "a commission might present more problems than it would resolve."[33] Staff from Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (JNEM) mentioned that their partner organization, the Jefferson National Expansion Historical Association (JNEHA), had developed educational tools for the recent Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial, which Gilbert hoped to apply to the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, if partner organizations agreed to it.[34]



Figure 40. The Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial in 1993 did not elicit protests from tribes as the Columbus Quincentennial did. Here, the view from the National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center in Baker City, Oregon, 2017.

Source: Bureau of Land Management

NPS leaders hoped that the Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial would provide a model for meaningful participation by American Indian tribes. Unlike the 1992 Columbus Quincentennial, the 1993 Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial elicited "only a minor protest from American Indian groups." NPS staff believed that this slightly better outcome was "probably due to the fact that the Oregon Trail event organizers (primarily the state of Oregon) brought American Indian groups into the planning process from the beginning and focused the event as a celebration of common cultural

[32] Thomas L. Gilbert, Manager, Ice Age, North Country, and Lewis and Clark National Trails, NPS, to Tom Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, April 6, 1994, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT [1993–1994] Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[33] Thomas D. Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, May 11, 1994, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[34] Thomas L. Gilbert, Manager, Ice Age, North Country, and Lewis and Clark National Trails, NPS, to Tom Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, April 6, 1994, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT [1993–1994] Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

histories."[35] NPS staff agreed that early and meaningful American Indian involvement would be crucial to a successful bicentennial. Meeting attendees came up with twenty objectives, which included working closely with cooperating organizations, sites along the Trail, and tribes.[36] Everyone agreed that challenges posed from coordination with partners required early planning and a "clear and consistent policy and strategy" on the part of the NPS in the years preceding and during the bicentennial.[37]

Bicentennial Council Development

The Bicentennial Council continued to grow in the 1990s and started hosting annual planning workshops. Attendees included historians, fundraisers, museum staff, politicians, federal representatives, and tribal members representing six federal agencies, eighteen state governments, twenty cities, and twelve tribal councils. New board members included Stanley L. Evans, a military retiree, and Gerard Baker, the superintendent of Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument and a member of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation.[38] Despite continued inclusion of American Indians on the board, many tribes still felt they lacked a significant voice in commemoration plans. Tribal members of the Bicentennial Council had grown tired of the way that the council presented fully formed ideas and then asked for a rubber stamp of approval. And



Figure 41. The Bicentennial Council held its 1996 annual planning meeting along the Columbia River at Skamania Lodge in Stevenson, Washington. Pictured here, 1995.

Source: U.S. Forest Service.

[35] Thomas L. Gilbert, Manager, Ice Age, North Country, and Lewis and Clark National Trails, NPS, to Tom Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, April 6, 1994, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT [1993–1994] Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[36] Thomas D. Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, May 11, 1994, Drawer L cont'd – end, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files.

[37] Thomas L. Gilbert, Manager, Ice Age, North Country, and Lewis and Clark National Trails, NPS, to Tom Thiessen, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center, NPS, memorandum, April 6, 1994, Drawer L – L6015, Folder: L6017 Lewis and Clark NHT [1993–1994] Bicentennial Celebration, LCNHT Central Files; Thomas L. Gilbert, Superintendent, Ice Age, North Country, and Lewis and Clark National Trails, to Field Director, Midwest Field Area, memorandum, June 24, 1996, General Correspondence Files, FRC79-02-0001-0007-0009, Box 7, Folder: L6017 Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail 1995–1996, Lenexa FRC.

[38] "Two New Directors Chosen," *Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Journal* 1, no. 2 (Sept. 1995): 1; LCTHF Organizational Records, Series VI, Box 5, Folder: Box 46 Folder 1 – Foundation Headquarters – Nat. Council of L&C Bicentennial 1995, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT.

while the word celebration had been stricken from the official mission of the organization, some board members felt that the intent of the word remained.

Tensions on the Bicentennial Council reached a breaking point at the April 1996 annual planning meeting, held at Skamania Lodge in Stevenson, Washington.[39] Pinkham remembered that day clearly:

> And then we had another meeting in Skamania, Washington, down on the Columbia. Down there by Cascades. And there again, Harry Hubbard had his ideas about you know, "We're going to—I got Charles Kuralt, he's going to do our narration for us at these gatherings of Lewis and Clark and these events. He's a great national figure. And then we'll call in the Indians to do their thing, you know, pow wows or horse parades."
>
> Jeanne blew up again. "You will not do this! We're not your damn Indians!"
>
> And Harry Hubbard didn't know what to do. So, he called for a recess. And then Jeanne Eder, [and] then there were a couple other Indian women there. Dark Rain Thom was there. And there was another lady, I can't remember, Gail Chehak, I think her name was. And they said, "Allen, you've got to do something. You've got to make things right."
>
> I says, "Yeah, I'll do it. What do you want me to do?"
>
> She says, "Well, you go up there and smudge the people. I've got some sweet grass here. You can use this."
>
> So, we go back to the assembly. I call them all down on the floor. And it was a fairly good-sized auditorium with a bare floor. And there was about a little over a hundred people. So, I told them, "Get in a circle around this room and I'm going to do something for you to make things right. I realize there were harsh words spoken and we want to try to make things right so we can continue on with what we need to do."
>
> So, I went around to each one of them and smudged them with this sweet grass. You know, it's an old ceremony among Indian people to do these kinds of things. So, I went around and did that for everyone. And I tried to explain to them, harsh words were spoken but now we want to soften these words so that we can get together and solve our problems. And everybody became a little more relaxed about this. And Jeanne, she kind of apologized a bit. "I spoke some harsh words and I apologize and hope we can do better." . . .
>
> And so, from that day on, things got better. When we raised an issue, they listened. And we're not here to be showcase Indians. We're here to do what's best for our people. And we want to tell you what our issues are. Nationwide. We're not these people over on a reservation that are taken care of by the United States government. We are people, too.[40]

[39] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 92; Harry Hubbard, President, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, to Friends [form letter], November 17, 1995, LCTHF Organizational Records, Series VI, Box 5, Folder: Box 46 Folder 1 – Foundation Headquarters – Nat. Council of L&C Bicentennial 1995, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT.

[40] Pinkham, interview.

Pinkham's healing ceremony eased tensions at a critical point in bicentennial planning and paved the way for meaningful tribal participation in the bicentennial. However, it neither eradicated tribes' negative feelings towards Lewis and Clark nor fixed particular tribes' complicated relationships with the NPS, which would come to a head later in the decade.[41]

Following Skamania, the NPS funded a LCTHF/Bicentennial Council joint executive director position, filled by Michelle Bussard.[42] The LCTHF and the NPS signed an agreement for the NPS to fund that position in November 1996.[43] Under Bussard, the Bicentennial Council relocated its offices from Great Falls, the site of LCTHF headquarters, to Vancouver, Washington, within the offices of the Washington State Historical Society (WSHS). This was made possible through the efforts of board member David Nicandri, director of the WSHS.[44] Even with a shared executive director, it became increasingly apparent to members that the two organizations had, in the words of Nicandri, "different approaches to Lewis and Clark."[45] Other Bicentennial Council board members agreed. Board member David Borlaug of North Dakota, a newspaper publisher and president of the Lewis and Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, noted, "there are clearly two different personalities in the two organizations and it scares the beegeebers out of the Foundation."[46] While most foundation leaders were volunteers with deep personal interest in the story of Lewis and Clark, Bicentennial Council board members were primarily professionals whose careers centered on promoting and educating the public about Lewis and Clark.

In 1998, with the help of additional congressional funding, the LCTHF, the Bicentennial Council, and Trail leadership decided to end the split executive director arrangement and transition

---

41 COTA, *Enough Good People*, 92; Meadows, interview; Miller, interview.

42 Joint Meeting, Executive Board, LCTHF and the NLCBC, Skamania Lodge, Stevenson, WA, minutes, July 26, 1997, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 27, 1997 Stevenson, WA, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

43 "Executive Director, LCTHF, and the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council," signed November 16, 1996–December 5, 1996, Series VI, Box 5 (Bicentennial – National Council), Folder: Box 46 Folder 2 –Foundation Headquarters – Nat. Council of L&C Bicentennial Proposed Agreement, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT; Clyde G. "Sid" Huggins, "President's Message," *We Proceeded On* 23, no. 1 (February 1997): 31.

44 The Bicentennial Council relocated their headquarters again in 2000, to the Lewis & Clark College campus. Michael Mooney, President, Lewis & Clark College, to Michelle Bussard, April 6, 2000, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting October 2–3, 1999 Charlottesville, VA, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; NLCBC Meeting, Skamania Lodge, Stevenson, WA, minutes, July 27, 1997, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 27, 1997 Stevenson, WA, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

45 NLCBC, Skamania Lodge, Stevenson, WA, minutes, July 27, 1997, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 27, 1997 Stevenson, WA, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

46 NLCBC, Skamania Lodge, Stevenson, WA, minutes, July 27, 1997, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 27, 1997 Stevenson, WA, NCLCBC Papers, MHM. On David Borlaug, see Bob Gatten, "Your Foundation Officers for 1998–1999: David Borlaug, president," 2011, http://www.lewisandclark.org/LCTHF2/Profiles_files/Borlaug,%20David.pdf.

Michelle Bussard to full-time Bicentennial Council executive director.[47] The Bicentennial Council signed a separate memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the NPS to support this stand-alone executive director, which included provisions to fund bicentennial planning workshops, other staff positions, public relations, marketing, and travel. The NPS also funded the Bicentennial Council's annual planning meetings, attendance to which increased by roughly 50 percent every year.[48]

The Bicentennial Council served as the primary fundraiser for bicentennial activities, the convener of bicentennial planning meetings, the main lobbyist to Congress, and the nonprofit intermediary between federal agencies. Planning workshops included discussions of federal funding, partnerships, and corporate sponsorships.[49] The council published a "prospectus" on the bicentennial in 1999, elaborating on the NPS bicentennial plans and detailing plans for commemoration events.[50] The council also hired marketing and public relations firms to assist with fundraising, outreach, and bicentennial planning.[51]

The council created several internal advisory groups as its capacity grew. These included the Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), the Circle of State Advisors (COSA), the Circle of Education Advisors (COEA), and the Circle of Conservation Advisors (COCA).[52] COTA and COSA played major roles in planning throughout the bicentennial. COCA, spearheaded by Rebecca Wodder of American Rivers and later joined by the Sierra Club, promoted stewardship of the Trail's environment and hosted conservation-themed bicentennial events.[53] COEA worked on educational materials to accompany bicentennial commemorations.[54]

---

[47] NLCBC, Skamania Lodge, Stevenson, WA, minutes, July 27, 1997, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 27, 1997 Stevenson, WA, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Bicentennial Council, "Executive Director Proposed Work Program," October 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council, Inc., LCNHT Central Files.

[48] We were unable to locate a copy of this MOU, but a 1998 letter references it and details the new executive director position. Chet Orloff to Michelle Bussard, February 18, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council, Inc., LCNHT Central Files. For details of the agreement, see NLCBC, "Proposed Draft Revenue Projections and Budget, National Park Service Enhancements," October 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files; Bicentennial Council Board of Directors Meeting, Great Falls, MT, minutes, July 3, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[49] NLCBC, Board of Directors Meeting, Great Falls, MT, minutes, July 3, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[50] NLCBC, "A Prospectus on the National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Council," (1999?), Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A22 LCTHF, LCNHT Central Files.

[51] Carlson Marketing Group, "Draft: Corporate Sponsorship [sic] Feasibility Study," April 14, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 2000, LCNHT Central Files.

[52] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; Goering, interview.

[53] Goering, interview.

[54] NLCBC, Board of Directors Meeting, Great Falls, MT, minutes, July 3, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

COSA served as the local coordination and outreach arm of the Bicentennial Council.[55] COSA consisted of state-level Lewis and Clark Committees that the NPS had developed in the 1980s, on the model of Lewis and Clark Trail Commission state committees. The bicentennial served as the impetus for states to organize these committees if they had not already.[56] Clint Blackwood, executive director of the Montana Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission, led COSA.[57] Its mission was to

> advise the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council on national bicentennial project priorities, commemorative signature event programs and planning, surveys and cooperative marketing and product merchandising, among other bicentennial programming.[58]

COSA facilitated communication with partners at the local level and coordinated with local partners to more effectively work with the Bicentennial Council.[59] COSA also coordinated federal grant applications for smaller organizations applying for bicentennial funding (for a list of COSA members, see Appendix D).[60]

Although one of the Bicentennial Council's primary aims was to raise funds for bicentennial activities and to take the financial burden off the NPS, it spent a good deal of time asking the NPS for more money. In 1999, the Bicentennial Council requested an increase in base funding for cooperative agreements, arguing that strategic public relations initiatives were unique to the bicentennial, and they should therefore be the responsibility of the Bicentennial Council and not the NPS. If awarded additional funds, the Bicentennial Council hoped to hire a tribal liaison director, a development and special events manager, and a communications manager, and then spend the remainder of the funds on printing, strategic planning, public relations, and accounting and legal

---

[55] The Bicentennial Council and Trail staff referred to COSA and these state committees interchangeably. This report uses COSA as the overarching term for the conglomeration of the state committees, but uses the state committee name when referring to an individual committee.

[56] Williams, interview; Goering, interview.

[57] DOI, NPS, "Bicentennial Commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," briefing statement, undated (2001?), Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[58] Bicentennial Council, "Circle of State Bicentennial Advisors Mission Statement," no date, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: COSA + COCA, LCNHT Central Files.

[59] The state-level Bicentennial commissions were often named the "[insert state name] Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission," so, to prevent confusion, the Bicentennial Council referred to itself as the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial or the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council. For ease of reading, this report refers to the national council as the Bicentennial Council and refers to state-level councils by their full name. Bicentennial Council, "Circle of State Bicentennial Advisors Mission Statement," no date, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: COSA + COCA, LCNHT Central Files.

[60] See Lewis and Clark Bicentennial in Oregon (LCBO), "Lewis & Clark Bicentennial in Oregon: Final Report," (June 2006), http://www.lcbo.net/press/LCBO%20Final%20Report%20inside%20(web).pdf.; Montana Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commission, "Montana Lewis & Clark Intranet Site," accessed September 22, 2017, http://montanalewisandclark.org/.

services.[61] In 1999, the NPS granted the council $160,000 through cooperative agreements, but the council failed to raise any money in sponsorships, grants, or gifts.[62]

Lewis and Clark Fever

Two publications—a film and a book—elevated public awareness of Lewis and Clark in the 1990s and blew up the bicentennial.[63] The first was Stephen Ambrose's *Undaunted Courage*, published in 1996. Ambrose's engaging historical account of the Expedition, written for a general audience, delved into the psyches of Lewis, Clark, and other Expedition members. Ambrose glorified the two leading men as earlier histories of the Expedition had done, and his book captured the attention of Americans who had perhaps last learned about Lewis and Clark in grade school. Published by Simon and Schuster and widely marketed, Ambrose's book made the *New York Times* best seller list and reportedly earned Ambrose $4 million.[64] The Bicentennial Council invited Ambrose to serve as co-chair of its advisory board, and Ambrose donated $10,000 to the LCTHF and $10,000 to the Bicentennial Council in 1998.[65] Trail coordinator Dick Williams characterized *Undaunted Courage* as "one of the biggest things to happen to Lewis and Clark."

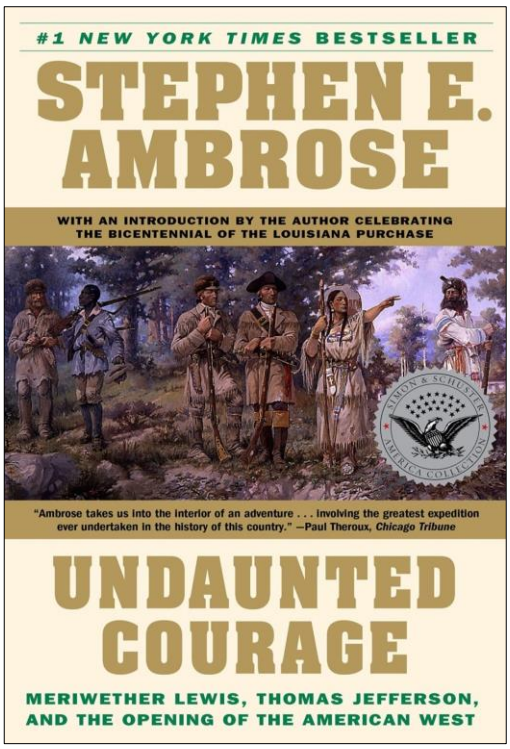


Figure 42. Stephen Ambrose's book about the Expedition, *Undaunted Courage*, sparked widespread interest in Lewis and Clark, 1997.

Source: Simon and Schuster, Inc.

---

[61] David L. Nicandri, President, NLCBC, to F. A. Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, March 16, 1999, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A22 LCTHF, LCNHT Central Files.

[62] Bicentennial Council, Profit and Loss Statement, January 1, 1999 through March 31, 2000, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting August 11, 2000 Dillion, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, NLCBC, to Board of Directors, "FY01 Budget Proposal," memorandum, July 17, 2000, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting August 11, 2000 Dillion, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[63] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[64] Richard Goldstein, "Stephen Ambrose, Historian Who Fueled New Interest in World War II, Dies at 66," *New York Times*, October 14, 2002, http://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/14/arts/stephen-ambrose-historian-who-fueled-new-interest-in-world-war-ii-dies-at-66.html; "Best Sellers Plus," *New York Times*, September 20, 1998, http://www.nytimes.com/books/98/09/20/bsp/papernonfictioncompare.html.

[65] NLCBC, Board of Directors Meeting, Great Falls, MT, minutes, July 3, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

Suddenly the Trail office was getting daily calls from people who wanted to follow in the Expedition's footsteps.[66]

After the publication of *Undaunted Courage*, newspapers and agencies reported that 20 to 30 million people would follow the Trail over the course of the bicentennial. It is not clear where the figure came from, but Williams recalled, "Stephen Ambrose came out and said oh, 20 million people are going to follow this trail during the bicentennial. Now, he pulled that out of a hat."[67] *New York Times* columnist Timothy Egan reported that the figure came from "state and federal officials who have quizzed tourist boards and conducted several national surveys," but additional research has failed to corroborate either theory.[68] Despite its murky origins, groups ranging from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) to small towns in Montana used the figure of 20 to 30 million visitors to justify spending on tourism and economic development.[69] The expected 20 to 30 million trail-goers became a cornerstone of Bicentennial Council funding requests and a rationale for congressional spending on the bicentennial. It was also this number that caused alarm for tribes and federal agencies alike, concerned for the health of the resources they protected.[70]

The second boost to public interest in the Corps of Discovery came from Ken Burns and Dayton Duncan's PBS documentary, *Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery*, released in 1997.[71] While Burns and Duncan had "dreamed of making a documentary film about Lewis and Clark since the mid-1980s," the film's release came one year after Ambrose's book and helped bring attention to the upcoming bicentennial.[72] Over 20 million people tuned into *Lewis & Clark* on the first two days it aired, making it the "third most watched program ever on PBS" at the time, outdone only by two of Burns's other documentaries.[73] Funders for the documentary included the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, which later provided funding to the Bicentennial Council.[74] Lewis

---

[66] Williams, interview.

[67] Williams, interview.

[68] Egan, "Recalling a Storied Trek to Parts Unknown," *New York Times*, January 18, 2003, http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/18/us/recalling-a-storied-trek-to-parts-unknown.html.

[69] Williams, interview; Tom Kenworthy, "Lewis and Clark fever catches on," *USA Today*, June 9, 2003, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2003-06-08-lewis-clark_x.htm; USACE, Appendix A-1, "Staffing Support Plan," in *Lewis and Clark Bicentennial: After Action Report, 1998–2006,* 119, accessed June 12, 2017, https://corpslakes.erdc.dren.mil/employees/lewisandclark/pdfs/Lewis_Clark_Bicentennial%20AAR.pdf.

[70] Otis Halfmoon, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 1, 2017, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Williams, interview.

[71] Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns, *Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery*, film, directed by Ken Burns (1997; Public Broadcasting Corporation).

[72] Dayton Duncan, "Challenges, not Obstacles," *We Proceeded On* 20, no. 2 (May 1994): 5.

[73] Gary R. Edgerton, *Ken Burns's America: Packaging the Past for Television* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 176.

[74] Funders included the General Motors Corporation, Pew Charitable Trusts, Arthur Vining Davis Foundations, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Public Broadcasting Service, William T. Kemper Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the LCTHF, and Travel Montana. PBS, Ken Burns America, *Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the*

and Clark were obviously not unknown before Ambrose's book and Burns's film, but they had faded somewhat in the American public consciousness from their high point during the 1950s sesquicentennial. The Lewis and Clark NHT now had a newly enthusiastic national audience—just in time for the bicentennial.

Bicentennial Initiatives in Congress

In 1997, at the Bicentennial Council's request, Senator Byron L. Dorgan (D-ND) introduced Senate Resolution 57 to "support the commemoration of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."[75] The resolution expressed support for the work of the LCTHF and the Bicentennial Council, and it officially recognized the Bicentennial Council as the "national grassroots coordinating body" for bicentennial commemorations.[76] The resolution also declared support for the many state and local governments, as well as small private organizations, preparing for commemoration of the bicentennial. It called for "the President, the Secretary of the Interior, the Director of the National Park Service, American Indian tribes, other public officials, and the citizens of the United States" to join and encourage commemoration of the bicentennial.[77] This resolution lacked any authorization to appropriate funds, but it created a legislative imperative that could later be utilized to justify federal spending on bicentennial commemorations in many agencies.

Following Dorgan's Senate Resolution, members of Congress from states through which the Expedition had passed—and some who simply found the topic interesting—formed a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus.[78] Representatives Doug Bereuter (R-NE), Rick Hill (R-MT), and Earl Pomeroy (D-ND) co-chaired the caucus in the House, while Senators Larry Craig (R-ID), Byron Dorgan (D-ND), and Conrad Burns (R-MT) co-chaired the caucus in the Senate.[79] Caucus membership grew from fifty-two in 1999 to sixty-three in 2001.[80] In the years before the

---

Corps of Discovery, accessed May 18, 2017, http://www.pbs.org/kenburns/films/lewis-and-clark; "Grants Program Needs Help," *We Proceeded On* 21, no. 1 (February 1995): 5.

[75] A resolution to support the commemoration of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, S. Res. 57, 105th Cong. (1997).

[76] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 92.

[77] A resolution to support the commemoration of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, S. Res. 57, 105th Cong. (1997).

[78] 146 Cong. Rec. H9507 (daily ed., September 23, 1998).

[79] U.S. Senate Lewis and Clark Expedition Caucus, member list, updated May 11, 2000, Drawer H-History – K3023 Interp., Folder: Caucus, LCNHT Central Files; Sula P. Richardson, "Informal Congressional Groups and Member Organizations, 106th Congress: An Informational Directory," (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress), August 20, 1999.

[80] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II," 40; Bicentennial Council, "Briefing for Senate & House Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus and Evening Signing Ceremony," March 29, 2001, http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/briefing-for-senate--house-lewis--

bicentennial, Lewis and Clark NHT staff and Bicentennial Council staff spent considerable time and energy communicating with members of the Lewis and Clark Congressional Caucus, urging it to fund bicentennial initiatives, Trail projects, and partner projects. Caucus members also promoted honorary bills, such as Representative Bereuter's 2000 bill to posthumously promote William Clark to Captain.[81]



Figure 43. Senator Byron Dorgan (D-ND) (*left*) at a Corps II event in Bismarck, North Dakota, 2004. To his right are Trail Superintendent Gerard Baker and Tex Hall, then the President of the National Congress of American Indians and Chairman of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation.

Source: National Park Service.



Figure 44. Gerard Baker and Jeff Olson at a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional reception in Washington, DC, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

clark-bicentennial-congressional-caucus-and-evening-signing-ceremony-with-featured-speaker-and-noted-historian-dr-stephen-ambrose-reception-exhibit-of-original-lewis-and-clark-expedition-ar-71891822.html.

[81] DOI, NPS, "Bicentennial Commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," briefing statement, undated (2001?), Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

MWRO Director Schenk supported the congressional caucus by hiring Michelle Watson, an archeologist from the MWRO, as a congressional liaison.[82] Watson, an NPS employee, worked in the Washington office of Representative Rick Hill (R-MT), and upon Hill's retirement in 2000, Watson moved to the office of Representative Douglas Bereuter (R-NE).[83] Watson helped keep MWRO and Trail leadership and partner organizations up-to-date on the Congressional Caucus and the Bicentennial Council's activities.[84] In addition to Watson's liaison work, Lewis and Clark NHT and MWRO leadership made frequent visits to Washington, DC, to request additional funding for the Trail, grant programs, and bicentennial events.[85] Close relationships between NPS staff and a core group of representatives and senators who wanted to bring Lewis and Clark tourism to their states resulted in significant appropriations to the Lewis and Clark NHT, the Bicentennial Council, and other partner organizations during the bicentennial. Karen Goering of the Missouri Historical Society (MHS) and the Bicentennial Council said that the Congressional Caucus "was instrumental in helping ensure the funding for the bicentennial.[86]



Figure 45. Members of Congress and representatives from the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation gather in the U.S. Capitol rotunda for the unveiling of a Sakakawea statue, donated to the National Statuary Hall Collection by the State of North Dakota, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[82] Williams, interview; National Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group Meeting Notes, December 12–13, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[83] Francis Calabrese, "National Park Service: Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Preparations," October 1, 1999, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC MTING – 1999, LCNHT Central Files; National Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group Meeting Notes, December 12–13, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[84] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council," briefing statement, September 10, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[85] Gerard Baker, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 21, 2017, Miles City, Montana; Williams, interview.

[86] Goering, interview.

Federal Interagency Working Group

As planning for the bicentennial gained traction, federal agencies with land along the Trail realized that a nation-wide commemoration would require a new forum for interagency coordination. The NPS had been planning for the bicentennial since 1994 and wanted to lead national commemoration efforts, but the USACE also hoped to lead bicentennial commemorations, since it controlled most of the rivers on which the Corps of Discovery traveled and thus managed large segments of the Trail.[87] However, tribal participation was a high priority for all agencies in light of how the Columbus Quincentennial had disintegrated, and while the NPS had difficult relationships with certain tribes, the USACE had very poor relationships with most tribes, since USACE dam construction in the mid-1900s had flooded many American Indians' land without their consent.[88]

Gerard Baker, who became superintendent of the Lewis and Clark NHT in 2000, pointed to the USACE's often contentious relationship with tribes as the reason that the NPS was able to take the lead on bicentennial commemorations:

> Corps of Engineers tried to take the lead—it's their river, right? It's their river. Their jurisdiction. It should have been their program. . . [But] we [NPS] had the tribes' attention. The Corps of Engineers had never done jack for the tribes, as long as I could remember."[89]

Ultimately, the NPS was able to assume the role of lead agency for the bicentennial, not necessarily because of the Trail's legislative mandate, but rather because of the NPS's potential to get and keep tribes involved.

Jana Prewitt of the Department of the Interior (DOI) was the driving force behind much of the interagency cooperation.[90] Prewitt had come to Washington from Arkansas with President Bill Clinton, who appointed her to serve as the director of DOI Intergovernmental and External Affairs under Bruce Babbitt. She held that post from 1995 to 2001 and led many interagency initiatives, including Gateway Community and Public Land Partnerships, American Heritage Rivers, and

---

[87] Baker, interview.

[88] Gorski, interview; Baker, interview. For an example of contentious relations between the USACE and the Missouri River Sioux, see Michael L. Lawson, *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944–1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 156. Lawson writes, "During many phases of [dam] reconstruction when the Sioux had to depend on the Corps of Engineers, they usually found that agency uncooperative or hostile."

[89] Baker, interview.

[90] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; Baker, interview; Meadows, interview; Edward Hall, interview by Nick Kryloff, May 16, 2017, Washington, DC

tourism policy in "Indian Country and Western states."[91] Prewitt also fought for meaningful inclusion of American Indians in the planning, leadership, and implementation of the bicentennial, and her political connections helped her to secure appropriations to back those priorities financially.[92]

Under Prewitt's leadership, federal agencies formalized their cooperation by signing a MOU in the fall of 1998. The MOU would terminate on December 31, 2007, at the end of the bicentennial commemorations.[93] The cooperating agencies became known as the Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group (interagency working group) and included the USFS, USACE, Department of Education (DOEd), Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Bureau of Land Management (BLM), Bureau of Reclamation (USBR), NPS, Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS), U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA). The Bicentennial Council also signed the MOU as the bicentennial's primary non-profit partner and fundraiser.[94] The BIA had not initially been involved, skeptical of how tribes could benefit from a Lewis and Clark commemoration, but it joined by the time the MOU was signed.[95] The interagency working group claimed several legislative authorities that justified spending money on bicentennial commemorations, among them the National Trail Systems Act (NTSA), which directed that the government protect the natural and cultural resources along the Lewis and Clark NHT.[96]

The purpose of the MOU was to "establish a general framework for cooperation" among the participating agencies for the bicentennial. Agency leaders hoped that this interagency cooperation might

> foster understanding and protection of the cultural and natural resources along the Expedition route, encourage economic advancement in the communities and states through which the Expedition

---

[91] Jana Prewitt and Victoria Voytko, "A History of the U.S. Department of the Interior During the Clinton Administration, 1993–2001," (Washington, DC: Clinton Administrative History Project, 2000), 236, http://library.doi.gov/master0105.pdf; Meadows, interview.

[92] Hall, interview; Meadows, interview; Baker, interview.

[93] "Memorandum of Understanding . . . to collaborate in commemorating the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," October 1, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.

[94] DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[95] DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; Hall, interview.

[96] National Trails System Act, 16 U.S.C. § 1241–51 (1965); National Historic Preservation Act, 16 U.S.C. § 470 (1966); Outdoor Recreation Coordination Act, 16 U.S.C. § 4601–1(f)(1) (1963); Section 4 of the Flood Control Act, 16 U.S.C. § 4600 (1944).

> traveled, enhance the quality of life in America, and develop a new understanding and appreciation for all of America's indigenous nations and cultures.[97]

To implement these goals, the interagency working group prioritized securing agency funds for bicentennial commemorations, recommended sharing agreements to avoid duplication, and allowed for the interagency transfer of funds.[98] Agency leaders agreed to avoid communities that did not want to be a part of commemoration; provide balanced perspectives; minimize adverse impacts on historical, natural, and cultural resources (especially sacred tribal sites); and maintain historical accuracy.[99] Above all, the group hoped to renew the federal government's commitment to national historic trails.[100]



Figure 46. Margaret Gorski of the USFS was an active member of the interagency working group. Pictured here in St. Louis, Missouri, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[97] "Memorandum of Understanding . . . to collaborate in commemorating the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," October 1, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.

[98] "Memorandum of Understanding . . . to collaborate in commemorating the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," October 1, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files; DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[99] "Memorandum of Understanding . . . to collaborate in commemorating the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," October 1, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.

[100] "Memorandum of Understanding . . . to collaborate in commemorating the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," October 1, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.



Figure 47. The BLM, a signatory to the interagency working group MOU, manages much of the land through which the Lewis and Clark NHT passes. Pictured here is BLM employee Dick Fichtler, who participated in bicentennial commemorations.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The interagency working group met approximately twice a year leading up to the bicentennial. In 1999, member agencies codified their roles, strengths, and responsibilities regarding bicentennial commemorations:

BIA:	Tribal knowledge, tribal coordination, tribal services
NPS:	Interpretation, education, and protection of key historic sites, trail management
BLM:	Sustain the health and diversity of public lands, protect natural and cultural resources, and provide public access
USFS:	Management of resources and public access to the trail
USACE:	River management and public access to the river trail and campsites
USBR:	Water delivery, water recreation, and access to key sites
USGS:	Hydrologic science, geography, mapping, geographic information system (GIS), education
DOEd:	Development of educational curricula, contact with school districts

FHWA: Transportation funding and technical assistance, logistics, safety, intermodal trailhead development

FWS: Fish and wildlife management, refuges, fisheries, interpretation/education

Bicentennial Council: Coordinatron with state, non-profit, and private organizations, public relations and marketing, tourism promotion[101]

Other agencies joined as bicentennial funding increased, and by 2001, the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), National Endowment for the Arts, Institute of Museum and Library Services, Natural Resources Conservation Service, National Archives and Records Administration, Department of Energy, U.S. Mint, and Coast Guard had either signed on or participated in the interagency working group. Prewitt led the group until Robbie Wilbur (also of DOI's Office of External and Intergovernmental Affairs) took over in 2001.[102]



Figure 48. Historian Gary Moulton republished the Corps of Discovery journals during the bicentennial, with the help of NEH funding. Pictured here speaking to Corps II employees in Nebraska City, Nebraska, 2004.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Accomplishments of participating agencies included tourism and economic development grants for rural communities, funding for academic research, development of various educational materials,

[101] "Memorandum of Understanding . . . to collaborate in commemorating the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," October 1, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files; "Briefing for Senate Energy Committee and Lewis and Clark Caucus," May 21, 1999, Drawer H-History – K3023 Interp., Folder: May 21 Congressional Briefing, LCNHT Central Files.

[102] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

artist-in-residence programs, trail maintenance, recreational development, and much more.[103] The interagency working group dispersed federal funds through grants and developed a "Lewis & Clark Funding Sourcebook" to help communities host bicentennial events.[104] Early projects enabled by this interagency cooperation included the creation of a map/brochure for the bicentennial and the staffing of the USFS interpretive center in Great Falls by an NPS employee, which Interpretive Specialist Laurie Heupel filled.[105] An NEH grant—not out of appropriations for the bicentennial, but from a special call for humanities projects relating to the Expedition and native cultures that was timed to coincide with the bicentennial—funded Gary Moulton's publications *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* and *An Atlas of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, the first time that all journals from the Expedition had been published together in full.[106]

The interagency working group's organization, tight political connections, and access to multiple federal agencies helped to secure additional appropriations across the federal government for the bicentennial. Agency representatives communicated often with the White House and the Office of Management and Budget to direct millions of dollars in federal funds toward bicentennial projects.[107] Under their leadership, the interagency working group directed these federal funds toward Corps of Discovery-related projects.

---

[103] Robbie Wilbur, Special Assistant to the Secretary, DOI, to Senate and House Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus, memorandum, April 4, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.

[104] "Federal Lewis and Clark Interagency Update for the Lewis and Clark Congressional Caucus," July 21, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files; Robbie Wilbur, Special Assistant to the Secretary, DOI, to Senate and House Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus, memorandum, April 4, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files; U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Recreation, Heritage and Wilderness Resources Staff, Washington, DC, "Briefing for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus," March 2, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.

[105] DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[106] Robbie Wilbur, Special Assistant to the Secretary, DOI, to Senate and House Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus, memorandum, April 4, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files; COTA, *Enough Good People*, 93; Sammye Meadows, Executive Director, LCTHF, to Board of Directors, Past Presidents Council, Committee Chairs, LCTHF, "Executive Director Update #12," memorandum, February 28, 1999, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A22 Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, LCNHT Central Files.

[107] "Federal Lewis and Clark Interagency Update for the Lewis and Clark Congressional Caucus," July 21, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.

Tribal Outreach and Associated Trail Development

Despite outreach to tribes by federal agencies and the Bicentennial Council, most American Indians remained unenthusiastic about commemorating Lewis and Clark. DOI officials outlined tribes' feelings toward the bicentennial in 1998, two years after Pinkham's healing ceremony at Skamania Lodge:

> Today, some American Indian tribes are beginning to look at the Lewis and Clark episode as a pivotal juncture in the history of their tribes, and the history of the United States . . . many American Indians view the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with a different perspective than some historians and others who come from a white European background. There are several American Indians on the Board of Directors of the national Lewis and Clark Bicentennial [Council]. Those individuals have made it clear that most Indians do not see this event as a cause for "celebration." One notable American Indian scholar has referred to the expedition as the beginning of the end of Indian civilizations. Hardly an event to celebrate.[108]

Interior officials concluded that non-native governmental representatives would be unable to bring American Indians fully on board:

> To be completely successful, the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council and the primary government agencies involved must have Indian people on staff who can spend time communicating with the various Indian Tribes and convincing the mainstream leadership and tribal elders that the recognition of the Lewis and Clark event is in the best interests of the Indian people. This will not be an easy task and can not [*sic*] be adequately accomplished by white representatives of government.[109]

Up until that point, Trail staff had not included any American Indians.

Trail staff—still just Williams and Gilbert until 1997—had continued to attend Bicentennial Council meetings through the 1990s, but they had not conducted significant outreach to tribes, other than through the Bicentennial Council and a few miscellaneous meetings. When bicentennial planning kicked into high gear following the formation of the interagency working group, MWRO Director Bill Schenk decided that the Trail needed dedicated leadership in Omaha to pull off a national bicentennial commemoration (Williams and Gilbert were still in Madison, Wisconsin).[110]

Schenk orchestrated a move of Trail headquarters from Madison, Wisconsin, to Omaha, Nebraska, so that Trail staff could more easily work with regional NPS staff during the bicentennial years. Williams relocated to Omaha in the same role of Trail coordinator, but Gilbert stayed behind in Madison and his position changed to superintendent of Ice Age and North Country scenic

---

[108] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, American Indian Perspective," briefing statement, March 30, 1998, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[109] DOI, NPS, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, American Indian Perspective," briefing statement, March 30, 1998, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[110] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration, Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

trails.[111] In December 1998, Schenk appointed Francis "Cal" Calabrese interim superintendent of the Lewis and Clark NHT and Mark Engler the interim superintendent of Corps II.[112] Schenk noted that Calabrese would have "overall responsibility for coordination of the Lewis and Clark Trail and Corps II project."[113] Engler, who remained superintendent of Homestead National Monument of America in Beatrice, Nebraska, was brought in because he had led the initial brainstorming of the Corps II concept. Williams hired Midori Raymore in June 1999 as an administrative assistant to manage the growing correspondence and travel schedules of the small but busy Trail staff.[114]

An archeologist, Calabrese continued to serve as the associate regional director for cultural resources stewardship and partnerships during his superintendency of the Trail. Calabrese had led the Midwest Archeological Center for years, overseeing a decades-long NPS-funded archeological excavation at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (NHS) (ND).[115] At a GS-15 pay grade, Calabrese outranked Engler and Williams, and through his long-time duty station in Omaha, he had the ear of the Midwest Regional Director Bill Schenk. Calabrese prioritized tribal outreach and directed much of the Trail's newly appropriated federal funds to a series of meetings with tribes.[116]

"Listening Sessions"

The NPS held four regional "listening sessions" with tribes in 1999.[117] Calabrese conceived of the listening sessions as a way to reach out to tribes in different regions and hear their perspectives

---

[111] Williams, interview; Thomas Gilbert, interview by Emily Greenwald, June 14, 2017, Middleton, Wisconsin; Calabrese, interview; Midori Raymore, interview by Jackie Gonzales, January 31, 2017, Golden, Colorado; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; Regional Director, Midwest Region, to Regional Directors, NPS, "Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Project," memorandum, December 9, 1998, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events OPENING Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.

[112] Regional Director, Midwest Region, to Regional Directors, NPS, "Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Project," memorandum, December 9, 1998, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events OPENING Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.

[113] Regional Director, Midwest Region, to Regional Directors, NPS, "Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Project," memorandum, December 9, 1998, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events OPENING Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.

[114] Raymore, interview; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[115] Cal Calabrese to Suzy Hubbell, Kim Prill, Dick Williams, Tom Ross, and Margaret Gorski, January 31, 1999, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[116] Some confusion developed among external partners over who—between Calabrese, Williams, Gilbert, and Engler—was the Trail's lead spokesperson. Margaret Gorksi to Dick Williams and Kim Prill, January 28, 1999, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files; Cal Calabrese to Margaret Gorksi, Dick Williams, Kim Prill, Suzy Hubbell, Tom Ross, January 31, 1999, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[117] DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; Williams, interview; Calabrese, interview.

on bicentennial commemoration plans. The sessions were held in Lewistown, Idaho (April 15–16, 1999); Great Falls, Montana (May 3–4, 1999); New Town, North Dakota (May 5–6, 1999); and Wichita, Kansas (June 29–30, 1999). Each session was co-hosted by a tribe or tribal organization in that region: the Nez Perce for the Lewiston meeting, the Montana Tribal Association for Great Falls, the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation for New Town, and the Otoe-Missouri for Wichita.[118] Calabrese, Schenk, Williams, and Michelle Watson attended all four of the listening sessions, flown by Calabrese, who had a pilot's license, in leased planes.[119]

The purpose of the meetings was to "provide tribes the opportunity to share their views and recommendations surrounding the upcoming bicentennial."[120] Each day began with a tribal-led prayer, followed by speeches by Schenk or Calabrese, Ed Hall of the BIA, Jana Prewitt of DOI, and Michelle Bussard of the Bicentennial Council. LCTHF representatives also attended.[121] Tribes would then have short opportunities to offer their viewpoints, followed by open discussion of several topics: restoration and protection, education and interpretation, and economic development and tourism. The agendas included a social event the first evening, complete with a banquet and traditional dancing led by tribal members.[122] Calabrese hoped that these meetings would get tribes up-to-date on NPS plans, strengthen relationships between the NPS and tribes with which it already frequently worked (such as the Nez Perce at Nez Perce NHP and the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara at Knife River Indian Villages NHS), and enable the NPS to improve relationships with other tribes.[123]

Most American Indians present at these meetings felt that the listening sessions did not go well. The crux of the problem was that the NPS staff presented fully formed ideas for bicentennial activities, rather than starting a discussion with tribes first. American Indian representatives saw the format as symptomatic of the NPS tendency to make plans first and ask for tribal consultation after the fact. Tribal members were also sensitive to how tribes had been historically used by the NPS—asked to sing and dance, but never gaining the leadership, power, or monetary benefits that the NPS obtained from their services.[124] Sammye Meadows, then the executive director of the LCTHF,

---

[118] "Briefing on Lewis and Clark Tribal Consultations," July 7, 1999, Drawer A–Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[119] Williams, interview.

[120] "A Report to the National Park Service: A Summary of Issues and Recommendations From the Consultation with American Indian Tribes Regarding The Lewis and Clark Bi-centennial, April 15, 16, 1999, Lewiston, Idaho," April 15–16, 1999, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: COTA '93–'99, LCNHT Central Files.

[121] "Briefing on Lewis and Clark Tribal Consultations," July 7, 1999, Drawer A–Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[122] "Agenda: Intermountain Tribal Meeting, May 3–4, Great Falls, Montana," May 3–4, 1999, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: COTA '93–'99, LCNHT Central Files; Calabrese, interview.

[123] Calabrese, interview.

[124] Roberta Conner, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 22, 2017, Pendleton, Oregon; Meadows, interview; Pinkham, interview; Halfmoon, interview.

remembers the NPS approaching the listening sessions as, "We want to tell you our plans. You'll like them once we tell you what they are."[125]



Figure 49. Otis Halfmoon, former American Indian Liaison for the Lewis and Clark NHT, pictured here with Corps II interpreter Karla Sigala in Louisville, Kentucky, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Otis Halfmoon, an NPS employee at Nez Perce NHP and member of the Nez Perce Tribe, remembered other NPS employees presenting flashy and fully formed bicentennial plans, without regard to protection of resources or the wishes of tribes:

> And they start talking about the Lewis and Clark bicentennial. And I'm sitting there just listening to them, and just holy smokes, they're predicting millions and millions of people. International visitors and American visitors. I mean, it was just because they want to follow the story of Lewis and Clark. They were our heroes. They are kind of like the astronauts that went to the moon. Going over to countries that nobody's ever explored. Except, you know, for Indian people, obviously.
>
> And it was intriguing to me, listening to all their ideas and so many plans that they had. It was really something. . . . But they talked about having light shows and all these things here, this huge caravan to follow the entire route during the bicentennial years. And the caravan, the light shows, with all these shows and exhibits and so forth.
>
> And I'm thinking to myself, you know, I know my home. I know Lapwai. And how's that going to go? They cannot take that up on Lolo Pass. I will, I mean, as a Nez Perce Indian, I could not see that. And if I had a say on that, I would talk to my tribal council and have it not be done. I started worrying about the resources even more.[126]

Like others who attended NPS consultations, Halfmoon did not feel that he or his tribe had a voice in the bicentennial planning process. Other tribal participants at the listening sessions described them as ineffective and offensive. A COTA publication from 2009 stated, "This after-the-fact

[125] Meadows, interview.

[126] Halfmoon, interview.

consultation and absence of collaboration with American Indians offended many of the attending tribal members, and none of them embraced the concept."[127]



Figure 50. Bobbie Conner, director of the Tamástslikt Cultural Institution at the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, attended several listening sessions in 1999. Pictured here in traditional clothing in Great Falls, Montana, 2005.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

American Indian participants also were frustrated with the NPS staff's insensitivity towards American Indian viewpoints. Bobbie Conner (Cayuse-Umatilla-Nez Perce), director of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation's Tamástslikt Cultural Institution, attended the Lewiston and Great Falls listening sessions, and was then asked by NPS staff to attend the New Town meeting. Conner remembered

> . . . being at a restaurant, a couple of tables away from the National Park Service staff. And he was an archeologist, this gentleman who'd worked many years for the Park Service, [and he] had this really overwhelming desire, uncontrollable desire, to talk about handling human remains. And we kept saying in meetings, "We have a protocol for talking about that. We pray before we talk about that. I mean, this isn't something we casually bring up in conversation." And he would just not shut up.
>
> And so, one night we're around dinner and it was tribal people around one table. And he joined us. He pulled up a chair and joined us. And then he started talking about exhuming the remains of a child on some project. And he didn't realize that everyone stopped eating. Everybody put down their silverware. That no one was really engaging his storytelling. But he just—I mean, if there was a trail of faux pas, it was all his.[128]

These instances of extreme discomfort and misunderstanding in informal settings shaped relationships between the NPS and tribes as much as the formal meetings did.

[127] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 38.

[128] Conner, interview.

Another obstacle for the listening sessions was that tribes had far more important things to worry about than the bicentennial. Conner described how it looked from her perspective:

> So, my tribe is worried about a new ambulance. They're worried about money for the language program. They're worried about how we're going to keep the native plant nursery running. They're wondering how we're going to build a new school building for the new charter school. We have healthcare needs that are much more paramount. We have floods, and bridges, and handicap ramps to build. This doesn't compare. Porta Potties for people on the Lewis and Clark Trail wearing old buckskin reenactment outfits was low on every single tribe's priority. Nobody made a priority of that. And it never became a priority for us.[129]

To ask tribes to use their time and money to celebrate two white men who represented the "beginning of the end" for every tribe that they encountered was financially unrealistic and deeply insulting to many American Indians.[130] Consultation did not change this reality.

After the listening sessions, Calabrese and Williams asked tribes to prioritize projects they would like to see—even if only tangentially related to Lewis and Clark—and send them to the Bicentennial Council. The Bicentennial Council would then try to secure money from Congress for the projects.[131] Calabrese and Williams acknowledged that honoring the validity of these priorities and providing funding was critical to getting tribes on board. Each tribe, they reported, "has at least one on-going issue they'd like resolved that has little to do with Lewis and Clark but may greatly effect [*sic*] their attitude toward the commemoration if it is not taken seriously or resolved."[132] This realization represented a crucial turning point in NPS policy towards American Indian tribes during the bicentennial planning.

Gerard Baker

After the listening sessions, MWRO Director Bill Schenk decided that the Trail needed a leader who could maintain strong relationships with American Indian partners. He called Gerard Baker. A career NPS employee and a member of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation, Baker had grown up on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in North Dakota. Baker had served as superintendent of the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument in the early 1990s, which he had shepherded through the aftermath of a controversial name change from Custer Battlefield National

---

[129] Conner, interview.

[130] Many interviewees for this project and American Indian speakers during the bicentennial used this phrase, but we have been unable to track its source.

[131] Michelle D. Bussard, David Borlaug, and Michelle Watson to Samuel N. Penney, Chairman, Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee, November 18, 1999, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: COTA '93–'99, LCNHT Central Files.

[132] "Briefing on Lewis and Clark Tribal Consultations," July 7, 1999, Drawer A–Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

Monument.[133] At Little Bighorn, Baker received regular death threats for his efforts to include Sioux, Cheyenne, and Crow perspectives in the site's interpretation and to hire staff from those tribes.[134] The NPS subsequently asked Baker to serve as superintendent of Chickasaw National Recreation Area (NRA), a "peaceful place," in Baker's words, after the several hostile years at Little Bighorn.[135] He was at Chickasaw NRA when Schenk and Calabrese called to offer him a position at Lewis and Clark NHT.[136] Schenk hoped that Baker's unique experience and background would help the NPS engage tribes in the bicentennial commemorations.

Baker was hired to be the superintendent of Corps II in the August 2000. He was not initially the superintendent of the entire Lewis and Clark NHT; instead, he was hired to manage the Corps II project, while Calabrese remained in an oversight role for the Trail in general.[137] This created some tension and additional confusion for Trail staff and partners as to where the buck stopped. Baker eventually requested that he have full control over the Trail, without Calabrese's oversight.

Baker became superintendent of the Lewis and Clark NHT in January 2001 and began reporting directly to WASO.[138] Baker and Williams effectively shared management of the Trail from 2000–2004. Baker's role was more political, while Williams managed operations and oversaw use of federal funding. Williams worked with the LCTHF and state commissions, while Baker managed tribal outreach. Both worked frequently with congressional representatives, agency leadership, and the Bicentennial Council.[139]

Some tribes that had been on the fence about the bicentennial responded favorably to Baker's appointment. His natural charisma and deep connections in American Indian communities changed how some tribes felt about the bicentennial almost overnight. As Conner put it, "Tribes got completely coopted when they made Gerard the superintendent. It was just like all right, yes, we'll

---

[133] James Brooke, "Controversy Over Memorial to Winners at Little Bighorn," *New York Times*, August 24, 1997, http://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/24/us/controversy-over-memorial-to-winners-at-little-bighorn.html; Jerome Greene, "Little Bighorn Battlefield: Closing the Circle on Indian Testimony," June 27, 2008, http://www.friendslittlebighorn.com/greeneindiantestimony.htm.

[134] James Brooke, "Controversy Over Memorial to Winners at Little Bighorn" *New York Times*, August 24, 1997, http://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/24/us/controversy-over-memorial-to-winners-at-little-bighorn.html.

[135] Baker, interview.

[136] Baker's cousin, Ed Hall, who worked at BIA and was involved in the interagency working group, also helped to convince Baker to take the position. Hall, interview.

[137] Baker, interview; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; "Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," briefing statement, September 15, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[138] NPS, LCNHT, "Meeting Notes," February 21, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[138] Raymore, interview.

[139] Baker, interview; Williams, interview.

play ball with you. Yes, . . . we'll do programs."[140] When Baker went to tribes to ask them to participate, he promised that they would be able to tell their stories without censorship, edits, or curation. The NPS had a long history of making such promises to tribes that it later broke. Baker, by contrast, had followed through on a similar pledge at Little Bighorn to let tribes tell their story, to hire tribal members, and to avoid censorship of tribal perspectives, to the extent of putting his own life in danger. Many tribal leaders thus trusted Baker in a way that they rarely trusted NPS staff.[141]



Figure 51. Gerard Baker speaks at a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial event, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[140] Conner, interview.

[141] Baker, interview; Halfmoon, interview.



Figure 52. Superintendent Gerard Baker, a career NPS employee, grew up on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Baker (*left*) is pictured here with Tex Hall, former Chairman of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation and president of the National Congress of American Indians, at a bicentennial event in New Town, North Dakota.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Although some tribes were more willing to listen to Baker than to other NPS leaders, other tribes remained skeptical. Baker traveled across the country extensively, meeting with tribes at their reservations and explaining how participation in bicentennial commemorations could be a positive endeavor. Baker recalled that early meetings with tribes were challenging:

> And in my being naïve about everything, I thought man, the tribes are going to want to come onboard! It's going to be an opportunity. They're going to meet me with open arms. They're going to say, "Oh, you're the best thing that ever happened to the Park Service! The best thing that ever happened to Indian country. We just can't wait now."
>
> And it was just the opposite. I think a lot of them pretty much disliked me. Called me a traitor as an Indian, being with the government. Coming to steal their stories like the old days, like anthropologists would.[142]

Baker's roots in Indian country made these sorts of conflicts extremely personal for him. He remembered an encounter at an early meeting, after he had given a speech about the bicentennial:

> I asked them if they had any questions. And this one lady raised her hand. And the first thing she says, she looked at me and she said, "I don't trust you." She said, "You're nothing but a government bureaucrat with braids." And there was at least, maybe four hundred people there at this meeting.
>
> And so, I looked at her and I said, "Ma'am, you're absolutely right." I said, "I am a government bureaucrat with braids." And I said, "Because I'm a bureaucrat with braids, I will give you a

[142] Baker, interview.

> government answer for your question." I said, "You have alternatives here. The alternative that you're choosing right now, is to stick your head in the sand and let all these white people come by and not give them an opportunity to learn about you. To keep perceiving misconceptions that they have about Indian people, about how we're all drunks. And how we're uneducated. How we're all stupid. And how we're all less than them—white people. As Indian people, that we're less than them . . . You can let all that go by us. And then when they go . . . you pull your head out of the sand and keep doing what you're doing . . . ."
>
> "The preferred alternative is to not put your head in the sand," I said. "Get mad, if you're going to get mad. Stay mad. And educate these white people that come through here that we're not drunk, dirty, stupid Indians. That we're very intelligent. We can teach as much as they can, if not more. That we have a culture we're proud of."[143]

Baker understood, in a way that previous Trail leadership had not, the challenge of discussing Lewis and Clark with American Indians, but he also understood his responsibilities as an NPS representative. He explained,

> It's a tough subject, you know. Everybody looked at it as a cheery subject, win/win. It's not. There's some tough subject matter when you start talking about that. Especially with tribes, a way of life. A lot of tribes saw Lewis and Clark as the beginning of the end. Which I think is true.
>
> As the superintendent of that particular project, it was tough for me to have to sit there quietly a lot of times, and not respond. Not saying, "Hell, yeah, I agree with you." You know, growing up on a reservation and seeing all this bullshit happen to us as Indian people, I agree. As a superintendent, you've got to stay in the middle. And you've got to be the leader. And show that leadership in different things. Be it quietness or whatever, you know. But at the same time, you have to show that you're supportive of various groups so they come on board and do in fact tell their story.[144]

Although Baker could not convince every tribe to participate, his outreach to tribes proved successful because he understood and respected their perspectives on Lewis and Clark, he followed through on promises to let tribes tell their stories without censorship, and he encouraged them not to pass up a national stage to tell their stories and receive funding for priority projects.

Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA)

In the aftermath of the contentious listening sessions and the hiring of Gerard Baker, Allen Pinkham suggested that the Nez Perce Tribe host a gathering of tribes to discuss the bicentennial. Pinkham led the first bicentennial planning meeting to be initiated and run by American Indians in October 2000, in Lewiston, Idaho.[145] No federal agency representatives attended, but the DOI funded the meeting.[146] Many tribes chose not to attend, still uninterested in discussing Lewis and

---

[143] Baker, interview.

[144] Baker, interview.

[145] Meadows, interview.

[146] DOI, NPS, "Bicentennial Commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," briefing statement, undated (2001?), Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files; Meadows, interview.

Clark. Those that did attend debated whether participating in bicentennial commemorations could benefit their tribes and communities. The discussion was lengthy and at times tense, but it was also infused with good will and humor. Sammye Meadows, executive director of the LCTHF, remembered the following moment of levity:

> Women were saying, "Oh, we invite all these tourists, all those German women will be coming over here. They'll be after our men."
>
> And Chief [Cliff] Snider from the Chinook stood up. He was the next speaker. And he says, "Well, when those German women come over here—I want somebody to give them my phone number!"

The gathering allowed tribes to have frank discussion and to decide on their own terms whether to participate in the bicentennial and in what form. Towards the end of the meeting, tribal leaders in attendance passed around a cowboy hat. Meadows recounted,

> Somebody said, "If you think your tribe wants to be involved in this, wants to participate, take a dollar bill out of your pocket. If you don't have one, here's a dollar bill. Write your tribe's name on that dollar bill and put it in this hat. And we'll see who we have."[147]

Ultimately, eleven tribes at the Lewiston meeting decided to participate in bicentennial commemorations.[148]



Figure 53. Chief Cliff Snider of the Chinook Tribe speaks during a bicentennial event in St. Louis, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark Trail Tribal Legacy Project.

[147] Meadows, interview.

[148] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 93.



Figure 54. Amy Mossett, member of the Bicentennial Council board, COTA, and the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation, gives a presentation at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in North Dakota, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Tribes worked with the Bicentennial Council to codify this participation, ultimately creating COTA as a division of the Bicentennial Council.[149] COTA membership was open to all tribes whose ancestral homelands were along the Corps of Discovery's route. Amy Mossett, member of the Bicentennial Council board of directors and of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation, became the first chairperson of COTA.[150] Meadows had transitioned from LCTHF executive director to a communications and development role with the Bicentennial Council around the time of the Lewiston meeting, and soon after she became the full-time COTA coordinator. Within several years, around forty tribes, or two-thirds of the tribes that had been documented by Lewis and Clark, became active members of COTA[151] COTA also had a federal representative from the BIA, Ed Hall. Hall was the BIA's tourism coordinator, a member of the federal interagency working group, and an enrolled member of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation.[152]

---

[149] Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, "About the Circle of Tribal Advisors," accessed January 18, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/cota-about.

[150] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 93.

[151] Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, "About the Circle of Tribal Advisors," accessed January 18, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/cota-about.

[152] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.



Figure 55. Ed Hall was the Bureau of Indian Affairs representative to the interagency working group and to COTA. Pictured here in Washington, DC, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

COTA became a forum in which tribes could voice their opinions and concerns about the bicentennial, as well as share their plans. COTA leaders later described the group as

> An historic coalition that viewed the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial as an opportunity to preserve and celebrate what tribes have left of their lands, cultures and languages; present tribal perspectives about the expedition and its aftermath; honor their ancestors' legacies; enhance their children's future; teach the public about American Indians today; and collaborate with non-Indian neighbors to realize mutual goals and benefits. COTA helped elevate cross-cultural dialogue to impart a more nuanced and complete telling of our shared American history.[153]

COTA meetings took place in conjunction with Bicentennial Council and LCTHF multiday planning sessions. Unlike full Bicentennial Council meetings, COTA meetings often ran into the wee hours of the morning. Pinkham led COTA for several years and placed a high value on all tribes having a chance to air their concerns and feel fully listened to. Because of this, when Pinkham ran meetings, he rarely cut them short, preferring to err on the side of overlong meetings in order to allow everyone a chance to speak.[154] Despite their length, many COTA members remember the meetings fondly, as a place to get to know members of other tribes, express their tribes' priorities, and hear those of other tribes.[155]

---

[153] Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, "About the Circle of Tribal Advisors," accessed January 18, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/cota-about.

[154] Pinkham, interview; Chris Howell, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 23, 2017, Spokane, Washington.

[155] Meadows, interview; Conner, interview.



Figure 56. A meeting of Bicentennial Council and COTA board members. On the near side of the table, from left to right, Daphne Richards-Cook, Chris Howell, Karen Goering. On the far side, Bobbie Conner, Bob Miller, and Robert Archibald, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

COTA sought to remind tourists that tribes were still around, that they were not a fixture of the past but modern, functioning communities with concerns and hopes like any other community.[156] Tribes hoped to show their modern reality, not just what Lewis and Clark saw. Early COTA resolutions highlighted issues most important to tribes, many of which had little to do with Lewis and Clark. In 2002, COTA adopted two resolutions that advocated for (1) federal recognition of all tribes along the Expedition route (some, like the Chinook or the Lemhi Shoshone, lacked or had lost federal recognition), and (2) "protection of tribal cultural resource areas, burial grounds, and sacred sites" after the bicentennial.[157] Tribes hoped that the bicentennial would be an opportunity to draw attention to critical issues in their home communities and to gain funding to start meaningful projects. COTA worked with tribes across the country to prepare for increased visitation, both by ameliorating negative impacts that could come with greater numbers of tourists and harnessing new revenue that those guests might bring. [158]

[156] "Notes from August 16–17, 2001," August 16–17, 2001, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

[157] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 94.

[158] DOI, NPS, "Bicentennial Commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," briefing statement, undated (2001?), Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.



Figure 57. COTA members Chris Howell and Amy Mossett with Trail employees Dick Basch, Jeff Olson, and Gerard Baker, presumably making a joke of how often the bicentennial required them to be on their phones, 2003.

Source: National Park Service.

Baker's Administrative Changes

Because the Lewis and Clark NHT had never had more than a few staff members, it lacked the traditional NPS divisions of natural resources, cultural resources, law enforcement, etc. Since funding coming to the Trail was primarily directed at bicentennial initiatives, Baker divided the staff into two divisions: Corps II, which would act as the Trail's interpretive arm, and Challenge Cost Share (CCS), which would manage the Trail's now massive partnership grants program. Administrative staff would help to oversee both of these divisions.[159] Baker's first staff hires were administrative and were crucial for proper oversight of the unprecedented funds coming to the Trail. First, he brought in a second administrative assistant (in addition to Midori Raymore) as a personal secretary. Then in 2001, he hired Betty Boyko as the administrative officer, to manage the Trail's increasingly complex finances and staffing structure.[160]

[159] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[160] NPS, LCNHT, "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; Betty Boyko, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 5, 2017, Fort Scott, Kansas.



Figure 58. Administrative Officer Betty Boyko managed the Trail's administrative structure and finances for most of the bicentennial, 2006.

Source: National Park Service.

Baker also prioritized hiring a tribal liaison. He initially envisioned having four tribal liaisons distributed along the Trail, to keep in close contact by region with the over sixty tribes whose ancestral lands were along the Expedition's route. Baker secured funding for the first tribal liaison in 2001 and hired W. Otis Halfmoon for the job. Halfmoon, a member of the Nez Perce Tribe, was also a career NPS employee. He had worked for many years at Nez Perce NHP and was also a regular on the powwow circuit, which made him well-known in Indian country. Baker remembers that Halfmoon was incredibly effective at working with tribes. Baker said that Halfmoon

> Came on board and was true to everything I thought, and more. . . . His main job was to get the tribes in order. Bring them on board. Keep them on board. Open those doors for dialog. Help them get going with Lewis and Clark. Help them get going with the Park Service, because we're a government agency. Help them with all that kind of business. Keep them going. And stay ahead of us as we're going. Stay ahead and keep them on board that way. Which he did. And so, he just did an absolute marvelous job.[161]

Halfmoon was effective at working with tribes because of his personal relationships across the country, his NPS experience, and his understanding of why tribes might not want to participate in the bicentennial.

[161] Baker, interview.

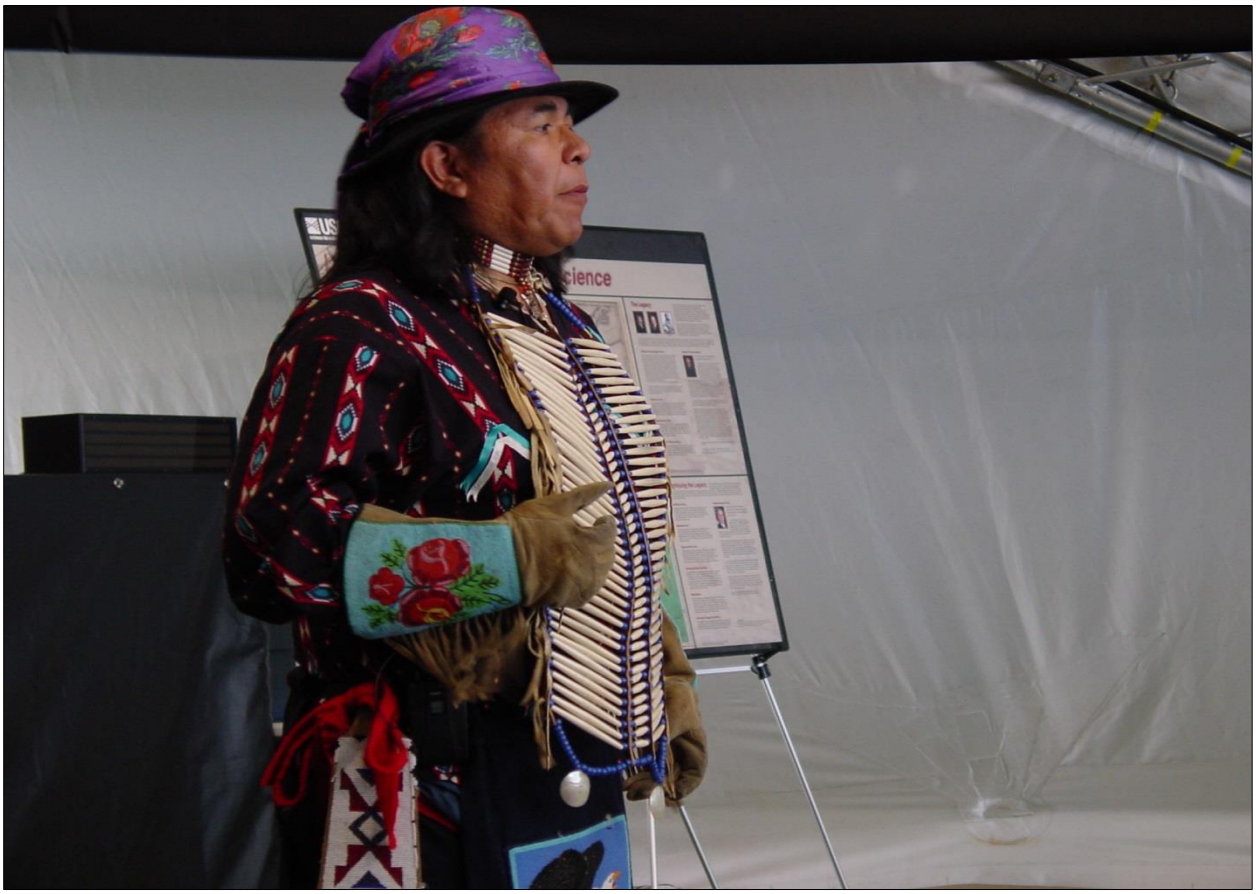


Figure 59. Otis Halfmoon, the Trail's first American Indian liaison, reached out to tribes across the nation asking them to participate in the bicentennial. Here, Halfmoon giving a presentation during the bicentennial.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

As noted earlier, Halfmoon had not been enthusiastic about early NPS plans for the bicentennial and worried most about protecting resources on the Nez Perce and other reservations. He told other tribes about the tension that he felt between his concerns about the NPS coming into tribal lands and what he saw as an "opportunity to tell our side of the story."[162] Halfmoon met extensively with tribes and helped other NPS staff identify where they stood on the bicentennial and what the NPS would need to do in order for them to participate. Like Baker, Halfmoon understood how both NPS and reservation politics worked. Halfmoon's and Baker's success depended on the ability to move seamlessly between Indian country and the federal bureaucracy.[163]

[162] Halfmoon, interview.

[163] Baker, interview; Halfmoon, interview; Pinkham, interview.



Figure 60. Dick Basch (*center)* joined the Trail as American Indian liaison in 2003. Basch is pictured here in St. Louis, Missouri, with Darrell Martin (*left*), who also served as an American Indian liaison for the Trail for a brief period, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Craig Manson (*right, in foreground*), and Chief of Interpretation Pat Jones (*far right*), 2004.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

In 2003, Halfmoon took a different NPS position in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Baker hired Dick Basch as the American Indian liaison. Basch was a member of the Clatsop-Nehalem Confederated Tribes in Oregon and a descendent of Clatsop Chief Coboway, who had welcomed the Corps of Discovery when it reached the Oregon coast in 1805.[164] Basch and his wife Roberta (a member of the Puyallup Tribe in Washington) had worked with Seattle Public Schools for many years and were well-connected in northwestern tribal communities. In the years leading up to the bicentennial, Basch had begun volunteering for bicentennial events, having realized that they could

[164] James P. Ronda, "Chapter 8: The Clatsop Winter," in *Lewis & Clark Among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), https://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/item/lc.sup.ronda.01.08; Richard Basch, interview by Jackie Gonzales, May 1, 2017, Astoria, Oregon.

offer a powerful platform to tell the stories of his and other tribes.[165] After joining the Trail staff, Basch conducted outreach to tribes, recruited tribal presenters for the Tent of Many Voices (see Chapter 7), worked with tribes on issues important to them (such as sacred site protection, the Native American Art Act, schools, and BIA contracting), and facilitated dialogue between tribes and neighboring communities.[166]

Challenge Cost Share Grants

The NPS funded partner endeavors and tribal participation in the bicentennial largely through Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants. CCS was a federal grants program for entities that partnered with a land management agency and raised matching funds. The private partner could be a non-profit organization, a local or state government, a tribe, or even an individual (if he or she had a fiscal sponsor).[167] When the NPS began its CCS program, it dedicated a portion of all grant dollars to federal trails, and the Lewis and Clark NHT first received CCS funds in 1994.[168] DOI CCS funds ballooned during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, when Congress earmarked millions of dollars a year for the Lewis and Clark NHT (see Figure 61). In total, from 1995 to 2006, the Trail funded 768 projects totaling over $25 million. In just the bicentennial years, 2003 to 2006, Trail staff funded 433 projects at $16.5 million, an unprecedented amount for one small national historic trail to manage.[169] No other national historic trail had received even close to this much money in operations funding, let alone grant monies to distribute to partners.

Administration

Williams managed the CCS program from 1994 to 1999.[170] His criteria for choosing grant recipients were

---

[165] Baker, interview; Halfmoon, interview; Basch, interview; Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 13.

[166] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 9; Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 5–6; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report," memorandum, March 20, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 3–4.

[167] The Federal Grant and Cooperative Agreements Act of 1977 provided authority for such partnerships, and the BLM issued its first CCS grants in 1985 for resource management projects. 31 U.S.C. 6301-6308; BLM, "Challenge Cost Share," 1991.

[168] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration, Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[169] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II," 11–12.

[170] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration, Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

1. Projects that were national in scope and related specifically to the Bicentennial. (The Bicentennial Council's annual planning meeting, for example.)
2. Interpretive projects, or media, that placed new or renovated interpretive exhibits at locations that would help the public follow and understand the Lewis and Clark NHT. (Wayside exhibits, for example.)
3. Educational projects. (Curriculum guides, traveling trunks, etc.)
4. Projects that protected or marked trail sites or provided a retracement opportunity to the public.
5. Planning projects related to the Bicentennial.
6. Research projects.[171]

In addition to the above criteria, Lewis and Clark NHT staff used a "fairness component" that took geography and previous grants into account.[172] During the bicentennial, they also considered whether the organization would exist after the end of the bicentennial.[173]

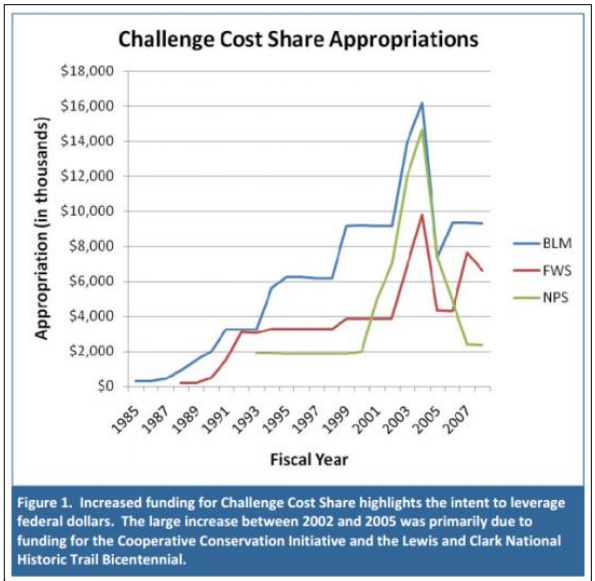


Figure 61. Department of the Interior Challenge Cost Share funding, 1987–2009.

Source: USFWS, "Evaluation of Department of the Interior Challenge Cost Share Programs," September 25, 2009, https://www.fws.gov/mountain-prairie/challengecostshare/OIG-Audit-Final-Report-9-25-2009.pdf, 1.

[171] Richard Williams, LCNHT, to Robert Gatten, LCTHF, December 16, 1997, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[172] Richard Williams, LCNHT, to Robert Gatten, LCTHF, December 16, 1997, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[173] Stephen E. Adams, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 3, 2017, Oro Valley, Arizona; Raymore, interview; Williams, interview.

Applicants in the 1990s included state bicentennial commissions, tribes, small towns, and non-profit partner groups. From 1994 to 1999, the Trail received between $25,000 and $90,000 a year from the NPS for CCS grants, which it would split up into fourteen awards.[174] By 1999, as a result of increased congressional interest in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, CCS funds granted to Lewis and Clark NHT partners jumped to $250,000.[175] Projects in the 1990s included interpretive signs and trails, visitor center construction and exhibit design, bicentennial planning, and other Expedition-related educational materials.[176] Congress first earmarked CCS funds specifically for the Lewis and Clark NHT in 2001 in the amount of $3 million—over four times the amount appropriated the previous year and over 100 times the amount allocated five years earlier.[177] Of that $3 million, $2 million went directly to the MHS for operation of the Bicentennial Council.[178] From 2002 to 2004, Congress appropriated $5 million per year to Lewis and Clark NHT for CCS grants to Trail partners (see Table 3).[179]

Table 3. Lewis and Clark NHT Challenge Cost Share Program, 1995–2006

CCSP Fiscal Year (FY)	Projects Funded	NPS Funding (actual)	Partner Matching
FY 1995–1999	68	$501,141	$1,222,312
FY 2000	39	$711,295	$1,311,449
FY 2001	85	$3,048,401	$6,453,162
FY 2002	143	$4,895,736	$11,114,126
FY 2003	134	$4,878,540	$26,273,681
FY 2004	122	$4,584,734	$15,237,692
FY 2005	103	$4,747,730	$16,543,116

[174] Raymore, interview.

[175] DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, LCNHT, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

[176] "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 1999 Challenge Cost Share Projects," undated, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A44 Interagency Agree. MOU Group (2), LCNHT Central Files.

[177] Midori Raymore to LCNHT staff, "Feb Staff Notes," February 21, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; Raymore, interview.

[178] Gerard Baker, "Superintendent's Annual Report," 2001, LCNHT Digital Files, 5–6.

[179] USFWS, "Evaluation of Department of the Interior Challenge Cost Share Programs," September 25, 2009, https://www.fws.gov/mountain-prairie/challengecostshare/OIG-Audit-Final-Report-9-25-2009.pdf, 1; Raymore, interview.

Table 3. Lewis and Clark NHT Challenge Cost Share Program, 1995–2006 cont'd

FY 2006	74	$2,386,000	$8,463,138
Total	768	$25,753,577	$86,618,676

Source: NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II," 11–12.

As the CCS program ballooned and the Trail hired additional administrative staff, Williams and Baker promoted Midori Raymore to manager of the Lewis and Clark NHT CCS grants program.[180] Raymore had effectively been managing the program already, and Williams's other duties had grown in scope as the bicentennial approached.[181] The transition from a $25,000 to a $5 million grants program in just a few years presented an administrative challenge. Raymore managed applications, communicated with applicants who experienced technical difficulties, and developed databases to house grant information. At first, Raymore managed CCS applications on paper, as Williams had, but she moved to electronic applications in 2003, thanks to the help of a University of Nebraska faculty member and MWRO technological support.[182] Raymore hosted workshops in communities along the Trail to help organizations with the grant application process, and she assisted applicants with other fundraising efforts during the bicentennial.[183] Raymore received contract management assistance from Theora McVea and André Ward in the MWRO.[184]

Williams established a CCS review committee, which consisted of several volunteers from the LCTHF, representatives of the interagency working group, Trail interpreters Karla Sigala and Laurie Heupel, and Gerard Baker.[185] Raymore and Williams updated the criteria by which the committee

[180] Gerard A. Baker, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[181] Raymore, interview; Williams, interview; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; NPS, LCNHT, "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[182] No LCNHT CCS grants went through "grants.gov," the system through which all federal grants are now managed, since it had only recently been established as of the bicentennial and had not been uniformly implemented for existing programs. Raymore, interview; NPS, LCNHT, "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[183] Midori C. Raymore, Challenge Cost Share Program Coordinator, to Denelle High Elk, Lewis & Clark Coordinator, Cheyenne River Sioux, May 1, 2003, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files; NPS, LCNHT, "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[184] "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; Gerard Baker, "Superintendent's Annual Report," 2001, LCNHT Digital Files, 5.

[185] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; Williams, interview; Raymore, interview.

would evaluate grant applications, which included historic value, interpretive value, and benefit to the public. The CCS grant review committee convened annually for a multi-day meeting, and NPS funds paid for the travel of those who were not NPS employees. Baker attended meetings and flagged projects he found particularly noteworthy, but he was not as intimately involved in application review as Williams, Heupel, and Sigala.[186] Trail staff used cooperative agreements to disburse most of the CCS funds, though a smaller number were funded through purchase orders.[187] They then monitored projects and provided technical assistance in interpretation or planning.[188]

Unprecedented CCS appropriations to Lewis and Clark NHT from 2001 to 2005 caused occasional controversies. For instance, the Bicentennial Council used CCS funds and other NPS funds as unrestricted monies, rather than project-specific grants. This financial laxity threatened to derail the bicentennial entirely. Political pressure often dictated where funds went. Members of the Lewis and Clark Congressional Caucus stayed in close touch with Baker and Williams and lobbied for CCS funds to go to projects in their districts.[189] Raymore did what she could to mitigate controversies, advising groups to keep their funding requests to two years so that grants could be efficiently closed out. In other comparably sized federal grants program, administrative functions would have been divided among several individuals, rather than the situation at the Lewis and Clark NHT, where Raymore managed most of the work by herself.[190]



Figure 62. The Tamástslikt Cultural Institute on the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation received CCS funding for several projects during the bicentennial.

Source: Sammye Meadows.

[186] Raymore, interview.

[187] NPS, LCNHT, "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[188] Manager, LCNHT, to Superintendent, LCNHT, October 12, 2004, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A 2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files; Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 3.

[189] Raymore, interview; Williams, interview.

[190] Raymore, interview.

Projects

Many of the CCS grants distributed by Lewis and Clark NHT went, through cooperative agreements, in large lump sums to the Bicentennial Council, COTA, and the LCTHF, and those organizations then disbursed funds to partner organizations.[191] The LCTHF and COTA both had grants review committees that decided how those funds would be distributed.[192] State bicentennial committees gathered small applications—from historical societies, towns, independent groups, or state agencies—and grouped them into one larger funding request, so that Raymore only had to work with the state-level groups.[193] In addition, a portion of CCS funds went directly to bicentennial signature event hosts each year.[194]

Other CCS grants supported a wide array of partner organizations and governments as they prepared for bicentennial events or developed tourist destinations related to the Corps of Discovery that would continue after the bicentennial.[195] Many grants supported interpretive projects.[196] These included interpretive exhibits, signage, and the development of new interpretive or visitor centers (such as the Weippe Discovery Center in Idaho, the Buffalo Interpretive Center at the Lower Brule Sioux Reservation, a South Dakota Department of Tourism interpretive center, a welcome center in Nebraska, and a Discovery Center in St. Charles, Missouri). Grants also funded travel for tribal members to Bicentennial Council meetings, indigenous language preservation, and natural resource research. Some grants were for specific events, like a Nez Perce spring clean-up in 2001.

Recipients in fiscal years (FY) 2001 and 2002 ranged from small towns along the route like Elk Point, South Dakota, to major organizations like Ducks Unlimited and the University of Missouri. State and private organizations developed trails and updated signage in Missouri, Montana, Washington, and South Dakota. Tribes received funding for a variety of projects, including clean-

---

[191] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

[192] Meadows, interview; Goering, interview; Williams, interview.

[193] "And so, like our grant with the state of Montana, actually went to this Montana State Bicentennial coordinator, Clint Blackwood. And he would make sure that these 15 projects or 20 projects in the state of Montana, he would oversee the funding for them. So we'd take these 15, fund it into one grant with him. They'd send the paperwork to him and say, 'Okay, we're done. Here's the sign. This is our invoices. We'd like to get paid.' He'd create an invoice. And then to me, I'd record it for every individual project. Dick would look at it and say, yeah, okay. And then I'd send it in to DC for them to pay it." Raymore, interview.

[194] Goering, interview; Meadows, interview.

[195] NPS, LCNHT, "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; Robbie Wilbur, Special Assistant to the Secretary, DOI, to Senate and House Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus, memorandum, April 4, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.

[196] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

ups, historical research, construction of visitor center or interpretive facilities, and bicentennial planning projects. The Bicentennial Council received several grants each year, divided by tasks: annual planning workshop, tribal gathering, website, and bicentennial event coordination. The CCS program not only funded the bicentennial, in many cases, it also jump-started the growth of partner organizations.[197]



Figure 63. A 2003 CCS grant to the Kansas Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission enabled the construction of this riverfront pavilion in Atchison. Pictured here, 2013.

Source: National Park Service.



Figure 64. A FY 2000 CCS grant funded wayside exhibits in Elk Point City Park in Elk Point, South Dakota. Pictured here, 2015.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[197] Gerard A. Baker, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; NPS, "Challenge Cost Share Program Funding, Fiscal Year 2001," 2001[?], Drawer D – 6215, Folder: D62 LECL NHT Museum & Exhibit Activities, Corps II, LCNHT Central Files; LCNHT Central Files; NPS, "Fiscal Year 2000," 2000[?], Drawer D – 6215, Folder: D62 LECL NHT Museum & Exhibit Activities, Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.

Trail staff received more requests than they could fund each year. States with funded projects included Oklahoma, Colorado, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, the District of Columbia, and Wisconsin.[198] From 2003 to 2004, the Trail allocated 308 CCS grants as follows:

42 for bicentennial signature event planning/participation ($1,893,000).

12 for administrative support of trail and bicentennial projects and organizations ($991,250).

46 for infrastructure, including visitor centers, trail projects, and park improvements ($2,482,000).

69 for tribal or other American Indian projects, including visitor center or other infrastructure planning, cultural preservation projects, interpretation projects, bicentennial planning, and educational projects ($2,828,978).

123 for interpretation development/events ($4,532,784).

16 for educational projects ($668,000).[199]



Figure 65. The Sacajawea Interpretive Center in Salmon, Idaho, received CCS funds from Lewis and Clark NHT during the bicentennial. Pictured here, 2004.

Source: Bureau of Land Management.

[198] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 3; Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 8; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report," memorandum, March 20, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 6.

[199] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 8; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report," memorandum, March 20, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 3–4.

Projects varied widely and included tribal language programs, visitor centers for tribes or other entities, interpretive displays, scholarly journals, artistic installations, trail stewardship and maintenance, and educational materials for schoolteachers.



The LCTHF and the NPS recognized the potential of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial to bring millions of tourists to Trail states, and they began planning early to ensure the success of interpretation and resource protection. The NPS coordinated with a variety of partners to help them realize the benefits of the bicentennial, not just in increased tourism but also in lasting interpretive, educational, and resource stewardship projects. Initially, most American Indian tribes did not want to participate in the bicentennial. After a decade of conversations among the NPS, tribes, and non-profit partners, many tribal leaders decided to participate because they believed that the NPS would keep its word to let them tell their own, uncensored stories, and that the bicentennial platform could bring in tourists and economic development to their nations. Early organization and outreach by the federal interagency working group, the NPS, the LCTHF, the Bicentennial Council, COTA, and the congressional caucus brought in the funding to make the bicentennial possible, and the willingness of the NPS to let go of the narrative kept tribal partners engaged.

Chapter 7. Corps II: The Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration

From 2003 to 2006, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT) employees, whether in Omaha or on the road, spent the bulk of their time and efforts supporting the traveling exhibit known as "Corps of Discovery II" (Corps II) as it traversed the nation. This mobile National Park Service (NPS) unit was without precedent in the history of the agency, and funding for the exhibit resulted in long-term changes to the administrative structure of the Lewis and Clark NHT. Commemorating the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, as with prior Trail activities, depended on close coordination between the Lewis and Clark NHT and its partners.

Corps II Planning

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) leaders first had the idea for a traveling NPS exhibit for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial in 1993. From those early conceptualizations, the LCTHF and the NPS worked together closely to figure out what a traveling exhibit might look like. The NPS also collaborated with the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council (Bicentennial Council), although more loosely, to design and fund the exhibit. Superintendent Gerard Baker followed through on his promise to allow tribes to share their own stories, adding the Tent of Many Voices to the exhibit design as a forum for all perspectives. The NPS narrowly finished the exhibit before the first signature event in January 2003.

Initial Ideas

In August 1993, Harry Hubbard, founder of the LCTHF Bicentennial Committee, first proposed a plan for a three-year, mobile celebration of the Corps of Discovery. Hubbard envisioned "a traveling theater and a traveling museum" following the Expedition's route:

> The museum, if well funded, would consist of several interconnecting trailers, as in the traveling display for the Bicentennial of the Constitution . . . . Associated with the traveling museum would be an educational packet prepared for school systems across the country, and art and photography contests in each state . . . . Further ideas to be pursued would be living history presentations on appropriate days in each Lewis and Clark site. Lewis and Clark Trail runs and/or bicycle tours/races and/or horse tours/races would be possible. Participants in such events could carry a newly-designed Lewis and Clark flag. High school band contests could be held in each state, with the winners playing

> at appropriate sites on the appropriate day. Folks/square dance organizations could also be brought in.[1]

Hubbard hoped that the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial might garner similar congressional attention and funding as the U.S. Constitution's bicentennial in 1987, for which Congress had created a federal commission in 1983 and then appropriated more than $26 million for celebrations over the following years.[2] Hubbard and the LCTHF Bicentennial Committee incorporated elements of the Constitution's bicentennial—interagency participation, media and corporate partners, working with state and local committees, traveling exhibits, and congressional input and funding—into their early plans for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. They encouraged partners to help pressure Congress for additional NPS funding, "so that it [the NPS] could be the agency to plan, create, and execute the idea for a traveling museum."[3]

At the 1994 NPS Lewis and Clark Bicentennial planning meeting in Omaha convened by Trail Superintendent Tom Gilbert, NPS staff discussed Hubbard's idea for a traveling exhibit as part of a larger discussion of what bicentennial commemorations might look like (see Chapter 6).[4] No firm plans for a traveling exhibit came out of the Omaha meeting, but the attendees decided on four bicentennial goals that shaped future interpretive priorities:

> Foster understanding and protection of the cultural and natural resources along the expedition route;
>
> Foster increased understanding of the multicultural nature of the expedition's members, and those cultures contacted, to an ethnically diverse American audience;
>
> Use the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial as a catalyst to launch a new "Corps of Discovery" interpretive and education effort to stimulate personal voyages of discovery; and
>
> Provide leadership for all interested parties in observing the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial and for improving stewardship of national historic trail facilities, programs, and activities.[5]

---

[1] Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF), "Minutes of Bicentennial Committee Meeting, Collinsville, IL," August 2, 1993, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Central Files, Omaha, NE (hereafter LCNHT Central Files).

[2] An Act to provide for the establishment of a Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution, September 29, 1983, 97 Stat. 719 (P.L. 98-101); Paul Marcotte, "We the People . . . don't know the Constitution, according to new survey," *American Bar Association Journal* 73, no. 6 (May 1, 1987): 21.

[3] Marcotte, "We the People," 21; LCTHF, "Minutes of Bicentennial Committee Meeting, Collinsville, IL," August 2, 1993, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council 1993, LCNHT Central Files.

[4] National Park Service (NPS), Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT), "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future,' A Project of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial 1994–2006," (September 2008), 3.

[5] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 3.

The Bicentennial Council continued to brainstorm traveling exhibit ideas at its annual bicentennial planning workshops from 1994 to 1998, underwritten by Lewis and Clark NHT funds.[6] The council developed a fairly specific vision for the traveling museum early in these discussions:

> We visualize a trailer train of 4 or more units. Each trailer will expand to showroom size and will be connected with fold out walkways. At least one unit will house an audio-visual show telling the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.[7]

Bicentennial Council members sought to include extensive educational programming, build bridges with American Indian communities, capture the "original excitement" of the Expedition, convene many cultures, leave a lasting legacy, and host a "grand party."[8] Some of these ideas stuck, while others faded or were reshaped through thoughtful discussion with partners. At a 1995 Bicentennial Council meeting, Karen Goering of the Missouri Historical Society (MHS) committed the MHS to taking the lead "in development of a traveling exhibit to be used during the Bicentennial."[9] The Council continued to discuss the traveling exhibit idea, but planning stalled when no NPS or other funding was forthcoming in the mid-1990s.

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Corps II Proposal

Although the NPS first entertained the idea of a bicentennial traveling exhibit at the Omaha bicentennial planning meeting in 1994, it did not develop specific plans for the exhibit until 1998.[10] That January, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (JNEM) Superintendent Gary Easton and Assistant Superintendent Ken Schaefer proposed to the Midwest Regional Office (MWRO) that the NPS commemorate the bicentennial with a "National Lewis and Clark Expedition" that would be, "in effect, a traveling National Park Service unit." They continued,

> This "expedition" would be a federally-funded enterprise which would use the internet, the news media, and other means of disseminating information to bring the story of Lewis and Clark to the widest audience possible. Members of the "expedition" would also actually retrace the route of the original Corps of Discovery, staying in the same places as the explorers did (allowing for modern land

---

[6] National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council Meeting, Missoula, Montana, minutes, July 29, 1994, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 1994, National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Papers, Missouri History Museum (hereafter NCLCBC Papers, MHM).

[7] National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council Meeting, Missoula, Montana, minutes, July 29, 1994, Box "NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999," Folder "Board Meeting July 29, 1994," NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[8] National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council Meeting, Missoula, Montana, minutes, July 29, 1994, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 1994, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[9] Meeting of the Board of Directors, National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, Charlottesville, VA, minutes, July 28, 1995, Box: NC Board Meetings 1993–07/1999, Folder: Board Meeting July 28, 1995 Charlottesville, VA, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[10] Board of Directors of the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council Meeting, Great Falls, MT, minutes, July 3, 1998, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Bicentennial Council – 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

use restrictions and the changes, such as the damming of rivers, which have taken place over 200 years).

The National Park Service would lead *the* major event of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. We would coordinate the efforts of the nationwide celebration, and fit thousands of already-planned local celebrations and activities into the larger picture. Instead of the public coming to see us at our fixed National Park Service sites, we would take the history of the trail to them, reaching out to ordinary people in small towns and urban areas across America to interpret and commemorate the achievements of Lewis and Clark . . . . [11]



Figure 66. Mark Engler, chief of interpretation at JNEM in 1998, drafted the first detailed Corps II plan with his staff and was named the first superintendent of Corps II.

Source: National Park Service.

Easton and Schaefer pictured this twenty-first century Expedition leaving from Washington, DC, with a permanent crew, consisting of six to ten federal employees from the NPS and other agencies along the Trail, including U.S. Forest Service (USFS), U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). Expedition members would be "experts in the fields of woodcraft and woodlore, first aid and safety, press relations, interpretation, history, education, computers, and supplies and logistics."[12]

Schaefer suggested that JNEM lead this traveling exhibit, since it was "the only one of the nine NPS areas commemorating the bicentennial with such a large annual visitation and the resources to bring the story and the importance of the expedition to a wide audience."[13] MWRO Director Bill Schenk disagreed and decided instead that the Lewis and Clark NHT superintendent would oversee the traveling exhibit. Trail manager Dick Williams took the responsibility for day-to-day management of bicentennial commemorations.[14]

[11] Ken Schaefer, Assistant Superintendent, for Gary W. Easton, Superintendent, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (JNEM), to Bill Schenk, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, January 29, 1998, 1–3, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Corps of Discovery II c.1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[12] Ken Schaefer, Assistant Superintendent, for Gary W. Easton, Superintendent, JNEM, to Bill Schenk, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, January 29, 1998, 2, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Corps of Discovery II c.1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[13] Ken Schaefer, Assistant Superintendent, for Gary W. Easton, Superintendent, JNEM, to Bill Schenk, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, January 29, 1998, 1, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Corps of Discovery II c.1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[14] NPS, "National Park Service Goals and Objectives for the Observance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial," undated [April 1998?], Drawer [no label, 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC Meeting 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

However, since Lewis and Clark NHT had few employees, Schenk directed JNEM staff to develop plans and budget projections for the exhibit.[15]

In March 1998, Mark Engler, chief of interpretation at JNEM, led his staff in a brainstorming session about the traveling exhibit proposal. Engler worked with JNEM historian Bob Moore and interpreters Carl Schumacher and Jim Gerst to develop a basic outline of a bicentennial traveling classroom.[16] Engler and Moore oversaw revisions of the initial outline the following month, before Schenk presented it to the Washington Office (WASO). At that point, they called the proposed exhibit the "Corps of Re-Discovery."[17] A briefing for Department of the Interior (DOI) leadership outlined the bare bones of the proposal:

> Logistically, the traveling classroom might consist of three vehicles—a mobile visitor center, a telecommunications center, and a dormitory/office for the staff. A staff of perhaps 20 people would be drawn from several agencies and other cooperating sources. There would also be an advance team.[18]

Schenk made the case to WASO that the NPS should take the lead on the bicentennial commemoration and exhibit, pointing to the Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group (interagency working group) as an example of the DOI already providing such leadership.[19]

NPS and DOI leaders in Washington agreed that the NPS should lead the effort, and that September, JNEM staff published the first full proposal and blueprint for the bicentennial traveling exhibit, titled "Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future." The proposal described the general plan for the exhibit, nicknamed "Corps II," as follows:

> Under National Park Service leadership, Corps II will recreate the epic journey of Lewis and Clark by retracing the historic trail, crossing 19 states and making overnight stops in large urban areas and small towns along the way. In addition, during the winter months of 2004, 2005, and 2006, when the original expedition was in winter quarters, Corps II will bring the expedition to areas off the original trail, from Florida to Texas, Minnesota to California. Through a combination of mobile museum

---

[15] "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail—National Bicentennial Event, 2003–2006," briefing statement, April 10, 1998, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC 1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[16] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 14.

[17] "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail—National Bicentennial Event, 2003–2006," briefing statement, April 10, 1998, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder "NLCBC 1998," LCNHT Central Files; NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 14.

[18] "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail—National Bicentennial Event, 2003–2006," briefing statement, April 10, 1998, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder "NLCBC 1998," LCNHT Central Files.

[19] "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail—National Bicentennial Event, 2003–2006," briefing statement, April 10, 1998, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder "NLCBC 1998," LCNHT Central Files.

> exhibits, live interpretation, use of the internet, distance learning video, and spectacular laser light shows, Corps II will reach millions of people.[20]

JNEM staff hoped that other federal agencies would participate in Corps II by contributing staff to the crew and hosting events in towns where those agencies had a local presence (for instance, the USACE along the Columbia and the Missouri Rivers). The NPS hoped to "bring life to the figures of Lewis and Clark . . . as we enter a new millennium."[21]

The Corps II proposal included estimates for budget, staffing, and schedules. The staffing plan called for a tribal liaison, a superintendent, and administrative support. A logistics coordinator would be hired in fiscal year (FY) 2001, and then interpretive, educational, and public affairs specialists would join the team in FY 2002.[22] Engler, who by 1999 had transitioned to interim superintendent of Corps II and full-time superintendent at Homestead National Monument of America in Nebraska, estimated the budget for Corps II at $28.6 million, $14.1 million of which would come from federal appropriations, while the rest would be raised in the private sector.[23] The MWRO developed a six-year budget for other NPS units affiliated with the Corps of Discovery story.[24]

Around this time, Cal Calabrese became the acting superintendent of the Lewis and Clark NHT. Calabrese had trademarked the Corps II concept and logo by October 1999 and had increased communications with Congress in order to secure appropriations for the exhibit.[25] Calabrese, Schenk, and Williams also began meeting with state government representatives to discuss infrastructure needs, and they continued to work closely with the Bicentennial Council, the interagency working group, and the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus.[26] The interagency working group signed on to the Corps II plan in 1999 and began asking states to plan

---

[20] NPS, JNEM, "Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Program" (September 1998), Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Corps of Discovery II c.1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[21] NPS, JNEM, "Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Program" (September 1998), Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Corps of Discovery II c.1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[22] NPS, JNEM, "Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Program" (September 1998), Drawer A – Administration, Folder: Corps of Discovery II c.1998, LCNHT Central Files.

[23] Mark Engler, Superintendent, Homestead National Monument, NPS, to Office of the Secretary of the Interior, "Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," briefing statement, January 14, 1999, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A44 Interagency Agree. MOU Group, LCNHT Central Files; Engler to Superintendents of NPS units along LCNHT, "Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," memoranda, February 23, 1999 and March 12, 1999, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: D18 LECL NHT Corps of Discovery II, LCNHT Central Files.

[24] Francis Calabrese, "National Park Service: Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Preparations," October 1, 1999, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC MTING – 1999, LCNHT Central Files.

[25] Francis Calabrese, "National Park Service: Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Preparations," October 1, 1999, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC MTING – 1999, LCNHT Central Files.

[26] Department of the Interior (DOI), NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control, LCNHT Central Files.

possible events and to generate ideas for funding sources.[27] Schenk and Calabrese campaigned for federal funding of a superintendent to manage Corps II, and the MWRO hired Baker into that position in August 2000 (see Chapter 6).[28] Baker and Williams, who were now effectively co-managing the Trail, began raising funds and developing partnerships to turn the Corps II concept into reality.[29]



Figure 67. The NPS trademarked this Corps II logo in 1999.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[27] Francis Calabrese, "National Park Service: Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Preparations," October 1, 1999, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC MTING – 1999, LCNHT Central Files; Lorraine Roach to Gerard Baker, July 24, 2002, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC Fundraising, LCNHT Central Files; Royce Wolfe to M. Bussard et al., December 12, 2000, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC Fundraising, LCNHT Central Files; and Michelle Bussard to Gerard Baker and David Borlaug, June 19, 2001, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: NLCBC Fundraising, LCNHT Central Files.

[28] "Lewis and Clark Staff Meeting," minutes, October 20, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files (IMG_2771); "Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," briefing statement, September 15, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[29] "Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," briefing statement, September 15, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files; Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future Project Meeting Notes, Washington, DC, December 14, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A44 Interagency Agree. MOU Group, LCNHT Central Files.

Tent of Many Voices

One of Baker's central priorities for Corps II was to broaden the traditional narrative of the Expedition to include perspectives beyond those of the explorers. From Elliot Coues's publications in the 1890s to Stephen Ambrose's *Undaunted Courage* in 1997, historians writing about the Expedition had focused almost exclusively on Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and sometimes Sacagawea, and had cast them as heroes exploring a virgin land (see Chapter 1). But the Corps of Discovery had passed through dozens of nations on its journey, traversing land that other men, women, and children had known intimately for thousands of years. The NPS had not previously included tribes as a central part of the Lewis and Clark story, despite the tribes' roles in the Expedition's survival and success, along with the vast changes that the Expedition set in motion in American Indian communities. In a distinct shift from earlier practices, the NPS gave Baker room to let tribes broaden this narrative themselves, in part out of fear that tribes would pull out or protest bicentennial plans as they had done for the Columbus Quincentennial.

Baker established four questions as guiding principles of Corps II dialogue:

1. What life was like before Lewis and Clark?
2. What was life like during Lewis and Clark's journey?
3. What has life been like in the last 200 years?
4. What does the next 200 years look like?[30]

Baker's inclusive model allowed for the sharing of many interpretations of the Lewis and Clark story, even if conflicting. For tribes that were turned off by the hero worship of Lewis and Clark and a long history of negative experiences with the DOI, Baker's openness and commitment to a broader storyline made participating in Corps II more palatable. Furthermore, by considering both the present and the future, Baker opened the door to programming that addressed tribes' concerns—promoting economic development, reminding Americans that tribes still existed, protecting cultural and natural resources, and preserving language—without taking away from the goals of Lewis and Clark enthusiasts.

Baker combined his commitment to multiple narratives with early NPS visions of Corps II as a space where tribes, community groups, and federal agencies could come together and exchange

[30] Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future Project Meeting Notes, Washington, DC, December 14, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A44 Interagency Agree. MOU Group, LCNHT Central Files.

stories and viewpoints. Baker and his staff decided to call the physical manifestation of this space the "Tent of Many Voices."[31] Baker recalled,

> For some tribes, they were upset because they thought we still weren't telling the story. I can remember going to some tribes and asking them, okay, come on board with us. And their first response, which was an expected response, was, "What do you want us to say?"
>
> Them not understanding or getting the point was when I'd tell them, "It's up to you what you want to say. I can't tell you what they want you to say, just because we're government. We're not going to dictate to you. We're not going to say, 'answer these questions.' It's up to you. Whatever you want to talk about." . . .
>
> We named it the Tent of Many Voices for that purpose. Because many voices came in there.[32]

The Tent of Many Voices was a place where anyone could speak. The idea for a physical Tent of Many Voices did not enter logistical Corps II plans until 2002, when an NPS internal document described it as a place where

> Authors and historians can speak with the public about the expedition. Stories can be told and traditional lifeways shared through demonstrations of arts, crafts, and cultural life skills. Debaters can discuss events from multiple perspectives. Cultural organizations can share their ways with others and people can voice their hopes for the future. Most importantly, here is where audiences of all ages and experiences can draw from the past to learn about themselves, and how their contributions can shape the future of their home, community, and nation.[33]

Anyone who wanted to speak simply filled out a proposal and sent it to Trail interpretive staff, who then placed that person or organization on the schedule.[34]

Bobbie Conner (Cayuse-Umatilla-Nez Perce) recalled that, for tribes wary of participating,

> Gerard was, on behalf of the Park Service promising some accountability. Like, you can choose not to be videotaped. You can choose not to sign a release. You can come to the Tent of Many Voices and you'll be uncensored. And we felt confident that his representations of how the Tent of Many Voices would be run was a much safer proposition than what we'd been hearing before.[35]

---

[31] While the exact origins remain a mystery, many partners of the Trail credited Baker with either creating or developing the concept. Steve Adams, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 3, 2017, Oro Valley, Arizona; Margaret Gorski, interview by Emily Greenwald, February 23, 2017, Missoula, Montana; Robert J. Miller, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 2, 2017, Chandler, Arizona; Sammye Meadows, interview by Jackie Gonzales, January 30, 2017, Gunnison, Colorado.

[32] Gerard Baker, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 21, 2017, Miles City, Montana.

[33] "Lewis & Clark Expedition Bicentennial, 2003–2006, The Tent of Many Voices," (2002), Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[34] "Lewis & Clark Expedition Bicentennial, 2003–2006, The Tent of Many Voices," (2002), Drawer A–Administration. Folder; [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[35] Roberta Conner, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 22, 2017, Pendleton, Oregon.

Presentations were not censored or reviewed ahead of time. Karen Goering of the MHS recalled that the Tent of Many Voices enabled new openness about the history of the Expedition, and that through that "there was a level of respect given to the divergent views that I don't think most people had ever seen before in the Lewis and Clark story."[36]



Figure 68. The Tent of Many Voices was a forum for presentations by educators, government groups, tribes, historians, reenactors, and more. Here, members of the Blackfeet Tribe and the Lewis and Clark Honor Guard wait to enter the Tent of Many Voices at Monticello, 2003.

Source: Sammye Meadows.

Corps II Exhibit Planning

In addition to proposing the Tent of Many Voices, Baker reshaped Corps II objectives for the entire exhibit. The new NPS goals for Corps II, as articulated in November 2001, were to

> Provide opportunity for Native Americans, federal and local governments to observe the historical event's bicentennial
>
> Educate guests on the comparison of the trail's natural resources then to now
>
> Create a sense of national pride while projecting a positive image of Native American peoples and of our government
>
> Bring to life the characters and the key stories of the original Corps of Discovery and current day L&C National Trail sites.[37]

[36] Karen Goering, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 18, 2017, St. Louis, Missouri.

[37] NPS, Corps of Discovery II Meeting, agenda, Omaha, November 8, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

These more inclusive goals addressed concerns from tribes while also incorporating wishes of other partner organizations.

With a new vision in place, the NPS began assembling the funding, management, and logistical planning needed for a three-year traveling exhibit.[38] For the Corps II exhibits alone, the NPS requested $1,814,000 in FY 2002 and anticipated annual requests at $3 million a year from 2003 to 2006. As late as 2001, however, Congress had not appropriated any funds for Corps II.[39] Despite lack of funding for the exhibit, funding for new staff positions kept the planning process moving forward. In the fall of 2001, Logistics Planner Carol McBryant, Administrative Officer Betty Boyko, and Interpretive Planner Sue Pridemore joined the Trail staff and worked closely with the Bicentennial Council in exhibit planning.[40]



Figure 69. Carol McBryant joined the Trail in 2001 and was responsible for coordinating logistics of the Corps II exhibit. Pictured here in Washington, DC, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The Bicentennial Council spearheaded the initial design of the exhibits using a combination of NPS money, private donations, and foundation grants, and it managed Corps II contracts.[41] Using

[38] Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future, Project Meeting, notes, Washington, DC, December 14, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A44 Interagency Agree. MOU Group, LCNHT Central Files.

[39] "Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," briefing statement, September 15, 2000, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: [no label], LCNHT Central Files.

[40] "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," minutes, September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; Pridemore worked on Corps II plans until she left the Trail in July 2002. Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 6.

[41] Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to David Borlaug, President, Bicentennial Council, April 1, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

NPS funds, the Bicentennial Council hired Busch Creative (later known as Spark), the creative services wing of the Anheuser-Busch marketing team, to develop an interpretive concept for the Corps II exhibit.[42] Busch Creative's plan included several semitrailers, a movie theater, and RVs for traveling staff. One of those vehicles would be the "Newscapade," a double-wide trailer that the Newseum (a museum dedicated to news and defending freedom of expression) had sent on tour for two years, and which Freedom Forum, the nonprofit that owned the Newscapade, had donated to the Bicentennial Council to use for Corps II.[43]



Figure 70. Busch Creative designed a Corps II exhibit that would have repurposed the Newscapade, 2002.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[42] Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to David Borlaug, President, Bicentennial Council, April 1, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," minutes, September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files; Gerard Baker, "Superintendent's Annual Report," 2001, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; Carol McBryant, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 3, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

[43] Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to David Borlaug, President, Bicentennial Council, April 1, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

The Bicentennial Council board decided to highlight certain Corps II stops as "signature events" of the bicentennial. The council laid out general geographic ideas of where and when signature events might take place, spread across the route and over a period of three years.[44] It then held several rounds of applications in 2000 and 2001, during which towns, cities, and tribes could apply to host signature events.[45] Interest was high and applications flooded in, often from state bicentennial commissions, which organized several local-level entities and applied as a whole, in a similar manner to the way that they applied for Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants. An internal Bicentennial Council committee called the "Circle of Signature Events Coordinators" reviewed applications with input from the Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA) and Trail staff.[46] In 2001, the Bicentennial Council preliminarily approved ten signature events, which they later raised to fifteen, held in twelve different communities.[47]

In March 2002, as the bicentennial neared, the NPS signed a new cooperative agreement with the Bicentennial Council to facilitate cooperation on Corps II. The agreement reaffirmed that the Corps II exhibit would be supported by the NPS but would also require outside funding:

> While this activity is considered very important to the Lewis and Clark National Historical [sic] Trail, it does not have high enough priority to qualify for total funding though Servicewide sources, and funds sufficient for full implementation and not likely to be appropriated for this purpose in the foreseeable future.[48]

The Bicentennial Council thus continued to seek private funding, with NPS consultation. The agreement explicitly stated that the Bicentennial Council's mission with regard to Corps II was to "initiate and lead the National Park Service . . . fundraising efforts for Corps II."[49] As a non-profit,

---

[44] Proposed National Calendar of Events, October 2–3, 1999, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting October 2–3, 1999 Charlottesville, VA, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[45] Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, to Board of Directors, "Board of Directors Meeting Materials," memorandum, July 18, 2000, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting August 11, 2000 Dillion, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, to Board of Directors, "Staff activity Report #17," memorandum, October 15, 2000, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder :Board Meeting October 27–29, 2000 Portland, OR, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[46] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Saint Louis, MO, minutes, October 26–28, 2001, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting April 12, 2002 Lewiston, ID, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Board of Directors Meeting, Pendleton, OR, minutes, October 19, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 19, 2002 Pendleton, OR, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Meadows, interview.

[47] "Bicentennial Council outlines major events," *We Proceeded On* 27, no. 4 (November 2001): 40.

[48] Agreement between Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial," 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A44 Interagency Agree-MOU Group (2), LCNHT Central Files.

[49] Agreement between Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial," 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A44 Interagency Agree-MOU Group (2), LCNHT Central Files.

the Bicentennial Council could solicit donations from companies more easily than the federal government and could then donate those funds to the NPS.

Bicentennial Council Crisis

Just after signing the new agreement with the NPS, the Bicentennial Council fell apart. In March 2002, in response to Lewis and Clark NHT requests for financial tracking of CCS funds granted to the Bicentennial Council, the Bicentennial Council finance committee determined that the Bicentennial Council was treating CCS grants as unrestricted funds, rather than applying them only to activities covered by the specific grants. The use of CCS funds for unapproved activities made it impossible for the finance committee to balance its budget, due to insufficient knowledge of the council's expenses.[50] The council's poor accounting for CCS funds prompted the Lewis and Clark NHT, then in the process of determining the next year's CCS grant recipients, to announce that it would only be awarding the Bicentennial Council $50,000 of the $250,000 that the council had requested.[51]

This dramatic decrease in expected funding caused a financial crisis for the Bicentennial Council. Executive Director Michelle Bussard had been paying Bicentennial Council staff using a combination of CCS funds and NPS money transferred by the authority of the cooperative agreement.[52] Bussard consulted with Jana Prewitt of the DOI and then wrote to Baker, asking him to modify the Trail's Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Bicentennial Council in order to increase non-CCS federal funding, thus supporting the council's operating expenses and enabling the council to retain the services of Busch Creative. Busch Creative had been hired using NPS money, but the Bicentennial Council held the contract, so any payment delinquency would also halt Corps II planning.[53] The situation thus placed Trail leadership in an awkward position: it needed to manage grants in a financially sound manner, but it also relied on the Bicentennial Council to obtain

---

[50] Meeting of the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Saint Louis, Missouri, minutes, October 26–28, 2001, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting April 12, 2002 Lewiston, ID, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council Finance Committee, "Treasurer's Report Financial Statement through 2/02," March 25, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting April 12, 2002 Lewiston, ID, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[51] Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to Board of Directors, Bicentennial Council, "Financials – Status Report," memorandum, July 23, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to David Borlaug, President, Bicentennial Council, March 28, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Goering, interview.

[52] Goering, interview.

[53] Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to Gerard Baker, Superintendent, LCNHT, email, April 4, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; "Lewis and Clark Planning Meeting – Ft. Osage, MO," minutes, September 9, 2001, Drawer A–Administration. Folder: [no label] (A43?), LCNHT Central Files.

the required non-federal funding for Corps II. Baker and Trail staff declined to increase NPS funding to the council, despite Bussard's request.[54]

Any hope for a short-term solution evaporated when the author Stephen Ambrose announced that he could not fulfill a $1 million pledge that he had made the Bicentennial Council, due to illness.[55] This one-two punch crippled the Bicentennial Council's finances.[56] With less than a year to go until the first event, the Bicentennial Council lapsed in payments to Busch Creative and other Corps II vendors. The funding shortfalls also jeopardized two major projects that required the Bicentennial Council raise matching funds to release other funds: one with the Advertising Council, Inc. (the Ad Council), for public service announcements, and one with the U.S. Mint for a Lewis and Clark commemorative coin (see "Corps II Partnerships," below). Unable to raise money to cover the funding shortfall, the board fired Bussard in mid-2002, and shortly thereafter, David Borlaug resigned as board president.[57]

Bob Archibald, president of the MHS and treasurer of the Bicentennial Council, temporarily took over the council during the financial breakdown. He called an emergency meeting on July 26, 2002, to discuss the situation and to find a way forward without sidetracking NPS plans for Corps II. The council needed to raise over $300,000 in 60 to 90 days to regain solvency and pay creditors.[58] Archibald and the board agreed to lay off the council's staff of five immediately and explored a variety of options to liquidate the council's debt.[59] These included a possible bridge loan from the

---

[54] Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to David Borlaug, President, Bicentennial Council, April 1, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[55] Ambrose had just been diagnosed with lung cancer, and he now needed the money to be sure that his family would be taken care of in the event of his death. Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to Board of Directors, Bicentennial Council, "Financials – Status Report," memorandum, July 23, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[56] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Board of Directors Meeting, Louisville, Kentucky, minutes, July 26, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[57] Gerard Baker, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Editor, *Hazen Star*, August 26, 2002, miscellaneous files, Folder: A3823, LCNHT Central Files; National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Board of Directors Meeting, minutes, July 26, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 26, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Michelle Bussard, Executive Director, Bicentennial Council, to the Board of Directors, Bicentennial Council, "Financials – Status Report," memorandum, July 23, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[58] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Board of Directors Meeting, Louisville, Kentucky, minutes, July 26, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; NPS, LCNHT, "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[59] NPS, LCNHT, "Staff Meeting Notes," August 27, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; Minutes, National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Board of Directors Meeting, Louisville, Kentucky, July 26, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY" NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

U.S. Mint (providing advance funds from future commemorative coin sales), a promised donation from Eddie Bauer, and in-kind donations from a creditor to waive a portion of the debts. On behalf of the MHS and its board, Archibald also offered a partial loan if nothing else was available, and he volunteered Karen Goering, chief operating officer and executive vice president of the MHS, to manage the council on an interim basis.[60]

DOI leadership in the Office of External and Intergovernmental Affairs called an emergency meeting with Corps II partners in Washington to determine how to proceed with Corps II planning in light of the Bicentennial Council's financial situation. Baker met with Archibald and DOI leaders to discuss how to continue funding the Ad Council program and who would be in charge of daily management of Corps II—the DOI and the Lewis and Clark NHT, or the Bicentennial Council? The DOI and NPS determined that it was within DOI's congressional authority to appropriate federal funds for Corps II and that the NPS would therefore take over funding and planning for the traveling exhibit.[61] Secretary of the Interior Gale A. Norton requested that the Lewis and Clark NHT provide a four-year strategy for NPS funding and management of Corps II by September 6, 2002, just two days after the DOI meeting.[62]



Figure 71 and 72. At a bicentennial event at the Missouri History Museum in 2004, Bob Archibald (*center*) receives a tribal blanket from Amy Mossett. In the second photo, Karen Goering (*far left*) stands with Amy Mossett, Jim Gray of the Osage Nation, and Bobbie Conner.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[60] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Board of Directors Meeting, Louisville, Kentucky, minutes, July 26, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[61] Goering, interview; McBryant, interview.

[62] Office of External and Intergovernmental Affairs, DOI, September 4, 2002, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; Goering interview.

After the NPS decided to fund the traveling exhibit, the Bicentennial Council restructured with the help of the MHS. The council was no longer financially responsible for funding the Corps II exhibits and could focus instead on raising the matching funds needed to release Ad Council and Mint funds. With this refocused mission, Archibald proposed that the MHS indefinitely retain control of the Bicentennial Council, continue providing pro bono leadership through Karen Goering of the MHS, make offices available in the Missouri History Museum at no cost, and extend a $75,000 line of credit to the council. The Bicentennial Council and MHS boards both agreed to these terms.[63] Archibald and Goering worked on fundraising as well, and they quickly secured a $2 million grant from the Hewlett Foundation, a $250,000 commitment from Carl Wilgus, Director of Tourism for the State of Idaho, and a series of smaller grants.[64] The council also signed an updated MOU with the NPS reflecting the council's new leadership.[65]

NPS and Bicentennial Council leadership agreed that COTA should continue as a separate organization while the Bicentennial Council restructured its finances. Baker granted COTA separate CCS funds for its meetings that year, and the LCTHF agreed to act as COTA's fiscal agent.[66] Sammye Meadows, the former executive director of the LCTHF and the communications and development director of the Bicentennial Council, transferred to full-time COTA communications work, funded with the Hewlett grant, and Meadows worked from her home in Gunnison, Colorado, as temporary headquarters.[67] Tribes continued to work with the NPS, other agencies, and local event organizations, and COTA applied for other grants to encourage participation in the bicentennial.[68]

In the midst of the council's financial crisis, President George W. Bush hosted an event at the White House on July 3, 2002, to "officially dispatch the Corps of Discovery II." President Bush and

---

[63] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Board of Directors Meeting, Pendleton, OR, minutes, October 19, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 19, 2002 Pendleton, OR, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Goering, interview.

[64] Bicentennial Council meeting minutes say the $250,000 was from "Carl Wilgus and his group." Wilgus was Director of Tourism for the State of Idaho at the time, so the funding likely came from the state of Idaho, but further details are unclear. National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Board of Directors Meeting, Pendleton, OR, minutes, October 19, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 19, 2002 Pendleton, OR, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; "Carl Wilgus," Destination Marketing Association International, accessed October 25, 2017, http://www.destinationmarketing.org.staging.milesmediagroup.com/carl-wilgus; Meadows, interview; Goering, interview.

[65] National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, Memorandum of Understanding, undated, Internet Archive, captured February 7, 2003, accessed September 26, 2017, https://web.archive.org/web/20030207144958/http://lewisandclark200.org/.

[66] Circle of Tribal Advisors, "COTA Coordinator Report: August – October 2002," October 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 19, 2002 Pendleton, OR, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[67] Goering, interview; Meadows, interview; COTA, "COTA Coordinator Report: August – October 2002," October 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 19, 2002 Pendleton, OR, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[68] COTA, "COTA Coordinator Report: August – October 2002," October 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 19, 2002 Pendleton, OR, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

First Lady Laura Bush met with leaders from the NPS, DOI, several federal agencies, the Bicentennial Council, and COTA on the 200th anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase.[69] President Bush signed a proclamation officially designating 2003 to 2006 as the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial and directing federal agencies to work in cooperation with each other and partners to promote education for the bicentennial.[70] At the ceremony, the President offered a few remarks:

> The Lewis and Clark Expedition lasted just a couple of years, but it changed the face of our country forever. It opened up the American West for future development. It increased our knowledge of our natural resources. It helped us gain a better understanding of America's native cultures. Most importantly, the Lewis and Clark Expedition will stand forever as a monument to the American spirit, a spirit of optimism and courage and persistence in the face of adversity. [71]

With that, President Bush kicked off the Corps of Discovery II, despite the facts that no Corps II exhibit existed yet and that Superintendent Baker missed the White House event as he recovered from a major heart surgery.[72]

Corps II Fabrication

After the DOI took over Corps II exhibit fabrication, NPS leadership determined that Busch Creative's plans were too costly and directed Lewis and Clark NHT staff to design a new exhibit with in-house help from the Harpers Ferry Center (HFC).[73] McBryant worked with HFC to develop a new concept that used tents, as opposed to the indoor design of the Newscapade exhibit. They scaled down the operation but still included a museum exhibit with an accompanying audio headset tour, and a semitrailer that would carry the exhibit around the country.[74] They added the Tent of Many Voices, which had been developed conceptually but not yet designed as a physical space. The Trail diverted base operating funds for the exhibit fabrication, since Corps II funds were not yet forthcoming from Congress, and time was running short before the first bicentennial event at

---

[69] Metropolitan Group, "President and Tribal Leaders Dispatch *Corps of Discovery II* to Commemorate Lewis and Clark Bicentennial," July 3, 2002, Drawer K42 – K5417, Folder: K3415 LECL NHT Releases, Press, LCNHT Central Files.

[70] George W. Bush, "Lewis and Clark Bicentennial: A Proclamation," July 1, 2002, Drawer K42 – K5417, Folder: K3415 LECL NHT Releases, Press, LCNHT Central Files.

[71] DOI, "Interior Department Playing Central Role in Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commemoration," July 3, 2002, Drawer K42 – K5417, Folder: K3415 LECL NHT Releases, Press, LCNHT Central Files.

[72] DOI, "Interior Department Playing Central Role in Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commemoration," July 3, 2002, Drawer K42 – K5417, Folder: K3415 LECL NHT Releases, Press, LCNHT Central Files.

[73] Gerard A. Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2003, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; Betty Boyko, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 5, 2017, Fort Scott, Kansas.

[74] McBryant, interview.

Monticello in January 2003.[75] Trail staff worked frantically with the HFC on exhibit design during the early fall of 2002, and a team of scholars and tribal members reviewed the images and script of the exhibit and the accompanying audio.[76]

At some point while the HFC was working on the exhibit, Baker received a call from Karl Rove, special advisor to President Bush, regarding the draft exhibit text for Corps II. In a 2017 interview, Baker recalled his memories of the tense conversation that ensued:

> They [Trail staff] wrote the narration [for the Corps II exhibit]—really good. I think Otis [Halfmoon] got involved in it. Some other folks got involved. I'm not sure if Jana [Prewitt] and those guys got involved. I think they did, too. I think they helped write it, too, I think. And there was a section there about the treaties. I think it was either that or Wounded Knee, or something that was really vivid about what happened. Really, really vivid, about massacres of Indians and killing Indian babies. Really, it was real . . . .
>
> I approved it, and I sent it in to Harpers Ferry. And they were supposed to put it on these big sheets for us to put it on the walls. Great big, with pictures, and real nice, like an exhibit, right? Walk through it. And I remember doing that. Approving it. And I got word that the White House got a hold of it. I remember that. And they said they weren't going to approve that, because of the language in there. And I got mad and I said, "Bullshit. We're going to do it. I don't care what the White House says. Tell them to do it. By the time I get back from the west coast," I said, "I want that damn thing done and in our shop so we can start getting it going and getting an exhibit."
>
> And I remember getting off the plane in Portland. I was going to the coast. Or maybe it was Seattle. I was going to the coast, there were a lot of hills. I remember going up on top and got this call on my cell phone. Said, "This is Karl Rove."
>
> I said, "Bullshit!"
>
> "No," he said, "this is Mr. Karl Rove, from White House."
>
> I said, "Really?"
>
> He said, "I want to talk to you, Mr. Baker, about your text on your narration on your Lewis and Clark exhibit."
>
> I said, "Really?!"
>
> He said, "Yeah. It's a little bit too strong, we feel, that you can't do this this and this."
>
> So I said, "Ah, I disagree with you. I'm not going to change it." I said, "I'm the superintendent. You guys hired me. So, I'm going to keep it the way it is."
>
> He said, "You can't do that."

[75] Gerard A. Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2003, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files

[76] Gerard A. Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2003, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files

I said, "Bullshit. I'm not going to do that. Leave it the way it is."

He said, "Mr. Baker, people that disagree with our administration usually have to find a different job. Or they sometimes don't have a job at all."

I said, "Are you threatening me? Are you threatening me?"

"Oh, no. I'm just telling you what happens."

I said, "Bullshit! You're threatening me, you son of a bitch!" That's what I said on the phone. There was kind of a pause.

He said . . . "We're going to change it."

I said, "Tell you what. You can change it. Go ahead and change the damn thing. You change it and I'm going to call all my Indian contacts." Excuse my language, now, but this is what I told him. I said, "I'm going to call all my Indian contacts. We'll get off it. And you ain't got a fucking program."

"I'll get back to you," he said. That was it.

I said whoa, I think I just blew it. I don't have a job anymore. So I kept going and I said oh, shit, oh, shit, oh, shit, oh, shit. Driving, driving.

Phone rings about an hour later. I must have been in Seattle, then. I was just getting into Portland. Just got into Portland. Phone rings, I pull over. He says, "This is Mr. Karl Rove from the White House."

I said, "All right."

He said, "Mr. Baker, after thorough discussion, we decided that you can do what you want to do." Then he gave me the old White House verbiage. "But be careful," he said, "we'll be watching you."

(Baker laughs) I said, all right, man.

That was my contact with Karl Rove. Over this thing. That was so funny.

. . . I didn't think anything of it. I was so mad. Then about five years later, I'm in the regional office here. The assistant regional director comes up to me. We were visiting, having coffee or something. He's a good friend of mine. Kind of a quiet guy. Visiting, visiting. "Hey," he said, "remember that time you were with Lewis and Clark? When Karl Rove called you?"

I said, "Yeah?"

He said, "Remember when he hung up on you for about an hour?"

I said, "Yeah?"

He said, "He called the BIA contact. And he checked on you, every one of your contacts, to see if you were legitimate. And you were. He said the tribes would have left Lewis and Clark had you said something. That's why you got away with it."

> Wow! So, that's politics. That's politics. I think people can't understand, maybe won't realize, that's a White House people don't see.[77]

Baker's defiance and insistence that tribes be allowed to tell their own uncensored stories kept the Corps II exhibit alive and kept tribal partners on board.

With the exhibit text approved, exhibit construction moved ahead. Congress finally appropriated federal funds for Corps II in October 2002, to be used in FY 2003. Of the $2,672,970 appropriated that year for Lewis and Clark NHT, Congress earmarked $1 million for the Corps II mobile exhibit.[78] In addition, the NPS committed $2 million in fee revenue funds (funds raised from fee collection at NPS sites) to fund exhibit construction, adding to the $1 million committed from fee revenue funds for FY 2002 to aid in exhibit design (money that then went through the Bicentennial Council to Busch Creative).[79] Newly hired contract specialist André Ward issued a solicitation for exhibit fabrication that closed November 18, 2002—less than two months before the first signature event.[80] A San Jose company called Legacy Transportation Services won the contract, which totaled $4,985,169.[81]

In its final form, the exhibit

> consisted of a welcome tent with front desk operation, a 35' round exhibit tent with embedded graphics that is complimented by an audio headset tour, and a 60' x 80' performance tent with stage seating up to 250 people known as the "Tent of Many Voices."[82]

Unlike the rest of the exhibit, the Tent of Many Voices was not contracted through Legacy Transportation Services but was instead developed at the HFC, funded through Trail base funds.[83] Assembling the panels within the physical tent caused some minor last-minute logistical issues.[84] Additional materials needed to finalize the traveling exhibit included a heating and cooling system

---

[77] Baker, interview.

[78] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 14–15.

[79] NPS, "Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Initiative," September 10, 2002, Drawer D – 6215, File, "D62 LECL NHT Museum & Exhibit Activities, Corps II," LCNHT Central Files.

[80] Gerard A. Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2003, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[81] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 13; McBryant, interview; Boyko, interview.

[82] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 4.

[83] Gerard A. Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2003, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files; Boyko, interview; McBryant, interview.

[84] Corps II Manager, LECL, to Superintendent, LECL, "Corps of Discovery II Update," memorandum, December 17, 2002, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: D62 LECL NHT Museum & Exhibit Activities, Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.

for the exhibit ($23,000), the leasing of six sport utility vehicles ($48,000), and additional audiovisual equipment, funded by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) through a reimbursable agreement ($20,000).[85]



Figure 73. Legacy Transportation Company won the contract to construct and transport the trailer that would hold the Corps II exhibit. Here, NPS staff and Legacy Transportation staff examine the trailer during construction.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

While contractors fabricated the exhibit, McBryant determined the exact route that Corps II would take. The Bicentennial Council had selected signature event locations in 2001, but the Corps II exhibit would make many additional stops over its three-year tour. McBryant met with state bicentennial commissioners and coordinators to review questionnaires completed by state bicentennial committees, communities, tribes, and federal land management agencies that wanted to host the Corps II mobile exhibit. The DOI Solicitor's Office determined that local groups needed to sign cooperative agreements in order to host the exhibit, so Corps II staff worked closely with the MWRO contracting staff to file agreements before the exhibit's arrival at each new location. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) partners determined that Corps II fell into a "categorical exclusion" and would not require environmental assessments or environmental impact statements at

[85] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 13.

every location.[86] Despite having only a few months for fabrication, Trail staff and partners pulled together the Corps II exhibit in the nick of time. On December 12, 2002, Baker officially accepted delivery of the Corps II orientation and exhibit tents.[87] The bicentennial was on.



Figure 74. The final exhibit tents (*left*) and Tent of Many Voices, seen here assembled and ready for visitors, 2003. Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Bicentennial Staff and Volunteers

During the bicentennial, the Lewis and Clark NHT added unprecedented numbers of staff, especially temporary Corps II interpreters, to accompany the traveling exhibit. The Trail also added several administrative employees at park headquarters in Omaha to support the Corps II team. Before 2001, Omaha-based Trail staff had offices at the MWRO building at 1709 Jackson Street in downtown Omaha. From 2001 to 2004, due to overcrowding at the Jackson Street building, Trail staff in Omaha and MWRO Cultural Resources Division staff moved to rented space on the first floor of the historic Ford Warehouse Building (also known as the Simon Brothers Building) at 1024 Doge Street, also in downtown Omaha. In June 2004, the Omaha-based staff were reunited with other MWRO staff when all divisions moved into the newly opened Carl T. Curtis Midwest Regional Headquarters Building along the Missouri River.

[86] Gerard A. Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2003, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[87] Baker to Superintendent, HFC, "Corps of Discovery II Orientation and Exhibit Tents," memorandum, December 12, 2002, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events, LCNHT Central Files.

Leadership, Staff, and Budgets

The NPS had gradually increased base funding to the Lewis and Clark NHT leading up to the bicentennial, and it continued to grow with the decision to fund Corps II (see Appendix C). Fee revenue funds supported most of Corps II's transportation contract. Base appropriations to the Trail were significantly higher than ever before, about $2.5 million per year during the bicentennial as compared with $147,000 in 1997.[88] New staff for Corps II included Jeffrey Olson, hired in February 2003 as a public information officer for Corps II. Olson had experience as a journalist in North Dakota and had most recently served as the trail coordinator for the LCTHF, where he had already worked on bicentennial preparation for several years. Olson was therefore well prepared to take on Corps II media and publicity.



Figure 75. Jeff Olson joined the Trail as public information officer in 2003. Pictured here in the Tent of Many Voices, 2005.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The logistics for employing mobile Corps II staff (primarily interpreters) were incredibly complicated, since they would essentially be on travel status for three years.[89] McBryant wanted to allow crewmembers to fly to designated home bases on their off days, since attrition rates were "very high among traveling crews that are not allowed to travel to their home at least every three

[88] Baker to Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," 14–5; DOI, NPS, to Cal Calabrese, Superintendent, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Initiatives/Issues," briefing statement, April 5, 1999, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder "A6423 LECL NHT Internal Control," LCNHT Central Files.

[89] Pat Jones, interview by Nick Kryloff, May 18, 2017, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

weeks."[90] McBryant and Boyko decided to open the initial Corps II positions as six-month detail opportunities for NPS employees, since funding for staff was still tight.[91] Early staff positions hired included interpretive rangers, a law enforcement ranger, an education coordinator, a volunteer coordinator, and logistics assistants.[92] The only non-detail Corps II hire was Patricia Jones, who McBryant brought in as the chief of interpretation for Corps II in December 2002, just before the start of the bicentennial.[93]



Figure 76. Pat Jones joined Corps II staff in 2002 as chief of interpretation. Pictured here in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, 2003.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Midway through 2003, time ran out on those detail positions, and Jones sought to hire Corps II staff in other ways. Although the interest in short-term (two- to three-week) detail opportunities was significant, finding employees willing to commit to three months or longer on the road proved

[90] Corps II Manager, LCNHT, to Superintendent, LCNHT, "Corps of Discovery II: Exhibit Tent Update," memorandum, November 8, 2002, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: D62 LECL NHT Exhibits, Museums, Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.

[91] Gerard Baker, "Superintendent's Annual Report," 2001, LCNHT Digital Files, 5; Midori Raymore to LCNHT staff, "Feb Staff Notes," February 21, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files.

[92] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 13.

[93] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 14–15.



Figure 77. Steve Adams became the Lewis and Clark NHT superintendent in 2004. Adams is pictured here after receiving the gift of a traditional northwest tribal paddle while attending the Clatsop-Nehalem potlatch in Seaside, Oregon, during the "Destination: the Pacific" Signature Event, 2005.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

difficult. Jones and Boyko called NPS sites with limited funding or subject-to-furlough positions in order to fill the second round of Corps II detail positions. Recruiting for traveling positions remained a challenge, however, and by 2004, Boyko began advertising Corps II positions as term appointments, which are longer than detail appointments.[94] This strategy proved successful for retaining staff, and several Corps II employees who joined in 2004 stayed on for the remainder of the bicentennial. Most of these employees were interpretive park rangers who ran and oversaw the traveling exhibit and provided programming as part of Corps II. The Trail only hired minimal law enforcement staff for Corps II, instead relying on local municipalities to provide law enforcement support at events.[95]Additional support came from the Student Conservation Association (SCA), which, through a cooperative agreement with the Trail, provided employees to video record Tent of Many Voices presentations.[96]

For health reasons, Baker left the Lewis and Clark NHT in 2004 for Mount Rushmore National Memorial. His heart problems had worsened since his bypasses in 2002, and if he kept going at the frenetic pace of the bicentennial, his family and doctors worried that his health would continue to decline.[97] Boyko served temporarily as acting superintendent, and in July 2004, Stephen E. Adams transferred from Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site (BBNHS) to fill the position. Adams had started in the NPS as an archeologist and worked extensively with tribes in western states. He had

[94] Betty Boyko, Administrative Officer/Corps II Manager, LCNHT, to Steve Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, "GPRA Accomplishments for FY2004," memorandum, October 12, 2004, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A 2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files; Jones, interview; Boyko, interview.

[95] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 9; Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 9.

[96] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 13–14.

[97] Baker had been offered the superintendency at Badlands National Park, but worried that the stresses there would be just as high and accepted a position at Mount Rushmore National Memorial instead. Baker, interview.

experience at controversial sites, including the recently established BBNHS and Padre Island National Seashore in Texas, where he had served as superintendent and dealt extensively with marine trash and oil spills that washed up on the shore. At BBNHS, Adams had also worked with a wide array of non-profit and governmental partners, as he would need to at the Lewis and Clark NHT.[98]

Adams hired a new secretary in a term position (Ann Campos) and promoted Boyko to assistant superintendent and Corps II manager, roles that she added to her administrative officer duties. Adams wanted this additional layer of oversight over Corps II in order to have a higher authority outside of the field, and he delegated to Jones field management authority for Corps II in 2004.[99] Karla Sigala, an interpretive ranger, transferred from the field to Omaha to assist Midori Raymore with the CCS program, and McBryant transferred from her chief of logistics role in the field to the role of chief of interpretation in Omaha, so that she could develop exhibits for the new Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Headquarters and Visitor Center in the Curtis Building. Kevin Crisler came onboard as a permanent education specialist in 2004, then was promoted to Corps II field manager the following year.[100] Darrell Martin, a member and former chairman of the Gros Ventre Tribe, joined the Trail staff in 2004 as an additional American Indian liaison and then followed Baker to Mount Rushmore, but he remained involved with Corps II until he passed away in 2007.[101]

Additional changes in 2005 consisted primarily of rotating Corps II staff. Turnover rates for the field staff were much higher than for the headquarters positions, due to the stress of being on the road for so long. At some points, the high attrition rate affected morale and even affected public perception of the Corps II team's professionalism.[102] However, several dedicated staff members remained for much of the bicentennial. They held the team together and kept it in high regard among partners (for a full list of Corps II staff, see Appendix E). As the bicentennial drew to a close in late 2006, terms ran out for Corps II staff and they dispersed to other NPS sites or other job

---

[98] Adams, interview.

[99] Boyko to Chief of Interpretation, LCNHT, Corps of Discovery, memorandum, August 19, 2004, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A96 LECL NHT Delegations of Authority & Designations, LCNHT Central Files; Adams, interview; Boyko, interview.

[100] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 9; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report," memorandum, March 20, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[101] Baker, interview; Richard Basch, interview by Jackie Gonzales, May 1, 2017, Astoria, Oregon; National Parks Gallery, "Death Of Park Employee Darrell Martin," April 30, 2007, http://www.nationalparksgallery.com/park_news/5124.

[102] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 10.

opportunities. Jones left before the bicentennial finished, Crisler transitioned to Omaha as an interpretive park ranger, McBryant stayed at the Trail as chief of interpretation in Omaha, and American Indian Liaison Dick Basch continued in that role from Lewis and Clark NHP.[103] Williams retired in April 2006 after thirty-seven years of service with the NPS, and Boyko left to become superintendent at Fort Scott National Historic Site.[104] Meanwhile, even before the end of the bicentennial, Superintendent Steve Adams had started a staff reorganization process in anticipation of Corps II's end and a corollary decrease in funding (see Chapter 8).







Figure 78. Group photos of Corps II staff in 2004, 2005, and 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Volunteer Program

The National Park Foundation and the Allegra Foundation granted the Trail $27,000 to develop a Corps II volunteer program in 2003. The Trail used those funds to "purchase supplies, uniforms,

[103] Jones, interview; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2007 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," memorandum, July 11, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[104] Minutes, LCNHT Staff Meeting, January 10, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; Adams to LCNHT staff, memorandum, October 30, 2006, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A14 LWXL NHT Acting Personnel Designations, LCNHT Central Files.

patches, pins and other thank-you items for the multitude of local volunteers who generously donated of their time to work at Corps II."[105] Volunteers helped Corps II staff assemble and disassemble the exhibit, presented in the Tent of Many Voices (30 percent of presenters in 2004 donated their time), and carried out CCS-funded projects at their sites (organizations could use the monetary value of donated time towards their required match).[106] During the bicentennial, the overwhelming majority of volunteer hours at Lewis and Clark NHT were related to Corps II. In FY 2004, for example, of 114,429 total volunteer hours, only 487 were contributed at the Omaha office, while the rest were primarily for Trail projects (for Corps II and otherwise) and assistance to CCS projects.[107]



Figure 79. Volunteers helped the NPS staff the welcome desk to the exhibit tents. Here, a volunteer with Corps II interpretive ranger Karla Sigala, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Corps II on the Road

On January 14, 2003, Corps II began its transnational journey at Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson in Charlottesville, Virginia. For the next three and a half years, Corps II visited communities along the entire route of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. NPS staff developed programming in conjunction with local communities, state governments, the Bicentennial Council, and tribes. The logistical, administrative, interpretive, and educational challenges of this traveling national park—or, as staff fondly called it, a "dog and pony show," complete with circus posters—

[105] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 15.

[106] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 7.

[107] Manager, LCNHT, to Superintendent, LCNHT, October 12, 2004, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A 2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

were unparalleled in NPS history.[108] While Corps II was not without its troubles and controversies, it won accolades from many partners, visitors, and outside observers.

The Exhibit



Figure 80. An aerial view of Corps II exhibit tents assembled and open to the public in Bismarck, North Dakota.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.



Figure 81. The Corps II exhibit tents fit in a trailer, pictured here, with exterior artwork by Michael Haynes.
Source: Sammye Meadows.

[108] Jeffrey Gordon Olson, interview by Nicolai Kryloff, May 15, 2017, Washington, DC.

Corps II fit inside a trailer and was pulled by a 2003 Kenworth T2000 truck.[109] After the MWRO contracted Legacy Transportation Services to construct and transport the Corps II exhibit for the duration of the bicentennial, Legacy subcontracted with Denver and Shanna Cain, the owner/operators of the Kenworth T2000, to drive the Corps II exhibit from stop to stop. The trailer weighed 40 tons when fully loaded. Its cargo included the two exhibit tents, the Tent of Many Voices, a 30-ton HVAC system, an audio-visual booth, a stage, lights, and chairs for the Tent of Many Voices. An onboard generator provided back-up power if a site had no power hookup for the exhibit, and custom artwork decorated the outside of the trailer, which incorporated images by the artist Michael Haynes.[110]



Figure 82. Denver and Shanna Cain drove the Corps II trailer for the entire bicentennial.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[109] "KW Truck Transports Lewis, Clark Exhibit," May 13, 2004, *HDT Trucking Info*, http://www.truckinginfo.com/channel/drivers/news/story/2004/05/kw-truck-transports-lewis-clark-exhibit.aspx

[110] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 43; Michael Haynes, "Biography," accessed September 11, 2017, http://www.mhaynesart.com/Bio.html;.

When the trailer arrived at a Corps II stop, NPS employees assisted with the unloading and setup of the many components. The Tent of Many Voices became "the heart of the exhibit," as Superintendent Gerard Baker had envisioned, a place where all perspectives were welcome and where individuals of different backgrounds could come together to share their viewpoints and experiences. Built by Tentology, it was 40 by 70 feet, attached to the side of the trailer when assembled, and included a stage, screen, podium, chairs for the audience, an audio system, and recording equipment. The two octagonal exhibit tents, custom-fabricated by Aztec Tents & Events, consisted of a series of panels with paintings by nineteenth-century artists George Catlin and Karl Bodmer. Twenty-five banners hung from the rafters with depictions of individuals from tribes along the Expedition's route. The two exhibit tents connected to a 20-foot entrance tent with a front desk, where visitors could pick up an audio tour or a printed guide to accompany them as they walked through the exhibits.[111]



Figure 83. Corps II staff assemble the exhibit in Bismarck, North Dakota, with help from the National Guard, 2004. Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[111] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 15, 45–46.

Other federal agencies set up auxiliary tents near the Corps II tents at certain locations, depending on which agency had a presence in the area, including the BLM, USFS, U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), USFWS, and the Army National Guard. U.S. Bureau of Reclamation (USBR) employee Steve Morehouse built a dugout canoe and accompanied the exhibit from 2004 through the end of the bicentennial as the only long-term partner agency employee on Corps II. Morehouse transported the canoe, which he had constructed from a ponderosa pine log from Orofino, Idaho, with his personal vehicle and conducted interpretive programs at exhibit stops. Corps II staff later called Morehouse's participation "an unusual and much appreciated pledge of support."[112] Discovery Expedition of St. Charles, a volunteer organization from St. Charles, Missouri, also traveled alongside Corps II, complete with a full-size keelboat replica, dugout canoes, pirogues, and reenactors who portrayed members of the Corps of Discovery.[113]



Figure 84. Steve Morehouse, USBR employee, traveled with Corps II along with his dugout canoe, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[112] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 10, 15, 50–51; Jones, interview.

[113] Trail CCS funding helped to underwrite the Discovery Expedition. NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 52; Jones, interview.



Figure 85. Other agencies set up tents at Corps II events. Here, USFS, BLM, and U.S. General Land Office tents at a Corps II event in Lewiston, Idaho, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

As Corps II moved across the country, NPS staff adapted the exhibit to the realities they encountered on the road. Jones realized after the first year that much of the exhibit was adult-

oriented, but children constituted a large portion of the audience. While adults might enjoy lectures and audio guides, children needed more hands-on experiences. Jones and her staff started acquiring objects, including replica American Indian items donated by tribes, historic materials related to the Expedition for hands-on tables, and a three-quarter-size replica keelboat. The USACE had constructed the keelboat for the Huntington, Pennsylvania, Heritage Fair and then donated it to the NPS to include in the Corps II exhibit.[114]



Figure 86. USACE employees provided interpretation at the replica keelboat for signature events, and Corps II staff presented tours of it for other events. Pictured here, 2005.

Source: National Park Service

[114] Since the USACE had constructed the keelboat, USACE personnel operated the keelboat for signature events, while NPS Corps II staff led programs on the boat at smaller venues. After initial outdoor interpretation with the keelboat, Corps II staff decided to add a tent to the exhibit that could protect the keelboat from inclement weather. NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 47; Jones, interview.



Figure 87. Corps II employee Rebecca Havens sets up the tipi in the Gros Ventre twist style, 2006. Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Baker helped Corps II staff acquire a tipi for interpretive display and programs, and Clint Brown of the Fort Belknap Indian Community taught Corps II staff to set it up in the "Gros Ventre twist style."[115] The tipi, keelboat, and touch-table props were an instant hit with children and families. These additions to the Corps II exhibit created additional hands-on interpretive opportunities for all levels, but they also added to the load Corps II staff had to move from place to place. Eventually, the NPS added another box truck to the Corps II caravan to carry the additional exhibit material.[116]



Figure 88. Corps II interpretive ranger John Phillips, at the touchtable of props outside of the Corps II tipi, speaks to a young dancer at the Oceti Sakowin Signature Event in Oacama, South Dakota.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[115] At some locations, Corps II staff did not set up the tipi, at the request of local tribes, some of whom had tribally appropriate structures to erect in its place. NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 48–49.

[116] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 48–49; Jones, interview.



Figure 89. At the month-long "Circle of Cultures, Time of Renewal & Exchange" Signature Event in Bismarck, North Dakota, Mandan, White Shield, Twin Buttes and Mandaree tribal communities constructed four full-sized traditional earth lodges. After the event finished, the lodges were dismantled and then reassembled in the participating tribal communities.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Traveling and Hosting Logistics of Corps II

Chief of Logistics Carol McBryant planned the route of Corps II and organized travel and hosting logistics for the exhibit. McBryant and Boyko worked closely with state Lewis and Clark commissioners to determine which communities would host Corps II. While McBryant often already had statistical information on venue size, access to toilets, and population, the commissioners had insight into which communities were prepared to host a major event, what conflicts might arise, and other aspects of community relations that could make or break these partnership-based events.[117] McBryant and Boyko held "site selection meetings" with local communities to run through needs and "assure that sites prepared for the exhibit meet safety and accessibility requirements."[118] McBryant also secured necessary permits for Corps II events and managed the traveling exhibit's transportation and contractual and financial obligations.[119]

Once a site was selected, McBryant and her team coached host communities through the process of coordinating a complex event with partners from all levels of government, tribes, and other organizations.[120] The NPS expected host communities, with the help of state bicentennial committees, to assist with outreach to local and regional media outlets, work with local schools to

[117] Betty Boyko, Administrative Officer/Corps II Manager, to Steve Adams, Superintendent, "GPRA Accomplishments for FY2004," memorandum, October 12, 2004, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A 2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files; McBryant, interview.

[118] Betty Boyko, Administrative Officer/Corps II Manager, to Steve Adams, Superintendent, "GPRA Accomplishments for FY2004," memorandum, October 12, 2004, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A 2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

[119] Carol McBryant to Gerard Baker, February 7, 2003, memorandum, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: Corps II Planning, LCNHT Central Files.

[120] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 11.

schedule field trips to Corps II, provide volunteers for the welcome tent, and identify members of the community who could speak about local culture in the Tent of Many Voices.[121] In turn, the NPS provided the actual exhibit, NPS branding, and assistance for working with various partners, including tribes. In some host communities—even those adjacent to reservations—the Corps II visit was the first time that town leaders and American Indian leaders sat down together and collaborated. Many NPS leaders saw this as one of the most positive outcomes of the bicentennial, but differing expectations on the part of tribes, towns, and the NPS sometimes led to initial misunderstandings. Basch, Baker, McBryant, and COTA worked as liaisons between tribes and communities to ameliorate tensions, reshape expectations, and promote cooperation.[122] State bicentennial committees, affiliated under the Bicentennial Council's Circle of State Advisors (COSA) coordinated local partners for Corps II events. State committees worked to ensure that bicentennial funding and visitation translated into real improvements for host communities, just as COTA did for towns on reservations.[123]



Figure 90. Logistics for Corps II were complicated. Here, fencing and amended traffic patterns to allow for visitors and school groups, Warm Springs, Oregon, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[121] Steve Adams to Roger Semler, Park Manager Northcentral Region, Great Falls, MT, April 28, 2005, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events, LCNHT Central Files.

[122] McBryant, interview; Baker, interview; Meadows, interview.

[123] Robert Archibald, et al., "Missouri Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission Report, 1804–2004: 'The Journey Begins,'" August 2007, 33–34, https://dnr.mo.gov/parks/finalreport.pdf.

Before the Corps II trailer arrived at a given host site, McBryant and Olson brought in an advance team to help the community plan for the day.[124] Logistics staff "provided guidance and expertise related to exhibit logistics, programming, public relations and marketing."[125] Events were hosted by a wide range of entities, including parks (state, local, or national), state commissions, universities, community groups, tribes, veteran's organizations, and more. As with pre-planning, the logistics team tried to work as much as possible with state commissioners, who would then organize the smaller partners.[126] McBryant emphasized safety and worked with communities to arrange law enforcement for the event.[127] Jones scheduled and organized the winter route, when the exhibit would venture off-trail and visit larger cities for longer periods to conduct outreach to school groups.[128]

Staffing Logistics

Jones managed programming, staffing, and interpretation. Most Corps II staff members were interpreters, and all were on constant travel status. This was hugely expensive, since it meant per diem, hotels, and transportation costs for all Corps II staff. [129] Jones coordinated staff schedules, which was tricky because staff only worked for eight-hour days and needed days off, but the exhibit moved frequently and those staff members remained on the road even on their days off. A sample biweekly interpretive schedule included, in addition to staff assignments and program times, notes like "Pick up Elsie 7:30pm" and "Drop off Pierre 10a."[130] Jones found herself responsible for staff beyond their work hours: she had to keep the peace and coordinate personal and professional matters around the clock, such as which group would use what NPS vehicle to get to dinner and where. Jones fondly remembered feeling like a "den mother" to the employees, who were often young. The Corps II staff eventually had T-shirts made with the exhibit's touring schedule on the back, "like we were some sort of traveling rock band," Jones recounted with a laugh.[131]

---

[124] That same team would then return to a site to help interpreters pack up the physical exhibit and prepare for the move to the next location. McBryant, interview.

[125] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[126] Jones, interview; McBryant, interview.

[127] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 4; Carol McBryant to Gerard Baker, memorandum, February 7, 2003, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: Corps II Planning, LCNHT Central Files.

[128] McBryant, interview; Jones, interview.

[129] Jones, interview.

[130] Corps II Weekly Schedule, PP0411, 5/2–5/15/[2003?], Drawer Corps II Items (Potential Admin Hist), Folder: Work Schedules 2004, LCNHT Central Files.

[131] Jones, interview.



Figure 91. Corps II staff became close in their years of travels. Pictured here, January 2005.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Jones's staff had to hit the ground running, without necessarily having any knowledge of the Corps of Discovery. This was especially challenging in the first year, when most Corps II staff were on detail with the exhibit only for a few months. Jones developed an internal traveling library for staff to familiarize themselves with the history of the Expedition. When the book load got out of hand, Jones shipped books that most staff had read back to headquarters in Omaha, in order to make room for new ones.[132] To keep up-to-date with payroll and other paperwork, Jones's staff traveled with plastic file containers, and in each new city, they would organize one hotel room as their office and assemble their files and computers.[133]

[132] Jones, interview.

[133] Boyko, interview; Jones, interview.

Another challenge in the first year was the fact that local communities did not contribute as many people for programming, security, and set-up and take-down assistance as early Corps II plans had assumed they would.[134] Improvements in advance work, along with additional federal appropriations to hire more Corps II interpretive staff, remedied this problem. Corps II staff also reached out to the LCTHF, which had members in all of the Trail states, and asked for volunteers to staff the welcome tents when Corps II came to town.[135] Other federal agencies also provided occasional staffing assistance: in addition to the USBR donating Morehouse's time, the USACE provided supplemental staff and programming at all signature events.[136]



Figure 92. USACE staff member at a signature event in St. Louis, Missouri, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[134] LCNHT Staff Meeting, Randolph County Courthouse, Chester, IL, notes, December 9, 2003, Drawer Corps II Items (Potential Admin Hist), Folder: Staff Mtg. Notes, LCNHT Central Files; Jones, interview.

[135] LCNHT Staff Meeting, Randolph County Courthouse, Chester, IL, notes, December 9, 2003, Drawer Corps II Items (Potential Admin Hist), Folder: Staff Mtg. Notes LCNHT Central Files.

[136] USACE employee Jean Nauss led this effort. Gorski, interview; Jones, interview; NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 10.

Signature Events

Corps II participated in fourteen "Signature Events" across the nation and hundreds of smaller events along the Lewis and Clark Expedition's route (see Appendix F for a full list of signature events). All signature events included interpretive programming, speeches by local and national dignitaries, banquets, performances, and of course, the Tent of Many Voices and Corps II exhibits.

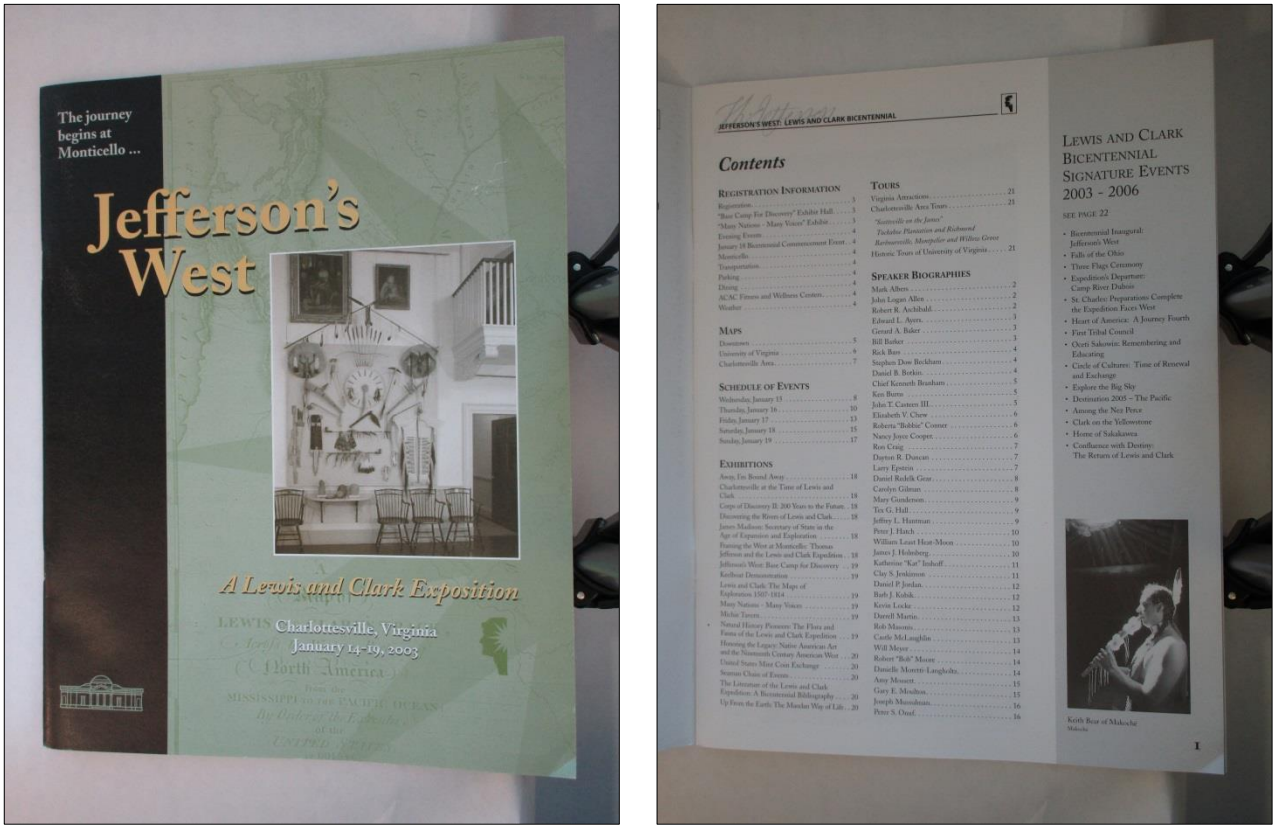


Figure 93. Program cover page and table of contents for "Jefferson's West" signature event.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The first signature event took place at Monticello in Charlottesville, Virginia, from January 14 to 18, 2003. Those in attendance the first day remember one thing with striking clarity and consistency: it was freezing. With a high of 26° Fahrenheit and a low of 7°, presenters, NPS staff and dignitaries, tribal representatives, and Monticello staff all tried to stay warm for the program, called "Jefferson's West."[137] Meadows, the communications coordinator for COTA, remembers seeing two elderly

[137] "Jefferson's West: Lewis & Clark Bicentennial, Monticello 2003: Commencement of the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration," program, January 18, 2003, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events OPENING Corps II, LCNHT Central Files; Meadows, interview.

women sitting under a blanket who never visited the warming tent or warmed their hands on hot cocoa. Those two women, Tillie Walker and Mary Elk, were both from the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation, and they reminded Meadows they had seen much worse on the plains of North Dakota.[138] Events included the dedication of the Tent of Many Voices with a blessing by Dick Basch from the Clatsop-Nehalem Tribe, a reception hosted by Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton, and Tent of Many Voices presentations by the Fort Berthold singers, historian Dayton Duncan, and NPS Director Fran Mainella.[139]

The next signature event, Falls of the Ohio, took place along the Ohio River in Louisville, Kentucky, and Clarksville, Indiana. That event commemorated when Clark joined Lewis and was especially significant because the Shawnee Tribe, Absentee Shawnee of Oklahoma, and Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma all returned to their ancestral homelands for the event. Louisville also unveiled a bronze statue of York, Clark's slave and a member of the Expedition, along the Ohio River waterfront in Louisville.[140] The next signature event was in St. Louis and was called the "Three Flags Ceremony," which memorialized the three flags that have flown over Louisiana Purchase territory: Spain, France, and the United States. It marked the first time the Osage Nation had been welcomed to their ancestral homeland since the U.S. government relocated the tribe.[141] Corps II memorialized the Expedition's departure at Camp River Dubois in May 2004, followed by a nine-day signature event in St. Charles, Missouri, which included reenactment events by members of the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles and programs by the Kickapoo Nation of Oklahoma, whose ancestral homelands were in the St. Charles area.[142]

---

[138] Meadows, interview.

[139] "Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Opening of Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future, Tent of Many Voices, Charlottesville, Virginia," January 14, 2003, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events OPENING Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.; "Jefferson's West: A Lewis and Clark Exposition, Charlottesville, Virginia," January 14–19, 2003, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events OPENING Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.; "Lewis and Clark: Journey and Taste of the Trail Reception" invitation, January 18, 2003, Invitation, January 13, 2003, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: A82 LECL NHT Special Events OPENING Corps II, LCNHT Central Files.

[140] "National Signature Events," Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, accessed October 16, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/nse-index; Lewis and Clark in Kentucky, "Kentucky People: York: Statue," accessed October 16, 2017, http://www.lewisandclarkinkentucky.org/people/york_statue.shtml.

[141] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 10; National Signature Events," Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, accessed October 16, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/nse-index.

[142] National Signature Events," Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, accessed October 16, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/nse-index; National Geodetic Survey, "Join the Journey," accessed October 16, 2017, https://www.ngs.noaa.gov/LewisAndClark/schedule.html.



Figure 94. Leaders of the Osage Nation at a signature event in St. Louis, 2004. This marked the first time Osage Nation leaders had been welcomed back to their ancestral homeland.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.



Figure 95. The Discovery Expedition of St. Charles reenactors approach a signature event in St. Charles, Missouri, on the Missouri River, 2004.

Source: National Park Service

Atchison, Fort Leavenworth, and White Cloud, Kansas, along with Kansas City and Fort Osage, Missouri, hosted the sixth signature event, "Heart of America: A Journey Fourth," which included participation by the Lower Missouri tribes and a ceremony of tribal nation flags. The flag ceremony became a standard and meaningful part of signature events after this July 2004 event.[143] Soon after came the first tribally hosted signature event, the "Oceti Sakowin Experience: Remembering and Educating," followed by "Circle of Cultures, Time of Renewal & Exchange," hosted by the

[143] Chris Howell, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 23, 2017, Spokane, Washington.

Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation, the Lewis and Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, and the College of Mary in Bismarck, North Dakota. Great Falls and Fort Benton hosted a month-long signature event, "Explore! The Big Sky," in the summer of 2005, complete with indigenous games, horse races, and athletic events.[144]



Figure 96. Many signature events included indigenous games.

Source: National Park Service

Like the Corps of Discovery had, Corps II reached the Pacific Ocean in November. Corps II camped at an event hosted by the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial in Oregon (LCBO); Clatsop County, Oregon; Pacific County, Washington; the Chinook Tribe; and the Clatsop-Nehalem Confederated Tribes. After the winter programming, Corps II then headed back east for the twelfth signature event, "Among the Niimiipuu," hosted by the Nez Perce Tribe, followed by "Clark on the Yellowstone," hosted by the city of Billings, the BLM, and the Crow Nation under Pompeys Pillar,

[144] Host tribes of the Oceti Sakowin event included the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, Oglala Sioux Tribe of the Pine Ridge Reservation, Rosebud Sioux Tribe, Yankton Sioux Tribe and Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. "National Signature Events," Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, accessed October 16, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/nse-index; Meadows, interview.

and "Reunion at the Home of Sakakawea," hosted by the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation at the Fort Berthold Reservation. The Bicentennial Council and the Osage Nation planned and hosted the final signature event in St. Louis, under the Gateway Arch, in partnership with JNEM. Entitled "Currents of Change," the final event celebrated the intercultural understanding and cooperation that occurred during the three years of bicentennial commemorations.[145]



Figure 97. At the "Among the Niimiipuu" signature event in Lewiston, Idaho. Tent of Many Voices presentations included a panel with Cynthia Blackeagle, Allen Pinkham, Brian McCormick, and Crystal White, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.



Figure 98. Hasan Davis, as York, at a Corps II signature event in New Town, North Dakota, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[145] "National Signature Events," Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, accessed October 16, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/nse-index; Meadows, interview; Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, *Enough Good People: Reflections on Tribal Involvements and Inter-Cultural Collaboration 2003–2006* (Gunnison, CO: 2009), 94.



Figure 99. A procession at the Billings, Montana, signature event, during which Corps II tents were set up adjacent to Pompeys Pillar, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Other Corps II Events

Non-signature event Corps II stops involved many partners and drew sizable crowds. State bicentennial committees helped NPS staff figure out the logistics of Corps II stops, such as which venue would host the event, where people would park, and whether an event planner was necessary.[146] From July 2003 to July 2004, the exhibit visited six communities in Illinois, one in Indiana, one in Kentucky, seven in Missouri, two in Kansas, four in Nebraska, one in Iowa, and three in South Dakota. These non-signature events included towns as small as Rend Lake, Illinois, and Eagle Butte, South Dakota (seat of tribal government for the Cheyenne River Sioux Indian Reservation).[147] During the winter months, when Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery had not traveled, Corps II also took a break from constant travel. In the winter of 2003 to 2004, for example, Corps II made several stops in Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri, but then it was shipped back to Legacy Transportation Services in California so the exhibit could be rehabilitated. Corps II staff used that time to work on programming for the upcoming year.[148]

---

[146] Robert Pawloski, *Nebraska Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commission: The Final Report to the Governor, Members of the Nebraska Legislature, and the People of Nebraska* (Lincoln: Nebraska Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission, 2004), 19, http://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=interdiscipinformaticsfacpub.

[147] Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

[148] "Corps of Discovery II – Wintering Over . . .," *The Corps Explorer: "Trail and Error"* 26 (February 2004): 2, in Folder: Z 917.8043 L585ce, Montana State Historical Society Library, Helena, MT.



Figure 100. Dancers at a Corps II event hosted by the Crow Tribe in Crow Agency in Montana, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.



Figure 101. Jack Gladstone (Blackfeet) performs at the Tent of Many Voices at a Corps II off-trail stop in Tucson, Arizona, 2005.

Source: National Park Service

McBryant and Jones gave local venues freedom to host evening receptions and other special events when Corps II visited. In the first year, events included a DOI-hosted reception in Washington, DC, for Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus members; a reception in Baltimore, Maryland, hosted by Maryland's governor and legislative leaders; and various after-hour tours for dignitaries presented by Corps II interpreters.[149] A few other affiliated, but separate,

[149] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 8.

initiatives included a museum exhibit, *Lewis and Clark: The National Bicentennial Exhibition*, co-hosted by the MHS, the Bicentennial Council, and the Smithsonian; the curriculum-focused Lewis and Clark Rediscovery Project out of the University of Idaho; and LCTHF trail stewardship initiatives.[150]

Stop Lewis and Clark Movement



Figure 102. Discovery Expedition of St. Charles in Louisville, Kentucky, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

One of the most dramatic controversies during Corps II occurred during the Oceti Sakowin signature event in Oacama, South Dakota, in 2004, when a group of about twenty-five American Indians, many from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, attempted to block the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles reenactors as they traveled along the Missouri.[151] The group—led by Alex White Plume (Oglala Sioux) and Carter and Vic Camp (Ponca)—consisted mostly of young people and American Indian Movement (AIM) members. They called themselves the "Stop Lewis and Clark Movement." Carter Camp told *Indian Country Today*, "Lewis and Clark did not come on an excursion to make friends with the tribes . . . . They came on a trip of conquest."[152] When the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles met the Stop Lewis and Clark Movement protestors on the Missouri River, Camp told the reenactors,

> What they [Lewis and Clark] wrote down was a blueprint for the genocide of my people. You are re-enacting something ugly, evil and hateful. You are re-enacting the coming of death to our people. You are re-enacting genocide.

[150] Scott Michael Graves, Project Co-Director, Lewis and Clark Rediscovery Project, to Baker, November 5, 2001, and Baker to Graves, November 15, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A20 LECL NHT Boards Advisory of groups, Other (Org, Meetings, Recommendations), LCNHT Central Files; Goering, interview; Lewis & Clark: The National Bicentennial Exhibition, website, accessed September 11, 2017, http://www.lewisandclarkexhibit.org/index_HTML.html.

[151] Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

[152] Brenda Norell, "'Stop Lewis and Clark Movement' Urges Historical Accuracy," *Indian Country Today*, May 17, 2005, http://aimfireriversideca.tripod.com/id70.html#.

Deb White Plume (Lakota) then gave the reenactors a blanket and called it "a symbolic blanket of smallpox."[153]

Meadows, who was then cultural awareness coordinator for COTA, remembers Baker calling to let her know that the state of South Dakota was considering sending in the National Guard to stop the protestors. Baker asked Meadows and COTA to diffuse the situation, which had the potential to disrupt the spirit of cooperation between tribes and non-Indians that Baker had worked so hard to create. Meadows sat down with Amy Mossett, tribal involvement coordinator for the Bicentennial Council and a former COTA chair, and Chief Arvol Looking Horse, Nineteenth Generation Keeper of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe, to craft a COTA press release that commended the protestors for exercising their right to object and be heard. Olson wrote a similar release on behalf of the NPS, in which he reiterated that the Tent of Many Voices was "a national forum for a variety of opinions surrounding Lewis and Clark and the lasting effects of cultural encounters 200 years past."[154] Meadows explained what happened next:

> . . . the next event was in Bismarck. And there's a tribal college there, United Tribes Technical College. And David Gipp was the president of that college. And he said, and so these kids in their Stop Lewis and Clark, they didn't stop. We said to them, "Well why don't you—instead of just like doing this—stop it, come to the next event and explain why. We'll give you room on the agenda. You do that."
>
> So they did. They came up and they stayed at the college. David Gipp made dorm space available to them. And they came and they had hundreds of people in the hall, big meeting hall. And they stood at the mic. And these were mostly students. And said, "This is why we're doing this."
>
> And pretty soon the newspapers are covering all of that. And they had their say. And the reenactor group got to go on all the way to the Pacific Ocean. But they had their say. That's all it took.[155]

Baker and Basch, along with Ed Hall from the BIA, also worked with the protestors to diffuse the situation and to channel their frustrations into a productive dialogue.[156]

Allen Pinkham believed that protests were positive, in that they showed that all voices—even discordant ones—were welcome. Pinkham recounted how an openness to discussion prevented conflict:

---

[153] Brenda Norell, "'Stop Lewis and Clark Movement' Urges Historical Accuracy," *Indian Country Today*, May 17, 2005, http://aimfireriversideca.tripod.com/id70.html#.

[154] Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files; Meadows, interview.

[155] Meadows, interview.

[156] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report," memorandum, March 20, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 3–4.

> And then when Alex White Plume got up on the Missouri, they were bringing up those pirogues and replicas and canoes and so forth. So Alex gets out there and he starts his protest. And then one of the guys, the Lewis and Clark people, came out there and asked Alex, "How can we help you?"
>
> And of course, that offset Alex because he said, "Hey, I'm here to protest! You're supposed to object to me or something!" (laughter) So they had a long conversation. And I don't know whether it really changed Alex's mind, but it gave him an impression that these Lewis and Clark people weren't here to do him any harm. They were here to listen. That made a lot of difference.[157]

Hall, who was also at the Oceti Sakowin event, talked to the protestors about what they wanted to come out of the protests:

> So as we talked to these young people and tried to explain, one of the things I asked them, I said, well, what are your outcomes? From your protest. What do you want to see? Because this could be a really good conversation along the trail. Bring youths together. Talk about your future. You know, at the end of the day we know what happened. We know our past. But you're our future, you know? So how do we move forward rather than just live in that kind of vortex?
>
> And it was interesting, because they hadn't really thought about that. And in the end, they concluded that, well, if they were to agree, then they were agreeing with the government. So they still needed to protest. So I said okay, you can protest. That's valid. Your voice is valid. But, if you want to think about how to move it forward, let's discuss it. I think that was a key mindset that we were able to take from there, because I think that really started getting us to addressing a future. I think that history has a way of stagnating us, too. And we revisit it. But at the other end of it, what do we learn from it? Where are we going from it?[158]

Like Pinkham, Hall saw these protests as the start of productive conversations.



Figure 103. Teaching a ring dance at the Oceti Sakowin signature event in Chamberlain, South Dakota, 2004.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[157] Allen V. Pinkham, Sr., interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 24, 2017, Lapwai, Idaho.

[158] Ed Hall, interview by Nicolai Kryloff, May 16, 2017, Washington, DC.

Media and Publicity



Figure 104. Corps II press conference on the National Mall in Washington, DC. Superintendent Gerard Baker is standing in the middle, with Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton in front of him, facing the video camera, 2003. Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Olson joined Corps II in February 2003 as the public information officer.[159] His job consisted of advance work and creating press around Corps II as it traveled to new cities.[160] Before each stop, he consulted journals from the Corps of Discovery to determine what occurred in that area during the Expedition and what the local Lewis and Clark angle might be, and then he worked with local community groups to "compare media lists and prepare a plan of approach to the media" for each exhibit stop. Local partners funded marketing and helped with developing local media contacts. A successful venue, Olson reminded Baker, "means we must engage the media, convince them to report about Corps of Discovery II and become a part of the national conversation in the Bicentennial."[161] As with other aspects of Corps II, the first year was a bit of a scramble: Olson

[159] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 10.

[160] Olson, interview; Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

[161] Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

sometimes received lists of media contacts from local organizers only days or hours in advance of upcoming events, which was not enough lead time for him to be effective. Improvements in advanced planning and logistics provided Olson more lead time in subsequent years.[162]



Figure 105. Gerard Baker being interviewed in Hartford, Illinois, 2003.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[162] Staff Meeting Notes, Randolph County Courthouse, Chester, IL, December 9, 2003, Drawer Corps II Items (Potential Admin Hist), Folder: Staff Mtg. Notes, LCNHT Central Files.

Olson worked with Jones, Basch, and local communities to connect reporters with Tent of Many Voices guests for interviews.[163] In the first year, Olson himself sat for interviews with the Associated Press, *New York Times*, *Portland Oregonian*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, *Kansas City Star*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and *Time Kids*. He also participated in "nightly news cutaways" at Corps II stops and appeared live on early morning shows, often with a "sneak peek" of the exhibits and the Tent of Many Voices schedule.[164] Olson partnered with national media outlets like the Discovery Channel, but the NPS stopped short of granting them broadcast exclusivity, which both the Discovery Channel and the History Channel had requested.[165]



Figure 106. Bobbie Conner (*left*) and Amy Mossett (*right*) pose next to a billboard advertising Corps II with Mossett's image on it, 2005.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

In addition to Olson's work in the field, Corps II staff developed various publications and other outreach material immediately preceding and during Corps II. Laurie Heupel and Dick Williams

[163] Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files; Olson, interview.

[164] Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

[165] "Notes from August 16–17, 2001," August 16–17, 2001, Drawer A46 – C-Concessions, Folder: D18 Briefing Statements (Many re: CII), LCNHT Central Files.

wrote the text for the Trail's first brochure in 2002, which was reviewed by a committee, edited by HFC staff, and then printed in October 2002 with an initial run of 325,000. Interpretive staff ordered additional brochures in January 2003 to distribute during the bicentennial: 520,000 to Heupel in Great Falls and 100,000 to Williams in Omaha.[166] By the end of 2004, almost half of those brochures had been distributed, mostly through partner organizations.[167] Trail staff also published short videos, public service announcements, and a package of images and maps for partner organizations.[168] Heupel and Williams edited the *Corps Explorer*, the Trail newsletter, and distributed it to partners to keep them abreast of Corps II and other Trail activities. Corps II staff developed a Corps II logo (an adaptation of the original Jefferson peace medals), and Superintendent Steve Adams later designed a similar "Blue Border Peace Medal" for Corps II to distribute to partners.[169]

Educational Products

The Corps II interpretive team developed online, classroom-focused educational materials during the bicentennial. Together with the Peter Kiewet Institute (PKI) at the University of Nebraska-Omaha, they created a website for long-distance learning during the bicentennial. The website, hosted at www.lewisandclarkbeyond.com (no longer active) consisted of an online archive of "interactive maps, photographs, videotapes and educational resources designed for use in the classroom," as well as videos from the Tent of Many Voices, historic sites along the Trail, oral histories, and other community presentations that SCA interns and Corps II had recorded over the previous years.[170] Trail staff developed a Junior Ranger program, for which they mailed out over three thousand patches in 2003 and 2004.[171] Heupel also completed over one hundred waysides with partners during the bicentennial and assisted with the design of many more.[172]

---

[166] 263,000 of the 280,731 brochures distributed in 2004 went through partner organizations. Donna Huffer, Department of Publications, NPS, to Superintendent, LCNHT, memorandum, March 25, 2003, Drawer K-42 – K5417, Folder: K38 LECL NHT Publications-National Park Service, LCNHT Central Files.

[167] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 8.

[168] Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

[169] Adams designed the blue border peace medal "to reflect the new mindset needed for Trail management . . . and to reaffirm our commitment to work with Tribes to share multiple viewpoints of the Lewis and Clark story." NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 62, 65; NPS, LCNHT, *The Corps Explorer: "Trail and Error"* (February 2004): title page, in Folder: Z 917.8043 L585ce, Montana State Historical Society Library, Helena, MT.

[170] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 7; Jones, interview.

[171] Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 8.

[172] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 8; Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 8.

Another successful educational product that came out of the bicentennial was "Living with Lewis," a partnership with the Clayton County, Missouri, school district and the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles.[173] It was later renamed "Lewis and Clark Then and Now: Linking the Trail to America's Students." The website included educational activities, virtual field-trips, and excerpts from the Corps of Discovery and Corps II journals.[174] Corps II staff hosted a videoconference every Thursday during the school year in which up to four schools per week learned about the Expedition and had the opportunity to ask questions of Tent of Many Voices presenters.[175]



Figure 107. NPS staff and partners created educational products for children at Corps II and in schools across the nation. Here, children examine historic props at a Corps II stop in Washington, DC, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[173] Jeff Olson to Steve Adams, memorandum, October 12, 2003 [2004?], Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

[174] "Get Your Students on the Trail with Lewis and Clark," *The Corps Explorer: "Trail and Error"* 26 (February 2004): 2, in Folder: Z 917.8043 L585ce, Montana State Historical Society Library, Helena, MT.

[175] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 4; Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 7; Jones, interview.

Corps II Partnerships

Partnerships made the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemoration possible. Partner groups hosted, marketed, and coordinated most of the bicentennial events that Corps II visited. Foremost among those partners were the Bicentennial Council, the LCTHF, other federal agencies, and the congressional caucus. In addition, over fifty tribes participated in the bicentennial, despite strong initial reluctance. COTA, which acted as a liaison between the Bicentennial Council and tribes, played a major role in assuring tribal involvement and empowering tribes to tell their stories on a national stage.

Bicentennial Council

The Bicentennial Council organized signature events, fundraised, and contributed to the marketing and publicity for Corps II. The MHS housed the Bicentennial Council starting in 2002 and provided pro bono leadership through Archibald and Goering for the duration of the bicentennial.[176] In April 2003, the Hewlett Foundation awarded the Bicentennial Council $2 million for bicentennial commemorations.[177] The Bicentennial also received a grant of $320,000 from Qwest Communications in October 2004.[178] The Ad Council, which had selected the Lewis and Clark bicentennial "as a primary 3-year public information campaign for television, radio, print, and billboards" in 2002, donated creative work and media placement for a series of Lewis and Clark Bicentennial ads, released in 2005.[179] With funds from these and other partners, the Bicentennial Council created a series of educational products including DVDs, brochures for signature events (distributed for free, thanks to the Hewlett Foundation donation), and a bicentennial time capsule, stored at the MHS in St. Louis, Missouri.[180]

---

[176] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Meeting, Great Falls, minutes, April 16, 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting April 16, 2003 Great Falls, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[177] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Meeting, Great Falls, minutes, April 16, 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting April 16, 2003 Great Falls, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[178] Qwest was a telecommunications company that serviced western and Midwestern states and, through a 2011 merger, became known as CenturyLink. National Council of the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Board Meeting, Bismarck, North Dakota, minutes, October 21, 2004, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 21, 2004 Bismarck, ND, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[179] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 95; National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, Board of Directors Meeting, Louisville, Kentucky, minutes, July 26, 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/1999–07/2002, Folder: Board Meeting July 29, 2002 Louisville, KY, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Meeting, Great Falls, minutes, April 16, 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting April 16, 2003 Great Falls, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[180] Goering, interview; National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Meeting Minutes, Great Falls, minutes, April 16, 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting April 16, 2003 Great Falls, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Falls of the Ohio National Council Meeting, agenda, October 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 25, 2003 Louisville, KY – Jeffersonville, IN, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.



Figure 108. The U.S. Mint issued a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemorative silver dollar in 2004. Proceeds from its sale went to the Bicentennial Council and the LCTHF.

Source: U.S. Mint.

In 1999, Congress passed a law authorizing the U.S. Mint to produce a commemorative coin for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, which directed that the proceeds from the commemorative coin sale would go to the Bicentennial Council and the NPS, provided that both raised matching funds.[181] The Bicentennial Council, tribes, and the Mint signed a contract in 2003, and production of 500,000 coins began in 2004.[182] At the suggestion of COTA members, the Mint sold small pouches with the commemorative coin, crafted by tribes along the Trail. Tribal members sewed the coin pouches using traditional methods, and the Mint paid for their work.[183] Partway through the production

[181] Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial Commemorative Coin Act, December 6, 1999, 113 Stat. 1647 (P.L. 106-126); An Act to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in conjunction with the minting of coins by the Republic of Iceland in commemoration of the millennium of the discovery of the New World by Leif Ericson, December 6, 1999, 113 Stat. 1647 (P. L. 106-246).

[182] Falls of the Ohio National Council Meeting, agenda, October 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 25, 2003 Louisville, KY – Jeffersonville, IN, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Robbie Wilbur, Special Assistant to the Secretary, DOI, to Senate and House Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus, memorandum, April 4, 2001, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A3815 LECL NHT Public Relations With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, LCNHT Central Files.

[183] A minor controversy erupted regarding these pouches when, in response to a complaint, the Indian Arts & Craft Board (a DOI agency) determined that products made by the United Remnant Band of the Shawnee Nation of Ohio (URBSN), a tribe lacking federal recognition and unaffiliated with the Shawnee Nation of Oklahoma, were not authentic

process, the NPS decided it would not be able to fundraise as required in the commemorative coin legislation. There was some discussion of the National Park Foundation stepping in to raise the funds, but ultimately Congress amended the initial legislation to split the fundraising and proceeds between the MHS and Bicentennial Council.[184]

The Mint sold out its inventory of 494,600 Lewis and Clark commemorative coins, raising $5 million.[185] After paying off the council's debts, half of the proceeds from the Mint established a native language fund called "Native Voices Endowment Grants." A panel of COTA members and the council board decided that Yale's Endangered Language Fund would manage the grants program and the Oregon Community Foundation would manage the investment.[186] The Native Voices Endowment provided grants for enrolled tribal members to document and revitalize languages of American Indian tribes with ancestral lands along the Corps of Discovery's route.[187] The other half of the Mint funds went to the LCTHF, creator of the Bicentennial Council, for an endowed trail stewardship fund. That program, the Lewis & Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment, took several years to form (see Chapter 8).[188]

Indian products. There had been minor previous controversies between the federally recognized Shawnee tribe of Oklahoma and the URBSN, which Baker had ameliorated by additional outreach to the Oklahoma tribes. Department of the Treasury, United States Mint, "Notification of a Refund Offer for Certain 2004 United States Mint Lewis and Clark Coin and Pouch Sets That May Contain Pouches That Are Not Authentic American Indian Products," Fed. Reg. 72, no. 210, 61715 (October 31, 2007); Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 5; COTA, "History of the Circle of Tribal Advisors and Tribal Involvement in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial," January 14, 2004, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: [none; in binder, loose in drawer], LCNHT Central Files; U.S. Mint, "Lewis and Clark Coin & Pouch Set Available September 7," September 3, 2004, https://www.usmint.gov/news/press-releases/20040903-lewis-clark-coin-pouch-set-available-september-7; Conner, interview; Meadows, interview; Goering, interview.

[184] An Act to amend section 308 of the Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial Commemorative Coin Act to make certain clarifying and technical amendments, June 15, 2006, 120 Stat. 395 (P.L. 109–232); Goering, interview.

[185] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Meeting, Great Falls, summary, June 2, 2005, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting June 2, 2005 Great Falls, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[186] Goering, interview.

[187] Three individuals oversaw the initial grant review process: Darrell Robes Kipp (Blackfeet), who had founded the Piegan Institute in Browning, Montana, to preserve the Blackfeet language; Dr. David M. Gipp (Standing Rock Sioux), President of United Tribes Technical College in Bismarck, North Dakota; and Philip Cash Cash (Cayuse/Nez Perce), a linguist pursuing his doctorate at the University at Arizona. "Native Voices Endowment," Endangered Language Fund, Yale, accessed September 12, 2017, http://www.endangeredlanguagefund.org/native-voices-endowment.html; Sammye Meadows, et al., "Announcing Native Voices Endowment: A Lewis & Clark Expedition Bicentennial Legacy," press release, January 8, 2007, http://www.u.arizona.edu/~aildi/Useful_Links/Native_Voices_Endowment.pdf; Goering, interview.

[188] Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Trail Stewardship Policy, March 16, 2012, http://lewisandclark.org/grants/docs/grant_board_policy.pdf; "Lewis & Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment: A National Council of the Lewis & Clark Expedition Bicentennial Legacy Project," undated [2006?], accessed September 26, 2017, http://www.lewisandclark.org/grants/docs/ltse_fund_agreement.pdf; Goering, interview.

COTA

Throughout the bicentennial, COTA provided a forum for tribes to gather, coordinate, and participate in Corps II. COTA again became a suborganization of the Bicentennial Council in 2003, after a brief independent period at the start of the bicentennial. COTA members included representatives from forty tribes from eleven states (see Appendix G).[189] COTA helped NPS staff reach out to tribes, recruited presenters for the Tent of Many Voices, and underwrote tribal members' travel to Corps II events with Bicentennial Council and NPS funds.[190] For the Monticello event alone, COTA received grants from the interagency working group, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the NPS. Soon after, COTA received $300,000 from the Institute of Museum & Library Services for a model language immersion project, led by three tribal museums (the Umatilla Indian Reservation's Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, the Museum at Warm Springs, and the People's Center of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes).[191] The Hewlett Foundation provided $500,000 for "American Indian Involvement Grants," which COTA granted to sixty-eight tribes to encourage participation in the bicentennial and tribal cultural projects, and Hewlett funds supported Meadows's position with COTA and several other COTA initiatives.[192]



Figure 109. The Rocky Boy Reservation hosted a Corps II event, 2005.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[189] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 64–67.

[190] Howell, interview; Meadows, interview.

[191] COTA, "COTA Coordinator Report: August – October 2002," October 2002, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 19, 2002 Pendleton, OR, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; COTA, *Enough Good People*, 96.

[192] National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Meeting, Great Falls, minutes, April 16, 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting April 16, 2003 Great Falls, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; Falls of the Ohio National Council Meeting, agenda, October 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 25, 2003 Louisville, KY – Jeffersonville, IN, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

At the Tent of Many Voices and in its own meetings, COTA provided a forum for tribes to develop collaborative methods to tell their own stories and to address problems they faced.[193] COTA's success as a forum for discussion and as a liaison to tribes contributed significantly to the extent of tribal participation in the bicentennial. Baker and American Indian Liaisons Otis Halfmoon and Dick Basch worked closely with COTA to encourage participation in signature events and to sustain tribal involvement in the bicentennial, which was sometimes difficult. Baker noted in 2004 that

> Although some tribes are eager to participate, the overall opinion from many tribes is that the bicentennial commemoration is over-burdening tribes. Still in our determination to tell the Native American story, we will continue to work with the tribal councils, as well as, other resources available to us to locate presenters.[194]

As a result of COTA's outreach and partnership with the NPS, over 400 American Indian people presented over 1,800 hours of programming in the Tent of Many Voices. [195]

COTA also led a Cultural Awareness Campaign during the bicentennial, funded by the NPS and the Bicentennial Council Hewlett funds. This campaign included the publication of a brochure titled *A Guide to Visiting the Lands of Many Nations*. The guide included a map of the Trail that showed all of the nations that the Corps of Discovery had passed through on their journey. It provided information about modern-day reservations and associated tourist attractions. The brochure was meant to educate tourists about tribes and to increase the economic benefits of tourism for tribes, many of whom participated in bicentennial commemorations for that very purpose.[196] It was modeled, in part, after the Kansas Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission Native American Handbook, and edited by Lisa Watt, a museum professional and member of the Seneca Nation.[197] COTA distributed over 250,000 copies of *A Guide to Visiting the Lands of Many Nations* at Corps II events and directly to schools.[198]

COTA's Cultural Awareness Campaign included the development of four public service announcements (PSAs) to supplement the Bicentennial Council's Ad Council ads. COTA developed goals and content for these PSAs, in order to convey messages that tribes had prioritized during the bicentennial. The four PSAs were entitled "We Are Still Here," "Respect the Sacred Places of Our

---

[193] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 8–9, 126.

[194] Baker, interview.

[195] A full list of these individuals, their tribal affiliation, and the topic of their discussion is available in COTA, *Enough Good People*, 38–61.

[196] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 74; COTA, *A Guide to Visiting the Lands of Many Nations and to the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial* (2004), 2.

[197] Howell, interview; Meadows, interview.

[198] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 74, 96.

People," "Taking Care of the Gifts," and "Indian Languages are Libraries." In the languages ad, COTA members exposed non-native viewers to what a native language sounds like, perhaps for the first time, and hoped that by the second or third time the ad aired, viewers might find the sound more familiar.[199] "We are Still Here" conveyed the basic message embodied in its title, which tribes found they had to reiterate again and again during the bicentennial. Conner recalled that COTA frequently had to come back to this point, because it was still not basic knowledge among most Americans that tribes, unlike Lewis and Clark, still exist and still have stories to tell, land to protect, and sovereign nations to run.[200]



Figure 110. Bobbie Conner speaking at the final signature event in St. Louis, Missouri, surrounded by tribal flags, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

COTA had an overarching goal of creating lasting legacies out of its bicentennial activities. In addition to the previously mentioned Native Voices Endowment, former COTA members worked with Trail staff and Sally Thompson and Kim Lugthart at the University of Montana to develop a website of videos from tribal presentations in the Tent of Many Voices.[201] That 2010 website, the

[199] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 118; Conner, interview; Meadows, interview; Goering, interview; National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Meeting, Great Falls, minutes, April 16, 2003, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting April 16, 2003 Great Falls, MT, NCLCBC Papers, MHM; National Council of the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Board Meeting, Bismarck, North Dakota, minutes, October 21, 2004, Box: NC Board Meetings 10/2002–07/2005, Folder: Board Meeting October 21, 2004 Bismarck, ND, NCLCBC Papers, MHM.

[200] Conner, interview; Basch, interview.

[201] "Site Credits," Lewis & Clark – Tribal Legacy Project, accessed September 22, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/credits.

"Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project," organized the presentations by both theme and geography. For example, a heading labeled "Contemporary Life" opens up a list of subcategories, each of which includes a list of videos and presenters. Visitors can search by tribe, region, individual, event, and more.[202] Former COTA members and Trail employees cited the Tribal Legacy project as one of the most important outcomes of the bicentennial. The hundreds of hours donated by tribal members and the incredible range of knowledge they shared remains available and accessible to the public.[203]



Figure 111. Sammye Meadows (shown here in St. Louis in 2006), Bobbie Conner, and Ed Hall edited *Enough Good People*, a book documenting contributions that tribes made during the bicentennial and offering suggestions for future cooperation among tribes, non-tribal communities, and the government.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Other projects, supported by NPS and partner funding, endured beyond the bicentennial. Trail CCS grants funded publication of works by American Indian poets, historians, language specialists, and storytellers, as well as by non-native authors.[204] In the year following the bicentennial, Meadows and Conner edited and produced *Enough Good People*, a book made possible by the NPS, the MHS, the Bicentennial Council, the BIA, the Tamástslikt Cultural Institute, and the American Indian Alaska Native Tourism Association.[205] *Enough Good People* is an extended thank you to partners, a scrapbook of tribal participation in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, and a guide for how to include American Indian tribes and their stories in future commemorative events. Recommendations to planners of future commemorations range from the profound (it should "not be about blame, shame or guilt but about moving forward from where you are") to the practical ("Include a budget for gifting").[206] (For the complete list of COTA recommendations, see Appendix H.)

[202] Lewis & Clark – Tribal Legacy Project, accessed September 22, 2017, https://www.lc-triballegacy.org/.

[203] Basch, interview; Conner, interview; Meadows, interview; COTA, *Enough Good People*, 76.

[204] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 77.

[205] Goering, interview.

[206] COTA, *Enough Good People*, 130–33.

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

The LCTHF and its chapters assisted with Corps II events by providing volunteers and programming during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. Membership boomed during the bicentennial and new chapters organized; by 2003, the foundation had forty chapters (up from only eight a decade previously), many of which were not even located on the Trail. The Minnesota chapter was particularly active.[207] The foundation continued to hold annual meetings in conjunction with the Bicentennial Council, and Bicentennial Council President Archibald wrote a column of updates from the council in each issue of the LCTHF quarterly journal, *We Proceeded On*.

LCTHF leaders focused on history and trail stewardship during Corps II's journey across the nation. They convened at Corps II events, encouraged scholarship on the Corps of Discovery, and organized stewardship projects to protect pieces of the physical Trail and its history.[208] To accomplish these tasks, the LCTHF hired Wendy Raney as director of field operations in December 2003. Raney traveled with Corps II for the remainder of the bicentennial, coordinating with NPS Corps II staff, the Bicentennial Council, and LCTHF chapters along the route of Corps II.[209]

Corps II In Retrospect



Figure 112. Superintendent Steve Adams at the Corps II closing ceremony with tribal flags behind him, 2006.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[207] Ron Laycock, President, LCTHF, "Looking to the long-term future," *We Proceeded On* 29, no. 4 (November 2003): 4.

[208] Laycock, "The LCTHF: What we are and what we do," *We Proceeded On* 30, no. 2 (May 2004): 5.

[209] Jim Gramentine, "Welcome to Wendy, and a Salute to the Fourth Estate," *We Proceeded On* 32, no. 4 (November 2006): 4.

On September 24, 2006, the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial officially ended in St. Louis, Missouri, at the JNEM, the same place that Corps II had begun as a tangible plan almost a decade before. Representatives from over forty tribes from across the country attended the final event.[210] Corps II staff presented a handwritten report addressed to President George W. Bush, in the style of Meriwether Lewis's report to Jefferson, that stressed the impact of Corps II:

> Each community along the trail had its own story to tell. Part of that, but only part, was the Lewis and Clark connection among them. As each community focused attention on the story of Lewis and Clark, new connections were opened to their pasts. When they lived in a moment from two centuries ago, they drew forth a larger and more diverse world of history - the history of indigenous peoples, those American Indian nations, along the Trail. It was the history of people of European, Asian and African descent. It was the history of women and children. Corps of Discovery II invited all to revitalize their own history by telling their stories and sharing their cultures with us, with each other, and with the nation.
>
> Mr. President, the lasting legacy of this journey has been the relationships with people. The members of the Corps of Discovery II have become life-long friends. We have made individual friendships in the communities that we have visited. We have met and worked closely with many other Federal Agencies and have come to respect their roles in our endeavor. Relationships have been made through this project, and the valuable partnerships it fostered will endure in communities across this nation.[211]

Both Baker and Adams were present at the concluding ceremony. COTA members wrapped the two superintendents in COTA Pendleton blankets as they stood side by side and watched veterans process with tribal and state flags, reenactors arrive in their pirogues, and children dance along the riverfront.[212]

Even before Corps II concluded its three-year tour, Adams and Boyko began the process of decommissioning the Corps II exhibit trailer and its contents. At first, Boyko and Adams thought that the Lincoln Bicentennial Committee might want the trailer, but it declined, citing the substantial staffing requirements to assemble the tents.[213] Boyko then asked NPS staff at Knife River Indian Villages, but they also declined, having heard that the Tent of Many Voices was difficult to set up. Eventually, the Haskell Indian Nations University in Lawrence, Kansas, accepted the trailer and its

[210] "National Signature Events," Lewis & Clark Trail – Tribal Legacy Project, accessed October 16, 2017, https://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/nse-index.

[211] "A Report to the President of the United States of America from The Staff of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Project: The Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," September 22, 2006, 7–8, provided to author digitally by Stephen E. Adams.

[212] Meadows, interview.

[213] LCNHT Staff Meeting, minutes, January 10, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; Boyko, interview.

contents.[214] The truck remained with its owners, Denver and Shanna Cain, and the tipi and the tule mat that traveled with Corps II remain at Trail headquarters in Omaha.[215]



Figure 113. Performers prepare to enter the Tent of Many Voices in Missoula, Montana, 2006.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The Bicentennial Council and COTA dissolved in 2007, as planned.[216] Papers from the Bicentennial Council were archived at the MHS. COTA's records, maintained by Meadows, went to

[214] Boyko, interview; McBryant, interview; NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 44.

[215] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 48.

[216] "Proposed Plan of Dissolution of the National Council of the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial," November 1, 1999, LCTHF Organizational Records, Series VI, Box 3 (Bicentennial – National Council – Circle of Tribal Advisors), Folder: Box 47 Folder 11 – Foundation Headquarters – National Council of Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Resolution of Dissolution 2007, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT.

the LCTHF William P. Sherman Library and Archives in Great Falls, Montana. The state Lewis and Clark Bicentennial committees dissolved for the most part, but some remained and continued to work with the Trail. The interagency working group sunsetted as planned, as did the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus. Corps II staff received a Unit Award for Excellence of Service from the Secretary of the Interior and a Chairman's Award for Federal Achievement in Historic Preservation from the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.[217] After the bicentennial ended, Adams worked with two Trail employees to write a summary history of Corps II that detailed the accomplishments of the Corps II team.[218]

Corps II visited ninety-five venues in twenty-two states and the District of Columbia. Partners included over two dozen federal agencies, fifty tribal nations, hundreds of non-profits, dozens of state and local agencies, and "thousands of individual volunteers."[219] Approximately 500,000 people visited Corps II, and none of them had to pay an entry fee.[220] Corps II staff were on the road for a total of 1,214 days and the exhibit was open to visitors for over half of those days. Corps II, a unique experiment in which the NPS brought a national park to the people by retracing an historic journey, was ultimately a success thanks to the tireless efforts of staff, partners, and volunteers.

Leadership from the NPS and partner organizations pointed to tribal participation as the most important outcome of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial.[221] Unlike many national commemorations before it, the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial allowed American Indians to tell their own stories, without censorship by the government or middlemen. Meadows called the bicentennial a turning point, one that ushered in a new era of interpretation in which "American history is being told by American Indians."[222] Pinkham and Hall argued that the bicentennial established a new model in which tribes could reclaim their stories.[223] Hall recounted,

> It was so rewarding to see people start off defiant in telling that story and then being proud and assertive and confident in that story. So I think that, to me, was so important because we can now

[217] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 15; Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 10.

[218] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 25–32.

[219] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 39.

[220] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 15.

[221] Baker, interview; Otis Halfmoon, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 1, 2017, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Basch, interview; Richard Williams, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 2, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska; Meadows, interview; Hall, interview; Goering, interview; Conner, interview; Gorski, interview; Boyko, interview; Jones, interview; McBryant, interview; Howell, interview; Miller, interview; Adams, interview; Pinkham, interview; Olson, interview.

[222] Meadows, interview.

[223] Pinkham, interview; Hall interview.

> take that forward to countless other events that are coming up, or to other public lands that have a place for us to work with and get that integrated. And use this as an example of why it works.[224]

By relinquishing control over the narrative, the NPS empowered tribes. Through the CCS program, the NPS invested millions of federal dollars in tribes, local communities, museums, non-profits, and other local organizations. Similarly, grants and donations from other federal agencies and private foundations helped drive local-level cultural and educational projects, as well as tourism-centered businesses. It was noteworthy and precedent-setting that tribes shared in this economic development.[225] Pinkham said that "Indian people called it a success" because they were part of the decision-making process as to how to disperse millions of federal dollars, and tribes then benefited from those funds.[226] One such decision was the creation of the Native Voices Endowment at Yale's Endangered Language Fund, which Conner, Meadows, and Goering all identified as a key accomplishment of the bicentennial.[227] Another was the decision to record presentations in the Tent of Many Voices and to make them available for posterity, which Basch and Jones both identified as a critical contribution.[228] NPS funding during the bicentennial also funded new literature about the Corps of Discovery, including several books by American Indians that considered the historical journey through indigenous lenses (for a list of major literary outcomes of the bicentennial, see Appendix I).

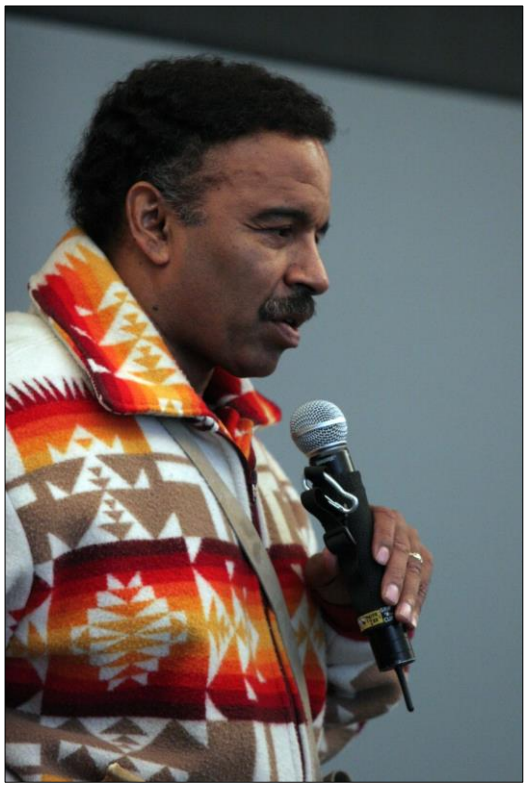


Figure 114. The Tent of Many Voices provided a forum to share stories. Here, Jeff Guillory, an elder of the Nez Perce Tribe, in Clarkston, Washington, 2005.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The bicentennial brought economic development to both tribal and non-tribal communities and helped these communities develop new relationships with one another. For some of these

[224] Hall, interview.

[225] Pinkham, interview; Conner, interview; Baker, interview; Meadows, interview.

[226] Pinkham, interview.

[227] Conner, interview; Meadows, interview; Goering, interview.

[228] Basch, interview; Jones, interview.

partnerships, it was the first time that tribal and non-tribal people had worked collaboratively. Baker recounted when he had invited some Sioux elders to a town meeting in a mostly white town. Despite initial wariness by both parties,

> By the end of the day, they're all joking and having a good time. Sharing coffee. And I said that's it. That's it. We did it. Nothing else for that day, anyway. And to me, that's the main difference. If nothing else, if they start waving to each other, we had success. Even to this day. If we still wave at each other, we had success. Open the door a little bit. Might disagree. But as long as they know you're a human being and I'm a human being.[229]

Like Baker, Halfmoon noted positive changes in relations between tribes and non-Indian neighbors near his home on the Nez Perce Reservation, which he and non-Indian leaders attributed to cooperation during the bicentennial:

> They started opening up a dialog within the community. We started making friends with these people that hated us. And that hatred was not so much—I mean, it's ominous hate, but a lot of it was ignorance. They know about those Indians down there. But they didn't know us. We played football against them. Played basketball against them. But they didn't know us. Same as us toward them. So the doors were opening. Some of the barriers were being destroyed. And that was a good thing. That was a good thing to watch some of these things being worked out with the communities. That was a beautiful sight.[230]

The bicentennial opened the door for the start of a much overdue dialogue among tribes, rural communities, and the nation as a whole.

[229] Baker, interview.

[230] Halfmoon, interview.

Chapter 8. The Trail in Transition (2004–2009)

In 2004, Trail Superintendent Steve Adams began planning for the process of shifting the Lewis and Clark NHT's focus from the bicentennial to ongoing operations consistent with the Trail's congressional mandate. From 2006 to 2008, Adams hired new personnel with skills in mapping, environmental and cultural resources compliance, volunteer management, interpretation, and outdoor recreation planning. Partnerships forged during the bicentennial provided a solid foundation for post-bicentennial projects, but the tribes' priorities shifted away from the Trail after the bicentennial.

Restructuring Trail Administration

Superintendent Steve Adams began preparations for a post-bicentennial drop-off in funding after he arrived at Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT) in 2004. Adams's foremost priority was ensuring that the Trail did not return to the barebones administrative structure it had had before and as other national historic trails continued to have. He conducted a Core Operations Analysis (COA) in 2006–2007 that reorganized existing staff and institutionalized permanent positions. Relatively steady base funding from 2006 to 2017 allowed the Trail to maintain a core staff of approximately fifteen, but congressional appropriations and Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants never returned to the heights that they had reached during the bicentennial. Adams launched a Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) process to update the 1982 CMP and to further clarify and institutionalize non-bicentennial Trail administration. Trail staff also complied with a congressionally mandated study of possible eastern extension of the Trail.

Core Operations Analysis

When Adams arrived at the Lewis and Clark NHT in 2004, he asked, "What next?" The bicentennial had dictated the Trail's funding, staffing, and hierarchical organization starting in the late 1990s. As of 2004, Trail administration was still split into two units, Corps of Discovery II (Corps II) and CCS. Adams wanted to look beyond the bicentennial and to design a framework to support the Lewis and Clark NHT for the long term, without special event funding.

Adams and his staff first produced a position management plan in 2005, which restructured both Corps II field organization and positions in Omaha.[1] This resulted in retitling some permanent positions—Corps II manager (Patricia Jones), CCS program assistant/park guide (Karla Sigala), and chief of resources stewardship (Dick Williams)—and the creation of several new positions, including a second American Indian liaison, natural resource specialist, administrative program manager, archeologist, civic engagement specialist, and outdoor recreation planner.[2]

Adams wanted to codify this reorganization of staff and support it with additional data and input. In August 2006, just before the bicentennial officially concluded in St. Louis, Trail staff participated in a three-day workshop to provide feedback on Trail priorities and staffing as part of the COA process. Over the next six months, Adams and his management team refined the recommendations from that session and ultimately produced a COA report in May 2007. That report detailed core functions that the Trail had a legislatively mandated responsibility to carry out, which included

- Identity: Users recognize Trail as a distinct entity.
- Partnerships: Trail establishes and maintains relationship with partner organizations.
- Visitor Experience: Visitors understand and appreciate significance of Trail.
- Signs and Markers: Trail produces and distributes markers clearly designating route.
- Protection: Trail staff maps and identifies the Trail and its resources.
- Compliance: Trail staff complete environmental and historic preservation review for projects affecting Trail resources.
- Information Services: Visitors can easily obtain information.
- Interpretation: Visitors can easily learn about Trail.
- Certification and Other Site and Segment Recognition: NPS formally recognizes important sites and segments of the Trail.

[1] Conceptual Briefing – 2nd Draft for Discussions and Further Comment: Post-Bicentennial Administration of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, June 27, 2005, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) Organizational Records, Series V, Box 20 (Trail Activities – Trail Sites Nebraska N & S Dakota), Folder: Box 36 Folder 1 Lewis and Clark Trail – Nebraska, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT.

[2] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report," memorandum, March 20, 2006, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT) Digital Files, 2–3; Dan Wiley, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 3, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

Adams drew position management charts to fulfill the above core objectives, first a transitional staff for the immediate post-bicentennial years and then an ultimate target structure (see Figures 115 and 116). Staff would be divided into two primary divisions: Integrated Resources Stewardship and Interpretation, Education, and Visitor Services.[3] Administrative staff, the American Indian liaison, and the superintendent sat outside the two primary divisions and assisted with all matters.

Apart from staffing recommendations, the COA report included a list of strategies "for addressing anticipated budget shortfalls." These included emphasizing efficiency, working with the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) to increase financial support and volunteers for partner organizations, developing new partnerships, and sourcing out future studies.[4] The COA report included a budget projection for the next five years, to support the case that the Trail could sustain the level of staffing recommended.[5] Not many parks in the MWRO were using this type of study at the time that Adams prepared his, but subsequent managers and division heads have cited Adams's forward thinking as important to maintaining adequate staff at the Lewis and Clark NHT after the bicentennial windfall years.[6] The Lewis and Clark NHT had "never been administered from the National Trail System Act (NTSA) point of view"—that is, administered in a way that complied with NTSA requirements—but Adams's COA enabled that for the first time.[7]

[3] LCNHT, "Core Operations Analysis Final Report," May 30, 2007, LCNHT Digital Files, 15.

[4] LCNHT, "Core Operations Analysis Final Report," May 30, 2007, LCNHT Digital Files, 30.

[5] LCNHT, "Core Operations Analysis Final Report," May 30, 2007, LCNHT Digital Files, 20–22.

[6] Wiley, interview; Mark Weekley, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 6, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

[7] Federal Interagency Partners Meeting, November 14–5, 2006, Drawer A – Administration, Folder "A40 LECL NHT Meetings & Conferences," Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Central Files, Omaha, NE (hereafter LCNHT Central Files).

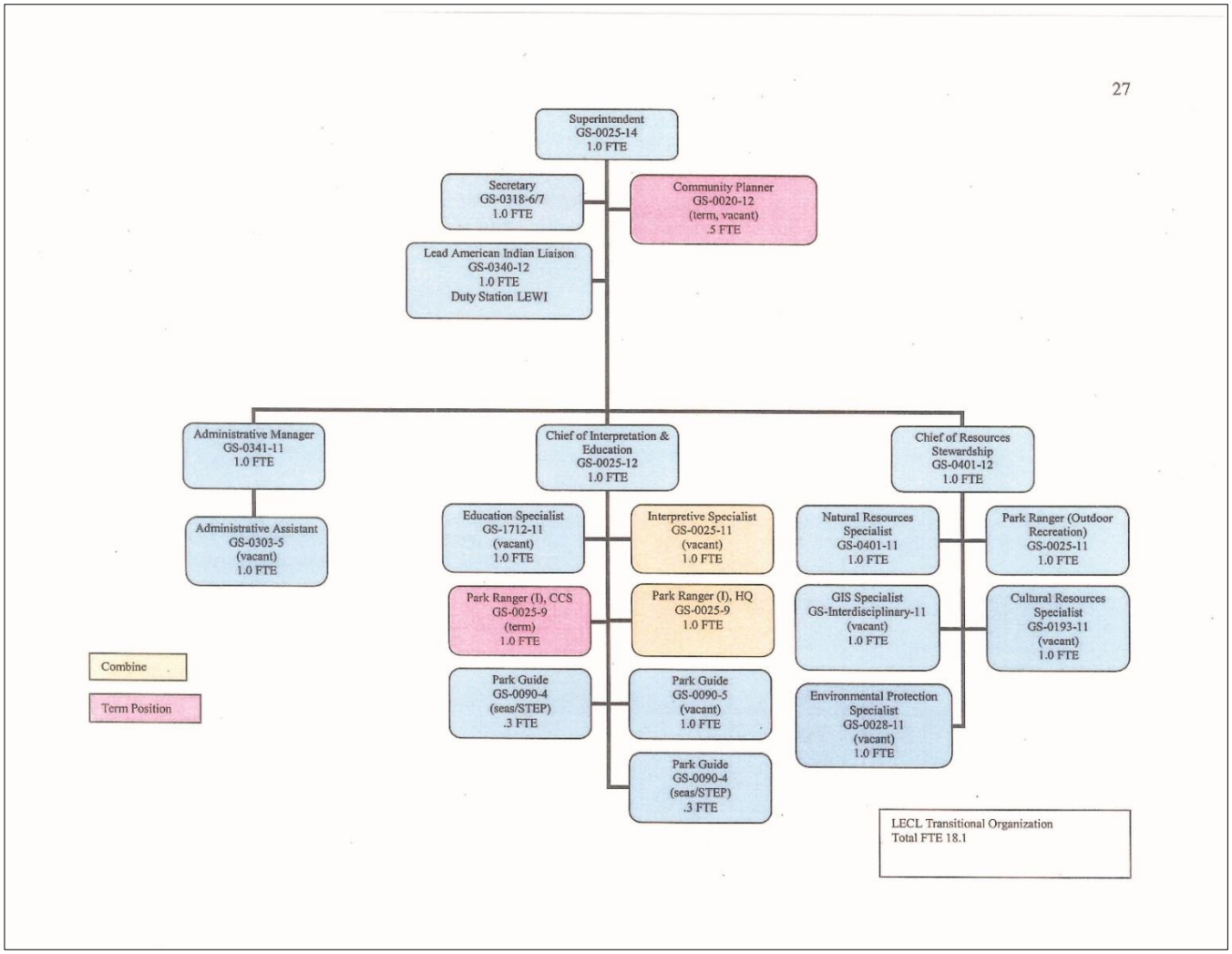


Figure 115. Transitional Position Management Chart, Lewis and Clark NHT, 2007.

Source: LCNHT, "Core Operations Analysis Final Report," May 30, 2007, LCNHT Digital Files, 27.

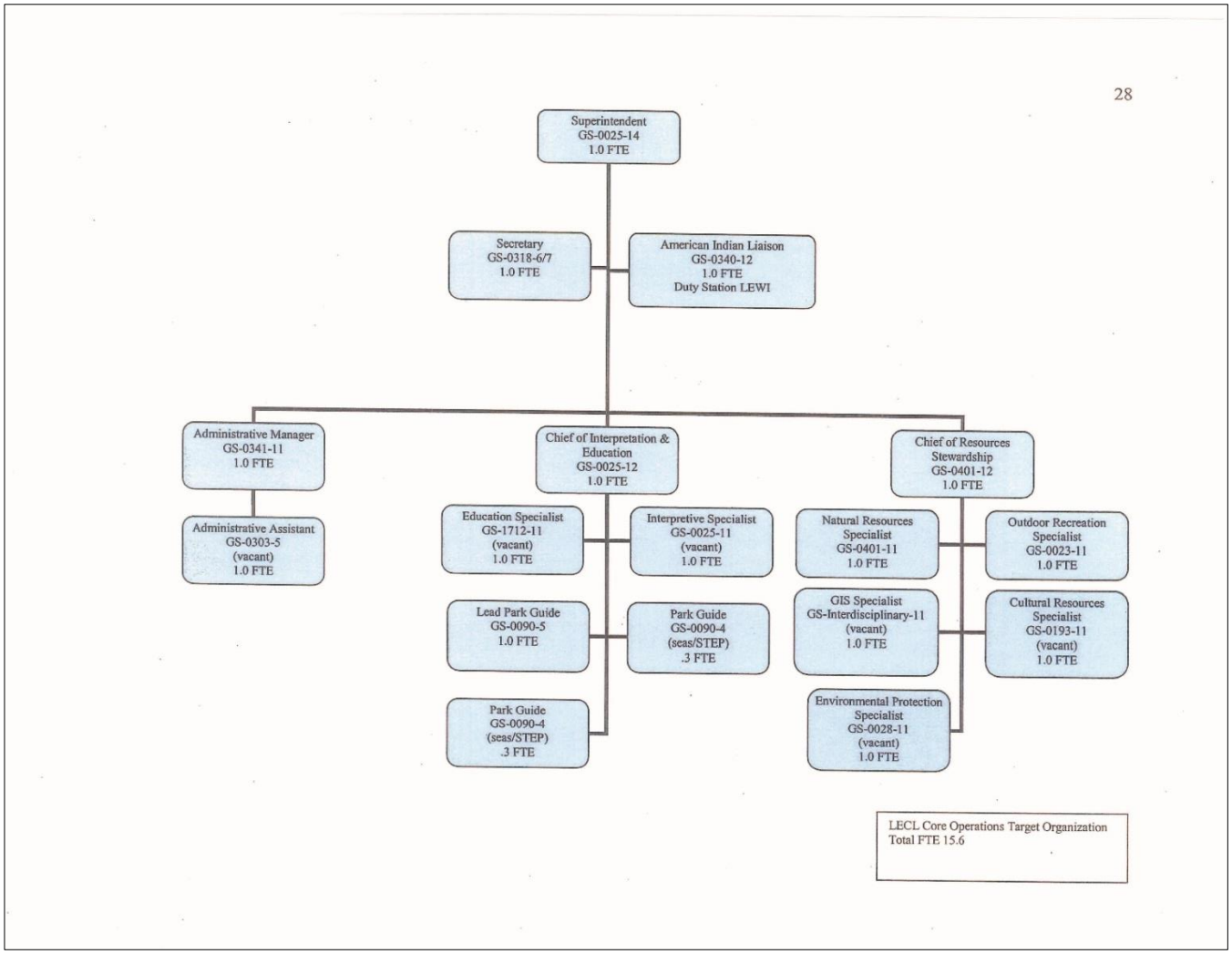


Figure 116. Target Position Management Chart, Lewis and Clark NHT, 2007.

Source: LCNHT, "Core Operations Analysis Final Report," May 30, 2007, LCNHT Digital Files, 28.

Staff and Administrative Reorganization

Base appropriations to Lewis and Clark NHT were $2.6 million in FY 2004, but they dropped to $1.7 million in FY 2005 and $1.4 million in 2006. Since 2007, the Trail's budget has remained relatively steady at about $2 million a year, one of the highest budgets of all federal long-distance trails.[8] Lewis and Clark NHT's substantial budgets resulted from the precedents set in the bicentennial and Adams's quick institutionalization of a post-bicentennial staffing structure. The Trail's co-location with the MWRO in Omaha also helped, since, unlike other national historic trails, Lewis and Clark NHT staff had access to regional leadership and other MWRO staff on a daily basis.

A stable operational budget enabled Adams to implement staffing structural changes recommended in the COA. These changes represented a shift in the Trail's primary focus from managing the bicentennial to providing assistance to partners. Adams designed a centralized staffing structure in which Omaha-based employees worked with partners across the Trail. This centralized model aligned with the historically centralized management structure of the NPS, but some partners and staff thought that dispersing staff along the Trail to serve as regional coordinators and having a strong presence in local communities would work better.[9] As a result of Adams's reorganizations, Trail staff remains primarily higher pay grade subject matter experts who provide technical assistance and knowledge to partners along the Trail.

Adams began filling the Trail's new positions as the bicentennial drew to a close. Adams hired the Trail's first natural resource specialist, Suzanne Gucciardo, in 2006 to conduct natural resources and compliance projects.[10] Several long-time Trail staff left later that year, including Chief of Resources Stewardship Dick Williams, who retired, and Administrative Officer Betty Boyko, who left for a superintendency at Fort Scott National Historic Site. The assistant superintendent position sunsetted after Boyko's departure. Nancy Rime filled the role of administrative officer until 2009, when Lee Smith started in the position on detail and then stayed on.[11] Dan Wiley joined the staff as chief of the Integrated Resources Stewardship Division after Williams retired in 2006, initially on a

[8] Weekley, interview.

[9] Carol McBryant, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 3, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska; Margaret Gorski, interview by Emily Greenwald, February 23, 2017, Missoula, Montana.

[10] LCNHT Staff Meeting, notes, January 10, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 1–2.

[11] "Administration/Challenge Cost Share," "From the Superintendent," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Newsletter* (Fall 2009): 9; LCNHT, RD Squad, notes, April 7, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, April 28, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; Steve Adams to Staff, LCNHT, memorandum, October 30, 2006, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A14 LWXL NHT Acting Personnel Designations, LCNHT Central Files.

detail and then in a permanent position. Carol McBryant continued as chief of interpretation, and Dick Basch continued in his role as American Indian liaison.[12]



Figure 117. Dan Wiley, chief of the Integrated Resources Stewardship Division.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

The Integrated Resources Stewardship team worked extensively on compliance (commenting on or reviewing potential developments affecting the Trail's natural or cultural resources), mapping, wayshowing, and developing the outdoor recreational resources of the Trail. They also provided technical assistance in these fields to partners. In 2008, Wiley filled the positions of outdoor recreation planner (Neal Bedlan), environmental protection specialist (Denise Nelson), geographic information system (GIS) specialist (Ryan Cooper), and cultural resources specialist (Andrew Veech).[13]

Interpretation, Education, and Visitor Services staff, led by McBryant, developed interpretive products and programs for the Trail, managed the Trail's volunteer program, assisted partner organizations with volunteer development, and managed, staffed, and produced programming for the new Lewis and Clark NHT Headquarters Visitor Center in the Carl T. Curtis Midwest Regional Headquarters building in Omaha, Nebraska.[14] Some interpretive rangers from Corps II remained

[12] Richard Basch, interview by Jackie Gonzales, May 1, 2017, Astoria, Oregon; Wiley, interview.

[13] "Integrated Resources Stewardship Technical Team," "From the Superintendent," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Newsletter* (Fall 2009): 5.

[14] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 5–6.

with the Trail for a brief period following the bicentennial, but most left by 2008.[15] McBryant then hired an interpretive specialist (Karla Sigala, who had been with the Trail during Corps II and transferred back to Omaha for this position), education specialist (Jill Hamilton-Anderson), volunteer coordinator (Nichole McHenry), and lead park guide (Lisa Perveneckis [Griebel]).[16]

Superintendent Steve Adams accepted a promotion to associate Midwest regional director of cultural resources in 2009.[17] Initially, McBryant and Wiley shared duties as acting superintendent while a search for a new superintendent commenced. In March 2009, Don Stevens, chief of the MWRO history and National Register program, served as superintendent for a 120-day detail, followed by Nancy Stimson for a similar detail.[18] This turnover in temporary superintendents caused strain among the staff, many of whom were still new to the Trail and all of whom were still adjusting to the Trail's new organizational structure.[19]

Lewis and Clark NHT Visitor Center in Omaha



Figure 118. The Carl T. Curtis Midwest Regional Headquarters building, which opened in 2004. Pictured here, 2012.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[15] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, RD Squad, notes, April 7, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[16] "Happy Trails!" *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2015): 10–11; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[17] Adams, interview.

[18] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, February 24, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; "From the Superintendent," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Newsletter* (Fall 2009): 2.

[19] Wiley, interview.

After several years of makeshift offices on the first floor of the historic Ford Warehouse Building at 1024 Dodge Street in Omaha, Lewis and Clark NHT staff moved, along with other MWRO staff, into the newly built and LEED gold-certified Carl T. Curtis Midwest Regional Headquarters building in June of 2004.[20] This move allowed for all Omaha-based NPS employees to have offices in the same building for the first time in many years.[21] Plans for this federal complex along the Missouri River had started extravagantly—some in Washington called it the "Taj Mahal on the Missouri"—but funding fell short of original expectations and the NPS pared down the size of the building by a third.[22] Plans for the building included a space for a small Lewis and Clark NHT visitor center with adjacent administrative office space, which Adams tasked McBryant with developing. MWRO staff, however, had failed to adequately consider how Trail staff and operations would fit into the new building. Adams recounted that this led to "challenges related to space management, exhibit development, security, and visitor use and programming."[23]

McBryant was tasked with converting the building's first floor lobby into a museum and visitor center.[24] The budget for the exhibits was still tight, so McBryant first designed temporary exhibits that were intended to last three to five years.[25] Two interpretive employees assisted with exhibit design and McBryant consulted with the LCTHF during the process. Exhibits included information about the NPS Midwest Region, tribes in the area, the nearby Missouri River, midwestern ecosystems, and the Corps of Discovery.[26] Security considerations proved difficult, since the federal office building required more security than the visitor center portion of the building.[27] At the grand

[20] The Ford Warehouse Building is also known as the Simon Brothers Building. Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, National Park Service (NPS), to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017; Betty Boyko, Administrative Officer/Corps II Manager, to Steve Adams, Superintendent, "GPRA Accomplishments for FY2004," memorandum, October 12, 2004, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A 2621 – Annual Superintendent's Narrative Report, LCNHT Central Files.

[21] Cramped office space at the previous MWRO office building, 1709 Jackson Street, had forced some divisions to rent office space elsewhere in downtown Omaha. Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017.

[22] The cement footprint had already been laid when this decision was made, which resulted in some confusing electrical wiring. Francis "Cal" Calabrese, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 4, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska; Midori Raymore, interview by Jackie Gonzales, January 31, 2017, Golden, Colorado.

[23] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 10–11.

[24] The MWRO had initially planned for the Lewis and Clark NHT to occupy the entire first floor of the building, but the cuts in square footage that came during the last-minute redesign left the Trail with only a lobby and limited office space. McBryant, interview.

[25] No funding came through for redesign in following years and as of 2017, those exhibits are still standing. McBryant, interview.

[26] Interpretive Planning for Carl T. Curtis Building & Grounds, agenda, September 1, 2004, Drawer [no label, drawer 2 of 24], Folder: [loose, not in file], LCNHT Central Files; Steve Adams to Division Chiefs, Midwest Regional Office, memorandum, September 8, 2004, Drawer K-42 – K5417, Folder: K18 LECL NHT Interpretive Activities, LCNHT Central Files.

[27] McBryant, interview.

opening of the building on July 24, 2004, the Omaha Tribe participated in opening events, the Western National Parks Association (WNPA) set up a temporary sales outlet, and Trail staff displayed temporary interpretive exhibits.[28]

The WNPA signed a cooperating agreement with the NPS in 2005 to operate the Lewis and Clark NHT bookstore in the Curtis Building.[29] That agreement was technically an amendment to an NPS-wide cooperative agreement with the WNPA, a model that facilitated the establishment of new WNPA sales outlets.[30] The cooperative agreement stipulated that a portion of the proceeds from WNPA sales would go to the Trail for interpretive programming.[31] McBryant worked closely with the WNPA to set up and manage the new bookstore, which officially opened as "Riverfront Books" in the summer of 2005.[32] McBryant cooperated with the WNPA to improve products in the bookstore, adding new items, updating lobby exhibits, and purchasing Americans with Disabilities Act compliant benches.[33] Trail interpretive staff also provided interpretive planning assistance to the MWRO for interpretive displays on the newly constructed Bob Kerrey Pedestrian Bridge, which connects Nebraska and Iowa over the Missouri River and first opened to the public on September 28, 2008.[34]

---

[28] Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 5–6.

[29] Trail leadership had initially extended an offer to Eastern National Parks Association to manage the bookstore, but ultimately extended the offer to WNPA. Betty Boyko to Steve Adams, email, October 22, 2004, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A42 WNPA (Agreement and Correspondence), LCNHT Central Files.

[30] Amendment to the Cooperating Association Agreement between the National Park Service and Western National Parks Association, signed March 28, 2005, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A42 WNPA (Agreement and Correspondence), LCNHT Central Files.

[31] LeAnn Simpson, executive director/CEO, WNPA, to Steve Adams, superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT, memorandum, January 14, 2009, Drawer A –Administration, Folder: A42 WNPA (Agreement and Correspondence), LCNHT Central Files; Cooperating Association Agreement Between the National Park Service and Western National Parks Association, March 7, 2005, Drawer A –Administration, Folder: A42 WNPA (Agreement and Correspondence), LCNHT Central Files.

[32] Adams to Larry Foster, Acting Director, Omaha Parks, Recreation and Public Property, July 12, 2005, Drawer K-42 – K5417, Folder: K18 LECL NHT Interpretive Activities, LCNHT Central Files; Steve Adams, "Superintendent's 2005 Annual Report," February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 4.

[33] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 5–6; Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6–7; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, January 1, 2017, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[34] LCNHT, RD Squad, notes, April 21, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files.



Figure 119**.** Interior of the Lewis and Clark NHT Visitor Center in Omaha, 2016.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.



Figure 120. Visitor center exhibits included tribal flags from American Indian nations along the Trail. Flag processions by tribal nations were an important part of bicentennial commemorations. Pictured here, 2015.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.



Figure 121. Trail staff assisted with interpretive planning for the Bob Kerrey Pedestrian Bridge and partnered with the City of Omaha and the NPS MWRO to hold programs on or near the bridge.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.



Figure 122. The Western National Parks Association operates Riverfront Books in the Lewis and Clark NHT Omaha visitor center. Pictured here, 2015.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Comprehensive Management Plan

MWRO staff had completed the Trail's only CMP in 1982, but increases in funding and partnerships as a result of the bicentennial created the need for a new plan. Adams initiated the process of revising the Trail's CMP in 2005, although work did not begin until fiscal year (FY) 2009.[35] As part of the scoping process, Adams held planning briefings with the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, the Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), the Circle of State Advisors, the LCTHF, federal agency partners, and the Lewis and Clark Congressional Caucus.[36] Adams and the MWRO planning division determined that the Trail and the MWRO would share a community planner to serve as the "CMP Team Captain."[37] Ian Shanklin of the MWRO filled this role.[38] Shanklin and Adams began the CMP process, but it did not reach the public input phase before Adams left the Trail.[39]

Eastern Legacy Extension Planning

Lewis and Clark enthusiasts, led by the LCTHF, began advocating for an eastern extension of the Trail in the 1990s, which became known as the "Eastern Legacy" of Lewis and Clark.[40] The Lewis and Clark National Historical Park Act of 2004, which had expanded the footprint and changed the name of Fort Clatsop National Memorial, directed the Secretary of the Interior to update the 1958 Lewis and Clark National Historic Landmark (NHL) theme study to include sites related to the Corps of Discovery east of St. Louis.[41] In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the newly formed Ohio River Chapter of the LCTHF advocated strongly for eastern extension of the Trail.[42] Momentum for the extension grew during the bicentennial, when commemorative events began at

---

[35] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 11; Conceptual Briefing – 2nd Draft for Discussions and Further Comment: Post-Bicentennial Administration of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, June 27, 2005, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT.

[36] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, January 10, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 4; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report," memorandum, March 20, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 4–5.

[37] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report," memorandum, March 20, 2006, LCNHT Digital Files, 4–5.

[38] Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Squad Agenda, March 3, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[39] Adams, interview.

[40] E. G. Chuinard, "Where Did the Lewis and Clark Expedition Start?" *We Proceeded On* 8, no. 2 (May 1982): 14–17; Frank Muhly, "Expanding the Lewis and Clark Historic Trail," *We Proceeded On* 37, no. 1 (February 2011): 5.

[41] An Act of October 30, 2004, 118 Stat. 2237 (P.L. 108-387).

[42] Wendy Raney to Steve Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, April 9, 2007, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A22 LCTHF: Also see A4419 MOU w/LCTHF, LCNHT Central Files; Stan and Nancy Spencer, "On the Ohio (and Elsewhere): A History of the Ohio River Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 1997–2011," accessed October 2, 2017, http://lewisandclark.org/chapters/ohio-river/pdf/ohio_river_chapter_history.pdf; James Mallory, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 19, 2017, Lexington, Kentucky.

Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home in Charlottesville, Virginia, and included events down the Ohio River.

Senator Jim Bunning (R-KY) and Representative Jo Ann Emerson (R-MO) introduced companion bills in 2007 to authorize a study of the Trail's extension.[43] Neither bill passed, but language directing a study of the possible eastern expansion of the Trail ended up in the Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008 (CNRA), a massive omnibus bill carried by Jeff Bingaman (D-NM) in the Senate.[44] The CNRA directed the Department of the Interior (DOI) to complete a "special resource study" of Eastern Legacy sites within three years, which would include recommendations about what areas should be added to the Trail, the best method to protect these sites (whether federal or otherwise), and impacts to tourism.[45] On May 8, 2008, President George W. Bush signed the CNRA of 2008 into law.[46] MWRO staff led the Eastern Legacy special resource study.[47] Lack of funding and competing priorities delayed the study, which was then delayed further when the regional program chief for planning fell ill.[48]

Evolving Partnerships and Programs

As the bicentennial came to a close, Lewis and Clark NHT staff reconfigured relationships with Trail partners. Superintendent Steve Adams discontinued the certified sites program in 2006, removing a previously tangible point of contact with partners. Meanwhile, the sudden—although anticipated—plummeting of CCS grant funds strained relationships with partners, especially with the LCTHF, which had come to rely on NPS funds to support its programming and operations. Superintendent Adams had hoped to codify reminted partnerships through a multi-party MOU group called the Lewis and Clark Trail Collaboration. This would have provided for a "collaborative administration of the Trail, modeled after the Federal Interagency Trails Working Group, the Missouri River Recovery Implementation Committee, and the Continental Divide National Scenic

[43] Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study Act of 2007, S. 1991, 110th Cong. (2007); Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study Act of 2007, H. R. 3616, 110th Cong. (2007).

[44] Omnibus legislation has become increasingly frequent over the last half-century. "Scholars identified a trend towards omnibus legislating since the 1950s." Michael H. Crespin, Charles J. Finocchiaro, and Emily O. Wanless, "Perception and Reality in Congressional Earmarks," *Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* 7, no. 2 (2009): 6.

[45] Act of May 8, 2008, 122 Stat. 797 (P.L. 110-229).

[46] Act of May 8, 2008, 122 Stat. 754 (P.L. 110-229).

[47] "From the Superintendent: Funding Made Available to Conduct Eastern Legacy Study," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Fall 2010): 2.

[48] Weekley, interview.

Trail Alliance.[49] Adams was not successful in establishing this multi-party group before leaving the Trail in 2009.

Challenge Cost Share Grants

The abundance of CCS grant money during the bicentennial had created among partners an expectation of certain levels of NPS funding. Some organizations depended on CCS grants to maintain their operations. In the 2005 Superintendent's Annual Report, Superintendent Adams wrote,

> The level of the Lewis and Clark NHT Challenge Cost Share program, nearly $24,000,000 from FY1998 through FY2005, has created a sense of entitlement among trail partners. This has caused some frustration for Trail staff in trying to establish partnership skills among the many partners so that those partners can work toward independent and sustainable financial security to fulfill their roles and responsibilities in Trail administration.[50]

Certain organizations received repeat CCS grants, some of which the grant review committee prioritized before having read the application, according to reports from Trail staff.[51] This possible mismanagement of grant funds combined with lax oversight of the projects that had been funded to create serious issues. Meanwhile, Congress received reports of fraud in the CCS program broadly, not just at the Lewis and Clark NHT, that stemmed from loose requirements on both the management and applicant sides.

Amid these controversies, Superintendent Steve Adams prioritized reforming the CCS program shortly after his arrival at the Lewis and Clark NHT. Adams was troubled by the practice of setting aside certain parts of the grants for favored groups, as was the practice for the Bicentennial Council, COTA, and the LCTHF.[52] Adams also noted that while guidelines required grant recipients to provide a report describing how they spent grant funds and what they accomplished as a result, these reports were not always submitted, and Trail staff did not always enforce the requirement when groups failed to produce them. Adams tried to introduce more accountability and financial oversight to all levels of the process.[53]

---

[49] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 8.

[50] Adams, "Superintendent's 2005 Annual Report," February 28, 2005, LCNHT Digital Files, 6.

[51] Gorski, interview; Raymore, interview; Adams, interview.

[52] Adams, interview.

[53] Raymore, interview; Adams, interview.

After the bicentennial, Congress stopped earmarking CCS funds specifically for the Lewis and Clark NHT.[54] The Trail received just $39,100 to disperse in CCS grants in FY 2007, an allocation from the general National Trails System (NTS) CCS pot. While on par with other national historic trails, that represented a sharp decrease from the $5 million in CCS funding that the Trail had received annually during the bicentennial. The Trail supplemented CCS-designated funds with base funds and distributed over $70,000 in both FY 2007 and 2008.[55] The LCTHF reviewed, administered, and dispersed a portion of the CCS funds those same years, as it had done during the bicentennial.[56] Trail staff continued to administer any bicentennial CCS grants that had not been fully closed out.[57] In 2009, Lee Smith joined the Trail as its administrative officer and took over CCS program management. Smith closed all remaining grants in the CCS program, many of which had been granted for or through the LCTHF.

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

The LCTHF grew during the bicentennial as national interest in Lewis and Clark peaked, but as the bicentennial wound down, LCTHF membership declined. LCTHF leaders signed an updated five-year memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the NPS in 2008.[58] In it, the LCTHF agreed to (1) work as the Trail's "primary federal partner" to accomplish core objectives, (2) provide volunteer assistance to the NPS, (3) seek non-governmental funding to support Trail objectives, (4) consult on relationships with American Indian nations along the Trail, and (5) identify technical assistance needed by partners. The NPS would provide training, technical assistance, and cost estimates/scopes of work for major projects.[59] Trail administrators drafted a cooperative agreement in 2008 "to provide collaborative administration" of the much smaller, but at the time still extant, CCS program.[60]

Throughout 2008 and 2009, however, the relationship between the LCTHF and Trail staff became strained as the LCTHF struggled with financial difficulties. In addition to the drop in CCS

---

[54] Federal Interagency Council on Trails Meeting, minutes, February 8, 2008, Drawer D – 6215**,** Folder: D18 LECL NHT Master Plans (General Management Plans), LCNHT Central Files.

[55] NPS, LCNHT, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II," 12; RD Squad, notes, April 7, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 10.

[56] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, May 27, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[57] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, January 28, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[58] Memorandum of Understanding between the U.S. DOI, NPS, and the LCTHF, Agreement Number G649008001, February 19, 2008, Drawer H–History – K3023 Interp., Folder: G4490, LCNHT Central Files.

[59] Memorandum of Understanding between the U.S. DOI, NPS, and the LCTHF, Agreement Number G649008001, February 19, 2008, Drawer H–History – K3023 Interp., Folder: G4490, LCNHT Central Files.

[60] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 8.

funding and membership, the LCTHF's endowments lost value in the 2008 stock market collapse.[61] Relations reached a "very tense point," said Mark Weekley, who took over as superintendent in 2009.[62] LCTHF leadership did not understand why CCS funding had declined so suddenly and did not seem to appreciate that Trail staff had little control over the change, since Congress, not Trail staff, had decided to discontinue Lewis and Clark NHT-specific CCS funds after the bicentennial.[63] The inability of the LCTHF to account for all of the CCS funds it had spent and dispersed during the bicentennial further strained the relationship.[64]



Figure 123. Chris Howell, pictured here (*left*) next to Gerard Baker during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, became president of the LCTHF in 2009.

Source: Sammye Meadows.

[61] Karen Goering, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 18, 2017, St. Louis, Missouri; Jim Brooke, President, LCTHF, "Corps' Resourcefulness Inspires Foundation," *We Proceeded On* 35, no. 2 (May 2009): 2.

[62] Weekley, interview.

[63] Adams, interview.

[64] Weekley, interview; Goering, interview.

Chris Howell became president of the foundation in 2009 and began to reconcile its finances. Howell, an accountant and the foundation's first American Indian president (Howell is a member of the Pawnee Nation), worked closely with Trail Administrative Officer Lee Smith to track and close out remaining CCS grants.[65] In a further complication to the foundation's finances, Lewis and Clark NHT leadership had determined that the LCTHF would not be eligible for CCS funds for 2009, since capacity-building projects were not allowed through the program and funding of LCTHF operations and chapter organization growth fell under that category.[66] This and other financial setbacks left the LCTHF in such financial disarray that Howell was forced to restructure LCTHF administration and lay off most of the existing staff. Only the president, an executive director and membership manager, and a library/archives/publication manager remained.[67] After the painful process of firing staff and making other difficult financial decisions to fix a mess that he had inherited, Howell resigned from the LCTHF.[68]

Jim Mallory succeeded Howell as LCTHF president, and Stephen Forrest became executive director in the aftermath of the chaotic reorganization.[69] During the process of closing out outstanding grants and tightening controls on the CCS program, Smith discovered that the NPS owed $100,000 in CCS money to the LCTHF, which, as a result of sloppy accounting on both sides, the NPS had never paid out.[70] Margaret Gorski, a board member of the LCTHF who was also on the LCTHF grants committee, tracked down the grant, which ended up being intended for a teachers' academy of sorts. Gorski and the LCTHF leadership team decided to use the funds to "develop a coalition of all of the interpretive centers along the Trail" and to produce content through the Next Exit History app.[71] This wrapped up one of the last remaining CCS grants from the bicentennial and began the process of mending the relationship between Trail and LCTHF leadership.

---

[65] LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, September 2, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, February 8, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, September 2, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, August 18, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files.

[66] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, December 3, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, June 23, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, June 23, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files.

[67] Chris Howell, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 23, 2017, Spokane, Washington; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, July 1, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; Steve Lee, "Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Experiences," January 2011, 6, http://www.lewisandclark.org/about/essays/lee_steve.pdf.

[68] Howell, interview.

[69] LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, January 12, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, February 2, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; James Mallory, "Board focus remains on transparency and stability," *We Proceeded On* 36, no. 1 (February 2010): 2.

[70] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, June 3, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6–7; Weekley, interview.

[71] Gorski, interview.

Tribal Partnerships

The Trail's partnerships with tribes suffered soon after the bicentennial, as funding and opportunities for tribal involvement decreased. Promoting Lewis and Clark had never been and would never be a major priority for the tribal partners, and most tribes returned their focus to their own projects.[72] Nevertheless, cooperation between tribes and the NPS during the bicentennial established a foundation of relationships and potential model for future collaboration. The bicentennial also introduced a previously absent level of trust into the relationships. Gerard Baker's Tent of Many Voices had convinced some tribes along the Trail that the NPS was willing to let tribes tell their own, complex stories and move beyond a heroic portrayal of Lewis and Clark.[73]

American Indian Liaison Dick Basch, who had joined the Trail in 2003 during the bicentennial, continued to lead the Trail's relationship with tribes from Lewis and Clark National Historical Park (formerly Fort Clatsop National Memorial) in Astoria, Oregon. Basch found that not everyone who had participated in the bicentennial had positive memories of it, and he often had to start from square one in post-bicentennial relationship-building.[74] Basch sought to impress upon employees hired after the bicentennial the importance of reaching out to tribes and including them in all projects.[75] Basch's position thus involved ongoing diplomacy, convincing both tribes and the NPS that it was worthwhile to work with one another.[76]

For several years after the bicentennial, interpretive staff organized and digitized videos from the Tent of Many Voices. Trail staff established a cooperative agreement with the University of Montana to create a website using over a thousand hours of footage from the Tent of Many Voices. Through this agreement, University of Montana partners created the Lewis and Clark Tribal Legacy Project webpage. This webpage made over a thousand hours of footage from the Tent of Many Voices accessible to the public and enables searches by tribe, region, topic, or keyword.[77]

---

[72] Roberta Conner, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 22, 2017, Pendleton, Oregon; Weekley, interview; McBryant, interview.

[73] Weekley, interview; Basch, interview.

[74] Basch, interview.

[75] McBryant, interview.

[76] Basch, interview

[77] Sammye Meadows, interview by Jackie Gonzales, January 30, 2017, Gunnison, Colorado; Basch, interview. The Tribal Legacy Project webpage is available at https://www.lc-triballegacy.org/main.php.



Figure 124. Trail staff still partner with tribes, but maintaining those partnerships has become more difficult without the frequent opportunities for collaboration that came during the bicentennial. Here, a girl poses during a special program outside the MWRO building along the Missouri River, Omaha, Nebraska, 2009.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Certified Sites Program

In 2006, Adams had asked for clarification of the Trail's authority to certify sites and segments. The 1982 CMP had outlined a process to certify both "Trail segments and historic sites." Adams argued, however, that the NPS only had the legislative authority to certify Trail segments, not sites along the Trail. The 1978 amendments to the NTSA that established the Lewis and Clark NHT had given the Secretary of the Interior the authority to

> certify other lands as protected segments of an historic trail upon application from State or local governments agencies or private interested involved if such segments meet the national historic trail criteria established in this Act and such criteria supplementary thereto as the appropriate Secretary may prescribe, and are administered by such agencies or interests without expense to the United States.[78]

The enabling legislation did not mention historic sites, as Adams had noted. Another issue with certification was the fact that Trail staff had certified sites located beyond the legislatively designated Trail, which Congress described as "extending from Wood River, Illinois, to the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon, following the outbound and inbound routes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."[79] For example, Monticello in Virginia and Falls of the Ohio State Park in Indiana were both certified sites, despite not being located along the legislatively designated Trail.

A DOI solicitor clarified in 2006 that trail segments, not sites, were eligible for certification under the NTSA as written.[80] After receiving the solicitor's opinion, Adams suspended the certified sites program. The end of the program, along with the drop in CCS funding, caused a rift with some partners and left the Trail without a good mechanism for recruiting new partners.[81] Leadership in the NPS and other trail managing agencies brainstormed for other terms or management structures that could replace the certification structure and nomenclature, such as "official partner site" or "official Trail site."[82] They worked together through the Federal Interagency Council on Trails and the Washington Support Office (WASO) to develop a consistent and clear approach to the certification process, but they had not made any significant progress by 2009.[83] In 2013, a Director's Order on

---

[78] An Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3511 (P.L. 95-625).

[79] An Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3512 (P.L. 95-625).

[80] Federal Interagency Partners Meeting, November 14–5, 2006, Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A40 LECL NHT Meetings & Conferences, LCNHT Central Files.

[81] Richard Williams, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 2, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska; McBryant, interview.

[82] Federal Interagency Council on Trails Meeting, minutes, February 8, 2008, Drawer D – 6215**,** Folder: D18 LECL NHT Master Plans (General Management Plans), LCNHT Central Files.

[83] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 9.

the National Trails System listed "Trail segment certification," but not site certification, as a responsibility of national historic trails administrators (see Chapter 9).[84]

Interpretive Waysides

During the bicentennial, states, local governments, federal agencies, and private organizations had installed wayside exhibits along the Lewis and Clark NHT. The NPS funded many of these wayside exhibits through the CCS grant program.[85] Interpretive specialist Laurie Heupel, based in Great Falls, Montana, assisted with the design and layout of many CCS-funded panels during the bicentennial, the majority of which were along highways in Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, and South Dakota.[86] Panels described historic events that occurred in the vicinity; for instance, Heupel assisted with panels at Camp Disappointment in Montana, Teton Rest Area, and Patrick Gass's home in West Virginia. She worked with groups to install series of panels, such as the Mouth of the Platte Chapter of the LCTHF, which installed ten to fifteen panels along the Expedition route in 2002.[87] The NPS also installed generic interpretive panels that addressed general themes of the Corps of Discovery's journey at various points along the Trail.[88]

After the bicentennial, these signs aged and deteriorated. The NPS had funded the wayside exhibits through the CCS program, but starting in 2007, the Trail had access to only a fraction of the CCS money available during the bicentennial. Neither the NPS nor local organizers had developed plans to maintain the signs beyond the bicentennial. Partner organizations asked the NPS to pay to repair and replace the signs, but the Trail no longer had money to do so. Many partners therefore grew frustrated with the NPS for failing maintain signs and Trail officials grew frustrated with partners, since the NPS had never agreed to pay for upkeep of the signs.[89] Trail staff have assisted communities with maintenance and replacement of interpretive waysides exhibits when possible. Interpretive staff especially have helped with panel content and design as the previous panels aged.[90]

---

[84] Jonathan Jarvis, "Director's Order #45: National Trails System," effective May 24, 2013; Adams, interview.

[85] Raymore, interview.

[86] Gerard A. Baker, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files, 5; Gerard Baker to Midwest Regional Director, "Superintendent's 2003 Annual Report," memorandum, February 10, 2004, LCNHT Digital Files, 8; Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2004 Annual Narrative Report of the Superintendent," memorandum, February 28, 2005, 8.

[87] Gerard A. Baker, "Superintendent's 2002 Annual Report Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," Drawer A – Administration, Folder: A4031 LECL NHT Staff Mtg. Minutes, LCNHT Central Files, 5.

[88] Wiley, interview.

[89] Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017; Adams, interview; LECL Squad Meeting, agenda, July 1, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[90] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6.

However, this has strained Trail resources and commanded the attention of interpretive staff who have many other responsibilities.

In some cases, private organizations have picked up the slack. For example, the Montana Governors Bicentennial Commission, a state-level affiliate of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission, entered into an agreement with the LCTHF in 2006 by which the LCTHF maintains signs placed along Montana highways during the bicentennial. That fund has provided approximately $50,000 per year to the LCTHF, which it then distributes to partners for interpretive sign maintenance. The signs themselves were created by the Montana Governors Bicentennial Commission using CCS funds.[91] The foresight shown in Montana regarding interpretive sign maintenance is unique, but the public-private partnership could be a model for other states that wish to better maintain Lewis and Clark interpretive waysides.



Even before the bicentennial ended, Trail staff spent considerable time and effort transitioning from unprecedented levels of funding, staffing, and national attention during the bicentennial to a more sustainable, long-term administrative model. Superintendent Steve Adams implemented a position management plan and a Core Operations Analysis that resulted in reorganizing the staff to better meet the Trail's legislative mandate. The dramatic drop in post-bicentennial CCS funding, along with the end of the certified sites program, created challenges for relationships with Trail partners. The Trail emerged from this transition with annual base funding well above that of other national trails, a staffing structure suited to the long-term mission of providing knowledge and technical assistance to partners, and an ongoing commitment to maintaining relationships with tribal partners.

[91] LCTHF, The Lewis and Clark Interpretive Sign Maintenance Grant Program (LCISMGP), July 7, 2012, LCTHF Digital Files, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT; LCTHF, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Interpretive Sign Maintenance Grants Available, press release, May 15, 2013, LCTHF Digital Files, William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT, 1.

Chapter 9. Beyond the Bicentennial (2009–2017)

Mark Weekley became the superintendent of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT) in 2009 (and continues to serve in that capacity at the time of this report). Weekley completed the post-bicentennial transition of Trail administration. With around fifteen full-time staff, the Trail defined and completed tasks mandated in its founding legislation. Weekley set in motion several planning processes and continued others that former Superintendent Steve Adams had begun. Staff in the Interpretation, Education, and Volunteer Services and the Integrated Resources Stewardship divisions provided technical assistance to partners and developed new products in their respective fields. Stable funding during this period allowed Lewis and Clark NHT to serve as a model of what a national historic trail could become.

Administrative Changes Under Weekley

In October 2009, Mark Weekley was hired as superintendent of the Lewis and Clark NHT through a competitively announced hiring process. Weekley had recently served as acting superintendent at Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park and, after that, as acting associate Midwest regional director for partnerships, tourism, and fundraising. Those two four-month assignments, along with his experience as Midwest Regional Division Chief for the Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance (RTCA) program, prepared Weekley for the leadership role at the Lewis and Clark NHT.[1]

Weekley maintained the staffing structure that former Superintendent Steve Adams had developed in the Core Operations Analysis (COA) process.[2] Weekley called Adams's structure a "traditional park" model and considered it appropriate for the Trail's needs.[3] In 2014, Weekley made a few minor adjustments to this structure by folding the role of secretary into the administrative officer and administrative assistant positions and then renaming the two new positions chief of

[1] Mark Weekley, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 6, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

[2] Weekley, interview. "People News," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2013): 4–5; Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT), Squad Meeting, notes, April 17, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[3] Weekley, interview.

business services and business services associate.[4] Weekley was also open to reorganization if it would help staff better carry out their missions. After several staff left in 2015, Weekley asked remaining Trail employees for input on the most effective way to fill the vacancies.[5]

Weekley identified a need to improve staff morale. When he became superintendent, a few staff members remained who had been part of the Trail during the excitement of the bicentennial. The decrease in funding and the complex staff restructuring had generated bad feelings among both old and new employees. Weekley instituted transparent systems to improve trust. Budgets and travel schedules became available to all via Google drive and Google calendar. Weekley permitted any employee whose job allowed for it (e.g., not those working the visitor center at set hours) to have greater flexibility in their work schedules. Through flexible work schedules ("maxiflex"), a "hassle-free leave policy," and inclusion of staff in setting annual budget priorities, Weekley has tried to foster an atmosphere of trust and goodwill among staff.[6] Under Weekley, Trail staff developed a "comprehensive onboarding process for new employees" to welcome them to the office and acquaint them with the Trail. This includes welcome signs, materials sent out in advance, and a "welcome book" (a mock-up welcomes William Clark), in a conscious effort to make staff feel more welcome, wanted, and comfortable.[7] In 2016 and 2017, Lewis and Clark NHT received some of the highest Employee Viewpoint Survey ratings in the National Park System. [8]



Figure 125. Superintendent Mark Weekley (*right*), pictured here with Jay Buckley (*left*) of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF), 2012.

Source: LCTHF.

[4] Weekley, interview; "Administrative Officer Moving On," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2014): 24; National Park Service (NPS), LCNHT, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 3.

[5] "Happy Trails!" *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2015): 10–11; LCNHT, Leadership Team Meeting, agenda, Monday, June 1, 2015, 2; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, January 20, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; Weekley, interview.

[6] Weekley, interview.

[7] LCNHT, All Staff Meeting, notes, June 3, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[8] Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017.



Figure 126. Lewis and Clark NHT staff photo, 2010.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

National Trails System Definitions

In the early 2000s, a National Trails System (NTS) working group met to discuss policy and administration of national trails. The group consisted of national historic and national scenic trail superintendents and Steve Elkinton, the NTS program lead.[9] A recurring issue in these meetings was whether long-distance trails should be administered as units of the National Park System.[10] This distinction between units and non-units had potential consequences for funding and staffing. For instance, only units were eligible for certain National Park Service (NPS) funding sources.[11]

In 2006, the NPS had concluded in an edition of *Management Policies* that long-distance trails were not units of the National Park System, unless Congress expressly designated them as such:

> Several components of the National Trails System which are administered by the Service have been designated as units of the national park system. These trails are therefore managed as national park areas and are subject to all the policies contained herein, as well as to any other requirements specified in the National Trails System Act.
>
> Other scenic, historic, connecting/side, and recreational trails designated under the National Trails System Act are in or adjacent to park units. Some of these may also be administered by the Service, though not as units of the national park system.[12]

[9] Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Squad Notes, June 22, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files.

[10] Stephen E. Adams to Jackie Gonzales, September 10, 2017.

[11] Stephen E. Adams to Jackie Gonzales, September 10, 2017.

[12] NPS, *Management Policies 2006* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2006), 134, https://www.nps.gov/policy/MP_2006.pdf.

Congress had not designated Lewis and Clark NHT a unit of the National Park System. This meant the Trail would be administered by the NPS as an affiliated area of the National Park System, rather than as a unit. However, some national trails superintendents thought that trails should be considered and managed as units of the National Park System, even if legislation did not confer that distinction explicitly. The NTS working group members entertained the idea of approaching Congress with draft legislation that would designate all national trails units of the National Park System. They ultimately agreed not to proceed on that potentially long road.[13]

Instead, NPS leadership incorporated the unit status issue into a policy directive. NPS Director Jonathan Jarvis issued a 2013 director's order for the NTS that defined the authorities and expectations of NPS-managed national trails. (A director's order provides guidance about how to interpret policy.)[14] Director's Order #45 on the National Trails System referred to the NPS Organic Act of 1916 and the National Trails System Act (NTSA) to conclude, in former Trail Superintendent Steve Adams's words, that

> although national trails are not part of the National Park System, they're administered by the National Park Service as if they were components of the National Park System. So therefore, all of the laws and policies and regulations that apply to the national parks apply to the administration and the actual trails themselves.[15]

The 2013 director's order on the National Trails System supplemented the 2006 *Management Policies* and expanded the extent to which the NPS could treat national historic trails like other units of the National Park System:

> Trail offices will be eligible to compete for all operational funds, special program funds, staff, and the complete array of professional services from NPS divisions and centers in the same manner as other NPS units and offices, unless otherwise restricted. For example, some facilities maintenance and repair programs are restricted to just facility assets owned in whole or in part by the NPS.[16]

National scenic and national historic trails could now apply for service-wide funding that had previously been restricted to NPS units.[17] The order also defined trails as corridors, rather than linear

[13] Stephen E. Adams to Jackie Gonzales, September 10, 2017.

[14] Jonathan Jarvis, "Director's Order #45: National Trails System," effective May 24, 2013, 1; Stephen E. Adams, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 3, 2017, Oro Valley, Arizona.

[15] Adams, interview.

[16] Jonathan Jarvis, "Director's Order #45: National Trails System," effective May 24, 2013, 4–5.

[17] Jonathan Jarvis, "Director's Order #45: National Trails System," effective May 24, 2013, 3–4; Dan Wiley, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 3, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

routes, which strengthened the standing of trail staff to comment on threats to environmental and cultural resources.[18]

Another change to national historic trail management came with 2009 legislation that allowed federal land managers to acquire property along national historic trails from willing sellers.[19] The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) and the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) supported this legislation as a tool to protect natural and cultural resources under threat of development.[20] The final legislation, which was folded into the Omnibus Public Land Management Act of 2009, amended the NTSA

> by adding at the end the following: "No land or interest in land outside the exterior boundaries of any federally administered area may be acquired by the Federal Government for the trail except with the consent of the owner of the land or interest in land. The authority of the Federal Government to acquire fee title under this paragraph shall be limited to an average of not more than 1/4 mile on either side of the trail.'[21]

This language was taken from legislation that already existed for national scenic trails, which allowed land acquisition from willing sellers.[22]

Integrated Resources Stewardship Division

Weekley and Chief of Integrated Resources Stewardship Dan Wiley continued to hire staff to complete mapping, compliance, wayshowing, and other resource stewardship work. Rachel Daniels joined Trail staff in 2010 as a cartographic technician, and Gail Gladstone joined as cultural resources specialist in 2011, after the departure of previous cultural resources specialist Andrew Veech.[23] Wiley promoted Daniels to natural resource program manager in 2014 and chose not to

---

[18] Jonathan Jarvis, "Director's Order #45: National Trails System," effective May 24, 2013, 2; Mark Weekley, "From the Superintendent: Where is the Trail? What is the Trail?," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2013): 3; Wiley, interview.

[19] National Trails System Willing Seller Act, S. 1069, 107th Cong. (2001); National Trails System Willing Seller Act, H.R. 834 (S. 213 same as), 107th Cong. (2001).

[20] *National Trails Bills: Hearings on S. 213, H.R. 37, S. 1069, H.R. 834, Before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*, 107th Congress, 58 (2002) (letter from Jane Sale Henley, President, LCTHF, Great Falls, MT, to Sen. Akaka); *Land Acquisition from Willing Sellers; Trail of the Ancients, Study of Four National Historic Trails; and Willing Sellers for the Majority of the Trails in the System, Hearings on S. 324, S. 651, S. 634, S. 635before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*, 108th Cong. 23 (2003) (statement of Gary Werner, Executive Director, Partnership for the National Trails System, Madison, WI).

[21] Omnibus Public Lands Act of 2009, March 30, 2009, 123 Stat. 1160 (P.L. 111–11).

[22] Thomas L. Gilbert, The Origin of the Land Acquisition Prohibition in Section 10(c)(1) of the National Trails System Act, January 17, 2001, LCNHT Digital Files, 11.

[23] LCNHT Staff Meeting, notes, July 6, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; "Happy Trails! Gail Gladstone," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2015): 10; "Administration/Challenge Cost Share," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (September 2010): 10; "Rachel Daniels: Natural Resources Program Manager," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (November 2014): 15; LCNHT, Squad Meeting FY 14, notes, July 22, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

replace her previous position, since staff had already completed much of the initial Trail mapping effort.[24]

Gladstone and Nelson both left the Trail in early 2015, and Daniels left in 2016 to accept a position in the Midwest Regional Office (MWRO). Wiley updated the cultural resources specialist title to "cultural resources program manager" to more accurately represent the position's range of responsibilities. Dan Jackson was hired as the cultural resources program manager in 2015. In 2016, Kristin Struck was hired as outdoor recreation planner and Linda Helm joined the Trail as environmental protection specialist.[25] All staff in the Integrated Resources Stewardship Division assisted with protecting natural and cultural resources through compliance processes, wayshowing, and promoting responsible and sustainable outdoor recreation along the Trail.

Compliance with Environmental Protection and Historic Preservation Laws

The extent of the Trail's legislative mandate to protect cultural and natural resources is unclear, particularly because the Trail does not have a defined boundary. Under Superintendent Steve Adams, Trail staff had begun commenting on development that would affect resources related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. It was not until the 2013 Director's Order on the National Trails System, however, that the NPS defined the responsibility of national historic trails in this matter. The director's order stated:

> When necessary the National Park Service, in close consultation with affected agencies and private interests, will encourage the use of all available authorities and funding sources to protect the national scenic and historic trail corridors and their associated resources identified . . . . The minimization and mitigation of adverse impacts should be considered and pursued using authorities such as the National Environmental Protection [*sic*] Act and the National Historic Preservation Act.[26]

This directive codified the Trail's mandate to comment on development projects along the Trail.[27]

To comply with this directive and internal guidance issues since Adams's tenure, Trail staff monitor any activities on federal or non-federal land along the entire Trail corridor that might affect natural or cultural resources associated with the Corps of Discovery. Integrated Resources Stewardship staff review approximately 70 to 125 proposed actions annually and comment on those

---

[24] Wiley, interview; "Rachel Daniels: Natural Resources Program Manager," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (November 2014): 15.

[25] NPS, LCNHT, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 3; "Happy Trails!" *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2015): 10–11; LCNHT, Leadership Team Meeting, agenda, June 1, 2015, 2; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, September 24, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; "Welcome," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2015): 10.

[26] Jonathan Jarvis, "Director's Order #45: National Trails System," effective May 24, 2013, 7.

[27] Wiley, interview.

with the greatest potential effects on Trail resources.[28] To assist with assessing the impact of certain developments, Integrated Resources Stewardship staff created a visual resources assessment tool to use to for environmental review, in the absence of a NPS service-wide standard.[29]

Trail staff have learned about threats to natural and cultural resources in a variety of ways. Department of the Interior (DOI) agencies use a system called Electronic Review Tracking System (ERTS) to track environmental and cultural review needs near DOI-owned land. However, ERTS is designed for parks with a defined land area and it does not work well for trails that are not federally owned and cross multiple jurisdictions.[30] Resources stewardship staff therefore supplemented their ERTS review with other strategies to learn of new projects affecting the Trail's resources, such as subscribing to local news outlets from different points on the Trail or, in recent years, monitoring online news about Trail resources.[31] Staff keep in close contact with partners along the Trail to stay apprised of development. They also partner with several U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) districts along the Trail corridor, which send "email notifications of all permit applications and public notices from every USACE region in proximity to the trail."[32]

Energy development has been, and continues to be, the most pressing threat to natural and cultural resources along the Trail.[33] Trail staff have prepared environmental and cultural review documents and comments on a variety of energy development projects over the last decade. For some major projects, such as the Keystone XL Pipeline and liquefied natural gas development at the Columbia River Gorge, Trail staff monitored the situation but stopped short of direct involvement.[34] For other projects, like the Hyperion Energy Center in Union County, South Dakota, the Lewis and Clark NHT served as the "NPS point of contact" and coordinated NPS comments. The efforts of Trail staff contributed to the indefinite delay of construction of the Hyperion Energy Center, which

---

[28] Wiley, interview; Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 4.

[29] Wiley, interview; Rachel Lantz, "Trailscapes," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Spring 2011): 8; Mark Weekley to Eric Apodaca, September 30, 2011, Drawer Natural Resources P Personnel, Folder: N16 LECL NHT Management of Natural Resources & Areas (Resources Basic Inventory, Coastal Zone Mngmt; Wetlands Mngmt, Eco Impact, etc.), Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Central Files, Omaha, NE (hereafter LCNHT Central Files).

[30] Wiley, interview.

[31] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 5.

[32] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6.

[33] Wiley, interview.

[34] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, January 28, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, April 1, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, July 30, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files.

would have had adverse effects on "two sensitive Class II areas that the NPS administers," the Lewis and Clark NHT and the Missouri National Recreational River.[35]



Figure 127. Trail resources stewardship staff monitor development along the Trail corridor, such as the liquefied natural gas development in the Columbia River Gorge. Pictured here, 2004.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Trail staff have monitored and commented on a variety of other situations, including unauthorized grazing at Lemhi Pass, agricultural development of concentrated feeding operations and associated air quality issues, visual resources effects of highway development in Nebraska, and

[35] Gary W. Vequist, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Kyrik Rombough, Natural Resources Engineering Director, South Dakota Department of Environment and Natural Resources, April 1, 2011, Drawer S Supply W Laws Y Forests, Folder: N3615 LECL NHT Air Pollution, LCNHT Central Files; Steve Adams, Acting Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Lee M. McCahren, Hearing Chairman, South Dakota Board of Minerals and Environment, April 15, 2008, Drawer S Supply W Laws Y Forests, Folder: N3615 LECL NHT Air Pollution, LCNHT Central Files; Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 5; Dave Dreeszen, "No. 9 story of '13: $10B South Dakota refinery derailed," *Sioux City Journal*, December 20, 2013, http://siouxcityjournal.com/business/local/no-story-of-b-south-dakota-refinery-derailed/article_eb327ce9-e67d-59cf-a114-e5081f11f78a.html.

transmission line development.[36] Their comments have not always resulted in the desired outcome, however. One such example is an energy development project that the Bonneville Power Administration built despite objections from the NPS.[37] Wiley recounted,

> The Big Eddy-Knight Bonneville Power development goes right over the top of Celilo Falls. The principal reason we didn't have much influence is the dams had already inundated the falls and they had lost their cultural integrity, if you will. And so it got built. They're there. And they're not what we would like to have there. But you have to do the best you can with what you have . . . .[38]

Trail staff reviewed the Highwood Generation Station, a proposed power plant within the Great Falls Portage National Historic Landmark (NHL), in partnership with the MWRO and the Intermountain Regional Office. Their report to comply with Section 213 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), completed in 2007, found that that Highwood Generating Station would

> have wide-spread, profound, and adverse impacts on the NHL and would require a critical review of its integrity; a process which would likely lead to the loss of NHL status for most, if not all, of the route. Since the Portage Route is also part of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LECL), the HGS would have significant and adverse impacts to LECL . . . . [39]

A year later, the National Trust for Historic Preservation listed the Portage Route NHL as "one of the most endangered historic places due to the proposed Highwood Generating Station."[40] In 2009, specialist team of Trail staff worked with the DOI Solicitor's Office and the USACE to address concerns that the company building the generating station failed to meet National Environmental Policy Act and NHPA requirements.[41] The efforts of Trail staff, coupled with pressure from local opposition, eventually forced the company to develop a small gas-fired plant, rather than a large coal-fired plant, outside of the Portage Route NHL and farther from the Trail.[42]

---

[36] LCNHT, Squad Meeting FY 13, notes, September 10, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LCNHT, to Roger A. Hanson, Natural Resources Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, November 9, 2007, Drawer S Supply W Laws Y Forests, Folder: N42 LECL NHT Weather & Climate (General Correspondence Relate to Atmospheric Science), LCNHT Central Files; Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 4.

[37] LCNHT, Squad Meeting FY 13, notes, June 25, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[38] Wiley, interview.

[39] Staff, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Staff, Midwest Regional Office Staff, Intermountain Regional Office, *Secretary Of The Interior's Report To The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation In Accordance With Section 213 of the National Historic Preservation Act: Evaluation of the Impact of the Proposed Highwood Generating Station on the Great Falls Portage National Historic Landmark*, 2007, http://www.achp.gov/docs/LECL_HGS_Sec_213_FINAL_6.27.07.pdf.

[40] LCNHT, RD Squad, notes, June 2, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files.

[41] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, January 28, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, April 1, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, July 1, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; Ernest Quintana, Midwest Regional Director, NPS, to Martha S. Chieply, Chief, Regulatory Branch, USACE, Omaha District, February 26, 2010, Drawer H-History – K3023 Interp, Folder: H3417 NHLs – including: Highwood Generating Station, LCNHT Central Files.

[42] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 5; Wiley, interview.

opposition, eventually forced the company to develop a small gas-fired plant, rather than a large coal-fired plant, outside of the Portage Route NHL and farther from the Trail.[42]

Cultural resources staff and American Indian Liaison Dick Basch have collaborated with tribes and state historic preservation officers (SHPOs) on cultural resource protection along the Trail, including NHL and National Register of Historic Places nominations, resource stabilization, and archeological work.[43] Basch also conducted outreach on behalf of the Trail in northwestern communities, such as his work in Seaside, Oregon, to establish the Necanicum Estuary Natural History Park.[44] Basch frequently worked with the Oregon SHPO and tribal historic preservation officers along the Trail on cultural resources compliance and Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act issues in the Trail corridor.[45]



Figure 128. American Indian Liaison Dick Basch has conducted extensive outreach to tribes and other partners in the northwest. Cannon Beach, Oregon, has been the site of archeological investigations in recent years. Pictured here, 2004.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

[42] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 5; Wiley, interview.

[43] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, July 1, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[44] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 9.

[45] Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 5.

Wayshowing

Trail staff began the process of inventorying and planning improvement strategies for out-of-date wayshowing signs in 2009, addressing a need identified in the COA process. Neal Bedlan, outdoor recreation planner for the Trail, worked with the University of Wyoming's Wyoming Geographic Information Science Center on an Auto Tour Route Sign Inventory from 2009 to 2010.[46] The inventory catalogued the location and condition of all existing Lewis and Clark auto tour route signs first installed under the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission in the 1960s.[47] University of Wyoming researchers then created a geographic information system (GIS) database of all 6,885 miles of auto tour route signs.[48]

The NPS contracted with David Dahlquist, a private consultant with scenic byway signage experience, on the wayshowing phase of the signage project. Dahlquist partnered with Colorado State University (CSU) researchers to develop surveys to assess public perception and use of wayshowing signs along auto, water, and land-based Trail segments.[49] CSU researchers distributed the survey to visitor center managers, state tourism offices, departments of transportation, and byway committees, and, at affiliated visitor centers along the Trail, the general public.[50] Dahlquist completed the resulting report, *Effective Wayshowing for Enhanced Visitor Experience: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and Auto Tour Route*, in 2013. It detailed existing signage along water trails, foot trails, and the auto tour route and recommended methods for making it more consistent and understandable.[51]

In 2015, Trail staff began implementation of the 2013 Wayshowing and Visitor Experience Plan. A key component of this plan was replacing the aging auto tour signs installed by the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission in the 1960s with a newly designed marker.[52] The new auto tour route markers will be installed as funding permits. The Montana Department of Transportation began this

---

[46] Neal Bedlan, "The Trailhead: Effective Wayshowing," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2013): 5; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, August 13, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, February 9, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[47] Neal Bedlan, "The Trailhead: Effective Wayshowing," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2013): 5.

[48] Neal Bedlan, "The Trailhead," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Spring 2011): 6.

[49] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, August 13, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1–2.

[50] Neal Bedlan, "The Trailhead: Assessment," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2013): 20–21; LCNHT, Team Meeting, notes, August 1, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[51] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, notes, January 9, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 1–2; NPS, LCNHT (prepared by David L. Dahlquist Associates, LLC), *Effective Wayshowing for Enhanced Visitor Experience: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and Auto Tour Route*, April 30, 2013, 91–240, https://www.nps.gov/lecl/learn/management/upload/LCNHT_Wayshowing_Report_V01_2013-05-06-2.pdf.

[52] Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017.

process in 2017, fabricating and installing sixty-six new signs. Trail staff has also partnered with Montana to install thirty-five directional signs to attractions along four auto tour route segments in the state.[53] Trail staff continue to work with other state tourism and highway departments to improve signage along auto routes and other Trail segments.[54]

Trail staff have improved wayshowing and trail segment development along the length of the Trail in other ways. They have helped communities and partners to replace and update Lewis and Clark-related signs and waysides, including water trail signs along the Missouri National Recreational River. In 2016, Trail staff partnered with the U.S. Forest Service (USFS), the National Smokejumper Association, and the LCTHF to complete the Descent Trail, a 2.75-mile hiking trail through Bitterroot National Forest. The NPS considered development of this path a high priority, since it is one of the relatively few places where the footpath of Expedition members is known and walkable. For the Descent Trail, Lewis and Clark NHT provided signs and trail markers and helped volunteers install them.[55]

Outdoor Recreation and Mapping

In 2011, Trail staff worked with the NPS Denver Service Center (DSC) to develop an interactive Trail Atlas as part of the Foundation Document planning process. Wiley and Weekley prioritized making this project publicly accessible to improve public awareness and understanding of the Trail's route and resources. Ryan Cooper, the Trail's GIS specialist, led this project. Cooper started mapping the Trail and developing a comprehensive GIS database in 2008, a task that went beyond the requirements of the Foundation Document planning process. He assembled geospatial and attribute data created by the Trail and partners to allow better protection and interpretation of Trail resources.[56]

The online Trail Atlas went live in 2012, making Lewis and Clark NHT the first national trail with a publicly available interactive atlas. The newly formed Lewis and Clark Trust provided funding to facilitate direction of the public to the Trail Atlas website, which was hosted by the NPS Intermountain Region in Lakewood, Colorado.[57] Map layers included visitor centers and museums,

---

[53] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6–7; "A New Lewis and Clark Wayside," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 17; Mark Weekley, "Looking Back," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 2; "Auto Route," *Lewis and helped with wayshowing Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 11; Neal Bedlan, "The Trailhead**:** A New Designation," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2014): 9; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, January 20, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1

[54] LCNHT, Team Meeting, agenda, September 3, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[55] Weekley, interview; "Descent Trail," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 7–9.

[56] Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017.

[57] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, notes, February 8, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; Wiley, interview.

scenic byways, rivers and tributaries, NHLs, National Register sites, surface geology, volcanoes, protected areas, congressional districts, historic Missouri River channels, historic islands, designated water trails, the Louisiana Purchase, Lewis and Clark campsites, observation points, the keelboat's course, and side excursions.[58] Improvements to the atlas in 2016 made it faster and added data for land ownership, points of interest, and natural resources.[59]

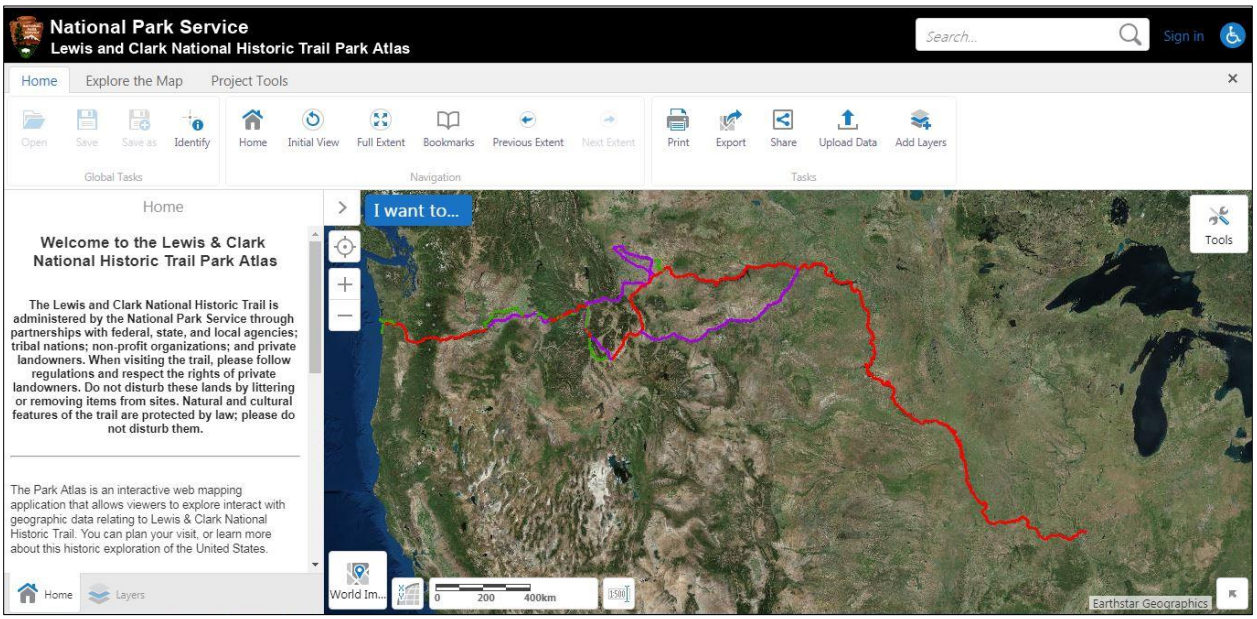


Figure 129. Trail staff completed an interactive Trail Atlas in 2012 and have continued to make improvements to it. Pictured here as it appears online, 2017.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Trail staff have completed other mapping projects in addition to the Trail Atlas. A 2010 partnership with the Omaha Tribal Historical Research Project and the Geographic Resources Center at the University of Missouri-Columbia resulted in a map of the historic route of Missouri River channels, which helped the Omaha Tribe to better understand its ancestral lands and identify potential archeological sites.[60] In 2012, staff assisted the Middle Missouri River Lewis and Clark Network with updates to an inventory of 136 Lewis and Clark sites and resources in Nebraska and

[58] Ryan M. Cooper, "New Interactive Map Features and Updates," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2013): 10.

[59] "Trail Atlas," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 18.

[60] Ryan M. Cooper, "Trailscapes," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Winter 2010): 8.

South Dakota.[61] In 2012, Trail staff created several popular interactive story maps, which included information about the animal and plant species first scientifically described by the Corps of Discovery Expedition, National Register sites, volcanoes encountered by the Expedition, and the six "officially designated" water trail segments.[62] The Trail's GIS specialist and national resources program manager also worked with The Wilderness Society in 2017 to identify remaining wildlands along the route. They found that, while most of the Trail passes through areas altered by agricultural development and intensive land use,

> two significant spots in the Northern Rockies—the mountains west of Lolo Pass and the upper Blackfoot River watershed—were identified where the Trail passes through "roadless" areas of federally administered lands and where legislative protections could keep remaining wild lands intact and preserved for future generations.[63]

They published the study results in the January 2017 issue of *Natural Areas Journal*.[64]

In 2015, the Trail began working with the National Geographic Society and Solimar International to develop a partner-focused geotourism project similar to those developed by National Geographic for destinations across the world. However, due to a change in ownership, National Geographic backed out of the project. Weekley decided to proceed with the partnership without National Geographic. The NPS held a stakeholder meeting in Billings, Montana, in April 2017 and outreach meetings in communities along the Trail during the summer and fall of 2017. Trail staff expect full development, launch, and promotion of the geotourism site to take approximately five years. The interactive website will emphasize sustainability and authentic travel experiences and will empower individuals around the globe to experience the Trail.

Scope of Collections Statement

In 2015, Trail cultural resources staff completed a scope of collections statement tied to the Trail's interpretive themes and resources management goals. The Trail's archival collection includes

---

[61] Rachel Daniels, "Trailscapes: on the Road Again," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2012): 9.

[62] The Department of the Interior (DOI) began designating water trails in 2012. As of 2016, the six designated water trails along the Lewis and Clark NHT were: the Missouri River Water Trail, Missouri National Recreational River Water Trail, Upper Missouri Breaks Water Trail, Jefferson River Canoe Trail, Northwest Discovery Water Trail, and the Lower Columbia Water Trail. "Story Maps," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 7; Neal Bedlan, "The Trailhead**:** A New Designation," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2014).

[63] Ryan Cooper, "GIS Analysis Identifies Remaining Wildlands along the Lewis and Clark NHT," *Partnership for the Natioanl Trails System Blog*, March 22, 2017, http://pnts.org/new/gis-analysis-identifies-remaining-wildlands-along-the-lewis-and-clark-nht/.

[64] R. Travis Belote, Ryan M. Cooper, and Rachel A. Daniels, "Contemporary Composition of Land Use, Ecosystems, and Conservation Status along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," *Natural Areas Journal* 37, no. 1 (January 2017): 17–29.

documents from the bicentennial and activity from resources management, interpretive, and administrative staff. According to the scope of collections statement, future archival acquisitions must promote interest in "increased stewardship of the park's cultural resources" or enhance understanding of resources stewardship and compliance activities.[65]

The Trail has a small ethnological collection of gifts received from tribes during the bicentennial, but the statement declared that the Trail would not add to this collection. The Trail possesses a small archeological collection of "several archeological surveys and associated field records" and some original artwork, commissioned for interpretive purposes, to which the NPS holds the copyright. It has no natural history specimens, nor does it plan to collect them.[66] The Trail's storage plan follows the recommendations of the 2008 MWRO Park Museum Collection Storage Plan, which called for the expansion of centralized storage facilities, rather than curatorial facilities at individual parks, and continued use of the Midwest Archeological Center as a repository for archeological collections.[67]

Interpretation, Education, and Volunteer Services

Carol McBryant led the Interpretation, Education, and Visitor Services Division until 2015. When she left the Trail for position with the Washington Support Office (WASO), Neal Bedlan, who had been an outdoor recreation planner for the Trail for several years, became chief of the division. In 2015, Jill Hamilton-Anderson, education specialist, and Nichole McHenry, volunteer coordinator, also left the Trail for other positions. Bedlan hired Tom Smith as education specialist and Ashley Danielson as Volunteers-in-Parks (VIP) coordinator the following year.[68]

In 2014, Weekley created the new position of visitor center manager, which Julie Blanchard filled in 2016. This was part of a larger effort by Weekley to legitimize visitor center roles in the interpretive division by restructuring titles and responsibilities. In the immediate post-bicentennial years, some Trail employees had referred to non-visitor center employees as "professional staff," a designation that, in Weekley's words, "didn't really sit very well with the people at the visitor center," who felt like "second-class citizens."[69] Weekley's development of designated visitor center leadership alleviated some of the tension in the division. Weekley also streamlined the division by discontinuing

---

[65] DOI, NPS, LCNHT, "Scope of Collection Statement," approved January 6, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 10.

[66] DOI, NPS, LCNHT, "Scope of Collection Statement," approved January 6, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 3, 9, 13.

[67] Al M. Hutchings, Midwest Regional Director, to superintendents, Midwest Region, March 30, 2008, Drawer H-History – K3023 Interp, Folder: H6215 Museum Collection Plan, LCNHT Central Files.

[68] NPS, LCNHT, *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 3; "Happy Trails!" *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2015): 10–1; LCNHT, Leadership Team, agenda, Monday, June 1, 2015, 2; LCNHT Staff Meeting, notes, July 6, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; "Happy Trails! Gail Gladstone," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2015): 10; LCNHT, Squad Meeting FY 14, notes, July 22, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[69] Weekley, interview.

the practice of staffing the visitor center front desk with highly graded employees. Instead, he hired seasonal or early career interpretive employees to staff the front desk, as is the practice at most NPS units.[70]

Interpretation

Division staff have provided interpretive training for partner organizations along the Trail, including the Missouri Interpretive Association, visitor centers, and tribes.[71] They also provided assistance to partners who received Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants, either during or after the bicentennial. At the Umatilla Indian Reservation, educational staff assisted with a summer program in which youth learned traditional skills, which was supported in subsequent years by the Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Tribe Reservation.[72] Interpretive and educational staff hosted quarterly "Trail Talk" phone conferences starting in 2010 to provide a forum for technical assistance with partners.[73] They designed the program for educators, volunteer managers, and interpreters across the Trail, and aimed to develop a network of these partners.[74] Topics of past calls include interpretive writing and "Social Media 101."[75]

Curriculum

Trail interpreters and educators have developed new curriculum for better teaching the history of the Corps of Discovery. In 2011, McBryant and her staff began an Interpretation and Tourism project in which they worked with tribal colleges and universities, as well as the American Indian Alaska Native Tourism Association, to develop interpretive curricula, provide training for educators, build capacity for tourism on reservations, and create pathways for graduates of tribal schools to get

[70] LCNHT, Team Meeting, agenda, September 3, 2014; Weekley, interview; LCNHT, Squad Notes, June 1, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, May 1, 2012; LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[71] For instance, interpretive staff held a training session in 2009 at the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation. Karla Sigala, "Vision Becomes Reality for Three Affiliated Tribes," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Fall 2010): 8; Stephen E. Adams to Midwest Regional Director, "Fiscal Year 2008 Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report," December 17, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 5–6; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, August 13, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[72] Jill Hamilton-Anderson, "A Valuable Summer of Learning," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Winter 2010): 7.

[73] LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, March 30, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files.

[74] LCNHT, "Trail Talk a forum," last updated April 10, 2015, https://home.nps.gov/lecl/learn/news/trail-talk.htm.

[75] LCNHT Leadership Team, agenda, May 11, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

jobs in the federal government.[76] The Trail received $73,000 in 2011 from WASO for this project.[77] In 2013, McBryant went to Washington, DC, on a detail position to expand this initiative, during which time Education Specialist Jill Hamilton-Anderson and Interpretive Specialist Karla Sigala served as acting chiefs of interpretation.[78]

Basch, Hamilton-Anderson, and Sigala led Trail staff and several external partners to develop a curriculum guide and digital collection of resources for classroom teachers titled "Honoring Tribal Legacies." Basch first began working on the project in 2008 with former Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA) members, Ed Shupman from the National Museum of the American Indian, and McBryant.[79] The massive and ground-breaking project was funded through an NPS Cooperative Ecosystem Study Unit grant through the University of Oregon.[80] As the project advanced, partner co-developers joined, including CHiXapkaid of the Tuwaduq Cultural & Research Institute, Stephanie Wood of the University of Oregon, Ella Inglebret of Washington State University, production and marketing specialist Eric Newman, and graphic designer Sandra Baroni. Basch and Hamilton-Anderson brought in teachers to brainstorm and to test the curriculum before its completion.[81]

"Honoring Tribal Legacies" launched in 2015 with the goal of helping teachers critically evaluate how they teach American history and learn "how to integrate tribal perspectives into such narratives."[82] Former Superintendent Gerard Baker attended the official launch of the curriculum, which was designed to answer questions from educators like, "'Why is honoring tribal people important?' and 'How can I design curricula that honors tribes?'"[83] In 2016, Trail staff shared the methods in the guide with over 1,700 people via a series of conferences across the country. Interpretive staff and Basch held workshops with tribes in the Northwest and Midwest to solicit

---

[76] Indigenous Program for Interpretation and Tourism A Proposal for Collaborative Programming: Giving Voice to our First Nations, March 2012, https://www.nps.gov/lecl/learn/management/upload/Indigineous-Interpretation-Curriculum-Overview-3-2012.pdf.

[77] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6.

[78] LCNHT, Team Meeting Agenda, notes, February 6, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[79] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, January 29, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, RD Squad, notes, April 21, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files.

[80] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6–7.

[81] Jill Hamilton-Anderson, "Honoring Tribal Legacies in the Study of Lewis and Clark," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2012): 5–7.

[82] "Honoring Tribal Legacies is Launched in Omaha," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (June 2015): 4–5.

[83] "Honoring Tribal Legacies is Launched in Omaha," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (June 2015): 4.

feedback, and the University of Oregon launched an open-access website that made the curriculum and handbook available as a download for any interested educators or programs.[84] This comprehensive and broadly aimed guide—which is intended to help teachers reevaluate how they teach all aspects of American history, not just Lewis and Clark—has its genesis in the bicentennial's openness to multiple perspectives and is an important tool for institutionalizing the bicentennial's inclusive legacy.



Figure 130. Washington State University's Ella Inglebret, Gerard Baker, Dick Basch, and Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs at the unveiling of the Honoring Tribal Legacies curriculum, 2015.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Publications and Media

Interpretive staff are responsible for the Trail's non-technical publications. They updated and reprinted the Trail's brochure in 2009 and 2016, both times with the help of the Harpers Ferry

[84] "Honoring Tribal Legacies," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 15.

Center.[85] As during the bicentennial, partners distributed many of the brochures.[86] Interpretive staff have developed auxiliary pamphlets and brochures, including an "Experiencing Climate" brochure, of which they distributed 20,000 copies to 100 visitor centers along the Trail.[87] Staff created two Junior Ranger activity booklets in 2016, which they distributed at the Omaha headquarters visitor center. Trail staff have also completed audiovisual publications, such as a series of short public service video announcements about the Trail and its partners in 2013.[88]



Figure 131. Lewis and Clark NHT Junior Ranger Patch, 2017.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

In 2009, Interpretive Specialist Karla Sigala launched a quarterly newsletter, titled *The Trail Companion*.[89] *The Trail Companion* updated partners on NPS actions, spotlighted partners and volunteers, provided information about the Corps of Discovery and the Trail, and encouraged

[85] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, May 4, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; "Updated Brochure," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 19.

[86] "Lewis and Clark Brochure: 'Let Me Show You...'" *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2014): 20.

[87] "Experiencing Climate Site Bulletin," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 19.

[88] "We Need Your Footage," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Fall 2010): 7; "From the Superintendent: What's New?" *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Spring 2011): 3; "A Video for You," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2013): 16.

[89] "Omaha Visitor Center," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 24.

people to get out on the Trail.[90] Publication of *The Trail Companion* ended in 2016, when the Trail instead began publishing an in-depth annual report and relying increasingly on social media and email to communicate with partners. Staff have provided reviewing and editing assistance for partners' outreach materials, and they have helped partners develop materials to promote visitation of the Trail in Nebraska and Iowa.[91]

Division staff are responsible for developing media and communications strategies. In 2012, they developed a social media strategy that included the use of YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and Flickr.[92] In 2014, Neal Bedlan, at the time the Trail's outdoor recreation planner, led the push for a strategic communications plan in order to "become more effective at communicating who we are and what we do."[93] Sigala and Bedlan became co-leads on the project and hired 502 Media Group—whose areas of focus included "Tribal and agency outreach, general public and partners outreach"—to draft a plan in 2015.[94] The NPS contracted 502 Media Group to develop a strategic communications plan for the Trail, and company representatives met with Trail staff in 2015 to discuss priorities, goals, and the Trail's unifying message.[95] 502 Media completed the plan in 2016, and a working group of Trail staff and partners began implementation in 2017.[96]

Management of Volunteers

Nichole McHenry served as the Trail's volunteer coordinator from 2008 to 2015.[97] She helped partners with producing volunteer management plans and with recruiting, training, and retaining volunteers.[98] She also wrote technical tips on all aspects of volunteer management for the Trail's quarterly newsletter, *The Trail Companion*, and developed toolkits for partners.[99] In addition to helping

---

[90] Ryan M. Cooper, "Trailscapes: 3 Adventurers," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2013): 6–11.

[91] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6–7; Weekley, "Travels along the Trail Lead to Appreciation and Understanding," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2012): 13–14.

[92] Weekley to NPS Social Media Register, "Social Media Strategy," memorandum, July 23, 2012, Drawer K-42 – K5417, Folder "K38 Social Media," LCNHT Central Files.

[93] LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, October 7, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[94] LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, October 7, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT Leadership Team Meeting, agenda, May 11, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[95] LCNHT, All Staff Meeting, notes, June 3, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Leadership Team Meeting, agenda, June 1, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[96] "Communications Strategy," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 31.

[97] "Happy Trails! Nichole McHenry," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2015): 10.

[98] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, May 27, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[99] "Coming soon: Partner Networking and Data Collection Portal," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2012): 12; Nichole McHenry, "Social Networking: A New Trend in Volunteer

partners recruit volunteers, she recruited volunteers for the Trail visitor center in Omaha. McHenry created a volunteer patch in 2014 to show appreciation for volunteers and to give volunteer uniforms a more official feel. She profiled partner groups in the Trail newsletter as a way to highlight successful models and to encourage additional collaboration.[100]

In 2012, McHenry launched the Partner Networking and Data Collection Portal.[101] The portal was intended to assist Trail staff in collecting and assembling statistics on volunteerism, visitation, and interpretive outreach along the Trail by easing the data-entry burden for partner organizations.[102] The Partner Networking and Data Collection Portal was never embraced or widely used by Trail partners, and Trail staff discontinued the project in 2015.[103]

Visitor Center Operations

When Weekley created the position of visitor center manager in 2015, filled by Julie Blanchard in 2016, he helped to professionalize the visitor center staff. Weekley later reflected on how that staffing change has increased the importance of the center

> And that has all tremendously recognized [that] the visitor center is a really important part of our operation. It's an important part of our relationship with the city of Omaha . . . . This is not an important Lewis and Clark site in terms of Lewis and Clark history. It's important from an administrative standpoint. But having that connection with the community is really valuable. A lot of what we do is provide information, brochures, sell the various park service passes. Last year we approached forty thousand visitors. So it's an important service we provide. But it can be very demanding. And so that was the other thing, was to have that manager dedicated to that. And that seems to be working out very well.[104]

Weekley geared staff toward establishing a visitor center that "takes care of itself and is staffed accordingly," which meant planning in the off-season, recruiting volunteers to greet visitors at the front desk, and keeping regular hours.[105]

Recruitment," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Spring 2011): 14; Nichole McHenry, "Volunteer Recruitment: How to make it work for you and your organization," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2012): 4–5.

[100] Nichole McHenry, "Unveiling of the Volunteer Patch**,"** *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2013): 18–19; "Partner Portrait: Vicki Richmond, Healthy Rivers Partnership," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (November 2014): 10.

[101] "Coming soon: Partner Networking and Data Collection Portal," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2012): 12.

[102] Insert, *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2013): 19.

[103] Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017.

[104] Weekley, interview.

[105] LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, June 17, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 3.

Since the Lewis and Clark NHT visitor center is the only public reception point for the MWRO building, staff assist in security by alerting MWRO law enforcement staff to potential problems or threats. They also present interpretive training for regional office staff.[106] Interpretive staff partner with the region on outreach activities, such as the Omaha Youth and Outdoors project, which the RTCA also worked on.[107] In 2012, staff worked with the MWRO to bring a "Heartland B-cycle" station to the outdoor area adjacent to the office, as part of an Omaha bikeshare program run by "Live Well Omaha."[108]



Figure 132. Rachel Daniels presented an interpretive program for Omaha area youth, 2013.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Visitor center staff focused on community outreach as a way to get involved in the local community and to offer additional interpretive programming.[109] Staff partnered with the Omaha School District and the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles to host summer day camps for Omaha middle school students starting in 2011.110 Interpretive staff partnered with Omaha Parks and Recreation and several other partners to host and provide programming for the annual "Bridge Beats" concert series, held in the green space outside the Curtis Building and under the Bob Kerrey

[106] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6–7.

[107] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 10.

[108] LCNHT, Team Meeting, notes, September 5, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; Mark Weekley, "From the Superintendent: Events in Omaha," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (November 2013): 2.

[109] Carol McBryant, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 3, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

[110] Byrony K. Forbes, "Day Camp: Explorers of Another Era," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2013): 18–19; "From the Superintendent: Omaha Area Youth Learn History First-Hand from NPS Partners," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Fall 2011): 2.

Pedestrian Bridge.[111] Trail staff also held a summer-long kite exhibit and festival in partnership with the Omaha and Council Bluffs parks and recreation departments, Western Historic Trail Center, Omaha Public Library, Council Bluffs Public Library, and several other groups.[112] Trail leadership and partners were pleased with how the event strengthened relationships with local partners.[113]

2011 Missouri River Flood

In 2011, record snowfall in the Rocky Mountains and heavy spring rains caused the Missouri River to flood at historically high levels. Dams along the Missouri River recorded record high releases, raising water levels downstream significantly and for long periods.[114] In Omaha, the Missouri River remained at flood stage from June through August, an unusually long time for such elevated water levels, with the crest occurring on July 2, 2011, the second-highest recorded flood level ever in Omaha.[115] The flood left widespread damage in its wake. It submerged large areas of the Missouri River floodplain, which include countless Corps of Discovery historic sites and areas.[116]

This flood created major administrative problems for Lewis and Clark NHT and MWRO staff, since the Carl T. Curtis Midwest Regional Headquarters building lies directly next to the Missouri River, in the flood plain. The NPS closed the parking lot for most of the summer due to flooding.[117] With floodwaters limiting all access to the building, visitation to the Lewis and Clark NHT information center and bookstore inside the Curtis Building decreased by one-third from the previous year.[118] During the flooding, the NPS transferred all Tent of Many Voices videos to the National Archives and Records Administration to protect them from possible water damage.[119] In

---

[111] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 6–7; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, notes, April 3, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[112] Karla Sigala, "Lewis and Clark Kite Festival Bringing People Together," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2014): 10–11.

[113] Weekley, interview.

[114] "2011 Missouri River Flood: Record Releases," *The Trail Companion* (Fall 2011): 9.

[115] David Bailey and David Hendee, "The mighty Missouri River: the flooding and the damage done," *Reuters,* September 3, 2011, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-missouri-flooding/the-mighty-missouri-river-the-flooding-and-the-damage-done-idUSTRE78213720110903; National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National Weather Service, Advanced Hydrologic Prediction Service, Missouri River at Omaha, accessed January 11, 2018, http://water.weather.gov/ahps2/hydrograph.php?wfo=oax&gage=omhn1.

[116] Bruce G. Harvey and Deborah Harvey, *Managing the Mighty Mo: Administrative History of the Missouri National Recreational River, Nebraska and South Dakota* (Omaha, NE: NPS MWRO, 2016), 257–59.

[117] Nichole McHenry, "Volunteer Changes at Lewis and Clark Trail Headquarters," *The Trail Companion* (Fall 2011): 12.

[118] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[119] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, May 27, 2008, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, July 17, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files; LCNHT, Team Meeting, notes, August 1, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 1–2.

the aftermath of the flood, the LCTHF funded several projects focused on repairing damage caused to Lewis and Clark sites along the Missouri River.[120]

Planning

Minimal appropriations for the Trail's first several decades and then rapid, commemorative-focused growth during the bicentennial left many of the Trail's legislative requirements undefined or uncompleted. Weekley noted that "trying to address things that weren't addressed when the trail was first created" has been a major part of his job.[121] Weekley worked with Trail staff, WASO, the MWRO, and the DSC to address legislative and agency requirements that the Trail had previously lacked the funding or staff to complete.

Comprehensive Management Plan

When Weekley arrived, he prioritized completion of the Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) that Adams had initiated. In the summer of 2010, Weekley and Ian Shanklin of the MWRO held a policy workshop with Trail staff, the WASO chief of policy, NTS coordinator Steven Elkinton, former Trail Superintendent Tom Gilbert, regional directors, and NPS planners.[122] They discussed priorities, how a partnership-based Trail should function, recent "willing seller" legislation, status of long-distance trails as "units" or affiliated areas of the National Park System, coordination with other agencies, and whether the CMP needed to define Trail boundaries.[123] The Trail and MWRO held thirteen public meetings across the Trail corridor in the late summer and fall of 2010.[124]

Weekley transferred the CMP project to the DSC in 2011.[125] Soon after, WASO shifted prioritization away from the CMP and general management plan model, due to perennially reduced planning funds.[126] Weekley put the CMP process on hold. In the meantime, WASO directed NPS regional offices to work with NPS unit staff to create a "foundation document" for each unit. The

---

120 "Lewis & Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment Funds Chapter Project Grants," *Pathways Across America: A Publication of the National Trails System* (Autumn 2011): 12.

121 Weekley, interview.

122 LCNHT, CMP Alternatives Workshop #2, Notes, August 23–4, 2011, Drawer D – 6215, Folder: D18 LECL Comprehensive Mgt Plan Folder #2 2009—, LCNHT Central Files.

123 LCNHT, CMP Alternatives Workshop #2, Notes, August 23–4, 2011, Drawer D – 6215, Folder "D18 LECL Comprehensive Mgt Plan Folder #2 2009—," LCNHT Central Files.

124 LCNHT, Comprehensive Management Plan, newsletter, July 27, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 11.

125 Weekley, interview; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, February 9, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 3; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, October 22, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

126 "From the Superintendent: What's New?" *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Spring 2011): 3.

Lewis and Clark NHT CMP process was therefore put on hold and the foundation document process began.

Foundation Document

A foundation document defines the purpose, significance, fundamental resources, primary values, legal requirements and mandates, and key planning needs of an NPS unit or affiliated area.[127] Trail staff worked with MWRO and DSC planners to craft the Trail's foundation document, which they completed in December 2012, making Lewis and Clark NHT the first national trail with a foundation document.[128] The foundation document outlined the Trail's purpose and significance, interpretive themes, special mandates and administrative commitments, fundamental resources and values, critical supporting resources, future planning needs, and primary documents and legislation critical for Trail management. The Trail's purpose, the document stated,

> is to commemorate the 1804 to 1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition through the identification; protection; interpretation; public use and enjoyment; and preservation of historic, cultural, and natural resources associated with the expedition and its place in U.S. and tribal history.[129]

Lewis and Clark NHT's significance lay in its marking of the route; linkage of contemporary communities with the historic Expedition; the "recreational, interpretative, and educational opportunities" in a landscape similar to the one the Expedition members saw; interpretive potential to show change over time in landscapes thanks to the detailed journal of the Expedition; and the biological diversity of the Trail corridor.[130] The following primary interpretive themes were drawn from the Trail's purpose and significance:

(1) Growth of a Young Nation

(2) Documenting Observations of Natural Science

(3) Encountering Indigenous Peoples

(4) Unity through History

(5) Traces of the Past Observed Today [131]

---

[127] NPS, "Foundation Documents for National Park Units," accessed October 1, 2017, https://parkplanning.nps.gov/foundationDocuments.cfm.

[128] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (December 2012), 32; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, October 18, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, August 14, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[129] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (December 2012), 7.

[130] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (December 2012), 7–8.

[131] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (December 2012), 9–11.

Planners and Trail staff listed only two fundamental resources for the Trail: (1) the historic route and natural history associated with it, and (2) "American Indian Tribes and Tribal Cultural Resources."[132] Listing tribes as a resource was a significant and unusual move for the NPS.[133] Weekley also wanted to list partnerships as a critical supporting resource for the park. Regional leaders initially pushed back against this idea, not understanding how partnerships could be considered a resource. Weekley persisted, and the region eventually agreed that for a trail, partners were essential to effective management, setting a precedent for future partnership-driven NPS units.[134] The foundation document highlighted the need for an updated CMP, an administrative history, a long-range interpretive plan, a visual resource strategy, a GIS-based historic route map, and a wayshowing plan.[135]

Eastern Legacy Extension Planning

The new MWRO Chief of Planning, Tokey Boswell, took over the process of studying the possible eastern extension of the Trail that Congress had ordered as part of the 2008 Consolidated Natural Resources Act.[136] Boswell accepted public comments in 2010 and held public workshops in areas considered for extension in 2012.[137] Boswell's team researched the eastern portion of the route, identified and mapped twenty-five potential segments and several historic sites, and then evaluated the segments for significance as defined by the NTSA. Boswell's team solicited feedback from two peer reviewers, James Holmberg of the Filson Historical Society and historian Gary Moulton, as well as from Trail staff.[138] They also reached out to tribes with ancestral homelands along these routes, but few tribes provided feedback.[139]

A full draft of the study released to the public in 2016 found that

> three of the routes traveled by Lewis, Clark, and the Corps of Discovery in their preparation for the Expedition meet the criteria to be added to the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. The Ohio River and Mississippi River routes from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to Wood River, Illinois total approximately 1,200 miles and meet Congressionally established criteria for national significance, feasibility, and suitability. Other routes studied were found to be more appropriately recognized at the

---

[132] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (December 2012), 13.

[133] Richard Basch, interview by Jackie Gonzales, May 1, 2017, Astoria, Oregon.

[134] Weekley, interview; NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (December 2012), 23.

[135] NPS, *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (December 2012), 30–31.

[136] Act of May 8, 2008, 122 Stat. 797 (P.L. 110-229).

[137] Peggy W. Crosson, "Proposed Eastward Extension of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2014): 21.

[138] Tokey Boswell, conversation with Emily Greenwald, March 6, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska; Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Leadership Team Agenda, June 15, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[139] Boswell, conversation.

> state and local level, and do not meet the criteria to be added to the existing trail. The NPS feels that state and local recognition is a viable and appropriate action for all study routes.[140]

The draft's authors warned that, while these routes might be significant, an eastern extension of the Trail would only be feasible if congressional funding and active partnerships followed. That was not likely, and the report concluded,

> In this case, it would not be feasible for the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail to administer additional trail segments, and any benefits from trail designation would be lessened or realized over a longer period.[141]

Perhaps the most vocal advocate for eastern extension of the Trail is Jim Mallory, vice-chair of the Lewis and Clark Trust and member of the LCTHF Ohio River chapter.[142] Mallory has argued for the development of a "sea to sea" Trail that would tell the pre- and post-exploration stories of Corps of Discovery members. The draft study recommends, however, that the Trail be extended only as far as Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where the Ohio River begins and where Meriwether Lewis purchased the keelboat used on the Expedition.[143] No matter the length, any extension of the Trail would generate additional work for Trail staff and would be unlikely to come with additional funding. NPS officials worry that this could draw the attention and efforts of Trail staff away from existing portions of the Trail.[144]

The NPS opened the draft study for an additional round of public review after its release and received over 300 comments.[145] Comments were generally in favor of extension of the Trail, and many of the negative comments related to questions of whether the federal government could adequately fund additional areas when it already struggled to maintain existing resources.[146] As of 2017, the public comment period is finished, and the study is awaiting transmittal by the Secretary of the Interior to Congress for consideration.[147]

---

[140] NPS, *Draft Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study,* July 2016, 8.

[141] NPS, *Draft Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study,* July 2016, 4.

[142] Jim Mallory, "Foundation's progress is steady and full of promise," *We Proceeded On* 36, no. 2 (May 2010): 3; Jim Mallory, "Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail Completion," *We Proceeded On* 36, no. 4 (May 2010): 5; James Mallory, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 19, 2017, Lexington, Kentucky.

[143] NPS, *Draft Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study*, revised January 7, 2016, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[144] Weekley, interview; NPS, *Draft Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study,* July 2016, 4.

[145] MWRO, "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study Briefing Statement December 2016," December 7, 2016.

[146] NPS, "Responses Received on the Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study PEPC Project ID: 32773, Document ID: 72108" LCNHT Digital Files, 1–3, 32, 73, 98,

[147] Weekley, interview; NPS, *Draft Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study,* revised January 7, 2016, LCNHT Digital Files, 7.



Figure 133. In the draft extension study report, the MWRO recommended that the NPS extend the Trail as far as Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Pictured here, 2003.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

High Potential Historic Sites and Route Segments

The 1978 amendments to the NTSA required national trails to prepare comprehensive plans that included:

> specific objectives and practices to be observed in the management of the trail, including the identification of all significant natural, historical, and cultural resources to be preserved (along with high potential historic sites and high potential route segments in the case of national historic trails) . . . .[148]

Amendments to the NTSA passed in 1983 further defined High Potential Historic Sites (HPHS) as:

> those historic sites related to the route or sites in close proximity thereto, which provide opportunity to interpret the historic significance of the trail during the period of its major use. Criteria for consideration as high potential sites include historic significance, presence of visible historic remnants, scenic quality, and relative freedom from intrusion.[149]

[148] National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978, 92 Stat.3515 (P.L. 95-625).

[149] An Act to amend the National Trails System Act by designating additional national scenic and historic trails, and for other purposes, March 28, 1983, 97 Stat. 50 (P.L. 98-11).

Despite these legislative requirements to identify high potential sites and segments, the NPS had never done so at Lewis and Clark NHT.

In 2011, the Trail's Integrated Resources Stewardship staff developed a HPHS workgroup, led by Cultural Resource Specialist Gail Gladstone. Gladstone led the HPHS project until she left the Trail in 2015, and Dan Jackson assumed the lead role in the project when he joined the Trail as cultural resources program manager in 2015. Gladstone developed criteria to assist with identifying HPHS. Each site needed to be on or near the Trail and have both historic significance and interpretive potential. It also had to possess at least one of four secondary criteria: scenic quality ("the degree or grade of excellence or pleasing nature of the landscape"), freedom from intrusion (minimally altered landscape), sense of place ("possess aesthetic characteristics that conjure a sense of a particular period of time in history"), or historic remnants ("ruins, traces, or deposited artifacts on the landscape," which could include landscape features documented in Expedition journals).[150]

In 2014, Trail staff circulated a draft list of 181 HPHS.[151] After releasing the draft list, Trail staff began tribal consultation, which lasted from August 2014 to November 2015. In addition to Gladstone and Jackson, primary Trail staff participants in the tribal consultation process included American Indian Liaison Dick Basch, Natural Resources Program Manager Rachel Daniels, and Chief of Integrated Resources Stewardship Dan Wiley. Shannon Gilbert, an archeologist with Bureau of Land Management (BLM), also provided significant assistance for a six-month period in 2015.[152] They sent letters, hosted teleconferences, and held meetings with dozens of tribes along the Trail that elected to participate in the consultation process.[153] Trail staff also reached out to and received detailed input from SHPOs, members of the LCTHF, members of the Lewis and Clark Trust, the BLM, NPS, Bureau of Reclamation, and USFS.[154] To comply with Section 106 of the NHPA, Trail staff needed to determine that listing sites along the Trail as HPHS would not have adverse effects on the historic sites.[155] A "no adverse effect" finding was confirmed in 2016.[156]

---

[150] Lewis and Clark NHT HPHS Criteria Guidance August 18, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 2–4.

[151] "High Potential Historic Sites," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 13.

[152] Shoshone Bannock Tribal Coordination Meeting, notes, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail High Potential Historic Sites, Fort Hall, Idaho, May 5, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; High Potential Historic Site Tribal Coordination and Consultation Plan, July 17, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 5; Ron Cockrell, Senior Historian, NPS, to Emily Greenwald, December 6, 2017.

[153] High Potential Historic Site Tribal Coordination and Consultation Plan, July 17, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 6.

[154] DOI, NPS, Lewis and Clark NHT, High Potential Historic Sites, 2014, 1; LCNHT, Squad Meeting FY 13, notes, June 25, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Squad Meeting FY 13, notes, July 9, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[155] Lewis and Clark NHT HPHS Criteria Guidance August 18, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[156] "High Potential Historic Sites," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 13.



Figure 134. The Big Bend of the Missouri is listed as an HPHS.
Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Jackson narrowed the final list of HPHS to seventy-eight (see Appendix J). The most were in Montana (27 sites), followed by Missouri (11), Washington (10), Nebraska (9), Oregon (7), Idaho (6), North Dakota (5), South Dakota (3), Iowa (2), Illinois (1), and Kansas (0). Federal, state, or private entities manage most of the sites, but a few are in tribal, county, or municipal management.[157] The final list of sites will be published as an addendum to the CMP in early 2018.[158] Future Trail administrators will be allowed to add to that list as appropriate, provided that they follow the criteria established during the initial HPHS process.[159]

[157] HPHS Matrix FINAL List 5-5-2016, spreadsheet, 2016, LCNHT Digital Files.

[158] "High Potential Historic Sites," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 13.

[159] Lewis and Clark NHT HPHS Criteria Guidance August 18, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.



Figure 135. The "Two Medicine Fight Site," south of Cut Bank, Montana, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is included in the list of HPHS. Here, Blackfeet Cultural Director Curly Bear Wagner speaks to Corps II staff near the site, 2005.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Trail staff completed a draft map of high potential route segments in 2011.[160] Wiley then deferred the high potential route segment identification process until staff finished the HPHS study. His reasoning for doing so was that identifying high potential route segments would "require a more public process than what we have done for sites," since they cross multiple jurisdictions and include many landowners.[161] When Trail staff resume the process, they will look for segments of the Trail that afford high quality recreation experiences, whether a water trail, surface trail, or motor route.[162] The second level of criteria, as written by Trail staff based on analysis of the NTSA, is whether the segment "has greater than average scenic value OR provides the opportunity to vicariously share in the experience of the original trail users."[163] It will take several years for staff to complete the process of determining the Trail's high potential route segments.

[160] High Potential Route Segments – First Draft, map, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[161] Wiley, interview.

[162] "High Potential Historic Route Segments Coming Soon." *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark NHT* (November 2014): 4.

[163] "HPRS Guidance 2015-31-07,", July 31, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.



Figure 136. BLM staff preparing to canoe in the Upper Missouri River Breaks National Monument, a section of the Trail managed by the BLM and listed by the NPS as a possible high potential route segment for the Lewis and Clark NHT.

Source: Lewis and Clark NHT.

Centennial Plan

In preparation for the 2016 NPS Centennial, Trail staff developed a centennial plan in 2015.[164] It laid out the work that the Lewis and Clark NHT would do during the centennial year in all divisions. The plan included communications strategies for publicizing centennial programs.[165] Collaborators included the LCTHF, the Lewis and Clark Trust, the Cities of Omaha and Council Bluffs, the Milkweed & Garden Club, and the Nebraska Great Park Pursuit. Projects during the centennial included some that were ongoing, such as Honoring Tribal Legacies and the HPHS study, along with new initiatives, such as a comprehensive interpretive plan. Centennial events at the Trail included a Centennial Scholar speaker series, "Bridge Beat" concerts, a geodetic marker ceremony,

[164] LCNHT, All Staff Meeting, notes, February 3, 2016, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[165] LCNHT, NPS, "Centennial Plan: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," accessed October 5, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/lecl/learn/management/upload/CentennialPlan_LECL.pdf.

"Every Kid in a Park" interpretive programming, and "Railroad Days" in partnership with the Union Pacific Railroad Museum. Trail staff also welcomed a Student Conservation Association centennial volunteer ambassador, Charlotte Murtishaw, who joined staff for the year to support volunteer outreach and community engagement.[166]

New and Revamped Partnerships

Weekley wrote in 2013, "the Trail's role is to be an administrator of the Trail not a manager. This is an important distinction."[167] Weekley has stressed the need for strong and sustained partnerships in order to effectively lead the Lewis and Clark NHT,

> Trails—all trails, whether it's a bike trail or even a little community park, I learned in RTCA—are built slowly. These are long, long processes to build and create trails. Because it's so much about relationships, and it's so much about seizing opportunities when you have them, and when you have the ability to seize them. And so it's not going to be a fast process.[168]

The slow and steady process of trail building through partnerships continues at the Lewis and Clark NHT today.

Partner Grants

In 2010, Weekley and Administrative Officer Lee Smith learned that the NPS was unlikely to fund the CCS program for FY 2011. This NPS-wide decision was due to lax accounting practices and requirements throughout the CCS program, not just at the Lewis and Clark NHT, which had actually "fared well" in a 2009 DOI audit of the program.[169] In light of the end of the CCS program, a team of Trail staff worked with the MWRO to develop an alternative grants program. They came up with the Partner Support Program (PSP).[170]

Modeled loosely after an RTCA grants program, the PSP provided financial and technical assistance to Trail partners.[171] The PSP team mapped out the program in 2010 and launched it in

---

[166] "Volunteer Ambassador," *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail 2016 Annual Report* (2017), 28.

[167] "From the Superintendent: Who Manages the Trail?" *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2013): 3.

[168] Weekley, interview.

[169] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, February 3, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 1. DOI, Office of Inspector General, "Evaluation of Department of the Interior Challenge Cost Share Programs Evaluation of Department of the Interior Challenge Cost Share Programs," September 2009, https://www.fws.gov/mountain-prairie/challengecostshare/OIG-Audit-Final-Report-9-25-2009.pdf.

[170] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, February 9, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[171] Mark Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," November 14, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 8.

early 2011.[172] Nineteen applicants applied for either financial or technical assistance in the first year.[173] In August 2012, the Trail announced its first year of recipients, which included seven projects that received funding, and one that received technical assistance only for development of maps, exhibits, new signage, trail stewardship projects, and cultural resource protection.[174] Despite its traction with partner organizations, there were insufficient funds for the NPS to continue providing financial grants through this program after its second year. The program continued for another year offering only technical assistance and was shut down around 2014.[175]

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF)

When Weekley became superintendent of the Lewis and Clark NHT in 2009, the LCTHF was in disarray. As noted in Chapter 8, a series of financial troubles and changes in leadership had resulted in internal disagreements and a strained relationship with the NPS and Trail leadership specifically. Weekley reported in February 2010 on positive developments in the partnership, but the LCTHF remained in a "state of change and uncertainty."[176] In 2011, LCTHF President Jim Mallory brought in consultants to advise the organization about how best to regroup. These consultants, led by former Jefferson Foundation President Dan Jordan, told LCTHF leaders, "You are keeping the story, not telling the story."[177] Historians and individuals interested in history ran the organization as a club of historians but did little to further the Lewis and Clark NHT's mission through fundraising or extensive trail stewardship.[178]

The consultants' review led to a vote in which members chose "whether you would like to see the LCTHF expand our vision and mission or not" by (1) expanding education outreach, (2) expanding trail stewardship and preservation, and (3) relocating LCTHF headquarters to somewhere less remote than Great Falls.[179] The last point was particularly contentious, since the LCTHF had

---

[172] LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, December 1, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[173] "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Partner Support Program," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (Fall 2010): 7; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, April 6, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[174] "Partner Support Program Announces Award Recipients for Fiscal Year 2012," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2012): 28–30.

[175] McBryant, interview.

[176] Quote from LCNHT, Staff Meeting, notes, October 5, 2011, LCNHT Digital Files, 2. On relationship development, see LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, February 2, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Staff Meeting, minutes, February 3, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[177] Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs, President, LCTHF, to General Membership of LCTHF, July 6, 2011, from emails of Karen Goering, Missouri Historical Society, provided by Karen Goering. See also Weekley, interview; Karen Goering, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 18, 2017, St. Louis, Missouri.

[178] Weekley, interview.

[179] Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs, President, LCTHF, to General Membership of LCTHF, July 6, 2011, from emails of Karen Goering, Missouri Historical Society provided by Karen Goering.

been based in Great Falls since its early years, thanks to founders from the area who also formed the organization's Portage Route Chapter. Mallory and other board members believed that staying in Great Falls hampered fundraising possibilities—few organizations in Montana had deep pockets—and that moving headquarters to Omaha could help the LCTHF work better with Trail staff in the future. However, others in LCTHF leadership disagreed with this assessment.[180]

In the fall of 2011, unsatisfied with the direction in which the foundation was going, LCTHF President Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs and former President Jim Mallory resigned from the LCTHF board. They joined former LCTHF presidents David Borlaug and Chris Howell to form the Lewis and Clark Trust (see below).[181] The LCTHF board put emergency leadership in place. Soon after, Weekley named the Lewis and Clark Trust the Trail's official friends group, because that group's mission was focused solely on supporting the Trail, while the LCTHF "has lots of objectives."[182] Weekley reiterated to LCTHF members and Trail staff that, despite this decision, the Lewis and Clark NHT would continue to maintain a strong relationship with LCTHF.[183]

Remaining board members worked to rebuild the organization under the direction of Presidents Jay Buckley (2011–2012), Dan Sturdevant (2012–2013), and Margaret Gorski (2013–2015).[184] Reassembling the organization in those first few years after the split was difficult, as it exposed internal divisions and exacerbated already rocky relations with Trail leadership. Buckley, Sturdevant, and Gorski worked closely with Weekley to mend the relationship and develop a new strategic plan for the organization.[185] Weekley attended LCTHF meetings and encouraged Trail staff to rebuild personal relationships with foundation members.[186] The foundation focused on reaching out to younger members and partnering with organizations other than its own chapters to further trail stewardship and education projects.[187] In 2015, the LCTHF entered into a general agreement with the Trail as an alternative to signing a new memorandum of understanding (MOU).[188]

---

[180] Mallory, interview; Weekley, interview; Goering, interview; Margaret Gorski, interview by Emily Greenwald, February 23, 2017, Missoula, Montana.

[181] Chris Howell, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 23, 2017, Spokane, Washington; Mallory, interview; Goering, interview.

[182] Weekley, interview.

[183] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, notes, January 11, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 2. Weekley, interview.

[184] "LCTHF Past Presidents Officers Directors Editors," provided digitally by Jay Buckley, updated October 12, 2016, 16–17.

[185] Weekley, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, FY 2011," 8.

[186] LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, for June 17, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Team Meeting, notes, August 1, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Team Meeting, agenda, September 3, 2014, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[187] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, notes, August 7, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[188] Email communications between the authors and Mark Weekley, October 30, 2017.



Figure 137. Margaret Gorksi (*left*) and Jay Buckley (*right*) shepherded the LCTHF through several rocky years. Source: LCTHF.

The chaotic aftermath of the bicentennial had left the U.S. Mint endowment funds from the bicentennial, intended for trail stewardship projects, in limbo for several years (see Chapter 7).[189] When Gorski became president, she worked with LCTHF leadership to create a Trail stewardship grants program to use of the funds, which amounted to a little over $1 million at the time, as mandated in the commemorative coin legislation.[190] Karen Goering of the Missouri Historical Society, the former executive director of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council and a member of the LCTHF board, supplied the legal paperwork needed to set up the endowment as congressionally required.[191] In March 2012, the LCTHF board approved a policy for what it would call Lewis and Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment (LCTSE) grants.[192] An internal committee, with input from

[189] Goering, interview.

[190] An Act to amend section 308 of the Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial Commemorative Coin Act to make certain clarifying and technical amendments, June 15, 2006, 120 Stat. 395 (P.L. 109–232); Weekley, interview.

[191] Goering, interview.

[192] Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Trail Stewardship Policy, March 16, 2012, http://lewisandclark.org/grants/docs/grant_board_policy.pdf;

Chief of Integrated Resources Stewardship Dan Wiley, determined criteria for the grants that would comply with the legislative restrictions on the fund's use and promote useful projects.[193]



Figure 138. LCTHF members from the Idaho chapter maintaining a Trail segment near Lolo Pass, 2015.

Source: Shirley Smith, Idaho Chapter, LCTHF.

The program kicked off in late 2012 and accepted proposals from any foundation chapter.[194] For the second round of applications, the LCTHF expanded the potential applicant pool to any nonprofit organization conducting stewardship projects along the Trail, but foundation chapters retained priority.[195] Grants ranged from $1,000 to $7,000 and provided support for "interpretive signs, interpretive programs, speakers series, educational events, marketing materials, development of public access to the trail, trail protection, and collaborative planning."[196] The LCTHF awarded nearly a quarter of a million dollars in LCTSE grants from 2012 to 2017.[197]

---

[193] Wiley, interview; Gorski, interview.

[194] Margaret Gorski, "Stewardship Grants at Work: Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (November 2012): 10–11.

[195] "Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Opens Grants to the Public," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2013): 24; Goering, interview.

[196] "Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Awards $56,345 in grants to 14 recipients," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (June 2015): 6.

[197] Margaret Gorski, "Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Announces Recipients," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (February 2014): 18–19; LCTHF, Past Grant Awards, LCTSE, accessed October 1, 2017, http://lewisandclark.org/grants/past_grants.php; "Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage

Lewis and Clark Trust

The founding members of the Lewis and Clark Trust—Mallory, Ambrose Tubbs, Howell, and Borlaug—wanted to create an organization that could function as a friends group to the Lewis and Clark NHT. They worked closely with Weekley to design a group that would best support the efforts of Trail staff.[198] At an April 2012 ceremony in Omaha, Mallory officially announced the formation of the Lewis and Clark Trust.[199] The group had its first full board meeting and signed an MOU with the Trail the following April.[200] The Lewis and Clark Trust carried out several major projects in its first few years. In 2013, it cohosted the first "Lewis and Clark Youth Paddle Event" along with Wilderness Inquiry, the City of Omaha, and the City of Carter Lake, Iowa.[201] In 2015, the Lewis and Clark Trust partnered with the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History and the University of Montana to host the inaugural Lewis and Clark Teacher Seminar. Twenty-six teachers attended a six-day seminar in Montana to learn about Lewis and Clark from many perspectives and to develop lesson plans for their schools. The program has since become an annual offering in the Gilder Lehrman teacher seminar series.[202]



Figure 139. Jim Mallory (*right*) pictured here in 2009 with Cam Sholly, Superintendent of Natchez Trace Parkway, at an anniversary commemoration of the death of Meriwether Lewis. Mallory was instrumental in the creation of the Lewis and Clark Trust. Sholly later became NPS Midwest Regional Director.

Source: National Park Service.

Foundation Awards $56,345 in grants to 14 recipients," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (June 2015): 6.

[198] Weekley, interview; Mallory, interview.

[199] "Lewis and Clark Trust Announces its Formation," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2012): 3.

[200] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, notes, April 3, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; "Lewis and Clark Trust: A Friends Group for the Trail," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (May 2013): 7.

[201] Neal Bedlan, "The Trailhead: Youth Paddle Event at Carter Lake," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (November 2013): 8.

[202] Jim Mallory, "2015 Teacher Seminar: Lewis and Clark: An American Epic," *The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail* (August 2014): 7; Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, "2017 Teacher Seminars," accessed October 1, 2017, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/programs-exhibitions/2017-teacher-seminars.

The Lewis and Clark Trust has actively advocated for the eastern extension of the Lewis and Clark NHT. The focus on eastern extension of the Trail created minor tensions between the Lewis and Clark Trust and NPS leadership. Despite this minor issue, the Trail's relationship with the Lewis and Clark Trust has remained strong. Weekley praised Mallory's willingness to step up with whatever support he has needed. "He's been a great partner. And Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs has been, too," Weekley commented. He continued, "You know, they don't do everything the way I would want them to. But no partner, no relationship works that way. There's give and take. And overall, it's been very good."[203]

Tribal Partnerships

American Indian Liaison Dick Basch has maintained relationships with tribes since the bicentennial. This is often difficult, as the NPS has rarely had funding to encourage tribal participation as it did during the bicentennial. Basch has found success in partnerships through collaborative efforts. He has led technical assistance for tribal colleges on interpretive training programs and assisted the LCTHF and other non-tribal organizations in their attempts to develop partnerships with tribes in their region. When the LCTHF accessioned COTA's papers into its archives in Great Falls, several former COTA members expressed concerns about whether the foundation was the appropriate steward for the collection. Basch ensured that the LCTHF listened to and addressed these concerns.[204]

Basch is a member of the Clastop-Nehalem Tribe and his duty station remains in Astoria, Oregon, at the Lewis and Clark National Historical Park. This has enabled Basch to conduct extensive outreach to northwestern tribes. For instance, Basch worked with the Quinault Tribe in 2013 on an annual canoe trip, with the hope of encouraging future collaboration with the NPS.[205] Basch has kept abreast of tribal representations in interpretation and media, such as the development of the HBO miniseries based on Stephen Ambrose's *Undaunted Courage*.[206] Basch assists the Integrated Resources Stewardship team with mandated tribal consultation and outreach, in connection with projects that affect natural and cultural resources along the Trail.[207]

---

[203] Weekley, interview.

[204] "Upcoming Meetings," *The Orderly Report: Newsletter of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation* (March 2017): 2; LCNHT, Team Meeting, notes, September 5, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; McBryant, interview; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, notes, March 16, 2010, LCNHT Digital Files, 2.

[205] LCNHT, Staff Meeting, notes, April 3, 2013, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

[206] LCNHT, Leadership Team Meeting, agenda, June 1, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 3.

[207] Basch, interview; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, March 11, 2009, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Leadership Team Meeting, agenda, May 11, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 2; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, March 17, 2015, LCNHT Digital Files, 1; LCNHT, Squad Meeting, agenda, October 30, 2012, LCNHT Digital Files, 1.

Other Partnerships

Lewis and Clark NHT staff, along with the NPS more generally, have participated in various inter-trail organizations to coordinate and improve the National Trails System. They include the Federal Interagency Council on Trails, the National Historic Trail Preservation Initiative, the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS), and the International Trails Symposium. The PNTS organizes advocacy for national trails, develops youth outreach initiatives, and serves as a central communication forum for national trails partners, and both the LCTHF and the Lewis and Clark Trust are member organizations of the PNTS.[208]



From 2006 to 2017, the Lewis and Clark NHT received steady base appropriations of around $2 million a year. This represents the first time that the NPS has consistently funded a national historic trail at such high levels. Lewis and Clark NHT leadership and staff have used that money to implement a long-term organizational structure for the Trail, which could serve as a model for other national historic trails if they receive similar levels of sustained funding. In this national historic trail management model, a core group of highly specialized staff offer technical assistance to partners from a central location. Trail staff have remedied deficiencies in carrying out legislative directives, stayed up-to-date with developments affecting the Trail's cultural and natural resources, and created new communications and interpretive programs. However, the centralized staffing can make it difficult for the Trail to maintain relationships with partners in remote areas. Although the NPS is still working out some organizational issues, the Lewis and Clark NHT, as the agency's first well-staffed and well-funded national historic trail, is charting a pathway for the future of long-distance national trails.

[208] PNTS, "About Us," accessed October 2, 2017, http://pnts.org/new/about-us/.

Chapter 10. The Past and the Future of Lewis and Clark NHT

Establishment and Management of Lewis and Clark NHT in Retrospect

The United States first engaged in widespread commemoration of Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery one hundred years after the Expedition ended. Centennial commemorations were led by private groups like the Daughters of the American Revolution, railroad companies, and communities in growing western states. European Americans told the story of Lewis and Clark as one of American progress and Manifest Destiny, with no thought to the American Indian tribes whose land the Expedition crossed, and whom the U.S. government had forcibly removed (or was still removing) from those same states. In the 1950s, the sesquicentennial of the Expedition triggered another round of celebrations, this time led by state governments, with some commemorative legislation passed by the federal government. Momentum from those celebrations prompted the establishment of the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission in the 1960s. That commission worked with state governments to develop a network of Lewis and Clark roadways, demonstrating that commemorating Lewis and Clark could generate tourism dollars for small towns along the Expedition's route.

The commission convinced Congress to include the Lewis and Clark Trail in the National Trails System Act (NTSA) of 1968 as an area for study. Ten years later, Congress amended the NTSA to create the category of national historic trails and to establish the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT). Effective lobbying by the commission's successor, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF), helped make the Lewis and Clark NHT a reality. Congress required national historic trails to function through partnerships and allocated minimal funding to the Lewis and Clark NHT in its first years. A skeleton crew of Trail staff collaborated with the LCTHF to establish the Trail's on-the-ground presence. They distributed signs, certified segments and historic sites along the Trail, and assisted with state, local, and private visitor center development along the Trail.

Lewis and Clark NHT's staff size, budgets, and responsibilities changed dramatically in the 1990s, when it led national efforts to commemorate the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. Legislators established a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Caucus and funneled millions of dollars to bicentennial initiatives, led by the National Park Service (NPS). Trail staff worked with the LCTHF and its spin-off, the Bicentennial Council, to develop a traveling exhibit that would trace the Expedition's route during the bicentennial. The NPS prioritized inclusion of tribes in the bicentennial by conducting

outreach early and hiring American Indian staff at the Trail, including Superintendent Gerard Baker, who fulfilled promises to tribes that the NPS would let them tell their own stories. Baker, along with the Bicentennial Council's Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), brought tribes into commemorations as equal partners with an equal stake in the story and process. By letting go of the narrative, the NPS empowered tribes to tell their own stories and expanded the Lewis and Clark narrative to include multiple perspectives.

After the bicentennial, funding for the Trail and its partners fell considerably, but the Trail maintained much larger base funding than other national historic trails. In anticipation of a post-bicentennial shift, Superintendent Steve Adams established a long-term administrative structure for the Trail. Adams's foresight prevented the Trail from returning to a barebones staff and has kept budgets and employee numbers relatively steady over the past decade. With this stability, Trail staff have developed innovative programs in cultural and natural resources management, visitor services, and interpretation. Partners, from national groups like the LCTHF and the Lewis and Clark Trust to locally run sites along the route, continue to serve a vital role in Trail function and outreach. The Lewis and Clark NHT in 2017 is a model for what a well-funded national historic trail can look like.

Future Challenges and Recommendations

During oral histories conducted for this project, current and former Trail staff and partners identified challenges facing the Trail and provided recommendations for its future administration. The most common issue they identified was maintaining partnerships with tribes. American Indian Liaison Dick Basch explained that while the Trail staff and tribes had developed close relationships during the bicentennial, once the funding and opportunity for frequent collaboration ran out, those relationships faded. Basch expressed concern about the difficulty of conveying to new staff and to other federal trails the importance of collaborating with tribes and sustaining strong relationships. It could be difficult, Basch elaborated,

> to keep making sure that tribes feel a part of it and that our staff recognize that need organically. I mean that . . . when they throw all the components in the pot to stir it up, that they make sure and throw the tribes in that same pot so everything gets figured out appropriately that includes tribes. And so you don't have to go back and say, oh, we forgot something! And then have a shakeup.
>
> So I think the direction the trail is going, I think it's good . . . . It's the tribal layer. We've got to keep that.[1]

Former superintendents Gerard Baker and Steve Adams expressed similar concerns about tribal partnerships after the bicentennial. Baker contended that the NPS could be better at sustaining positive programs from one-time events:

[1] Richard Basch, interview by Jackie Gonzales, May 1, 2017, Astoria, Oregon.

> But the only thing I disagree with the Park Service, in this instance, is that it turned out to be just like any other program . . . . Meaning when the bicentennial's over, it's over. There's no afterlife. And that's what I disagree with, with any kind of federal organization, is that when it's over, they close the books on that one. Put it on a shelf and look for something else. They don't continue that, you know? And I think they should . . . . I think for future programs, or future superintendencies, I think they need to look at how they can continue that going. And the question would be, or should be, does the National Park Service have people in place to continue those partnerships and to continue to open these dialogs with tribes?

Baker urged the NPS to consider funding a group like COTA for the NPS Centennial in 2016, but the agency did not create such a group. Some of the ideas from COTA made their way into a group called the Council for Indigenous, Relevance, Communication, Leadership and Excellence (CIRCLE), which Otis Halfmoon, former American Indian liaison for the Lewis and Clark NHT, co-created. CIRCLE provides guidance and recommendations to the NPS on hiring, retaining, and improving visibility of American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian NPS employees.[2]

Several former COTA members and other partners offered recommendations for partnering with tribes and raising American Indian voices within the Lewis and Clark story and other stories that the NPS tells. Ed Hall, tourism coordinator and transportation specialist for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, suggested that the NPS use the bicentennial and the Tent of Many Voices as a model for how to elevate tribal voices within national dialogues. Bobbie Conner, director of the Tamástslikt Cultural Institute at the Umatilla Indian Reservation, suggested that the NPS better promote the academic works that came out of the bicentennial, including the videos from the Tent of Many Voices, the COTA publication *Enough Good People*, the Tribal Legacy Project website, Professor Robert J. Miller's legal scholarship on the Doctrine of the Discovery, *Lewis and Clark through Indian Eyes* (a volume of tribal stories of Lewis and Clark edited by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.), and Allen V. Pinkham and Steven R. Evans's book, *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce*. Others recommended greater inclusion of tribal history in school curriculum, which Trail staff have initiated with partners through the Honoring Tribal Legacies program.[3]

Partnerships with non-tribal organizations are also essential to the effectiveness of Trail staff. Adams noted that, like tribal partnerships, other partnerships fell off after the bicentennial. Both Carol McBryant and Pat Jones, former chiefs of interpretation for the Trail and for Corps II, respectively, emphasized the importance of maintaining those relationships. Jeff Olson, former public information officer at the Trail, worried that partnerships could suffer under low budgets

[2] Otis Halfmoon, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 1, 2017, Santa Fe, New Mexico; National Park Service, Office of Relevancy, Diversity, and Inclusion, "Employee Resource Groups," accessed October 30, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1244/ergs.htm.

[3] Basch, interview; Chris Howell, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 23, 2017, Spokane, Washington; Roberta Conner, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 22, 2017, Pendleton, Oregon; Ed Hall, interview by Nicolai Kryloff, May 16, 2017, Washington, DC.

through changing administrations. Current Superintendent Mark Weekley also acknowledged the difficulty of sustaining partnerships under budget constraints. Margaret Gorski, a former U.S. Forest Service employee and former president of the LCTHF, noted that convincing partners to prioritize the interpretation of the Lewis and Clark story with so much else going on can be difficult.[4] The Trail should act as a catalyst for enabling other organizations to include and promote a multifaceted, inclusive narrative of the Lewis and Clark story.

Are Lewis and Clark still relevant in the twenty-first century? Those interviewed for this project answered this question with a resounding "yes." Chris Howell, former COTA and Bicentennial Council board member, former president of the LCTHF, and citizen of the Pawnee Nation, put it this way:

> I think it is still a very important story to tell. I think that the story that needs to be told is the story of that group of folks who, they were discovering a land that they were not aware of, but there were already people there. There was already a trade route and mechanism in place. The tribes had already been there for thousands of years beforehand. And there were already established ways to communicate. I think that this whole issue of discovery really needs to be played out more, really needs to be discussed more. It's that romantic side that has gotten us as a country and as a group of people into a lot of trouble, you know? Thinking that we are the only folks who have, quote, "discovered" something . . . .
>
> And I still hold to the fact that this group of men, I look at them as soldiers. They were doing what they were told. This was an adventure for them. And I understand that . . . . And is that a level of discovery? It is. Maybe it's more of a level of self-discovery. And I think that that's where we need to focus on. Because there was no such thing as what they call *terra nullius,* which is open land, nobody owns it. There's never that. There never was. And I think that's a falsehood that really needs to have more discussion around. Because I think if we had those kinds of discussions, we'll start to understand that this country has a really hard history that a lot of people are not really understanding. And it's a tough discussion to have.[5]

Jeff Olson said that the Lewis and Clark story is especially important in the twenty-first century:

> Because it kind of makes us one. There are so many different things going on. There are so many distractions where you can just isolate yourself or a small group of people can isolate themselves. And they can survive without interacting with others. They can just stay with their own kind. And you can survive. But I don't think you can thrive without getting out with other people that are other cultures that live 50 miles from you or a thousand miles from your or three thousand miles from you. We need that. The fabric of the nation needs that.[6]

---

[4] Stephen E. Adams, interview by Jackie Gonzales, February 3, 2017, Oro Valley, Arizona; Patricia Jones, interview by Nicolai Kryloff, May 18, 2017, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Margaret Gorski, interview by Emily Greenwald, February 23, 2017, Missoula, Montana; Jeffrey Gordon Olson, interview by Nicolai Kryloff, May 15, 2017, Washington, DC; Mark Weekley, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 6, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska; Carol McBryant, interview by Emily Greenwald, March 3, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

[5] Howell, interview.

[6] Olson, interview.

Trail staff have a unique opportunity to build on the legacy of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial by assisting partners with presenting a broad and inclusive story about the Corps of Discovery and the tribes through whose territory the Expedition passed. They can also facilitate the "tough discussions" that Chris Howell described, reaching beyond the specific story of Lewis and Clark to help us better understand history and one another.

Bibliography

Archives

Central Files, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Omaha, Nebraska.

Montana State Historical Society Archives, Helena, Montana.

Federal Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, Lenexa, Kansas.

William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, Montana.

Studies and Surveys

Appleman, Roy. *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places Associated with Their Transcontinental Expedition, 1804–06*. Edited by Robert G. Ferris. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975.

Lane, Kenneth F. *A Recreation Resource Analysis of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.* Ames: Iowa State University, 1980.

Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *An Interim Report to the President and to the Congress*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

--------. *Second Interim Report to the President and to the Congress*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

--------. *Final Report to the President and to the Congress*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposal for Development*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

--------. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. *The Lewis and Clark Trail: A Proposed National Historic Trail.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

U.S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service. *Trails for America: Report on the Nationwide Trails Study*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

--------. National Park Service. *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: Comprehensive Plan for Management and Use.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1982.

--------. National Park Service. *National Trails Assessment*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1986.

--------. National Park Service. Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future,' A Project of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial 1994–2006." September 2008.

--------. National Park Service. *Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*. Omaha, NE: MWRO, September 2012.

--------. National Park Service. Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. Prepared by David L. Dahlquist Associates, LLC. *Effective Wayshowing for Enhanced Visitor Experience: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and Auto Tour Route*. April 30, 2013.

Government Documents

Brown, Sharon A. *Administrative History: Jefferson National Expansion Memorial National Historic Site*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991.

Hobbs, Frank, and Nicole Stoops, U.S. Census Bureau. *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*. Census 2000 Special Reports, Series CENSR-4. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002.

Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. *Outdoor recreation for America, a report to the President and to the Congress*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

Prewitt, Jana, and Victoria Voytko. "A History of the U.S. Department of the Interior During the Clinton Administration, 1993–2001." Washington, DC: Clinton Administrative History Project, 2000.

The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. New York: Random House, 1935.

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. *Outdoor Recreation: A Legacy for America*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

U.S. Department of the Interior. Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. *The Third Nationwide Outdoor Recreation Plan: The Assessment*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979.

U.S. Department of the Interior. National Park Service. "Columbus Quincentennial Projects: A Directory." Washington, DC: National Park Service, [1992?].

--------. National Park Service. *The National Park Service: Shaping the System*. Rev. ed. of Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks*, 1991. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2005.

--------. National Park Service. "National Park Service Administrative History: A Guide." 2004.U.S. Congress. Senate. *Nationwide System of Trails: Hearings on S. 827, Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*. 90th Congress, 1st session, 1967.

--------. Senate. *Establishing a Nationwide System of Trails*. S. Rept. 90-1233. 90th Congress, 2d session, 1968.

--------. Senate. *Historic Trails Legislation: Hearings on H. R. 6900, S. 929, S. 2659, S. 2663, S. 2664, S. 2705, S. 2978, Before the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*. 95th Congress, 2d session, 1978.

--------. Senate. *National Historic Trails*. S. Rept. 95-1034. 95th Congress, 2d session, 1978.

--------. Senate. *National Park Omnibus Legislation: Hearings on S. 2876, Before the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*. 95th Congress, 2d session, 1978.

--------. Senate. *Harpers Ferry; Niobrara River; and Council Bluffs, Iowa Trails Interpretation Center, Hearings on S. 85, S. 280, and S. 338, Before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks, and Forests of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*. 101st Congress, 1st session, 1989.

--------. Senate. *National Trails Bills: Hearings on S. 213, H.R. 37, S. 1069, H.R. 834, Before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*. 107th Congress, 2d session, 2002.

--------. Senate. *Land Acquisition from Willing Sellers; Trail of the Ancients, Study of Four National Historic Trails; and Willing Sellers for the Majority of the Trails in the System, Hearings on S. 324, S. 651, S. 634, S. 635 before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*. 108th Congress, 1st session, 2003.

--------. Senate. *Designate As Wilderness Lands In Rocky Mountain National Park; Japanese Americans Confinement Sites; Convey Land To Lewis And Clark Visitor Center; Including Col Barrett Farm In The NPS; Designate The National Museum Of Wildlife Art And Grand Teton National Park Land Addition, Hearings on S. 1510, S. 1719, S. 1957 S. 2034, S. 2252, S. 2403, H.R. 1492, H.R. 394,*

Before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. 109th Congress, 2d session, 2006.

U.S. Congress. House. *A bill to amend the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 to authorize the construction of a national system of foot trails: Hearings on H.R. 2142, Before the Committee on Roads*. 79th Congress, 1st session, 1945.

--------. House. *Nationwide Trails System: Hearings on H. R. 4865, and Related Bills, Day 1, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs*. 90th Congress, 1st session, 1967.

--------. House. *National Trails System Act.* H. Rept. 90-1631. 90th Congress, 2d session, 1968.

--------. House. *Nationwide System of Trails.* H. Rept. 90-1891. 90th Congress, 2d session, 1968.

--------. House. *Oversight on the National Trails System Act of 1968: Hearings, Before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,* 94th Congress, 2d session, 1976.

--------. House. *Amending the National Trails System Act of 1968 (82 Stat. 919), as amended, designating the Oregon National Historic Trail and Travelway as a Unit of the National Trails System.* H. Rept. 95-1022. 95th Congress, 2d session, 1978.

Oral History Interviews

Transcriptions of the following interviews, conducted by Historical Research Associates, Inc., as part of this administrative history contract, are in the archives of Lewis and Clark NHT, Omaha, Nebraska.

Adams, Stephen E. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 3, 2017, Oro Valley, Arizona.

Baker, Gerard. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 21, 2017, Miles City, Montana.

Basch, Richard. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. May 1, 2017, Astoria, Oregon.

Boyko, Betty. Interview by Emily Greenwald. March 5, 2017, Fort Scott, Kansas.

Calabrese, Francis "Cal." Interview by Emily Greenwald. March 4, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

Conner, Roberta. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 22, 2017, Pendleton, Oregon.

Gilbert, Thomas. Interview by Emily Greenwald. June 14, 2017, Middleton, Wisconsin.

Goering, Karen. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 18, 2017, St. Louis, Missouri.

Gorski, Margaret. Interview by Emily Greenwald. February 23, 2017, Missoula, Montana.

Halfmoon, Otis. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 1, 2017, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Hall, Edward. Interview by Nicolai Kryloff. May 16, 2017, Washington, DC.

Howell, Chris. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 23, 2017, Spokane, Washington.

Jones, Patricia. Interview by Nicolai Kryloff. May 18, 2017, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Mallory, James. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 19, 2017, Lexington, Kentucky.

McBryant, Carol. Interview by Emily Greenwald. March 3, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

Meadows, Sammye. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. January 30, 2017, Gunnison, Colorado.

Miller, Robert J. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 2, 2017, Chandler, Arizona.

Olson, Jeffrey Gordon. Interview by Nicolai Kryloff. May 15, 2017, Washington, DC.

Pinkham, Allen V., Sr., Interview by Jackie Gonzales. February 24, 2017, Lapwai, Idaho.

Raymore, Midori. Interview by Jackie Gonzales. January 31, 2017, Golden, Colorado.

Weekley, Mark. Interview by Emily Greenwald. March 6, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

Wiley, Dan. Interview by Emily Greenwald. March 3, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

Williams, Richard. Interview by Emily Greenwald. March 2, 2017, Omaha, Nebraska.

Film

Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery. DVD. Directed and produced by Ken Burns. Public Broadcasting Corporation, 1997.

Books and Articles

Allen, Paul, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, et al. *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clarke: to the sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains, and down the river Columbia to the Pacific Ocean: performed during the years 1804, 1805, 1806*. Revised and abridged by Archibald M'Vickar. New York: A. L. Fowle, 1902.

Appleman, Roy E. "Lewis and Clark: The Route 160 Years After." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (January 1966): 8–12.

Archibald, Robert R. "The significance of the National Lewis and Clark Commemoration." *Indiana Magazine of History* 99, no. 3 (September 2003): 254–62.

Belote, R. Travis, Ryan M. Cooper, and Rachel A. Daniels. "Contemporary Composition of Land Use, Ecosystems, and Conservation Status along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail." *Natural Areas Journal* 37, no. 1 (January 2017): 17–29.

Biddle, Nicholas, Paul Allen, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark. *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky mountains and down the river Columbia to the Pacific ocean, performed during the years 1804–5–6; by order of the government of the United States*. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814.

Biddle, Nicholas, Paul Allen, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark. *History of the expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark 180–5–6; reprinted from the edition of 1814*. Edited by James K. Hosmer. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1902.

Blee, Lisa. "Completing Lewis and Clark's Westward March." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 106, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 232–53.

Brooks, Noah. *First across the continent: the story of the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1804–5–6*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901.

Browne, Sheri Bartlett. *Eva Emery Dye: Romance with the West*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004.

Buck, Solon J. "The Upper Missouri Historical Expedition." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 12, no. 3 (December 1925): 385–91.

Cannon, Kelly. *Fort Clatsop Administrative History*. Seattle: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995.

Caton, J. D. "The American Antelope, or Prong Buck." *The American Naturalist* 10, no. 4 (April 1876): 193–205.

Circle of Tribal Advisors, National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council. *Enough Good People: Reflections on Tribal Involvements and Inter-Cultural Collaboration 2003–2006*. Gunnison, CO: 2009.

Coues, Elliott. *In Memoriam. Sergeant Charles Floyd. Report of the Floyd Memorial Association*. Sioux City, IA: Press of Perkins Bros. Company, 1897.

Coues, Elliott, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, et al. *History of the expedition under the command of Lewis and Clark: to the sources of the Missouri River, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the Columbia*

River to the Pacific Ocean, performed during the years 1804–5–6, by order of the government of the United States, a new edition. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1893.

Crespin, Michael H., Charles J. Finocchiaro, and Emily O. Wanless. "Perception and Reality in Congressional Earmarks." *Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* 7, no. 2 (2009): 6.

Cushing, Caleb. "Lecture on Oregon." *Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection*. London: William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street, 1845.

Cutright, Paul Russell. *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.

The Daily Astorian. *Fort Clatsop: Rebuilding an Icon*. Portland, OR: Ooligan Press, 2007.

Dant, Sara. "Making Wilderness Work: Frank Church and the American Wilderness Movement." *Pacific Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (May 2008): 237–72.

Dawson, Jan C. "Sacagawea: Pilot or Pioneer Mother?" *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (January 1992): 22–28.

Dye, Eva Emery. *Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903.

Edgerton, Gary R. *Ken Burns's America: Packaging the Past for Television*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Elkinton, Steven. *The National Trails System: A Grand Experiment*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2008.

Foresta, Ronald A. *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*. Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1984.

Fresonke, Kris, and Mark David Spence. *Lewis and Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004.

Gass, Patrick. *A journal of the voyages and travels of a corps of discovery, under the command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the army of the United States: from the mouth of the river Missouri through the interior parts of North America to the Pacific Ocean, during the years 1804, 1805 & 1806; containing an authentic relation of the most interesting transactions during the expedition, --a description of the country, --and an account of its inhabitants, soil, climate, curiosities and vegetable and animal productions.* Pittsburgh: Printed by Zadok Cramer, for David M'Keehan, publisher and proprietor, 1807.

Gibson, Rankin M. "Congressional Concurrent Resolutions: An Aid Statutory Interpretation?" *American Bar Association Journal* 37, no. 6 (June 1951): 421–24, 479–83.

Glassberg, David. *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Gray, Asa. "Contributions to North American Botany." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 19 (May 1883–May 1884): 1–96.

Gray, Ralph. "Following the Trail of Lewis and Clark." *National Geographic Magazine* (June 1953): 707–50.

Grimshaw, William. *History of the United States from Their First Settlement as Colonies to the Period of the Fifth Census in 1830*. Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliott, 1835.

Harvey, Bruce G., and Deborah Harvey. *Managing the Mighty Mo: Administrative History of the Missouri National Recreational River, Nebraska and South Dakota*. Omaha: NPS MWRO, 2016.

Hayden, F. V. "Address. Our Great West, and the Scenery of Our Natural Parks." *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 6 (1874): 196–211.

Hays, W. J. "The Mule Deer." *The American Naturalist* 3, no. 4 (June 1869): 180–81.

Hugill, Peter J. "Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States 1880–1929." *Geographical Review* 72, no. 3 (July 1982): 327–49.

Jackson, Donald, ed. *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition With Related Documents*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962.

Jacob, J. G. *The life and times of Patrick Gass, now sole survivor of the overland expedition to the Pacific, under Lewis and Clark, in 1804–5–6; also, a soldier in the war with Great Britain, from 1812 to 1815, and a participant in the battle of Lundy's Lane. Together with Gass' journal of the expedition condensed; and sketches of some events occurring during the last century in the upper Ohio country, biographies, reminiscences, etc.* Wellsburg, VA: Jacob & Smith, 1859.

Josephy, Alvin M., Jr., with Marc Jaffe. *Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.

Lawson, Michael L. *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944–1980*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982.

Lendt, David L. *Ding: The Life of Jay Norwood Darling.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979.

Lewis, Meriwether, William Clark, Nicholas Biddle, and Paul Allen. *History of the expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky mountains*

and down the river Columbia to the Pacific ocean, performed during the years 1804–5–6; by order of the government of the United States. New York: New Amsterdam B'k co., 1900.

Lewis, Meriwether, William Clark, Jonathan Carver, and Alexander Mackenzie. *The travels of Capts. Lewis & Clarke: by order of the government of the United States: performed in the years 1804, 1805, & 180: being upwards of three thousand miles, from St. Louis, by way of the Missouri, and Columbia rivers, to the Pacifick ocean: containing an account of the Indian tribes, who inhabit the western part of the continent unexplored, and unknown before: with copious delineations of the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the Indians*. Philadelphia: Hubbard Lester, 1809.

Lewis, Meriwether, William Clark, et al. *Journals of Lewis and Clark*. Edited by Bernard DeVoto. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953.

Lewis, Meriwether, William Clark, et al. *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1905.

Lewis, Meriwether, William Clark, et al. *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Lewis, Meriwether, William Clark, et al. *Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*. Edited by Gary E. Moulton. 13 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002–2004.

Lewis, Wallace G. *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark: Early Commemorations and the Origins of the National Historic Trail*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2010.

Lighton, William R. *Lewis and Clark*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901.

Louter, David. *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.

Mackintosh, Barry. *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, History Division, 1985.

MacRae, Donald. "The Columbia River Historical Expedition." *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (July 1926): 163–67.

Merk, Frederick. *The Oregon Question: Essays in Anglo-American Diplomacy and Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Miller, Robert J. *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006.

Ott, Cindy. "Why Lewis and Clark Matter: History, Landscape, and Regional Identity." *Historical Geography* 35 (2007): 114–35.

Phillips, George. *Travels in North America*. Dublin: C. Bentham, 1822.

Pinkham, Allen V., and Steven R. Evans, *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce: Strangers in the Land of the Nimiipuu*. Washburn, ND: The Dakota Institute Press of the Lewis and Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, 2013.

Rakestraw, Donald. *For Honor or Destiny: The Anglo-American Crisis over the Oregon Territory*. New York: Peter Land, 1995.

Ronda, James P. *Lewis & Clark among the Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Winning of the West*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889.

Rothman, Hal K. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998.

Scates, Shelby. *Warren G. Magnuson and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century America*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.

Sellars, Richard. *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.

Stevens, James, Robert MacFarlane, and Kenn E. Johnson. *Lewis and Clark: Our National Epic of Exploration*. Tacoma: Northern Pacific Railway Co. and Washington State Historical Society, 1955.

Summitt, April R. *Sacagawea: A Biography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008

Sutter, Paul S. *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

Taber, Ronald W. "Sacagawea and the Suffragettes: An Interpretation of a Myth." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (January 1967): 7–13.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold. "The Story of Lewis and Clark's Journals." *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 6, no. 1 (March 1905): 26–53.

Turner, Frederick J. "Review of *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt." *The American Historical Review* 2, no. 1 (October 1896): 171–76.

Turner, Frederick J. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." *Report of the American Historical Association* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1894): 199–227.

Wells, Christopher W. *Car Country: An Environmental History*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014.

Wheeler, Olin D. *Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804–1904: A Story of the great exploration across the continent in 1804–06, with a description of the old trail, based upon actual travel over it, and of the changes found a century later*. New York: G P Putnam Sons, 1904.

Young, F. G. "The Lewis and Clark Centennial. The Occasion and its Observance." *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 4, no. 1 (March 1903): 1–20.

Young, F.G. "The Lewis and Clark Expedition in American History." *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 2, no. 4 (Dec. 1901): 410–22.

Zelinsky, Wilbur. *Nation Into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Albany Argus

American Bar Association Journal

The American Historical Review

The American Naturalist

Appalachian Trailway News

Butte Montana Standard

The Dalles Chronicle

Emmetsburg Palo Alto Tribune (Iowa)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection

Geographical Review

Helena Independent Record

Historical Geography

Indiana Magazine of History

Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York

Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Journal

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review

National Geographic

The New York Daily Times

The New York Times

The North Coaster

Pacific Historical Review

The Pacific Northwest Quarterly

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences

The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society

Report of the American Historical Association

Sioux City Journal

The Trail Companion: A Newsletter of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail

Traverse City Evening Record

Walla Walla Union Bulletin

The Washington Historical Quarterly

The Washington Post

We Proceeded On

502 Media Group, 290

A

Abourezk, James (U.S. Senator), 59–60, 62, 63, 64, 66

Absentee Shawnee of Oklahoma, 222

Adams, Arlene (COTA), G-3

Adams, Steve (Superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT): and Corps II, 246; joins Lewis and Clark NHT staff, 204–5, 206; leaves Lewis and Clark NHT, 256, 262; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 244; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 205, 234, 249–51, 254, 257, 260, 270, 271, 274, 276, 294, 312, 313; manages staff at non-NPS visitor center, 119; pictured, 204, 243; promoted to Midwest regional director of cultural resources, 256; segment and site certification, 261, 268; mentioned, E-2, E-8

Adams Homestead and Nature Preserve (SD), A-8

Advertising Council, Inc. (The Ad Council), 193, 194, 195, 236, 240

Advisory Council. *See* Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 246

Africa, 244

Alaska Natives, 313

Albany Argus, 10

Albuquerque, NM, F-4

Alice Creek Historic District (MT), J-3

Allegra Foundation, 206

Allen, Barbara (COSA), D-2

Allen, Paul (editor), 8, 12, 16

Alley, Sylvester (COTA), G-4

Alpowai Interpretive Center, Chief Timothy State Park (WA), A-8

Alton, IL, F-3

Ambrose, Stephen (historian), 140–42, 186, 193, 309

Ambrose Tubbs, Stephenie, 288, 305, 308, 309

American Heritage Rivers, 145

American Hiking Society, 63, 100

American Indian Alaska Native Tourism Association, 242, 286

American Indian Movement (AIM), 228

American Indian Tribes: and Bicentennial Council, 130–31, 139, 236; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 174–75, 176, 195; COTA recommendations for future commemorations, H-1–H-2; collaboration amongst, 239, 240; and Columbus Quincentennial, 131–32, 134; and Corps II, 189,

190, 197–99, 213–14, 217, 218; criticize NPS, 99; and Eastern Legacy Extension, 296; and education, 287; fundamental resource of the Lewis and Clark NHT, 4–5; gifts received from, 285; and High Potential Historic Sites, 299; history of, 244; ignored during commemorations, 311; impacted by dam construction, 25, 145; inhabiting western territories, 2, 3, 10, 18; interpretation discussed with, 121, 153; lands claimed by U.S., 9; language preservation, 177, 238, 239, 241; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 122, 127, 129, 130–31, 132, 135–37, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151–64, 167, 174–75, 177, 237, 239, 244, 246–48, 259, 288, 311–13; Lewis and Clark Tribal Legacy Project, 266, 313; Native American Art Act, 169; oppose Corps II, 228–30; and Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial, 134–35; participate in Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council, 97, 98; performances at Lewis and Clark commemorations, 22, 29, 136; perspectives on Lewis and Clark, 3, 18, 19–21, 29, 120, 160, 186–88, 295, 314, 315; protection of resources, 280; relationships with, 58, 89, 129, 152, 156, 181, 196, 217, 229, 249, 250, 251, 255, 257, 259, 263, 266–67, 272, 290, 299, 302, 309–10, 312–13; request markers/signs for certified sites, 95; and signature events, 191, 217, 218, 221–22, 223–25; and tourism, 146, 153, 162, 164, H-2; trails included in national historic trails legislation, 62; training for, 286; tribal liaison, 166–69, 184; tribal recognition, 164; and visitor centers, 175, 176, 177

American Philosophical Society (PA), 12, A-7

American Pioneer Trails Association, 26

Americans with Disabilities Act, 258

Anaconda Copper Mining Company, 27

Anderson, Honorable Henry (COTA), G-3

Anderson, Irving (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2

Anderson, Wanda L. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

Andrus, Cecil D. (Governor of Idaho; U.S. Secretary of the Interior), 58, 73–75

Anheuser-Busch, 190

Ann Arbor, MI, 80

Antiquities Act (1906), 117

Appalachian Mountain Club, 47

Appalachian National Scenic Trail (Appalachian Trail): established, 3, 43–44, 50; model for other trails, 31, 44, 48, 57, 89; participates in National Scenic and Historic Trails Policy Task Force, 101; partnerships, 91, 100; popularity, 79–80; recommended as national scenic trail, 47, 49, 50

Appalachian Trail Conference, 47

Appalachian Trail Conservancy (ATC), 91

Appleman, Roy (NPS), 41, 76, 81

Archibald, Becky (COTA), G-2

Archibald, Robert (Missouri Historical Society; Bicentennial Council), 164, 193, 194, 195, 236, 243

Arkansas, 145

Armistice, MT, 21

Ashland, KY, F-2

Asia, 244

Aspinall, Wayne N. (U.S. Representative), 50

Assiniboine Tribe, 130

Associated Press, 233

Astor, John Jacob (trader), 9–10, 21

Astor, Vincent (philanthropist), 21

Astoria, OR, 21, 27, 120–22, 266, 309

Astoria Column (OR), 23

Asotin County, WA, A-8, A-9

Atchison, KS, 175, 223, F-1, F-6

Auto Tour Route Sign Inventory, 281

Aztec Tents & Events, 210

Aztecs, 132

B

Babbitt, Bruce (U.S. Department of the Interior), 145

Bad River Encounter Site (SD), J-2

Bagley, Larry (COTA), G-2

Baird, Brian (U.S. Representative), 120

Baker, Gerard (Corps II Superintendent; Superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT): and American Indian relationships, 186, 217, 240, 248, 312–14; and Bicentennial Council, 135, 192–93, 194; and Corps II, 179, 185, 187, 189, 197–99, 201, 210, 215, 229, 266; and education, 287; health issues, 196, 204; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 133, 145, 156–60, 244; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 165–69; pictured, 143, 158, 159, 165, 231, 232, 264, 288; mentioned, 205, E-1, E-8

Baker, OR, 134

Baltimore, MD, 227, F-2

Barber, Wayne (Legacy Transportation Corps II Staff), E-7

Baroni, Sandra (graphic designer), 287

Basch, Charlotte (Clatsop-Nehalem Tribe), 121, 122

Basch, Dick (American Indian Liaison, Lewis and Clark NHT): and Corps II, 229, 233; and education, 287; pictured, 122, 165, 169, 288; Tent of Many Voices, 222, 247; tribal liaison, 168–69, 206, 217, 240, 255, 266, 280, 299, 309, 312; mentioned, 121, E-2, E-8

Basch, Lorraine (Clatsop-Nehalem Tribe), 122

Basch, Roberta (Puyallup Tribe), 122, 168

Bates, Angela R. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

Baucus, Max (U.S. Senator), 116

Beacon Rock (WA), J-4

Beacon Rock State Park (WA), A-8

Beatrice, NE, 152

Beaverhead Rock (MT), J-3

Bedlan, Neal (Outdoor Recreation Planner, Recreational Resource Specialist; Chief of Interpretation, Lewis and Clark NHT), 255, 281, 285, 290, E-3, E-5

Bellefontaine Cemetery (MO), J-1

Bellevue, NE, A-3

Benton, Thomas Hart (U.S. Senator), 10

Benton County, WA, A-8

Bereuter, Doug (U.S. Representative), 95, 103, 107, 108, 124, 142, 144

Beulah Bay Recreation Area (ND), A-5

Beulah Park District (ND), A-5

Bicentennial. *See* Lewis and Clark Bicentennial

Bicentennial Council. *See* Lewis and Clark Bicentennial: Bicentennial Council

Biddle, Nicholas (author), 8, 9, 12, 16

Bielenberg, Warren, (MWRO), 133

Big Bend of the Missouri (SD), 300, J-2

Big Bone Lick State Park (KY), A-3

Big Eddy–Knight Bonneville Power Development, 279

Big Hole National Battlefield (MT), 122

Big Timber, MT, A-5

Billings, MT, 81, 116, 224, 226, 284, F-1, F-6

Bingaman, Jeff (U.S. Senator), 261

Biological Survey, 35

Bismarck, ND: Lewis and Clark Bicentennial event held in, 143, 208, 210, 229; meeting held in, 81; signature event in, 216, 224; mentioned, A-6, B-1, F-1, F-4

Bitterroot National Forest (MT, ID), 281

Blackbird Hill (NE), J-1

Blackbird Scenic Overlook (NE), A-3

Blackeagle, Cynthia, 225

Blackfeet Nation, 188, 227, 301, G-3

Blackfoot River, 284

Blackwood, Clint (COSA), 139, D-1, D-2

Blair, NE, F-4

Blanchard, Julie (Park Guide; Visitor Center Manager, Lewis and Clark NHT), 285, 291, E-4

Bob Kerrey Pedestrian Bridge (NE), 258, 259, 292–93

Bodmer, Karl (artist), 210

Boise, ID, 81, B-1, F-5

Boise State University (ID), B-1

Bonneville Power Administration, 279

Boone County Historical Museum (MO), A-4

Boone County Historical Society, A-4

Boonville, MO, F-3

Borlaug, David (LCTHF Board Member), 114, 137, 193, 305, 308

Boswell, Tokey (MWRO Chief of Planning), 296

Bow Creek (NE), J-2

Boyko, Betty (Administrative Officer, Assistant Superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT): and Corps II, 189, 203, 204, 216, 244; hired, 165; leaves Lewis and Clark NHT, 206, 254; pictured, 166; promoted, 205; mentioned, E-1, E-8

Boy Scouts of America, 27, 41

Bozeman, MT, B-2, F-4

Bozeman Pass (MT), J-3

Brave Bull, Ladonna (COTA), G-4

Bridge Tenders Building Kiosk Pavilion (KS), A-3

Briner, Dawn (COTA), G-4

Brockway, Rachel (Mendoza) (Park Guide, temporary, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-3

Brooks, Noah (author), 16

Brown, Clint (Fort Belknap Indian Community), 215

Brown, David E. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1

Brown, Stephen (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site (BBNHS), 204

Browning, MT, F-5

Brownville, NE, A-3

Buck, Rex, Sr. (COTA), G-6

Buckley, Jay (LCTHF), 272, 305, 306

Buckner, Matthew C. (Audiovisual Technician, NPS Corps II), 130, E-6

Budd, Ralph (Great Northern Railway president), 23

Buechner, Erin K. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

Buffalo Interpretive Center (SD), 174

Bullion, Dawnisha (Business Services Associate, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4

Bunning, Jim (U.S. Senator), 261

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives, 122

Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA): contracting with American Indian tribes, 169; participates in Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group, 146, 148; partnership with MWRO, 97; and tourism, 162; mentioned, 153, 163, 198, 242, 313

Bureau of Land Management (BLM): assists with Corps II, 181, 211, 212; and High Potential Historic Sites, 299; interpretation by, 123; land purchase, 115–17; manages portions of Lewis and Clark NHT, 302; participates in Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group, 146, 148; partnership with NPS, 79, 100, 299, 302; signature event host, 224; visitor center, 116; mentioned, 118

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR): abolished, 65, 72; concept for Lewis and Clark NHT, 42–43; created, 69; recommends national historic trails category, 58; studies Lewis and Clark Trail proposals, 3, 37, 38, 41, 55–58, 69, 81; studies National Trails System feasibility, 45–46

Burleigh County, ND, A-6

Burleigh County Park Board, A-6

Burmeister, Dennis (Administrative Technician, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4

Burney, Willard (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1

Burns, Conrad (U.S. Senator), 116, 142

Burns, Ken (filmmaker), 141–42

Burton, Phillip (U.S. Representative), 64–65, 66

Busch Creative, 190, 192–93, 196, 199

Bush, Laura (First Lady), 196

Bush, George H. W. (U.S. President), 113

Bush, George W. (U.S. President), 195–96, 197, 244, 261

Bussard, Michelle (Bicentennial Council Executive Director), 137, 153, 192, 193

Butte, MT, B-1

C

Cahokia, IL, F-3

Cahokia Court House (IL), J-1

Cain, Denver (Legacy Transportation Corps II Staff), 209, 245, E-7

Cain, Shanna (Legacy Transportation Corps II Staff), 209, 245, E-7
Cairo, IL, F-3
Calabrese, Francis "Cal" (Superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT), 152, 153, 156, 157, 184, 185, E-1
California, 51, 183, 226
Camp, Carter (Ponca), 228
Camp, Vic (Ponca), 228
Camp Disappointment (MT), 269, J-3
Camp Dubois (IL), 104, 107, 222
Campos, Ann (Secretary, Lewis and Clark NHT), 205, E-2
Canaday, Dayton W. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2
Cannon Beach, OR, 89, 280, A-7, F-1
Cantwell, Maria (U.S. Senator), 120
Cape Disappointment (WA), 120, J-4
Cape Girardeau, MO, A-4, F-3
Captain William Clark Monument (OR), A-7
Carl T. Curtis Midwest Regional Headquarter Building. *See* Midwest Regional Office (MWRO)
Carter, Jimmy (U.S. President), 58, 65, 66, 69
Cartwright, Chas (Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site), 133
Carver, Betty (COSA), D-1, D-2
Castleberry, Don (MWRO Director), 92
Catlin, George (artist), 210
Caylor, John (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1
Cedar County, NE, 25
Celilo Falls (WA, OR), 279
Celilo Falls Portage (WA, OR), J-4
Celilo Falls Roadside Marker, Wishram (WA), A-9
Centennial. *See* Lewis and Clark Centennial
Center Lake, IA, 308
certified sites, A-1–A-9
Chamberlain, SD, 230, A-8, F-1, F-4
Charbonier Bluff (MO), J-1
Charlo, Mary Jane (COTA), G-3
Charlottesville, VA, 207, 222, 261, A-8, F-1

Chehak, Gail (Bicentennial Committee), 136

Cheyenne River Sioux Indian Reservation (SD), 226

Chief Coboway (Clatsop), 168

Chester, IL, F-3

Cheyenne Tribe, 157

Chickasaw National Recreation Area (NRA), 157

Chinook Indian Tribe, 161, 164, 224, G-5

Chisholm Trail (TX–KS), 48

CHiXapkaid, 287

Christian Science Monitor, 233

Chuinard, Dr. Eldon G. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), 90, B-2

Church, Frank E. (U.S. Senator): instrumental in completion of Lewis and Clark Highway, 49; introduces legislation for national historic trails, 52, 61, 62, 63; member of Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, 48; pictured, 65; supports Lewis and Clark NHT, 68; supports National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, 51

Circle of Conservation Advisors (COCA), 138

Circle of Cultures, Time of Renewal and Change (signature event), 216, 223–24, F-1

Circle of Education Advisors (COEA), 138

Circle of Signature Events Coordinators, 191

Circle of State Advisors (COSA), 138, 139, 217, 260, D-1–D-2

Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA): and Ad Council campaign, 240–41; assists with planning for Lewis and Clark NHT, 260; and Bicentennial Council, 236, 239; and Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants, 174, 195, 262; and Corps II, 217; created, 138; criticizes NPS planning process, 154–55; dissolved, 245; and education, 287; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 160–64, 177, 237, 242, 244, 312; membership, G-1–G-6; and opposition to Corps II, 229; papers of, 309; recommendations, H-1–H-2; reviews applications for signature events, 191; mentioned, 1, 313

Citizen Potawatomi Nation, G-4

Civil Rights Act, 31

Civilian Conservation Corps, 23

Clark, Dan E. (filmmaker), 28

Clark, Richard A. (MWRO Planner), 86, 94–95

Clark, William (Corps of Discovery): American Indian perspective on, 137, 160; drawing by, 11; exploration by, 10; focus on, 186; highways named after, 23; interest in, 7, 8, 140, 151, 154; joins Lewis, 222; at Pompeys Pillar, 115; portrait, 9; posthumous promotion to Captain, 143; selected for expedition, 2; tribes documented by, 162, 164; writings of, 13, 25; mentioned, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 84, 92, 121, 128, 241, 266, 272, 311, 314, 315

Clark County, WA, A-9

Clark–Floyd Counties Convention and Tourism Bureau, D-1
Clark on the Yellowstone (signature event), 224–25, F-1
Clark's Canoe Camp on the Yellowstone (MT), J-3
Clark's Hill State Historic Site (MO), J-1
Clark's Lookout (MT), J-3
Clarkston, WA, 247, F-5
Clarksville, IN, 222, F-1, F-3
Clatsop County, OR, 89, 224
Clatsop County Historical Society, 27
Clatsop-Nehalem Confederated Tribes, 120, 121, 168, 204, 222, 224, 309, G-5
Clayton County, MO, 235
Clearwater National Forest (ID, MT), 124, 131
Clements, Rudy (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), 98, B-1
Clifford, Laura M. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6
Clinton, Bill (U.S. President), 117, 119, 145
Cockrell, Ron (MWRO Senior Historian), 2, 132
Codding Richard (LCTHF National Trail Coordinator), 92
Colt Killed Creek Campsite (ID), J-3
Coleharbor, ND, B-2
College of Mary (ND), 224
College of Physicians (PA), A-7
Collier, Diane (COTA), G-5
Colorado, 176
Colorado State University (CSU), 281
Columbia, MO, A-4
Columbia County, WA, A-8
Columbia Gorge Interpretive Center (WA), 125
Columbia River: dams on, 32, 34, 77; ending point of Lewis and Clark Trail, 66, 98, 268; interpretation on, 123; managed by USACE, 79, 123, 184; recreational opportunities on, 78; trading posts on, 10; mentioned, 135, 136
Columbia River Gorge, 100, 277, 278
Columbia River and Missouri Historical Expedition, 23
Columbus Day, 132
Columbus Quincentennial (1992), 131–32, 133, 145, 186

Comer, Joann (COTA), G-2

Condon, MT, B-2

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, G-3

Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation, G-6

Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon, G-5

Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, 155, 187, 239, 286

Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, B-1

Conner, Bobbie (Director of Tamástslikt Cultural Institution; Co-Chair, COTA; COTA Leadership Committee): and American Indian relations, 156, 157–58, 187, 241, 242, 313; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 247; pictured, 155, 164, 194, 233, 241; mentioned, G-1

conservation: advocated for, 3, 4, 6, 35–38, 41, 43, 47–48, 138; supported by President Lyndon B. Johnson, 45, 51; trails as part of, 49

Consolidated Natural Resources Act (CNRA), 110, 261

Continental Divide National Scenic Trail Alliance, 261–62

Continental Divide Trail (MT, ID, WY, CO, NM), 49, 50, 63, 66, 67, 68

Cooper, Alice (sculptor), 20

Cooper, Jim (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1

Cooper, Ryan (Geographer/GIS Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 255, 282, E-3

Cooper County, MO, A-4

Corps of Discovery: camp locations, 106; commemoration of, 3, 6, 7, 11, 14–19, 21, 26–28, 29, 33, 179–80, 315; education about, 286–87, 289; historic sites associated with, 31, 34, 107, 260, 293; interactions with American Indian Tribes, 18, 120, 168, 188, 315; interest in, 141, 189; interpretation of, 78, 120, 121, 122–23, 184, 219, 257, 269; journals of, 7–8, 10–11, 12–13, 25, 40, 76, 149, 231, 235; overview of, 2–3; and Pompeys Pillar, 115; reenactment of, 211; resources related to, 276; route of, 4, 5, 22, 25, 28, 37, 40, 41, 52, 54, 77, 80, 83, 145, 162, 181, 224, 226, 238, 240, 296–97; scholarship regarding, 8, 12–13, 129, 150, 243, 247; scientific findings of, 284; tourism related to, 3, 18, 22–26, 27, 29, 39, 40, 42, 174, 286

Corps of Discovery II (Corps II): decommissioned, 244–45; design, 196; developed, 181; fabrication, 196–201; funding for, 177, 199, 202; interpretation by, 165, 182, 184, 187, 201, 203; journals of, 235; logo, 185; management of, 194; NPS goals for, 189; as new model for the NPS, 177; partnerships, 206, 236–43, 246; proposed, 130; staff, 149, 157, 205–6, 218–19, 243, E-1, E-6–E-8; Tent of Many Voices, 169, 179, 186–88, 196, 199, 201, 202, 204, 207, 209, 210, 217, 221, 222, 225, 227, 229, 233, 234, 235, 239, 240, 241, 244, 245, 247, 266, 294, 313; travels, 207, 208, 212, 216, 226; mentioned, 143, 154, 249, 255–56, 301. *See also* Lewis and Clark Bicentennial

Corps of Discovery Roadside Marker, Cree Creek Rest Area (WA), A-9

Corps Explorer, 234

Costello, Jerry (U.S. Representative), 105–6

Coues, Elliot (author), 12–13, 16, 19, 186

Council Bluffs, IA, 111–13, 302, A-1

Council Bluffs Chamber of Commerce, 112

Council Bluffs Parks and Recreation Department, 293, A-1

Council Bluffs Public Library, 293

Council for Indigenous, Relevance, Communication, Leadership, and Excellence (CIRCLE), 313

Council of State Advisors (PA), D-2

Cowlitz Indian Tribe, G-5

Cox, Ellen (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Crabtree, Jim (COSA), D-1

Craig, Larry (U.S. Senator), 142

Crimson Bluffs (MT), J-3

Crisler, Jonathan (Kevin) (Park Ranger [Outdoor Recreation], Lewis and Clark NHT; Field Manager, NPS Corps II), 205, 206, E-2, E-6

Cross Ranch State Park (ND), A-5

Crow Agency, MT, 227, F-5

Crow Nation, 157, 224, G-3

Crow Flies High State Historic Monument (ND), A-5

Crown Zellerbach Corporation, 27, 89

Currents of Change (signature event), 225, F-2

Curry, Richard C. (NPS Associate Director for Legislation), 56

Custer Battlefield National Monument. *See* Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument

Cut Bank, MT, 301, B-2

D

Dahlquist, David (consultant), 281

Dakota Tribe, 130

dams: and flooding, 293–94; and flooding of Lewis and Clark's water routes, 25–26, 34, 181; impacts on American Indian Tribes, 145; as impediments to Lewis and Clark NHT, 43, 49, 56, 62, 76, 79, 279; and Wild and Scenic Rivers, 68; mentioned, 32

Daniels, Rachel (Lantz) (Cartographic Technician; Natural Resources Program Manager, Lewis and Clark NHT), 275–76, 292, 299, E-4

Danielson, Ashley (VIP Coordinator, Lewis and Clark NHT), 281, E-5

Darling, Jay Norwood "Ding", 3, 31, 35–38. *See also* J. N. "Ding" Darling Foundation

Darling Foundation. *See* J. N. "Ding" Darling Foundation

Daugherty, Kenneth (COTA), G-4

Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), 18–19, 21, 311

Davis, Hasan (reenactor), 225

Dayton, OH, 18

Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park, 271

Dayton, WA, F-5

DeCarlo, Karissa (Interpretive Ranger/Special Assistant, Lewis and Clark NHT; Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-3, E-6

Decatur, NE, A-3

Decision Point (MT), J-2

Decker, Clarence H. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1

Denver Service Center (DSC), 72–76, 282, 294

Department of Natural Resources (IN), A-2

Descent Trail, 282

Destination – The Pacific (signature event), 204, F-1

DeVoto, Bernard (historian), 25, 40, 76

Dick, David (Challenge Cost Share Program Support Assistant, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Dietze, Heidi (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Dillewaard, Eleanora J. S. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

Dillon, MT, F-4

Director's Order on the National Trails System, 276

Discovery Center (MO), 174

Discovery Channel, 233

Discovery Expedition of St. Charles, 211, 222, 223, 228, 235, 292

Dismal Nitch (WA), 120, J-4

Doney, Honorable Julia, G-3

Donnelly, Linda (Interpretive Ranger [Nebraska City], Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Dorgan, Byron L. (U.S. Senator), 142

Dority, Joyce (COSA), D-1, D-2

Double Ditch (ND), J-2

Double Ditch Indian Villages Historic Site (ND), A-5

Dougan, Jim (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Douglas County, NE, A-2

Drewyers River, Lyons Ferry State Park (WA), A-9

Drury Inn (MO), A-4

Drury Inn, Inc., A-4

Ducks Unlimited, 174

Duncan, Dayton (filmmaker, historian), 141–42, 222

Dunning, J. L. (MWRO Director): completes Lewis and Clark NHT CMP, 74–75, 81–83, 85; coordinates with partners, 87, 88, 89, 90–92; serves as chair of Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council, 98

Dupayer, MT, B-2

Durkee, Betty (COTA), G-4

Dvorak, Brenda Hall (COTA), G-4

Dworshak, Henry (U.S. Senator), 33

Dye, Eva Emery (author), 19, 20

Dygert, Beverly (Legacy Transportation Corps II Staff), E-7

E

Eads Bridge (MO, IL), 123

Eagle Butte, SD, 122, 226, F-4

Eagle Elk, Staci (COTA), G-4

East Alton, IL, B-1

Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, 222, G-4

Easton, Gary (JNEM Superintendent), 181–82

Ecklund, Victor (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1

Eckman, Mark (COSA), D-1, D-2

Ecola Creek/Cannon Beach (OR), J-4

Eddie Bauer, 194

Eder, Jeanne (Dakota Tribe), 130, 131, 136

Edmunds, Paul C. (U.S. Representative), 21

Egan, Timothy (*New York Times*), 141

Eiken, Doug (COSA), D-2

Eisenhower, Dwight D. (U.S. President), 33, 36, 120

El Camino Real (CA), 50

Elk, Mary (Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation), 222

Elk Point, SD, 174, 175

Elk Point City Park, 175

Elkinton, Steve (NTS Program Leader), 100, 115, 273, 294

Ellis, Leroy (COTA), G-4

Emerson, Jo Ann (U.S. Representative), 261

Emmons County, ND, A-6

Emmons County Park Board, A-6

Encyclopedia Britannica, 28

Engler, Mark (Interim Corps II Superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT), 133, 152, 183, 194, E-1

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 200

Enyart, Chief Charles (COTA), G-4

Eppler, Rebecca (COTA), G-5

Ergle, Mary Ellen (Interpretive Specialist [Great Falls, MT], Lewis and Clark NHT; Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-4, E-6

Ernst, Roger (U.S. Secretary of the Interior), 32

Evans, Stanley (Bicentennial Council), 135

Evans, Steven R. (author), 313

expansion: Lewis and Clark Expedition as impetus for, 3, 7, 9–11, 12, 15–16, 19, 23, 29, 112, 311; memorialized, 33

Expedition's Departure: Camp River DuBois (signature event), F-1

Explore! The Big Sky (signature event), 224, F-1

Explorers at the Marias Statue (MT), A-4

Explorers at Portage Statue, Broadwater Overlook Park (MT), A-4

F

F. L. Schlagle Library (KS), A-3

Fagergren, Fred (NPS Midwest Regional Director), 26

Falcon, Delmar (COTA), G-4

Falls of the Ohio (signature event), 222, F-1

Falls of the Ohio Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Committee, D-1

Falls of the Ohio State Park (IN), 268, A-2

Farm Island Recreation Area (SD), A-7

Farrand, Bill (MWRO), 72, 75–76, 80–83, 85, 97

Federal Aid Highway Act, 43

Federal Highway Administration (FHWA), 146, 149

Federal Interagency Council on Trails, 268, 310

Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group (Federal Interagency Working Group). *See* Lewis and Clark Bicentennial: Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group (Federal Interagency Working Group)

Federal Register, 85–86

Federal Works Agency (FWA), 44

Fegergren, Daniel (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Fichtler, Richard (Bureau of Land Management), 148, E-7

Filson Club Historical Society, The, D-1, D-2

Filson Historical Society (KY), A-3

Filson Historical Society, A-3

Finch, Jeremy (COTA), G-4

Finke, Gene (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

First Flag Unfurling Site (ID), J-3

First Tribal Council (signature event), F-1

Fisher, Sherry (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), 35–36, 39, 69, B-1

Florida, 50, 183

Floyd, Sergeant Charles (Corps of Discovery), 12, 13

Floyd Memorial Association, 13–14

Fontenelle Forest (NE), A-3

Fontenelle Forest Nature Association, A-3

Foote, John (landowner), 115–16

Forbes, Byrony (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4

Forrest, Stephen (LCTHF Executive Director), 265

Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park (ND), A-5

Fort Atkinson (NE), 18, J-1

Fort Atkinson State Historical Park (NE), A-2

Fort Belknap Indian Community, 215

Fort Belle Fontaine (MO), J-1

Fort Belle Fontaine County Park (MO), A-4

Ft. Benton, MT, 49, 83, 224, A-4, B-1, F-1, F-4

Fort Berthold, MT, 222, F-2

Fort Berthold Indian Reservation (MT), 156, 159, 225

Fort Buford State Historic Site (ND), A-5

Fort Calhoun, NE, 18, A-2, F-1

Fort Clark State Historic Site (ND), A-5

Fort Clatsop: Fort to Sea Trail, 122; replica in Oregon, 27, 120, 121, 122; replica in St. Louis, 14

Fort Clatsop (OR), 120, J-4

Fort Clatsop National Historic Site (OR), 89

Fort Clatsop National Memorial: established, 33, 69, 120; legislation regarding, 54, 260; and Lewis and Clark NHT, 37; mentioned, 133. *See also* Lewis and Clark National Historical Park

Fort Kaskaskia (IL), A-2

Ft. Leavenworth, KS, 125, 131, 223, F-1

Fort Leavenworth Frontier Army Museum (KS), 125

Ft. Mandan (ND), 113–14, A-5, J-2

Fort Mandan Overlook State Historic Site (ND), A-5

Fort Osage (MO), 223, A-3, F-3, J-1

Fort Peck, MT, F-4

Fort Peck Assiniboine-Sioux Tribe, G-3

Fort Peck Dam (MT), 123

Fort Pierre, SD, A-8, F-4

Fort Rice State Historic Site (ND), A-6

Fort to Sea Trail. *See* Fort Clatsop

Fort Scott National Historic Site (KS), 206, 254

Fort Stevenson State Park (ND), A-6

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (MT), 122

Fort Walla Walla Museum (WA), A-9

France, 222

Freedom Forum, 190

Friends of Pompeys Pillar, 116

Fritz, David (NPS Historian), 75–76

Fritzhuspen, Jan (Iowa State University), 77

Fritzhuspen, Jim (Iowa State University), 77

frontier, 7, 12–14, 29

Fryslie, Alice (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2

G

Galvin, Denis P. (NPS Deputy Director), 112–13

Gardner, Honorable Ray (COTA), G-5

Garfield County, WA, A-9

Garvais, Ronald (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-3

Garvey, Edward B. (American Hiking Society), 63

Gass, Sergeant Patrick (Corps of Discovery), 7, 8, 269

Gates of the Mountains (MT), J-2

Gateway Arch (MO), 33, 34, 123, 225

Gateway Community and Public Land Partnerships, 145

Gatten, Bob (Bicentennial Council), 128–29

Gavin's Point Dam (Missouri River), 25, 68, 123, 124

Genke, Amy J. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

George, William P. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

Gerst, Jim (JNEM Interpreter), 183

Gettysburg, SD, A-8

Giant Springs (MT), J-2

Giant Springs State Park (MT), 117, 118, A-4

Gibbons Pass (MT), J-3

Gilbert, Shannon (BLM Archeologist), 299

Gilbert, Tom (Superintendent, Ice Age and North Country National Scenic Trails and Lewis and Clark NHT): and American Indian relations, 132; attends Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council meeting, 97; completes Lewis and Clark NHT CMP, 80–83, 85; coordinates with partners, 87, 89, 93, 124; involved in land acquisition, 115–16; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 130, 133–34, 180; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 86–87, 113, 294; manages segment and site certifications, 94–95; organizes National Conference on National Scenic and National Historic Trails, 100; participates in Bicentennial Committee, 128, 151; pictured, 101; mentioned, E-1

Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 308

Gipp, David (President, United Tribes Technical College), 229

Given, David N. (Deputy Regional Director, MWRO), E-8

Gladstone, Gail (Cultural Resources Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 275, 276, 299, E-4

Gladstone, Jack (Blackfeet), 227

Glasgow, MT, F-4

Glore Psychiatric Museum (MO), A-4

Goering, Karen (Missouri Historical Society; Bicentennial Council): and Bicentennial Council, 194, 195, 236, 306; and Corps II, 188; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 144, 181, 247; and LCTHF, 306; pictured, 164, 194

Goldendale, WA, A-9

Gorski, Margaret J. (U.S. Forest Service), 147, 265, 305, 306, 314, E-7

Gould, Justin (COTA), G-2

Graham, Keena N. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

Grand Ronde, OR, F-5

Granger Park (ND), A-6

Grassley, Chuck (U.S. Senator), 111–13

Gray, Jim (Osage Nation), 194

Gray, Ralph (author), 24–25

Great Britain, 7

Great Depression, 22

Great Falls, MT: American Indian listening session held in, 153, 155; LCTHF headquarters in, 137, 234, 309; signature event in, 224; visitor center in, 117–20, 150; mentioned, 1, 2, 21, 27, 246, 269, 304–5, A-4, F-1, F-4

Great Falls Lower Portage (MT), J-2

Great Falls Park and Recreation Department, A-4

Great Falls Portage National Historic Landmark, 279, 280

Great Falls Shipping Association, 119

Great Falls Upper Portage (MT), J-2

Great Northern Railway, 21, 23

Greater Clarkston (WA) Association, 26–27

Green, Edmore (COTA), G-2

Green Mountain Horse Association, 48

Greene, Ethel (COTA), G-2

Greene, Gary (COTA), G-2

Gregory, Curtis (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Griebel, Lisa (Perveneckis) (Lead Park Guide [Park Ranger], Lewis and Clark NHT), 256, E-3

Griffen, Miki. *See* Keck, Miki

Gros Ventre & Assiniboine Tribes, 205, 214, 215, G-3

Gross, Ehren L. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

Gucciardo, Suzanne (Natural Resource Specialist/Biologist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 254, E-3

Guillory, Jeff (Nez Perce), 247

Gunnison, CO, 195

H

Halfmoon, W. Otis (American Indian Liaison, Lewis and Clark NHT), 154, 166–67, 168, 197, 240, 248, 313, E-1

Hall, Brian (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Hall, Ed (BIA), 153, 162, 163, 229, 230, 242, 246–47, 313

Hall, Tex (President of the National Congress of American Indians), 143, 159

Hamburg, IA, A-2

Hamilton, MT, F-5

Hamilton-Anderson, Jill (Education Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 256, 285, 287, E-3

Hanson, Craig (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Harkin, Tom (U.S. Senator), 111–13

Harpers Ferry, WV, 203, F-2

Harpers Ferry Center (HFC), 87, 196, 197, 199, 234, 288–89

Harrabin, Randy (Interpretive Ranger [Nebraska City], Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Harrington, NE, B-1

Harrison County Conservation Board, A-1

Hartford, IL, 232, F-1, F-3

Hartland, WI, 100

Haskell Indian Nations University, 244

Hat Rock (OR), J-4

Hatch, Orrin (U.S. Senator), 59

Havens, Rebecca A. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), 205, E-6

Hayden, Ferdinand V. (geographer), 12

Hayne, Jack (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2

Haynes, Betsy (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Haynes, Michael (artist), 208, 209

Hazen, ND, F-4

Heart of America: A Journey Fourth (signature event), 223, F-1

Heavy Runner, George (COTA Leadership Committee), G-1, G-3

Helena, MT, 1, 2, 21, 26, 27, 81, F-4

Helm, Linda (Environmental Protection Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 276, E-5

Henderson, KY, F-3

Hennessy, Phil (Park Guide, temporary, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-3

Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 65, 72, 80
Heritage Resource Center (WA), D-2
Hess, Nathan (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-5
Heupel, Laurie (Interpretive Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 119, 150, 233–34, 269, E-1
Hevewah, Hobby (COTA), G-2
Hewlett Foundation. *See* William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
Hickel, Walter (U.S. Secretary of the Interior), 100
High Eagle, Carla (COTA), G-2
Highway 30 (OR), 24
Highwood Generation Station, 279
Hill, Rick (U.S. Representative), 142
Hill, Warren (Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways), 133
Historic Locust Grove (KY), A-3
Historic Locust Grove, Inc., A-3
History Channel, 233
Hjelle, Walter (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1
Hoch, Daniel (U.S. Representative), 44
Hoch, Nancy (tourism booster), 107, 108
Holmberg, Jim (COSA), 296, D-1
Home of Sakakawea (signature event), 225, F-2
Homestead National Monument of America, 151, 184
Hoppe, Nancy M. (Supervisory Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6
Howell, Chris (COTA Leadership Committee), 164, 165, 264, 265, 305, 308, 315, G-1
Hubbard, Harry (Bicentennial Council), 128–29, 130, 136, 179–80
Hudson's Bay Company, 10
Huff Warner Access (IA), A-1
Huntingdon, PA, 213, F-2
Huntington, VA, F-2
Hurst, Marilyn (COSA), D-1
Hyperion Energy Center, 277–78

I

I-29 Rest Area (SD), A-8

I-90 Rest Area Interpretive Sign (SD), A-8

I-94 Mandan Scenic Overlook (ND), A-6

Ice Age National Scenic Trail (WI), 86, 87, 151–52, E-1

Ice Age Park and Trail Foundation, 100

Idaho: Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; highway construction in, 23, 24, 49; interpretation in, 122; Lewis and Clark Trail in, 48; Lolo Trail in, 80; monuments in, 33; state commemorations of Lewis and Clark Expedition, 26; mentioned, 41, 55, 58, 73

Idaho Governor's Lewis & Clark Trail Committee, D-1

Idaho Historical Society, 88

Iditarod Trail (AK), 61, 63, 66, 68

Illinois: builds interpretive center, 104–5; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; Corps II in, 226; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; land exchange with, 105–6; mentioned, 39, 60, 123

Illinois Division of Tourism, D-1

Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, 105, A-2

Illinois Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission, D-1

Ilwaco, WA, A-9

Ilwaco Heritage Foundation, A-9

Ilwaco Heritage Museum (WA), A-9

Independence, MO, 1, 125, A-3

Indian Country Today, 228

Indian Hills Recreation Area (ND), A-6

Indian Post Office (ID), 33

Indiana, 176, 226, A-2

Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (IN), 73

Indianapolis, IN, F-2

Inglebret, Ella (Washington State University), 287, 288

Interagency Trail Task Force, 100

Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA), 114

Institute of Museum and Library Services, 149, 239

Intermountain Regional Office, 279, 282

International Trails Symposium, 310

interpretation: of Corps of Discovery, 78, 120, 121, 122–23, 184, 219, 257, 269; and Corps II, 165, 182, 184, 187, 201, 203, 212–14, 218–19; development of, 88; discussed with American Indian Tribes, 153; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 133, 148, 170, 174, 177, 180, 234–35; of Lewis

and Clark Expedition, 58, 212, 219, 295; at Lewis and Clark NHT, 125, 170, 233–34, 249, 250, 255, 265, 285, 286–87, 288–89, 291, 292, 310, 312; at MWRO headquarters, 119, 125, 258; by partners, 79, 91, 92, 123, 175, 307; publications, 288–89; role of visitor centers in, 103, 112–13; at signature events, 221; themes, 80, 94, 284; waysides, 269–70

Ionia Volcano (NE), J-2

Iowa: Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; Corps II in, 226; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; state legislators support visitor center, 112; tourism in, 290; visitor center in, 111–13; mentioned, 39, 55, 258

Iowa Conservation Commission, 35, A-1

Iowa Department of Natural Resources, A-1, A-2

Iowa Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Committee, D-1, D-2

Iowa State Historical Society, 113, A-1

Iowa State University (IA), 77, 79

Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, G-2

Irrigon, OR, A-7

Irrigon Marina Park (OR), A-7

Irrigon Park and Recreation District, A-7

Issaquah, WA, B-1

Iyall, Mike (COTA), G-5

Iyall, William (COTA), G-5

Izaak Walton League, 35, 47

J

J. N. "Ding" Darling Foundation, 31, 36, 38–39, 41, 52, 69

Jackson, Dan (Cultural Resources Program Manager, Lewis and Clark NHT), 1, 276, 299, 300, E-5

Jackson, Henry Martin "Scoop" (U.S. Senator), 32, 47, 49, 50, 52

Jackson County, MO, A-3

Jackson County Parks & Recreation Department, A-3

Janklow, William J. (Governor of Idaho), 88

Japan, 15

Jarvis, Jonathan (NPS Director), 274

Jefferson, Thomas (U.S. President), 2, 7, 10, 207, 244, 261

Jefferson City, MO, 81, B-1, F-3

Jefferson Foundation, 304

Jefferson National Expansion Historical Association (JNEHA), 134

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (JNEM) (MO): established, 33; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 133, 134, 244; and Lewis and Clark NHT, 55, 122; proposes Corps II ideas, 181–85; signature event at, 225; mentioned, J-1

Jefferson's West (signature event), 196–97, 221–22, F-1

Jenkins, Chip (Superintendent, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park), 121

Jensen, Ben (U.S. Representative), 38

Joachim, Larry (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1

Johnson, Honorable Gary (COTA), G-5

Johnson, James P. (U.S. Representative), 59, 60, 63

Johnson, Lyndon B. (U.S. President), 3, 31, 39, 45, 51, 69

Jones, Patricia (Chief of Interpretation and Resources Management, Corps II, Lewis and Clark NHT; Field Manager, NPS Corps II): and Corps II, 203, 204, 205, 212–13, 218–19, 227, 233, 247; hired, 203; leaves Corps II, 206; and Lewis and Clark NHT, 250, 313; pictured, 171, 203; mentioned, E-2, E-6

Jones, Thom (COSA), D-2

Jordan, Dan (Jefferson Foundation), 304

Jordan, Len. B. (U.S. Senator), 50, 52

Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. (editor), 313

Junction City, SD, A-8

K

Kamiah, ID, F-5

Kansas, 176, 226, 269, 300

Kansas City, KS, A-3, F-3

Kansas City, MO, 1, 2, 223, F-1

Kansas City Star, 233

Kansas Historical Society, B-1

Kansas Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Committee, 175, D-1, D-2

Kasper, Warren E. (Supervisory Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6

Katy Trail State Park (MO), A-4

Kaw Nation, G-4

Kaye, Ted (COSA), D-1

Keck, Miki (Griffen) (Trail Secretary; Chief of Business Services, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4

Keith, James P. (COSA), D-1

Kennedy, John F. (U.S. President), 37, 69

Kentucky, 176, 226, A-3
Kentucky State Parks, A-3
Keo, Honorable Sandra (COTA), G-2
Kephart, Ryan (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-5
Kerrey, Bob (U.S. Senator), 107
Keystone XL Pipeline, 277
Khan, Kristin (Business Services Associate, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-5
Kickapoo Nation of Oklahoma, 222
Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas, G-2
Kimball Bottoms (ND), A-6
Kinman, Davin (Student Conservation Association Staff), E-8
Kirst, Megan (Legacy Transportation Corps II Staff), E-7
Klickitat County, WA, A-9
Knapp, Stu (Bicentennial Council), 128–29
Knerl, Phil F. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1
Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (ND), 122, 133, 152, 153, 162, 244, J-2
Knight, Edna (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2
Knights of Aksarben, 19
Kubick, Barbara (LCTHF Interim Executive Director), 93
Kuralt, Charles (journalist), 136
Kyl, John (U.S. Representative; Assistant Secretary of the Interior), 38, 48, 52, 55

L

LaBonte, Elaine (COTA), G-5
LaCounte, Cynthia (COTA), G-4
Ladue, MO, B-2
Lake Roosevelt, 78
Lakewood, CO, 282
Lakota, 229
Lakomy, Judith A. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-6
land acquisition: authorities increased, 64; completed, 104; feasibility of, 76; limited, 65, 67, 81–82; planning, 99; prohibited, 63, 68, 99; restrictions on use of funds for, 68; segmented, 61. *See also* Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail: land acquisition
Land and Water Conservation Fund, 63

Lane, Kenneth (Iowa State University), 77, 79–80

Lange, Robert (historian), 76

Langeliers Bay Recreation Area (ND), A-6

Lantz, Rachel. *See* Daniels, Rachel

Lapwai, ID, 154, F-1

Lassiter, Charles E., Jr. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-7

Latschar, John (NPS Historian), 75

Lawrence, KS, 244

Leary Site (NE), J-1

Leavenworth, KS, A-3

Lee, Jan (Administrative Assistant, Lewis and Clark NHT), 87, E-1

Legacy Transportation Services, 199, 200, 209, 226

Lemhi Pass (MT, ID), 34, 123, 278, J-3

Lemhi Shoshone, 164

Lenexa, KS, 1, 2

Lepley, John G. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1

Les and Shirley Park (OR), A-7

Lewis, Captain Meriwether (Corps of Discovery): American Indian perspective on, 137, 160; death of, 308; exploration by, 10; focus on, 186; highways named after, 23; interest in, 7, 8, 140, 151, 154; joined by Clark, 222; journals of, 7, 13, 25; portrait, 9; report to President Thomas Jefferson, 244; selected for expedition, 2; tribes documented by, 162, 164; mentioned, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 84, 92, 121, 128, 241, 266, 311, 314, 315

Lewis, Wallace G. (historian), 22

Lewis and Clark Bicentennial: American Indian participation in, 122, 127, 129, 130–31, 132, 135–37, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151–64, 167, 174–75, 177, 237, 239, 244, 246–48, 259, 288, 312–13; Bicentennial Council, 88, 93, 127–31, 135–40, 142, 143, 144, 146, 149, 150, 153, 157, 162, 163, 164, 170, 174, 175, 177, 179, 181, 184, 189–90, 191, 192–96, 199, 200, 207, 217, 225, 228, 236–38, 239, 240, 242, 243, 245, 260, 262, 306, 311; changes after, 261, 263, 271, 285, 313; Congressional appropriations for, 141, 169; documents from, 285; Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group (Federal Interagency Working Group), 145–50, 183, 239, 246, 261; funding for, 124, 127, 138, 139–40, 141, 143, 144, 150, 251, 254, 260; interpretation during, 133, 148, 170, 174, 177, 179, 234–35; literary outcomes, I-1–I-2; and partnerships, 127, 226, 236, 289, 306; planning, 127–77; questions regarding, 133; reenactments during, 109; resources stewardship during, 177; state bicentennial commissions, 139, 171, 174, 191, 200, 216, 217, 226, 270, D-1, D-2; support for Eastern Legacy Extension during, 260; tourism during, 128, 129, 141, 144, 149, 177, 269, 270; mentioned, 1, 6, 29, 94, 103, 106, 120, 122, 123, 264, 272, 311–12. *See also* Corps of Discovery II (Corps II)

Lewis & Clark Bicentennial in Oregon (LCBO), 224, D-1, D-2

Lewis and Clark Camp at Slaughter River (MT), J-2

Lewis and Clark Campsite Roadside Marker (WA), A-9

Lewis and Clark Campsite Roadside Marker, Fort Columbia State Park (WA), A-9

Lewis and Clark Cavern (MT), 23

Lewis and Clark Centennial, 7, 14–19, 21, 29, 311

Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition (1905 World's Fair), 14, 15–16, 17, 20

Lewis and Clark Center, The (MO), A-3

Lewis and Clark College (Portland OR), 41

Lewis and Clark Expedition: association with territorial expansion, 9–11, 15, 16; commemoration of, 11, 13, 14–19, 21, 28, 41, 130, 142, 181, 311; death during, 13; educational materials related to, 171; experts on, 129, 133; interactions with American Indian Tribes, 315; interpretation of, 58, 212, 219, 295; journals of, 7–8, 10–11, 12–13, 25, 40, 76, 150, 231; marking sites along, 18, 22; members of, 222; perspectives on, 186, 188; public interest in, 13, 14–19, 295; publication of written materials from, 7–8; resources related to, 276; route of, 4, 5, 22, 25, 26, 47, 57, 59, 75–76, 106, 117, 125, 132, 165, 207, 221, 268, 269, 282, 296–97; scholarship regarding, 8, 12–13, 16–17, 40, 140–42, 150; scientific findings of, 284; tourway following, 24; and trade routes, 3

Lewis and Clark Expedition Roadside Marker, Alowai Summit (WA), A-9

Lewis & Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, 113–14, 137, 224

Lewis and Clark Herbarium, The (PA), A-7

Lewis and Clark Honor Guard, 188

Lewis and Clark Highway, 24, 48, 49, 85, 124

Lewis and Clark Historic Park at Kaw Point (KS), A-3

Lewis and Clark Historical Marker (SD), A-8

Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center (SD), 113–14, A-8

Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center, Fort Canby State Park (WA), A-9

Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Fund, Inc., 118–19

Lewis and Clark Memorial Association (Lewiston, ID), 22

Lewis and Clark Memorial Park (Ft. Mandan) (ND), A-5

Lewis and Clark Monument (IA), A-1

Lewis and Clark National Forest (MT), 117

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (NHT): administration of, 166; administrative history, 1; and American Indian relations, 4–5, 151, 154, 156, 250, 251, 266, 270, 295, 309–10, 312–13; and Bicentennial Council, 193; bills to establish, 59–60, 274; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grant funds, 165, 169–77, 191, 192, 249, 261, 262–63, 264, 270, 286, 303; collections of, 284–85; Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP), 71, 72, 73–86, 87, 92, 94, 98, 113, 124, 249, 260, 268, 294–95, 295, 298–99; Core Operations Analysis (COA), 249, 250, 251, 254, 270, 271, 281; Corps II, *see* Corps of Discovery II; creation of, 3–4, 31, 53–69, 71, 73, 311; description, 4–6;

development, 71–102; Eastern Legacy Extension, 260–61, 296–97, 309; and flooding, 293–94; Foundation Document, 4–6, 282, 295–96; funding for, 73–75, 124, 127, 144, 171, 181, 199, 202, 249, 254, 287, 312; geographic location, 57–58, 176–77, 294; High Potential Historic Sites, 298–301; and highways, 42, 63; information about located at Western Historic Trails Center, 113; Integrated Resources Stewardship Division, 251–55, 271, 275–85, 299, 307, 309; interest in, 142; interpretation by, 125, 170, 233–34, 249, 250, 255, 265, 285, 286–87, 288–89, 291, 310, 312; Interpretation, Education, and Volunteer Services Division, 251, 255–56, 271, 285–91; Junior Ranger program, 234, 289; land acquisition, 68, 81–82, 99, 103, 108, 115–16; land exchange, 106; land managed by other agencies, 148; land ownership, 104–5, 108, 110; land transfer, 110; leadership of, 184, 185, 271–72; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 133, 137, 143, 144, 242, 266, 315; Lewis and Clark National Historic Landmark theme study, 260; mapping by, 284; managed by Midwest Regional Office, 71–72; markers/signs, 82, 84–85, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 104, 124, 170, 171, 250, 269, 281, 304, 311; and Missouri River as a Wild and Scenic River, 68; Partner Support Program (PSP) grants, 303–4; partnerships, 4, 5, 6, 39, 85, 87–96, 102, 103, 122–24, 145–40, 165, 174, 179, 181, 201, 205, 249, 250, 255, 261–70, 271, 290, 292–93, 296, 297, 303–4, 305, 308–9, 310, 312, 313, 315; planning, 294–303; proposed, 35–38, 59; protection of sites and resources, 3, 4, 6, 31, 33–39, 41, 42, 56, 75, 79, 82, 116, 146, 169, 250, 276–80, 284; provides funding to visitor centers, 111; Recreation Resource Study, 77–80; reviews applications for signature events, 191; segment and site certification, 83–85, 87, 91, 92, 94–96, 99, 104, 250, 261, 268–69, 270, 307, 311; staff, 86–87, 113, 119, 124, 151, 152, 157, 165, 169, 179, 183, 187, 189, 191, 197, 201, 202–4, 241, 242, 246, 272, 273, 282, 286, 315, E-1–E-8; structure of, 165; study of directed, 47, 55–58; support for, 37, 53, 58, 63, 69; visitor centers, 103–25, 171; volunteers at, 207, 255; wayshowing, 281–82; works with USACE, 79; mentioned, 51, 60, 64–65, 188, 220

Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council: coordination with, 72, 82; disintegration, 99–100; established, 71, 96; funding for addressed, 85; membership, B-1–B-2

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Headquarters and Visitor Center (NE): exhibits for, 205, 255, 257; and flooding, 293–94; as Lewis and Clark NHT headquarters, 256–59, 289, 291; pictured, 259; as reception point for MWRO, 292

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center (MT), 117–20

Lewis and Clark National Historical Park (OR), 120–22, 266, 309

Lewis and Clark National Historical Park Act, 120–21, 260

Lewis and Clark National Tourway, 24, 31–33, 50, 69

Lewis and Clark Quasquicentennial, 22

Lewis and Clark Recreation Area (SD), A-7

Lewis and Clark Rediscovery Project, 228

Lewis and Clark River, 10

Lewis and Clark Roadside Marker, near Clarkston (WA), A-9

Lewis and Clark Sesquicentennial, 7, 26–28, 29, 33, 311

Lewis and Clark Sign Corral (KS), A-3

Lewis and Clark Society of America, 104

Lewis & Clark State Historic Site (IL), 104–7

Lewis and Clark State Memorial (IL), A-2

Lewis and Clark State Memorial Park (IL), 79

Lewis and Clark State Park (IA), A-1

Lewis and Clark State Park (ND), A-5

Lewis and Clark State Park (OR), A-7

Lewis & Clark State Wildlife Area (ND), A-6

Lewis and Clark Teacher Seminar, 308

Lewis and Clark Tourway. *See* Lewis and Clark National Tourway

Lewis and Clark Trail. *See* Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail

Lewis and Clark Trail Collaboration, 261

Lewis and Clark Trail Commission: disbands, 53, 54, 69; established, 31, 38–43, 48, 69, 311; establishes Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 53; signs, 84–85, 281; state committees under, 87, 88, 90; supports Lewis and Clark Trail as part of National Trails System, 49; mentioned, 50, 139

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF): and American Indian relations, 132, 263, 265; annual meeting, 98, 99; assists with planning for Lewis and Clark NHT, 260; attends American Indian listening sessions, 153; and Bicentennial Council, 130, 137, 237; and Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants, 174, 261, 262, 265, 271; and Circle of Tribal Advisors, 195; chapters, 117, 118, 260, 269, 297, 305, 307; Congressional support for, 142; and Corps II, 179, 243; creates brochure with MWRO, 99; donations for, 140; established, 53, 311; and flooding, 293–94; fundraising by, 93, 238, 251, 263, 304, 305; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; internal issues, 304–7; interpretation by, 92, 94, 307; inventory of historic and contemporary sites, 92; and land acquisition, 116, 275; leadership of, 90, 162, 306, 314; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 127–31, 133, 137, 142, 163, 177, 179–80, 236, 237, 263, 306; Lewis and Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment (LCTSE), 306, 307; markers/signs, 270, 307, 311; membership, 129, 220, 263; and NPS Centennial, 302; participates in Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council, 96, 97; participates in segment and site certification, 92, 311; partnership with Lewis and Clark NHT, 56, 81, 87, 88, 91–94, 99, 102, 202, 257, 263, 282, 305, 312, 314; promotes Lewis and Clark Trail, 53–54, 55, 63, 85–86, 92; protects sites, 94, 116–17, 307; supports visitor center construction, 117; trail stewardship, 228, 238, 304, 306, 307; and volunteers, 263; mentioned, 1, 104, 119, 161, B-1, B-2

Lewis and Clark Trail State Park (WA), A-8

Lewis and Clark Travois Road (WA), J-3

Lewis and Clark Trust, 282, 297, 300, 302, 305, 308–9, 312

Lewis and Clark Walkway and Plant Garden (MT), A-5

Lewiston, ID: American Indian listening session held in, 153; American Indian meeting held in, 160–61, 162; Corps II event in, 212; pageant in, 27; signature event in, 225; mentioned, 22, F-1, F-5

Lighthouse Restaurant and Campground (IA), A-1

Lightfoot, Jim (U.S. Representative), 111–12

Lighton, Thomas (author), 16

Lily Park (SD), A-8

Lincoln, MT, F-5

Lincoln, NE, 18

Lincoln Bicentennial Committee, 244

Lions Club, 24, 27, 28

Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument (MT), 133, 135, 156–58

Little, Matt (Student Conservation Association Staff), E-8

Little Shell Band of Chippewa Indians of Montana, G-3

Little Sioux Delta Access (IA), A-1

Litton, Tom (Park Guide Student Trainee, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-5

Long Beach, WA, F-1, F-5

Lolo, MT, F-5

Lolo Motorway (ID, MT), 23

Lolo National Forest (MT), 33

Lolo Pass (ID, MT) 24, 41, 48, 49, 154, 284, 307

Lolo Trail (ID, MT), 34, 80, 124

Lolo Trail System Action Plan, 124

Looking Horse, Chief Arvol (Nineteenth Generation Keeper of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe), 229

Louisiana Purchase, 18, 21, 133, 196, 222, 283

Louisiana Purchase Exposition (1904 World's Fair), 14, 17

Louisville, KY, 154, 222, 228, A-3, F-1, F-3

Lower Brule Sioux Reservation (SD), 174

Lugthart, Kim (University of Montana), 241

Lynchburg, VA, F-2

M

McBryant, Carol (Logistics Planner; Chief, Interpretation, Education, and Volunteer Services, Lewis and Clark NHT; Chief of Logistics, NPS Corps II): and American Indian relationships, 217; and Corps II, 189, 196, 200, 202–3, 204, 216, 218, 227; at Lewis and Clark NHT, 255, 256, 257, 258, 285, 286–87, 313; pictured, 189; transfers to Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Headquarters and Visitor Center, 205, 206; mentioned, E-1, E-7

McCarthy, John (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

McCormick, Brian, 225

McCreight, James L. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2
McElwain, Joseph A. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1
McHenry, Nichole (VIP Coordinator, Lewis and Clark NHT), 256, 285, 290, E-3
M'Keehan, David (publisher), 7
Mackenzie, Alexander (explorer), 13
McKenzie County, ND, A-5, A-6
McKenzie County Board, A-6
McLean County, ND, A-5, A-6
McLean County Historical Society, 113–14, A-5
Macy, NE, F-4
Madison, WI, 86, 87, 151
Madison County Board, A-5
Madison County Lewis and Clark Park (MT), A-5
Magnuson, Warren (U.S. Senator), 32
Mahawaha Interpretive Sign (ND), A-7
Mainella, Fran P. (Director, NPS), 222, E-8
Malatare, Lewis W., Sr. (COTA), G-6
Mallory, Jim (LCTHF President), 265, 297, 304, 305, 308, 309
Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation, 135, 143, 144, 153, 156, 159, 162, 216, 222, 224, 225, G-4
Mandaree Tribal Community, 216
Manifest Destiny. *See* expansion
Manitou Creek at Manitou Bluffs (MO), J-1
Manson, Craig (Assistant Secretary of the Interior), 168
Mar, Alvis (Interpretive Ranger, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2
Marlenee, Ron (U.S. Representative), 117–18, 119
Martin, Darrell (Assistant American Indian Liaison, Lewis and Clark NHT; COTA), 168, 205, E-2, E-8, G-3
Maryhill Museum (WA), A-9
Masica, Sue (NPS), 109–10
Matootnha Interpretive Sign (ND), A-7
Mattison, Ray H. (historian), 34
Maysville, KY, F-3

Meadows, Sammye (LCTHF Executive Director): and COTA, 162, 195, 221, 229, 239, 242, 245; hired, 93; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 153–54, 246, 247; pictured, 242; recalls American Indian meeting, 161

Meeker, Ezra (pioneer), 22

Melcher, John (U.S. Senator), 117–18

Men's Garden Club, 35

Mendoza, Rachel. *See* Brockway, Rachel

Meninick, Honorable Jerry (COTA), G-6

Mentz, Allard Tim, Sr. (COTA), G-4

Mercer County, ND, A-5, A-7

Mexico City, 132

Middle Missouri River Lewis and Clark Network, 283

Middle Village - Station Camp (WA), J-4

Midwest Archeological Center, 152, 285

Midwest Regional Office (MWRO): Carl T. Curtis Midwest Regional Headquarter Building, 123, 201, 205, 255, 256, 257, 258, 292, 293; and Corps II, 181, 184, 185, 200, 209; defines geographical location of Lewis and Clark NHT, 75–76; development of Lewis and Clark NHT, 73–75, 86; and Eastern Legacy Extension, 297; and flooding, 293–94; Ford Warehouse Building, 201, 257; interpretation by, 119, 125, 258; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 132–33, 144; Lewis and Clark NHT co-located with, 254; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 71–72, 80, 87, 92–94, 99–100, 102, 105, 151, 182, 260, 293, 294, 295, 296; land acquisition, 115–16; land transfer, 109–10; participates in National Scenic and Historic Trails Policy Task Force, 101; Partner Support Program (PSP) grants, 303; partnerships, 86, 89, 81; provides funding to visitor centers, 111; provides technical assistance to visitor centers, 112; recommend members for Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council, 97; Simon Brothers Building, 201; studies Eastern Legacy Extension, 261; studies visitor center feasibility, 113; mentioned, 1, 2, 82, 87, 96, 97, 106, 110, 124, 133, 251, 256, 259, 267, 271, 276, 279, 285, 308

Miles City, MT, F-6

Milk River Confluence (MT), J-2

Milkweed & Garden Club, 302

Miller, Jack (U.S. Senator), 38–39

Miller, Jefferson L. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2

Miller, LaTonya N. (Public Information Officer, NPS Corps II), E-8

Miller, Robert (COTA), 164, 313, G-4

Minneapolis Star-Tribune, 233

Minnesota, 183, 243

Mississippi River, 2, 49, 123, 296

Missoula, MT, 245, A-5, F-5

Missouri: Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; Corps II in, 226; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; Lewis and Clark signs in, 174; state commemoration of Lewis and Clark Expedition, 23; mentioned, 10, 55

Missouri Department of Natural Resources, A-4

Missouri Headwaters State Park (MT), A-4

Missouri Historical Society: and Corps II, 181, 194, 242; and Bicentennial Council, 195, 236, 238, 245; and LCTHF, 306; museum exhibit hosted by, 228; partnership with Lewis and Clark NHT, 87; mentioned, 188, 193

Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center, St. Louis, MO, 1, 2, 194, 195

Missouri Interpretive Association, 286

Missouri Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commission, D-1, D-2

Missouri National Recreational River (SD, NE), 122, 123, 278, 282

Missouri River: canoe trail on, 89; channels, 283; dams, 25, 34; designated Wild and Scenic River, 68; flooding on, 293–94; fur trade on, 2; historic sites on, 92; interpretation on, 123; Lewis and Clark Expedition on, 26, 78–79, 83; managed by USACE, 79, 123, 184; recreation on, 55; protection of, 35–36; tourway planned to follow, 32; mentioned, 13, 35, 43, 51, 109, 113, 201, 223, 228, 229, 257, 258, 267

Missouri River Bank Stabilization Association (NE), 97

Missouri River Basin Development Program, 25

Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Interpretive Trail and Visitor Center Foundation (MRBLCC Foundation), 108–10

Missouri River Basin Lewis & Clark Visitor Center (NE), 107–11

Missouri River Recovery Implementation Committee, 261

Mitchell, Brayden W. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-7

Mitchell, Cecilia (Interpretive Ranger, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Mitchell, Dr. Rudi (COTA), G-3

Monacan Indian Nation, G-5

Mondale, Walter F. (U.S. Vice President), 58

Monona County Conservation Board, A-1

Montana: allows construction of grain processing facility, 117; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; Corps II in, 227; donates land for visitor center, 118; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; interpretation in, 123; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 141; Lewis and Clark signs in, 174; Lolo Trail in, 80; recreation in, 116; roads in, 22, 23, 24, 32, 48, 49; state commemoration of Lewis and Clark, 21, 26, 27; visitor center in, 117; waysides in, 269, 270, 282; mentioned, 28, 41, 55, 305, 309

Montana Department of Fish Wildlife and Parks, A-4

Montana Department of Transportation, 281–82

Montana Governors Bicentennial Commission, 270

Montana Historical Society, 27

Montana Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission, 139

Montana Power Company, 119, A-4, B-1

Montana State Historical Society Archives, Helena, MT, 1, 2

Montana State Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Committee, 88, D-1, D-2

Montana Tribal Association, 153

Monticello (VA): certified site, 96; signature event at, 221, 239; mentioned, 188, 196, 207, 261, 268, A-8, F-1, F-2. *See also* Jefferson's West (signature event)

Montour, ID, B-2

Montpelier, VA, F-2

Moore, Bob (JNEM Historian), 183

Mora, Abraham (Park Guide Student Trainee, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-5

Morehouse, Stephen (Bureau of Reclamation), 211, 220, E-7

Mormon National Historic Trail (Mormon Pioneer Trail): advisory committee for, 96; appropriations for, 73; bills to establish as a national historic trail, 59, 60–61; Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP), 113; established, 66; information about located at Western Historic Trails Center, 113; issues with designation as a national scenic trail, 57; land acquisition, 68, 83; managed by Rocky Mountain Regional Office, 71–72; recommended as national historic trail, 63; mentioned, 75

Morrell, Jennifer (Park Ranger, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4

Morse, Wayne (U.S. Senator), 33

Morton County, ND, A-5, A-6

Morton County Park Board, A-6

Mossett, Amy (Co-Chair, COTA), 162, 165, 194, 229, 233, G-1, G-4

Moulton, Gary (historian), 112, 149, 150, 296

Mount Rushmore National Memorial (SD), 204, 205

Mountcastle, Jack (COSA), D-1

Mountrail County, ND, A-6

Mountrail County Park Board, A-6

Murray, Nicholas (Park Ranger [SCEP], Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4

Murtishaw, Charlotte (SCA), 303

Museum at Warm Springs (OR), 239

N

NP Dodge Memorial Park (NE), A-2

Natchez Trace Parkway (MS–TN), 308

National Archives and Records Administration, 149, 293

National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, MO, 1, 2

National Archives and Records Administration Federal Records Center, Lenexa, KS, 1, 2

National Congress of American Indians, 143, 159, H-2

national connecting and side trails, 4

National Conference on National Scenic and National Historic Trails, 100

National Council of State Garden Clubs, Inc., 64

National Endowment for the Arts, 149, 239

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), 149, 150

National Environmental Policy Act, 276, 279

National Frontier Trails Center (MO), 125, A-3

National Geographic, 24–25

National Geographic Society, 284

National Historic Landmarks, 3, 40, 280, 283

National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center (OR), 134

National Historic Sites, 3, 33

National Historic Preservation Act, 276, 279, 299

National Historic Trail Preservation Initiative, 310

national historic trails: coordination among, 100–102; defined, 66–67; established, 58–64, 69, 79; funding for, 169, 310, 311, 312; Interagency Trail Task Force, 100; land acquisition on, 275; operational framework, 75, 96, 271, 311; recommended, 57; staffing for, 86; mentioned, 147

national monuments, 3

National Museum of the American Indian (Washington, DC), 287

National Park Foundation, 206, 238

National Park Service (NPS): administers Lewis and Clark NHT, 4, 85; administers national scenic and national historic trails, 86, 98, 273, 274; and American Indian relations, 132, 137, 145, 155, 158, 177, 186, 187, 229, 239, 247, 266, 296, 312, 313, H1–H2; authorized to create recreational areas, 31; authorized to create scenic highways, 31; and Bicentennial Council, 128, 138, 140, 191–92, 193; Centennial, 302–3, 313; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grant funds, 111, 114, 124, 169–77, 239, 242, 247, 261, 262–63, 269; cooperative agreements, 76, 112; Cooperative Ecosystem Study Unit grant, 287; concerns regarding working with, 118; and Corps II, 179, 189, 190, 191–92, 195, 199, 200, 207–8, 210, 213, 215, 216–17, 233, 246; in conflict with Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, 37–38; creates Lewis and Clark NHT, 71, 72; creates National Scenic and Historic

Trails Policy Task Force, 101, 102; and Eastern Legacy Trail Extension, 296, 297, 309; expanded, 66; expansionist, 35, 37; and flooding, 293–94; funding for Lewis and Clark NHT, 127, 202; funding for Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council, 97; funding for visitor centers, 110–11; and High Potential Historic Sites, 299, 302; interpretation by, 120, 121, 269; interpretive specialist at non-NPS visitor center, 119, 123, 150; investigates fire at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park, 122; land acquisition, 104, 107, 108, 115–16, 124; land exchange, 105; land ownership, 109, 110; land transfer, 110; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 130, 131–35, 142, 143, 145, 153, 177, 180, 182, 183, 196, 237–38, 311; listening sessions, 152–56; makes recommendations on national historic trail establishment, 60, 64, 65; management structure of, 254; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 42–43, 73, 77, 82, 294–95, 299; members of Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 53; and National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, 34, 41; objects to visitor center, 111–13, 117–18; as part of Bureau of Outdoor Recreation study team, 55–58; participates in Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group, 146; Partner Support Program (PSP) grants, 304; partnerships, 26, 79, 88, 89, 90–91, 92, 100, 101, 133, 139, 205, 240, 269, 289, 310; planning for Mormon NHT, 83; proposes Lewis and Clark Tourway, 24, 35, 69; promotes creation of Lewis and Clark National Wilderness Waterway, 43; protects resources, 43, 101, 276–80; receives recommendations from Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council, 98; reviews Bureau of Outdoor Recreation study of Lewis and Clark Trail, 56; segment and site certification process, 83–85, 94–96, 101, 250, 261, 268; staff, 156–57, 182, 210, 212, 221, 226, 244, 257, 272, 286; and tourism, 284; trail development, 282; and visitor centers, 104, 105, 107, 108, 117; wayshowing, 281; and Western National Parks Association, 258; mentioned, 1, 6, 32, 33, 285

National Park Service Organic Act, 274

National Park System, 6, 64, 112, 272, 273, 274, 294

National Parks Association, 47

National Parks and Recreation Act, 66–68, 69

National Recreation and Parks Association, 97

national recreation trails, 4

National Register of Historic Places, 79, 256, 280, 283, 284, 301

National Scenic and Historic Trails Policy Task Force, 101

national scenic trails: coordination among, 100; defined, 45–46, 56–57; designation as, 57–58; legislation regarding, 47–52, 275; staffing for, 86

National Smokejumper Association, 282

National Statuary Hall Collection, 144

National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings (NSHSB), 34, 38, 41

national tourway, 31

National Trails Assessment, 100

National Trails Council, 63–64

National Trails System (NTS): broadened, 58, 61, 67; and Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants, 263; debated, 31, 48, 63; definitions, 273–75; Lewis and Clark Trail as part of, 52, 310; management

of, 100; national historic trails included in, 66; origins, 3–4, 43–46, 69; segment and site certification, 269

National Trails System Act (NTSA): amendments, 57–59, 67, 71, 97, 98, 99, 103, 107, 108, 124, 268, 275, 298; authorizes land acquisition, 115–16; authorizes land exchange, 105; debated, 47–51; defines national scenic trails, 56–57, 62; introduced, 47, 69; mandates Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council, 96; mandates study of Lewis and Clark Trail, 55–58; passed, 3–4, 31, 51, 53, 69, 311; regulations under, 81, 82, 83, 85, 88, 110, 112, 146, 251, 274, 296, 301

National Trust for Historic Preservation, 279

National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, 51–52

National Wildlife Federation, 47

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, 280

Native Hawaiians, 313

Native Voices Endowment, 238, 241, 247

Natural Areas Journal, 284

Natural Resources Conservation Service, 149

Nauss, Jeannine M. (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers), E-7

Nebraska: certified sites in, 95; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; Corps II in, 226; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; highway development in, 278; interpretation in, 123; parks proposed in, 35; resources in, 283; state commemorations of Lewis and Clark Expedition, 19; state committees in, 89; tourism in, 290; visitor center in, 107, 174; waysides in, 269; mentioned, 258

Nebraska City, NE, 103, 105, 106, 107–11, 128, 149, F-3

Nebraska Game and Parks Commission, 108, A-2

Nebraska Great Park Pursuit, 302

Nebraska Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Committee, D-1, D-2

Necanicum Estuary Natural History Park (OR), 280

Nell, Donald F. (LCTHF President), 92

Nelson, Denise (Environmental Protection Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 255, 275, E-4

Nelson, Gaylord (U.S. Senator), 44

Nemaha Natural Resource District, Steamboat Trace Association, A-3

Neuberger, Richard (U.S. Senator), 33

New Deal, 23

New Town, ND, 153, 155, 225, A-6, F-6

New York Times, 17, 140, 141, 233

Newman, Eric (marketing specialist), 287

Newscapade, 190, 196

Newseum (Washington, DC), 190

Next Exit History, 265

Nez Perce National Historical Park (ID), 122–23, 133, 153, 154, 166

Nez Perce Reservation (ID), 248

Nez Perce Tribe, 130, 153–155, 160, 166, 167, 174, 187, 224, 247, G-2

Nguyen, Joanna (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-3

Nicandri, David (COSA), 137, D-1, D-2

Nicholson, Bonnie (Administrative Assistant, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4

Nielson, Howard C. (U.S. Representative), 111–12

Niobrara, NE, 51, A-2

Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways (NE), 133

Niobrara State Park (NE), A-2

North American Trail Ride Conference, 47

North Cascades National Park (WA), 51

North Country National Scenic Trail, 86, 87, 89, 151–52, E-1

North Dakota: certified sites in, 94; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; develops canoe trail on Missouri River, 89; donates statue to National Statuary Hall Collection, 144; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; lands flooded, 25; state commemorations of Lewis and Clark Expedition, 21; visitor center in, 113–14; mentioned, 22, 55, 137, 156, 202, 222

North Dakota Division of Tourism, D-2

North Dakota Game and Fish Department, A-6

North Dakota Heritage Center (ND), A-6

North Dakota Historical Society, 87–88

North Dakota Historical Society, Inc., B-2

North Dakota Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Foundation, 87

North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department, A-5, A-6

North Dakota State Highway Department, A-6, B-1

North Dakota Tourism Department, D-1

Northern Pacific Railway, 12, 17, 27–28

Norton, Gale A. (U.S. Secretary of the Interior), 194, 222, 231

Northwest Conservation League, 24

Northwest Passage, 68

O

Oacoma, SD, 215, 228, F-1

Oceti Sakowin: Remembering and Educating (signature event), 215, 223, 228, 230, F-1

Office of Management and Budget, 150

Ogden, Roy (COTA), G-2

Oglala Sioux, 228

Ogle, Raymond (COTA), G-3

Ohio, 176

Ohio River, 222, 261, 296

Ohio River Trails Inc., D-1, D-2

Old Elk, Latonna (COTA), G-3

Oklahoma, 176

Oklahoma City, OK, F-4

Oklahoma Absentee Shawnee Tribe, G-4

Oliver County, ND, A-5

Olson, Jeffrey G. (Public Information Officer, Lewis and Clark NHT): and Corps II, 218, 229; hired, 202; inventories private lands along Lewis and Clark NHT, 93; and Lewis and Clark NHT, 313, 314; and media, 231–34; pictured, 143, 165, 202; mentioned, E-2, E-8

Olson, June (COTA), G-5

Olympia, WA, B-2

Omaha, NE: flooding in, 293; Lewis and Clark Bicentennial planning meeting held in, 132–33, 180, 181; Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council meeting held in, 97; as Lewis and Clark NHT headquarters, 245, 250, 254, 256, 289, 291; Lewis and Clark NHT planning meetings held in, 81; Lewis and Clark Trail support meeting held in, 37; as Midwest Regional Office headquarters, 72, 80, 86, 119, 123, 151, 201, 206, 219, 234, 255, 257, 259, 267; and NPS Centennial, 302; mentioned, 1, 19, 43, 152, 207, 291, 293, 305, 308, F-3

Omaha Big Village (NE), J-1

Omaha Parks and Recreation Department, 292–93, A-2

Omaha Public Library, 293

Omaha School District, 292

Omaha Tribal Historical Research Project, 283

Omaha Tribe, 258

Omaha Tribe of Nebraska, 283, G-3

Omaha Youth and Outdoors, 292, 293

Omnibus Public Land Management Act, 275

On-A-Slant Village (ND), J-2

Onawa, IA, A-1

Ordway, Sergeant John (Corps of Discovery), 13

Oregon: American Indian tribes in, 168; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; destination of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 4; ending point of Lewis and Clark Trail, 66, 98, 268; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; memorials to Lewis and Clark in, 33, 120, 122; migration to, 16; Oregon Territory, 9, 10, 13; and Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial, 134; state commemoration of Lewis and Clark, 26, 27, 87; visitor center in, 120; mentioned, 21, 23, 24, 28, 55, 91

Oregon Community Foundation, 238

Oregon Historical Society, 15

Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, 87, 90, 91, B-2

Oregon State Parks and Recreation Division, A-7

Oregon National Historic Trail (Oregon Trail): advisory committee for, 96; bills to establish as a national historic trail, 59, 60–61; Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP), 113; established, 66; information about located at Western Historic Trails Center, 113; issues with designation as a national scenic trail, 57; lack of appropriations, 73–75; land acquisition, 68; managed by PNRO, 71–72; planning efforts, 74; recommended as national historic trail, 63; recommended as national scenic trail, 47; sesquicentennial, 134–35; mentioned, 75

Orlando, Cindy (Fort Clatsop National Memorial), 133

Orofino, ID, 27, 211

Osage Nation, 222, 223, 225, G-4

Otoe-Missouria Tribe, 18, 153, G-4

Ottawa, IL, B-2

Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, 37, 44, 69

P

Pacific County, WA, 224, A-9

Pacific Crest Trail, 47, 49, 50, 51, 100

Pacific Northwest Historical Conference, 26

Pacific Northwest Regional Office (PNRO), 71–72, 73, 96–97, 101

Pacific Ocean: as destination of Lewis and Clark Expedition, 2, 3, 4, 33, 224; as terminus of Lewis and Clark NHT, 98; mentioned, 122, 229

Pacific Railway Company, 14

Packer Meadow (ID), J-3

Padre Island National Seashore (TX), 205

Paducah, KY, F-3

pageantry, 18, 21–22, 27

Pahmahmie, Zach (COTA), G-2
Painted Woods Creek Rest Area (ND), A-6
Papio-Missouri Natural Resource District, A-3
Paramount Pictures, 28
Park Museum Collection Storage Plan, 285
Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act, 31, 32, 69
Park and Rec Board, Wyandotte County, A-3
Parker, Ivan (Superintendent, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial), 55
Partnership for the National Trails System, 101, 275, 310
Pasco, WA, 27
patriotism, 16
Pawnee Nation, 265
Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma, G-5
Pendleton, OR, F-5
Pennsylvania, 44, 176
People's Center of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, 239
Peoria, IL, 18
Perkins, Honorable Fredia (COTA), G-2
Perveneckis, Lisa. *See* Griebel, Lisa
Peter Kiewet Institute (PKI), 234
Peterson, Keith (COSA), D-1
Petit, Norris (COTA), G-5
Phillips, John (Interpretive Ranger, Corps II), 215
Phoenix, AZ, F-4
Pick-Sloan Plan. *See* Missouri River Basin Development Program
Pierce, Matt (COSA), D-1
Pierre, ID, 125
Pierre, SD, A-7, A-8, B-2
Pine Ridge Reservation (SD), 228
Pinkham, Allen V., Sr. (Chairman, COTA; COTA Leadership Committee): authors book, 313; and Bicentennial Committee, 130–31, 136, 151; and COTA, 160, 163; and Corps II, 229–30; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 246, 247; pictured, 130, 225; mentioned, G-1
Pitcher, Greg (COTA Leadership Committee), G-1, G-5
Philadelphia, PA, 12, A-7

Phillips, John S. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-7

Pittsburgh, PA, 296, 298, F-2

Platte, SD, A-7

Platte River Confluence (NE), J-1

Plock, Linda (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Point Marion, PA, F-2

Points, Kenny (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-5

Pollock, SD, A-8

Pomeroy, Earl (U.S. Representative), 142

Pompeys Pillar (MT), 115–16

Pompeys Pillar Historical Association. *See* Friends of Pompeys Pillar

Pompeys Pillar National Monument (MT): National Historic Landmark, 34, 115; National Monument, 117; memorial at, 27; pictured, 115, 116; under private ownership, 115; signature event at, 224, 226; mentioned, F-1, J-3

Ponca, NE, A-2, B-1

Ponca State Park (NE), 68, A-2, F-6

Ponca Tribe of Indians, 228, G-3

Pope, Randall (Acting MWRO Director), 96, 97

Portland, OR: Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council meeting held in, 97; Lewis and Clark NHT planning meetings held in, 81; location of 1905 World's Fair, 14, 20; meeting in, 37; mentioned, 41, 116, 197, A-7, B-1, B-2

Portland Oregonian, 233

Portland Women's Club, 20

Potomac Heritage Trail, 49, 50, 63

Pouch Point Recreation Area (ND), A-6

Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation, G-2

Prchal, Doug (Iowa State University), 77

Preparations Complete, The Expedition Faces West (signature event), F-1

Prewitt, Jana (U.S. Department of the Interior), 145–46, 149, 153, 192, 197

Price, Melvin (U.S. Representative), 47, 49

Pridemore, Sue (Interpretive Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 189, E-1

Progressive Era, 21

Public Broadcasting System (PBS), 141

Pulitzer Prize, 35

Purse, Donald (DSC), 73

Puyallup Tribe, 168

Q

Quecha, 132

Quinault Tribe, 309

Quintana, Ernest (Regional Director, MWRO), E-8

Qwest Communications, 236

R

Rainbow Falls (MT), J-2

Railroads, 12, 22, 27–28, 57, 58, 130, 311

Randolph, Jennings (U.S. Senator), 44

Raney, Wendy (LCTHF), 243

Ranniger, Katie (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Raymore, Midori (Administrative Assistant, Challenge Cost Share Coordinator, Lewis and Clark NHT), 152, 165, 174, 205, E-1

Reagan, Ronald (U.S. President), 107, 118

recreation: areas created by states, 40, 41; in conjunction with partners, 79; facilitated by automobile travel, 47; impact on resources, 67, 82; during Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 150; and Lewis and Clark NHT, 74, 75, 77–80, 81, 282–83, 301; planning, 80, 87; prioritized, 56; rivers as part of, 36, 55, 68; trails as part of, 31, 35–38, 49, 55, 57, 58–59, 61–62, 80, 128; mentioned, 6, 42, 51, 116, 118

Rector, Andrew (Student Conservation Association Staff), E-8

Red House Interpretive Center (MO), A-4

Reddix, Pearl (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Redfield, Trent T. (Park Ranger, NPS Corps II), E-7

Redwood National Park (CA), 51

Reed, George, Jr. (COTA), G-3

Remmington Access (IA), A-1

Rend Lake, IL, 226, F-3

Retterath, Rachel (COSA), D-1

Rhodes, David (COTA), G-5

Richards-Cook, Daphne (COTA Leadership Committee), 164, G-1

Ridgefield National Wildlife Refuge (WA), J-4

Rime, Nancy (Administrative Officer, Lewis and Clark NHT), 254, E-3
Rising Sun, IN, F-3
River Front Trail (IA), A-2
Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance (RTCA), 271, 292, 303
Robinson, Sheila (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2
Rock Fort (OR), J-4
Rock Fort Campsite (OR), A-7
Rocky Boy Reservation, MT, 239, F-4
Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation (site, MT), A-5
Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation (organization), A-5
Rocky Mountain Regional Office, 71–72, 96–97, 101
Rocky Mountain Trails, 133
Rocky Mountains, 5, 284, 293
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (U.S. President), 35
Roosevelt, Theodore (U.S. President), 13, 17, 18
Ross' Hole (MT), J-3
Rove, Karl (Special Advisor to President George W. Bush), 197–99
Rozmajzl, Mary (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-3
Rudeen, Ralph (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2
Ruth, Don (landowner), A-1
Ryan, Joanne (Lead Park Ranger, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4
Ryan Dam Park (MT), A-4

S

Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri, G-2
Sacagawea, 19–21, 144, 186
Sacajewea. *See* Sacagawea
Sacajewea Interpretive Center (ID), 176
Sacajawea Park (MT), J-3
Sacajawea Statue Association, 20
St. Albans, MO, A-4
St. Albans Land Development Company, A-4
St. Charles, MO, 174, 211, 222, 223, A-3, F-1, F-3

St. Charles County, MO, A-3

St. Charles Historic District (MO), J-1

St. Claire, Alberta (Shoshone), 24–25

Saint Genevieve, MO, F-3

St. Helens, OR, F-5

St. Joseph, MO, A-4, F-3

St. Louis, MO: Lewis and Clark Bicentennial events in, 161, 244, 250; Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation established in, 53; location of Louisiana Purchase Exposition (1904 World's Fair), 14; Missouri Historical Society in, 236; pageants in, 21; proposed start of Lewis and Clark Tourway, 3, 32; proposed start of Lewis and Clark Trail, 49; signature event in, 220, 222, 223, 225, 241; mentioned, 1, 2, 33, 34, 79, 147, 168, 242, 260, A-4, F-1, F-2, F-3, F-6

St. Louis County Parks and Recreation, A-4

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 233

St. Louis Republican, 8

Sakakawea. *See* Sacagawea

Salmon, ID, 27, 176, F-5

San Antonio, TX, F-4

San Jose, CA, 199

Sandy River Delta (WA, OR), J-4

Santa Fe, NM, 168

Santa Fe National Historic Trail (NM), 87

Sappington, MT, 23

Saturday Evening Post, 43

Save the Dunes Council, 47

Schaefer, Ken (Jefferson National Expansion Memorial), 133, 181–82

Schart, Carole (volunteer), 92

Schart, Chelsey (volunteer), 92

Schenk, Bill (MWRO Director): and American Indian relations, 153, 156, 157; and Corps II, 182, 183, 184, 185; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 132, 144; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 106, 151, 157; mentioned, 107, 152

Scovell, Joe (COTA), G-5

Schumacher, Carl (JNEM Interpreter), 183

Seaberg, Karen (COSA), D-1, D-2

Seaside, OR, 28, 89, 204, 280, F-5

Seattle, WA, 129, 197

Seattle Public Schools, 168

Seneca Nation, 240

Sergeant Floyd Grave and Memorial (IA), 33, 34

Sergeant Floyd Monument (IA), J-1

Sergeant Floyd Monument and Park (IA), A-1

Sergeant Floyd Welcome Center (IA), 125, A-1

Sesquicentennial. *See* Lewis and Clark Sesquicentennial

Shane, Steve (COTA), G-5

Shanklin, Ian (MWRO), 260, 294

Shaw, Jerry (COTA), G-4

Shawnee Tribe, 222, G-5

Sherman, William P. (LCTHF), 119

Shockley, Candice (Administrative Clerk, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Sholly, Cam (Superintendent, Natchez Trace Parkway), 308

Shonk, David (MWRO Associate Regional Director for Cooperative Activities), 94, 124

Shoshone Bannock Tribes, G-2

Shradar, Andrew (Administrative Assistant, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-3

Shuperman, Ed (National Museum of the American Indian), 287

Sidney, MT, F-6

Sierra Club, 47, 97, 138

Sigala, Karla (Interpretive Park Ranger; Interpretive Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT; temporary staff, NPS Corps II): at Lewis and Clark NHT, 205, 250, 256, 287, 289, 290; pictured, 154, 207; mentioned, E-2, E-3, E-7

signature events: Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grant funds for, 174, 176; planned, 191, 196–97, 200; mentioned, 139, 179, 221–25, F-1–F-6. *See also* individual signature event names

Simon and Schuster, 140

Sioux City, IA, 13, 14, 33, 35, 125, A-1, A-2, F-4

Sioux City, SD, A-8

Sioux City Leisure Services Department, A-1

Sioux City Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center (IA), A-2

Sioux City Public Works Department, A-2

Sioux City Tourism Bureau, A-1

Sioux Tribe, 157, 248

Skahan-Malatare, Marilyn (COTA), G-6

Skamania County, WA, A-8

Skamania Lodge, 135, 136, 137, 151

Skubitz, Joe (U.S. Representative), 48, 50, 52

Slickpoo, Allen, Jr. (COTA), G-2

Smith, Lee (Administrative Officer, Lewis and Clark NHT), 254, 265, 303, E-4

Smith, Tom (Education Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 285, E-5

Smithsonian Institution, 26, 228

Smoking Place (ID), J-3

Snake Creek Recreation Area (SD), A-7

Snake River, 32

Snake River Confluence (WA), J-4

Snider, Chief Cliff (COTA), 161, G-5

Snyder Bend Park (IA), A-2

Society for Montana Pioneers, 21

Solimar International, 284

Sons of the American Revolution, 18

Soukup, Nicole (COSA), D-2

South Dakota: American Indian Tribes in, 132; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; Corps II in, 226; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; lands flooded, 25; Lewis and Clark signs in, 174; resources in, 283; state committees in, 89; waysides in, 269; mentioned, 22, 55, 88, 228, 229

South Dakota Department of Game, Fish, and Parks, A-8

South Dakota Department of Tourism, 174

South Dakota Department of Transportation, A-8

South Dakota Division of Parks and Recreation, A-7, A-8

South Dakota Historical Society, A-8, B-2

South Dakota Office of Tourism, D-2

South Dakota State Historical Society Museum (SD), A-8

South Dakota's Corps of Rediscovery, D-1

Southern Hills Mall Exhibit (IA), A-2

Spain, 13, 131–32, 222

Spark. *See* Busch Creative

Spearfish Roadside Marker, Horsethief State Park (WA), A-9

Spencer, Mynesha (Park Guide, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-4

Spirit Mound (SD), J-2

Spoonhunter, Joyce (COTA), G-3

Springfield, MO, F-3

Square Butte (MT), J-2

Squeochs, Michael A. (COTA), G-6

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, G-4

Stanton, ND, A-7, F-4

state historic preservation officers, 97, 280, 299

State Historical Society of North Dakota, 18, A-5, A-6

Station Camp (OR), 120

Steamboat Trace Trail (NE), A-3

Stevens, Don (Superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT), 256, E-4

Stevenson, WA, 125, 135, 136, F-5

Stimson, Nancy (Acting Superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT), 256, E-4

Stone State Park (IA), A-2

Stop Lewis and Clark Movement, 228–30

Strait, Richard A. (Rocky Mountain Regional Office Associate Director for Planning and Resource Preservation), 72

Straub, Robert (Governor of Oregon), 55

Struck, Kristine (Outdoor Recreation Planner, Lewis and Clark NHT), 276, E-5

Student Conservation Association (SCA), 204, 234, 303

Sturdevant, Dan (LCTHF President), 305

Sugar Loaf Rock (MO), J-1

Sulphur Springs (MT), A-4

Summer of Peace: Among the Niimipuu (signature event), 224, 225, F-1

Sweet Grass County Commission, A-5

Swenson, Jim (COSA), D-1, D-2

T

Tamástslikt Cultural Institution (Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation), 155, 239, 242, 286, 313

Tanner, Shirley (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-1

Tavern Cave (MO), A-4, J-1

Taylor, Roy A. (U.S. Representative), 47, 50

Tent of Many Voices. *See* Corps of Discovery II (Corps II): Tent of Many Voices

Tentology, 210

Teton, Randy'L (COTA), G-2

Teton Rest Area (WV), 269

Texas, 183

The Dalles, OR, 24, F-5

The Dalles Dam (OR), 77

Theissen, Thomas (MWRO), 132–33

Thom, Dark Rain (Co-Chair, COTA), 136, G-1

Thomas, John, Sr. (COTA), G-2

Thomas Jefferson Foundation, A-8

Thompson, Sally (University of Montana), 241

Thornton, Mrs. Edmund B. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2

Three Affiliated Tribes Museum (ND), A-6

Three Affiliated Tribes Natural Resources Department, A-6

Three Flags Ceremony (signature event), 222, F-1

Three Forks, MT, 3, 21, 27, 31, 43, A-4

Three Forks Indian Trail Roadside Marker, near Pomeroy (WA), A-9

Three Forks of the Missouri (MT), 34, J-3

Three Tribes Museum Board, A-6

Thwaites, Reuben Gold (historian), 13, 17

Tigard, OR, B-2

Time Kids, 233

Tobacco Garden Recreation Area (ND), A-6

Tobar-Dupres, Chris (COTA), G-5

Tongue Point (OR), J-4

Topeka, KS, B-1

Toppenish, WA, F-5

tourism: on American Indian lands, 146, 153, 162, 164, H-2; Corps of Discovery as impetus for, 3, 18, 22–26, 27, 29, 39, 40, 42, 174, 286; economics of, 27, 74, 247; facilitated by automobile travel, 3, 22–26, 27, 31, 32, 47; during Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 128, 129, 141, 144, 149, 177; Lewis and Clark highways, 3, 31, 32; markers promoting, 18, 40; related to Lewis and Clark NHT, 95, 96, 107, 284; mentioned, 271

Tower, The (NE), J-2

Tower Rock (MT), J-2

Trail Companion, The, 289, 290

Travellers Rest (MT), 28, 34, J-3

Trenton Indian Service Area, G-4

Tri-Cities, Washington, F-5

Trolan, Lindy (COTA), G-5

Troutdale, OR, A-7

Truman, Harry S. (U.S. President), 36

Tryon, Cindy (COSA), D-1

Tucker, Scott (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Tucson, AZ, 227, F-4

Turner, Frederick Jackson (historian), 12

Tuwaduq Cultural & Research Institute, 287

Twin Bridges, MT, A-5

Twin Buttes Tribal Community (ND), 216

Two Medicine Fight Site (MT), 301, J-3

U

USA Today, 130

Udall, Stewart L. (U.S. Secretary of the Interior), 3, 36–37, 38, 41, 48

Umatilla, OR, A-7, F-5

Umatilla City Park (OR), A-7

Union County, SD, 277

Union Pacific Railroad Museum (IA), 303

United Harvest, 116–17

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers: assists with Corps II, 181, 184, 213, 220; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 141, 145; opposes Lewis and Clark National Wilderness Waterway, 43; participates in Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group, 146, 148; works with Lewis and Clark NHT, 79, 123, 277, 279; mentioned, 104

U.S. Army National Guard, 210, 211, 229

U.S. Bicentennial (1976), 133, 134

U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, 26, 146, 148, 211, 220, 299

U.S. Census Bureau, 12

U.S. Coast Guard, 149

U.S. Congress: appropriations for 1905 World's Fair, 17; appropriations for American Indian projects, 156; appropriations for Corps II, 184, 189, 194, 196, 199; appropriations for Ice Age

National Scenic Trail, 86; appropriations for Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 141, 169, 171; appropriations for Lewis and Clark NHT, 71, 72, 73–75, 105, 199; appropriations for Lewis and Clark NHT visitor centers, 108, 110, 111, 119; appropriations for U.S. Constitution Bicentennial, 180; approves Missouri River Basin Development Program, 25; authorizes Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemorative coin, 237–38; bills introduced in to convey land, 109–10; bills introduced in to create Lewis and Clark National Tourway, 31, 32; bills introduced in for national historic trails, 59–62; bills introduced in for trails, 44; bills introduced in for visitor centers, 111–13; and Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants, 262, 263, 264; changes name of site, 120; concerns regarding national scenic trails, 48, 58; creates Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, 37, 69; debates omnibus national parks bills, 65; districts, 283; and Eastern Legacy Trail Extension, 296, 297; establishes Fort Clatsop National Memorial, 69; establishes Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, 31, 38–39, 69; funds Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, 39; hearings on land transfer, 109–10; House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 50, 60–61; House Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs, 64; issues with National Trails System Act, 57–58, 273–74; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 127, 142–44, 157; Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucus, 142–44, 177, 184, 227, 236, 246, 260, 311; lobbying of, 130, 138; members of Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, 39, 49, 50, 53; omnibus national parks bills, 64–66; National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, 51–52; passes Consolidated Natural Resources Act (CNRA), 110, 261, 296; passes Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA), 114; passes Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Act, 33, 34; passes land acquisition legislation, 116; passes Lewis and Clark National Historical Park Act, 120–21; passes National Parks and Recreation Act, 66–68, 69; passes National Trails System Act, 4, 31, 311; passes Omnibus Public Land Management Act, 275; passes Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Study Act, 69; passes Public Law 88-29, 37; receives letters in support of Lewis and Clark Trail, 54; recommendations to, 47; Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 49; Senate hearing on national historic trails legislation, 63; segment and site certification, 268; supports Lewis and Clark Trail, 38, 69; mentioned, 3, 26, 45, 129

U.S. Constitution Bicentennial (1989), 133, 179, 180

U.S. Department of Agriculture, 38, 39, 45–46, 50

U.S. Department of Commerce, 39

U.S. Department of Defense, 38, 39

U.S. Department of Education, 146, 148

U.S. Department of Energy, 149

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 39

U.S. Department of the Interior: abolishes Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 80, 100; administers Lewis and Clark NHT, 4, 66, 88, 96; advised by NHT advisory committees, 97; and American Indian Tribes, 150, 186; authorized to acquire land for visitor centers, 112; authorized to build interpretive center, 117; authorized to designate portions of national historic trails areas, 60, 83; Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants, 169, 170, 303; and Corps II, 200, 227, 246; concerned about costs and regulatory burdens related to national historic trails, 62–63; discovers issues with national scenic trails definition, 58; and Eastern Legacy Extension, 261, 297; encourages Lewis and Clark National Tourway, 32–33; fails to reappoint Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council members, 99; focuses on recreation, 31, 38; funds American Indian meeting, 160; interagency cooperation, 145; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 142, 145, 196; members of Lewis and Clark

Trail Commission, 39; and National Park System Advisory Board, 67; Office of External and Intergovernmental Affairs, 194; and omnibus national park bill, 64; protection of resources, 277, 279; receives information about plans for Corps II, 183; regional solicitor's opinion sought, 105; requires grassroots endorsements for Lewis and Clark Trail, 37; resists inclusion of trail criteria in national historic trails legislation, 62; segment and site certification, 268; studies feasibility of other national historic trails, 65, 68; studies Lewis and Clark Trail feasibility, 55–58, 65; studies National Trails System feasibility, 45–46, 48; studies visitor center feasibility, 113; tension related to, 37; updates Lewis and Clark National Historic Landmark theme study, 260; urged to acquire land for Lewis and Clark Trail, 56; urged to create Lewis and Clark Trail, 54; mentioned, 44, 47, 153, 192

U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 35, 146, 149, 200–201, 211

U.S. Forest Service: assists with Corps II, 181, 211, 212; and High Potential Historic Sites, 299; interpretation by, 100, 123, 124, 150; and Lewis and Clark NHT, 44, 79, 282; participates in Federal Interagency Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Working Group, 146, 148; visitor center managed by, 118, 119; mentioned, 131, 147, A-4

U.S. General Land Office, 212

U.S. Geological Survey, 78, 146, 148, 211

U.S. Highway 12 (MT), 24, 49

U.S. Mint, 149, 193, 194, 195, 237–38, 306

U.S. Postal Service, 17, 26

United Tribes Technical College (ND), 229

University of Chicago (IL), 41

University of Idaho (ID), 228

University of Iowa (IA), 77

University of Missouri (MO), 174

University of Missouri-Columbia (MO), 283

University of Montana (MT), 27, 241, 266, 308

University of Nebraska-Omaha (NE), 234

University of Oregon (OR), 28, 287, 288

University of Portland (OR), A-7

University of Wyoming (WY), 25, 281

Upper Missouri River Breaks National Monument (MT), 118, 302

Upper Missouri Wild and Scenic River. *See* Upper Missouri River Breaks National Monument

V

Valley Forge, PA, F-2

Vancouver, WA, 137, F-5

Veech, Andrew (Archeologist, Cultural Resource Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 255, 275, E-3

Vendzules, Patty (Administrative Technician, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-2

Vequist, Sandy (Administrative Assistant, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-1, E-8

Virginia, 176, 268

Virginia Lewis & Clark Advisory Council, D-1

visitor centers: Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; cooperative agreements regarding, 103; establishment of, 103, 175, 205; funding for, 171; land acquisition for, 103; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 174; operations, 291–93

Vogt, Jay (LCTHF Executive Director), 93

volunteers: and Challenge Cost Share (CCS)-funded projects, 207; coordinated, 203, 249, 255; for Corps II, 201, 206–7, 217, 220; inventory historic and contemporary sites, 93; managed, 290–91; organizations developed, 40, 89; Partner Networking and Data Collection Portal, 291; and partner organizations, 251, 291; reconstruct replica of Fort Clatsop, 122; recruitment, 92, 291; shown appreciation, 291; Volunteers-in-Parks, 285

W

Wagner, Curly Bear (Blackfeet Tribe), 301

Walker, Tillie (Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation), 222

Walla Walla, WA, 27, A-9

Walla Walla Historical Society, A-9

Walla Walla River Confluence (WA), J-4

Wapka Sica Historical Society (ID), 125

Wapanum Indian Tribe, G-6

Ward, André (Contract Specialist, Lewis and Clark NHT), 199, E-2

Warm Springs, OR, 217, B-1, F-5

Wasco County, OR, A-7

Washburn, ND, 113–14, A-5, F-6

Washington: Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; cooperates with Oregon on visitor center, 121; encouraging completion of Lewis and Clark Highway, 24; and High Potential Historic Sites, 300; Lewis and Clark signs in, 174; as part of Oregon Territory, 10; state commemoration of Lewis and Clark, 26, 27; mentioned, 51

Washington, DC: Challenge Cost Share (CCS) grants for, 176; Corps II in, 227, 235; as proposed starting point for Corps II, 182; mentioned, 37, 53, 71, 101, 143, 144, 145, 163, 183, 189, 194, 231, 246, 257, F-2

Washington Park (OR), 20

Washington State Historical Society, 28, 88, 137, D-1, D-2

Washington State Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Advisory Council, D-1, D-2

Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, A-8, A-9

Washington State University (WA), 287, 288

Washington Support Office (WASO): creates oversight committee for national historic trails, 72; distribution of funds, 73–74; establishes policies, 99–100, 268; funds education, 287; hires NTS program leader, 100; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 133; and Lewis and Clark NHT CMP, 73–74, 294–95; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 157, 294; receives proposal for Corps II, 183; mentioned, 285

Watford City, ND, F-4

Watson, Gary (COTA), G-2

Watson, Michelle (Congressional Liaison, Lewis and Clark NHT), 144, 153, E-1

Watt, James (U.S. Secretary of the Interior), 80, 100

Watt, Lisa (Seneca Nation), 240

Waubonsie State Park (IA), A-2

Wayshowing and Visitor Experience Plan, 281

We Proceeded On, 91, 243

Webber, Sandy (WASO), 133

Weber, Jane (USFS), 119

Weekley, Mark (Superintendent, Lewis and Clark NHT): manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 264, 271–72, 282, 284, 285, 291, 294, 296, 304, 305, 308, 309, 314; pictured, 272; mentioned, 1, E-3

Weilmunster, Don K. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2

Weinbender, Duane (Legacy Transportation Corps II Staff), E-8

Weippe Discovery Center (ID), 174

Weippe Prairie (ID), J-3

Wells-Norlin, Gloria (COTA), G-3

Wendzillo, Phil (COTA), G-3

Werner, Wilbur P. (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2

Wesley, Frank (COSA), D-2

West Bank Park (MT), A-4

West Bend Recreation Area (SD), A-7

West Des Moines, IA, B-1

West Virginia, 176, 269

West Virginia Division of Tourism, D-1, D-2

West Whitlocks Recreation Area (SD), A-8

Western Historic Trails Center (IA), 111–13, 293, A-1

Western Historic Trails Center, Inc., 113

Western National Parks Association (WNPA), 258, 259
westward migration, 3, 10, 16, 22, 62, 133, 196
Wetsit, Lawrence (Assiniboine Tribe), 130
Whalen, William D. (NPS Director), 74
Wheaton, Rodd (Rocky Mountain Trails Coordinator), 133
Wheeler, Olin D. (author), 16–17
Wheeling, WV, F-2
Whetstone, Frank (Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council), B-2
White, Crystal, 225
White, Germaine (COTA), G-3
White Catfish Camp (IA, NE), J-1
White Cliffs (MT), J-2
White Cloud, KS, 223
White Earth Bay Recreation Area (ND), A-6
White Plume, Alex (Oglala Sioux), 228, 229
White Plume, Deb (Lakota), 229
White Shield Tribal Community, 216
Whitehouse, Private Joseph (Corps of Discovery), 12–13
Whiting, IA, A-1
Whitman County, WA, A-9
Whitmer, Rhonda (Secretary, Lewis and Clark NHT), E-3
Wichita, KS, 153
Wilbur, Robbie (U.S. Department of the Interior), 149
Wild and Scenic Rivers, 68, 79
Wilderness Inquiry, 308
Wilderness Society, The, 284
Wiley, Daniel (Chief of Integrated Resource Stewardship, Lewis and Clark NHT): hired, 254; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 256, 275–76, 279, 282, 299, 301, 307; pictured, 255; mentioned, E-3
Wilgus, Carl (Idaho Director of Tourism), 195
Willamette River, 10
Willamette River Confluence (WA), J-4
William and Flora Hewlett Foundation (Hewlett Foundation), 141, 195, 236, 239, 240
William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Great Falls, MT, 1, 2, 245–46

Williams, Dick (Trail Coordinator, Trail Manager, Program Manager, Chief of Resources Management, Lewis and Clark NHT): and American Indian relations, 132, 153, 156; coordinates with partners, 93, 119; and Corps II, 182, 184, 185; hired, 87; and Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 130, 133–34, 140–41; at Lewis and Clark NHT, 250; manages Lewis and Clark NHT, 105, 108, 152, 157, 169–70, 233–34; manages segment and site certification process, 95; participates in Bicentennial Committee, 128, 151; pictured, 128; retires, 206, 254; mentioned, E-1

Williams County, ND, A-5

Williston, ND, F-4

Wilmette, IL, B-1

Wilson Island State Recreation Area (IA), A-1

Windland, Harry (COSA), D-1

Winter Camp at Wood River (MO), J-1

Wisconsin, 176

Wodder, Rebecca (American Rivers; COCA), 138

women's suffrage, 19, 29

Wood, Karenne (COTA), G-5

Wood, Stephanie (University of Oregon), 287

Wood River, IL: starting point of Lewis and Clark Expedition, 4, 47, 49, 77, 296; starting point of Lewis and Clark Trail, 50, 66, 268; mentioned, A-2, F-1

Woodbine, IA, A-1

Woodbury County Conservation Board, A-2

Woodsfield, OH, F-2

Works Progress Administration, 24

World War II, 24

World's Fair (1904). *See* Louisiana Purchase Exposition

World's Fair (1905). *See* Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition

Wounded Knee, 197

Wright, David G. (NPS Chief of Planning), 73

Wu, Philip (temporary staff, NPS Corps II), E-7

Wyandotte County, KS, A-3

Wyandotte County Historical Society and Museum, A-3

Wyandotte County Museum (KS), A-3

Y

Yale's Endangered Language Fund, 238, 247

Yankton, SD, 49, 124, A-7
Yankton County, SD, 25
Yellowstone River, 26, 115
Yellowstone River Confluence (ND), J-2
York (Corps of Discovery), 222, 225
Yorks Islands (MT), J-3
Young, David (U.S. Representative), 113
Young, F. G. (historian), 15–16
Young, Richard (R.J.), Jr. (COTA), G-3

Z

Zanteson, Naz (Legacy Transportation Corps II Staff), E-8
Ziak, Rex (historian), 121

Appendix A. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006)

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
5/28/1985	Sergeant Floyd Monument and Park	Sioux City, IA	Sioux City Leisure Services Department
5/21/1986	Lewis and Clark State Park	Onawa, IA	Iowa Conservation Commission
6/25/1987	Lewis and Clark Monument	Council Bluffs, IA	Council Bluffs Parks and Recreation Department
9/12/1988	Western Historic Trails Center	Council Bluffs, IA	Iowa State Historical Society
4/15/1992	Sergeant Floyd Welcome Center	Sioux City, IA	Sioux City Tourism Bureau
6/24/1992	Huff Warner Access	Onawa, IA	Monona County Conservation Board
6/24/1992	Little Sioux Delta Access	Woodbine, IA	Harrison County Conservation Board
6/24/1992	Remmington Access	Woodbine, IA	Harrison County Conservation Board
6/24/1992	Lighthouse Restaurant and Campground	Whiting, IA	Private owner, Don Ruth
6/24/1992	Wilson Island State Recreation Area	Missouri Valley, IA	Iowa Department of Natural Resources
6/24/1992	Stone State Park	Sioux City, IA	Iowa Department of Natural Resources

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
6/24/1992	Waubonsie State Park	Hamburg, IA	Iowa Department of Natural Resources
6/24/1992	Snyder Bend Park	Sioux City, IA	Woodbury County Conservation Board
9/16/1992	River Front Trail	Sioux City, IA	Sioux City Public Works Department
5/5/2003	Southern Hills Mall Exhibit	Sioux City, IA	Sioux City, IA
10/28/2003	Sioux City Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center	Sioux City, IA	Sioux City, IA
7/27/1987	Lewis and Clark State Memorial	Wood River, IL	Illinois Historic Preservation Agency
6/19/2003	Fort Kaskaskia	Fort Kaskaskia, IL	Illinois Historic Preservation Agency
7/16/2001	Falls of the Ohio State Park	Indiana	Department of Natural Resources
9/24/1984	NE Dodge Memorial Park	Douglas County, NE	Omaha Parks and Recreation Department
8/12/1986	Fort Atkinson State Historical Park	Fort Calhoun, NE	Nebraska Game and Parks Commission
8/12/1986	Ponca State Park	Ponca, NE	Nebraska Game and Parks Commission
11/29/1989	Niobrara State Park	Niobrara, NE	Nebraska Game and Parks Commission
9/20/1991	Blackbird Scenic Overlook	Decatur, NE	Papio- Missouri Natural Resource District

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
2/4/2002	Steamboat Trace Trail	Brownville, NE	Nemaha Natural Resource District, Steamboat Trace Association
12/20/2002	Wyandotte County Museum	Wyandotte County, KS	Wyandotte County Historical Society and Museum
11/22/2003	Fontenelle Forest	Bellevue, NE	Fontenelle Forest Nature Association
4/1/2005	Bridge Tenders Building Kiosk Pavilion	Leavenworth, KS	City of Leavenworth, KS
4/1/2005	Lewis and Clark Sign Corral	Leavenworth, KS	City of Leavenworth, KS
4/1/2005	F. L. Schlagle Library	Kansas City, KS	City of Kansas City, KS
4/1/2005	Lewis and Clark Historic Park at Kaw Point	Wyandotte County, KS	Park and Rec Board, Wyandotte County
5/27/2002	Historic Locust Grove	Louisville, KY	Historic Locust Grove, Inc.
10/18/2002	Big Bone Lick State Park	Kentucky	Kentucky State Parks
10/24/2003	Filson Historical Society	Louisville, KY	Filson Historical Society
8/26/1986	Fort Osage	Jackson County, MO	Jackson County Parks & Recreation Department
5/1/1989	The Lewis and Clark Center	St. Charles, MO	Private Ownership
10/23/1992	National Frontier Trails Center	Independence, MO	City of Independence
3/1/1995	Katy Trail State Park	St. Charles County to Cooper County, MO (165.1 miles)	Missouri Department of Natural Resources

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
10/1/1997	Tavern Cave	St. Albans, MO	St. Albans Land Development Company
7/22/2002	Glore Psychiatric Museum	St. Joseph, MO	Glore Psychiatric Museum
1/15/2004	Drury Inn	St. Louis, MO	Drury Inn, Inc.
6/18/2004	Boone County Historical Museum	Columbia, MO	Boone County Historical Society
4/1/2005	Red House Interpretive Center	Cape Girardeau, MO	City of Cape Girardeau, MO
8/11/2005	Fort Belle Fontaine County Park	St. Louis, MO	St. Louis County Parks and Recreation
1/22/1988	West Bank Park	Great Falls, MT	Great Falls Park and Recreation Department
6/1/1989	Missouri River Headwaters State Park	Three Forks, MT	Montana Department of Fish Wildlife and Parks
9/15/1989	Explorers at Portage Statue, Broadwater Overlook Park	Great Falls, MT	City of Great Falls
9/9/1992	Explorers at the Marias Statue	Ft. Benton, MT	City of Ft. Benton
3/16/1995	Giant Springs State Park	Great Falls, MT	State of Montana, Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks
6/12/1995	Ryan Dam Park	Great Falls, MT	Montana Power Company
6/12/1995	Sulphur Springs	Great Falls, MT	Montana Power Company - US Forest Service
1/24/2004	Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation	Missoula, MT	Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
5/17/2004	Madison County Lewis and Clark Park	Twin Bridges, MT	Madison County Board
5/17/2004	Lewis and Clark Walkway and Plant Garden	Big Timber, MT	Sweet Grass County Commission
8/6/1984	Lewis and Clark Memorial Park (Ft. Mandan)	Washburn, ND	McLean County Historical Society
3/3/1986	Lewis and Clark State Park	McKenzie County, ND	North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department
8/2/1988	Beulah Bay Recreation Area	Mercer County, ND	Beulah Park District
8/2/1988	Cross Ranch State Park	Oliver County, ND	North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department
8/2/1988	Crow Flies High State Historic Monument	Williams County, ND	North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department
8/2/1988	Double Ditch Indian Villages Historic Site	Morton County, ND	North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department
8/2/1988	Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park	Morton County, ND	North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department
8/2/1988	Fort Buford State Historic Site	McKenzie County, ND	State Historical Society of North Dakota
8/2/1988	Fort Clark State Historic Site	Mercer County, ND	State Historical Society of North Dakota
8/2/1988	Fort Mandan Overlook State Historic Site	McLean County, ND	State Historical Society of North Dakota
8/2/1988	Fort Rice State Historic Site	Morton County, ND	State Historical Society of North Dakota

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
8/2/1988	Fort Stevenson State Park	McLean County, ND	North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department
8/2/1988	I-94 Mandan Scenic Overlook	Morton County, ND	North Dakota State Highway Department
8/2/1988	Indian Hills Recreation Area	McLean County, ND	North Dakota Parks and Recreation Department
8/2/1988	Kimball Bottoms	Burleigh County, ND	Burleigh County Park Board
8/2/1988	Langeliers Bay Recreation Area	Emmons County, ND	Emmons County Park Board
8/2/1988	Lewis & Clark State Wildlife Area	McKenzie County, ND	North Dakota Game and Fish Department
8/2/1988	North Dakota Heritage Center	Bismarck, ND	State Historical Society of North Dakota
8/2/1988	Painted Woods Creek Rest Area	McLean County, ND	North Dakota State Highway Department
8/2/1988	Pouch Point Recreation Area	Mountrail County, ND	Three Affiliated Tribes Natural Resources Department
8/2/1988	Three Affiliated Tribes Museum	New Town, ND	Three Tribes Museum Board
8/2/1988	Tobacco Garden Recreation Area	McKenzie County, ND	McKenzie County Board
8/2/1988	White Earth Bay Recreation Area	Mountrail County, ND	Mountrail County Park Board
8/2/1988	Granger Park	Morton County, ND	Morton County Park Board
3/21/2005	Matootnha Interpretive Sign	Stanton, ND	City of Stanton
3/21/2005	Mahawaha Interpretive Sign	Mercer County, ND	Mercer County, ND

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
11/8/1985	Lewis and Clark State Park	Troutdale, OR	Oregon State Parks and Recreation Division
11/11/1985	Les and Shirley Park	Cannon Beach, OR	City of Cannon Beach
7/17/1986	Rock Fort Campsite	Wasco County, OR	Wasco County
7/29/1986	Irrigon Marina Park	Irrigon, OR	Irrigon Park and Recreation District
8/13/1986	Umatilla City Park	Umatilla, OR	City of Umatilla
11/23/1988	Captain William Clark Monument	Portland, OR	University of Portland
8/12/2003	American Philosophical Society	Philadelphia, PA	American Philosophical Society
8/12/2003	The Lewis and Clark Herbarium	Philadelphia, PA	Academy of Natural Sciences
3/10/2004	College of Physicians	Philadelphia, PA	College of Physicians
8/12/1986	Farm Island Recreation Area	Pierre, SD	South Dakota Division of Parks and Recreation
8/12/1986	Lewis and Clark Recreation Area	Yankton, SD	South Dakota Division of Parks and Recreation
8/12/1986	Snake Creek Recreation Area	Platte, SD	South Dakota Division of Parks and Recreation
8/12/1986	West Bend Recreation Area	Pierre, SD	South Dakota Division of Parks and Recreation
8/12/1986	West Whitlocks Recreation Area	Gettysburg, SD	South Dakota Division of Parks and Recreation

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
6/24/1996	Lewis and Clark Historical Marker	Pollock, SD	South Dakota Department of Transportation
9/4/1996	I-90 Rest Area Interpretive Sign	Chamberlain, SD	South Dakota Department of Transportation
8/18/1998	Adams Homestead and Nature Preserve	Sioux City, SD	South Dakota Department of Game, Fish, and Parks
8/18/1998	I-29 Rest Area	Junction City, SD	South Dakota Department of Transportation
12/7/1998	South Dakota State Historical Society Museum	Pierre, SD	South Dakota State Historical Society
8/1/2001	Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center	Chamberlain, SD	South Dakota Department of Transportation
6/7/2004	Lily Park	Pierre, SD	City of Ft. Pierre, SD
1/15/2002	Monticello	Charlottesville, VA	Thomas Jefferson Foundation
9/13/1989	Lewis and Clark Trail State Park	Columbia County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Beacon Rock State Park	Skamania County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Alpowai Interpretive Center, Chief Timothy State Park	Asotin County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Sacajawea Interpretive Center, Sacajawea State Park	Benton County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center, Fort Canby State Park	Pacific County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission

The Certified Sites and Segments program was deactivated in 2006. This table is included for historical purposes and it does not represent actively certified segments or sites as of 2017.

Table A-1. Certified Sites and Segments (Program Deactivated 2006).

Date Certified	Site	Location	Operating Organization
9/13/1989	Drewyers River, Lyons Ferry State Park	Whitman County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Lewis and Clark Roadside Marker, near Clarkston	Asotin County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Lewis and Clark Expedition Roadside Marker, Alowai Summit	Asotin County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Three Forks Indian Trail Roadside Marker, near Pomeroy	Garfield County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Celilo Falls Roadside Marker, Wishram	Klickitat County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Spearfish Roadside Marker, Horsethief State Park	Klickitat County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Lewis and Clark Campsite Roadside Marker	Clark County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Corps of Discovery Roadside Marker, Cree Creek Rest Area	Clark County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
9/13/1989	Lewis and Clark Campsite, Roadside Marker, Fort Columbia State Park	Pacific County, WA	Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
7/20/2001	Ilwaco Heritage Museum	Ilwaco, WA	Ilwaco Heritage Foundation
7/20/2001	Maryhill Museum	Goldendale, WA	Maryhill Museum of Art
4/1/2005	Fort Walla Walla Museum	Walla Walla, WA	Walla Walla Historical Society

Source: Digital Files, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail

Appendix B. Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council Members

Table B-1. Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council Members

Name	Organization	Location
Phil F. Knerl	Unknown	Ponca, NE
Victor Ecklund	Unknown	Issaquah, WA
Clarence H. Decker	Unknown	East Alton, IL
Joseph A. McElwain	Montana Power Company	Butte, MT
Shirley Tanner	Unknown	Portland, OR
Rudy Clements	Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs	Warm Springs, OR
Sherry Fisher	LCTHF	West Des Moines, IA
Larry Joachim	Kansas Historical Society	Topeka, KS
Willard Burney	Unknown	Harrington, NE
John Caylor	Boise State University	Boise, ID
Jim Cooper	Unknown	Jefferson City, MO
John G. Lepley	Unknown	Fort Benton, MT
Walter Hjelle	North Dakota State Highway Department	Bismarck, ND
David E. Brown	Unknown	Wilmette, IL
Dayton W. Canaday	South Dakota State Historical Society	Pierre, SD

Table B-1. Lewis and Clark NHT Advisory Council Members

Name	Organization	Location
E. G. Chuinard, M. D.	LCTHF, Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee	Tigard, OR
Ralph Rudeen	Unknown	Olympia, WA
Jack Hayne	Unknown	Dupuyer, MT
Irving Anderson	LCTHF	Portland, OR
James L. McCreight	Unknown	Portland, OR
Sheila Robinson	North Dakota Historical Society, Inc.	Coleharbor, ND
Don K. Weilmunster	Unknown	Montour, ID
Jefferson L. Miller	Unknown	Ladue, MO
Frank Whetstone	Unknown	Cut Bank, MT
Alice Fryslie	Unknown	Bozeman, MT
Mrs. Edmund B. Thornton (do not know first name)	Unknown	Ottawa, IL
Wilbur P. Werner	Unknown	Cut Bank, MT
Edna Knight	Unknown	Condon, MT

Source: J. L. Dunning to Advisory Council members (and attached mailing list), August 4, 1982, FRC 79_90_0002_0001_0007, Box 1, Folder "Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, Jan. 1982–1983," Federal Records Center, Lenexa, KS.

Appendix C. Trail Budget

Table C-1. Base Appropriations, FY 1992–2017

Fiscal Year	Operating Budget
FY 1992	$50,000
FY 1993	$50,000
FY 1994	$145,000
FY 1995	$143,000
FY 1996	$145,000 (estimated)
FY 1997	$147,000
FY 1998	$395,000
FY 1999	$874,000
FY 2000	$1,474,000
FY 2001	$1,640,000
FY 2002	$1,725,430
FY 2003	$2,672,970
FY 2004	$2,605,552
FY 2005	$1,749,000
FY 2006	$1,433,116
FY 2007	$1,839,000
FY 2008	$2,026,000
FY 2009	$2,051,000

Table C-1. Base Appropriations, FY 1992–2017

Fiscal Year	Operating Budget
FY 2010	$2,078,000
FY 2011	$2,043,000
FY 2012	$2,007,000
FY 2013	$1,887,000
FY 2014	$1,987,000
FY 2015	$1,994,000
FY 2016	$2,018,000
FY 2017	$2,023,000

Table C-2. Recreation Fee Demo Project Funds, FY 2002–2017

Fiscal Year	Amount
FY 2002	$1,043,674
FY 2003	$1,005,840
FY 2004	$1,200,000
FY 2005	$1,700,000
FY 2006	$54,555
FY 2007	$39,162
FY 2008	$0
FY 2009	$0
FY 2010	$0
FY 2011	$0

Table C-2. Recreation Fee Demo Project Funds, FY 2002–2017

Fiscal Year	**Amount**
FY 2012	$0
FY 2013	$0
FY 2014	$3,500
FY 2015	$12,071
FY 2016	$78,735
FY 2017	$108,253

Table C-3. Legacy Transportation Services Corps II Contract, FY 2003–2007

Fiscal Year	**Amount**
FY 2003	$1,668,426
FY 2004	$1,155,660
FY 2005	$960,000
FY 2006	$945,000
FY 2007	$226,000

Appendix D. Circle of State Advisors

As of 2001 (called "Circle of State Bicentennial Advisors"):

- Keith Peterson (ID) – Idaho Governor's L&C Trail Committee
- Marilyn Hurst (IL) – Illinois Division of Tourism
- Matt Pierce (IN) – Falls of the Ohio L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Mark Eckman (IA) – Iowa L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Karen Seaberg (KS) – Kansas L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Jim Holmberg (KY) – The Filson Club Historical Society
- Jim Crabtree (MO) – Missouri L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Clint Blackwood (MT) (Chairman) – Montana State L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Jim Swenson (NE) – Nebraska L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Rachel Retterath (ND) – Lewis & Clark Coordinator, North Dakota Tourism Department
- Joyce Dority (OH) – Ohio River Trails Inc.
- Ted Kaye (OR) – L&C Bicentennial in Oregon (LCBO)
- Cindy Tryon (SD) – South Dakota's Corps of Rediscovery
- Jack Mountcastle (VA) – Virginia L&C Advisory Council
- David Nicandri (WA) – Washington State L&C Bicentennial Advisory Council, c/o Washington State Historical Society
- Betty Carver (WV) – West Virginia Division of Tourism

As of 2005:

- Keith Peterson (ID) – Idaho Governor's L&C Trail Committee
- Harry Windland (IL) – Illinois Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission
- James P. Keith (IN) – Clark–Floyd Counties Convention and Tourism Bureau
- Mark Eckman (IA) – Iowa L&C Bicentennial Com.

- Karen Seaberg (KS) – Kansas L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Jim Holmberg (KY) – The Filson Club Historical Society
- Doug Eiken and Frank Wesley (MO) – Missouri Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission
- Clint Blackwood (MT) (Chairman) – Montana State L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Jim Swenson (NE) – Nebraska L&C Bicentennial Com.
- Annette Schilling (ND) – North Dakota Division of Tourism
- Joyce Dority (OH) – Ohio River Trails Inc.
- Barbara Allen (OR) – L&C Bicentennial in Oregon (LCBO)
- Thom Jones (PA) – Council of State Advisors
- Nicole Soukup (SD) – South Dakota Office of Tourism
- Vacant (VA)
- David Nicandri (WA) – Washington State L&C Bicentennial Advisory Council, c/o Washington State Historical Society; Mark Vessey (WA) – Heritage Resource Center
- Betty Carver (WV) – West Virginia Division of Tourism

Sources:

Lewis and Clark Trail Bicentennial Circle of State Advisors, November 3, 2009, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Organizational Records, Series VI, Box 3 (Bicentennial – National Council – Circle of Tribal Advisors), Folder "COTA," William P. Sherman Library and Archives, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Great Falls, MT

National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Council, "State, Regional & Tribal Bicentennial Groups," updated February 7, 2001, Internet Archive, https://web.archive.org/web/20010303034434/http://lewisandclark200.org:80/bicen_groups.html#missionstatement.

Appendix E. Lewis and Clark NHT Staff

Table E-1. Trail Staff.

Name	Title	Start Year	End Year
Tom Gilbert	Superintendent, Ice Age and North Country National Scenic Trails and Lewis and Clark NHT	1989	1998
Jan Lee	Administrative Assistant	Unknown	Unknown
Dick Williams	Trail Coordinator, Trail Manager, Program Manager, Chief of Resources Management	1991	2006
Michelle Watson	Congressional Liaison	1997	2002
Mark Engler	Interim Corps II Superintendent	1999	1999
Francis "Cal" Calabrese	Superintendent	1999	2001
Gerard Baker	Superintendent (2001–2004) Corps II Superintendent (1999–2001)	1999	2004
Midori Raymore	Administrative Assistant, Challenge Cost Share Coordinator	1999	2005
Laurie Heupel	Interpretive Specialist	1999	2006
Betty Boyko	Administrative Officer, Assistant Superintendent	2001	2006
Otis Halfmoon	American Indian Liaison	2001	2003
Sue Pridemore	Interpretive Specialist	2001	2002
Carol McBryant	Chief, Interpretation, Education, and Visitor Services (2006–2015) Logistics Planner (2001–2005)	2001	2015
Sandy Vequist	Administrative Assistant	2001	2006
Patty Vendzules	Administrative Technician	2002	2005

Table E-1. Trail Staff.

Name	Title	Start Year	End Year
Patricia Jones	Chief of Interpretation and Resources Management, Corps II	2002	2006
David Dick	Challenge Cost Share Program Support Assistant	2002	2002
Candice Shockley	Administrative Clerk	2002	2003
Jeff Olson	Public Information Officer	2003	2006
Dick Basch	American Indian Liaison	2003	Present
Jonathan (Kevin) Crisler	Park Ranger (Outdoor Recreation)	2003	2007
Steve Adams	Superintendent	2004	2009
André Ward	Contract Specialist	2004	2005
Karla Sigala	Interpretive Park Ranger	2004	2005
Ann Campos	Secretary	2004	2006
Darrell Martin	Assistant American Indian Liaison	2005	2007
Randy Harrabin	Interpretive Ranger (Nebraska City)	2005	2005
Linda Donnelly	Interpretive Ranger (Nebraska City)	2005	2006
Pearl Reddix	Park Guide	2005	2006
Linda Plock	Park Guide	2005	2006
Katie Ranniger	Park Guide	2005	2006
Alvis Mar	Interpretive Ranger	2005	2008
Cecilia Mitchell	Interpretive Ranger	2005	2007
Karissa DeCarlo	Interpretive Ranger/Special Assistant	2004	2007

Table E-1. Trail Staff.

Name	Title	Start Year	End Year
Joanna Nguyen	Park Guide	2004	2007
Ronald Garvais	Park Guide	2004	2007
Suzanne Gucciardo	Natural Resource Specialist/Biologist	2006	2013
Nancy Rime	Administrative Officer	2006	2008
Rhonda Whitmer	Secretary	2006	2012
Daniel Wiley	Chief of Integrated Resource Stewardship	2006	Present
Andrew Shradar	Administrative Assistant	2007	2008
Mary Rozmajzl	Park Guide	2007	2008
Ryan Cooper	Geographer/GIS Specialist	2008	Present
Andrew Veech	Archeologist, Cultural Resource Specialist)	2008	2010
Neal Bedlan	Outdoor Recreation Planner, Recreational Resource Specialist	2008	2016
Rachel Brockway (Mendoza)	Park Guide, temporary	2008	2009
Phil Hennessy	Park Guide, temporary	2008	2009
Karla Sigala	Interpretive Specialist	2008	Present
Jill Hamilton-Anderson	Education Specialist	2008	2016
Nichole McHenry	VIP Coordinator	2008	2015
Lisa Griebel (Perveneckis)	Lead Park Guide (Park Ranger)	2008	2010
Mark Weekley	Superintendent	2009	Present
Don Stevens	Acting Superintendent	2009	2009

Table E-1. Trail Staff.

Name	Title	Start Year	End Year
Nancy Stimson	Acting Superintendent	2009	2009
Denise Nelson	Environmental Protection Specialist	2009	2015
Lee Smith	Administrative Officer	2009	2014
Dennis Burmeister	Administrative Technician	2009	2011
Nicholas Murray	Park Ranger (SCEP)	2009	2009
Rachel Daniels (Lantz)	Natural Resources Program Manager (2014–2016) Cartographic Technician (GIS) (2009–2014)	2009	2016
Mary Ellen Ergle	Interpretive Specialist (Great Falls, MT)	2010	2015
Gail Gladstone	Cultural Resources Specialist	2011	2015
Bonnie Nicholson	Administrative Assistant	2011	2012
Byrony Forbes	Park Guide	2011	2016
Joanne Ryan	Lead Park Ranger	2011	2015
Mynesha Spencer	Park Guide	2011	2012
Miki Keck (Griffen)	Chief of Business Services (2014–present) Trail Secretary (2012–2014)	2012	Present
Dawnisha Bullion	Business Services Associate	2013	2016
Jennifer Morrell	Park Ranger	2013	2015
Julie Blanchard	Visitor Center Manager (2016–present) Park Guide (2014–2016)	2014	Present
Dan Jackson	Cultural Resources Program Manager	2015	Present

Table E-1. Trail Staff.

Name	Title	Start Year	End Year
Kenny Points	Park Guide	2015	2016
Ryan Kephart	Park Guide	2015	Present
Neal Bedlan	Chief of Interpretation	2016	Present
Tom Smith	Education Specialist	2016	Present
Linda Helm	Environmental Protection Specialist	2016	Present
Kristine Struck	Outdoor Recreation Planner	2016	Present
Kristin Khan	Business Services Associate	2016	Present
Ashley Danielson	VIP Coordinator	2016	Present
Abraham Mora	Park Guide Student Trainee	2016	Present
Tom Litton	Park Guide Student Trainee	2016	2016
Nathan Hess	Park Guide	2017	Present

Source: Digital Files, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail

Table E-2. National Park Service Corps II Staff.

Name	Title	Start	End
Wanda L. Anderson	Park Ranger	July 2004	Sept. 2006
Angela R. Bates	Park Ranger	Feb. 2004	June 2006
Matthew C. Buckner	Audiovisual Technician	March 2005	June 2006
Erin K. Buechner	Park Ranger	Jan. 2005	Sept. 2006
Laura M. Clifford	Park Ranger	Feb. 2004	Sept. 2006
Jonathan (Kevin) Crisler	Field Manager	April 2005	Sept. 2006
Karissa A. DeCarlo	Park Ranger	Jan. 2006	Sept. 2006
Eleanora J. S. Dillewaard	Park Ranger	June 2003	Sept. 2006
Mary Ellen Ergle	Park Ranger	Feb. 2004	Sept. 2006
Amy J. Genke	Park Ranger	Feb. 2004 Aug. 2006	Sept. 2005 Sept. 2006
William P. George	Park Ranger	Jan. 2005	Dec. 2005
Keena N. Graham	Park Ranger	Dec. 2005	July 2006
Ehren L. Gross	Park Ranger	Jan. 2003 (SCA) Jan. 2005	July 2003 (SCA) Sept. 2006
Rebecca A. Havens	Park Ranger	Dec. 2005	Sept. 2006
Nancy M. Hoppe	Supervisory Park Ranger	May 2006	Sept. 2006
Patricia D. Jones	Field Manager	Dec. 2002	March 2005
Warren E. Kasper	Supervisory Park Ranger	Dec. 2002	Feb. 2006
Judith A. Lakomy	Park Ranger	Sept. 2004	Sept. 2005

Table E-2. National Park Service Corps II Staff.

Name	Title	Start	End
Charles E. Lassiter, Jr.	Park Ranger	Feb. 2004 July 2006	Nov. 2004 Sept. 2006
Carol L. McBryant	Chief of Logistics	Dec. 2002	Aug. 2004
Brayden W. Mitchell	Park Ranger	Feb. 2004	Sept. 2006
John S. Phillips	Park Ranger	March 2004	Nov. 2004
Trent T. Redfield	Park Ranger	Jan. 2005	Sept. 2006

National Park Service Corps II Initial & Temporary Staff

Stephen Brown, Ellen Cox, Heidi Dietze, Jim Dougan, Daniel Fegergren, Gene Finke, Curtis Gregory, Brian Hall, Craig Hanson, Betsy Haynes, John McCarthy, Karla Sigala, Scott Tucker, Philip Wu

Contributing Bureau Corps II Staff

Richard Fichtler, Bureau of Land Management

Margaret J. Gorski, United States Forest Service

Stephen Morehouse, Bureau of Reclamation

Jeannine M. Nauss, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers

Legacy Transportation Corps II Staff

Wayne Barber, February 2006–September 2006

Denver Cain, January 2003–September 2006

Shanna Cain, January 2003–September 2006

Beverly Dygert, January 2003–September 2006

Megan Kirst, January 2003–September 2006

Duane Weinbender

Naz Zanteson, January 2003–September 2006

National Park Service Corps II Support Staff

Richard C. Basch, Lead American Indian Liaison, May 2003–September 2006

Darrell R. Martin, American Indian Liaison, November 2004–February 2006

Jeffrey G. Olson, Public Information Officer, February 2003–June 2006

LaTonya N. Miller, Public Information Officer, July 2006–September 2006

Sandra J. Vequist, Administrative Assistant

National Park Service Corps II Management Staff

Fran P. Mainella, Director, National Park Service

Ernest Quintana, Regional Director, Midwest Region

David N. Given, Deputy Regional Director, Midwest Region

Gerard A. Baker, Superintendent, LECL, August 2000–May 2004

Stephen E. Adams, Superintendent, LECL, July 2004–September 2006

Betty J. Boyko, Administrative Officer, Assistant Superintendent & Corps II Manager, LECL, October 2001–September 2006

Student Conservation Association staff

Andrew Rector – 2003

Daven Kinman – 2003

Matt Little – 2003

Source: National Park Service, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 53–54.

Appendix F. Signature Events and Other Corps II Stops

Signature Events

Title of Event	Location	Date(s)
Jefferson's West	Monticello, Charlottesville, VA	January 18, 2003
Falls of the Ohio	Louisville, KY and Clarksville, IN	October 14–26, 2003
Three Flags Ceremony	St. Louis, MO	March 12–14, 2004
Expedition's Departure: Camp River DuBois	Hartford and Wood River, IL	May 13–16, 2004
Preparations Complete, The Expedition Faces West	St. Charles, MO	May 14–23, 2004
Heart of America: A Journey Fourth	Atchison and Ft. Leavenworth, KS; Kansas City, MO	July 3–4, 2004
First Tribal Council	Fort Calhoun, NE	July 31–August 3, 2004
Oceti Sakowin: Remembering and Educating	Chamberlain, SD; Oacoma, SD	August 27–28, 2004
Circle of Cultures, Time of Renewal and Change	Bismarck, ND	October 22–31, 2004,
Explore! The Big Sky	Great Falls and Fort Benton, MT	June 2–July 4, 2005
Destination – The Pacific	Long Beach, WA, to Cannon Beach, OR	November 11–15, 2005
Summer of Peace Among the Niimipuu	Lewiston and Lapwai, ID	June 14–17, 2006
Clark on the Yellowstone	Pompeys Pillar, Billings, MT	July 25, 2006
Home of Sakakawea	Fort Berthold, MT	August 17–20, 2006

Title of Event	Location	Date(s)
Currents of Change	St. Louis, MO	September 23–24, 2006

All places visited by Corps II

Source: "A Report to the President of the United States of America from The Staff of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Project: The Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," provided to authors digitally by Stephen E. Adams.

2003

Monticello, Virginia – January 14–18

Lynchburg, Virginia – February 16–25

Washington, District of Columbia – March 4–24

Harpers Ferry, West Virginia – March 28–April 18

Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, – April 23–May 3

Valley Forge, Pennsylvania – May 9–20

Baltimore, Maryland – May 25–June 1

Montpelier, Virginia – June 7–15

Wheeling, West Virginia – June 21–29

Point Marion, Pennsylvania – July 4–11

Woodsfield, Ohio – July 16–20

Huntington, Virginia – July 26–31

Indianapolis, Indiana – August 6–17

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania– August 23–September 7

Ashland, Kentucky – September 13–17

Rising Sun, Indiana – September 22–28

Maysville, Kentucky – October 3–8

Louisville, Kentucky – October 14–19

Clarksville, Indiana – October 23–28

Henderson, Kentucky – November 2–6

Paducah, Kentucky – November 11–16

Cairo, Illinois – November 20–24

Cape Girardeau, Missouri – November 30–December 4

Chester, Illinois – December 8–13

2004

Saint Louis, Missouri – March 9–14

Cahokia, Illinois – March 18–22

Alton, Illinois – March 27–April 1

Rend Lake, Illinois – April 7–11

Springfield, Missouri – April 17–25

Saint Genevieve, Missouri – May 1–4

Hartford, Illinois – May 10–15

Saint Charles, Missouri – May 20–23

Jefferson City, Missouri – June 1–6

Boonville, Missouri – June 11–14

Fort Osage, Missouri – June 18–22

Kansas City, Kansas – June 26–July 4

Saint Joseph, Missouri – July 9–12

Nebraska City, Nebraska – July 16–18

Omaha, Nebraska – July 24–27

Blair, Nebraska – July 31–August 4

Macy, Nebraska – August 9–12

Sioux City, Iowa – August 17–22

Chamberlain, South Dakota – August 26–30

Eagle Butte, South Dakota – September 3–9

Fort Pierre, South Dakota – September 18–October 3

Stanton, North Dakota – October 9–13

Bismarck, North Dakota – October 22–31

2005

Phoenix, Arizona – January 10–16

Tucson, Arizona – January 22–30

Albuquerque, New Mexico – February 5–13

San Antonio, Texas – March 5–13

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma – March 19–23

Hazen, North Dakota – April 1–7

Watford City, North Dakota – April 12–18

Williston, North Dakota – April 23–May 1

Fort Peck, Montana – May 6–9

Glasgow, Montana – May 14–17

Fort Benton, Montana – June 3–12

Rocky Boy Reservation, Montana – June 17–20

Great Falls, Montana – June 25–July 4

Helena, Montana – July 9–17

Bozeman, Montana – July 22–31

Dillon, Montana – August 5–8

Salmon, Idaho – August 13–21

Hamilton, Montana – August 31–September 3

Lolo, Montana – September 8–11

Kamiah, Idaho – September 16–26

Clarkston, Washington – October 1–9

Tri–Cities, Washington – October 14–17

Umatilla, Oregon – October 21–24

The Dalles, Oregon – October 28–31

Long Beach, Washington – November 7–15

Seaside, Oregon – November 19–22

Vancouver, Washington – November 28–December 11

2006

St. Helens, Oregon – March 13–20

Grand Ronde, Oregon – March 25–April 2

Stevenson, Washington – April 7–10

Toppenish, Washington – April 14–17

Warm Springs, Oregon – Apr 22–25

Pendleton, Oregon – April 29–May 7

Dayton, Washington – May 12–15

Boise, Idaho – May 20–29

Lewiston, Idaho – June 5–17

Missoula, Montana – June 23–25

Lincoln, Montana – June 30–July 2

Browning, Montana – July 7–10

Crow Agency, Montana – July 15–18

Billings, Montana – July 22–25

Miles City, Montana – July 30–August 3

Sidney, Montana – August 8–12

New Town, North Dakota – August 17–20

Washburn, North Dakota – August 25–28

Ponca State Park, Nebraska – September 2–5

Atchison, Kansas – September 14–18

Saint Louis, Missouri – September 22 – 24

Source: National Park Service, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, "A Summary Administrative and Interpretive History of The 'Corps of Discovery II,'" 53–54.

Appendix G. Circle of Tribal Advisors Members

COTA leadership

Chairman, January 2004–June 2007

Allen V. Pinkham, Sr.

Co–Chairs, September 2001–December 2003

Amy Mossett

Bobbie Conner

Dark Rain Thom

Chairperson, 1999–2001

Amy Mossett

COTA Leadership Committee, 2004–2007

Allen V. Pinkham, Sr.

Bobbie Conner

Chris Howell

George Heavy Runner

Greg Pitcher

Daphne Richards–Cook

COTA Members and Tribal Affiliation

Nez Perce Tribe

Gary Greene

Allen Slickpoo, Jr.

Ethel Greene

Carla High Eagle

Justin Gould

Shoshone Bannock Tribes

Randy'L Teton

Becky Archibald

Larry Bagley

Gary Watson

Hobby Hevewah

Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska

Joann Comer

Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas

John Thomas, Sr.

Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation

Zach Pahmahmie

Roy Ogden

Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri

Honorable Fredia Perkins

Edmore Green

Honorable Sandra Keo

Fort Peck Assiniboine–Sioux Tribe

Raymond Ogle

Richard (R.J.) Young, Jr.

Blackfeet Nation

George Heavy Runner

Joyce Spoonhunter

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes

Arleen Adams

Mary Jane Charlo

Germaine White

Crow Nation

Latonna Old Elk

George Reed, Jr.

Gros Ventre & Assiniboine Tribes, Fort Belknap Reservation

Honorable Julia Doney

Darrell Martin

Little Shell Band of Chippewa Indians of Montana

Honorable Henry Anderson

Gloria Wells–Norlin

Omaha Tribe of Nebraska

Dr. Rudi Mitchell, PH.D.

Ponca Tribe of Nebraska

Phil Wendzillo

Mandan–Hidatsa–Arikara Nation

Brenda Hall Dvorak

Amy Mossett

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe

Ladonna Brave Bull

Allard Tim Mentz, Sr.

Trenton Indian Service Area

Cynthia LaCounte

Delmar Falcon

Oklahoma Absentee Shawnee Tribe

Leroy Ellis

Kenneth Daugherty

Citizen Potawatomi Nation

Jeremy Finch

Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma

Robert Miller

Chief Charles Enyart

Kaw Nation

Betty Durkee

Osage Nation

Staci Eagle Elk

Jerry Shaw

Otoe–Missouria Tribe

Sylvester Alley

Dawn Briner

Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma

Rebecca Eppler

Shawnee Tribe

Greg Pitcher

Clatsop–Nehalem Confederated Tribes

Diane Collier

Steve Shane

Joe Scovell

Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon

Elaine LaBonte

Lindy Trolan

June Olson

Monacan Indian Nation

Karenne Wood

Washington Chinook Indian Tribe

Honorable Ray Gardner

Honorable Gary Johnson

Noris Petit

Chief Cliff Snider

Cowlitz Indian Tribe

Mike Iyall

William Iyall

Chris Tobar–Dupres

David Rhodes

Wanapum Indian Tribe

Rex Buck, Sr.

Michael A. Squeochs

Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation

Marilyn Skahan–Malatare

Lewis W. Malatare, Sr.

Honorable Jerry Meninick

Source: Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, *Enough Good People: Reflections on Tribal Involvements and Inter–Cultural Collaboration 2003–2006* (Gunnison, CO: 2009), 64–67.

Appendix H. COTA Recommendations for Future Commemorations

- Your commemoration involving tribal lands should not be about blame, shame or guilt but about moving forward from where you are. Seek out the tribe(s) whose ancestral lands are involved in your historical event and ask them how they want to participate.
- Make tribal involvement your commemoration's number one priority and value it by creating a sufficient budget to pay for it. Tribal budgets are stretched very thin for essential services like education, health care, law enforcement, etc. Most tribal nations are not wealthy – they have nothing left over to fund participation in your event.
- Establish and fund a national or regional group of tribal advisors. Invite all tribes affected by your commemoration. The advisors should be officially designated representatives from all affected tribes, and appointment should be by resolution of the tribal government. The advisors must be free to establish their own governing regulations. Perspectives expressed by the member tribes and individual Indians must not be censored.
- In some cases, such as the National Park Service centennial, the advisers should continue beyond the commemoration as a perpetual advising body since America's national parks are also tribal sacred places.
- Invite tribal elders at the very beginning of your planning. Provide for their support with budget, volunteers, wheelchairs, door–to–door transportation, comfort area with restrooms and refreshments, seating, heating or cooling as necessary, honoraria, and respect.
- Work directly with tribal governments. Your collaboration with the tribes should reflect their historic government–to–government relationships, i.e. tribal government to local community, state and/or federal government.
- Foster relationships between local communities affected by the commemoration and the tribes whose ancestral homelands are now occupied by those communities.
- Hire tribal staff members and ask several tribal people to serve on your board of directors.
- Create a Memorandum of Understanding between your coordinating body and the federal agencies affected by your commemoration. This will create a structure for the agencies to support tribal involvement too.

- Tribal tourism is growing fast and can attract new publics, including international visitors. Tribal involvement can increase interest in tourism for your commemoration. Do joint marketing with the tribes involved.
- Don't shy away from tough issues regarding tribal participation. Issues will arise, and your event will be stronger and more effective for tackling them head on. Old wounds will be reopened – support your commemoration's tribal advisors as they work through tough issues.
- Hire a strong American Indian Liaison to recruit and advocate for participating tribes.
- Get the support of the National Congress of American Indians for your tribal advisors and tribal participation efforts.
- Don't censor tribal messages.
- If maps and brochures are to be published, make sure they contain tribal sites, place names, communities, perspectives.
- The tribes affected by your commemoration must be integral to your decision–making processes.
- Seek funding specifically for tribal projects and involvement.
- In participation with your tribal advisors, create curriculum guides to include tribal histories and cultures of the area involved in your commemoration.
- Help build capacity within the tribes you are working with through funding and training.
- Include tribal flags and tribal veterans in your commemoration's formal ceremonies, such as opening and closing events.
- Include a budget for gifting.
- Support your tribal advisors in establishing and accomplishing clear goals, mission, vision and guidance statements. Give them the tools they need to stay on track and speak clearly. If your advisory group is large and national in scope, create a leadership committee to handle day–to–day policy and actions.

Source: Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, *Enough Good People: Reflections on Tribal Involvements and Inter–Cultural Collaboration 2003–2006* (Gunnison, CO: 2009), 130–33.

Appendix I. Literary Outcomes of the Bicentennial

Ambrose Tubbs, Stephenie, and Clay Jenkinson. *The Lewis and Clark Companion: An Encyclopedic Guide to the Voyage of Discovery*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2003.

Ambrose Tubbs, Stephenie. *Why Sacagawea Deserves the Day Off and Other Lessons from the Lewis and Clark Trail*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

Beckham, Stephen Dow, Doug M. Erickson, Jeremy Skinner, Paul Merchant. *The Literature of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: A Bibliography and Essays*. Portland, OR: Lewis & Clark College, 2003.

Browne, Sherry Bartlett. *Eva Emery Dye: Romance with the West*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004.

Circle of Tribal Advisors, National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council. *Enough Good People: Reflections on Tribal Involvements and Inter-Cultural Collaboration 2003–2006*. Gunnison, CO: 2009.

Fresonke, Kris, and Mark David Spence. *Lewis and Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Gilman, Carolyn. *Lewis and Clark Across the Divide.* Washington, DC and St. Louis: Smithsonian Books and Missouri Historical Society, 2003.

Jones, Landon Y. *William Clark and the Shaping of the West*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

Josephy, Alvin M., Jr., with Marc Jaffe. *Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.

Karson, Jennifer, ed. *Wiyaxayxt / Wiyaakaa'awn / As Days Go By: Our History, Our Land, Our People - The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.

Lewis, Meriwether, William Clark, et al. *The Lewis and Clark Journals an American Epic of Discovery the Abridgment of the Definitive Nebraska Edition*. Ed. Gary E. Moulton. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Mann, John W. W. *Sacajawea's People: the Lemhi Shoshones and the Salmon River Country*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Miller, Robert J. *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2006.

Morris, Larry E. *The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers After the Expedition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Pinkham, Allen V., and Steven R. Evans. *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce: Strangers in the Land of the Nimiipuu*. Washburn, ND: The Dakota Institute Press of the Lewis and Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, 2013.

The Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council, Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. *The Salish People and the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

Walker, Frank X. *Buffalo Dance: The Journey of York*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

Appendix J. High Potential Historic Sites

Table J-1. High Potential Historic Sites.

Site	State
Cahokia Court House	Illinois
Jefferson National Expansion Memorial	Missouri
Bellefontaine Cemetery	Missouri
Winter Camp at Wood River	Missouri
Fort Belle Fontaine	Missouri
Charbonier Bluff	Missouri
St. Charles Historic District	Missouri
Tavern Cave	Missouri
Clark's Hill State Historic Site	Missouri
Sugar Loaf Rock	Missouri
Manitou Creek at Manitou Bluffs	Missouri
Fort Osage	Missouri
Leary Site	Nebraska
Platte River Confluence	Nebraska
White Catfish Camp	Iowa, Nebraska
Fort Atkinson	Nebraska
Blackbird Hill	Nebraska
Omaha Big Village	Nebraska
Sergeant Floyd Monument	Iowa

Table J-1. High Potential Historic Sites.

Site	**State**
Ionia Volcano	Nebraska
Spirit Mound	South Dakota
Bow Creek	Nebraska
The Tower	Nebraska
Big Bend of the Missouri	South Dakota
Bad River Encounter Site	South Dakota
On-A-Slant Village	North Dakota
Double Ditch	North Dakota
Fort Mandan	North Dakota
Knife River Indian Villages	North Dakota
Yellowstone River Confluence	North Dakota
Milk River Confluence	Montana
Lewis and Clark Camp at Slaughter River	Montana
White Cliffs	Montana
Decision Point	Montana
Great Falls Lower Portage	Montana
Rainbow Falls	Montana
Giant Springs	Montana
Great Falls Upper Portage	Montana
Square Butte	Montana
Tower Rock	Montana
Gates of the Mountains	Montana

Table J-1. High Potential Historic Sites.

Site	State
Alice Creek Historic District	Montana
Camp Disappointment	Montana
Two Medicine Fight Site	Montana
Pompeys Pillar	Montana
Clark's Canoe Camp on the Yellowstone	Montana
Sacajawea Park	Montana
Bozeman Pass	Montana
Yorks Islands	Montana
Crimson Bluffs	Montana
Three Forks of the Missouri	Montana
Beaverhead Rock	Montana
Clark's Lookout	Montana
Lemhi Pass	Montana, Idaho
First Flag Unfurling Site	Idaho
Gibbons Pass	Montana
Ross' Hole	Montana
Travellers Rest	Montana
Packer Meadow	Idaho
Colt Killed Creek Campsite	Idaho
Smoking Place	Idaho
Weippe Prairie	Idaho
Lewis and Clark Travois Road	Washington

Table J-1. High Potential Historic Sites.

Site	**State**
Walla Walla River Confluence	Washington
Snake River Confluence	Washington
Hat Rock	Oregon
Celilo Falls Portage	Washington, Oregon
Rock Fort	Oregon
Beacon Rock	Washington
Sandy River Delta	Washington, Oregon
Willamette River Confluence	Washington
Ridgefield National Wildlife Refuge	Washington
Tongue Point	Oregon
Dismal Nitch	Washington
Middle Village - Station Camp	Washington
Cape Disappointment	Washington
Fort Clatsop	Oregon
Ecola Creek / Cannon Beach	Oregon

Appendix K. Legislation

H. Cong. Res. 61, August 28, 1963, 77 Stat. 946

August 28, 1963
[H. Con. Res. 61]

LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL

Marking of trail.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the route traversed by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their expedition of 1804–1806 from Saint Louis, Missouri, to the Pacific Northwest should, to the greatest extent feasible, be identified, marked, and kept available for the inspiration and enjoyment of the American people and that, to this end, (a) all agencies of the United States which administer lands along the route of the expedition, including particularly the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, and the Army, should act in concert to preserve and mark in an appropriate fashion the route wherever it crosses lands which they administer and to assure public access to the lands so crossed, and (b) that all States, counties, municipalities, and private parties who own land along the route or are otherwise interested in the success of this project should be invited, and they are hereby invited, to join in memorializing, preserving, and marking the route of the expedition.

Passed August 28, 1963.

August 28, 1963
[H. Con. Res. 179]

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF HIGHWAY OFFICIALS—ANNIVERSARY

Whereas the American Association of State Highway Officials, composed of the highway departments of all States, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia, and the United States Bureau of Public Roads, will in 1964 celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its organization; and

Whereas said organization through its membership represents those States and Federal governmental agencies responsible for the planning, construction, and maintenance of a vast system of national public highways throughout the Nation, including those comprising the new National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; and

Whereas the association was founded in the city of Atlanta, Georgia, in 1914, to assemble in one group those State and Federal public officials responsible for administering the State and Federal-aid highway programs for the purpose of developing technical policies, standards, and specifications for the conduct of such programs, to develop improved administrative and engineering techniques, to encourage the use of best practices, and to counsel with the Congress on highway matters; and

Whereas the association will celebrate said fiftieth anniversary at an annual meeting to be held in the month of December 1964, in Atlanta, Georgia, the city of its origin: Now, therefore, be it

Expression of congressional appreciation.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress of the United States express to the American Association of State Highway Officials at said annual meeting its appreciation for half a century of service in the development and operation of a nationwide highway transportation system that has contributed so much to the Nation's growth and economic well-being; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be delivered to the said annual meeting of the American Association of State Highway Officials by a special committee of the Congress, to consist of two Members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and two Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Passed August 28, 1963.

Act to Establish the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, October 6, 1964, 78 Stat. 1005 (P.L. 88-630).

Public Law 88-630

AN ACT

To establish the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, and for other purposes.

October 6, 1964
[H. R. 12289]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established an advisory and coordinating commission to be known as the "Lewis and Clark Trail Commission" (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"), which shall be composed of twenty-seven members.

Lewis and Clark Trail Commission. Establishment.

PURPOSE AND FUNCTIONS OF COMMISSION

SEC. 2. In furtherance of the objectives set forth in H. Con. Res. 61, which expressed the sense of the Congress that the route traversed by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their expedition of 1804–1806 from Saint Louis, Missouri, to the Pacific Northwest should be identified, marked, and kept available for the inspiration and enjoyment of the American people; in order to advance public awareness and knowledge of the far-reaching and historic significance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition; in order to supplement such awareness with an appreciation of the great resources of the vast region through which the Lewis and Clark Trail extended, and thereby to encourage desirable long-term conservation objectives in the public interest of the people of that region and the Nation as well as the public use and outdoor recreation benefits therefrom, the Commission is authorized to review proposals prepared at the request of the Commission, or by other agencies on their own initiative, to carry out the purposes of this Act. The Commission may make recommendations to agencies of the Federal Government, States, and other public and private agencies, but the functions and responsibilities of the Commission hereunder shall not operate to restrict or inhibit the aforesaid agencies in any operations they may otherwise undertake in carrying out the general objectives referred to in this Act. The Commission is authorized also to render advice in a manner that will encourage the development by State or Federal agencies of a suitable connecting network of roads following the general route of the Lewis and Clark Trail with appropriate markers for such roads.

77 Stat. 946.

MEMBERSHIP OF COMMISSION

SEC. 3. The Commission shall comprise the following—

(a) Ten members to serve, subject to their acceptance of membership, on behalf of the States of Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon; the individual member from each State being the Governor thereof or his designated representative;

(b) Four members, who shall be Members of the House of Representatives, two from each party, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives;

(c) Four members, who shall be Members of the Senate, two from each party, to be appointed by the President of the Senate;

(d) Five members, who shall be the Secretaries of the following Departments, or their designated representatives: Interior; Agriculture; Defense; Health, Education, and Welfare; and Commerce;

(e) Four members, who shall be appointed by the J. N. "Ding" Darling Foundation (a nonprofit corporation).

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) The Chairman of the Commission shall be elected for such term as may be determined by the membership thereof. The Secretary of the Interior shall convene the first meeting of the Commission within ninety days following enactment of this Act at such time and place as he may designate;

(b) The Chairman shall designate a Vice Chairman from members of the Commission;

(c) Any vacancy in the membership of the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made;

(d) Where any member ceases to serve in the official position from which originally appointed under section 3, his place on the Commission shall be deemed to be vacant;

(e) The Commission is authorized to issue such rules and regulations as it may consider desirable in the conduct of its activities pursuant to this Act.

POWERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission may hold hearings at such times and places as it deems advisable for purposes of this Act.

(b) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government is authorized to furnish to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman, such information as the Commission deems necessary to carry out its functions. Any Federal agency is hereby authorized to furnish the Commission with suitable office space to carry out its functions.

(c) The head of each Department or agency shall cooperate with the Commission in the performance of its functions and shall provide the Commission with such technical services and assistance as may be necessary and available.

COMPENSATION OF COMMISSION MEMBERS

SEC. 6. (a) Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation.

(b) Members of the Commission, upon approval of the Chairman, shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties as members of the Commission.

REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SEC. 7. Within two years following the approval of this Act, the Commission shall submit a report concerning its activities. Such report shall be submitted, together with any recommendations it may have to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to other Federal and State agencies named in this Act. The Commission may thereafter from time to time as indicated by circumstances, but at least every two years, submit such additional reports as it may deem appropriate. The final report of the said Commission shall be submitted no later than five years following the approval of this Act, at which time the Commission shall cease to exist. The records and property of the Commission shall be turned over to the Secretary of the Interior for such use or disposition as he shall find to be appropriate.

DONATIONS, EXPENDITURES, ACCOUNTS

SEC. 8. (a) The Commission is authorized to accept donations of personal services or property to assist in carrying out the purposes of this Act. The Commission may secure supplies, services, make contracts, and exercise those powers generally that it deems necessary to enable it to carry out effectively and in the public interest the purposes of this Act.

(b) Expenditures of the Commission shall be paid by an executive officer designated from among its membership, who shall keep complete and accurate records of such expenditures and who shall account for all funds received by the Commission. Such accounts shall be subject to audit by the General Accounting Office of the United States.

AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 9. There is authorized to be appropriated annually, through the Department of the Interior and related agencies appropriation Acts, not to exceed the sum of $25,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Approved October 6, 1964.

Public Law 88-631

AN ACT

October 6, 1964
[H. R. 5932]

To amend the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 so as to authorize certain teachers employed by the Board of Education of the District of Columbia to participate in a health benefits plan established pursuant to such Act, to amend the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 so as to extend insurance coverage to such teachers, to provide for retroactive salary increases for certain civilian employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3(a) of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 (73 Stat. 710; 5 U.S.C. 3002(a)) is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof the following: ": *Provided*, That no teacher in the employ of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, whose salary is established by section 1 of the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 521), as amended (sec. 31–1501, D.C. Code, 1961 edition), shall be excluded on the basis of the fact that such teacher is serving under a temporary appointment if such teacher has been so employed by such Board for a period or periods totaling not less than two school years."

D.C. temporary teachers.
Health and life insurance benefits.

Ante, p. 882.

SEC. 2. Section 2(a) of the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 (68 Stat. 736), as amended (5 U.S.C. 2091(a)), is amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "and in no event shall any teacher in the employ of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, whose salary is established by section 1 of the District of Columbia Teachers' Salary Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 521), as amended (sec. 31–1501, D.C. Code, 1961 edition), be excluded on the basis of the fact that such teacher is serving under a temporary appointment if such teacher has been so employed by such Board for a period or periods totaling not less than two school years."

Eligibility.

To Supplement the Act Establishing the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, June 29, 1966, 80 Stat. 229 (P.L. 89-475).

ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of the Act of September 24, 1959 (73 Stat. 703–706), $428,000. 5 USC 2371-2378.

TITLE V—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 501. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall remain available for obligation beyond the current fiscal year unless expressly so provided herein.

This Act may be cited as the "Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office Appropriation Act, 1967". Short title.

Approved June 29, 1966.

Public Law 89-475

AN ACT

June 29, 1966
[H. R. 6515]

To supplement the Act of October 6, 1964, establishing the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in furtherance of the purposes of the Act of October 6, 1964 (78 Stat. 1005), establishing the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, the Commission shall give appropriate consideration and recognition to the fact that the Lewis and Clark Expedition's headquarters and training camp, during the winter of 1803, were located near Wood River, Illinois. In addition, the State membership of the Commission, as set forth in section 3(a) of the Act, is hereby increased to eleven members in order to include a member from the State of Illinois who shall be the Governor or his designated representative. Lewis and Clark Trail Commission.

SEC. 2. The Act of October 6, 1964 (78 Stat. 1005), is amended by revising section 9 to read:

"SEC. 9. There is authorized to be appropriated annually, through the Department of the Interior and related agencies appropriation Acts, not to exceed the sum of $35,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act." Appropriation.

Approved June 29, 1966.

Public Law 89-476

AN ACT

June 29, 1966
[S. 2142]

To simplify the admeasurement of small vessels.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4148 of the Revised Statutes (46 U.S.C. 71) is amended to read as follows: Small vessels. Admeasurement simplification.

"SEC. 4148. (a) Before a vessel is documented under the laws of the United States or issued a certificate of record she shall be admeasured by the Secretary of the Treasury as provided in subsection (b) or (c) of this section. A vessel which has been admeasured need not be readmeasured solely to obtain another document, unless it is a vessel admeasured under subsection (b) which is required to be readmeasured under subsection (c); but a vessel which is intended to be used exclusively as a pleasure vessel may at the owner's option be readmeasured under subsection (b).

The National Trails System Act, October 2, 1968, 82 Stat. 919 (P.L. 90-543).

Public Law 90-543

AN ACT

To establish a national trails system, and for other purposes.

October 2, 1968
[S. 827]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

National Trails System Act.

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "National Trails System Act".

STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) In order to provide for the ever-increasing outdoor recreation needs of an expanding population and in order to promote public access to, travel within, and enjoyment and appreciation of the open-air, outdoor areas of the Nation, trails should be established (i) primarily, near the urban areas of the Nation, and (ii) secondarily, within established scenic areas more remotely located.

(b) the purpose of this Act is to provide the means for attaining these objectives by instituting a national system of recreation and scenic trails, by designating the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail as the initial components of that system, and by prescribing the methods by which, and standards according to which, additional components may be added to the system.

NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM

SEC. 3. The national system of trails shall be composed of—

(a) National recreation trails, established as provided in section 4 of this Act, which will provide a variety of outdoor recreation uses in or reasonably accessible to urban areas.

(b) National scenic trails, established as provided in section 5 of this Act, which will be extended trails so located as to provide for maximum outdoor recreation potential and for the conservation and enjoyment of the nationally significant scenic, historic, natural, or cultural qualities of the areas through which such trails may pass.

(c) Connecting or side trails, established as provided in section 6 of this Act, which will provide additional points of public access to national recreation or national scenic trails or which will provide connections between such trails.

The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with appropriate governmental agencies and public and private organizations, shall establish a uniform marker for the national trails system.

NATIONAL RECREATION TRAILS

SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary of the Interior, or the Secretary of Agriculture where lands administered by him are involved, may establish and designate national recreation trails, with the consent of the Federal agency, State, or political subdivision having jurisdiction over the lands involved, upon finding that—

(i) such trails are reasonably accessible to urban areas, and, or

(ii) such trails meet the criteria established in this Act and such supplementary criteria as he may prescribe.

(b) As provided in this section, trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture or in other federally administered areas may be established and designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the

appropriate Secretary and, when no Federal land acquisition is involved—

(i) trails in or reasonably accessible to urban areas may be designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the Secretary of the Interior with the consent of the States, their political subdivisions, or other appropriate administering agencies, and

(ii) trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas owned or administered by States may be designated as "National Recreation Trails" by the Secretary of the Interior with the consent of the State.

NATIONAL SCENIC TRAILS

SEC. 5. (a) National scenic trails shall be authorized and designated only by Act of Congress. There are hereby established as the initial National Scenic Trails:

(1) The Appalachian Trail, a trail of approximately two thousand miles extending generally along the Appalachian Mountains from Mount Katahdin, Maine, to Springer Mountain, Georgia. Insofar as practicable, the right-of-way for such trail shall comprise the trail depicted on the maps identified as "Nationwide System of Trails, Proposed Appalachian Trail, NST–AT–101–May 1967", which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director of the National Park Service. Where practicable, such rights-of-way shall include lands protected for it under agreements in effect as of the date of enactment of this Act, to which Federal agencies and States were parties. The Appalachian Trail shall be administered primarily as a footpath by the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture.

Rights-of-way.

(2) The Pacific Crest Trail, a trail of approximately two thousand three hundred fifty miles, extending from the Mexican-California border northward generally along the mountain ranges of the west coast States to the Canadian-Washington border near Lake Ross, following the route as generally depicted on the map, identified as "Nationwide System of Trails, Proposed Pacific Crest Trail, NST–PC–103–May 1967" which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Chief of the Forest Service. The Pacific Crest Trail shall be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with the Secretary of the Interior.

Administration.

(3) The Secretary of the Interior shall establish an advisory council for the Appalachian National Scenic Trail, and the Secretary of Agriculture shall establish an advisory council for the Pacific Crest National Scenic Trail. The appropriate Secretary shall consult with such council from time to time with respect to matters relating to the trail, including the selection of rights-of-way, standards of the erection and maintenance of markers along the trail, and the administration of the trail. The members of each advisory council, which shall not exceed thirty-five in number, shall serve without compensation or expense to the Federal Government for a term of five years and shall be appointed by the appropriate Secretary as follows:

Advisory councils.

Members; term of office.

(i) A member appointed to represent each Federal department or independent agency administering lands through which the trail route passes and each appointee shall be the person designated by the head of such department or agency;

(ii) A member appointed to represent each State through which the trail passes and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the Governors of such States;

(iii) One or more members appointed to represent private organizations, including landowners and land users, that, in the opinion of the Secretary, have an established and recognized interest in the trail and such appointments shall be made from recommendations

of the heads of such organizations: *Provided*, That the Appalachian Trail Conference shall be represented by a sufficient number of persons to represent the various sections of the country through which the Appalachian Trail passes; and

(iv) The Secretary shall designate one member to be chairman and shall fill vacancies in the same manner as the original appointment.

(b) The Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture where lands administered by him are involved, shall make such additional studies as are herein or may hereafter be authorized by the Congress for the purpose of determining the feasibility and desirability of designating other trails as national scenic trails. Such studies shall be made in consultation with the heads of other Federal agencies administering lands through which such additional proposed trails would pass and in cooperation with interested interstate, State, and local governmental agencies, public and private organizations, and landowners and land users concerned. When completed, such studies shall be the basis of appropriate proposals for additional national scenic trails which shall be submitted from time to time to the President and to the Congress. Such proposals shall be accompanied by a report, which shall be printed as a House or Senate document, showing among other things— Additional studies. Report to President and Congress.

(1) the proposed route of such trail (including maps and illustrations);

(2) the areas adjacent to such trails, to be utilized for scenic, historic, natural, cultural, or developmental, purposes;

(3) the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate Secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic trail;

(4) the current status of land ownership and current and potential use along the designated route;

(5) the estimated cost of acquisition of lands or interest in lands, if any;

(6) the plans for developing and maintaining the trail and the cost thereof;

(7) the proposed Federal administering agency (which, in the case of a national scenic trail wholly or substantially within a national forest, shall be the Department of Agriculture);

(8) the extent to which a State or its political subdivisions and public and private organizations might reasonably be expected to participate in acquiring the necessary lands and in the administration thereof; and

(9) the relative uses of the lands involved, including: the number of anticipated visitor-days for the entire length of, as well as for segments of, such trail; the number of months which such trail, or segments thereof, will be open for recreation purposes; the economic and social benefits which might accrue from alternate land uses; and the estimated man-years of civilian employment and expenditures expected for the purposes of maintenance, supervision, and regulation of such trail.

(c) The following routes shall be studied in accordance with the objectives outlined in subsection (b) of this section:

(1) Continental Divide Trail, a three-thousand-one-hundred-mile trail extending from near the Mexican border in southwestern New Mexico northward generally along the Continental Divide to the Canadian border in Glacier National Park.

(2) Potomac Heritage Trail, an eight-hundred-and-twenty-five-mile trail extending generally from the mouth of the Potomac River to its sources in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, including the one-hundred-and-seventy-mile Chesapeake and Ohio Canal towpath.

(3) Old Cattle Trails of the Southwest from the vicinity of San Antonio, Texas, approximately eight hundred miles through Oklahoma via Baxter Springs and Chetopa, Kansas, to Fort Scott, Kansas, including the Chisholm Trail, from the vicinity of San Antonio or Cuero, Texas, approximately eight hundred miles north through Oklahoma to Abilene, Kansas.

(4) Lewis and Clark Trail, from Wood River, Illinois, to the Pacific Ocean in Oregon, following both the outbound and inbound routes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

(5) Natchez Trace, from Nashville, Tennessee, approximately six hundred miles to Natchez, Mississippi.

(6) North Country Trail, from the Appalachian Trail in Vermont, approximately three thousand two hundred miles through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, to the Lewis and Clark Trail in North Dakota.

(7) Kittanning Trail from Shirleysburg in Huntingdon County to Kittanning, Armstrong County, Pennsylvania.

(8) Oregon Trail, from Independence, Missouri, approximately two thousand miles to near Fort Vancouver, Washington.

(9) Santa Fe Trail, from Independence, Missouri, approximately eight hundred miles to Sante Fe, New Mexico.

(10) Long Trail, extending two hundred and fifty-five miles from the Massachusetts border northward through Vermont to the Canadian border.

(11) Mormon Trail, extending from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake City, Utah, through the States of Iowa, Nebraska, and Wyoming.

(12) Gold Rush Trails in Alaska.

(13) Mormon Battalion Trail, extending two thousand miles from Mount Pisgah, Iowa, through Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona to Los Angeles, California.

(14) El Camino Real from St. Augustine to San Mateo, Florida, approximately 20 miles along the southern boundary of the St. Johns River from Fort Caroline National Memorial to the St. Augustine National Park Monument.

CONNECTING AND SIDE TRAILS

SEC. 6. Connecting or side trails within park, forest, and other recreation areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior or Secretary of Agriculture may be established, designated, and marked as components of a national recreation or national scenic trail. When no Federal land acquisition is involved, connecting or side trails may be located across lands administered by interstate, State, or local governmental agencies with their consent: *Provided*, That such trails provide additional points of public access to national recreation or scenic trails.

ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Publication in Federal Register.

SEC. 7. (a) Pursuant to section 5(a), the appropriate Secretary shall select the rights-of-way for National Scenic Trails and shall publish notice thereof in the Federal Register, together with appropriate maps and descriptions: *Provided*, That in selecting the rights-of-way full consideration shall be given to minimizing the adverse effects upon the adjacent landowner or user and his operation. Development and management of each segment of the National Trails System shall be designed to harmonize with and complement any established multiple-use plans for that specific area in order to insure continued maximum benefits from the land. The location and width of such rights-of-way across Federal lands under the jurisdiction of another Federal agency shall be by agreement between the head of that agency and the appro-

priate Secretary. In selecting rights-of-way for trail purposes, the Secretary shall obtain the advice and assistance of the States, local governments, private organizations, and landowners and land users concerned.

Relocation of right-of-way, determination.

(b) After publication of notice in the Federal Register, together with appropriate maps and descriptions, the Secretary charged with the administration of a national scenic trail may relocate segments of a national scenic trail right-of-way, with the concurrence of the head of the Federal agency having jurisdiction over the lands involved, upon a determination that: (i) such a relocation is necessary to preserve the purposes for which the trail was established, or (ii) the relocation is necessary to promote a sound land management program in accordance with established multiple-use principles: *Provided*, That a substantial relocation of the rights-of-way for such trail shall be by Act of Congress.

Facilities on trails.

(c) National scenic trails may contain campsites, shelters, and related-public-use facilities. Other uses along the trail, which will not substantially interfere with the nature and purposes of the trail, may be permitted by the Secretary charged with the administration of the trail. Reasonable efforts shall be made to provide sufficient access opportunities to such trails and, to the extent practicable, efforts shall be made to avoid activities incompatible with the purposes for which such trails were established. The use of motorized vehicles by the general public along any national scenic trail shall be prohibited and nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the use of motorized vehicles within the natural and historical areas of the national park system, the national wildlife refuge system, the national wilderness preservation system where they are presently prohibited or on other Federal lands where trails are designated as being closed to such use by the appropriate Secretary: *Provided*, That the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail shall establish regulations which shall authorize the use of motorized vehicles when, in his judgment, such vehicles are necessary to meet emergencies or to enable adjacent landowners or land users to have reasonable access to their lands or timber rights: *Provided further*, That private lands included in the national recreation or scenic trails by cooperative agreement of a landowner shall not preclude such owner from using motorized vehicles on or across such trails or adjacent lands from time to time in accordance with regulations to be established by the appropriate Secretary. The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with appropriate governmental agencies and public and private organizations, shall establish a uniform marker, including thereon an appropriate and distinctive symbol for each national recreation and scenic trail. Where the trails cross lands administered by Federal agencies such markers shall be erected at appropriate points along the trails and maintained by the Federal agency administering the trail in accordance with standards established by the appropriate Secretary and where the trails cross non-Federal lands, in accordance with written cooperative agreements, the appropriate Secretary shall provide such uniform markers to cooperating agencies and shall require such agencies to erect and maintain them in accordance with the standards established.

Motorized vehicles; prohibition, exceptions.

Uniform markers.

Acquisition of lands, use.

(d) Within the exterior boundaries of areas under their administration that are included in the right-of-way selected for a national recreation or scenic trail, the heads of Federal agencies may use lands for trail purposes and may acquire lands or interests in lands by written cooperative agreement, donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or exchange: *Provided*, That not more than twenty-five acres in any one mile may be acquired without the consent of the owner.

Acreage limitation.

Right-of-way lands outside exterior boundries.

(e) Where the lands included in a national scenic trail right-of-way are outside of the exterior boundaries of federally administered areas, the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail shall encourage the States or local governments involved (1) to enter into written cooperative agreements with landowners, private organizations, and individuals to provide the necessary trail right-of-way, or (2) to acquire such lands or interests therein to be utilized as segments of the national scenic trail: *Provided*, That if the State or local governments fail to enter into such written cooperative agreements or to acquire such lands or interests therein within two years after notice of the selection of the right-of-way is published, the appropriate Secretary may (i) enter into such agreements with landowners, States, local governments, private organizations, and individuals for the use of lands for trail purposes, or (ii) acquire private lands or interests therein by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds or exchange in accordance with the provisions of subsection (g) of this section. The lands involved in such rights-of-way should be acquired in fee, if other methods of public control are not sufficient to assure their use for the purpose for which they are acquired: *Provided*, That if the Secretary charged with the administration of such trail permanently relocates the right-of-way and disposes of all title or interest in the land, the original owner, or his heirs or assigns, shall be offered, by notice given at the former owner's last known address, the right of first refusal at the fair market price.

Property suitable for exchange.

(f) The Secretary of the Interior, in the exercise of his exchange authority, may accept title to any non-Federal property within the right-of-way and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction which is located in the State wherein such property is located and which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal. The values of the properties so exchanged either shall be approximately equal, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require. The Secretary of Agriculture, in the exercise of his exchange authority, may utilize authorities and procedures available to him in connection with exchanges of national forest lands.

Use of condemnation proceedings to acquire private lands.

(g) The appropriate Secretary may utilize condemnation proceedings without the consent of the owner to acquire private lands or interests therein pursuant to this section only in cases where, in his judgment, all reasonable efforts to acquire such lands or interests therein by negotiation have failed, and in such cases he shall acquire only such title as, in his judgment, is reasonably necessary to provide passage across such lands: *Provided*, That condemnation proceedings may not be utilized to acquire fee title or lesser interests to more than twenty-five acres in any one mile and when used such authority shall be limited to the most direct or practicable connecting trail right-of-way: *Provided further*, That condemnation is prohibited with respect to all acquisition of lands or interest in lands for the purposes of the Pacific Crest Trail. Money appropriated for Federal purposes from the land and water conservation fund shall, without prejudice to appropriations from other sources, be available to Federal departments for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands for the purposes of this Act.

Limitation.

Pacific Crest Trail.

Lands within federally administered areas.

(h) The Secretary charged with the administration of a national recreation or scenic trail shall provide for the development and maintenance of such trails within federally administered areas and shall cooperate with and encourage the States to operate, develop, and maintain portions of such trails which are located outside the boundaries of federally administered areas. When deemed to be in the public interest, such Secretary may enter written cooperative agreements with the States or their political subdivisions, landowners, private organi-

zations, or individuals to operate, develop, and maintain any portion of a national scenic trail either within or outside a federally administered area.

Whenever the Secretary of the Interior makes any conveyance of land under any of the public land laws, he may reserve a right-of-way for trails to the extent he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act. Right-of-way reservation.

(i) The appropriate Secretary, with the concurrence of the heads of any other Federal agencies administering lands through which a national recreation or scenic trail passes, and after consultation with the States, local governments, and organizations concerned, may issue regulations, which may be revised from time to time, governing the use, protection, management, development, and administration of trails of the national trails system. In order to maintain good conduct on and along the trails located within federally administered areas and to provide for the proper government and protection of such trails, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall prescribe and publish such uniform regulations as they deem necessary and any person who violates such regulations shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and may be punished by a fine of not more than $500, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment. Regulations. Publication. Penalty.

STATE AND METROPOLITAN AREA TRAILS

SEC. 8. (a) The Secretary of the Interior is directed to encourage States to consider, in their comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plans and proposals for financial assistance for State and local projects submitted pursuant to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, needs and opportunities for establishing park, forest, and other recreation trails on lands owned or administered by States, and recreation trails on lands in or near urban areas. He is further directed, in accordance with the authority contained in the Act of May 28, 1963 (77 Stat. 49), to encourage States, political subdivisions, and private interests, including nonprofit organizations, to establish such trails. 78 Stat. 897. 16 USC 460*l*-4 note. 16 USC 460*l*-460*l*-3.

(b) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is directed, in administering the program of comprehensive urban planning and assistance under section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, to encourage the planning of recreation trails in connection with the recreation and transportation planning for metropolitan and other urban areas. He is further directed, in administering the urban open-space program under title VII of the Housing Act of 1961, to encourage such recreation trails. 73 Stat. 678; 78 Stat. 792; 81 Stat. 262. 40 USC 461. 75 Stat. 183. 42 USC 1500 *et seq.*

(c) The Secretary of Agriculture is directed, in accordance with authority vested in him, to encourage States and local agencies and private interests to establish such trails.

(d) Such trails may be designated and suitably marked as parts of the nationwide system of trails by the States, their political subdivisions, or other appropriate administering agencies with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Suitable markings.

RIGHTS-OF-WAY AND OTHER PROPERTIES

SEC. 9. (a) The Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture as the case may be, may grant easements and rights-of-way upon, over, under, across, or along any component of the national trails system in accordance with the laws applicable to the national park system and the national forest system, respectively: *Provided*, That any conditions contained in such easements and rights-of-way shall be related to the policy and purposes of this Act. Easements and rights-of-way.

Cooperation of Federal agencies.

(b) The Department of Defense, the Department of Transportation, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and other Federal agencies having jurisdiction or control over or information concerning the use, abandonment, or disposition of roadways, utility rights-of-way, or other properties which may be suitable for the purpose of improving or expanding the national trails system shall cooperate with the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture in order to assure, to the extent practicable, that any such properties having values suitable for trail purposes may be made available for such use.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 10. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands not more than $5,000,000 for the Appalachian National Scenic Trail and not more than $500,000 for the Pacific Crest National Scenic Trail.

Approved October 2, 1968.

Public Law 90-544

October 2, 1968
[S. 1321]

AN ACT

To establish the North Cascades National Park and Ross Lake and Lake Chelan National Recreation Areas, to designate the Pasayten Wilderness and to modify the Glacier Peak Wilderness, in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.

State of Washington.
Certain recreation areas.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—NORTH CASCADES NATIONAL PARK

Establishment.

SEC. 101. In order to preserve for the benefit, use, and inspiration of present and future generations certain majestic mountain scenery, snow fields, glaciers, alpine meadows, and other unique natural features in the North Cascade Mountains of the State of Washington, there is hereby established, subject to valid existing rights, the North Cascades National Park (hereinafter referred to in this Act as the "park"). The park shall consist of the lands, waters, and interests therein within the area designated "national park" on the map entitled "Proposed Management Units, North Cascades, Washington," numbered NP–CAS–7002, and dated October 1967. The map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, and in the office of the Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture.

National Parks and Recreation Act of November 10, 1978, 92 Stat. 3467 (P.L. 95-625), Title V, Subtitle B, Section 551.

Public Law 95-625
95th Congress

An Act

To authorize additional appropriations for the acquisition of lands and interests in lands within the Sawtooth National Recreation Area in Idaho.

Nov. 10, 1978
[S. 791]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978.

SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978". 16 USC 1 note.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.
Sec. 2. Definition.
Sec. 3. Authorization of appropriations.

TITLE I—DEVELOPMENT CEILING INCREASES

Sec. 101. Specific increases.
Agate Fossil Beds National Monument.
Andersonville National Historic Site.
Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
Biscayne National Monument.
Capitol Reef National Park.
Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site.
Cowpens National Battlefield Site.
De Soto National Memorial.
Fort Bowie National Historic Site.
Frederick Douglass Home, District of Columbia.
Grant Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site.
Guadalupe Mountains National Park.
Gulf Islands National Seashore.
Harper's Ferry National Historical Park.
Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site.
Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.
John Muir National Historic Site.
Lands in Prince Georges and Charles Counties, Maryland.
Longfellow National Historic Site.
Pecos National Monument.
Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial.
San Juan Island National Historical Park.
Sitka National Historical Park.
Statue of Liberty National Monument.
Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site.
Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site.
Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area.
William Howard Taft National Historic Site.
Wilson's Creek National Battlefield.

TITLE II—ACQUISITION CEILING INCREASES

Sec. 201. Acquisition ceilings.
Big Cypress National Preserve.
Buffalo National River.
Cumberland Island National Seashore.
Sec. 202. Sawtooth National Recreation Area.

TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

TITLE III—BOUNDARY CHANGES

Sec. 301. Revision of boundaries.
Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site.
Cape Cod National Seashore.
Chiricahua National Monument.
Coronado National Memorial.
Eisenhower National Historic Site.
Fort Caroline National Memorial.
George Washington Birthplace National Monument.
Great Sand Dunes National Monument.
Gulf Islands National Seashore.
Hawaii Volcanoes National Park.
John Day Fossil Beds National Monument.
Monocacy National Battlefield.
Montezuma Castle National Monument.
Oregon Caves National Monument.
Salem Maritime National Historic Site.
Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park.
Tumacacori National Monument.
Tuzigoot National Monument.
White Sands National Monument.
William Howard Taft National Historic Site.
Wind Cave National Park.
Sec. 302. Maps and descriptions.
Sec. 303. Acquisition and disposal of lands.
Sec. 304. Other authorities.
Sec. 305. Name change; City of Refuge National Historical Park.
Sec. 306. Black Hammock Island.
Sec. 307. Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site and Johnstown Flood National Memorial.
Sec. 308. Fort Laramie National Historic Site.
Sec. 309. Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site.
Sec. 310. Addition of Dorchester Heights to the Boston National Historical Park.
Sec. 311. Fort Clatsop National Memorial.
Sec. 312. Adams National Historic Site, Massachusetts.
Sec. 313. Addition of Eppes Manor to Petersburg National Battlefield.
Sec. 314. Addition of Mineral King Valley to Sequoia National Park.
Sec. 315. Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area.
Sec. 316. Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area.
Sec. 317. Golden Gate National Recreation Area.
Sec. 318. Point Reyes National Seashore.
Sec. 319. Antietam National Battlefield.
Sec. 320. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park.
Sec. 321. Alibates Flint Quarries and Texas Panhandle Pueblo Culture National Monument.
Sec. 322. Fire Island National Seashore.
Sec. 323. Cumberland Island National Seashore.

TITLE IV—WILDERNESS

Sec. 401. Designation of areas.
Sec. 402. Map and description.
Sec. 403. Cessation of certain uses.
Sec. 404. Administration.
Sec. 405. Savings provisions.

TITLE V—ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW AREAS AND ADDITIONS TO NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM

Subtitle A—Parks, Seashores, Etc.

Sec. 501. Guam National Seashore.
Sec. 502. Pine Barrens Area, New Jersey.
Sec. 503. Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site.
Sec. 504. Saint Paul's Church, Eastchester.
Sec. 505. Kaloko-Honokohau National Historical Park.
Sec. 506. Palo Alto Battlefield National Historic Site.
Sec. 507. Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area.
Sec. 508. Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve.

TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

TITLE V—ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW AREAS AND ADDITIONS TO NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM—Continued

Subtitle A—Parks, Seashores, Etc.—Continued

Sec. 509. Friendship Hill National Historic Site.
Sec. 510. Thomas Stone National Historic Site.
Sec. 511. Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site
Sec. 512. Crow Creek Village Archeological Site.

Subtitle B—Trails

Sec. 551. Amendments to National Trail Systems Act.

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Sec. 601. Facilities at Yellowstone National Park.
Sec. 602. Ridgelands Area study.
Sec. 603. Preservation of historical and archaeological data.
Sec. 604. New area studies, general management plans, and contracts.
Sec. 605. Oak Creek Canyon and Chiricahua National Monument studies.
Sec. 606. Land and Water Conservation Fund accomplishments reporting date.
Sec. 607. Hells Canyon National Recreation Area.
Sec. 608. Irvine Coast-Laguna, California study.
Sec. 609. Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural National Historic Site.
Sec. 610. Theodore Roosevelt National Park.
Sec. 611. Badlands National Park.
Sec. 612. Albert Einstein Memorial.
Sec. 613. Pearson-Skubitz Big Hill Lake.
Sec. 614. Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

TITLE VII—WILD AND SCENIC RIVERS ACT AMENDMENTS

Subtitle A—Addition of Segments

Sec. 701. Addition of Pere Marquette Segment.
Sec. 702. Addition of Rio Grande Segment.
Sec. 703. Addition of Skagit Segments.
Sec. 704. Addition of Upper Delaware Segment; special provisions.
Sec. 705. Addition of Middle Delaware Segment.
Sec. 706. Addition of the American Segment.
Sec. 707. Addition of Missouri Segment.
Sec. 708. Addition of Saint Joe Segments.

Subtitle B—Studies

Sec. 721. Designation of the Kern River (North Fork) for study.
Sec. 722. Designation of the Loxahatchee River for study.
Sec. 723. Designation of the Ogeechee River for study.
Sec. 724. Designation of certain segment of the Salt River for study.
Sec. 725. Designation of the Verde River for study.
Sec. 726. Designation of the San Francisco River for study.
Sec. 727. Designation of Fish Creek for study.
Sec. 728. Designation of Black Creek for study.
Sec. 729. Designation of Allegheny River for study.
Sec. 730. Designation of the Cacapon River for study.
Sec. 731. Designation of the Escatawpa River for study.
Sec. 732. Designation of the Myakka River for study.
Sec. 733. Designation of Soldier Creek for study.
Sec. 734. Designation of Red River for study.
Sec. 735. Authorization for study.
Sec. 736. Study period.

Subtitle C—Authorizations for Funding

Sec. 751. Eleven Point River.
Sec. 752. Rogue River.
Sec. 753. Saint Croix River.
Sec. 754. Salmon River.
Sec. 755. Chattooga River.

TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

TITLE VII—WILD AND SCENIC RIVERS ACT AMENDMENTS—Continued

Subtitle D—Amendments to Public Law 90-542

Sec. 761. Technical amendments.
Sec. 762. Federal lands; cooperative agreements.
Sec. 763. Miscellaneous technical amendments.
Sec. 764. Lease of Federal lands.

TITLE VIII—RECOGNITION OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM M. KETCHUM

Sec. 801. Recognition of the Honorable William M. Ketchum.

TITLE IX—JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

TITLE X—URBAN PARK AND RECREATION RECOVERY PROGRAM

TITLE XI—NEW RIVER GORGE NATIONAL RIVER

TITLE XII—FORT SCOTT NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

TITLE XIII—REPORT AND BOUNDARY REVISION

Sec. 1301. Beaverhead or Gallatin National Forests.
Sec. 1302. Hampton National Historic Site.

DEFINITION

SEC. 2. As used in this Act, except as otherwise specifically provided, the term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Effective date.

SEC. 3. Authorizations of moneys to be appropriated under this Act shall be effective on October 1, 1978. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, authority to enter into contracts, to incur obligations, or to make payments under this Act shall be effective only to the extent, and in such amounts, as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

TITLE I—DEVELOPMENT CEILING INCREASES

SPECIFIC INCREASES

Appropriation authorizations.

SEC. 101. The limitations on funds for development within certain units of the National Park System and affiliated areas are amended as follows:

16 USC 431 note.

(1) Agate Fossil Beds National Monument, Nebraska: Section 4 of the Act of June 5, 1965 (79 Stat. 123), is amended by changing "$1,842,000" to "$2,012,000".

(2) Andersonville National Historic Site, Georgia: Section 4 of the Act of October 16, 1970 (84 Stat. 989), is amended by changing "$1,605,000" to "$2,205,000 for development.", and by deleting "(March 1969 prices), for development, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuation in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indices applicable to the types of construction involved herein.".

(3) Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, Tennessee: Section 3 of the Act of December 11, 1963 (77 Stat. 350) is amended by changing "$266,000" to "$286,000".

16 USC 450qq-4

(4) Biscayne National Monument, Florida: Section 5 of the Act of October 18, 1968 (82 Stat. 1188), is amended by changing "$2,900,000" to "$6,565,000".

(2) Within three complete fiscal years from the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary shall develop and transmit to the Committees referred to in subsection (b) a general management plan for the historic site consistent with the purposes of this section. Such plan shall indicate— Plan, transmittal to congressional committees.

(i) facilities needed to accommodate the health, safety, and educational needs of the public;

(ii) the location and estimated cost of all facilities; and

(iii) the projected need for any additional facilities.

CROW CREEK VILLAGE ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE

SEC. 512. (a) The Secretary shall prepare and transmit to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives within two years from the date of enactment, a feasibility/suitability study of the Crow Creek Village archeological site, Buffalo County, South Dakota, as a unit of the National Park System. The study shall include cost estimates for any necessary acquisition, development, operation and maintenance, as well as any feasibile alternatives for the administration and protection of the area, including, but not limited to, Federal financial and technical assistance to the State of South Dakota, Buffalo County or other suitable entity. Feasibility/suitability study, transmittal to congressional committees. 16 USC 1a-5 note. Cost estimates.

(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of the Army is directed to take such actions as may be necessary to preserve and protect such site from any adverse impact on the site and to refrain from any activities which might cause such impact until two years from the date of submission of the study by the Secretary. Site preservation.

Subtitle B—Trails

SEC. 551. The National Trails System Act (82 Stat. 919; 16 U.S.C. 1241), as amended, is further amended as follows:

(1) In section 2(a) after "promote" insert "the preservation of,"; and after "outdoor areas" insert "and historic resources". 16 USC 1241.

(2) In section 2(a) delete "(ii)" and the remainder of the sentence and insert "(ii) secondarily, within scenic areas and along historic travel routes of the Nation, which are often more remotely located.".

(3) In section 2(b) delete "and scenic" and insert ", scenic and historic".

(4) In section 3 redesignate subsection "(c)" as "(d)", and insert a new subsection (c) as follows: National historic trails. 16 USC 1242. 16 USC 1244.

"(c) National historic trails, established as provided in section 5 of this Act, which will be extended trails which follow as closely as possible and practicable the original trails or routes of travel of national historical significance. Designation of such trails or routes shall be continuous, but the established or developed trail, and the acquisition thereof, need not be continuous onsite. National historic trails shall have as their purpose the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment. Only those selected land and water based components of an historic trail which are on federally owned lands and which meet the national historic trail criteria established in this Act, are established as initial Federal protection components of a national historic trail. The appropriate Secretary may subsequently certify other lands as protected segments of an historic trail upon application from State or local governmental agencies or private interests involved Protected segments, certification.

if such segments meet the national historic trail criteria established in this Act and such criteria supplementary thereto as the appropriate Secretary may prescribe, and are administered by such agencies or interests without expense to the United States.".

Ante, p. 3511.
16 USC 1242.

(5) In the new section 3(d) delete "or national scenic" and insert ", national scenic or national historic".

(6) Change the title of section 5 to read "NATIONAL SCENIC AND NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAILS".

Establishments.
16 USC 1244.

(7) In section 5(a), insert in the first sentence after the word "scenic" the words "and national historic" and change the second sentence to read: "There are hereby established the following National Scenic and National Historic Trails:".

(8) In section 5(a)(1), in the first sentence, after the word "Appalachian", insert "National Scenic", and in section 5(a)(2), in the first sentence, after "Pacific Crest", insert "National Scenic".

(9) In section 5(a), delete paragraph (3) and insert in lieu the following new paragraphs:

Oregon National Historic Trail.

"(3) The Oregon National Historic Trail, a route of approximately two thousand miles extending from near Independence, Missouri, to the vicinity of Portland, Oregon, following a route as depicted on maps identified as 'Primary Route of the Oregon Trail 1841–1848', in the Department of the Interior's Oregon Trail study report dated April 1977, and which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director of the National Park Service. The trail shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail.

"(4) The Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail, a route of approximately one thousand three hundred miles extending from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Salt Lake City, Utah, following the primary historical route of the Mormon Trail as generally depicted on a map, identified as, 'Mormon Trail Vicinity Map, figure 2' in the Department of the Interior Mormon Trail study report dated March 1977, and which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director, National Park Service, Washington, D.C. The trail shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior.

Continental Divide National Scenic Trail.

"(5) The Continential Divide National Scenic Trail, a trail of approximately thirty-one hundred miles, extending from the Montana-Canada border to the New Mexico-Mexico border, following the approximate route depicted on the map, identified as 'Proposed Continental Divide National Scenic Trail' in the Department of the Interior Continental Divide Trail study report dated March 1977 and which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Chief, Forest Service, Washington, D.C. The Continental Divide National Scenic Trail shall be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture in consultation with the Secretary of the Interior. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 7(c), the use of motorized vehicles on roads which will be designated segments of the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail shall be permitted in accordance with regulations prescribed by the appropriate Secretary.

16 USC 1246.

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

"(6) The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, a trail of approximately three thousand seven hundred miles, extending from Wood River, Illinois, to the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon, following the outbound and inbound routes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition depicted on maps identified as, 'Vicinity Map, Lewis and Clark Trail' study report dated April 1977. The map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director, National Park Service, Washington, D.C. The trail shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior.

"(7) The Iditarod National Historic Trail, a route of approximately two thousand miles extending from Seward, Alaska, to Nome, Alaska, following the routes as depicted on maps identified as 'Seward-Nome Trail', in the Department of the Interior's study report entitled 'The Iditarod Trail (Seward-Nome Route) and other Alaskan Gold Rush Trails' dated September 1977. The map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director, National Park Service, Washington, D.C. The trail shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior.". Iditarod National Historic Trail.

(10) In section 5(b) after "national scenic" wherever it appears insert "or national historic"; in the first sentence after the phrase "Secretary of the Interior," insert "through the agency most likely to administer such trail,"; delete the third sentence; and delete that portion of the fourth sentence which precedes the numerical listing, and insert in lieu the following: "The studies listed in subsection (c) of this section shall be completed and submitted to the Congress, with recommendations as to the suitability of trail designation, not later than three complete fiscal years from the date of enactment of their addition to this subsection, or from the date of enactment of this sentence, whichever is later. Such studies, when submitted, shall be printed as a House or Senate document, and shall include, but not be limited to:". 16 USC 1244. Studies, submittal to Congress.

(11) In section 5(b)(3) after the semicolon add "and in the case of national historic trails the report shall include the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior's National Park System Advisory Board as to the national historic significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (49 Stat. 666; U.S.C. 461);". Recommendations, inclusion.

(12) In section 5(b)(8) delete the word "and" at the end of the sentence; in section 5(b)(9) change the period at the end of the sentence to a semicolon; and at the end of section 5(b) add the following new paragraphs: Additional trails proposals and report, provisions.

"(10) the anticipated impact of public outdoor recreation use on the preservation of a proposed national historic trail and its related historic and archeological features and settings, including the measures proposed to ensure evaluation and preservation of the values that contribute to their national historic significance; and

"(11) to qualify for designation as a national historic trail, a trail must meet all three of the following criteria:

"(A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should generally accurately follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variation offering a more pleasurable recreational experience. Such deviations shall be so noted on site. Trail segments no longer possible to travel by trail due to subsequent development as motorized transportation routes may be designated and marked onsite as segments which link to the historic trail.

"(B) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as

39-194 O—80—pt 3——56 QL3

Nationally significant, qualifications.

trade and commerce, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of native Americans may be included.

"(C) It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails, and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.".

16 USC 1244.

(13) In section 5(c), add the following at the end thereof:

"(20) Overmountain Victory Trail, extending from the vicinity of Elizabethton, Tennessee, to Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina.".

Trail advisory councils, establishments.

(14) In section 5 delete subsection (d), and insert a new section 5(d) to read as follows:

"(d) The Secretary charged with the administration of each respective trail shall, within one year of the date of the addition of any national scenic or national historic trail to the System, and within sixty days of the enactment of this sentence for the Appalachian and Pacific Crest National Scenic Trails, establish an advisory council for each such trail, each of which councils shall expire ten years from the date of its establishment. The appropriate Secretary shall consult with such council from time to time with respect to matters relating to the trail, including the selection of rights-of-way, standards for the erection and maintenance of markers along the trail, and the administration of the trail. The members of each advisory council, which shall not exceed thirty-five in number, shall serve for a term of two years and without compensation as such, but the Secretary may pay, upon vouchers signed by the chairman of the council, the expenses reasonably incurred by the council and its members in carrying out their responsibilities under this section. Members of each council shall be appointed by the appropriate Secretary as follows:

Term and compensation.

Membership.

"(i) a member appointed to represent each Federal department or independent agency administering lands through which the trail route passes, and each appointee shall be the person designated by the head of such department or agency;

"(ii) a member appointed to represent each State through which the trail passes, and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the Governors of such States;

"(iii) one or more members appointed to represent private organizations, including corporate and individual landowners and land users, which in the opinion of the Secretary, have an established and recognized interest in the trail, and such appointments shall be made from recommendations of the heads of such organizations: *Provided*, That the Appalachian Trail Conference shall be represented by a sufficient number of persons to represent the various sections of the country through which the Appalachian Trail passes; and

Chairman.

"(iv) the Secretary shall designate one member to be chairman and shall fill vacancies in the same manner as the original appointment.".

(15) In section 5 add two new subsections (e) and (f) as follows: 16 USC 1244. Comprehensive plan, consultation and submittal to congressional committees.

"(e) Within two complete fiscal years of the date of enactment of legislation designating a national scenic trail, except for the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail, as part of the system, and within two complete fiscal years of the date of enactment of this subsection for the Pacific Crest and Appalachian Trails, the responsible Secretary shall, after full consultation with affected Federal land managing agencies, the Governors of the affected States, the relevant advisory council established pursuant to section 5(d), and the Appalachian Trail Conference in the case of the Appalachian Trail, submit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate, a comprehensive plan for the acquisition, management, development, and use of the trail, including but not limited to, the following items:

Ante, p. 3514.

"(1) specific objectives and practices to be observed in the management of the trail, including the identification of all significant natural, historical, and cultural resources to be preserved (along with high potential historic sites and high potential route segments in the case of national historic trails), details of anticipated cooperative agreements to be consummated with other entities, and an identified carrying capacity of the trail and a plan for its implementation;

"(2) an acquisition or protection plan, by fiscal year, for all lands to be acquired by fee title or lesser interest, along with detailed explanation of anticipated necessary cooperative agreements for any lands not to be acquired; and

"(3) general and site-specific development plans including anticipated costs.

"(f) Within two complete fiscal years of the date of enactment of legislation designating a national historic trail or the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail as part of the system, the responsible Secretary shall, after full consultation with affected Federal land managing agencies, the Governors of the affected States, and the relevant Advisory Council established pursuant to section 5(d) of this Act, submit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate, a comprehensive plan for the management, and use of the trail, including but not limited to, the following items: Comprehensive plan, consultation and submittal to congressional committees.

"(1) specific objectives and practices to be observed in the management of the trail, including the identification of all significant natural, historical, and cultural resources to be preserved, details of any anticipated cooperative agreements to be consummated with State and local government agencies or private interests, and for national scenic or national recreational trails an identified carrying capacity of the trail and a plan for its implementation; and

"(2) the process to be followed by the appropriate Secretary to implement the marking requirements established in section 7(c) of this Act.".

16 USC 1246.

(16) In section 6 in the first sentence delete "or national scenic," and insert ", national scenic or national historic", and in the second sentence delete "or scenic" and insert ", national scenic, or national historic". 16 USC 1245.

(17) In section 7(a) in the first sentence delete "National Scenic Trails" and insert "national scenic and national historic trails"; in two instances in subsection (b), and in the first sentence of subsection

(c), after "scenic", insert "or national historic"; in subsection (c) in the second proviso, after "recreation" delete "or scenic" and insert ", national scenic, or national historic"; and in the fifth sentence after "recreation" delete "and scenic" and insert ", national scenic, and national historic"; in subsection (d) after "recreation" delete "or scenic" and insert ", national scenic, or national historic"; in subsection (e) after "scenic" in both instances where it appears insert "or national historic"; in subsection (h) in the first sentence after "recreation" delete "or scenic" and insert ", national scenic, or national historic", and in the second sentence after "scenic" insert "or national historic"; in subsection (i) after "recreation" delete "or scenic" and insert ", national scenic, or national historic".

Trail markers.
16 USC 1246.

(18) In section 7(c) at the end of the fourth sentence insert the following: "Where a national historic trail follows existing public roads, developed rights-of-way or waterways, and similar features of man's nonhistorically related development, approximating the original location of a historic route, such segments may be marked to facilitate retracement of the historic route, and where a national historic trail parallels an existing public road, such road may be marked to commemorate the historic route.".

16 USC 1246 note.

Other uses along the historic trails and the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail, which will not substantially interfere with the nature and purposes of the trail, and which, at the time of designation, are allowed by administrative regulations, including the use of motorized vehicles, shall be permitted by the Secretary charged with the administration of the trail.

(19) In section 7(e), in the first proviso, delete "within two years".

(20) In section 7(g), delete the second proviso entirely.

(21) At the end of subsection 7(g) add the following new sentence: "For national historic trails, direct Federal acquisition for trail purposes shall be limited to those areas indicated by the study report or by the comprehensive plan as high potential route segments or high potential historic sites.".

16 USC 1246 note.

No land or site located along a designated national historic trail or along the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail shall be subject to the provisions of section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act (49 U.S.C. 1653(f)) unless such land or site is deemed to be of historical significance under appropriate historical site criteria such as those for the National Register of Historic Places.

16 USC 1247.

(22) In section 8 in the first sentence of subsection (a) after "establishing park, forest, and other recreation" insert "and historic" and after "administered by States, and recreation" insert "and historic"; and at the end of the first sentence insert the following: "The Secretary is also directed to encourage States to consider, in their comprehensive statewide historic preservation plans and proposals for financial assistance for State, local, and private projects submitted pursuant to the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 915), as amended, needs and opportunities for establishing historic trails.".

16 USC 470 note.

(23) In section 10, strike "(a) (1)" and insert in lieu thereof "(a)"; strike "the subsequent fiscal year" and insert in lieu thereof "subsequent fiscal years"; strike the paragraph numbered "(2)" in its entirety; and add a new "subsection (c)" as follows: 16 USC 1249.

"(c) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to implement the provisions of this Act relating to the trails designated by paragraphs 5(a) (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7): *Provided*, That no such funds are authorized to be appropriated prior to October 1, 1979: *And provided further*, That notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act or any other provisions of law, no funds may be expended for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands for the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail, the Oregon National Historic Trail, the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, and the Iditarod National Historic Trail.". Appropriation authorization.

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

FACILITIES AT YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

SEC. 601. (a) The Secretary is hereby authorized to acquire and upgrade the concession facilities owned by the Yellowstone Park Company at Yellowstone National Park in the State of Wyoming.

(b) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section. Appropriation authorization.

RIDGELANDS AREA STUDY

SEC. 602. (a) In order to consider preserving in their natural condition appropriate segments of the Ridgelands east of San Francisco Bay for protection of the area's unique ecology and topography and for public outdoor recreation, the Secretary shall study, investigate, and formulate recommendations on the feasibility and desirability of establishing such area as a unit of the National Park System. The Secretary shall consult with the Secretary of Agriculture, the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, and any other appropriate Federal agencies, as well as with the East Bay Regional Park District, the Association of Bay Area Governments, and other State and local bodies and officials involved, and shall coordinate the study with applicable local and State plans and planning activities relating to the Ridgelands. Federal departments and agencies are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Secretary and, to the extent permitted by law, to furnish such statistics, data, reports, and other material as the Secretary may deem necessary for purposes of the study. 16 USC 1a–5 note. Consultation and coordination.

(b) The Secretary shall submit to the President and the Congress of the United States, within one year after the date of enactment of Report to President and Congress.

Act to amend the National Trails System Act by designating additional national scenic and historic trails, March 28, 1983, 97 Stat. 42 (P.L. 98-11)

Public Law 98-11
98th Congress

An Act

Mar. 28, 1983
[S. 271]

To amend the National Trails System Act by designating additional national scenic and historic trails, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

National Trails System Act, amendment.

TITLE I—LIMITATION ON APPROPRIATIONS

16 USC 1249 note.

SEC. 101. Authorizations of appropriations under this Act shall be effective only for the fiscal year beginning on October 1, 1983, and subsequent fiscal years. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, authority to enter into contracts, and to make payments, under this Act shall be effective only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO THE NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM ACT

National Trails System Act Amendments of 1983.
16 USC 1241 note.

SEC. 201. This title may be cited as the "National Trails System Act Amendments of 1983".

SEC. 202. Section 2 of the National Trails System Act (82 Stat. 919; 16 U.S.C. 1241 et seq.) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b), by striking out "the purpose" and inserting in lieu thereof "The purpose"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) The Congress recognizes the valuable contributions that volunteers and private, nonprofit trail groups have made to the development and maintenance of the Nation's trails. In recognition of these contributions, it is further the purpose of this Act to encourage and assist volunteer citizen involvement in the planning, development, maintenance, and management, where appropriate, of trails.".

16 USC 1242.

SEC. 203. Section 3 of the National Trails System Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "composed of—" and inserting in lieu thereof "composed of the following:";

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (a) through (d) as paragraphs (1) through (4), respectively, and by inserting "(a)" after "SEC. 3.";

(3) in paragraph (2) of subsection (a) (as so redesignated), by adding at the end thereof the following: "National scenic trails may be located so as to represent desert, marsh, grassland, mountain, canyon, river, forest, and other areas, as well as landforms which exhibit significant characteristics of the physiographic regions of the Nation.";

(4) in the fourth sentence of paragraph (3) of subsection (a) (as so redesignated), by striking out "Act, are established as initial" and inserting in lieu thereof "Act are included as";

(5) in the fifth sentence of paragraph (3) of subsection (a) (as so redesignated), by striking out "subsequently"; and

(6) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(b) For purposes of this section, the term 'extended trails' means trails or trail segments which total at least one hundred miles in length, except that historic trails of less than one hundred miles may be designated as extended trails. While it is desirable that extended trails be continuous, studies of such trails may conclude that it is feasible to propose one or more trail segments which, in the aggregate, constitute at least one hundred miles in length. "Extended trails."

"(c) On October 1, 1982, and at the beginning of each odd numbered fiscal year thereafter, the Secretary of the Interior shall submit to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and to the President of the United States Senate, an initial and revised (respectively) National Trails System plan. Such comprehensive plan shall indicate the scope and extent of a completed nationwide system of trails, to include (1) desirable nationally significant scenic and historic components which are considered necessary to complete a comprehensive national system, and (2) other trails which would balance out a complete and comprehensive nationwide system of trails. Such plan, and the periodic revisions thereto, shall be prepared in full consultation with the Secretary of Agriculture, the Governors of the various States, and the trails community.". Plan submittal.

SEC. 204. Section 4(b) of the National Trails System Act is amended— 16 USC 1243.

(1) in clauses (i) and (ii) by striking out "Secretary of the Interior" and inserting in lieu thereof "appropriate Secretary";

(2) in clause (i), by striking out "agencies, and" and inserting in lieu thereof "agencies;";

(3) in clause (ii), by striking out the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and

(4) by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(iii) trails on privately owned lands may be designated 'National Recreation Trails' by the appropriate Secretary with the written consent of the owner of the property involved.".

SEC. 205. (a) Section 5(a) of the National Trails System Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: 16 USC 1244.

"(11) The Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail, a corridor of approximately seven hundred and four miles following the route as generally depicted on the map identified as 'National Trails System, Proposed Potomac Heritage Trail' in 'The Potomac Heritage Trail', a report prepared by the Department of the Interior and dated December 1974, except that no designation of the trail shall be made in the State of West Virginia. The map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director of the National Park Service, Washington, District of Columbia. The trail shall initially consist of only those segments of the corridor located within the exterior boundaries of federally administered areas. No lands or interests therein outside the exterior boundaries of any federally administered area may be acquired by the Federal Government for the Potomac Heritage Trail. The Secretary of the Interior may designate lands outside of federally administered areas as segments of the trail, only upon application from the States or local governmental agencies involved, if such segments meet the criteria established in this Act and are administered by such agencies without expense to the United States. The trail shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior. Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail. Map; public availability.

Natchez Trace National Scenic Trail.

"(12) The Natchez Trace National Scenic Trail, a trail system of approximately six hundred and ninety-four miles extending from Nashville, Tennessee, to Natchez, Mississippi, as depicted on the map entitled 'Concept Plan, Natchez Trace Trails Study' in 'The Natchez Trace', a report prepared by the Department of the Interior and dated August 1979. The map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Director of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, District of Columbia. The trail shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior.

Map; public availability.

Florida National Scenic Trail.

"(13) The Florida National Scenic Trail, a route of approximately thirteen hundred miles extending through the State of Florida as generally depicted in 'The Florida Trail', a national scenic trail study draft report prepared by the Department of the Interior and dated February 1980. The report shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Chief of the Forest Service, Washington, District of Columbia. No lands or interests therein outside the exterior boundaries of any federally administered area may be acquired by the Federal Government for the Florida Trail except with the consent of the owner thereof. The Secretary of Agriculture may designate lands outside of federally administered areas as segments of the trail, only upon application from the States or local governmental agencies involved, if such segments meet the criteria established in this Act and are administered by such agencies without expense to the United States. The trail shall be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.".

Report; public availability.

16 USC 1244.

(b) Section 5(b) of the National Trails System Act is amended—

(1) by inserting after the second sentence the following: "The feasibility of designating a trail shall be determined on the basis of an evaluation of whether or not it is physically possible to develop a trail along a route being studied, and whether the development of a trail would be financially feasible.";

(2) in paragraph (b)(3), by inserting "16" before "U.S.C."; and

(3) in paragraph (b)(11)(B) by inserting the word "exploration," after "commerce," in the first sentence.

(c) Section 5(c) of the National Trails System Act is amended—

(1) in paragraph (9), by striking out "Sante Fe" and inserting in lieu thereof "Santa Fe"; and

(2) by adding after paragraph (23) the following:

"(24) Juan Bautista de Anza Trail, following the overland route taken by Juan Bautista de Anza in connection with his travels from the United Mexican States to San Francisco, California.

"(25) Trail of Tears, including the associated forts and specifically, Fort Mitchell, Alabama, and historic properties, extending from the vicinity of Murphy, North Carolina, through Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, to the vicinity of Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

"(26) Illinois Trail, extending from the Lewis and Clark Trail at Wood River, Illinois, to the Chicago Portage National Historic Site, generally following the Illinois River and the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

"(27) Jedediah Smith Trail, to include the routes of the explorations led by Jedediah Smith—

"(A) during the period 1826-1827, extending from the Idaho-Wyoming border, through the Great Salt Lake, Sevier, Virgin, and Colorado River Valleys, and the Mojave Desert, to the San Gabriel Mission, California; thence through the Tehachapi Mountains, San Joaquin and Stanislaus River Valleys, Ebbetts

Pass, Walker River Valley, Bald Mount, Mount Grafton, and Great Salt Lake to Bear Lake, Utah; and

"(B) during 1828, extending from the Sacramento and Trinity River Valleys along the Pacific coastline, through the Smith and Willamette River Valleys to the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Washington, on the Columbia River.

"(28) General Crook Trail, extending from Prescott, Arizona, across the Mogollon Rim to Fort Apache.

"(29) Beale Wagon Road, within the Kaibab and Coconino National Forests in Arizona: *Provided,* That such study may be prepared in conjunction with ongoing planning processes for these National Forests to be completed before 1990.".

(d) Section 5(d) of the National Trails System Act is amended— 16 USC 1244.

(1) by inserting after the first sentence the following: "If the appropriate Secretary is unable to establish such an advisory council because of the lack of adequate public interest, the Secretary shall so advise the appropriate committees of the Congress."; and

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (i) through (iv) as paragraphs (1) through (4), respectively, and by amending paragraph (1) (as so redesignated) to read as follows:

"(1) the head of each Federal department or independent agency administering lands through which the trail route passes, or his designee;".

(e) Section 5(f) of the National Trails System Act is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking out "national recreational" and inserting in lieu thereof "national historic", and by striking out "and" after the semicolon;

(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(3) a protection plan for any high potential historic sites or high potential route segments; and

"(4) general and site-specific development plans, including anticipated costs.".

SEC. 206. Section 6 of the National Trails System Act is amended— 16 USC 1245.

(1) in the first sentence, by inserting "by the appropriate Secretary" after "marked"; and

(2) by striking out ": *Provided*" and all that follows through the period and inserting in lieu thereof the following: ", or, where the appropriate Secretary deems necessary or desirable, on privately owned lands with the consent of the landowner. Applications for approval and designation of connecting and side trails on non-Federal lands shall be submitted to the appropriate Secretary.".

SEC. 207. (a) Section 7 of the National Trails System Act is amended— 16 USC 1246.

(1) by striking out "SEC. 7. (a)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(2)"; and

(2) by inserting the following immediately after the section heading:

"SEC. 7. (a)(1)(A) The Secretary charged with the overall administration of a trail pursuant to section 5(a) shall, in administering and managing the trail, consult with the heads of all other affected State and Federal agencies. Nothing contained in this Act shall be deemed to transfer among Federal agencies any management responsibil- *Ante*, p. 43.

ities established under any other law for federally administered lands which are components of the National Trails System. Any transfer of management responsibilities may be carried out between the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture only as provided under subparagraph (B).

Management transference, procedure. *Ante*, p. 43.

"(B) The Secretary charged with the overall administration of any trail pursuant to section 5(a) may transfer management of any specified trail segment of such trail to the other appropriate Secretary pursuant to a joint memorandum of agreement containing such terms and conditions as the Secretaries consider most appropriate to accomplish the purposes of this Act. During any period in which management responsibilities for any trail segment are transferred under such an agreement, the management of any such segment shall be subject to the laws, rules, and regulations of the Secretary provided with the management authority under the agreement, except to such extent as the agreement may otherwise expressly provide.";

(3) in the first sentence of paragraph (2) of this subsection (a) (as redesignated by paragraph (1) of this subsection), by striking out "thereof", and inserting in lieu thereof "of the availability of appropriate maps or descriptions", and striking out ", together with appropriate maps and descriptions".

16 USC 1246.

(b) Section 7(b) is amended—

(1) by inserting "of the availability of appropriate maps or descriptions" after "notice"; and

(2) by striking out "together with appropriate maps and descriptions,".

Trail interpretation sites.

(c) Section 7(c) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "The appropriate Secretary may also provide for trail interpretation sites, which shall be located at historic sites along the route of any national scenic or national historic trail, in order to present information to the public about the trail, at the lowest possible cost, with emphasis on the portion of the trail passing through the State in which the site is located. Wherever possible, the sites shall be maintained by a State agency under a cooperative agreement between the appropriate Secretary and the State agency.".

16 USC 1246.

(d) Section 7(e) of the National Trails System Act is amended by—

(1) deleting reference in the first sentence to "subsection (g)" and substituting, in lieu thereof, "subsection (f)"; and

(2) by deleting the period at the end of the first sentence, and in lieu thereof, substituting a colon and the following proviso: *"Provided further,* That the appropriate Secretary may acquire lands or interests therein from local governments or governmental corporations with the consent of such entities.".

(e) Section 7(f) of the National Trails System Act is amended by inserting "(1)" after "(f)" and by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(2) In acquiring lands or interests therein for a National Scenic or Historic Trail, the appropriate Secretary may, with consent of a landowner, acquire whole tracts notwithstanding that parts of such tracts may lie outside the area of trail acquisition. In furtherance of the purposes of this Act, lands so acquired outside the area of trail acquisition may be exchanged for any non-Federal lands or interests therein within the trail right-of-way, or disposed of in accordance with such procedures or regulations as the appropriate Secretary shall prescribe, including: (i) provisions for conveyance of such

Procedures or regulations.

acquired lands or interests therein at not less than fair market value to the highest bidder, and (ii) provisions for allowing the last owners of record a right to purchase said acquired lands or interests therein upon payment or agreement to pay an amount equal to the highest bid price. For lands designated for exchange or disposal, the appropriate Secretary may convey these lands with any reservations or covenants deemed desirable to further the purposes of this Act. The proceeds from any disposal shall be credited to the appropriation bearing the costs of land acquisition for the affected trail.".

(f) Section 7(g) of the National Trails System Act is amended in the last sentence by striking out "No" and inserting in lieu thereof "Except for designated protected components of the trail, no". 16 USC 1246.

(g) Section 7(h) of the National Trails System Act is amended—

(1) by inserting "(1)" after "(h)";

(2) in the second sentence, by striking out "a national scenic or national historic trail" and inserting in lieu thereof "such a trail";

(3) by inserting after the second sentence the following: "Such agreements may include provisions for limited financial assistance to encourage participation in the acquisition, protection, operation, development, or maintenance of such trails, provisions providing volunteer in the park or volunteer in the forest status (in accordance with the Volunteers in the Parks Act of 1969 and the Volunteers in the Forests Act of 1972) to individuals, private organizations, or landowners participating in such activities, or provisions of both types. The appropriate Secretary shall also initiate consultations with affected States and their political subdivisions to encourage— 16 USC 18g note, 558a note.

"(A) the development and implementation by such entities of appropriate measures to protect private landowners from trespass resulting from trail use and from unreasonable personal liability and property damage caused by trail use, and

"(B) the development and implementation by such entities of provisions for land practices, compatible with the purposes of this Act,

for property within or adjacent to trail rights-of-way. After consulting with States and their political subdivisions under the preceding sentence, the Secretary may provide assistance to such entities under appropriate cooperative agreements in the manner provided by this subsection."; and

(4) by striking out "Whenever the" in the last sentence of such subsection and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "(2) Whenever the".

(h) Section 7(i) of the National Trails System Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "The Secretary responsible for the administration of any segment of any component of the National Trails System (as determined in a manner consistent with subsection (a)(1) of this section) may also utilize authorities related to units of the national park system or the national forest system, as the case may be, in carrying out his administrative responsibilities for such component.". 16 USC 1246.

(i) Section 7 of the National Trails System Act is amended by inserting after subsection (i) the following:

"(j) Potential trail uses allowed on designated components of the national trails system may include, but are not limited to, the following: bicycling, cross-country skiing, day hiking, equestrian Trail, uses.

activities, jogging or similar fitness activities, trail biking, overnight and long-distance backpacking, snowmobiling, and surface water and underwater activities. Vehicles which may be permitted on certain trails may include, but need not be limited to, motorcycles, bicycles, four-wheel drive or all-terrain off-road vehicles. In addition, trail access for handicapped individuals may be provided. The provisions of this subsection shall not supersede any other provisions of this Act or other Federal laws, or any State or local laws.

Restrictions.

"(k) For the conservation purpose of preserving or enhancing the recreational, scenic, natural, or historical values of components of the national trails system, and environs thereof as determined by the appropriate Secretary, landowners are authorized to donate or otherwise convey qualified real property interests to qualified organizations consistent with section 170(h)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, including, but not limited to, right-of-way, open space, scenic, or conservation easements, without regard to any limitation on the nature of the estate or interest otherwise transferable within the jurisdiction where the land is located. The conveyance of any such interest in land in accordance with this subsection shall be deemed to further a Federal conservation policy and yield a significant public benefit for purposes of section 6 of Public Law 96-541.".

26 USC 170.

26 USC 170 and note.

SEC. 208. Section 8 of the National Trails System Act is amended—

16 USC 1247.

(1) by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e); and

(2) by inserting after subsection (c) the following:

"(d) The Secretary of Transportation, the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Secretary of the Interior, in administering the Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act of 1976, shall encourage State and local agencies and private interests to establish appropriate trails using the provisions of such programs. Consistent with the purposes of that Act, and in furtherance of the national policy to preserve established railroad rights-of-way for future reactivation of rail service, to protect rail transportation corridors, and to encourage energy efficient transportation use, in the case of interim use of any established railroad rights-of-way pursuant to donation, transfer, lease, sale, or otherwise in a manner consistent with the National Trails System Act, if such interim use is subject to restoration or reconstruction for railroad purposes, such interim use shall not be treated, for purposes of any law or rule of law, as an abandonment of the use of such rights-of-way for railroad purposes. If a State, political subdivision, or qualified private organization is prepared to assume full responsibility for management of such rights-of-way and for any legal liability arising out of such transfer or use, and for the payment of any and all taxes that may be levied or assessed against such rights-of-way, then the Commission shall impose such terms and conditions as a requirement of any transfer or conveyance for interim use in a manner consistent with this Act, and shall not permit abandonment or discontinuance inconsistent or disruptive of such use.".

45 USC 801 note.

Railroad rights-of-way.

SEC. 209. Section 10 of the National Trails System Act is amended—

16 USC 1249.

(1) by inserting "(a)(1)" after "SEC. 10.";

(2) by striking out "(a) The" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "for the";

(3) by striking out "It is the express intent" and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(2) It is the express intent";

(4) in subsection (a)(2) (as designated by paragraph (3) of this subsection), by inserting "Appalachian" before "Trail"; and

(5) in subsection (c)—

(A) by inserting "(1)" after "(c)";

(B) by inserting before the period at the end of paragraph (1) (as designated by subparagraph (A) of this paragraph) ", except that funds may be expended for the acquisition of lands or interests therein for the purpose of providing for one trail interpretation site, as described in section 7(c), along with such trail in each State crossed by the trail"; and

Ante, p. 46.

(C) by adding at the end of each such subsection the following:

"(2) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year 1983 and subsequent fiscal years such sums as may be necessary to implement the provisions of this Act relating to the trails designated by paragraphs (9) through (13) of section 5(a) of this Act. Not more than $500,000 may be appropriated for the purposes of acquisition of land and interests therein for the trail designated by section 5(a)(12) of this Act, and not more than $2,000,000 may be appropriated for the purposes of the development of such trail. The administering agency for the trail shall encourage volunteer trail groups to participate in the development of the trail.".

Appropriation authorization.

Ante, p. 43.

SEC. 210. The National Trails System Act is amended by adding the following new sections at the end thereof:

"VOLUNTEER TRAILS ASSISTANCE

"SEC. 11. (a)(1) In addition to the cooperative agreement and other authorities contained in this Act, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the head of any Federal agency administering Federal lands, are authorized to encourage volunteers and volunteer organizations to plan, develop, maintain, and manage, where appropriate, trails throughout the Nation.

16 USC 1250.

"(2) Wherever appropriate in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, the Secretaries are authorized and encouraged to utilize the Volunteers in the Parks Act of 1969, the Volunteers in the Forests Act of 1972, and section 6 of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (relating to the development of Statewide Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Plans).

16 USC 18g note, 558a note.

16 USC 460*l*-8.

"(b) Each Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency may assist volunteers and volunteer organizations in planning, developing, maintaining, and managing trails. Volunteer work may include, but need not be limited to—

"(1) planning, developing, maintaining, or managing (A) trails which are components of the national trails system, or (B) trails which, if so developed and maintained, could qualify for designation as components of the national trails system; or

"(2) operating programs to organize and supervise volunteer trail building efforts with respect to the trails referred to in paragraph (1), conducting trail-related research projects, or providing education and training to volunteers on methods of trails planning, construction, and maintenance.

"(c) The appropriate Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency may utilize and make available Federal facilities, equipment, tools, and technical assistance to volunteers and volunteer organizations, subject to such limitations and restrictions as the

appropriate Secretary or the head of any Federal land managing agency deems necessary or desirable.

Definitions.
16 USC 1251.

"SEC. 12. As used in this Act:

"(1) The term 'high potential historic sites' means those historic sites related to the route, or sites in close proximity thereto, which provide opportunity to interpret the historic significance of the trail during the period of its major use. Criteria for consideration as high potential sites include historic significance, presence of visible historic remnants, scenic quality, and relative freedom from intrusion.

"(2) The term 'high potential route segments' means those segments of a trail which would afford high quality recreation experience in a portion of the route having greater than average scenic values or affording an opportunity to vicariously share the experience of the original users of a historic route.

"(3) The term 'State' means each of the several States of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, and any other territory or possession of the United States.

"(4) The term 'without expense to the United States' means that no funds may be expended by Federal agencies for the development of trail related facilities or for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands outside the exterior boundaries of Federal areas. For the purposes of the preceding sentence, amounts made available to any State or political subdivision under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 or any other provision of law shall not be treated as an expense to the United States.".

16 USC 460*l*–4 note.

TITLE III—DESIGNATION OF THE "BIZZ JOHNSON TRAIL"

SEC. 301. The Congress finds that Harold T. "Bizz" Johnson, for twenty-two years a United States Representative from the State of California, should be afforded recognition for his deep appreciation and respect for the mountains, forests, rivers, and fertile valleys of northern California, and for his sustained efforts to protect areas especially suited to outdoor recreation and the enjoyment of nature, and to assure public access thereto. Bizz Johnson took an early and leading interest in proposals to convert an abandoned railroad right-of-way in Lassen County to a twenty-five-mile trail to provide access to the undeveloped Susan River Canyon in the Sierra Nevada Mountains for hikers, horseback riders, cross-country skiers, handicapped individuals, and others. As Representative for the First Congressional District he worked with, and provided major assistance to, local groups, officials of the city of Susanville and the county of Lassen, the Bureau of Land Management, the Forest Service, and the Trust for Public Land in implementing plans for the project.

SEC. 302. The Susanville-Westwood Rails to Trails project described in a joint Bureau of Land Management/Forest Service Recreation Land Acquisition Composite, converting an abandoned railbed in Lassen County, California, extending from the county seat in Susanville westward twenty-five miles to Mason Junction, four miles from the community of Westwood, and traversing the Susan River Canyon, to a public recreation trail is hereby designated and

hereafter shall be known as the "Bizz Johnson Trail". Any law, regulation, record, map, or other document of the United States referring to this trail shall be held to refer to the "Bizz Johnson Trail", and any future regulations, records, maps, or other documents of the United States, in reference to this trail, shall bear the name "Bizz Johnson Trail".

SEC. 303. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed, in cooperation with the city of Susanville and the county of Lassen, State of California, to design and erect at a suitable location along the Bizz Johnson Trail an appropriate marker in commemoration of the outstanding contributions of Harold T. "Bizz" Johnson toward the protection of undeveloped scenic areas of northern California for the use and enjoyment of the American people, in perpetuity.

SEC. 304. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

Appropriation authorization.

TITLE IV—ROY TAYLOR FOREST

SEC. 401. The Congress finds and declares that Roy Taylor, for sixteen years a United States Representative from the State of North Carolina, a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, should be afforded recognition for his deep appreciation, affection and respect for the mountains, forests, and streams of western North Carolina, and for his sustained efforts to protect areas especially suited to outdoor recreation and the enjoyment of nature, and to assure public access thereto.

SEC. 402. The thirty-nine thousand acres of forested mountain land within the Nantahala National Forest in Jackson County, North Carolina, commonly referred to as the Balsam-Bonas Defeat area, are hereby designated and hereafter shall be known as the "Roy Taylor Forest". Any law, regulation, record, map, or other document of the United States referring to this land shall be held to refer to the "Roy Taylor Forest", and any future regulations, records, maps, or other documents of the United States, in reference to this area of the Nantahala National Forest, shall bear the name "Roy Taylor Forest".

SEC. 403. The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized and directed, in cooperation with the county of Jackson, State of North Carolina, to design and erect at a suitable location in the Roy Taylor Forest area an appropriate marker in commemoration of the outstanding contributions of Roy Taylor toward the protection of public lands in western North Carolina and the Nation for the use and enjoyment of the American people.

SEC. 404. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to make designations regarding the Roy Taylor Forest area in publications produced for the Blue Ridge Parkway. The Secretary is further authorized to erect appropriate signs at a suitable location on the Blue Ridge Parkway to commemorate the contributions of Roy Taylor and the designation of the forest area authorized in this title.

SEC. 405. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

Appropriation authorization.

TITLE V—COMMEMORATION OF THE TRAVELS OF WILLIAM BARTRAM

SEC. 501. (a) The Congress finds that—

(1) William Bartram's travels contributed to natural history, literature, and exploration and are of national and regional significance;

(2) a wider segment of the public should be afforded the opportunity to share in Bartram's natural, cultural, and historic resource contributions to America's heritage; and

(3) a segmented William Bartram Heritage Trail would be a practical and appropriate commemoration to a great American naturalist worthy of national recognition.

Donations.

(b) In order that significant route segments and sites, recognized as associated with the travels of William Bartram may be distinguished by suitable markers, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to accept the donations of such suitable markers for placement at appropriate locations on lands administered by the Secretary of the Interior and, with the concurrence of the Secretary of Agriculture and other appropriate heads of Federal agencies, on lands under their jurisdiction. The determination of the placement of markers to commemorate the travels of William Bartram shall be made by the Secretary of the Interior in consultation with the Bartram Trail conference and affected local and State governments. Such markers shall be placed by the Secretary of the Interior pursuant to the authority granted by the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes", approved August 21, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

16 USC 461 note.

(c) The markers authorized by subsection (b) shall be placed in association with the William Bartram Trail segments identified on maps contained in the study entitled "Bartram Trail, National Scenic/Historic Trail Study", dated February 1982, and submitted to the Congress pursuant to the provisions of section 5 of the National Trails Systems Act (16 U.S.C. 1244).

Approved March 28, 1983.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 271:

HOUSE REPORT No. 98-28 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
SENATE REPORT No. 98-1 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 129 (1983):
Feb. 3, considered and passed Senate.
Mar. 15, considered and passed House.

A resolution to support the commemoration of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, S. Res. 57, 105th Cong. (1997).

S. Res. 57

In the Senate of the United States,

May 23, 1997.

Whereas the Expedition commanded by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, which came to be called ''The Corps of Discovery'', was one of the most remarkable and productive scientific and military exploring expeditions in all American history;

Whereas President Thomas Jefferson gave Lewis and Clark the mission to ''. . . explore the Missouri River & such principal stream of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado or any other river may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce. . .'';

Whereas the Expedition, in response to President Jefferson's directive, greatly advanced our geographical knowledge of the continent and prepared the way for the extension of the American fur trade with Indian tribes throughout the area;

Whereas President Jefferson directed the explorers to take note of and carefully record the natural resources of the newly acquired territory known as Louisiana, as well as diligently report on the native inhabitants of the land;

Whereas Lewis and Clark and their companions began their historic journey to explore the uncharted wilderness west of the Mississippi River at Wood River, Illinois on May 14, 1804, and followed the Missouri River westward from its mouth on the Mississippi to its headwaters in the Rocky Mountains;

Whereas the Expedition spent its first winter at Fort Mandan, North Dakota, crossed the Rocky Mountains by horseback in August 1805, reached the Pacific Ocean at the mouth of the Columbia River in mid-November of that year, and wintered at Fort Clatsop, near the present city of Astoria, Oregon;

Whereas the Expedition returned to St. Louis, Missouri, on September 23, 1806, after a 28-month journey covering 8,000 miles during which it traversed 11 future States: Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon;

Whereas the explorers faithfully followed the President's directives and dutifully recorded their observations in their detailed journals;

Whereas these journals describe many plant and animal species, some completely unknown to the world of science or never before encountered in North America, and added greatly to scientific knowledge about the flora and fauna of the United States;

Whereas accounts from the journals of Lewis and Clark and the detailed maps that were prepared by the Expedition enhanced knowledge of the western continent and routes for commerce;

Whereas the journals of Lewis and Clark documented diverse American Indian languages, customs, religious beliefs, and ceremonies; as Lewis and Clark are important figures in American history, so too are Black Buffalo, Cameahwait, Sacagawea, Sheheke, Watkueis, Twisted Hair, Tetoharsky, Yellept, and Comowool;

Whereas the Expedition significantly enhanced amicable relations between the United States and the autonomous Indian nations, and the friendship and respect fostered between the Indian tribes and the Expedition represents the best of diplomacy and relationships between divergent nations and cultures;

Whereas the Native American Indian tribes of the Northern Plains and the Pacific Northwest played an essential role in the survival and the success of the Expedition;

Whereas the Lewis and Clark Expedition has been called the most perfect Expedition of its kind in the history of the world and paved the way for the United States to become a great world power;

Whereas the President and the Congress have previously recognized the importance of the Expedition by establishing a 5-year commission in 1964 to study its history and the route it followed, and again in 1978 by designating the route as the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail administered by the Secretary of the Interior through the National Park Service; and

Whereas the National Park Service, along with other Federal, State, and local agencies and many other interested groups are preparing commemorative activities to celebrate the bicentennial of the Expedition beginning in 2003: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) expresses its support for the work of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council and all the Federal, State, and local entities as well as other interested groups that are preparing bicentennial activities to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark Expedition during the years 2004 through 2006;

(2) expresses its support for the events to be held in observance of the Expedition at St. Louis, Missouri in 2004 and Bismarck, North Dakota in 2005, and many other cities during the bicentennial observance; and

(3) calls upon the President, the Secretary of the Interior, the Director of the National Park Service, American Indian tribes, other public officials, and the citizens of the United States to support, promote, and participate in the many bicentennial activities being planned to commemorate the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Attest:

Secretary.