Building a Park for All

A History of Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota

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Cover Illustration: Guided canoe trip on Kabetogama Lake. NPS Photo

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Abbreviations

ARVC	Ash River Visitor Center
BRAC	Base Realignment and Closure Commission
CCVNP	Citizen's Council on Voyageur's National Park
CFR	Code of Federal Regulations
CR	Cultural Resources
CUA	Commercial Use Authorization
DCP	Development Concept Plan
DOE	Department of Energy
DOI	Department of the Interior
DNR	Department of Natural Resources
DSC	Denver Service Center
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
FHA	Federal Highway Administration
FONSI	Finding of No Significant Impact
FMCS	Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service
FY	Fiscal Year
GMP	General Management Plan
GSA	General Services Administration
HSI	Habitat Suitability Index
HSMP	Historic Structures Management Plan
HSR	Historic Structures Report
IJC	International Joint Commission
IPO	Initial Public Offering
KLVC	Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center
LC/BC	Lakecountry and Backcountry [Site Management Plan]
LRIP	Long-Range Interpretive Plan
LSIA	Lake States Interpretive Association
MCC	Minnesota Conservation Corps
MDNR	Minnesota Department of Natural Resources
MDP	Madison Dearborn Partners LLC
MEEB	Minnesota Environmental Education Board
MHS	Minnesota Historical Society
MOCC	Motorboat Operator Certification Course
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MWAC	Midwest Archeological Center
NAIFC	North American Indian Fellowship Center
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NCCC	North Central Caribou Corporation
n.d.	No date
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
NPS	National Park Service

RLVC	Rainy Lake Visitor Center
SCA	Student Conservation Association
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office
UMN	University of Minnesota
USFWS	United States Fish and Wildlife Service
VNP	Voyageurs National Park
VNPA	Voyageurs National Park Association
VRNPA	Voyageurs Region National Park Association
VUFP	Visitor Use and Facilities Plan
WASO	Washington (DC) Area Service Office
YACC	Young Adult Conservation Corps
YCC	Youth Conservation Corps

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Records/Library Manager Alvin (Alvie) Sellmer at the National Park Service Denver Service Center Technical Information Center responded with lightning speed with all of my electronic documents requests.

All of the people I interviewed shared their memories about their times working at the park or interacting with park employees. Their perspectives and stories helped me understand the park and its changing relationship with the local community.

Mike Williams took me out on a personalized boat tour of Rainy Lake, showing me the old gold rush mining sites, Oveson's Fish Camp, and taking me to Kettle Falls Hotel for a tour of his former home. Mike also baited the hook and cheered me on when I caught more walleye than anyone expected. He then cleaned the fish, and we had them as a shore lunch at the Hotel. What a treat!

I did research at the Minnesota Historical Society's archives in St. Paul. That repository is chock-full of both useful primary sources and helpful staff.

The Oberholtzer Foundation granted me a week of pure heaven on Ober's island, just outside the park's boundaries. With electricity but no running water, and living in one of the cabins Ober had built and stayed in, I got a real feel of not just his lifestyle but also that of the summer residents who had their little cabins on the lakeshores, lovingly built and eventually acquired by the park. Their sacrifices made it possible for all of us to enjoy the grandeur that is Voyageurs National Park.

Former NPS Chief Historian Dwight Pitcaithley and NPS Bureau Historian John Sprinkle gave me sound advice during the project.

Friends and family cheered me on. My mother-in-law Carolyn Weinstein joined me at the park one weekend, and together we explored its many beauties. My mom Donna Zenzen kept track of my progress on the manuscript. Susan Dulany, Rachel Russell, and Jenny Sour gave me many pep talks throughout the project. So many friends offered encouragement: Nimmi Acharya, Val Carroll, Marla Choslovsky, Lisa Davie, Cheryl Dodwell, Jan Elicker, Robyn Filardo, Barb Geiser, Lis Handley, Laura Hayes, Laura Hoeppner, Janet Kazimir, Won Kim, Debbi Lieman, Ana Maria Linares, Ann-Marie Luciano, Michelle McClellan, Beth Moses, Jeff Pappas, Laura Pifer, Lauren Rubenstein, Linda Ryden, Cathy Stanton, Cindy Strouse, Jon Taylor, Anne Mitchell Whisnant, and Devora Zack.

I send my love and sincere thanks to my husband Stuart Weinstein and my children Indy and Aaron. I can't wait to take you to this amazing place in northern Minnesota.

I dedicate this book to Lou and Janice.

Chapter One

National Park Established[1]

Chester Brown, as National Park Service Assistant Regional Director, wrote in June 1962 that the Kabetogama area "represents the big new potential along the Voyageur Route, also a real puzzle." The area had high quality in terms of its landscape and undeveloped character, but, in his mind, the canoe area to the east exceeded these values. Plus, the small dams at Kettle Falls and International Falls controlled the waters, though he admitted that the scenic qualities of a "natural lake" still existed. These puzzling, or less-than-ideal qualities, tempered his enthusiasm for a proposed national park. The area's water, however, attracted his attention. He imagined that a Kabetogama national park, combined with key Park Service developments, would encourage visitors to arrive by car and leave it. They would immerse themselves in the full and leisurely enjoyment of water, maybe not by canoe in a fully wilderness experience but also not in the commercially developed way that the lakes in lower Minnesota had. The proposed area offered "probably as fine an opportunity as remains to try this approach," and Brown supported further investigation.[2]

Early planning reports for the proposed park repeated Brown's language. And further investigation by the National Park Service, the State of Minnesota, and the US Congress ultimately led to establishment of Voyageurs National Park.

The setting

Voyageurs National Park's geologic history encapsulates the very beginnings of the earth and the results of the final ice age. The park's geology is significant because its rocks date to the time when the North American continent began to form and evolve, a time going back at least 2.7 billion years. The North American continent (as did other continents) formed as a result of a series of tectonic plates floating and colliding into each other. These plates initially formed from magma released in underwater volcanic explosions. Then, as plates formed and moved across the Earth's mantle, they

[1] The vast majority of documents cited in this history are located in the Voyageurs National Park (VNP) Archives. The park's cultural resources staff was in the process of organizing and cataloging the archives, which included the materials the author reviewed. For this reason, the author does not cite specific folders or boxes but instead refers only to the VNP Archives. Future researchers will be able to access the documents using the information provided in the citations and by working with park staff.

[2] Memorandum, National Park Service (NPS) Assistant Regional Director Chester Brown to Regional Director, Region One, June 21, 1962, 2-3, Voyageurs National Park (VNP) Archives.

collided. As different plates collided, vigorous geologic processes resulted. Volcanoes erupted, earthquakes shook the crust, mountains grew, the continental plates deformed, and geological materials underwent metamorphism. Rocks of different types resulted from these collisions. The oldest rocks in the park, dating from 3.1 to 2.7 billion years, formed as a result of lava erupting from submarine volcanoes and cooling under water. The resulting pillow basalt, a volcanic rock, constituted an early step in the formation of the plates that became part of the park's bedrock. The characteristic square-ish shape of the pillow basalt became elongated when its plate collided with another.

Violent volcanic eruptions eventually led to volcanic cones appearing above the Earth's waters. Lavas from groups of volcanoes eventually formed different island chains, and these island chains, called arcs, acted much like the larger tectonic plates, colliding with each other. Sedimentary deposits in the ocean basin between two island arcs were squeezed, squished, and folded. There was widespread melting of the Earth's crust where the plates or island arcs collided, forming huge magma chambers. This intense heat changed the sediments into different types of rocks. Some of the magma worked into the sediments and cooled, forming spiderwebs of veins. The colliding island arcs formed mountains a few miles high, composed of the three types of rocks now present on the Earth: volcanic rock, the backbone of the island arcs; sedimentary rocks, what had been squeezed between the arcs; and granite, formed in the magma chambers and cooled at great depths. These different types of rocks have different levels of hardness. As plates (or island arcs) continued to hit up against each other, breaking points appeared where two different types of rocks met. This breaking point is called a fault zone, and it is characterized by being a geologically weak spot. Some Precambrian fault zones have proved rich in mineral deposits, and such has been the case in Voyageurs National Park. Exploration of the Rainy Lake Seine River Fault Zone near Dryweed Island led in 1893 to the Rainy Lake gold rush.

At some point about 2.6 billion years ago, the plates stopped moving in the area that now makes up the national park. Some small-scale crustal corrections probably resulted from the cooling of the Earth's crust, forming fractures or faults where weak zones in the rock existed. These weak areas easily eroded and weathered. Some 2.1 billion years ago, the crust throughout northern Minnesota and northwestern Ontario fractured and pulled apart. Magma seeped into the resulting long thin crevices and cooled, forming dikes, with a collection of dikes called a dike swarm. Dikes are the youngest exposed bedrock in Voyageurs National Park.

Following the dike swarm of 2.1 billion years ago, rock formation within the park's area goes silent. At the beginning of this period, the landscape was a rugged mountainous highland. Wind, water, and ice slowly eroded the mountains, uncovered the rock layers, and removed pages from the geological story. Two billion years of geological silence went by, and then the area underwent the Great Ice Age, beginning 2 million years ago and ending about 12,000 years ago.

Probably six glacial advances occurred in the park during the Wisconsin glaciation, but only the two most recent advances are recorded in the landscape. Evidence of previous ones would have been wiped clean by subsequent ones. The most recent glacial period started 75,000 years ago and ended 12,000 years ago. Ice first started accumulating in the Hudson Bay region, then expanded east and west across Canada, coalescing with other glaciers to form a massive continental glacier or ice sheet. By at least 40,000 years ago, the ice from this ice sheet covered the area where the park now stands.

Glaciers form through special conditions. The mean global temperature must be cool for a prolonged time period, about 8 degrees Fahrenheit cooler than today. Winter snow survives in the cooler summers and thus over time accumulates. Snow early in a season falls with pointed shapes but

later in the season it comes down without its points. This so-called "corn snow," if buried deep within a snowbank, will partially melt and refreeze into aggregates of granular ice crystals called firn. The weight of continued snowfall will crush the firn and clump it together, squeezing out air. Some firn crystals will melt and refreeze to form cement. This crushed, tightly packed, and cemented firn is glacial ice. At this point, when the ice is thick enough to be reformed and deformed, a glacier is born. After 30,000 to 40,000 seasons, enough glacial ice can cover one-third of the continent.

Glaciers move because the ice crystals within a glacier flow past one another. This process happens either by the crystals deforming (compacting or stretching) or by melting and refreezing. Ice is stiff, and it flows slowly. That flow is pulled by gravity. Once ice on top was higher than the terrain, say at the Hudson Bay which is nearly at sea level, the top part fell over the bottom part and moved the glacier south toward the park. Glaciers retreat when more snow and glacial ice is lost from melting or evaporation than is accumulated. Glaciers do not move backwards; the flow stops near the terminus of the ice and begins to melt in place.

At Voyageurs, the combination of the plate tectonics and glacial activity shaped the landscape we see today. The period of plate tectonics, with volcanic activity and development of fault zones and dike swarms left swathes of the land with weak spots where rocks of differing hardness met. Then, after a two-billion-year gap in geological rock formation, glaciers moved down into the park and swept the landscape. Glaciers eroded the rock in two ways. One process involved abrasion, in which debris frozen in the glacier's bottom acted like coarse sandpaper and striated the bedrock. The other process, plucking, involved the meltwater at the bottom of the glacier moving into cracks in the underlying rocks. When that water refroze and expanded, the rock loosened and chunks tore away, carried by the glacier. Both abrasion and plucking resulted in leaving sediments in areas where the glacier melted, sometimes as huge boulders left in conspicuous places. The water from a melting glacier ended up in areas where most easily eroded rock existed, at the fractures and fault lines caused by plate tectonics. Most of the glacially scoured lakes within the park are underlain by fractures and ancient faults. These faults provided the template upon which glaciers then shaped the landscape. Finally, after global temperatures warmed, the last glacier melted. This glacial water further eroded and filled the land depressions. This water served to feed the expanding and changing human, animal, and plant populations.[3]

New topsoil has slowly replaced that scrubbed away from the last glacier. Voyageurs National Park now supports boreal forests over about 70 percent of its land mass. These forests are comprised of aspen, birch, various pines, black spruce, and balsam fir. Other plant communities have taken hold in specific micro-environments within the park. Some 400 taxa of lichens exist on bald rock outcroppings and forest openings. Aquatic and wetland vegetation in bogs, marshes, swamp forests, and wetlands offer the most diverse array of flora and fauna species of the park.[4]

Wildlife and fish communities inhabit two major zones within Voyageurs, the forest ecosystem and the aquatic ecosystem. Each zone has its own set of herbivores, insectivores, and carnivores, but some species overlap and live in or obtain food from both. Invertebrates are the largest group of animals. There are also more than 230 species of birds, 10 species of reptiles and amphibians, 52

[3] Chris B. Hemstad, *A Story Written in the Rocks: The Geology of Voyageurs National Park* (St. Louis, MO: Reedy Press, for the National Park Service, 2013), 7-8, 16-18, 21, 23-25, 27-29, 33-35, 39, 41, 54-58, 63-64, 67-71, 74, 79-84.

[4] NPS, VNP General Management Plan (GMP) Environmental Impact Statement, Visitor Use and Facilities Plan, August 2001, Vol. 1, I-129-131.

species of fish, and 42 species of mammals. Birds that are currently monitored inside the park are osprey, loon, cormorant, gull, heron, bald eagle, and white pelican. Mammals that are currently monitored include moose, deer, beaver, black bear, gray wolf, and Canada lynx. The park also monitors water and air quality, zooplankton communities on the large lakes, and mercury levels in young perch on the large lakes. Minnesota state statutes (Sec. 84B06) established concurrent jurisdiction over the lands, and United States v. Brown (552 F.2d 817, 1977) confirmed authority to include waters. The State of Minnesota fishing regulations apply in Voyageurs National Park. The National Park Service and Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (MDNR) collaborate on fisheries management, with the Federal Government holding all management authority for wildlife within the park.[5]

By 1736, the Ojibwe became the primary American Indian tribe in the area which became Voyageurs National Park. Its people were initially based in the central Great Lakes region near Sault Ste. Marie, but they enlarged their territorial control by twentyfold, extending eastward into Ontario and Quebec and westward across Michigan's Upper Peninsula and into Wisconsin and Minnesota. In the meantime, by 1600, France had expanded its influence across the northern reaches of the North American continent along the St. Lawrence River. Within 40 years of this initial exploration, the French had aligned themselves with the Ojibwe, and the two cultures developed a mutually beneficial relationship that expanded each other's sphere of influence. The French built a growing trade network with the Ojibwe, exchanging manufactured goods for pelts that went to lucrative European markets.

Ojibwe, and other American Indians connected to the fur trade, pressed their demands for trade goods of certain quality and suitability to their lifestyles. For instance, they favored cloth of a certain heft and colors. Ojibwe prized cloth above all other trade goods, but they also accepted other items in exchange for beaver furs. But they had expectations for these goods. American Indians preferred Brazilian tobacco to the coarser Virginia version. Some traders found that their American Indian trading partners complained about beads being too small, kettles too heavy, or blankets too short. Sometimes, American Indians refused to trade if the trade goods did not meet their expectations. The key point is that American Indians wanted a fair rate of exchange for their furs, and they wanted durable goods that would survive the harsh weather were they lived. They also wanted utilitarian items and ones that met their cultural aesthetics.[6]

Voyageurs were the men who transported goods between the European settlements of the St. Lawrence Valley and the hinterlands inhabited by American Indians. These French-Canadian men signed short-term contracts with representatives from the major fur trading companies, primarily the North West Company and later the Hudson's Bay Company, to serve in brigades of birch-bark canoes, known as Montreal Canoes (each 30-40 feet long). Voyageurs transported manufactured goods and supplies from Montreal, stopped in Grand Portage on the western side of Lake Superior to exchange goods, and brought back furs from the interior of the continent. These furs later went by sailing ship to England to feed the European desire for elegant furs, especially for men's hats. The time period of the voyageurs primarily fell between the 1780s to the 1820s, but that time span could be extended if referring broadly to fur trading from the late 1600s to the 1870s, when the railroads replaced water transportation.

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[5] GMP, 2001, I-140-41, I-144-54.

[6] Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Rethinking the Fur Trade: Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 315-18.

Rainy Lake served as a transit point. Furs from the far northern Athabasca region were prized for their richness and thus garnered top prices. The extremely short ice-free season restricted travel from Athabasca to just a few months, and voyageurs could only get as far as Rainy Lake with their prize. They used smaller canoes, known as North Canoes (each 18-26-feet long), that could navigate the narrow rivers. Fur companies thus used a portion of their hired hands during the summer to continue past Grand Portage to Rainy Lake, where they met those voyageurs who had wintered with the Ojibwe. This section of the voyageurs' route, extending from Grand Portage to Rainy Lake, encompasses what is now the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness in Superior National Forest and Voyageurs National Park. This important route saw use by these summer-only Montreal canoe-paddling voyageurs and also by the North canoe-paddling over-winter voyageurs.[7]

Logging was a major force in shaping the natural and built landscape of what is now the national park. The Canadian Pacific Railway relied upon Minnesota's great northern forests for white pine to support its need for railroad ties, telegraph poles, residences, warehouses, and stations along this emerging railroad route just north of the border. The Ojibwe had ceded much of these forests to the United States in a series of treaties dating from 1837 to 1867, but the federal government had not surveyed this land to make it available for purchase or homesteading. Canadians and their business enterprises (aided eventually by Americans) cut as much as 85 million board feet a year from the American side.[8] This pilfering ended in 1900 with the legal disposition of this land. Then another billion board feet of pine was cut by 1925. Eventually the great stands of red and white pine disappeared, replaced slowly by other species which further fed the logging industry.[9]

Logging brought people to northern Minnesota, some of whom chose to stay. Others came to the area for other reasons and decided to make it home. When gold was found in 1893 on Little American Island in Rainy Lake, Rainy Lake City sprouted quickly to house the labor and supplies to support the short-lived gold mining effort. The initial gold rush lasted only a few years, but Fred Bowman, as editor of the *Rainy Lake Journal*, chronicled the mining and drew attention to the remaining billion feet of timber standing within the area. Commercial fishing, another factor that brought people to the area, started first in the 1890s as large-scale operations and then developed into

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[7] This description of voyageurs is drawn from the following sources: Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur* (1931, D. Appleton & Company; repr., St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986); Nute, *The Voyageur's Highway: Minnesota's Border Lake Land* (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2002); and Ted Catton and Marcia Montgomery, *Special History: The Environment and The Fur Trade Experience in Voyageurs National Park, 1730-1870* (Omaha, NE: National Park Service Midwest Region, 2000).

[8] Nute, *Rainy River Country*, 48, 52-57. Richard W. Ojakangas and Charles L. Matsch, *Minnesota's Geology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 161. Thomas F. Waters, *The Streams and Rivers of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 85-87. Mitchell E. Rubinstein and Alan R. Woolworth, "The Dakota and Ojibway," in *They Chose Minnesota*, ed. June Drenning Holmquist, 23-26 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981). Treuer, *Ojibwe in Minnesota*, 28.

[9] Nute, *Rainy River Country*, 58-60. David L. Fritz, *Special History Study on Logging and Lumbering as Associated with the Area Now Incorporated within the Present Bounds of Voyageurs National Park* (NPS, August 1986), 26-28, 42-44.

family-run businesses by the first half of the 20th century.[10] Farming did not prosper due to the lack of a transportation network for crops and poorly draining soils.[11]

Edward Wellington (E.W.) Backus and his partners broke through the transportation barrier and set the stage for the growth of the national park area. Backus with his partner William Brooks joined with the Northern Pacific Railroad to complete a line in 1907 to International Falls, bringing along a telegraph line and later a phone line. Backus and a syndicate of lumbering companies also began buying extensive stretches of forest to support sawmill operations and, for Backus, paper mills at the borderland. To power these mills, Backus took on the tedious and diplomatic task of acquiring riparian rights from both the Canadian and United States governments to build a dam. He constructed his 30,000 horsepower dam at International Falls in 1910.[12] Two more dams, at Kettle Falls and Squirrel Falls near the Kettle Falls Hotel, came on line in late 1914. Backus's paper mill fed the increasing national demand for newsprint, producing by 1914 more than 200 tons of newsprint a day. He added the lumber mill in 1911. He turned to a new product, Insulite, that his mill produced for use, among other things, as roofing insulation.[13]

Backus wanted to ensure reliable power generation for his International Falls mills, and he sought in the mid-1920s to build a series of power and storage dams eastward from Lac La Croix. His proposal drew immediate and strong opposition from conservation groups on both sides of the border. The Quetico-Superior Council, led by Ernest Oberholtzer, coordinated the response. Oberholtzer in particular distinguished himself during this fight. He argued that the entire Rainy Lake watershed represented a single biological unit that required unified management and preservation. Already Quetico Provincial Park in Canada and Superior National Forest in the United States, both established in 1909, encompassed vast acreages for conservation of the waterways and forests. Oberholtzer was also a pragmatist, though, recognizing that lumbering under a sustained-yield approach (in addition to having fishing and hunting) could co-exist with preservation of the natural beauty of the lakes and their shorelines. Backus's proposal, however, would have threatened that natural beauty by controlling water levels for maximum power generation. Oberholtzer and his allies defeated Backus decisively, winning the 1930 Shipstead-Newton-Nolan Act, prohibiting further dams in Superior National Forest. The International Joint Commission, which regulates shared water usages along the international border, followed suit in 1933 and rejected Backus's plan. The 1929 stock market crash and resulting Great Depression forced Backus's principal company, the Minnesota and Ontario Paper Company

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[10] Nute, *Rainy River Country*, 67-68, 72-73, 79. Fritz, *Special History on Logging*, 47. David L. Fritz, *Special History Study: Gold Mining Near Rainy Lake City from 1893 to 1901, A Theme Associated with Voyageurs National Park* (NPS, September 1986), 7, 62-64.

[11] *The Mill at the Falls: 100 Years of Papermaking on the Border* (International Falls, MN: North Star Publishing, 2010), 4-5. Nute, *Rainy River Country*, 61. Clifford E. Clark, Jr., ed. *Minnesota in a Century of Change* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1989), 402-03. Hiram M. Drache, *Koochiching: Pioneering along the Rainy River Frontier* (Danville, IL: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1983), 72.

[12] Backus also had dams built at Kettle Falls to help control water levels in support of the International Falls dam.

[13] *The Mill at the Falls*, 6-15, 20, 24-26. The Era of E.W. Backus, Koochiching County website, http://www.co.koochiching.mn.us/history/Hist02.htm, accessed January 3, 2014. Nute, *Rainy River Country*, 88-90. David L. Fritz and Lawrence F. Van Horn, Historic Resource Study: Water-Level Regulation, Commercial Fishing, Logging, Dawson Trail, Gold Mining: Themes Associated with VNP (NPS, January 1980), 56, VNP Archives..

(Mando), into receivership in 1931 after defaulting on a large loan. Backus never fully recovered financially from the loss, and he died in 1934 while still fighting to regain control of his empire.[14]

Mando remained at International Falls and survived the economic hard times, relying in part on its Insulite product. A March 1941 reorganization stabilized the company, which by then had more than a thousand employees in International Falls and Fort Frances and an annual $2.5 million payroll. The company by 1963 had expanded into specialty papers and had a research and development laboratory to maintain its competitive advantage, developing offset printing techniques, as an example. The company remained a small player, however, within the larger world of paper production, and intense competition, which threatened its profitability, convinced its leadership to merge with Boise Cascade in 1964. This newly empowered company would greet the National Park Service as the agency sought establishment of Voyageurs National Park.[15]

Voyageurs National Park

Fred Witzig in his book on Voyageurs lays out the detailed legislative history of the park. In basic form, Congressman John A. Blatnik (D-MN) introduced legislation on July 19, 1968, near the end of that congressional session. He reintroduced the bill on April 23, 1969 with support from the full contingent of representatives from Minnesota. The House Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation met in August 1969 in International Falls for a field hearing and then had formal hearings in Washington in July 1970. The House in October 1970 approved the legislation. The Senate voted on December 22, 1970 to approve the bill with amendments, after its own hearings in early December. The House agreed to the amendments added by the Senate, and Congress sent the bill to President Richard M. Nixon. He signed the authorization on January 8, 1971. The legislation required that the State of Minnesota donate to the federal government its lands within park boundaries before park establishment. The Secretary of the Interior confirmed that the State had met this condition, and on April 8, 1975, the *Federal Register* published the Secretary's order officially recognizing Voyageurs National Park as the nation's 36th national park.[16]

[14] The Era of E.W. Backus, Koochiching County website, http://www.co.koochiching.mn.us/history/Hist02.htm. *The Mill at the Falls*, 76-83, 90. Joe Paddock, *Keeper of the Wild: The Life of Ernest Oberholtzer* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2001), 172-73. David L. Fritz, VNP, Historic Resource Study: Water-Level Regulation on Rainy and Namakan Lakes (NPS, 1981), 3-5, 14-16, 18-20.

[15] *The Mill at the Falls*, 107, 116, 164-68.

[16] Fred T. Witzig, *Voyageurs National Park: The Battle to Create Minnesota's National Park* (hereafter cited as *Battle to Create*) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004). See Appendix B for a legislative chronology.



Figure 1 Rep. John Blatnik (D-MN), left, led the legislative effort for Voyageurs, and Myrl Brooks served as the park's Project Manager and then Superintendent. NPS Photo

Some aspects of this legislative history require spotlighting. The National Park Service's attention to this area was piqued when U. W. "Judge" Hella, director of Minnesota State Parks (and a former NPS employee) in the late 1950s invited the National Park Service to assist his department in updating the state's 1938 *Park, Parkway, and Recreational Plan* which the Park Service had originally helped prepare. Park Service and state officials toured Minnesota while working on this effort, and one place they visited was the Rainy Lake and Kabetogama area. Animated discussion over dinner one night led to individuals within the state (including Wayne Judy who lived in International Falls and had a successful sportsmen's services business) to seek fellow supporters of a national park. Park Service representatives began intentional surveys of the proposed area. Minnesota Governor Elmer L. Andersen by 1961 had gotten a whiff of the idea for a national park in his state, and he used his connections to aid the effort. He asked Minnesota congressional members to write letters urging NPS Director Conrad Wirth (whose father had designed the public parks around Minneapolis as superintendent) to proceed with the needed studies. Andersen also put the full weight of his administration behind the idea of a national park. His unwavering encouragement formed the nucleus for building Minnesota support of the national park idea.[17]

The Voyageurs National Park Association (VNPA)[18] grew out of Andersen's promotion of the national park. He knew that park supporters needed an organization to direct the work and maintain momentum for what he foresaw would be a lengthy campaign. He invited Rita Shemesh, who had

[17] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 15-20.

[18] The Voyageurs National Park Association was called the Voyageurs Region National Park Association for a short time. For the purposes of this study, it is called the Voyageurs National Park Association.

successfully led a previous effort initiated by Andersen, to serve as the principal organizer. The VNPA, officially incorporated in 1965, proved crucial for building a large and diverse base. Shemesh and her initial coterie of park advocates contacted groups, gave presentations about the national park proposal, and asked these groups to endorse the park idea. Within eight months, 330 organizations had signed up as park supporters. Shemesh also prepared daily and weekly press releases for print and broadcast venues. Statewide support for Voyageurs National Park resulted from VNPA's dynamic leadership.[19]

The National Park Service initially proposed having the Minnesota park include the area between Rainy Lake and Crane Lake. The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments named this stretch of land "superbly qualified" to be a national park.[20] Midwest Regional Director Howard Baker wrote in February 1963 that "in order to propose an adequate National Park we must include the Namakan and Crane Lake areas."[21] The Park Service reinforced this assessment in its March 1963 report, titled *The Voyageurs Route and a Proposed National Park, Minnesota*. This report was based on recommendations by Wirth, Baker, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society Russell Fridley, representatives from the Minnesota Department of Conservation, and some private property owners who had toured the area in 1962.[22]

Complications quickly arose. The lands between Namakan and Crane lakes had recently been placed into the Superior National Forest, under the jurisdiction of the US Forest Service. The Forest Service asserted its control, and the Park Service relented. Its July 1964 report named 168,000 acres between Black Bay of Rainy Lake to a portion of Namakan Lake as the boundary for the proposed national park. The Park Service called for a joint study with the Forest Service of the Namakan and Crane lakes area, but the Forest Service declined the invitation. As a result, the Park Service ended its pursuit of the controversial section, despite the belief of NPS Director Conrad Wirth that the Forest Service had added "the best of the proposed park area" to the national forest.[23]

Representative John Blatnik, who led the legislative effort for Voyageurs, ultimately added the disputed area from Namakan to Crane lakes into the national park.[24] He noted in July 1967 that the Crane Lake area, since it already was within federal ownership as part of the national forest, might serve as the easternmost boundary for a national park that extended west to include only the eastern half of the Kabetogama Peninsula.[25] Within a month, though, Blatnik had decided that the Sand Point-

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[19] Ibid., 60-61, 100-03.
[20] Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, 47th Meeting, October 15-17, 1962, VNP Archives.
[21] Memorandum, Midwest Regional Director Howard Baker to the Director, February 11, 1963, 2, VNP Archives.
[22] NPS, *The Voyageurs Route and a Proposed Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota* (March 1963), VNP Archives.
[23] Quote in Memorandum, NPS Director Conrad Wirth to Secretary of the Interior, July 9, 1963, 5, attached to Memorandum, Midwest Regional Director Howard Baker to Superintendents, July 26, 1963 VNP Archives. See also Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 24, 30-32; NPS, *Proposed Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota* (July 1964), VNP Archives.
[24] The initial proposal to include Crane Lake in the park was not in the final legislation.
[25] Memorandum, Director Bureau of Outdoor Education Edward Crafts to the Secretary, March 10, 1965, 2; Memorandum, NPS Director George Hartzog to Secretary of the Interior, June 24, 1965, 4; Midwest Region Park Planner Harold Jones to Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, December 1, 1965, 1; Memorandum, Midwest Regional Office [no title, on detail to NPS Washington Office] John Kawamoto to Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, July 14, 1967, 1; and Memorandum, Regional Director, Midwest Region Fred Fagergren to the Director, July 27, 1967, 1, all in VNP Archives.

Crane Lake parcel should be attached to the Kabetogama part of the park proposal. Blatnik reasoned that this change would add "much to the proposal" and give visitors a "wider range of recreation opportunities."[26]

Many people living in the community around Crane Lake opposed Blatnik's idea. James Oberstar, who served as Blatnik's chief of staff and later won election of the seat once Blatnik retired, remembered more than 40 years later the vigorous opposition he encountered when he had to stand in for Blatnik at a meeting at Crane Lake. Oberstar started to explain the congressman's position, and remembering the night, Oberstar later said that "the rain is pelting, the thunder is clapping, the lightning is striking, the place is hot and muggy," somehow mirroring the electricity in the gathering. Once he took a breath to answer questions, as Oberstar recalled, one man yelled out that Oberstar may be smart and have smart answers, but the people in Crane Lake did not want smart answers, and they "don't want your goddamn park."[27] Witzig recounts that some people in that community wanted to keep the status quo, with Forest Service management that permitted hunting and timber harvesting. These people also worried that a national park might bring in too many visitors and frighten away their traditional clientele who preferred open space. These opponents thought the park would spur more commercial and private development on the Canadian side, reversing any benefit that the national park might bring in terms of preservation of the landscape.[28]

Blatnik put himself in direct opposition to a vocal portion of his constituents. Witzig suggests some reasons. Blatnik believed that the historical associations of the area were best commemorated by including this full extent of the voyageurs route. Witzig notes that during the House hearings, Blatnik traced that route on a map and argued that the Crane Lake area was an "integrated, interrelated part" of this larger geographical and historical story. He also referred to his "knowing that area as I have for forty years" as reason for his authority on the matter. Witzig further speculated that Blatnik believed that one agency, the National Park Service, should manage the area, as opposed to both the Park Service and the Forest Service. This idea may have percolated from Blatnik's close friend and trusted advisor Sigurd Olson, who had often advocated for a seamless management policy for the voyageurs route.[29]

With respect to hunting, trapping, and other issues, Blatnik did try to address concerns of many of his constituents. His bills (1968 and 1969), written with examples provided by the National Park Service, included what Blatnik called "a number of important 'safeguards,' guaranteed by law to minimize as much as possible any adverse effects."[30] Hunting topped the list. Blatnik's 1968 bill simply stated that hunting and trapping would be allowed until the park's establishment. Then the state, the National Park Service, and the Fish and Wildlife Service would conduct a wildlife study of the area. The Interior Secretary would establish such regulations that he/she deemed best accomplished the study's recommendations. The 1969 draft bill went further. The Park Service was charged with cooperating with state and other federal agencies in determining regulations for hunting and trapping.

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[26] Memorandum, Midwest Regional Office [no title, on detail to NPS Washington Office] John Kawamoto to Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, August 7, 1967, 1, VNP Archives.
[27] Jim Oberstar, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 30, 2013, 9, VNP Archives.
[28] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 105-07, 139.
[29] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 163-62. Quotes on p. 162.
[30] Quote from Voyageurs National Park, 90th Cong., 2d sess., *Congressional Record* 114 (July 19, 1968): House. See also Memorandum, [no title] Frank Hjort to [no title] Ted Swem, May 17, 1968, 1; and Memorandum, Midwest Region Park Planner Harold Jones to Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, December 1, 1965, 2, both in VNP Archives.

Deer received special attention, with the Park Service allowing for controlled reduction by state-licensed hunters to ensure permanent conservation of the animals. Trapping and waterfowl hunting would be allowed, with the Interior Department, in consultation with the state, having the option of designating zones and time periods for no hunting or trapping. All other hunting, as stated in the 1969 bill, could be permitted, with zones and time periods determined after consultation with the state. The 1969 bill thus made hunting and trapping an acceptable activity within the national park. Plus, actions by the federal government required consultation with or direct involvement by the state.[31]

The congressional hearings put the spotlight on the 1969 bill's hunting provisions. Blatnik argued that just as hunting had been the basis for the life of the voyageur, hunting should remain an acceptable activity in the national park. But Blatnik wanted a national park more than a national recreation area, and he thus indicated his willingness to give up on hunting when queried by his colleagues. Jim Oberstar later remembered that Blatnik knew that hunting was not allowed in national parks and that Voyageurs would not be an exception. Blatnik's persistent attempts to keep hunting in the legislation probably bolstered his political prospects while keeping the park legislation alive. Witzig, in his legislative history, noted however that many local residents would feel deceived when such provisions as hunting and commercial fishing (also supported in Blatnik's bills) would be cut from the approved legislation. The bills, a field hearing that was held in International Falls, and hearings in Washington all discussed hunting, with the subject being dropped at the end with the authorizing legislation.[32]

Blatnik also tried in his bills to link federal and state/local action. Many northeastern Minnesotans wanted some assurance that the National Park Service would make decisions with local interests in mind. The 1969 bill, for example, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the state and local governments with regard to land use and development programs adjacent to the park. The Park Service recognized that it would want to act within the larger community, but the language could in effect grant new authority to the state, overriding the authority of the federal government. The 1969 bill also charged the Park Service to follow state law for recreational and commercial fishing. The national parks did require state fishing licenses, but this section of the bill presumed that the state would have control over fishing within the park. The Park Service argued that management of all of the resources of the national park had to fall under the purview of the Interior Department. These sections were dropped from the final act. In response, state Majority Leader Irvin Anderson in 1975 introduced a bill establishing the Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park. This council would provide citizen input for the park's operational management. The state passed this bill, giving the council formal authority in contrast to the separate community-organized Voyageurs National Park Association.[33]

Minnesota got its national park. But to move from authorization to establishment, the state had to donate its lands. The state owned three sets of property within Voyageurs, about 5,500 acres of Kabetogama State Forest, almost 6,000 acres of tax-forfeited lands, and almost 25,000 acres of School

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[31] *VNP Establishment*, HR 18761, 90th Cong., 2d sess. (July 19, 1968): 8; *VNP Establishment*, HR 10482, 91st Cong., 1st sess. (April 23, 1969): 8-10.

[32] Oberstar, transcript of interview, 10, VNP Archives. Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 116-17, 163. See also Memorandum, Midwest Region Park Planner Harold Jones to Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, December 1, 1965, 1, VNP Archives.

[33] Memorandum, Acting Director, NPS, to Legislative Counsel, August 29, 1969, 6-7, VNP Archives. Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 116, 231-32.

Trust Fund lands. The state forest lands posed few legal problems with regard to transfer to the federal government, but the other two categories did. State legislators had to address constraints within the state constitution with regard to the school trust lands. Plus, the state elected officials needed to decide whether to reimburse local taxing districts for the market value of lost lands.[34] The final legislation, dated 4 June 1971, ordered that the state reimburse Koochiching and St. Louis counties for tax revenue lost from land acquisition for the park. The state law also included language to address the question about school trust lands, selling bonds as a way to reimburse the trust fund for the lost lands. A suit contesting the legality of this donation and the value of the identified lands delayed action until its resolution upon appeal in June 1972. Governor Wendell Anderson in fall 1972 presented a deed for the state forest lands. He awarded the balance, 32,000 acres of state and local lands, in December 1974 during an official ceremony at the state house. This step completed the state's obligations for the national park.[35]

Initial vision for the national park

Some key ideas for managing and interpreting the area which became Voyageurs National Park percolated from the early 1960s study period to park establishment. A 1962 Kabetogama study emphasized that visitors take advantage of the water. They may "arrive by car, park it, and lock it." Road access would be limited to the existing developed areas, and water travel, by motors but also by hand-propelled craft, would dominate. Planners admitted that visitors would not have a full wilderness experience, as the Boundary Waters area or Quetico-Superior region offered, but "it could fill a void" between these canoe areas and the commercially developed lakes further south in Minnesota. Interpretive efforts and park developments would build upon the water theme, creating an experience which offered "as fine an opportunity as remains" for interacting with nature at a level that most people wanted, the planners speculated.[36]

A 1963 proposal for the national park also emphasized water travel. Boat travel, according to this plan, would essentially leave little to no scarring of the surroundings and few visual intrusions in comparison to building interconnected roadways. Multiple boating opportunities would be available to visitors, including guided tours on different types of boats and in different types of water—small lakes versus the larger ones. Planners envisioned that visitors also might hike on trails or camp along lake shores or in wilderness areas. Interpretation, according to the 1963 proposal, examines the "rich, natural and human history" of the region.[37]

The revised 1964 proposal, which removed from consideration those areas then under US Forest Service management, still used water as the major element for transportation and interpretation. The 1964 proposal also paid close attention to the need for preservation of the naturalness of the area. Any developments for visitors, according to this plan, would be concentrated in small spaces and

[34] Blatnik had tried to have the federal government pay for the lost revenue to the counties, through the park law, but that piece of the legislation was dropped.
[35] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 193, 209-10, 213, 217, 223, 225. "Land Transfer Hilites Governor's Park Tour," *Voyageurs News* [VNPA Newsletter] (December 1972), 4.
[36] Memorandum, Assistant Regional Director, Midwest Region Chester Brown to the Director, October 5, 1962 and attached Interim Statement Kabetogama—Voyageurs Route, Minnesota, 4, VNP Archives.
[37] NPS, The Voyageurs Route and Proposed Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota, March 1963, 48-50, VNP Archives. Quote on p. 50.

would blend into the larger landscape. Major park developments would be separate from but close to existing communities at Kabetogama, Ash River Trail, and near International Falls for Rainy Lake.[38]

The Park Service contracted with the University of Minnesota, Duluth, to conduct an economic study of the proposed park. This study would further aid the Park Service in developing its ideas about the proposed national park. The study examined three major areas of concern raised in the 1964 public meetings: the economic impact of the proposed national park on county taxes, forest product supplies, and visitor spending. The results found that, together, St. Louis and Koochiching Counties would lose about 0.06 percent of the total amount of tax revenues expected in 1964 if the national park was established. The study argued that the supply of pulp wood in St. Louis and Koochiching counties exceeded the demand, discounting concerns that the national park would remove needed supplies. The economists predicted conservatively that tourist spending would double from 1964 to 1973, from $2 million to $4 million, assuming immediate park establishment. The study authors based this doubling in tourist spending upon the expectation that the number of tourists in the 120 days of the summer season would double from 2,178 transient tourists in the area in 1964 to between 4,000 and 4,500 in 1974. They also made clear that the number of tourists would depend upon having larger private organizations, such as resorts, provide more accommodations and services to attract and retain those tourists. Plus, a large economic organization would be needed to carry out recreational plans to preserve scenery, fishing, and other area attractions.[39]

The National Park Service incorporated the results of this study, plus those of other studies, in its 1968 Master Plan for the proposed Voyageurs National Park. The master plan cited the University of Minnesota, Duluth, economic study and its findings that annual tourist spending would double to more than $4 million. Plus, the 1968 Voyageurs master plan referred to a 1966 State of Minnesota Highway Travelers Survey, which broke down visitation into four kinds, destination, touring, weekend, and daily use. The Park Service also used its own attendance estimates and the results of the 1966 state report to approximate in the 1968 master plan that 1.3 million people would visit the proposed park within five years of its establishment. People commenting upon subsequent master plan drafts would refer to this estimated visitation number and express their concern over such a large number. Actual visitation since park establishment has ranged from 121,000 (1976) to a high of 267,000 (1980). Despite this much-reduced number of actual park visitation, Voyageurs National Park has made a significant impact to communities near the park. Its 215,000 visitors in 2012 spent more than $16 million and created 225 jobs. This number excludes salaries for park employees.[40]

The Park Service presented its most thorough articulation of its vision for Voyageurs National Park, which was not by then congressionally approved, in its 1968 Master Plan. The purpose of the proposed park would be to "restore and maintain the physical scene" as experienced by the historical voyageurs and to "convey the atmosphere and quality" of this lake country to visitors. Interpretation

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[38] NPS, Proposed Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota, 1964, 41, VNP Archives.
[39] Richard O. Sielaff, Cecil H. Meyers, and Philip L. Friest, *The Economics of the Proposed Voyageurs National Park* (Washington, DC: NPS, 1964), 1, 3, 40, 42-45, 63-65, 99-100, 109-113.
[40] VNP, A Master Plan for the Proposed Voyageurs National Park, 1968, 9, 11, VNP Archives. John Kawamoto stated that the economic study never referred to millions of visitors, despite claims by state senator Ray Higgins. See John Kawamoto, transcript of oral history interview with Mary Lou Pearson, June 12, 1979, 20, VNP Library. Memorandum, Governors Interdepartmental Committee on VNP to Senate Public Domain Committee, March 28, 1968, VNP Archives. NPS, 2012 National Park Visitor Spending Effects: Economic Contributions to Local Communities, States, and the Nation (2014), 26, http://www.nature.nps.gov/socialscience/docs%5CNPSVSE2012_final_nrss.pdf, accessed November 25, 2014.

would focus upon two major themes, the natural environment and the historical scene, with stories touching upon the glacial beginnings of the park area, recovery of the vegetation from logging and fire, and the accompanying relationship of this recovery to wildlife. The 1968 master plan identified Neil Point on Rainy Lake, State Point on Kabetogama Lake, and Sullivan Bay on Ash River as the three major development areas for the park. A wide variety of uses would be permitted, including motor and hand-propelled boating and sport and commercial fishing. Float planes would be allowed in designated areas. Snowmobiling, according to the 1968 plan, would be allowed on existing roads, trails, and frozen lakes. No hunting, logging, or mining would be allowed. Fires, unless used as a resource management tool, would be extinguished.[41]

Myrl Brooks, the park's first Project Manager and then Superintendent, took the new legislation and planning documents and made the park a visible and usable place for people to visit and enjoy.[42] His efforts are described in the next chapter.

[41] VNP, Master Plan, 1968, 11-20.

[42] Myrl Brooks was named Project Manager when he first arrived at Voyageurs National Park. He continued to use that title, as indicated in his annual reports, until the 1975 Annual Report (written in January 1976), when he used the term Superintendent. See the first pages of VNP Annual Reports, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, VNP Archives.

Chapter Two

Myrl Brooks 1971-1978

In June 1971, Myrl Brooks began his tenure as Project Manager of Voyageurs National Park. He served as the park's first overall supervisor, but he did not hold the name superintendent until after formal park establishment. The reason for this title change derives from the park's enabling legislation. President Richard Nixon had signed the park's legislation on January 8, 1971. This legislation marked the park's authorization but not formal establishment. The Secretary of the Interior, according to this legislation, had the authority to establish the park through publication of notice to that effect in the *Federal Register*, provided that the State of Minnesota donate its lands within the park's boundaries. In addition, the federal government could not purchase any lands prior to that donation unless such lands were threatened with irreparable changes. These two conditions determined whether the Interior Secretary could establish Voyageurs National Park as a viable, fully operational unit of the national park system. On December 12, 1974, at the state capitol, Minnesota Governor Wendell Anderson formally presented deeds for 32,000 acres of state and local land to NPS Deputy Director Russell Dickenson. Once notified that the state had met the conditions of the authorizing legislation, Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton published the order on April 8, 1975, and Rep. James Oberstar officially announced the park's establishment the following day.[1]

Myrl Brooks celebrated the good news of the park's formal establishment. He had helped the process along, drawing upon his previous experience in the National Park Service. A native of Roanoke, Virginia, Brooks had a biology degree from Roanoke College, earned between two terms of service in the Army for World War II and the Korean War. He started his Park Service career in 1954 as a ranger on the Blue Ridge Parkway. He moved on to be district ranger at Acadia National Park (Maine) and assistant chief ranger at Big Bend National Park (Texas). He then served at Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park (North Dakota) as chief of interpretation and resource management. Next, he gained valuable experience in master planning and legislative affairs in the Park Service's Washington, DC, office. Voyageurs National Park was his first superintendency.[2]

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[1] Fred T. Witzig, *Voyageurs National Park: The Battle to Create Minnesota's National Park* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 225, 227-229, 248. Hereafter cited as Witzig, *Battle to Create*. Voyageurs National Park Act of 1971, Public Law 91-611, section 101.

[2] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 229. See Witzig, Chapters Eleven and Twelve, for the details about state donation of the land. NPS Press Release, Brooks Named Project Manager of Voyageurs National Park, June 17, 1971; NPS

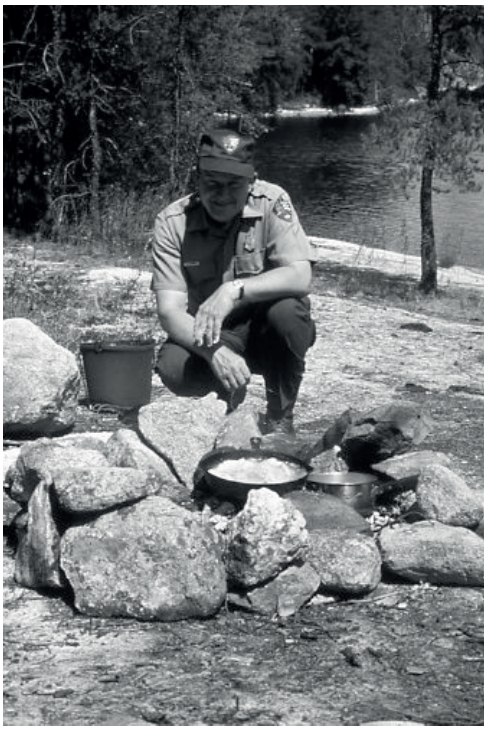


Figure 2 Myrl Brooks served as the park's first superintendent. NPS Photo

Brooks oversaw the beginning of Voyageurs National Park's operations. He hired the first staff members, he set up park offices, he started collecting objects for a park museum, and he worked with his staff to develop programming, trails, and camping sites for visitors. He embraced his role as park ambassador, meeting with people across the park's region and informing them about the national park. He also listened to their concerns and tried to address them. He remained vigilant about the purpose of Voyageurs National Park and worked to ensure the preservation of its natural resources.

Outreach

Brooks knew going into his new assignment that he had to focus upon public relations. He started off well. He nurtured professional connections with individuals and various organizations of the region.[3] He drew upon his Virginia roots, complimenting his new associates by saying, "We hear a lot about southern hospitality, but the southerners could take lessons from the people of International Falls."[4] He employed an "honest, tactful, and straightforward approach" that people received well.[5] His NPS evaluators a year after his arrival enthusiastically called Brooks a "first-class 'missionary,'"

Press Release, Myrl G. Brooks is Named Superintendent at Padre Island National Seashore, August 29, 1978; NPS Biographical Data Sheet, November 20, 1974, all in Voyageurs National Park (VNP) Archives.

[3] VNP, Annual Report, 1971, 2, VNP Archives.

[4] "Falls People Give Warm Welcome to Merle [sic] Brooks," Voyageurs National Park Association (VNPA) Newsletter, February 1972, VNP Archives.

[5] Memorandum, Superintendent, Grand Portage National Monument Richard Tousley to Director, Midwest Region, June 30, 1971, VNP Archives.

noting that a widespread cross section of local people had "interest, anticipation, and support" for the new park, to the "envy" of other newly authorized park areas.[6]

A key part of his management work went toward actively participating in community and regional planning. In 1971, Koochiching and St. Louis counties initiated a planning and zoning effort to ensure compatible planning with the national park. This attempt soon grew beyond the staffing and funding capabilities of these county governments, and they asked for state assistance. The state appointed a committee with state, county, and local representatives. Brooks did not serve on the committee, but he did review and comment upon the committee's plans. In November 1975, the Arrowhead Regional Development Commission, which had drafted much of the document, released the *Subregional Plan for the Voyageurs Planning Area*. This plan represented an important accomplishment in coordinating planning with a national park, before the park was even established.[7]

Brooks introduced the public to the National Park Service, its rules and regulations, and its plans for Voyageurs National Park. He drew upon his experience within the agency, plus he likely had guidance from the Midwest Regional Director. At the start of his tenure, he met with elected officials in the state house, both supporters and opponents of the national park. He talked with key people of various departments in the capital. Once in International Falls, Brooks gave talks to citizen groups in neighboring towns, including International Falls, Virginia, Eveleth, Fort Frances in Ontario, plus those further away, such as Duluth, Grand Rapids, and the Twin Cities. He met with some groups who had opposed park establishment, such as the Boundary Waters Land Owners Association, and he communicated the park's mission and procedures for land acquisition. The local, state, and national governments he contacted varied from highway departments to city councils and county commissions. He worked with news media, he presented seminars to local groups, and he gave lectures to the University of Minnesota in St. Paul. He also met with representatives of the Bois Forte Band of the Ojibwe, with its reservation government center at Nett Lake. He frequently attended Voyageurs National Park Association (VNPA) meetings, reporting on such issues as land acquisition and park planning.[8]

Brooks had several objectives for these talks. He wanted to establish a "good neighbor relationship" with people living in International Falls. He also wanted to inform people about National Park Service policy and its regulations. Finally, he wanted to introduce initial ideas about master planning for Voyageurs National Park. For example, at a January 1972 forum sponsored by the Rainy Lake Women's Club, he told his listeners that he saw limited development, up to two percent of the overall acreage of the park, as a goal for park planning. At a similar talk in Grand Rapids, Minnesota, Brooks reiterated the overall NPS mission by saying that Voyageurs National Park should be a "living symbol" of a nation that preserves its natural resources. Brooks emphasized the natural condition of Voyageurs National Park and sought supporters for that.[9]

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[6] Operations Evaluation Voyageurs National Park, September 12, 1972, 1, VNP Archives.
[7] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 217-18.
[8] Myrl Brooks, transcript of oral history interview with Mary Lou Pearson, July 11, 1978, 4, VNP Library. VNP, Annual Report, 1972, 2-3; 1973, 3; 1974, 3, VNP Archives. Minutes, VNPA Monthly Meeting, September 1973, 11-2; Minutes, VNPA Monthly Meeting, August 1974, VNP Archives. Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 215,
[9] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 220-221. Quotes on pp. 220 and 221 respectively. See also "Voyageurs Park To Stress Wilderness Environment," *Cook County News Herald*, August 30, 1972.

Brooks regularly met with a newly established state organization, the Citizen's Committee on Voyageurs National Park.[10] Local state representative and Majority Leader Irv Anderson had introduced legislation five weeks prior to formal park establishment to create what he called the Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park. Time would quickly shift the name to "committee" but the mission remained the same, to provide citizen input as the National Park Service made decisions about Voyageurs. Its 16 members, appointed by either the state legislature or the governor, came from St. Louis County, Koochiching County, the state at-large, and two each from the state senate and state house chamber. They served without salary but did receive recompense for their expenses.[11]

The CCVNP, as Brooks found, had a largely negative view of the national park. Brooks wrote in his 1975 annual report that Anderson "hangs his political survival on destroying" the national park and having a national recreation area instead. The local newspaper, in Brooks' mind, "exemplifie[d] yellow journalism at its best" and fed and made stronger the opposition than otherwise would have been the case.[12] The National Park Service's Midwest Regional Director clarified for Brooks that the citizen's committee had no official relationship to or preferred status with the park. The committee itself, however, asserted its own authority within the state by requesting and receiving within two years of its establishment additional funds to support an executive director, secretarial help, and supplies for a formal office. The CCVNP remained in existence until 1999.[13]

Midwest Associate Regional Director for Planning and Resource Preservation John Kawamoto noted after attending a June 1977 CCVNP meeting with Brooks that committee members either asked rhetorical questions or ones which related not to the matter at hand but instead reiterated past disagreements with previous National Park Service decisions.[14] The CCVNP's resolutions, according to Brooks in a 1978 oral history interview, tended toward supporting such activities as snowmobiling through the Kabetogama Peninsula and aircraft landing on the interior lakes, activities that Brooks worried would have adverse effects on the park. He noted in the same interview that he thought it interesting that the committee took three meetings to pass a resolution in favor of the national park, on principle. He also joked that many people accepted the committee's nickname of the "Park Harassment Committee."[15] The local newspaper, though not a friend of Voyageurs according to Brooks, did acknowledge that the citizen's committee often took an adversarial position toward the park. This approach, warned the *Daily Journal* editor, meant that the committee would continue to have "little impact" upon decisions made by the park.[16]

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[10] This organization switched over the years from being called a committee to a council, but the organization itself remained with the same mission. Separately, the VNPA in the mid-1960s established a Citizens Committee on Voyageurs National Park that worked to secure formal resolutions from as many organizations as possible to support park authorization. See Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 100-01.

[11] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 229-232; VNP, Annual Report, 1975, 3-4.

[12] VNP, Annual Report, 1975, 3. Brooks repeats his analysis of the CCVNP in his 1976 annual report, saying that the committee served the special interests of groups opposed to the national park and as a forum for Anderson to "criticize any attempt at progress toward a national park." See VNP, Annual Report, 1976, 3, VNP Archives.

[13] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 229-32. Jim Robbins, "Park Panel Seeks Executive Director," *Daily Journal*, March 4, 1977.

[14] Memorandum, Associate Regional Director for Planning and Resource Preservation, Midwest Region John Kawamoto to Regional Director, Midwest Region, June 30, 1977, VNP Archives.

[15] Brooks, transcript of interview, 9-11, VNP Library. Quote on p. 10.

[16] Editorial, "A Right Step for Park Committee," *Daily Journal*, March 29, 1977.



Figure 3 Park Historian Mary Lou Pearson interviews Midwest Associate Regional Director for Planning and Resource Preservation John Kawamoto in 1979. NPS Photo

Land acquisition

Following formal park establishment on April 8, 1975, the National Park Service could begin acquiring land. The focus turned to Boise Cascade with its 50,000 acres within the park. The Park Service found the company's management to be "very cooperative" and interested in working toward completion of the acquisition.[17] Negotiations began in 1975 and by the first half of 1976, the Park Service had acquired the Boise lands for about $11.2 million.[18] This step was significant. Rep. Jim Oberstar later recalled that with this purchase, Boise switched from being against the park to being at least neutral if not for the park. The company had negotiated what it considered a fair price for its lands, and it then went forward with making investments and expanding operations with this new money. The unions at the International Falls mill, according to Oberstar, saw these steps as essential indications that the national park would not impede operations. Oberstar said that the National Park Service gained "a lot of peace with a very important constituency, the unions in the mill" through its successful negotiations with Boise.[19]

Ken White served as the Voyageurs National Park Chief Land Acquisition Officer from fall 1976 until that work was largely completed in spring 1980. He first worked out of the Voyageurs National Park office on Second Street that Myrl Brooks had used. White then moved in April 1977 to Third Street, which became the park's official lands office. The office remained open until March 1980 when the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha took over the park's land acquisition.[20]

The park's enabling legislation delineated the procedures for land acquisition. The federal government, acting through the Secretary of the Interior and his/her designees, could acquire land through donation, purchase, and exchange. Appropriated funds could be used for land purchases.

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[17] VNP, Annual Report, 1981, 2, VNP Archives.
[18] Kenneth White, transcript of oral history interview with Mary Lou Pearson, March 26, 1980, 6, 8, VNP Library. Briefing Statement, December 5, 1974, 1, VNP Archives.
[19] Jim Oberstar, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 30, 2013, 19, VNP Archives.
[20] White, transcript of interview, 1-2, 19, VNP Library.

White thus had authority to obtain private property in fee simple as opposed to purchasing easements. Easements, as defined, left the property under private ownership with protections to maintain the character and integrity of the land. With regard to fee simple, owners of improved property could opt for a use and occupancy arrangement in which they would receive fair market value for their property, minus the fair market value of the retained use. Use and occupancy could extend for 25 years or the owner could choose a life estate, which allowed use of the land until the passing of the owner or the spouse, whichever was later. The National Park Service retained the right to terminate such arrangements if the agency determined that the owner did not exercise use of the property within the purposes of the park's legislation or if the agency needed the land for proper administration, such as for visitor service areas.[21]

The State of Minnesota donated lands to the National Park Service, as a requirement of the park's authorizing legislation. But some of this land had residential improvements, mainly cabins, by people who held state leases. The Voyageurs National Park enabling legislation allowed for these individuals, who had improved their leased lands before January 1, 1969, to retain use and occupancy until 10 years after the date of formal park establishment. The 10-year provision acknowledged that the state leases ran in 10-year increments at the time of the park's authorization.[22] Then, the individual had to vacate the property, and the Park Service took over the property's management.[23] Some state-lease holders, however, did not look closely at the park legislation, and they gave up their leased lands well before the April 1985 deadline. Audrey Chute, who was the longtime secretary for the park's superintendents, saw this happen within her husband's family. Her mother- and father-in law had a cabin on Bittersweet Island in Kabetogama Lake. Chute remembers that they immediately gave up their lease after hearing misinformation, losing that extra time allowed by the legislation.[24]

White provided the numbers in terms of how many tracts and the overall costs in acquiring them in a 1980 oral history interview with Voyageurs National Park Historian Mary Lou Pearson.[25] Various NPS offices, including the Northeast Region, the Western Region, a Duluth office, and finally the Midwest Region in Omaha, acquired first the state lands and then the Boise lands and a few hardship properties where the owners requested expedited action. The federal government spent about $11.2 million, out of a total of $26,014,000 authorized under the park's legislation, for the Boise lands. The International Falls land office then worked to obtain the remaining 557 parcels of private property.[26] There were a total of 97 state lease cabins, with occupants for 62 of those cabins choosing the maximum period of time for use and occupancy, when state leases expired in 1985. The numbers of use and occupancy reservations and life estates chosen by people who had property owned outright and not under the state lease program have varied over time as property was acquired. In 1989, as an

[21] Voyageurs National Park Act of 1971, Pub. L. No. 91-116, Land Acquisition section.
[22] White, transcript of interview, 21-22. State leases had run for one year at a time until 1958 when the state changed the lease program to ten years. See Anne Slakey, *Minnesota's Lakeshore Leasing Program or Forestry Redefined* (A. Slakey, 1993), 35.
[23] VNP Act of 1971, Land Acquisition section.
[24] Audrey Chute, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 12, VNP Archives.
[25] White refers to a report that summarizes the status of land acquisition at the time of the oral history interview, and he is reading off those numbers in the interview. The author has not identified this report. White, transcript of interview, 8.
[26] White, transcript of interview, 6. VNP Act of 1971, sec. 401. VNP, Annual Report, 1971, 1, VNP Archives. The Duluth Office also coordinated other land acquisition projects in the area, according to the 1971 Annual Report.

example, there were 108 use and occupancy reservations and 10 life estates. In 1996, there were 110 use and occupancy reservations and 13 life estates.[27]

White, using 15 independent and certified appraisers from Minnesota, oversaw in late 1976 the processing of about 2,300 acres (42 tracts) for a little more than one million dollars. The following year, the office purchased 5,600 acres (168 tracts) for $3.7 million. The National Park Service also provided about $10,000 in relocation costs for some of those owners, as allowed under federal law. The peak in land acquisition (in terms of number of tracts) came in fiscal year 1978, when the park obtained about 4,900 acres (301 tracts) for almost $6 million. Relocation costs came to $61,000 that year. In fiscal year 1979, the park obtained about 990 acres (39 tracts) for just under $1.5 million, with about $51,000 in relocation costs. In the first quarter of fiscal year 1980, the land office spent $314,000 for 92 acres (10 tracts).[28] White noted in his interview that out of the total of some 73,000 acres of privately owned lands, the National Park Service had acquired all but 6,600 acres, equaling 199 tracts, by the time the International Falls lands office closed in March 1980. The Omaha office would complete the remaining land acquisition effort.[29]

Federal law required certain steps be accomplished before the National Park Service could submit a written offer to the owner of one of those tracts. White explained this process at an April 1977 CCVNP meeting, plus in his 1980 interview. Appraisers could not enter the subject properties until they received permission from the owner, and the owner had the right to accompany the appraiser when surveying his or her property. The regional office reviewed and approved the appraisal. White told the CCVNP members that the National Park Service had to use the fair market valuation provided by the appraiser and the approved amount of the appraisal before entering into negotiations with the landowner.[30]

These numbers and details of the law hide the emotional reality of land acquisition. Midwest Regional Director Merrill D. Beal acknowledged this situation in an April 1975 speech before the VNPA membership. Park establishment includes "land acquisition, [which] can be a painful phase," involving "dispossessing people who would rather not be moved."[31] Myrl Brooks summarized the overall feeling within the local community, stating that "landowners throughout the park opposed selling their lands" and cabins.[32] The *Rainy Lake Chronicle* noted upon Brooks' departure from Voyageurs National Park that White and other National Park Service officials failed to distinguish between those who owned their cabins out of love for the natural landscape and those who owned property simply for speculation. The *Chronicle* argued that potential friends of the park became

[27] Ron Cockrell to the author, January 13, 2015, 3, VNP Archives. These numbers are based upon documents found in VNP Chief of Resources Mary Graves's historic structures inventory files.
[28] The number of tracts cited equals 560 versus the initial 557 number White gave. He notes that the Omaha office handled a few tracts, explaining why the numbers do not match. See White, transcript of interview, 7-9.
[29] White, transcript of interview, 19, 21. VNP, Land Acquisition Plan, 1980, 11, VNP Archives. White states in his interview that he was assigned to International Falls for his land acquisition work. He used two title companies out of Duluth. White also refers to an unspecified Duluth office that helped handle acquisition of the state lands and Boise property. See White, transcript of interview, 3-4, 6.
[30] Minutes, Citizen's Committee on Voyageurs National Park (CCVNP) Meeting, April 23, 1977, 7-8, VNP Archives. VNP Act of 1971, Public Law 91-611 sections 202 (a), 202 (c). White, transcript of interview, 14.
[31] Merrill Beal, transcript of speech, April 19, 1975, 6, VNP Archives.
[32] Memorandum, Brooks to environmental planner John Bright, July 16, 1973, 2, VNP Archives.

enemies, and local elected officials directed their ire at Brooks, seeing the situation as "good politics."[33]

One cabin owner, Ginny Wiley of International Falls, wrote to President Gerald Ford in 1975 declaring that property owners in the recently authorized national park were "being given a rough deal." The United States government had made the decision for the park, in her opinion, without allowing the affected people to vote. She wondered if members of Congress would have voted against the park if they had heard Ginny's story. Imagine a cabin, she wrote to the President, "(a really rough one, no electricity, etc.) that you had built by yourself, bit by bit, year by year." You watched your children grow up at the cabin. "So many plans, feelings, ideas and events center themselves around this piece of land." Then the national park appeared. "And now, suddenly, your dream is gone." She asked the President, "How do you feel?" She hoped he felt pretty bad about ruining her dreams, and those of similar folks, who had treasured the "natural beauty that I was blessed enough to live with all of my life."[34]

The park in 1980 adopted a new land acquisition plan, which used different criteria and land acquisition priorities from what White had had available to him. These new criteria prioritized land acquisition. First, the National Park Service would acquire land for park developments, trails, and campsites. The park's next priority was land acquisition to address wildlife management issues. Tracts of land along lake shores of major lakes, where there was heavy visitor use, rounded out the priorities for land acquisition. The park would not file any new condemnation actions unless properties were needed for major park developments (such as visitor centers) or a private owner undertook adverse uses of his/her property within park boundaries. The 1980 plan, in effect, gave many private landowners some breathing room to stay until they were ready to sell and the park had the funds to acquire their land.[35]

National park units across the United States had their own stories about private land acquisition. Some were relatively painless. Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (Virginia) heard a lot from property owners who felt that the federal government had already acquired enough land to commemorate the sites of four Civil War battlefields. They did not see a reason for taking any more private land. But, the landowners did not complain about the prices paid for land acquired. They believed they had received fair prices without coercion. Some residents of Minute Man National Historical Park (Massachusetts), on the other hand, felt intimidated and cheated in the 1960s when the park actively pursued land acquisition. Stories of condemnation threats went back and forth around the community, and some people sadly gave up their lands only to see them put to the same uses as they had been under private ownership, such as housing or fields for sheep. However, in each of these cases, the land acquisition officers acted within the intent of the legislation for each of these areas, with the goal of establishing these new parks.[36]

Resort owners at Voyageurs faced a different scenario from what the cabin owners had experienced. Most resorts, numbering about 46 and scattered around the entire area of the park's

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[33] "Our Cover: The Park Superintendent Departs," *Rainy Lake Chronicle*, October 15, 1978.
[34] Letter, Robert Giles to Ginny Wiley, July 9, 1975, and attached letter, Wiley to President Ford, June 2, 1975, VNP Archives. Quotes on pp. 3, 4, 2, respectively. Her own emphasis.
[35] VNP, Land Acquisition Plan, 1980, 11, VNP Archives.
[36] Joan Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development: A History of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park*, National Park Service, 2011. Joan M. Zenzen, *Bridging the Past: An Administrative History of Minute Man National Historical Park*, National Park Service, 2010.

location, remained outside the park's boundaries. Private enterprise could thus meet the lodging needs of visitors, as the National Park Service had intended during the initial planning for the park. But a dozen resorts were so located that they needed to be included within the park. These resort owners had the option of having their properties purchased, and then they could choose to remain as concessioners or step aside from the business entirely. A year after park authorization, six resorts had been purchased with the owners declining further operation due to age or health concerns. Another resort chose to discontinue operations due to the need for costly capital improvements. The remaining resorts as of 1976 expected to remain in business after purchase by the federal government. The Park Service awarded in 1978 two concession permits for these remaining resorts, one for Kettle Falls and the other for Whispering Pines.[37]



Figure 4 The Kettle Falls Hotel was built 1910-1913 and was owned and run by the Williams family for 75 years. NPS Photo, 1974

The experience at the Kettle Falls Hotel serves as an example of the experience of one resort property acquired by the federal government. Mike Williams in a 2013 oral history interview remembered his parents meeting in their office/bedroom at the hotel with White and John Blanton, both

[37] Memorandum, Brooks to Regional Director, Midwest Region, April 19, 1976, and attached draft letter to Rep. George O'Brien, 2-3, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1978, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Master Plan, 1968, 9, 19, VNP Archives.

representing the National Park Service, and the Williams' own lawyer and accountant. The Williams family had owned Kettle Falls since 1918, and Mike saw three important positive outcomes from the "very, very friendly" negotiations. First, his parents could sell their business and get paid, something that many resort owners did not necessarily see happen. Second, the hotel would continue as a viable business, and three, the family could remain as hotel operators. Williams also noted that the hotel itself was in bad shape, with a failing sewer system and wildly sagging floors, a situation that put the value of the building, in his mind, as a negative. But the business was another story, and the family received adequate recompense for that, in his view.[38]



Figure 5 Frank Ackerman served as the park's first Chief of Interpretation, 1976-1980. NPS Photo

Visitor services

Brooks and his staff applied National Park Service policies and procedures to their efforts at the park while they worked on developing management documents specific to the conditions and demands of this new national park. These management plans, completed with public input, would guide park activities. Brooks and his successor Tom Ritter worked on the Voyageurs National Park Master Plan, signed in 1980 and discussed at the end of this chapter. Throughout his tenure at Voyageurs National Park, Brooks set a standard for overall park management. G. Franklin Ackerman, who arrived at Voyageurs National Park in 1976 as the first Chief of Interpretation, recalled that

[38] Mike Williams, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 16, 2013, 18, VNP Archives.

Brooks set a "clear and sometimes forceful sense of direction" that employees followed.[39] Park Historian Mary Lou Pearson, who worked seasonally at the park beginning in 1975, stated that Brooks, in her opinion, got the park "going in the right direction."[40]

Management planning documents set that direction. The National Park Service during the 1970s (and at other points in NPS history) required park superintendents to complete an annual Statement for Management which accomplished several objectives. These documents, developed with public input and reviewed and approved by regional staff, described current conditions with respect to natural and cultural resources and visitor facilities. They listed which planning documents the park might be working on and which were completed. These Statements for Management also delineated the management objectives for the year. Statements for Management are thus one source for understanding what park staff had accomplished and what future tasks they had. Annual reports, written by the park superintendent, with additional ones written by management chiefs in maintenance, interpretation, resource management, and law enforcement, give essential information about park accomplishments and issues of concern. Park staff also took meeting minutes during much of the course of the park's existence, and these minutes provide weekly updates on park priorities. Approved management documents provide information about the direction the park would take on specific management decisions while also giving a sense of existing conditions. Newspaper articles and oral history interviews round out the range of source materials.[41]

Park staff always work to meet the letter and intention of the enabling legislation. Congress set the purpose of Voyageurs National Park as "to preserve, for the inspiration and enjoyment of present and future generations, the outstanding scenery, geological conditions and waterway system which constituted a part of the historic route of the Voyageurs who contributed significantly to the opening of the Northwestern United States."[42] Brooks attended to one early task to ensure the preservation of the park's landscape. He (and his staff) picked up trash, lots of it, that summer residents and resort and houseboat operations had left behind in the days before park authorization. A newspaper reporter from the *Duluth News Tribune* joined Brooks in 1974 on one of these trash pickup outings and expressed surprise at the sheer amount of refuse piled up on many islands within the park's boundaries. The reporter wrote in his article that there might be a nice sandy beach and then just a few feet back was "a pile of unbelievable proportions—similar to a small landfill." Brooks told the reporter that in 1972 the park had hauled out 800 large bags of garbage but more than a hundred other sites still needed clearing out two years later. Brooks attributed the situation to changing attitudes about environmental standards, and he believed that people would not continue such unhealthy and unsightly practices. But as historian Fred Witzig later wrote, the existence of such dumps "belies the claim frequently made by residents at public hearings that they had taken good care of the park area" and had even worried that the park itself would lead to the pollution of the area.[43]

Park staff worked early on to develop campsites, an important visitor service to allow people out into the park for extended periods. In 1971, upon park authorization, a range of state and private

[39] G. Franklin Ackerman, transcript of oral history interview with Mary Lou Pearson, May 23, 1981, 6, VNP Library.
[40] Pearson, in her interview with Ackerman, May 23, 1981, 6.
[41] The author thanks the entire staff at Voyageurs National Park for ensuring that she has these sources of information, especially a complete run of the park's squad meeting minutes.
[42] VNP Act of 1971.
[43] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 223-24. Quotes on p. 224.

camp sites existed near and within park boundaries. The state oversaw nine sites at Ash River, 15 at Gappa's Landing (Kabetogama Lake), seven at King Williams Narrows (at the northern end of Crane Lake), six at Mukooda Lake, and 59 at Woodenfrog (on Kabetogama Lake). Boise Cascade had 18 campsites on the Kabetogama Peninsula and eight at Main Lakes Campgrounds (with six campsites each).[44] The park evaluated the existing sites within Voyageurs. For those the park decided to keep, staff removed trash and standardized the sites with fire rings, tent pads, picnic tables, pit toilets, and later food lockers to keep food and wild animals separate. A 1973 campsite analysis helped identify where additional campsites were needed, with the total number fluctuating between 80 and 125 sites through 1980. By 1975, the park administered about 100 areas for individual camping and group sites.[45]

Brooks and his staff also used trails already within park boundaries as a starting place for developing a unified trail system. The US Forest Service had offered 25 miles of snowmobile trails on land and 25 miles of snowmobile trails over frozen lake water at and near Crane Lake. In addition, Boise Cascade had provided 50-60 miles of snowmobile trails.[46]

In the beginning, Brooks sought to make any new trail work impermanent, both to allow for their eventual redesign and to uphold wilderness standards until formal determination of this status. Staff member Steve Durrant worked on a trail plan throughout this period, and the park presented a draft trail plan in 1986, listing six alternatives for summer and winter trails, for public review and comment. The park finalized and obtained approval at the end of Russ Berry's superintendency. Park staff marked and maintained in 1975 more than five miles of ski trails. Landscape architecture students in winter/spring 1977 developed a trail plan that college students through a Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) program put into place that summer. The YCC students completed 12 miles leading from Lost Bay on Kabetogama Lake into the peninsula, cutting back vegetation and constructing cedar-planked walkways over low areas. Subsequent YCC camps in 1978 and 1979 finished the 15-mile Lost Bay Trail. A Student Conservation Association group of high school students in summer 1978 completed a 1.2-mile portage between Rainy Lake and Locator Lake. This trail followed an impassable section of Cranberry Creek and provided access to views of beaver, deer, eagle, osprey, and other shore birds. Brooks envisioned an overall system of Kabetogama Peninsula trails that might total 100 miles, formed in discrete loops to introduce visitors to representative backcountry environments. By 1979, the park offered 40 miles for visitors.[47]

Brooks started collecting materials for an eventual park visitor center, an important resource for visitors. The National Geographic Society contracted with William Hafeman in Big Fork, Minnesota, to build a 26-foot birch-bark North canoe. North canoes had served voyageurs who

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[44] Minnesota Natural Resources Commission, Voyageurs National Park Fact Book (1971), Section II, VNP Archives.

[45] VNP, Annual Reports, 1973, 1-2; 1975, 2; 1976, 1; 1978, 3, all in VNP Archives. VNP Staff Meeting Minutes, February 23, 1976, 1, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Facility Manager to Superintendent, February 4, 1981, 1, VNP Archives. Raoul Lufbery, transcript of oral history interview with the author, 9, VNP Archives. "'76 a Growth Year at Park, Brooks Reports," VNPA Newsletter, February 1977, 2, VNP Archives.

[46] VNP Fact Book, Section II.

[47] VNP Annual Reports, 1975, 3; 1978, 1; 1979, 2, 4, all in VNP Archives. Memorandum, Acting Superintendent Joe Cayou to Regional Director, Midwest Region, December 6, 1976, Minutes of November 17, 1976 Staff Meeting, 4, VNP Archives. VNP, Trail Plan Alternatives, April 1986, VNP Archives. "Youth Corps Work in Park Termed Success," VNPA newsletter, October 1977, 3; and VNPA, Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, 24 May 1977, 3; "Students Bring an Old Portage in the Park back to Life," VNPA Newsletter, September 1978, 3; and "Voyageurs Park Activities in 1977," VNPA Newsletter, 6, all in VNP Archives.

traveled west of Lake Superior along inland waterways, carrying trade goods to the interior of the North American continent. Hafeman had learned Indian techniques from a man who had observed and memorized canoe building. Hafeman perfected his technique of mimicking American Indian construction techniques by trial and error, plus referring to a handbook published by the Smithsonian Institution. He became an authority on birch-bark canoe building, and many organizations and individuals commissioned him. National Geographic donated the finished canoe to Voyageurs National Park. The park did not have a visitor center by the time it acquired the canoe, and its limited space in temporary park headquarters, which moved from various locations throughout Brooks' superintendency, necessitated a loan of the artifact to the Koochiching County Historical Society, based in International Falls. The historical society put the canoe on display in November 1974.[48]

The park's museum collection, archives, photographic collection, and library grew during the period 1976 to 1980 under the supervision of Frank Ackerman, the park's Chief of Interpretation. The Park Service in 1978 operated information stations at park headquarters and at Kabetogama Lake. The museum collection was moved to a 400-square foot storage facility on the second floor of the Armstrong Ford building, pending location of permanent headquarters. The collection itself contained, among other artifacts, logging tools, an 1873 etching of a Frances Hopkins voyageur painting, and Ojibwe objects. Local resident and early park supporter Wayne Judy had helped start the collection by donating in 1974 the pen President Nixon had used to sign the park's enabling legislation, plus a letter and photo from Nixon. In 1975, Dr. and Mrs. Arnold Bolz donated a collection of early exploration and fur trade books that Bolz had used to write his book *Portage into the Past* and some ethnographic pieces. Bolz had been a medical doctor who also delved into nature photography and had lobbied with others for the creation of Voyageurs National Park.[49]

The park reached out to the public in a variety of ways. In 1976, the park released its first film, *Pace of the Seasons.* Harpers Ferry Center produced the 15-minute film. Bolz provided the color transparencies. Sigurd Olson narrated the introduction to the film and the introductions to the four sections of his book Wilderness Days, used in the film. The following year, the park began submitting an interpretive article series to local newspapers. These focused upon historical topics. In 1978, Mary Lou Pearson and Scott Crowe wrote 10 radio programs about the history of the area now associated with the national park. Pearson had been conducting oral history interviews with many local people since she began with the park in 1975. Interpretive programming by 1978 included three walks and hikes, 14 evening presentations, one audio presentation, two information stations (at Kabetogama Narrows and International Falls), and one off-site presentation.[50]

Individuals established a cooperative association to aid the park's interpretive programming. Initial discussions for the association began in 1975. In July 1976, the founders signed the Articles of Incorporation, recorded in Koochiching County, for the creation of the Lake States National Park

[48] "Birch-Bark Canoe Builder: William Hafeman Perpetuates Nearly Lost Art," *Minnesota History* (Winter 1972). Melvin Payne to William Hafeman, October 26, 1973; Payne to Hafeman, July 30, 1974; Myrl Brooks to Thomas Savard, November 27, 1974; Payne to Brooks, December 26, 1974; G. Franklin Ackerman and Mary Hilke, June 26, 1978, Indefinite loan papers to the Koochiching County Historical Society, all in VNP Museum Collection. VNP, Annual Report, 1973, 2; 1974, 3. "Handmade Canoe Is on Display, *Daily Journal*, November 26, 1974.

[49] History of VNP Cultural Resources Program, November 2015, 2, VNP Archives. VNP, Research/Resource Management Activities 1972-2006, From Squad Meeting Minutes and Annual Reports, March, 2014, 3, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1978, 2, VNP Archives.

[50] VNP, Interpretive Program 1976-2009, 1, VNP Archives.

Association. In October 1978, the Chairman of the Board for Lake States National Park Association and the Midwest Regional Director from the National Park Service signed a cooperating association agreement. The cooperating association in November 1978 went on to sign an agreement with the US Fish and Wildlife Service's Seney National Wildlife Refuge. On March 12, 1979, the cooperating association filed a Certificate of Restated Articles of Incorporation, recorded in Koochiching County, changing its name to Lake States Interpretive Association, Inc. In its first full year of operation under the cooperating agreement with the National Park Service, the Lake States National Park Association used a $10,000 grant from the Bush Foundation to create interpretive publications. The association sold $1,875 worth for that year.[51]

Park staff

Myrl Brooks slowly hired people to fulfill various duties required for park operations. He spent his first six weeks working out of the back of a station wagon and at the Hilltop Motel in International Falls. He then moved across the Rainy River to an office in Fort Frances, Ontario. He relocated to an open desk at the Chamber of Commerce on 2nd Street. When Brooks moved in 1975 to a separate park office in a prefabricated building, really a double-wide trailer, on Highway 53 on the southern edge of the Falls, he made his first staff appointment, for a secretary. Sharon Landgrave, who came from the chamber, served in this capacity until her unexpected death in August 1972.[52] Jan Yescavage (later Gauthier) then filled this position. In 1980, the park's second superintendent, Tom Ritter, moved his administrative staff into the former land acquisition office on Third Street vacated by Ken White.[53]

Other staff appointments quickly followed. Bob Walker started in November 1972 as Chief of Interpretation and Natural Resources. In 1973, Joe Cayou started at the park as a field ranger for the Kabetogama district.[54] He became Chief Ranger in 1981. Brooks hired Gilbert Hall in 1976 as field ranger for the Ash River district. Seasonal Ray Wood worked in the Kabetogama district. District Ranger R. Scott Evans and seasonal Bruce Schmidt oversaw the Rainy Lake district. Larry Hach served as the District Ranger for Ash River and Crane Lake. Jack Linsten, Clayton Stevens, Ken Jacobson, Dennis Lagergren, and Dick Lorette took over maintenance and facilities duties. In 1976, Raoul Lufbery joined the park as Facility Manager/Chief of Maintenance. Brooks in 1972 named Lee Grim as Seasonal Naturalist. G. Franklin Ackerman came to Voyageurs National Park in 1976 as Chief of Interpretation. He worked with Grim, plus Park Historian Mary Lou Pearson and student trainee

[51] Information compiled by Catherine Crawford, in an email to the author, January 21, 2015. Based upon the following documents in the VNP Archives: *Amended Articles of Incorporation of The Lake States National Park Association, Inc.,* 1976; *Amended Articles of Incorporation of The Lake States National Park Association, Inc.,* 1976; *Agreement between Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior and the Lake States National Park Association,* 1978; *Certificate of Restated Articles of Incorporation of the Lake States National Park Association, Inc. (whose name is being changed by these restated Articles to) Lake States Interpretive Association, Inc.*, 1979. VNP, Annual Reports, 1975, 1; 1976, 2; 1978, 2, VNP Archives.
[52] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 216. Thomas Ritter, oral history interview with the author, August 27, 2013, 27, VNP Archives. Additional information provided by VNP Chief of Resources Mary Graves, 2014.
[53] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 223. White, transcript of interview, 1-2, 19.
[54] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 223.

landscape architect Steve Durant. Ackerman left the park in 1981. Glen Cole joined the ranks in 1976 as the Research Biologist, and Bob Schultz came as Park Naturalist.[55]

Some of Brooks' early staff appointments decided to stay and finish their careers at Voyageurs. Joe Cayou retired from the park in 1994. Raoul Lufbery stayed as chief of maintenance until his retirement in 2012. Audrey (Harmening) Chute started as a typist at the end of Brooks' tenure in 1978. She eventually served as the park superintendent's secretary from Tom Ritter[56] to Mike Ward, retiring in 2013. Lee Grim, who started in 1972 as a seasonal naturalist under Brooks, served until 2011 under Mike Ward's superintendency, then continued as a volunteer, compiling a 40-year record of bird surveys in the process.[57]

These staff members recall the park's early days. Joe Cayou had served nine years at Lake Mead National Recreation Area (Arizona and Nevada) as a park ranger and then sub-district ranger before going to Bandelier National Monument (New Mexico) for four years as chief ranger. He had focused upon fire management in these previous parks. According to his own recollections, he had learned his law enforcement work "on-the-job," so that when he came to Voyageurs, he had managed not to have had formal law enforcement training. In reality, he had to have undergone training to receive his law enforcement commission and thus have the authority to perform law enforcement duties and carry a service weapon. However, he often chose not to wear his service weapon, and he used his knack for building relationships to address the requirements of his job. He served as an information source for cabin owners who needed to decide whether to sell their lands outright or consider either 25-year use-and-occupancy or lifetime estates.[58] Historian Mary Lou Pearson, who had lived in the area nearly all her life, commented that she only heard complimentary words about Cayou, the "excellent relationships" that he had created and the "many friends" that he had made for the park.[59] Cayou later recalled that he would "talk to the people, try to get along with them and see what their problems are."[60] He didn't emphasize handing out tickets, especially for small infractions like "pick[ing] up a bug somewhere."[61] He knew the park and its neighbors because he spent most of his time out of the office. He started off at the park by marking the rocks in the lakes during the summer and grooming snowmobile and ski trails during the winter. He joked later that though the park went through quite a few propellers to find those rocks, people really appreciated the buoys.[62]

Raoul Lufbery as the facility manager saw great potential in Voyageurs throughout his time in the northlands. He recognized that the local people had "paid a personal sacrifice" in having to give up a cabin or a recreational pursuit to have the national park. But they also "appreciate the park for what it is and understand its value for the future."[63] Lufbery wanted to help make the park all it could be, but that took time. He started with working out of a pickup truck, having a shed, and then a garage. By the

[55] Ackerman, transcript of interview, 1-3. Additional information obtained from notes by Graves, 2014. VNP Permanent Staff Listing, February 8, 2015.
[56] Chute served a temporary assignment as Ritter's secretary. She was the fulltime superintendent's secretary from the Russ Berry days forward.
[57] VNP, Annual Report, 1972, 1. Photo, VNPA Newsletter, May 1976, 1, VNP Archives. Need to verify dates and moves for the office until Ford agency building.
[58] Joe Cayou, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 1-2, 6-8, 14-15, VNP Archives.
[59] Joe Cayou, transcript of oral history interview with Mary Lou Pearson, 26, VNP Library.
[60] Cayou, transcript of interview, May 15, 2013, 15.
[61] Cayou, transcript of interview, May 15, 2013, 14.
[62] Cayou, transcript of interview, May 15, 2013, 7.
[63] Raoul Lufbery, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 32, VNP Archives.

mid-1980s, he had the opportunity to tackle the big construction jobs, such as the Rainy Lake Visitor Center and the restoration of the historic Kettle Falls Hotel. He had spent his summers during college working as a seasonal in the Connecticut state parks and Cape Cod National Seashore (Massachusetts). He joined the maintenance team at George Washington Memorial Parkway (Virginia) once he graduated and soon started in a facility manager development program. Four and a half years later, he was up at Voyageurs and stayed for the rest of his career. Opportunities at other parks presented themselves, but he loved the challenges of figuring out how to build visitor services in a tough climate on top of the oldest and hardest rocks.[64] He also knew that, in his opinion, he worked with some of the best people anywhere. His division hired many local residents, and Lufbery knew he had a talented and dedicated group. He recognized that their work ethic was strong. They were very independent individuals. They contributed their own ideas about a project. And even if they "thought you were the biggest jerk that day, they'd still go out and give you a good day's work . . . . I was always so grateful for that."[65]

Audrey Chute had grown up in southern Minnesota and left her family's farm when she turned 18. She worked in such jobs as lab analyst and proofreader before moving up to International Falls in 1976 and taking the federal government's civil service exam. A clerk typist position opened up at Voyageurs, and in July 1978, she started her long career there. Voyageurs may have been her one and only national park, but she embraced the entire National Park Service and its mission. She admitted recently that "after a time, I think I really could say I don't know where the Park Service ended and I began. It became one."[66] Others shared this self-identification with the preservation and education mission of the agency. Chute learned from those around her, as she remembered later. "It was part of my learning process as far as the whole National Park Service, and who all belongs to it, and what we're all striving to do, and the people here." She noted that "the superintendents, I mean, they all had that passion, and it was somehow they infused it in you, you just had -- and Myrl Brooks was that way, I think Myrl Brooks was that way, Jan Gauthier was that way, Raoul Lufbery was that way, Joe Cayou was that way, although he'll joke about it," they all shared that commitment and focus. And these were the people turning Voyageurs National Park into a real place for visitation and learning.[67]

Lee Grim represented both the local community and the research arm of the national park. He had grown up in the Dakotas and after finishing his Master's program at North Dakota State University, he joined in 1967 the first class of faculty at the newly opened Rainy River Community College in International Falls. He taught science, with a specialty in biology. His first spring, a group of his students took him out in a boat in 30-mile per hour winds and four foot waves. "They wanted to show me their backyard," Grim recalled. It so happened those kids were Carl Brown, Vic Davis, and others. They had grown up in Ranier, Minnesota, next to International Falls, and "cherished the place." They wanted to explain that feeling to Grim.[68]

Grim remembers knocking on Myrl Brooks' door in 1972 and telling him, "'You know, since the park's in the area, they should be hiring local people. And I am a biologist so, I think you should

[64] Lufbery, transcript of interview, 1-3, 9-12.
[65] Lufbery, transcript of interview, 30.
[66] Audrey Chute, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 3, VNP Archives.
[67] Chute, transcript of interview, 17.
[68] Lee Grim, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 13, 2013, 2, 5, VNP Archives. Quote on p. 5.

hire me.'" Grim smiled and said, "So I got hired."[69] He served as Seasonal Park Naturalist from 1972 to 1990 and then Seasonal Resource Management Biologist from 1991 to 2011. Grim would end up tracking birds, especially osprey, eagles, cormorants, herons, and gulls, from 1973 through 2013. But he also helped out as needed in those early days. Brooks gave him a boat his first summer and told him to go out and explore the park, look at potential campsites and places for trails, and not to come back until the end of the summer. Cayou recalled flagging trails with Grim. Grim served several years as a boating instructor for the new hires, and he worked with the interpretive division or helped train seasonals.[70]

Each of these staff members, along with other Park Service representatives, worked toward a common goal of developing the new national park to meet its educational and preservation responsibilities. A major step in that direction would be acceptance of a master plan, detailing the 20-year vision for the park.

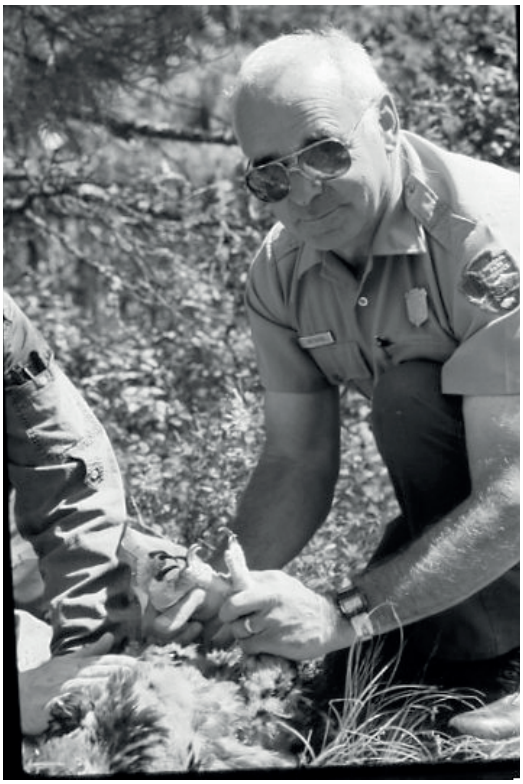


Figure 6 Joe Cayou served at the park from 1973 to 1994, as Field Ranger, Chief Ranger, and Operations Specialist. NPS Photo

[69] Grim, transcript of interview, 2.
[70] Grim, transcript of interview, 2-5; Cayou, transcript of interview, May 15, 2013, 18.



Figure 7 Raoul Lufbery served as Chief of Maintenance from 1977 to 2012 while Barbara (Barb) West served as Superintendent from 1995 to 2005. NPS Photo, 1998



Figure 8 Audrey (Harmening) Chute served as Stenographer, Project Clerk got the Maintenance Division, and the Superintendent's Secretary from 1978 to 2013. NPS Photo

Resources management

Soon after park establishment, staff members began conducting natural resource inventories and developing a natural resource program. Seasonal naturalist Grim began conducting eagle, osprey, and great blue heron inventories by 1973 and gathering data for a Resource Management Plan. Brooks hired Wildlife Biologist Glen Cole in 1976 to develop a long-range research program. Cole's wildlife experience at Glacier, Grand Teton, and Yellowstone National Parks was desirable for exploring the restoration of declining or absent native wildlife species such as caribou and porcupine. In 1976, the park delivered a draft Resources Management Plan to the region for review.[71]

In 1973, the park completed a range of baseline studies. These included a Resources Basic Inventory of Proposed Development Areas, an Archeological Survey of Proposed Development Areas, a park-wide Water Quality Study, a Vegetative Cover Type Map of Park, an Analysis of Campsites, and a Study of Snowmobile Use. This research informed staff as they developed standards for

[71] VNP, Research/Resource Management Activities 1972-2006, 1-3, VNP Archives.

backcountry and other types of campsites. Park staff also used this research when drafting environmental assessments for snowmobiling and aircraft use.[72]

More studies continued. The park's staff in 1978 conducted major wildlife studies to collect baseline data on wildlife and habitat, inventory park vegetation, examine the effects of fire and logging, inventory aquatic systems, inventory lichens, examine wolf food habits, look at deer-moose parasites, and study atmospheric pollution. Monitoring programs looked at ecosystem carrying capacity.[73]

Park personnel developed positive relationships with state and local officials in the course of their work. Wildlife Biologist Cole reported in a December 1976 staff meeting that he was "very pleased with the reception he has received generally from the state biologists." The biologists were receptive to the park's work and recognized that it may be of benefit to the state.[74] In 1974, the park established a fire control cooperative agreement with state and federal agencies. This cooperative agreement helped all officials during a particularly dry and hot summer in 1976. The park took action on 11 fires during this season, none of which were within park boundaries. Prompt action by cooperative fire crews kept the amount of burned acreage to a minimum.[75] The park also cooperated with local police. For example, the St. Louis County Sheriff in July 1976 phoned the park asking for help in locating three young men on Rainy Lake suspected of property damage at Kettle Falls. The NPS park rangers, Cayou and Schmidt, with the Koochiching County Deputy Sheriff, located the men and helped take them into custody.[76]

The park also initiated an inventory and evaluation of cultural resources as required by E.O. 11593, signed in 1971. The park coordinated with the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) to conduct the first inventories of archeological resources, historic sites, and historic structures. John Hackett and Liza Nagle completed the historic sites and structures inventory and evaluation. MHS Archeologist Douglas Birk and crew completed the first archeological surveys of the Kettle Falls area as well as of Namakan, Sand Point, and Crane lakes. Guy Gibbon of the University of Minnesota (through MHS) led a crew on the first park-wide archeological survey. An early survey was also completed by MHS (led by Doug George) of proposed developed areas (Gold Shores, Black Bay, State Point and Sullivan Bay) soon after authorization of the park. These surveys resulted in the park identifying three properties—Kettle Falls, Little American Mine, and Ellsworth Rock Gardens—for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Little American Mine was listed in the National Register on April 16, 1975 in recognition of being the only gold mine in the state known to have produced a profit during its operation, 1893-1898. Kettle Falls Hotel was named to the National Register on January 11, 1976, and the Kettle Falls Historic District was named to the National Register on July 17, 1978. Both had significance for being transportation, industry, and recreation locales. The hotel served fishermen, buyers, loggers, and tourists. The historic district includes portage and dam structures which contributed to the reasons for the hotel's construction at that location.[77]

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[72] 1976 Staff Meeting Minutes, Summary, VNP Archives.
[73] VNP, Research/Resource Management Activities 1972-2006, 3.
[74] VNP, Staff Meeting Minutes, December 1, 1976, VNP Archives.
[75] VNP, Research/Resource Management Activities 1972-2006, 2.
[76] VNP, Annual Report, 1974, 2; 1976, 2. Case Incident Report, July 30, 1976, VNP Archives. Memorandum, [need title]Franklin Collins to Assistant Manager Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, December 15, 1976, 2, VNP Archives.
[77] National Register of Historic Places nomination forms, available at http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/SearchResults/, accessed June 17, 2016.

The Minnesota State Review Board rejected the Ellsworth Rock Gardens nomination because the gardens did not possess artistic value, there was no evidence for local pride in the site, it was out of character with the wilderness values the park was set aside for, and its state of deterioration since abandonment in 1966 would make it too costly to preserve. Although the property was nominated by staff at MHS, the Director of the Minnesota Historical Society concurred with the recommendation of the Minnesota State Review Board to not support the nomination. The park put the buildings at the site up for sale in 1984. Some did not sell, and others were partially salvaged.[78]

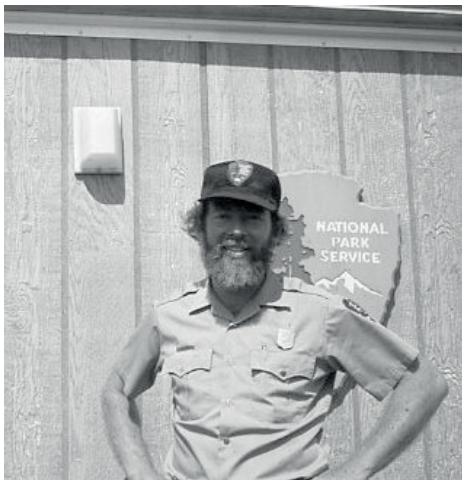


Figure 9 Lee Grim worked as a Professor at Rainy River Community College and during the summers as Naturalist Park Ranger (1972-1990) and Resource Management Biologist (1991-2011), completing a 40-year survey of birds, especially osprey, eagles, cormorants, herons, and gulls in the park. NPS Photo

Master plan

Concurrent with developing programs and visitor services, Brooks and his staff worked with the NPS regional offices and Denver Service Center to define the overall planning goals for the new national park. All national park units undergo such intensive master planning efforts when first established and then again in 15-to-20-year cycles to address changing circumstances and the accomplishment of previous goals. Master plans have shifted in name most recently to General Management Plans, but the overall intent has largely remained the same. The idea for master plans within the National Park Service originated during the late 1920s under Landscape Architect Thomas Vint. He convinced Horace Albright, as the latter shifted into his new position as the second NPS Director, that any new developments within the parks be controlled by an overarching design aesthetic as articulated in master plans. Vint in the 1920s and 1930s was especially concerned about road projects that threatened to prioritize efficient engineering over scenic beauty and land preservation. But Vint successfully argued that all major developments within each park, from siting buildings to planning roads to landscaping grounds, required careful consideration and coordinated planning before implementation of any specific task. Master plans became the platform for visualizing what the entire visitor experience might be in each park. For this reason, master plans can be seen as documents that

[78] VNP, History of Cultural Resources Program, November, 2015, VNP Archives.

work for the public good, wanting to maximize the visitor's physical and emotional connection to the natural, historical, or cultural features.[79]

Until the 1970s, the National Park Service completed these documents in-house and then shared the results with the public. Landmark legislation such as the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 addressed important issues of the time. NHPA sought to address the rising destruction of historic and archeological sites from federal actions under the interstate highway system and urban renewal. NEPA established a national policy of securing the well-being of the environment in response to such events as the bulldozing of natural areas for interstate highways and the 1969 Santa Barbara, California, oil spill. Both acts brought new requirements and active public participation into the federal government's planning process. Voyageurs and other national parks sat on the cusp of this change in approach, and its master planning effort displays the ins and outs encountered when addressing these new laws. Federal agencies needed time to understand and incorporate NEPA's requirement for completion of environmental statements into their reporting. The courts and executive orders into the 1980s slowly laid out the procedures to meet NEPA's mandates. Master planning at Voyageurs and throughout the national park system proceeded within this evolving climate. The need to finish an environmental report that met the NEPA act prompted Brooks in 1973 to ask to delay further work on the master plan.[80] Midwest Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation John Kawamoto admitted at a 1974 meeting with state officials that the "Environmental Impact Statement is the one that is holding us up."[81]

Voyageurs necessarily experienced master plan delays both from the halting NEPA process and also from an administrative shift within the National Park Service. The park went from being under the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha to the Northeast Region in Philadelphia and then back again to Omaha within a two-year period, from November 1971 to December 1973. Other impacted national park sites in Minnesota included Grand Portage National Monument, Pipestone National Monument, and St. Croix National Scenic Riverway. This shift did not significantly effect on-the-ground park operations, but it did halt the master planning process, brought in new regional office voices, and then forced the process to backtrack when the park returned to the Midwest office. Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation Kawamoto noted that his office, once Voyageurs returned for good, was "sort of catching up . . . just trying to pick up the pieces." These new laws and the administrative change contributed to the report's delay. Plus, the Park Service itself addressed changing priorities within the agency and took people off the Voyageurs master plan-EIS effort and moved them to other projects, necessarily causing delays. The National Park Service produced the final plan in February 1980.[82]

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[79] Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 175-76, 199-200, 255-56. Mary Shivers Culpin, "Thomas Vint," Biographical Vignette from *National Park Service: The First 75 Years*. Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916-1942* (NPS, 1993), Chapter Five: A Process of Park Planning.

[80] Linda Luther, *The National Environmental Policy Act: Background and Implementation* (Congressional Research Service, November 16, 2005), CRS-7-CRS-12, http://www.fta.dot.gov/documents/Unit1_01CRSReport.pdf, accessed September 12, 2013. Memorandum, [need title]John Bright to Myrl Brooks, June 22, 1973, , attached to Memorandum, Brooks to Planning and Design Coordinator, Denver Service Center, June 28, 1973, VNP Archives.

[81] Transcript, Governor's Voyageurs National Park Management Committee, December 11, 1974, 14, VNP Archives.

[82] Kawamoto, as quoted in Transcript, Governor's Voyageurs National Park Management Committee, December 11, 1974, 13. *NPS Administrative History: A Guide* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 2004), 30-31.

The agency needed to address a range of issues at Voyageurs National Park before the park's staff could move forward on developing visitor services, interpretation, and resource management. One issue involved appropriate places for snowmobile usage. Considerations included snowmobiling on the large lakes and on land on the Kabetogama Peninsula. Another issue was seaplane landings on the large lakes and the smaller lakes in interior of the park. A third issue was location of visitor facilities, including visitor contact stations and camping sites, and the number of such facilities to adequately meet expected visitor demand. Fourth, the park needed guidance on its fire management policy, to what extent it should allow natural fires to burn without active intervention. Other issues concerned identification of management zoning areas for natural, historical, and development zones. Plus, the Park Service needed to decide its management of wildlife, such as deer, and whether it should actively re-introduce caribou and elk and encourage the moose population in the park to duplicate the environment as voyageurs would have experienced it. These issues would be discussed in public meetings and finalized, taking into account these public comments, through National Park Service study and adherence to agency policy and the park's enabling legislation.[83]

Formal study of two issues helped inform the Park Service's approach in developing a master plan. The Midwest Regional Office completed in April 1977 environmental assessments of snowmobile usage and landing of aircraft in the park. Each report considered alternatives and their expected impact upon the park's natural, socioeconomic, and cultural environments. For snowmobiling, the report looked at usage on the major lakes, on connecting routes between the major lakes to avoid ice hazards, and on interior lakes. The aircraft study examined prohibition of all landings inside the park, landings on the major lakes, and landing on all lakes inside the park.[84]

The National Park Service held a series of public meetings in different areas of the state in 1975 and also 1978 as the agency worked on defining and finalizing the Voyageurs National Park master plan. These meetings gave the public an opportunity to share its ideas with regard to draft versions of the master plan. The 1975 meetings were held in International Falls, Orr, Virginia, Duluth, and Minneapolis and attracted a total of 550 people with about 75 speaking. The Park Service produced a newsletter in August 1975 summarizing public comments. The newsletter noted that "few issues drew more testimony" than one addressing how much snowmobiling would be allowed in the national park. The draft master plan at that time allowed snowmobiling on four major lakes plus land routes between the lakes and across hazardous ice areas. The draft plan did not generally allow snowmobiling on the Kabetogama Peninsula. Some speakers at the public meetings pointed to the 15 million acres open to snowmobiling in Minnesota and the only 100,000 acres dedicated to cross country skiing. These speakers urged to keep Voyageurs National Park as primitive as possible. Other speakers wanted more liberal snowmobiling, noting that the park's enabling legislation specifically identified it as an approved activity. These speakers stated that snowmobiling was a growing sport, that machines had become quieter and lighter than their initial versions, and that snowmobiling was becoming a powerful economic driver in the state. Many of these speakers especially wanted to use the snowmobiling trails that Boise Cascade had developed on the Peninsula.[85]

John Kawamoto, transcript of oral history interview with Mary Lou Pearson, June 12, 1979, 4, 87-88, VNP Library. Memorandum, Deputy Regional Director Merrill Beal to Brooks, August 30, 1974, 1, VNP Archives.

[83] See VNP, Master Plan, 1980, VNP Archives, for examples of these issues and their resolution.

[84] VNP, Environmental Assessment, Use of Snowmobiles, April 1977; VNP, Environmental Assessment, Landing of Aircraft, April 1977, both in VNP Archives.

[85] Voyageurs National Park Newsletter, August 1975, 1-2, VNP Archives.

There were other areas of concern voiced in the 1975 public meetings. Many hunter enthusiasts stated their wish to have the east end of Black Bay removed from the park to preserve a prime duck hunting area. One person countered this idea, stating that a relatively small group of people wanted such a change versus how removal of land from the park might set a dangerous precedent. The Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, on the issue of fire management, asked for greater clarity in the plan on the specific criteria for allowing natural fire to serve as a resource management tool. Highway expansion received attention from the mayor of Virginia and others, who worried that highways leading to the national park were already close to or at capacity. They wanted the Park Service to join with St. Louis and Koochiching Counties to advocate for improvements. Some people worried about the deer population, whether it might be decimated by wolves protected in the national park or by loss of browse without timber harvesting to keep the forest from succeeding. Fishing also attracted attention by some speakers, who wanted the Park Service to improve fishing by helping with stocking and limiting catch numbers. The state DNR representative asserted that the state, not the federal government, had jurisdiction over fisheries management. Some speakers pointed out the need for better marking of hazardous features in the lakes and the need to ensure safe boating for all. The newsletter finally stated that many speakers at Orr and Virginia voiced objections to the creation of the park and wanted to have it removed. Others who shared the anti-park sentiment stated that the objectors should find ways to make the park as acceptable as possible since it was established now.[86]

The November 1978 master plan public meetings took place in International Falls, Orr, Virginia, Rochester, St. Paul, and Duluth. About 700 people attended the meetings with 180 speaking. The Midwest Regional Director summarized public comments in a report to the NPS Director. There were three main issues raised in 1978, the amount of snowmobiling allowed in the park, whether floatplanes should be allowed to land on interior lakes, and whether Black Bay should be removed from the park. The Regional Director stated that at the International Falls meeting, "Traditionalists" (who wanted to continue traditional uses in the park, such as snowmobiling, seaplanes, and duck hunting) dominated others, essentially intimidating anyone from opposing them. The Rochester meeting, in contrast, was dominated by "Environmentalists" (who opposed the uses espoused by the Traditionalists). The other meetings, according to the Midwest Regional Director, had a mix of the two camps. Some of the Traditionalists at the International Falls meeting went to the other five public meetings, but by the end of the process, some of these Traditionalists, according to the regional director, "appeared to be tempering their extremism," and each side seemed to be listening to each other more than at the start.[87]

By March 1979, the Park Service completed its review of written comments to the draft 1978 master plan. Midwest Regional Director J. L. Dunning reported to NPS Director William Whalen that the majority of the public statewide supported the draft master plan, but a very strong group of "traditionalist people" continued to favor snowmobiling, seaplanes, and deletion of Black Bay. Dunning offered two options for moving forward, to accept the draft master plan as is and move forward to the required wilderness study or to allow snowmobiling on land for three years with heavy monitoring to aid research on the impact of snowmobiles on wildlife and land features. Whalen, after visiting Minnesota on two occasions, approved the master plan, approved a schedule for completing a

[86] Voyageurs National Park Newsletter, August 1975, 2-3.
[87] Memorandum, Midwest Regional Director to Director, November 29, 1978, VNP Archives. Quote on p. 1.

required wilderness study of the park, and announced some specific actions to be undertaken to address visitor use.[88]

The approved master plan, printed in February 1980, made snowmobiling an acceptable activity on Rainy, Kabetogama, Sand Point, and Namakan Lakes, along with portage routes around hazardous ice areas. Snowmobiling throughout the remainder of the park was permissible, but the Park Service would not encourage or discourage snowmobiling through trail marking or maintenance of trails. Seaplanes, according to the 1980 master plan, were allowed on all lakes approved safe by the state transportation authority and pending completion of the wilderness study. The 1980 master plan kept the contested Black Bay area in the park.[89]

With an approved master plan in hand, the park could proceed with development of needed visitor facilities and services. Whalen announced in June 1979, at the same time that he approved the plan, that the Park Service would take certain actions to aid the park in these next steps. The agency would request planning funds for construction of visitor and interpretive facilities. It would also seek approval of space to lease in various sections of the park for temporary visitor information sites. The agency would put Voyageurs at a high priority for assigning additional personnel to the park. The agency also called upon the park's staff to accelerate its resources management programs to improve fish management, meeting a demand expressed in public comments to the draft master plan. The next chapter outlines the major features of the plan.[90]

Assessment of Brooks' superintendency

Many of the Traditionalist people, as characterized by Midwest Regional Director J. L. Dunning, released an emerging anger toward the most significant person representing the National Park Service, Myrl Brooks. He was the first person hired at the park, he made the decisions about park management, and he served as the public spokesperson. Erick Kendall from the Voyageurs National Park Association described this resentment and in August 1976 shared some "fatherly" advice with Brooks. Kendall acknowledged the "seemingly endless stream of contradictory, even hostile" attitudes held by state and county officials toward Voyageurs. He characterized the naysayers as "vicious little dogs yapping at [the Park Service's] heels." But he also cautioned Brooks not to express his frustration at the "seemingly endless string of obstacles" the hostile elements had placed at his feet by using the "somewhat frightening finality of printed word" in the VNPA newsletter. Kendall recommended instead that Brooks "let the enemy hang itself by its own words" and deeds. The "Park Service has all the aces," according to Kendall, and Brooks should "buck up" and remember that he and the agency have many friends in Minnesota.[91]

Brooks probably felt like he needed those friends when he and his staff found in early 1977 a dead timber wolf on the steps of the park's headquarters. A group calling itself SOS, Sportsmen Only Solution, claimed responsibility in a letter left at the offices of the *Daily Journal* in International Falls.

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[88] Memorandum, Deputy Regional Director Randall Pope to Regional Director, Midwest Region, February 5, 1979; Memorandum, Regional Director J. L. Dunning to Chief, Office of Park Planning and Environmental Quality, WASO [Washington Office], February 15, 1979; Memorandum, [title]J. L. Dunning to Director, NPS, March 15, 1979, all in VNP Archives. NPS Press Release, Park Service Chief to Visit Minnesota to Discuss Voyageurs Park Master Plan, VNP Archives.
[89] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 11, 24, 26.
[90] NPS, Statement of Director Whalen released by Tom Ritter, June 28, 1979, VNP Archives.
[91] Erick Kendall to Myrl Brooks, August 10, 1976, 1, VNP Archives.

As quoted in the VNPA February 1977 newsletter, SOS wrote that "we are tired of going to meetings and telling politicians how we feel," that the "time has finally come for some action." The group had become "incensed," according to the VNPA, by reports that wolves had devastated deer herds and had been preying on domestic animals. The VNPA newsletter editor noted that the Park Service did not have jurisdiction over the Endangered Species Act that protected wolves, and thus the SOS members should have directed their anger elsewhere.[92] The SOS members, though, may have been expressing their ire toward the national park for banning hunting, which allowed wolves to take down deer that the sportsmen could not hunt. Audrey Chute, longtime park secretary, wondered aloud later about the dead wolf display, "What does that tell you? What's that supposed to say to a superintendent?"[93]

The situation only worsened. Brooks and Chief of Interpretation Frank Ackerman were charged in April 1978 with illegal possession of animal pelts. Brooks had arranged to purchase the pelts for the park's museum collection. Temporary employee Dennis Lagergren was also charged for illegal trapping of animals. The Minnesota Department of Natural Resources Commissioner issued a retroactive permit, based upon an official review by the Minnesota Attorney General. The commissioner resigned following local furor over his action. The case against Brooks and Ackerman proceeded to US District Court where the judge dismissed the charges, citing that evidence was suppressed which had been obtained through illegal search and seizure by Koochiching County officials. The county attorney then dropped charges against Lagergren pending in state court.[94]

Previously sent letters help explain the animosity towards Brooks. Frank Bohman, who owned a seaplane operation that flew into the Kabetogama Peninsula interior lakes, wrote that Brooks "was very biased against seaplanes" and treated Bohman with an "arrogant, underhanded and not so truthful attitude."[95] Jeno Paulucci, founder of Chun King Chinese food products and Jeno's pizza rolls, owned an estate on the northside of Kabetogama Lake. He adamantly opposed establishment of the national park, and he directed his anger toward the "bureaucracy of government" represented by Brooks. Paulucci called Brooks in August 1976 a "power hungry" bureaucrat who should be ashamed of "violating everything that was promised the people."[96] Tom Ritter, who replaced Brooks as superintendent, recalled that Brooks had strongly aligned himself with the conservation groups, heightening an already tense situation that irritated the governor and the state Department of Natural Resources.[97]

Former governor Elmer Andersen, who had worked tirelessly to win establishment of Voyageurs National Park, wrote in support of Brooks in the face of the illegal furs controversy. Andersen in the VNPA newsletter argued that "the real issue is underneath all this smokescreen of protest." He stated that some local people opposed the regulations Brooks and his staff enforced at the park. These local residents "deeply resent[ed] 'outsiders' telling them what to do and released their anger on Brooks, "welcom[ing] an opportunity to remove him."[98] George Konecny called the

[92] "Dead Timber Wolf Left at Park Office Door," VNPA Newsletter, February 1977, 3, VNP Archives.
[93] Chute, transcript of interview, 6. Chute remembers that only a wolf's head was left on the steps.
[94] VNP, Annual Report, 1978, 3. Elmer L. Andersen, "Dislike of Rules Back of Illegal Furs Furore [sic]," VNPA Newsletter, June 1978, 1, VNP Archives.
[95] Frank Bohman to Tom Ritter, December 17, 1978, 2, VNP Archives.
[96] Jeno Paulucci to Brooks, August 9, 1976, attached to Memorandum, Brooks to Regional Director, Midwest Region, August 12, 1976, VNP Archives.
[97] Tom Ritter, transcript of oral history interview with the author, August 27, 2013, 19, VNP Archives.
[98] Andersen, "Dislike of Rules," VNPA Newsletter, June 1978, 1.

opposition members "unthinking loudmouths."[99] Calvin Dahm reiterated Andersen's view, stating in a letter to NPS Director William Whalen that local residents and elected officials were "exploiting an opportunity to humiliate a professional servant" for admirably doing his job.[100] The City of International Falls, on the other hand, passed a resolution calling for Brooks' transfer.[101]

Brooks did leave Voyageurs and took the superintendency of Padre Island National Seashore, Texas, serving from December 3, 1978 to February 1, 1980. He denied that his transfer was related to the animal pelts controversy, saying that he had sought a new position a year ago. But an article in the *Rainy Lake Chronicle* notes that Brooks said he requested the transfer.[102] Lee Grim, seasonal park naturalist, recalled that "Myrl had a very difficult task" trying to set up the park and acquire land in the face of local opposition that saw his actions as a "government takeover of their backyard basically." Brooks, in Grim's estimation, exercised politeness and self-control, drawing upon his southern roots. Grim remembered that Brooks, with his slow-speaking drawl, never allowed himself to get angry in front of people. He carefully cultivated relationships with Jim Oberstar, at the time still chief aide to Rep. Blatnik. His local social contacts helped him, though Grim admitted that Brooks' main area of support came from the Twin Cities. Brooks also found the Midwest Regional Office stepping in and directing some of his actions, reducing Brooks' authority.[103]

Brooks demonstrated a dedication to the enabling legislation for Voyageurs National Park and tried through his extensive public relations to build support for the new park. He found that contacts with individuals proved most fruitful. But he also faced relentless opposition from some local residents and their elected representatives, who seemed to oppose the park on any terms.[104] He accomplished limited development of the park in terms of interpretation and resource management, but he was largely stymied without having an approved master plan. He steadily proceeded with contributing to drafts of the new plan, an effort that might have impacted in some way with his day-to-day management. The 1980 plan came after he left the park. Voyageurs Chief of Interpretation Ackerman stated in his oral history interview that Brooks "tried hard to let the local residents . . . know exactly where he stood and why."[105] What Brooks accomplished at Voyageurs National Park helped build a foundation for the next superintendent, Tom Ritter.

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[99] Mr. George Konecny to NPS Midwest Region, November 14, 1978, VNP Archives.
[100] Calvin Dahm to William Whalen, May 25, 1978, attached to letter Whalen to Dahm, June 8, 1978, VNP Archives.
[101] Andersen, "Dislike of Rules," VNPA Newsletter, June 1978, 1.
[102] "Myrl Brooks Moves to Nat'l Park in Texas," VNPA Newsletter, September 1978, 1, VNP Archives. "Our Cover: The Park Superintendent Departs," *Rainy Lake Chronicle*, October 15, 1978.
[103] Lee Grim, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 13, 2013, 5-11, VNP Archives. Quotes on p. 6.
[104] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 233.
[105] Ackerman, transcript of interview, 7.

Chapter Three

J. Thomas Ritter 1978-1982

J. Thomas "Tom" Ritter came to Voyageurs National Park at the end of 1978 and left at the beginning of 1982, so that his time serving at the park effectively spanned three full years.[1] Ritter was originally from southwestern Colorado. Once he turned 18, he joined the Navy and worked as an electrician on an aircraft carrier for three years. He then started college at the University of Illinois, thinking he would be an electrical engineer and work for IBM. But a summer job at Mesa Verde National Park changed his life's course. He decided he wanted to work for the National Park Service. He went to Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado, and finished his degree in geology at Colorado State University. During his summers, he worked first at Mesa Verde as a fire control aide and then a ranger. He continued in seasonal positions at Glacier National Park and then Rocky Mountain National Park and Saguaro National Park. His first permanent position within the agency was in 1964 at Lake Mead National Recreation Area. He worked for Joe Cayou, and the two men would later work together again (with Ritter as the boss this time) at Voyageurs.[2]

From Lake Mead, Ritter took his family to Alaska, beginning in 1969. He was chief of interpretation at Denali National Park, and, as management assistant in the state office, he helped develop a public transportation system for Denali to protect the wildlife. He finished his time in Alaska by serving as superintendent of Glacier Bay National Park. His work there included verifying mining claims in response to the passage of a new mining law. He also worked as a project manager to help establish Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park. His next park was Voyageurs.[3]

Ritter recalled his introduction to Voyageurs National Park. He arrived at International Falls on a very cold day in December 1978 with his National Park Service bosses (NPS Director William Whalen and Midwest Regional Director Jimmie L. Dunning). They led Ritter through a back door of the Holiday Inn at International Falls. He saw a crowd of several hundred people and thought there must be a convention at the hotel. He quickly figured out that they were all there to meet him, which Ritter later admitted "was a little terrifying." He did not come prepared to give a speech, but as he listened to Director Whalen, he took some rough notes. When formally introduced, Ritter stood up, and, as he later remembered, he said that he looked forward to working with everyone and that he

[1] Ritter served from December 3, 1978, to January 23, 1982.
[2] J. Thomas Ritter, transcript of interview with the author, August 23, 2013, 1-3, VNP Archives.
[3] Ritter, transcript of interview, 3-4.

would be honest and work toward healing old wounds. And those words helped set his relationship with the community.[4]



Figure 10 NPS Director William Whalen (left) and VNP Superintendent Tom Ritter (right) discuss wilderness designation for the park. NPS Photo

Community relations

Ritter worked to build trust and confidence in the National Park Service. He went out into the community and participated in numerous meetings with conservation, commercial, and educational organizations. He attended the regularly scheduled meetings of the Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park,[5] where he answered questions or gave updates on the park. He even went on backpacking trips with the executive director of the CCVNP, Don Parmeter. The CCVNP meetings, which included four scheduled meetings, covered such topics as lake levels and the effects upon wildlife, the possible effects of acid rain on lakes and water quality, the possible deletion of Black Bay from park boundaries, the status of the wilderness study, land use and zoning programs in Koochiching County, the park's air quality monitoring program, and the park's land acquisition program.[6]

Ritter reached out to other groups. He joined the local Rotary club. He went beyond International Falls and talked to people at Crane Lake and the Iron Range. And he brought a little tape

[4] Ritter, transcript of interview, 7-9. Quote on p. 8.
[5] As noted in Chapter 2, the name of this state advisory organization varied over time until about October 1, 1983 when the organization's letterhead changed permanently to Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park. This name change leads to confusion because during the effort to authorize the park, the Voyageurs National Park Association in 1967 established the Citizen's Committee for Voyageurs National Park to mobilize grassroots support for the park, as described in Chapter 1. See also Fred T. Witzig, *Voyageurs National Park: The Battle to Create Minnesota's National Park* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 93. For the purposes of this history, any mention of CCVNP in chapters 2-10 will refer to the state-established Citizen's Council on VNP.
[6] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 22, 1989, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report 1980, 1; 1981, 1, VNP Archives.

recorder. He would record questions from audience members at his talks, take the recorder back to his office, and then send out a reply to answer questions. He also reveled in bringing people together of different opinions and encouraging them to talk out their concerns. The park adopted this approach with respect to public meetings. Instead of hearings in which an individual could stand up in front of an audience and give a long speech in support of or against a park recommendation, people of different perspectives could sit at a table and discuss their thoughts. He remarked that such efforts would help with team building and relieve feelings of distrust toward the federal government.[7]

Ritter's former staff members described his approach. Chief Ranger Joe Cayou recalled that Ritter liked to get members of the community together and explain the park's actions.[8] Maintenance Chief Raoul Lufbery characterized Ritter as a "very likeable gentlemen; super great guy." Ritter, according to Lufbery, used his talent for public relations to work hard in the community, with some limited success. Ritter had to counter "unhappiness," as Lufbery described how some members of the community viewed the park after Myrl Brooks' departure. But Lufbery also was quick to acknowledge that many people he regularly interacted with distinguished between Lufbery the neighbor and Lufbery the park employee, as an example. They might be cordial in the supermarket, but they expressed their displeasure with new regulations instituted by park management.[9] Seasonal Resource Management Biologist Lee Grim figured that Ritter's task, as given by his bosses at the regional level, was to "smooth a few things over here [in the local community]."[10]

Ritter used his presence in the community as a way to establish his interest in and support of local life. If someone from the local community came into park headquarters to speak about park business, Ritter stopped everything to talk to the visitor. Ritter also did not want to be interrupted with phone calls during these conversations.[11] He interacted with the entire community. He took his family to hockey games. Hockey was "king" in International Falls, and he believed that people noticed their presence. His kids delivered the *Daily Journal*, which Ritter described as always having an article about the national park on its front page, which many times was disparaging. The "word got around," according Ritter, "that we [the National Park Service] weren't trying to cover up the stories, that the kids were out there delivering it."[12] Plus, he knew that "you don't have to say anything, people start passing word around by their observations."[13] He also appreciated the emissary roles that Cayou and Lufbery served.[14]

This back and forth with members of the local community also worked to educate some members of his staff. Ritter recalled that some employees expressed objections to one person from International Falls, who cut aspen for the paper mill. Ritter organized a field trip to this man's private land. Along the way, they drove through a corn field where the man oversaw its harvest. Ritter told

[7] Ritter, transcript of interview, 13, 15, 23-24. VNP, Annual Report, 1979, 1, VNP Archives. VNP Annual Report, 1980, 1; 1981, 1, VNP Archives. Jim Pumarlo, "Ritter: Looking to the Future of Voyageurs National Park," *Voyageurs National Park Association Newsletter*, February 1980, 1, VNP Archives.
[8] Joe Cayou, transcript of interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 13, VNP Archives.
[9] Raoul Lufbery, transcript of interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 13-14, VNP Archives. Quotes on p. 13.
[10] Lee Grim, transcript of interview with the author, May 13, 2013, 24, VNP Archives.
[11] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 30, 1979, 1, VNP Archives.
[12] Ritter, transcript of interview, 19-20.
[13] Ritter transcript of interview, 20.
[14] Ritter, transcript of interview, 25.

his staff that harvesting corn was the same as harvesting aspen, each could be considered a crop. This one interaction furthered Ritter's goal of building bridges between the park and the local community.[15]

Minnesota Department of Natural Resources

The park's relationship with the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (MDNR) evolved over this time period. One August 2, 1979, the park signed a cooperative agreement with the state agency, and the following year, the two parties amended the agreement to include use of Woodenfrog Campground and the use of the Kabetogama Ranger Station. At Woodenfrog Campground, the park offered, as an example, 11 different interpretive programs during the summer season. The park and the state completed two comprehensive reviews of the agreement in June and December 1981.[16]



Figure 11 Larry Kallemeyn, who served at Voyageurs as Aquatics Research Biologist from 1980 to 2007, presents the Kallemeyn Award, named after him, to Lee Grim in 2012. The Kallemeyn Award is presented annually by the Lake of the Woods Water Sustainability Foundation, to recognize the outstanding professional achievement in scientific research or resource management in the Lake of the Woods and Rainy River basin. NPS Photo

Local MDNR staff gave Research Biologist Larry Kallemeyn a difficult welcome when he started at the park in 1980. Kallemeyn's job involved aquatics research, and he needed a state license to allow him to collect a sufficient amount of fish to produce scientifically valid samples. The state refused to issue him more than what amounted to a standard fishing license.[17] As Kallemeyn later remembered, "initially there was a fair amount of resistance from the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources who was in charge -- that was their bailiwick as far as the fisheries program and everything went. They weren't exactly thrilled to see that the park was hiring a fish guy." Over time, as Kallemeyn remembered, and especially once Russ Berry took over as superintendent in 1982, Kallemeyn found

[15] Ritter, transcript of interview, 15.
[16] VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 1; 1980, 1; 1981, 1, 3.
[17] Investigator's Annual Report, Larry Kallemeyn, 12/17/81, VNP Archives.

greater cooperation with the state. The DNR realized the park wasn't trying to take over the state's work, just work together on research projects to understand water levels and other shared concerns.[18]

The park's relationship with the state Department of Natural Resources suffered over hunting. On December 1, 1979, Minnesota Department of Natural Resources Commissioner Joe Alexander withdrew Commissioner's Order No. 1947 which had closed private lands within Voyageurs National Park to hunting and trapping. This withdrawal became effective at the end of deer hunting season and much of the trapping season. The state now allowed these activities on private land within park boundaries. During the 1980 hunting and trapping season, the park recorded six bear killings on private land within the park boundary. Hunters had lured these bear with bait stations on private land. The first snowstorm of the season hit the area when deer season opened that year. The park recorded it knew of three deer killed on private land along the east end of Kabetogama Peninsula. Trapping also occurred, but the park did not have statistics on numbers or kinds or animals taken. Poor weather conditions probably reduced the amount of trapping done. In 1981, warm weather and lack of ice on the lakes throughout bear and deer hunting seasons meant a marked increase in the numbers of animals taken.[19]

The National Park Service did not take action to assert its legal jurisdiction, despite having legal authority. On September 12, 1975, the NPS Midwest Regional Director initially asserted its overall jurisdiction in a certified letter he sent to the Governor of Minnesota stating that the United States "accepts the cession of concurrent jurisdiction by the State of Minnesota contained in Laws of Minnesota 1971, Chapter 852, over land and water areas established as the Voyageurs National Park …" The letter went on to say, "Pursuant to this grant of concurrent jurisdiction from the State of Minnesota, the United States **intends to promulgate regulations for the control and use of lands and waters, irrespective of ownership**, (emphasis added) within the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park consistent with the purposes expressed in the Act of Congress which created the area."[20]

In addition, Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations Part 2.2 provides Voyageurs National Park with the regulatory authority to prohibit hunting on all lands and waters within its boundaries. The federal law in Title 36 CFR overrides any contrary state laws pursuant to the Supremacy Clause of Article VI of the U.S. Constitution, and the text of 36 C.F.R. § 2.2, which is the regulation restricting hunting and trapping in park areas, requires a specific congressional mandate or authorization before the Department of the Interior can permit hunting or trapping within park areas. The Midwest Regional Director responded to Commissioner Alexander's action in a September 22, 1980 press release:

> A NPS official said today the agency has decided not to issue special regulations at this time to overturn the State of Minnesota's action opening private lands within Voyageurs National Park to hunting and trapping. Although the State's action runs counter to the Park Service policy prohibiting hunting and trapping in national parks, we will try to accommodate this season's hunting and trapping, rather than issue new regulations…..we strongly believe the State's position to be in error.

From December 1, 1979 to present day, the National Park Service has not enforced the Title 36 CFR § 2.2 prohibition against hunting on private lands within the boundaries of the park.

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[18] Larry Kallemeyn, transcript of interview with the author, July 19, 2013, 6, VNP Archives.
[19] VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 2; 1980, 3; 1981, 5, VNP Archives.
[20] Midwest Regional Director Merrill Beal to Hon. Wendell Anderson, September 12, 1975, VNP Archives. See also Issue Paper, Hunting in VNP, no date, VNP Archives.

Voyageurs Namakan District Ranger Chuck Remus in 1997 informally asked MDNR Commissioner Alexander about his decision to open up hunting and trapping on private lands within park boundaries. In an issue paper he wrote for the park's superintendent, Remus reported that Commissioner Alexander had said that he lifted the state's wildlife sanctuary status for the park because he felt the Federal government was taking too long to acquire lands in the park and that people had a right to use their private property as they saw fit.[21]

Master Plan

With the February 1980 approval of the Voyageurs National Park Master Plan, the park's staff had a roadmap for developing the park. The plan delineated four key concepts: relating the unique character of the park to the region and its locality, protect and enhance the park's natural setting, develop year-round visitor use, and limit automobile use within park boundaries but emphasize watercraft and hiking in summer and snowmobiling and cross-country skiing in winter. The plan also classified the park's lands and waters to guide management. The Natural Zone included 216,856 acres (about 98.6 percent of the park), encompassing the four major lakes, numerous small islands, and the Kabetogama Peninsula. The park would allow motorized use on all waters in the park but the park would limit motor vehicles on land. The Historic Zone (equaling 1,822 acres or 0.83 percent of the park) included areas of significant cultural resources, including the Kettle Falls Historic District (named to the National Register in 1978) and the Gold Mine Historic District (named to the National Register in 1982).[22] Finally, the Development Zone would include lands and waters for intensive use for park access, recreational activities, and related developments. Proposed facilities in the Development Zone would be roads, parking areas, boat/canoe launching and docking structures, picnic areas, visitor contact stations, and NPS ranger stations and maintenance buildings. The Development Zone would encompass 450 acres of park lands and waters or less than 0.21 percent of the park.[23]

The decision in the 1980 Master Plan to delete most of Neil Point on Rainy Lake from the park's boundaries represented a significant change in park planning from the park's enabling legislation. The park had originally intended to acquire 820 acres at Neil Point for a major visitor support facility. Subsequent analysis determined the unsuitability of the site. Construction of boat launching and docking facilities would have required dredging but research by the University of Minnesota recommended no dredging at that site. In addition, land acquisition in this location would have severely disrupted existing homes and land-use.[24]

The Master Plan instead identified Black Bay on Rainy Lake as an excellent alternative to Neil Point. Black Bay would allow the park to isolate visitor facilities and park operations buildings from private development. The park could also orient visitor facilities to maximize aesthetics and reduce conflicts with adjacent private developments. In total, these changes meant that the park would delete from the Neil Point tract all but 37.45 acres (Little American Island and a parcel of state-donated land

[21] Issue Paper, Hunting in VNP, no date, 3-4, VNP Archives.
[22] The park wanted to include Rainy Lake City but lacked sufficient documentation in 1982 to include it in the 1982 National Register nomination. The Gold Mine Historic District was reevaluated by the NPS in 2013, and the SHPO concurred with the proposed boundary changes (to include Rainy Lake City) and a name change (Rainy Lake City and Gold Mines Historic District). The National Register nomination will be updated in the future with these changes.
[23] VNP, Master Plan, February 1980, 13-18, VNP Archives.
[24] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 31.

along Minnesota State Highway 11) and add about 180 acres of land and water at Black Bay for the proposed development. Such boundary changes required legislative action, described in Chapter Four.[25]

Natural resources management

The 1980 Master Plan identified three major problems preventing the National Park Service from portraying conditions comparable to those likely experienced by voyageurs, which was an important objective of the park. First, the park no longer had woodland caribou or elk within its boundaries and only a small number of moose. Second and as a result of this decreased prey population, wolves and other native predators and scavengers existed inside the park at numbers too low to sustain natural densities. Whitetail deer numbers had increased with the decline of caribou and elk, but naturally maturing forests and harsh winters had severely limited the deer population. Third, water regulation by dams for power regulation had reduced wild rice, island and shore nesting birds, some aquatic mammals, and major fish species, all of which would have positive numbers with natural water regulation.[26]

The Master Plan recommended certain steps to return the park's environment to one more closely resembling that of the fur trade period. First, the park would conduct feasibility studies and reintroduction efforts to re-establish viable caribou, elk, and moose populations. This work would be done in cooperation with the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources. Second, the Master Plan noted that in the future, the park may use fire as a vegetation management tool to approximate past conditions. The Master Plan called for extensive research to justify this practice, while in the meantime, the park would continue its management approach of suppressing all fires within its boundaries. Third, the Master Plan encouraged continued cooperation with the MDNR and the US Fish and Wildlife Service to conduct fishery management studies and initiate practices to improve this resource as a way to support sport fishing. Fourth, the Master Plan reiterated the supremacy of the International Joint Commission in controlling water levels of the major lakes in the park. Finally, the Master Plan called for regulation of visitor uses to minimize disturbances at such places as backcountry campsites. Major development areas would be accessible from highways, resorts, and the major lakes within the park to reduce human intrusions.[27]

The extent of natural resource research completed at the park during this time period can be determined from a major paper Research Biologist Glen Cole presented in November 1979 at the Second Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks. Cole stated that he directed the park's research to compile reference information about the original and present flora and fauna in the area of the present national park to document departures from natural conditions and the probable causes. He recommended corrective actions. Field studies and historic documentation showed that, with regard to flora, aspen and/or paper birch took over areas that had been logged or burned between the 1890s and 1930s. Extensive wild rice beds had once existed on Rainy, Namakan, Kabetogama, and Sand Point Lakes. Rainy Lake, according to his research, had the only remaining beds of any size.[28]

Cole also reported in 1979 about field studies of fauna in the park. He stated that over the past 60-70 years, three mammal species had ceased to be present in the park, elk, caribou, and wolverine.

[25] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 10, 31.
[26] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 13, 18.
[27] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 18-19, 22.
[28] Glen Cole, Mission-Oriented Research, November 26-30, 1979, 4, VNP Archives.

He argued that the elk and caribou had been overhunted. The wolverine had experienced reduced winter-early spring food. In addition, moose existed in small numbers, due to overhunting and inbreeding. White-tailed deer, on the other hand, had increased in numbers due to the absence of competition from the other larger mammal species and the changing vegetation from logging and fires. High population numbers in the 1930s and 1940s decreased as the woods matured. Field research showed that regulated water levels, or other human actions, caused declines in other species under study. Loons, beaver, walleye, and northern pike all had negative results from the regulated water levels, according to research at the park. Cole also reported on the status of wolves, stating that 32-35 wolves ranged in the park or adjacent to it, as determined in studies 1977-1979. Cole concluded his report with his recommendations for corrective actions. These included reintroducing elk and caribou, plus re-establishing moose. He also called for correcting lake levels to approximate natural conditions.[29]

The park sponsored other research. In 1979, the University of Minnesota, St. Paul inventoried the park's lichens. University of Minnesota, Duluth inventoried aquatic communities. The US Geological Survey (USGS) completed water quality studies. The US Environmental Protection Agency contracted the park to complete atmospheric pollution studies. Results of these studies were developed into reports, presented in a 1980 seminar at the University of Minnesota, and used in 1981 in preparing the park's Natural and Cultural Resource Management Plan.[30]

The Minnesota Department of Natural Resources announced in 1979 that it would end commercial fishing of walleye in the park's boundaries following the retirement of the last person to hold a license to fish walleye commercially.[31] All other commercial fishing would also be phased out.[32] The park's 1980 Master Plan stated that seven commercial fishing operators working within park boundaries had state licenses. Once they retired or discontinued operations, these licenses would be terminated. In the meantime, the state imposed regulations on net mesh size that would eliminate the taking of walleye, a major sport fishing draw for park visitors.[33]

Cultural resources management

The 1980 Master Plan described proposed actions at the park's National Register of Historic Places sites. The park had already acquired the Kettle Falls Hotel in 1977 and had begun studies to determine the feasibility of stabilizing and/or renovating the hotel and continuing its operation. The Master Plan also proposed that about 15 acres of land and water in the Gold Mine Historic District be removed from the park since this piece of land was within the Neil Point area designated for deletion from park boundaries.[34]

The growing museum collection received new attention. Museum aide Mary Graves worked as a seasonal in 1979 and became permanent part-time in 1981. She catalogued all of the historical

[29] Cole, Mission-Oriented Research, 6-7, 9.
[30] VNP, Annual Reports, 1980, 3; 1981, 5.
[31] When the park was established, a number of fish species were being harvested commercially by operators that were licensed to work in the park by the MDNR (commercial fishing also continued on the Ontario side). Portions of the commercial operations were being bought out by the State of Minnesota in order to promote sport fishing, especially for walleye. The park wanted all commercial fishing phased out so that native populations of fish could be restored and maintained according to NPS policy.
[32] VNP, Squad Meeting Notes, February 22, 1979, VNP.
[33] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 19. Ron Cockrell to the author, December 21, 2016, 2, VNP Archives.
[34] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 22-23.

artifacts in the park collection, physically reorganized the archival collection, and wrote the Scope of Collections Statement which the Regional Director approved on December 10, 1979. By 1980, she also fully catalogued the publications in the library. In 1980, the park had bound its 1960-1980 newsclipping register. That same year, the park began organizing its black and white photograph collection.[35]

As Graves remembers, the park moved the collection in 1978 to the second floor of the Armstrong Ford building, sharing space with some of the dealer's items, including tires. The dealer had not fully moved out at this time. The park moved its administrative office and maintenance operations into the former dealership in 1982. The park used some of the new space to set up exhibits until the Rainy Lake Visitor Center opened in 1987.[36]

Historian Mary Lou Pearson continued to oversee and, for the vast majority, conduct oral history interviews. In 1979, these interviews included four with local Ojibwe. The General Mills Foundation provided a grant to the Lake States Interpretive Association to partially fund transcription and binding of the interviews. In 1980, the park conducted interviews with Regional Director Jim Dunning, Deputy Regional Director Randy Pope, and Land Acquisition Officer Ken White. In 1981, the park reported that it had 81 oral histories in its collection. The park had 30 of those reports bound that year.[37]

Archeological studies continued during Ritter's superintendency. The 1980 Master Plan referred to the 1977 preliminary archeological survey, discussed in Chapter Two, and stated that 188 of the sites surveyed in the proposed development areas contained archeological features. Of these 108 contained prehistoric artifacts. However, the Master Plan stated that none of the sites would be affected by the proposed developments in the Master Plan. The NPS Midwest Archeological Center initiated a 2-year study in 1979 to continue the inventory of sites started by the University of Minnesota. The survey was led by Regional Archeologist Dr. Mark J. Lynott. Jeff Richner, who subsequently dedicated more than 30 years conducting archeological work at Voyageurs, was on the 1980 crew. These surveys indicated that many archeological sites were submerged (but largely intact) and threatened by erosion. By the mid-1980s, the park took steps to stabilize these sites, as described in the following chapter.[38]

The park named Stephen Goodrich as Cultural Resource Specialist in 1980. In 1981, this position was abolished due to budget constraints. Goodrich served (1980-1985) then as Sand Point Lake District Ranger. He would have been involved with preparing the park's Cultural Resource Management Plan, submitted to the Regional Director and approved in 1981. The park's Historic Resource Study (HRS) was initiated and coordinated by Midwest Regional Historian Jill York O'Bright in the Midwest Regional Office. Mary Lou Pearson and Frank Ackerman assisted at the park. The HRS was intended to be one document covering a variety of topics, but the study became stalled and individual topics were completed as Special History Studies. Historian Dave Fritz of the Denver Service Center (DSC) Central Team (Midwest Region history studies used to be accomplished by the multi-region Central Team until each region took responsibility either in-house or through contract) completed three (logging and lumbering, Dawson Trail and other transportation routes, and gold-

[35] VNP, Annual Reports 1979, 2; 1980, 4; 1981, 2, 3, all in VNP Archives.
[36] VNP, Annual Report, 1978, 2; 1981, 2, VNP Archives. Ron Cockrell to the author, January 13, 2015, 4, VNP Archives.
[37] VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 2; 1980, 4; 1981, 3, VNP Archives.
[38] VNP, Investigator's Annual Report, November 23, 1981, VNP Archives. VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 23.

mining near Rainy Lake City, all completed in 1986) as well as drafting a fourth (on water level regulation). Historian Larry Van Horn drafted the special history study on commercial fishing. The other topics outlined in the task directive for the HRS were never started. The special histories on water level regulation and commercial fishing remain in draft.[39]

Interpretation

The park took a major step in its visitor services with the approval of its Interpretive Prospectus in June 1981. The Interpretive Prospectus presented seven objectives for interpretation in the park. These objectives reinforced the fundamental interpretive theme and four sub-themes outlined in the 1980 master plan. The fundamental theme involved the park's environments and the human relationship to them, an idea common to other national park sites. The sub-themes relate specifically to Voyageurs National Park, the role of glaciers in shaping the region; human influence, especially that of American Indians, voyageurs, and the lumberjack, on the park environment; the recovery of ecological systems to natural conditions; and the functioning of natural systems and their impact on human activities. The seven objectives included fostering awareness of the natural environment at present and at the time of the voyageurs; develop an appreciation for preserving, restoring, and maintaining natural systems; develop and promote visitor use appropriate to preserving natural features; teach skills to enjoy the park compatible with park purposes; promote safe use of park resources; foster awareness of scientific research in the park; stimulate visitor awareness of their relationship with past cultures; and generate an understanding and appreciation of the park's cultural values.[40]

The Interpretive Prospectus identified a variety of ways to educate visitors about park resources and engage them in activities to build appreciation for the park's resources. The prospectus identified eight points of contact. Five of these involved some kind of visitor contact stations. Black Bay would house a visitor center with 1200-1500 square feet of exhibit space, plus an auditorium with capacity for at least 100 people. Exhibits would focus on a transportation theme, its evolution and role in opening the Border Lakes region. At Kabetogama Narrows, the prospectus called for a visitor center with 2000-2400 square feet of exhibit space. Pods would house each of the different functions at the visitor center, such as restrooms, information center, exhibits, and auditorium. The prospectus identified Crane Lake as a prime location to use the voyageur as a theme since this area was directly on a voyageur route. Here, in about 200-400 square feet of museum/exhibit space, the park may decide to display its north canoe (or at Black Bay). At Kettle Falls, the prospectus recommended covered waysides with the option of having interpretive displays inside the hotel, if refurbished. The fifth visitor contact station identified in the prospectus would be West Kabetogama, with 400 square feet of exhibit space, along with orientation and evening program audiovisuals. Publications, waysides, floating waysides, mobile visitor station in a van or small trailer, a pontoon-mounted facility, guides

[39] VNP, Annual Report 1981, 2. VNP, Historic Resource Study, chapter 1, nd [1980?], VNP Archives. David L. Fritz, *Special History Study: Logging and Lumbering as Associated with the Area Now Incorporated within the Bounds of Voyageurs National Park*, August 1986; David L. Fritz, *Special History Study: Dawson Trail and Other Transportation Routes Relating to Voyageurs National Park Minnesota*, August 1986; David L. Fritz, *Special History Study: Gold Mining Near Rainy Lake City from 1893 to 1901, a Theme Associated with Voyageurs National Park Minnesota*, September 1986, all VNP Archives.
[40] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 5-9, VNP Archives. VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 27-30.

and maps, and cooperative visitor services with other organizations rounded out the ways the park might interact with and inform visitors.[41]

In the meantime, the park offered an array of interpretive opportunities. Two miles south of International Falls, the park used part of a triple-wide modular unit as the only year-round visitor contact point. The interpretive space grew when the administrative office moved out of the trailer in 1980. The station had an information desk, cooperating association sales area with interpretive literature, nautical charts, and topographic maps. The station also had an audiovisual room with capacity for 20 people and small exhibit spaces. In 1978, the park opened an information/contact station in the former Meadwood Lodge at Kabetogama Narrows (Ash River). This moderately sized log structure had an informal greeting area arranged around the stone fireplace, and room set aside for cooperating association sales literature. The park's maintenance staff remodeled this station in summer 1980, closing the facility throughout that season. They installed interpretive display cases and information counters.[42]

The park had offered many well-received programs during the five summers (1977-1981) of its initial interpretive program. NPS rangers held campfire and evening programs at Woodenfrog State Forest Campground, Ash River Trail resorts, Crane Lake Community Hall, and a private campground near Island View on Black Bay. Grants from the Minnesota Humanities Commission to the Lake States Interpretive Association supported in 1979 a series of speakers who used excerpts from the oral history collection and in 1980 two speaker series to present information from research. The cooperating association increased the number of its publications for sale at the park plus had the Kabetogama Narrows location in addition to the International Falls one, adding to sales. The park offered canoe exploration and boat caravan trips to give visitors an opportunity to go out onto the water. The park developed a pre-recorded tape tour for use on a privately operated excursion boat. In mid-summer 1981, the park hosted weekly guided boat tours from Kabetogama Narrows to Kettle Falls. Visitors could use their own boats or ride in the Whispering Pines Resort concessioner's boat. There were also guided walks during summer and cross-country skiing expeditions during winter.[43]

The park produced an array of exhibits during this time period. Working with the Midwest Regional Office in 1979, the park constructed a portable exhibit for the Kabetogama Narrows Visitor Center in summer and for special offsite events during the rest of the year. In 1981, park staff prepared exhibits on the great blue heron and on prehistoric artifacts for the International Falls Travel Information Center, to represent natural and cultural resources in the park. That same year, the park prepared an exhibit on logging history for the Kabetogama Narrows Visitor Center. In 1980, the park placed three traveling exhibits produced by the National Park Service into the community.[44]

Park staff reached out to the media in many ways. In 1979, the park expanded its weekly news releases on park operations to include captioned photographs and an "Ask a Ranger" column on regulations and safety. The series of interpretive newspaper columns continued but changed from the original historical focus, as started in 1977, to a balance of nature and history topics. By 1981, this series reached 18 area newspapers, with articles submitted twice monthly during the summer and once a month the rest of the year. Staff also developed public service announcements for the radio. In 1980, park staff completed a major publication effort for the anniversary issue of the International Falls *Daily*

[41] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 19, 21-39.
[42] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 10, 29-30. VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 2; 1980, 4; 1989, 6.
[43] VNP Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 10-11. VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 3; 1980, 4; 1981, 3.
[44] VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 3; 1980, 4; 1981, 3.

Journal. This publication, using the theme "Rainy Lake Country," displayed 36 photographs and articles totaling 34 pages contributed by park interpreters. Park staff in 1981 developed an Editors' Kit and numerous news releases based upon the importance of water to the park.[45]

Publications aided visitor experiences. In 1979, Harpers Ferry Center produced a new park free folder in the NPS unigrid design. The USGS that same year produced a topographic map with water-depths and buoy stations on the major lakes. In 1980, the park developed motor boat guides for novice boaters, maps and guides for ski trails, and two free folders on winter use and bear safety. The park revised and added to these publications in 1981. New titles included Voyageurs' Ecosystem and Caution: Bears, the latter completed with the help of the regional office.[46]

Operations

Staff numbers rose over the course of Ritter's tenure, in recognition of the park's requirements to meet its responsibilities. Permanent positions of less than full-time status established in 1978 included two maintenance workers, a marine equipment mechanic, and trails foreman. In 1979, the park established a permanent subject to furlough Superintendent's Secretary position. By 1980, the park instituted two full-time permanent positions, 11 permanent less than full-time positions, and 45 temporary positions. The park saw in 1981 three new permanent (Museum Aide, Maintenance Worker, and Clerk Typist), four promotions, abolishment of the Cultural Resources Specialist position, and a conversion of a veteran readjustment appointment to career conditional. Two employees transferred to other parks. Among these staff members, certain names stand out in terms of their length of stay at the park. In addition to Ritter, Cayou, Lufbery, Graves, and Grim, others included Research Biologist Glen Cole and Ranger Pilot Scott Evans. To encourage communication within this growing staff, in 1979 the park started publishing an employee newsletter, the *Voyageur Voice*. The newsletter included information about employment, work accomplishments, visits by NPS officials, and content from newspaper articles written by park staff.[47]

The park debated leasing an airplane to undertake staff duties. Biologist Glen Cole requested in May 1979 to have an experienced pilot for observation flights of the park. Ritter asked his staff to investigate alternatives. The subsequent squad meeting minutes regarding this conversation indicate the level of debate this topic provoked. The park rented airplanes from Bohman and Einarson. According to Ranger R. Scott Evans (who became the park's first pilot), the rent was cheap, but the arrangement had many restrictions. The park had limited choice with respect to the pilot and equipment. The park could not go out for an all-day trip or have stand-by time. The park could only take one trip per day. By leasing a plane (or purchasing one), staff reported that the park could reduce the need for more boats. Chief Ranger Cayou said that "one man in an airplane can do the work of three or four in separate boats and do the job better." Biologist Cole said that aside from wildlife surveys, an airplane could handle law enforcement and preventive surveillance of trapping. Chief of Interpretation Frank Ackerman stated that an airplane could also efficiently count visitors. Ritter asked Ranger Evans to investigate a lease, saying that "time management is a very big resource to consider."[48] Scott Evans was named park pilot beginning in 1979.[49]

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[45] VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 3; 1980, 4; 1981, 3.
[46] VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 3; 1980, 4; 1981, 3.
[47] VNP Annual Report, 1978, 1, VNP Archives. VNP Annual Report, 1979, 1, 3; 1980, 2; 1981, 4, VNP Archives. Squad Meeting Summary, 1979, 1.
[48] VNP, Squad Meeting Notes, May 15, 1979, VNP Archives.

The park concessions program included Kettle Falls Hotel and Whispering Pines Resort. In 1977, the park purchased the Whispering Pines Resort from the Berggren family. That family continued to operate the resort under a concessions permit, which was renewed annually. The National Park Service Denver Service Center's Concessions Branch, at the request of the Midwest Region, conducted an economic feasibility study in May 1983 of both Whispering Pines and Kettle Falls, the latter a concessions operation run by the Williams family. The economic feasibility study determined that the Whispering Pines concessioner was not financially able at that time to cover repairs, maintenance, or new utility costs. The Park Service from 1977 to 1984 had invested $306,792 into the resort, including relocating structures, rebuilding foundations, and repairing and replacing sewer lines and septic tanks. This concession ended in October 1984, and the park outfitted the property for seasonal housing.[50]

Chuck Williams at Kettle Falls also had an annual concessions permit. The economic feasibility study determined that this concession could not put any money into capital improvements or increased utility costs. The Park Service was, as of 1983, completing studies for the rehabilitation of the hotel building. The study highly recommended that the Kettle Falls rehabilitation keep intact the upstairs overnight accommodations while also providing some new stand-alone accommodations to strengthen the concessioner's economic footing.[51]

The park's maintenance division completed essential work at Kettle Falls Hotel, even as the park was conducting studies to rehabilitate the hotel. In 1979, park maintenance staff re-roofed and sealed the gable roof, sealed and flashed the hallway extension, and repaired and replaced rotten members, siding, wall studs, and floor, among other actions. In 1980, maintenance staff installed composting toilets to replace pit toilets and put smoke detectors in each sleeping room, plus constructed an additional emergency exit and installed a fire extinguishing system in the kitchen grill hood. In 1981, the staff built additional emergency exits for the second floor, dining room, and bar.[52]

Ritter considered one of his most important contributions to the smoother operation of Voyageurs National Park was his facilitation of a proper administrative and maintenance building. He recalled that when he arrived, park headquarters existed in a double-wide trailer on the south side of International Falls. He described it as an "absolute disaster."[53] Space was cramped, and cold winds seemed to blow right through the temporary building. Walking inside would make the whole trailer shake.[54] The administrative office then moved into the same building as the land office, near Bronco Stadium on Third Street. Space was still limited, but at least they didn't have the cold penetrating the space. Maintenance also did not have adequate facilities to store and service its boats, snowmobiles, and other vehicles. The existing structure, located at the Kabetogama Narrows Visitor Center, was "absolutely hopeless," in Ritter's opinion.[55]

Happenstance led to a facility better suited to the park's needs. The man who owned the Armstrong Ford Dealership approached Ritter one day, saying he planned to close his dealership. Did

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[49] VNP Permanent Staff List.
[50] VNP, Kabetogama Narrows/Whispering Pines Building Use Plan, nd [1984], 1-2, VNP Archives. Denver Service Center (DSC), VNP Economic Feasibility Study Concessions Operations, December 1984, 23-28, VNP Archives.
[51] DSC, VNP Economic Feasibility Study, 11, 27.
[52] VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 5; 1980, 5; 1981, 6.
[53] Ritter, transcript of interview, 27.
[54] Ritter, transcript of interview, 13.
[55] Ritter, transcript of interview, quote on 13. See also VNP, Annual Report, 1980, 5.

the park want to use it? Ritter jumped at the opportunity. He worked with the General Services Administration to coordinate a ten-year lease. This location ended up serving the park's administrative, maintenance, and visitor outreach needs until the City of International Falls built a new complex, which the Park Service has leased since 2011. Ritter took a new position in Washington, DC, before he could personally move into the Armstrong location.[56]

Development plans

The park began working as early as the 1977 fiscal year on planning for Black Bay, Kettle Falls, and Crane Lake. The regional office agreed that the park should proceed with this planning despite not having an approved master plan in place because NPS had not received adverse comments with regard to these three development locations. As the regional office reviewed the park's draft master plan, the park in 1979 formulated Developed Area Planning documents for major facilities at Black Bay, Kettle Falls, and Crane Lake. In 1980, the park presented Development Concept Plans for Black Bay Narrows, Kabetogama Narrows (Ash River), and Kettle Falls. The public reviewed these development concept plans, and in 1981, the regional director approved them. For Kettle Falls, the park contracted with Architectural Resources, Inc. to study the hotel building and write a Historic Structures Report, completed in April 1980.[57]

The Park Service also evaluated the existing road system within the park, determining that this system met current and projected visitor use. However, some roads needed upgrading to meet acceptable standards. Both County Highway 96, which would lead to the Black Bay visitor area and NPS-1, which led to the Kabetogama Narrows (Ash River) visitor area, needed complete reconstructions, according to a 1985 Road Access Study.[58]

The park worked closely with the US Forest Service and the local community in analyzing future Crane Lake development. One point the Forest Service made at different times in the late 1970s related to its concerns about any substantial development on the Nelson Peninsula at the south end of Crane Lake. USFS Forest Supervisor James Torrence told Superintendent Myrl Brooks in 1977 that this peninsula was fragile and required careful consideration in terms of the amount of proposed development. Torrence also wondered about the suggested level of boat dock and boat launch development proposed by NPS in its initial planning documents, suggesting that NPS consider nearby private facilities in its planning. Then, in 1979, the Forest Service informed the park that it would not pursue new development in the Crane Lake area. This decision by USFS did not end continued discussions with NPS and the local community. In May of that same year, the Superior National Forest Supervisor and Ritter met to discuss Crane Lake. The National Park Service wanted to have a space at Crane Lake to welcome visitors, provide exhibits to interpret the area, and have storage space for

[56] VNP, Annual Report, 1981, 1, VNP Archives. Ritter, transcript of interview, 28-29.
[57] VNP, Annual Reports, 1977, 3; 1979, 4; 1980, 1; 1981, 1. Memorandum, Associate Regional Director, Administration, Midwest Region to Brooks, June 8, 1976, VNP Archives. Memorandum of Telephone Call, Regional Program Analyst Jim Hooyboer and Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Midwest Region John Kawamoto to Superintendent Myrl Brooks and Denver Service Center Principal Planner. Northeast Team, Dick Wittpenn, October 1, 1976, 1, attached to Memorandum, Assistant Manager, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, Denver Service Center Donald Purse to Brooks, November 24, 1976, VNP Archives. Architectural Resources, Inc., Historic Structures Report: Kettle Falls Hotel and Associated Facilities, April 1980, VNP Archives.
[58] Federal Highway Administration, Road Access Study for Voyageurs National Park, January 1985, iv-vi, VNP Archives.

ranger and maintenance equipment and supplies. Interpretation would use the theme of the voyageur, with an emphasis upon his role in commerce during that time period.[59]

Wilderness[60]

As described in Chapter Two, NPS Director William Whalen approved the park's master plan and had the park proceed with completing a Wilderness Study, required by the park's legislation and also by the 1964 Wilderness Act. The park's wilderness planning team in 1979 developed task directives and held eight public meetings to explain the purpose and methods of the wilderness study. The team also held two meetings and workshops with 12 government agencies to prepare alternatives and obtain resource information. Park staff assisted in preparing two progress reports for the public. In 1980, the wilderness planning team developed a Draft Environmental Impact Statement on the Wilderness Recommendation. The team held three public hearings and one public meeting to explain conditions and significance of this wilderness recommendation.

The wilderness planning team reviewed the public comments and made revisions, submitting a final Wilderness Recommendation and Final EIS to the Department of the Interior on June 8, 1983. This Final EIS recommended having 32.6 miles of overland snowmobiling, which included a 25-mile trans-peninsula trail and safety portages, plus snowmobiling on the park's big lakes and Shoepack, Cruiser, Oslo, Brown, Beast, and Mukooda lakes. A recommendation was not transmitted to the President or Congress, and the documents were not released to the public. In September 1990, the Park Service reinitiated the wilderness study process.[61]

Land acquisition

Land acquisition at Voyageurs National Park came to a halt just as Tom Ritter joined the staff. NPS Director William Whalen informed Rep. Jim Oberstar in January 1979 that the National Park Service had used all but a small sum of its $26 million authorized appropriation for Voyageurs park land. The Park Service estimated that it would need another $6.6 million to complete its acquisition of about 6,600 acres of private property within park boundaries. The park's land acquisition office closed, and Ken White transferred out in March 1980.[62]

Ritter argued later that the park probably had had too much money for land acquisition. He referred to the fact that Minnesota had supplied two recent vice presidents, Hubert Humphrey under President Lyndon B. Johnson and Walter Mondale under President Jimmy Carter. These political ties, in Ritter's mind, made sure that the new national park in Minnesota had money. But, once the public realized that the park had land acquisition funds in hand, Ritter believed, prices went up, making that land cost more. When the park had spent its authorized amount of $26 million, it would have to go

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[59] VNP, Staff Meeting Minutes, February 8, 1979, VNP Archives. VNP, Staff Meeting Minutes, May 15, 1979, VNP Archives. Forest Supervisor James Torrence to Brooks, February 3, 1977, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Brooks to Files, April 30, 1976, VNP Archives. VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 33-34. VNP, Crane Lake Visitor Center and Operations Facility, August 1, 1980, VNP Archives.

[60] A fuller treatment of the wilderness review is found in Chapter 4.

[61] VNP, Annual Reports, 1979, 4; 1980, 1; 1981, 1. VNP, Final EIS for a Wilderness Recommendation, 3-5, VNP Archives.

[62] Kenneth White, transcript of interview with Mary Lou Pearson, March 26, 1980, 19, 21, VNP Library. William Whalen to James Oberstar, January 3, 1979, VNP Archives. The exact authorization for land acquisition was $26,014,000. $69,887 remained of that amount. Whalen notes in his letter to Oberstar that the Park Service had acquired 125,053 acres as of the date of the letter.

back to Congress and ask for legislation to increase that amount. Such action required additional time and continued political support.[63]

In the meantime, some landowners believed that their property was worth more than the federal government's initial offer. William Essling, who practiced law in St. Paul, oftentimes represented these landowners.[64] Essling had served as an assistant US attorney during the Harry Truman administration, focusing upon enforcement issues in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area (then known as the Superior Roadless Primitive Area). He came from northern Minnesota stock, with his father Victor Essling working as an attorney in and serving for a time as mayor of Eveleth in St. Louis County. William Essling had land on Namakan Lake, and he spoke against the national park in the 1969 public hearings. He articulated what many local residents only slowly recognized, that Rep. John Blatnik's bills for Voyageurs actually aligned more with a national recreation area than a national park. As described in Chapter One, Blatnik included hunting, trapping, and other activities that were anathema to a national park. These provisions were dropped from the final act.[65]

A series of cases garnered attention in the local press. One case involved a 218-acre resort on Namakan Lake owned by Chester Shanklin. A jury in 1978 awarded Shanklin $650,000, in contrast to the government's initial $105,000 offer. Charles and Mary Jane Wendt in a 1979 jury trial received $29,500 for their cabin and four-acre island near Brule Narrows on Rainy Lake, as opposed to the $10,500 initial appraised value.[66] A well-publicized jury trial involved Lynn Kramer, who owned about 100 acres on the Kabetogama Peninsula, two miles from Kettle Falls. Judge Miles Lord brought the jury, opposing lawyers, Kramer, and the judge's staff to Voyageurs to view the property, at the request of the assistant US attorney. The land, owned by Kramer's family for 50 years, had no buildings, but it did encompass 7,000 feet of shoreline. The jury awarded $161,000 to Kramer, significantly more than the government's initial offer of $18,650. Two more cases in fall 1979 also ended with awards substantially more than what the government had initially offered.[67] The local papers reported these jury decisions. The editors of the *Duluth News-Tribune* declared that "Uncle Sam should be ashamed" for trying to "cheat Lynn Kramer out of a fair settlement" for his property.[68]

Ritter argued later that one of the judges seemed to favor the landowners. The cases would set in opposition the independent appraiser working under contract for the federal government and the private appraiser working for the landowner. This judge, in Ritter's opinion, would almost always rule in the landowner's favor. Ritter thought the judge ruled this way because he may have believed the government was being heavy handed and that the government had a lot of money for land acquisition and could thus afford higher prices.[69]

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[63] Ritter, transcript of interview, 16.
[64] The sources are not clear if Essling represented all of the people listed below. He definitely represented Lynn Kramer, Edna Bassett (whose Gold Portage Boys Camp won $232,480), and Ed Essling (whose land on Sand Point Lake won $56,100 from a jury). See "Jury Awards Settlements to Two VNP Landowners," *Daily Journal*, October 10, 1979; Jim Pumarlo, "Jury Awards $161,000 to VNP Landowner," *Daily Journal*, September 19, 1979.
[65] Witzig, *Battle to Create*, 182-83. Walter van Brunt, *Duluth and St. Louis County, Minnesota; Their Story and People*, vol. 3 (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1921), 1170-71.
[66] Jim Pumarlo, "Lord Brings Court to Park," *Daily Journal*, September 14, 1979; Advertisement, "What Would You Expect?" *Daily Journal*, December 3, 1979.
[67] "Jury Awards Settlements to Two VNP Landowners."
[68] Editorial, *Duluth News-Tribune*, September 27, 1979.
[69] Ritter, transcript of interview, 17.

Ken White, land acquisition officer for the park, discounted the value of these fantastic settlements. He stated that the numbers presented as initial offers were actually outdated figures from the first set of 1972-1973 appraisals. Updated appraisals, from 1978-1979, would have been used for the condemnation cases. He also stated that the jury cases required that the owner pay for his or her own appraisals, the attorneys representing his or her case, and any additional court or legal fees. These added charges meant that the owner actually came home with far less than what the jury award would have suggested. The Wendts, who won $29,500 for their land on Rainy Lake, had wanted $75,000, against the government's updated appraisal of $18,900. They did not win anything close to what they had wanted, and the extra fees and costs probably meant that they did not gain anything in the process. White blamed these inflated ideas about a property's worth on two factors. First, the owners used appraisers unaffiliated with the professional appraisal societies, while the government used professional and independent appraisers. Second, the owners believed that their lands could support valuable undertakings, such as condo buildings. White laughed at the idea, given that existing zoning did not allow for anything beyond cabins and that utilities did not exist nor could they be easily brought in.[70]

The Regional Director approved a new land acquisition plan in October 1980. This plan noted that 199 tracts, equaling about 6,659 acres, remained inside park boundaries for acquisition. Of the $26,014,000 provided for under the enabling legislation for acquisition, the park had remaining $1,759,582 for land acquisition. The National Park Service had filed 74 tracts in Federal District Court for condemnation proceedings. Of these, 34 had been settled through negotiation or tried to a jury. The land acquisition plan recommended immediate fee purchase for lands needed for development of visitor services or if activities are undertaken on private land that have adverse impacts on park resources. In other cases, the park would practice deferred fee purchase, acquiring lands on a negotiated basis without resorting to condemnation unless requested by the owner. The land acquisition plan recommended dismissal of tracts currently in litigation if not essential for management or development and if agreeable to the owner.[71]

Protesting the park

Vic Davis and his cousin Carl Brown fueled the volatile situation circling around land acquisition. Davis owned and operated a series of sportsmen airway and wilderness outfitter companies in Fort Frances, Ontario, and International Falls, Minnesota. Brown's businesses included a bait and tackle shop, boat fueling services, and a barge operation. Brown was already pursuing a legal case in his attempt to assert that the state had jurisdiction over waters within the national park and that he could therefore continue his duck hunting (see Chapter Four). Davis decided to challenge the Park Service along a different front. He used Little Cranberry Island as his vehicle. He purchased the four-acre island, located within the national park's boundaries but privately owned, in January 1980 for a reported $150,000. He planned to establish a park with picnic tables on one side and a campground on the other end of the island. Davis subdivided the middle section into 44,600 pieces and offered to the public these square-foot parcels as an undivided 1/44,460 interest for $19.95 each.[72] Davis and Brown

[70] White, transcript interview, 11-13.
[71] VNP, Land Acquisition Plan, 1980, 1, 3, 7, 12, VNP Archives.
[72] Jim Pumarlo, "Davis Offers Everyone a Piece of the Park," *Daily Journal*, January 17, 1980; Carl Brown, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 1-2, VNP Archives. The 44,460 number came from there being 342 lots in the center section of the island and each lot was on one of 130 blocks, so 342 times 130 equals 44,460. See Press Conference transcript, January 16, 1980, 6, VNP Archives.

wanted to draw attention to the land acquisition efforts of the federal government. They wanted to make the federal government spend, according to Brown, a "tremendous fortune to go into court to try to acquire this land."[73] Both cousins were looking at the $26 million ceiling for the park's land acquisition. They wanted to maximize the amount of private land within the park's boundaries. Those private lands, they hoped, could then be used without the restrictions placed by the National Park Service.[74]



Figure 12 Vic Davis, with help from his cousin Carl Brown and others, placed this 25-foot fiber-glass statue on Little Cranberry Island in 1980 to protest the national park. Residents began calling the statue Big Vic. NPS Photo

Davis added to the scenario when he came up with the idea of a statue of a voyageur, which became called Big Vic after Vic Davis.[75] He had a company in Sparta, Wisconsin, build the 25-foot fiberglass monument. He announced his plan to place the statue on the island at the same January 1980 news conference where he revealed his intention to subdivide the island into square-foot parcels. At least one person did not take the voyageur statue seriously. Superintendent Ritter stated at a VNPA Board meeting that he doubted Davis would follow through on the statue idea. Ritter was proved wrong when a helicopter on May 13, 1980 flew the voyageur statue to its resting place on Little Cranberry Island. Brown remembered that he and Davis had gathered together their friends and used a kind of bucket brigade to transport cement from the Rainy Lake shore to the island seven miles away.

[73] Brown, transcript of interview, 30, VNP Archives.
[74] Brown, transcript of interview, 30-31. Press Conference transcript, 6-7.
[75] Brown, transcript of interview, 30-31.

They poured nine yards of cement to form the concrete base large enough to hold the one-ton statue.[76] Davis declared before the media that the statue symbolized "all of the broken promises, fraud, collusion and dirty behind-the-scenes politics" leading to the establishment of the Boundary Waters and Voyageurs. "It will not be as big as the Statue of Liberty," Davis said, "but it will stand for the same thing."[77]

People in the area reacted in various ways to the statue and protest. One cross-section applauded Davis' bravado. Ruth Ericson, president of the Northeastern Minnesota Environmental Economic Council, called his protestations "refreshing" and a "revitalization of hope" to the citizens in northeastern Minnesota. The local *Daily Journal* had mixed views about Davis and his statue. A December 1980 editorial labeled Davis as a guy with "no class" who erected a "ridiculous" statue to "deliberately spoil the wilderness experience for other people." The editorial went on to say that the square-foot parcels, bought so far by 2,000 other people of "Davis' mental framework," simply turned resale into an "incredibly complicated" affair for the federal government.[78] But in July 1981, the paper declared that Big Vic was "a symbol of protest" that deserved a place in the national park as an "integral part of park history."[79]

Davis in September 1980 announced that he would site an outfitter's camp headquarters on Little Cranberry Island, a move he admitted that would help him economically while also raising visibility of his ire against the national park. Up until this time, Superintendent Ritter had taken the approach of simply ignoring the statue, not displaying any reaction. This non-response, according to Ritter, made Davis and Brown "mad because they could not understand why the public wasn't rallying behind them."[80]

Ritter did establish separately that no new cabins on private property within the park would be allowed. Davis flaunted this regulation. In October 1980, he brought lumber onto the island with the purpose of building a cabin. He had received a building permit from the St. Louis County Board. The Park Service acted swiftly. The agency bypassed condemnation and asked the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources for authorization to file a declaration of taking. The committee granted permission but not before Davis had built the cabin and had declared his intention to build a visitor center. The government took possession of the property on November 4, 1980, giving Davis a check for $90,500 for the island, the estimated value based on independent appraisals.[81]

Some organizations looked on Davis' actions as threatening the well-being of the park and the surrounding communities. The Voyageurs National Park Association issued in May 1980 a resolution decrying the Big Vic statue as "the ultimate intrusion of man's machines and structures" in natural areas, threatening the national park to become a "cluttered exploited tourist roadway."[82] Members of the state-created Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park unanimously voted in September 1980

[76] Brown, transcript of interview, 31-32. Minutes, VNPA Meeting, May 9, 1980, 2, VNP Archives. Pumarlo, "Davis Offers Everyone." Press Conference transcript, January 16, 1980, 4-5.
[77] Davis, as quoted by Pumarlo, "Davis Offers Everyone."
[78] Editorial, *Daily Journal*, December 23, 1980.
[79] Editorial, *Daily Journal*, July 6, 1981.
[80] Ritter, transcript of interview, 32.
[81] Jim Pumarlo, "VNP Committee Votes to Stop Island Development," *Daily Journal*, September 22, 1980; Doug Smith, "Park Service Acts to Take Builder's Land," *Duluth News-Tribune*, October 18, 1980; Jim Pumarlo, "NPS Acts against Davis," *Daily Journal*, October 20, 1980; Bob Ashenmacher, "Davis Loses Tug-of-War over Island," *Duluth News-Tribune*, November 5, 1980. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 1, 1982, VNP Archives.
[82] Minutes of Meeting, VNPA, May 28, 1980, 4, VNP Archives.

for a resolution asking the Park Service to take whatever actions necessary to stop commercial development on Little Cranberry Island. Some committee members worried that Davis' example would set in motion other incursions in the natural setting, such as placing a McDonald's on the shores of Rainy Lake. State Rep. Irv Anderson (and member of the CCVNP) worried that the Park Service would become more restrictive in its policies toward inholders, people with private property within a national park's boundaries. The National Park Inholders Association and the Federal Land Inholders Association both supported the CCVNP resolution.[83]

The loss of Little Cranberry Island did not thwart Davis. His company, Wilderness Properties (co-owned with Brown and John "Butch" McHarg) bought about 25 acres of Black Bay property from Frank Keyes Inc. and, from Renee Keyes Phalen, another 50 acres on Dryweed Island, north of Black Bay in Rainy Lake. He then announced plans to move Big Vic from Little Cranberry Island to the Black Bay property and also to build several year-round homes on the northside of Dryweed. The Koochiching County Board denied Davis a permit to move Big Vic, which would have stood directly facing the property where the Park Service planned to build its new visitor center.[84] The National Park Inholders Association came out in support of the county's decision. This association had routinely in the past been at odds with the National Park Service in order to advocate for the rights of private landowners within the parks. But the association saw the actions by Davis and his Wilderness Properties company as "harmful to every inholder in the country" because it believed "such obstructionism" would result in "more restrictive policies by the federal government" with regard to acquisition and use of private property in the parks.[85] The Vic Davis-Carl Brown story would continue, but a tenuous resolution for now sat in place.

Assessment of Ritter's superintendency

Tom Ritter served a short, transitional time at Voyageurs National Park. He helped bridge some perceived public relations gaps that had developed under Myrl Brooks' management. Ritter and his family embraced the area by participating in various social activities. He made a point of going out into the area and sitting down and talking with people. He also did what he could to prevent the fanning of flames of discontent. His attitude toward Vic Davis and Carl Brown epitomized this approach. He simply did not react to their showmanship of the Big Vic statue and minute subdivision of lands until the resources themselves were threatened. When Davis started to build on Little Cranberry Island, Ritter acted swiftly and professionally. He requested permission for a declaration of taking to stop immediately any damage to the natural and cultural features of the property.

As noted in Chapter Two, the park embraced a new master plan just as Brooks left and Ritter started at Voyageurs National Park. During Ritter's period of management, the National Park Service also began working on its Wilderness Study of Voyageurs, to determine if any lands within the national park qualified for official designation as wilderness under the 1964 Wilderness Act. Ritter used the public conversations about wilderness as opportunities to bring people together, hear their concerns,

[83] Pumarlo, "VNP Committee Votes to Stop." The CCVNP's resolution actually points to proposals for development more generally. In addition to Davis' land development proposal on Little Cranberry Island, Tom Leach on Namakan Lake had pending a proposal to develop 25 acres of his 375-acre property into individual house lots.
[84] Jim Pumarlo, "Park Developers Seek Hearing to Relocate Big Vic," *Daily Journal*, June 4, 1981.
[85] "County Actions on Big Vic Gain National Support, *Daily Journal*, August 14, 1981.

and address questions. But he was a transitional superintendent, and he did not stay long enough to see how those conversations may have shaped the National Park Service wilderness recommendations.

The one lasting gift that Ritter left the park was a headquarters building. Moving into the Armstrong Ford dealership complex had huge significance to the park. The park now had a visible presence within the community. Members of the community and visitors could locate and visit it. There was adequate space to support administrative functions. The maintenance crew could store and service its vehicles and other materials. There was storage room for the park's growing museum collection, and the park could use the showroom space of the former car dealership for exhibits and outreach. The fact that the park continued to use this complex until 2011 indicates the value of this property to the management of the park.

Chapter Four

Russ Berry 1982-1989

Russell W. Berry, Jr. began his seven-year tenure as superintendent of Voyageurs National Park in April 1982. He grew up on the US East Coast. He earned a BA in history and joined the National Park Service in 1966 as a historian at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Missouri. He moved on to National Capitol Parks before becoming superintendent at Manassas National Battlefield Park in Virginia. At Manassas, he addressed a politically charged environment when the Marriott Corporation proposed to build a Great America theme park on the boundary of the military park. Berry maintained a neutral position, amidst a rising furor between supporters and opponents, as the National Park Service sought specific information about the proposal and worked quietly with Marriott to address concerns. Berry's insistence on neutrality protected the Service from taking potentially controversial stands against local governing boards or elected officials. He left Manassas before Marriott withdrew its proposal due to environmental concerns and went to Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site and the John F. Kennedy National Historic Site, both in Massachusetts. After a Department of the Interior management program, Berry went to Big Bend National Park in Texas as assistant superintendent. His next stop was Voyageurs National Park.[1]

Management approach

Berry later recalled that he had some work cut out for him when he came to Minnesota. His first reconnaissance struck him. He did not see rangers in uniform. He did not see Park Service boats with the agency's arrowhead insignia. He called a staff meeting that afternoon, and, as he remembered later, he articulated what he knew the park was facing, that "it was a very hostile environment and that the town folks, the majority that were hostile, and the political community was hostile, and the newspaper was hostile." But the staff members would start wearing their uniforms the next day, and the boats would be marked. He closed, as Berry remembered later, by saying "'Ladies and gentlemen, they may not like us, but they're going to respect us. Now we're going to be -- we're going to build a national park.'"[2]

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[1] Russell W. Berry, Jr., transcript of oral history interview with the author, September 17, 2013, 1, VNP Library. Joan M. Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 81, 89-92, 98.

[2] Berry, transcript of interview, 2-3. Quotes on p. 3.



Figure 13 Superintendent Russ Berry (1982-1989) oversaw the park's development of park facilities, with the opening of the Rainy Lake Visitor Center, Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center, and the renovation of the Kettle Falls Hotel. NPS Photo

Russ Berry was the first superintendent at Voyageurs National Park to enforce the NPS regulation requiring commercial licenses for activities inside the national park. Resort operators, for instance, had provided guided fishing trips for their guests on the park's lakes without obtaining a proper license from the National Park Service. Berry began the process of requiring such permits. He sat down with his staff and thought strategically about how to educate people about the regulations and then enforce those regulations. They developed a layered approach. The first two summers, he had his rangers make courtesy or safety stops, educating commercial operators that in the future, they would need to obtain a license to continue their operations on park waters. Berry also contacted the Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park and the Voyageurs National Park Association about the requirement for commercial licenses. In summer 1984, Berry had his rangers formally require such commercial permits. Resort owners would need a concessions permit to take guests out fishing. Companies offering fly-in airplane services or charter boats needed to obtain commercial licenses to operate within the park's boundaries. Berry also put out for bid contracts to have tour boat operations in the Rainy Lake district and the Namakan Lake district. The 1984 season opened with Rainy Lake Cruises on that lake and Voyageurs National Park Pleasure Cruises in the Namakan district.[3]

Berry later admitted that his rangers did receive adverse feedback on the lakes while instituting these regulations. But, such reactions were to be expected in his mind. The larger goal was to make clear the National Park Service presence. That presence reflected the fact of federal protection of the lands and waters encompassed by Voyageurs National Park, which the regulations addressed.[4]

The existence of a federal presence in the area prompted some individuals, organizations, elected officials, and even Minnesota state departments to express their opposition to the associated federal regulations. Berry recalled that he had to deal with a "constant political war," addressing

[3] Berry, transcript of interview, 3-4. VNP, Annual Report, 1984, 1-2, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Summary, 1982, 1, VNP Archives.
[4] Berry, transcript of interview, 3.

challenges from the state's Department of Natural Resources about trapping or hearing from snowmobile clubs and local officials about having a snowmobile trail down the Kabetogama Peninsula. Berry needed the time away from day-to-day operations to focus upon these larger issues.[5] In response, he hired the park's first deputy superintendent, Dick Frost. Frost, in Berry's opinion, was good at operations, cared for the park staff, and worked hard with them, both at Voyageurs and later in his career at Biscayne National Park, in Florida.[6]

Black Bay duck hunting

Park management before Russ Berry's arrival ran up against duck hunters who wanted to retain use of the far eastern section of Black Bay, known as Gold Portage. Other areas on Rainy and Kabetogama Lakes saw duck hunting, but Gold Portage had long proved, in the eyes of duck hunting advocates, to be a superior place, in part due to wild rice beds planted years earlier by the area sportsmen's club. Promoters for removing Gold Portage from the park noted that the average bag of ducks was high though the total number of ducks taken over the course of the annual hunting season in October-November was low in comparison to other areas of the state. For waterfowl hunters living in the International Falls area, Gold Portage was the only close spot, and they wanted the freedom to continue their sport there. Deer hunters, in comparison, could shift pursuit of their recreational activity to other nearby locations. Duck hunters were also known as a dedicated group who hunted in the early morning before opening their businesses or went after their shifts at the paper mill. This commitment to waterfowl hunting heightened the significance of the issue, even though the numbers of hunters were relatively low versus deer hunters. The local MDNR office warned that if Gold Portage remained a no-hunting zone, the duck hunting tradition would be lost in Koochiching County.[7]

Conversations about removing Gold Portage started almost immediately after the 1971 authorization of Voyageurs. The local MDNR representative, State Representative Irv Anderson, and the Koochiching Sportsmen's Association president talked to Myrl Brooks in December 1971 regarding their concerns about Gold Portage. Brooks left the door open for further discussion, but the National Park Service Washington Office quickly made clear the steps needed to make such a change. The park's authorizing legislation allowed for the Secretary of the Interior to make minor boundary adjustments, and to correct for differences in land surveys and map descriptions. The level of adjustment the state sought required congressional action. Plus, only after the donation of the state-owned lands and delineation of a fixed boundary could any boundary changes be made, of even a minor sort, according to the legislation.[8]

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[5] Berry, transcript of interview, 6.
[6] Berry, transcript of interview, 16. VNP, Squad Meeting Summary, 1984, 4, VNP Archives.
[7] Memorandum, MDNR Area Game Manager Jim Schneeweis to Chief, MDNR Wildlife Section Roger Holmes, February 22, 1972, 1; and attached MDNR Commissioner Robert Herbst to NPS Director George Hartzog, April 13, 1972; also attached Memorandum, Jim Schneeweis to Roger Holmes, June 15, 1972, all in VNP Archives. President Koochiching Sportsmen's Association Norman Selsaas to Herbst, February 23, 1972; Memorandum, MDNR Regional Wildlife Supervisor Milt Stenlund to Roger Holmes, September 15, 1972, all in VNP Archives. "DNR, Game Manager Back Change in Park for Area Duck Hunters," *Daily Journal*, April 19, 1974.
[8] Memorandum. Schneeweis to Holmes, February 22, 1972. Herbst to Hartzog, April 13, 1972. Memorandum, Schneeweis to Holmes, June 15, 1972. Memorandum, Milt Stenlund to Roger Holmes, June 16,1972, attached to Memorandum, Jim Schneeweis to Roger Holmes, June 22, 1972; also attached Minnesota State Rep. Irvin Anderson to Hubert Humphrey, August 7, 1972; and also attached NPS Associate Director Stanley Hulett to Robert Herbst, May 18, 1972, all in VNP Archives. Fred T. Witzig, *Voyageurs National Park: The Battle to Create Minnesota's National Park*, 225-26.

The local advocates for the change decided that their next best course of action would be to lobby their congressional delegation. Rep. Blatnik, near retirement by this point, did step in to buy some time for the issue, requesting that the Park Service conduct a hunter survey and submit the question to the solicitor for determination if the boundary change could be done without congressional action. The solicitor re-affirmed the statement that Congress would have to support deletion of Gold Portage through legislation.[9] Some parties had reservations about introducing legislation. The International Falls *Daily Journal* quoted MDNR Commissioner Robert Herbst as saying that opening up discussion about a bill "could conceivably lead to another debate over all of the park's boundaries."[10] Myrl Brooks also had misgivings. He warned that "anti-park forces will seek various amendments to completely change the status of the area as a national park." Such amendments might involve opening hunting to all parklands, require specific snowmobile trails and aircraft landing spots, or change federal jurisdiction over both lands and waters.[11]

The 1975 hunting season marked the next stage in the conflict over Gold Portage. The Secretary of the Interior had officially established Voyageurs on April 8, 1975, and the Park Service asserted its authority to ban hunting within the park, even on those lands still in private ownership but within the park's boundaries.[12] A protest organization of waterfowl hunters formed and threatened to defy the ban. Brooks defused the situation a great deal by meeting with some of the leaders of the protest movement and asking the MDNR to acknowledge National Park Service jurisdiction over both the lands and waters inside the park boundaries. The MDNR issued a press release to that effect, helping to clear up much of the misunderstanding among the hunters. Park rangers monitored the opening of the waterfowl hunting season, advising hunters to remove their decoys and educating them about the new rules.[13]

Most hunters adhered to the ranger requests except one, Carl Brown. Brown, his cousin Vic Davis, and their friend John McHarg all believed that the Park Service had jurisdiction over the lands within the park but that the state retained jurisdiction over the waters. They aimed to make a test case on the jurisdiction question by having Brown defy the hunting ban.[14] Brown had plenty of attention for making his point. He recalled that, "There was so much news media up here, it was incredible." Helicopters flew above with TV cameras while boats banged into the rocky shoreline. Brown said that

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[9] Memorandum, Department of the Interior Assistant Solicitor, Branch of Parks David Watts to Director, NPS, January 9, 1973 and attached draft reply by the Assistant Solicitor's Office to Rep. John Blatnik regarding solicitor opinion; James Schneeweis, Gold Portage Hunter Activity Survey, n.d. [late 1973], both in VNP Archives.

[10] Herbst, as quoted in *Daily Journal*, April 24, 1974.

[11] Memorandum, Brooks to Regional Director, Midwest Region, June 30, 1978, 2, VNP Archives.

[12] Joseph Alexander, Minnesota's Commissioner of Natural Resources revoked in December 1979 a previous Commissioner's Order (dated September 1976) that had banned hunting and trapping on private lands within the national park. Alexander argued that until the federal government acquired the inholdings, those owners should have the right to "certain beneficial uses of the land." Quote from Joseph Alexander to J. Thomas Ritter, January 9, 1980; see also attached Ritter to Alexander, December 10, 1970, 1, VNP Archives. Memorandum, J. Thomas Ritter to Regional Director, Midwest Region, April 4, 1980, 1, VNP Archives.

[13] Memorandum, Acting Regional Director Midwest Region Robert Giles to Director, NPS, October 7, 1975; Memorandum, Joe Cayou to Superintendent, VNP, October 7, 1975, both in VNP Archives. Ranger Joe Cayou recommended in 1976 that the Park Service use the same approach it had in 1975, with approaching violators individually to educate them about their violations. Cayou also referred to the 1975 press and media coverage. See Memorandum, Cayou to Superintendent, September 20, 1976, VNP Archives.

[14] Vic Davis to Robert Giles, 2 November 1975, VNP Archives.

"it was wild, and the stories went everywhere."[15] Brown received the one and only citation during that duck hunting season, starting the process for judicial review of the water jurisdiction issue.[16]

The water jurisdiction case proceeded through the courts. A federal magistrate in Duluth ruled that the state and federal government had worked in concert to establish Voyageurs National Park and that the state had therefore ceded concurrent jurisdiction over the waters to the United States. The magistrate found Brown guilty and fined him $50 and $100 for violation of carrying a loaded firearm and hunting in a national park. Brown appealed the decision to the district court to obtain reconsideration of the jurisdictional issue. The state of Minnesota filed an amicus curiae to contend that the federal government did not have jurisdiction over the public navigable waters in the park. The district court, in a decision written by Judge Miles Lord, ruled in November 1976 that the state had not ceded jurisdiction over the waters, only the lands acquired by the federal government. But, the district court concluded that the Property Clause did provide congressional power to prohibit hunting and possession of loaded firearms within a national park's boundaries. This ruling prohibited hunting because such action significantly interfered with the normal uses of parklands. But the district court did not rule that the Park Service could enforce its rules on all park waterways, only with reference to those commercial or recreational activities that significantly interfered with the use of the park. In the end, this district court ruling affirmed Brown's conviction. Brown appealed this decision, and the United States Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit affirmed the lower court's ruling. Brown filed a petition for writ of certiorari, asking the US Supreme Court to review the appeals court decision. The Supreme Court denied the petition, and the appeals court ruling stood.[17]

A state legislator introduced a bill to contend that Minnesota had authority over all waters within its boundaries. The Minnesota state's attorney general's office testified that the bill would have no effect since federal law trumped state law, but the Minnesota legislature passed the bill anyway. The Minnesota law asserted that the state had never ceded its jurisdiction over the waters in the national park, a declaration out of step with the court rulings. This issue would re-surface with another test case in the 1990s, again spearheaded by Carl Brown.[18] The federal government had asserted its right for jurisdiction over the lands and waters encompassed by the park's boundaries in its enabling legislation and had notified the state in writing of the National Park Service intent to assert such jurisdiction. The state did not respond to this notice.[19]

Concurrent with the court case moving through the judicial system, the state further pursued having the Gold Portage section of Black Bay deleted from the national park. Hunting organizations and the state DNR, in particular, had made the issue a "*cause célèbre*," according to at least one Park

[15] Carl Brown, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 9, VNP Archives.
[16] Memorandum, Giles to Director, NPS, October 7, 1975, 1. Case Incident Record, Case/Incident No. 7603, 7 October 1975, VNP Archives.
[17] United States v. Carl E. Brown, 552 F.2d 817 (8th Cir. 1977), *cert.* denied, 97 S.Ct. 2666 (1977). See also "US Claims Voyageurs Jurisdiction," *News Tribune* (Duluth), October 17, 1975. Doug Stone, "Judge Upholds Voyageurs Hunting Ban," *Minneapolis Tribune*, November 6, 1976. DOI Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife Nathaniel Reed to Henry Cashen II, December 15, 1976, VNP Archives. J. Michael Norman, "Challenge at Voyageurs," *National Parks and Conservation Magazine* (January 1977): 8.
[18] Roy J. Lewicki, Barbara Gray, and Michael Elliott, eds., *Making Sense of Intractable Environmental Conflicts: Concepts and Cases* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2003), 103.
[19] Regional Director Merrill Beal to Governor Wendell Anderson, September 12, 1975, VNP Archives.

Service official.[20] Jim Oberstar, who succeeded Blatnik as the congressional representative in the area, remembered later that the proponents for duck hunting in Black Bay were "just a thorn in the side of comity and acceptance" for the national park.[21] But, Oberstar listened to their arguments and worked to find an acceptable resolution.

The National Park Service, in consultation with representatives from the state, US Forest Service, and the US Department of Agriculture, had included Gold Portage in its initial maps of the proposed park boundaries from 1963 and on. However, the March 1963 proposal for Voyageurs National Park included a full one-third of Black Bay, along with Gold Portage, in the proposed boundaries. Landscape Architect John Kawamoto, attached to the Midwest Region's planning division, in response to discussions within the agency (and possibly with the state), revised the boundary in November of that year to capture Gold Portage only. Subsequent reports and plans kept Gold Portage within the proposed park boundaries.[22] The state would later argue that, with respect to Black Bay, "historically there have been variations in the exact location of the boundary," depending on the precise map referred to.[23] The National Park Service accepted that there might have been variations in the proposed boundary for the park during the pre-authorization stage. However, the map referred to in the authorizing legislation necessarily determined the park's final boundaries. Assistant Secretary of the Interior Nathaniel Reed argued that the disputed area was "every bit as important from a resource standpoint" as other areas in the park.[24] Superintendent Brooks believed that a "vocal local minority [was] opposed to anything related to a national park" and "catering to local political manipulation of people will be the quickest way to accomplish that destruction [of Voyageurs National Park]."[25]

The idea of land exchanges eventually resolved the continuing controversy. Joseph Alexander, the Commissioner of the state DNR, wrote to NPS Director William Whalen in June 1978 that a state-federal land exchange might provide a solution. State lands adjacent to the national park might be exchanged for federal lands in the Black Bay vicinity on a value-for-value basis. Voyageurs master planning at this time had made clear that the national park needed some access routes across state lands, among other requirements, and the land exchange proposal offered a possible course of action.[26] The National Park Service decided by September 1979 that the potential for acquiring lands could be considered "more important to completing the park boundary and protecting park resources than giving up Black Bay."[27] Plus, the Park Service knew that its next steps for Voyageurs, according to the

[20] Memorandum, DOI Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks David Hales to Legislative Counsel, May 28, 1980, 2, VNP Archives.
[21] Jim Oberstar, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 30, 2013, 20, VNP Archives.
[22] NPS, The Voyageurs Route and a Proposed VNP Minnesota, March 1963, map after p. 47, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Park Planner John Kawamoto to Superintendent, Grand Portage, November 1, 1963, and attached map dated October 23, 1963, VNP Archives. This Kawamoto memo refers to discussions with several different people, listed by last name only, as informing the changes made to the map. NPS, Proposed VNP, July 1964, map after p. 41, VNP Archives. NPS, Proposed VNP, September 1965, map after p. 43, VNP Archives. NPS, Proposed VNP Master Plan, 1968, map on p. 16, VNP Archives. DOI Associate Director Legislation Richard Curry to Hubert Humphrey, September 6, 1974, 1, VNP Archives.
[23] Robert Herbst to Secretary of the Interior Thomas Kleppe, April 8, 1976, 1, VNP Archives.
[24] Nathaniel Reed to Robert Herbst, April 30, 1976, VNP Archives.
[25] Memorandum, Myrl Brooks to Files, April 16, 1976, 2, VNP Archives.
[26] Joseph Alexander to NPS Director William Whalen, June 30, 1978, VNP Archives.
[27] Memorandum, Chief, Office of Legislation to Regional Director, Midwest Region, September 11, 1979, VNP Archives.

master plan, involved pursuing legislation to address the proposed new home for the visitor center on a different part of Black Bay and raising the land acquisition ceiling. The necessity for new legislation presented an opportunity to address the Gold Portage issue.

Park legislation

National Park Service Director Russell Dickenson and Assistant Secretary of the Interior Robert Herbst (formerly commissioner of the Minnesota DNR) in August 1980 came to an agreement with the MDNR to end the controversy over duck hunting and improve public access to the national park. This agreement had the support of Minnesota's Sen. David Durenberger, Rep. Bruce Vento (who represented the Twin Cities area and served on the House subcommittee on national parks), and northern Minnesota's congressional representative, Jim Oberstar. The Jimmy Carter administration also signaled its support for the proposed legislation. The federal government would delete the contested 1,000 acres of Black Bay from the park once the state designated that land as a wildlife management area and provided an acceptable wildlife management plan for the entire 5,500-acre Black Bay area. The state would also give a perpetual easement on about 120 acres of state land on the Sullivan Bay access road between the park boundary and the Ash River Trail at Kabetogama Lake. The agreement also stipulated that the state would grant the Park Service a lease for 18 acres of land at the Kabetogama Forestry Station on the park's western boundary.[28] Dickenson noted that the original boundary line at Gold Portage arbitrarily crossed open water, making it difficult to administer. With the new agreement, the Park Service would gain not just a defensible boundary but also add new lands to the park that facilitated park management, such as the access corridor to Sullivan Bay. Dickenson believed that this agreement would be "satisfactory to the local population, the local residents, and at the same time protect the integrity" of the national park.[29] MDNR Commissioner Joseph Alexander supported the agreement, saying that "contrary to opinion, we're anxious to see the park go. We want to cooperate."[30]

Congressional action on a Voyageurs bill proceeded. Durenberger and Oberstar each introduced bills in September 1980, but no further action resulted in that session. Bills for the House (H.R. 846) and Senate (S. 625) were re-introduced with the new Congress. The Senate acted first, holding its hearing at the end of October 1981. Most speakers expressed optimism that the bill would satisfactorily address the tense situation regarding duck hunting. Sen. Durenberger opened by referring to the "deep seated controversy that has plagued the area." He believed that "no damage will result to the resource" but "much good will follow" by approving the draft legislation. He considered passage of the bill as marking a "new beginning for the Voyageurs National Park—a time when the birth pangs

[28] NPS Press Release, "Herbst Announces Agreement to End Voyageurs National Park Duck Hunting Controversy," August 4, 1980, 1-3, VNP Archives. Alexander noted that the state would have to go through another special legislative procedure to donate the identified lands to the federal government, and instead he recommended a permanent easement for the road access land and a long-term lease (with a low fee) for the ranger station land. See Alexander to US Sen. Malcom Wallop, November 10, 1981, VNP Archives.
[29] Russell Dickenson, as quoted in "Interview: Park Service Director Russell Dickenson," *Minnesota Out-of-Doors* (September 1980), 21.
[30] Joseph Alexander, as quoted in DNR Commissioner Explains Views, *Minnesota Out-of-Doors* (September 1980), 18.

are over" and the country can work on fulfilling the "tremendous potential of the Voyageur experience."[31]

Oberstar laid out the extent to which some people in his congressional district disliked Voyageurs National Park and how the bill would help. He referred to some of his constituents who viewed the Gold Portage boundary as a "symbol of Government interference in private lives." He called the Black Bay controversy representative of the "resistance of people against overwhelming, smothering Government." Removal of Black Bay would be seen by his constituents, according to Oberstar, as "symbolic of restoring faith to the people, that Government really does care." Resolution of this matter would, in his mind, mean that "we can move ahead with a splendid addition to the national park system."[32] State representative Irvin Anderson balanced Oberstar's optimistic rhetoric, admitting that "I do not pretend to believe that the passage of this bill will resolve all of the controversy surrounding the park." But Anderson did agree that the bill "will go a long way toward creating a better understanding between the citizens of the area and the Park Service."[33] Perhaps Arthur Ennis, a former forester for the M and O Paper Company in International Falls, summed up the situation best. He told the Senate that, "In northern Minnesota where the coffeepot boils on the back of the stove and where one hears what one expects to believe, the resident population up there just feels that they've been shortchanged and misled on this entire issue." Ennis wholly supported the bill because he believed it would "help greatly to end existing controversy now interfering with orderly development" of the national park.[34]

Destry Jarvis of the National Parks and Conservation Association presented at the Senate hearing the only fully negative opinion of the proposed legislation. Jarvis stated that his organization opposed deletion of Black Bay from Voyageurs National Park and warned that "I don't believe it would solve the controversies that have focused around that park for a number of years." He urged that the Senate give the park time, "rather than radical surgery" to reach its full potential. He noted that previous NPS directors, the previous assistant secretary of the Interior, and the park's 1980 master plan had all confirmed the retention of the disputed area. Jarvis wondered aloud if Gold Portage really was the prime duck hunting area, quoting Myrl Brooks as saying otherwise. Even with the proposed deletion, Jarvis argued that the shoreline, where the ducks congregated due to the marshy conditions, would remain protected and thus off limits to hunting. He asked the Senate to consider "the other hunting controversy" associated with the park, the decision by the state DNR to allow hunting on the private lands within the national park boundaries. Jarvis warned that such hunting threatened "serious encroachment on park wildlife populations." He concluded with a call to resolve the controversies "with clear knowledge of the overall impact on the resource" and with the desire to see the park "achieve its full potential."[35]

The Senate passed its version of the Voyageurs bill in June 1982, and the House followed suit in September 1982. The final law, signed by President Ronald Reagan on January 3, 1983, addressed both the duck hunting controversy and the requirements identified in the 1980 master plan. The Park Service agreed to delete 1,000 acres from Black Bay upon the state's fulfillment of transfer of the land

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[31] *Boundary Revision of VNP: Hearing on S. 625, Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands and Reserved Water*, 97th Cong., 1st sess. 14, 19 (October 29, 1981) (statement of Sen. David Durenberger).
[32] Ibid., 38-39 (statement of Rep. Jim Oberstar).
[33] Ibid., 108 (statement of Minnesota Rep. Irvin Anderson).
[34] Ibid., 146, 149 (statement of Arthur Ennis).
[35] Ibid., 91-93 (statement of Destry Jarvis). Quotes on pp. 91, 93.

at the Kabetogama Forestry Station and the roadway leading from the Ash River Trail. The state also had to establish a wildlife management area in Black Bay and submit an acceptable management plan that preserved the natural resources of the area to complement the national park's purposes. If the state failed to comply with the conditions for the Black Bay deletion, all right, title, and interest in the land would revert to the United States.[36]

Separately, the law deleted about 782 acres in the Neil Point area of Rainy Lake and added about 180 acres in the Black Bay Narrows. These two actions responded to the master plan, which recommended removal of the proposed major visitor center complex from Neil Point, an area that had undergone considerable development since the park's establishment. Black Bay Narrows had little to no development, and the Park Service would not have to dredge the lake to allow for a marina, an action that would have been needed at Neil Point. Public Law 97-405 raised the land acquisition ceiling to $38,314,000. The President had until June 1, 1983 to advise the Congress of the suitability of wilderness for any section of the park. The legislation also authorized for appropriation $250,000 for completion of a visitor use and facilities plan to present ideas for achieving an appropriate level and type of visitation. Another authorization for appropriation of $75,000 would go toward a study evaluating road access to the park.[37]

Legal challenge

Building a national park meant, in the case of Black Bay, implementing the park's authorizing legislation and the subsequent boundary revision in the 1983 law. The state DNR submitted to superintendent Russ Berry in April 1983 its draft management plan for the Black Bay wildlife area. Berry reviewed the plan and submitted his recommendations, suggesting in some places different language to delineate the boundary of the Wildlife Management Area and allow snowmobile usage, commercial fishing, and tour watercraft. Berry, however, disagreed with the state's plan to allow trapping. He reiterated the 1983 legislation and his reading of the congressional intent for hunting of waterfowl but the protection of other wildlife. The state DNR "strongly disagree[d]" with this interpretation of the legislation and asked the Secretary of the Interior to review the plan to make a determination.[38]

Berry's memory of the next steps illustrates the political turmoil the park faced and the need to assert the national park presence at Voyageurs. G. Ray Arnett, the Interior Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks called Berry to make clear that Berry could not presume the authority of the Interior Secretary and that the assistant secretary would be in International Falls the next morning, presumably to ensure that the Secretary's wishes would be followed. Fall 1983 marked the ending of Interior Secretary James Watt's tenure under the Reagan administration, and Watt had distinguished

[36] Voyageurs National Park Boundary Adjustments, S. Rep. No. 97-423 (26 May 1982). Cong. Rec. H7874-7878 (daily ed. September 29, 1982). To Revise the Boundary of Voyageurs National Park, Pub. L. No. 97-405, 96 Stat. 2028 (January 3, 1983).
[37] To Revise the Boundary of Voyageurs National Park, Pub. L. No. 97-405, 96 Stat. 2028 (January 3, 1983).
[38] Quote by Joseph Alexander in Alexander to Russell Berry, Jr., September 9, 1983, VNP Archives. See also Joseph Alexander to Russell Berry, Jr., April 19, 1983, VNP Archives. Russell Berry, Jr. to MDNR Deputy Commissioner Steve Thorne, June 16, 1983, and attached comments, VNP Archives. Joseph Alexander to Russell Berry, Jr., July 20, 1983, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Russell Berry, Jr. to Regional Director, Midwest Region, September 12, 1983, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Regional Director, Midwest Region to Assistant Solicitor, Parks and Recreation, March 29, 1984, and attached supporting documents including full copy of Berry's comments on the initial state DNR's Wildlife Management Plan, VNP Archives.

himself in opposition to the expansion of the national parks and their mission to preserve the natural scenery and wildlife. This shift in emphasis toward recreational use, a position set by the President, clearly favored hunting and trapping in such places as the Wildlife Management Area adjacent to Voyageurs. Berry responded to Arnett's phone call, according to Berry's memory, by calling Sen. Durenberger. Durenberger flew to the Falls the next morning, meeting with Berry prior to the assistant secretary. Arnett and Durenberger worked out an agreement, handing the decision to the Midwest Regional Director. Arnett then went back to Washington, and according to Berry, told Acting Regional Director Randall R. Pope, through the NPS Director, to sign the MDNR's original management plan.[39]

Acting Regional Director Pope, according to Berry, asked Berry to send him a memo explaining why Berry disagreed with the original management plan. Berry did so, but he also made a copy on non-watermarked paper and went to the Voyageurs National Park Association in the Twin Cities. He gave them his letter, as he recalled, and "suggested strongly that they sue the hell out of us."[40] The VNPA had expressed its opposition to the proposed Black Bay deletion since at least 1975. President Lloyd Brandt had stated that deletion would "lead to the gutting of the park by special interest groups" and "would carve a deep hole into the western end of the park near one of its main entrances."[41] Whether Berry catalyzed action or not, the VNPA and seven other conservation organizations did file a suit against the Interior Department. They argued that the 1983 legislation did not permit trapping in the Gold Portage area or the rest of Black Bay.[42]

District Judge Robert Renner declared that the Department of the Interior had violated the Boundary Revision Act of 1983 by approving trapping within the 1,000 acres ceded by the State of Minnesota. Renner made this judgment based upon his review of the law's congressional history. He focused upon Gold Portage, the area relinquished by the National Park Service, arguing that Congress had assigned "special treatment" to this acreage and had required that the state's management plan complement park purposes to the fullest extent possible.[43] Both the Senate and House reports imposed substantial controls on the taking of wildlife other than waterfowl. Plus, Renner found that throughout the legislative process, Congress intended primarily to resolve the duck hunting controversy. When Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-WY) had asked for further clarification about the state's intentions with regard to the Wildlife Management Area, MDNR Commissioner Alexander had expressed his willingness to be flexible with regard to limiting certain kinds of hunting and trapping, saying that he would "consider taking such actions if necessary . . . to cooperate with park management." Renner concluded that Congress intended to resolve the longstanding boundary dispute and associated duck hunting controversy, thereby indicating that the Secretary of the Interior's allowance of trapping violated the law.[44]

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[39] Berry, transcript of interview, 7-8. Much of Berry's recollection is verified in DOI Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks G. Ray Arnett to US Rep. John Seiberling, February 22, 1984, VNP Archives.
[40] Berry, transcript of interview, 8.
[41] Lloyd Brandt, as quoted in "Voyageurs Park Assn. Opposes Recommendation of Committee," *Daily Journal*, October 16, 1975.
[42] Berry, transcript of interview, 8. Voyageurs National Park Association (VNPA) Newsletter, April 1984, 2; VNPA Newsletter, September 1983, 1-2, both in VNP Archives. VNPA, et. al v. G. Ray Arnett, 609 F.Supp. 532 (US District Court, D. MN, Third Div March 6, 1985) http://www.leagle.com/decision/19851141609FSupp532_11042, accessed January 31, 2015.
[43] VNPA, et. al v. G. Ray Arnett, 609 F.Supp. 532 (US District Court, D. MN, Third Div March 6, 1985), Facial Analysis section, http://www.leagle.com/decision/19851141609FSupp532_11042, accessed January 31, 2015.
[44] Ibid., Congressional History section.

The State of Minnesota responded accordingly. The DNR submitted in August 1985 its revised management plan. This plan stated that "the taking of species other than migratory birds and fish within the wildlife management area is prohibited."[45] Trapping was taken out of the wildlife management area. Resolution of the trapping issue did not mean, however, the end of the disagreement between the Park Service and the State of Minnesota. The state had intended to lease the Kabetogama and Sullivan Bay lands identified by the Black Bay legislation. The Sullivan Bay lands were associated with construction of NPS-1 (or Meadwood Road) from the Ash River Trail to Kabetogama Narrows. The Kabetogama land included the Kabetogama State Forestry complex (now within the Kabetogama Ranger Station Historic District). Early planning documents identified State Point/West Kabetogama as an area for development of visitor facilities. The MDNR was not using the state forest complex at Kabetogama, and in 1979 the DNR and NPS signed a cooperative agreement authorizing the park to set up interim operations at the complex. The goal was to establish a joint law enforcement office involving the NPS, MDNR, and the St. Louis County Sheriff's Department. The park moved its triple-wide trailer (previously used as park headquarters in International Falls) to the site and established a visitor contact station. Later the state expressed an interest in turning the site over to the NPS via a land transfer. The NPS agreed to the transfer which occurred on January 3, 1983 (Public Law 97-405). The regional solicitor, however, found in 1989 that the legislation required exchange for the lease and ultimate fee title of these other tracts and did not authorize payment for a lease. The solicitor established that therefore the Park Service had no authority to pay for a lease.[46]

Wilderness proposal

Study of the wilderness potential of lands and waters within the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park occurred concurrent with the duck hunting legislation. The Wilderness Act of 1964 and the Voyageurs enabling legislation each required such a review. The Wilderness Act provided criteria for evaluating the suitability of the park's resources while the Department of the Interior's guidelines and the National Park Service's wilderness preservation and management policies required the development of alternative wilderness proposals for submission to the President. Whatever alternatives the study proposed, no legal action could be taken to institute wilderness without an act of Congress. However, the Park Service, according to its own policies, compelled park managers to take actions that did not impair the wilderness features under consideration. Wilderness thus existed in de facto form throughout this review process.[47] Superintendent J. Thomas Ritter succinctly encapsulated the approach as applied at Voyageurs, writing that "this study was completed on the axiom that every acre of land and water in the park is wilderness unless it is disqualified" by approved criteria.[48]

National Park Service Director William Whalen's decision in 1979 to declare the master plan complete forestalled decisions about snowmobiles and aircraft landings until completion of the

[45] State of Minnesota DNR Commissioner's Order No. 2221, August 15, 1985, 2, VNP Archives.
[46] History: Black Bay/Kabetogama Boundary Adjustments, n.d. [c. 1989], VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1984, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1985, 1.
[47] VNP, Wilderness Study: Preliminary Analysis of Wilderness Alternatives, February 1980, 1, VNP Archives.
[48] J. Thomas Ritter to Assistant Manager, Denver Service Center, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, n.d. [post February 1980], 1, VNP Archives.

wilderness review (see chapter two).[49] The Park Service began the initial planning for the wilderness study in summer 1979 and quickly moved forward to listen to public comments and invite consultants from Canadian, national, state, and local organizations to actively participate in the development of alternatives for proposed wilderness designation. Public input was gathered in informal meetings in October 1979 across the state. Some people supported snowmobile usage throughout the park versus others who wanted no snowmobiling or motorized vehicles in the interior of the park. Most people supported motor boats and aircraft landings on the large lakes. Some individuals wanted the least amount of federal restrictions as possible. The need for regular communication was emphasized.[50]

The 1980-1982 drafts of the wilderness study and environmental impact statement, and the final 1983 versions, all recommended a total of 91,653 acres of land set aside as wilderness, totaling almost 70 percent of the park's lands.[51] This proposed alternative encompassed most of the Kabetogama Peninsula, plus the Lucille Lake area, located in a remote area south of Namakan and west of Sand Point Lakes. Motorboats and aircraft landings would be permitted on the major lakes, plus the interior lakes of Cruiser, Shoepack, Oslo, Beast, and Mukooda. Motorboats would also be allowed on Brown Lake. Snowmobiles would have access to all of the above listed lakes, plus 32.6 miles of overland trails necessary for portages around hazardous ice areas or to provide shortcuts between lakes. In addition, the proposed alternative included an east-west and north-south overland snowmobile route through the park, following an "old winter road system" as much as possible.[52] Other alternatives considered ranged from a NEPA-required No Action (i.e. no wilderness) designation to one including the vast majority of the park, 85,000 acres of water and 129,000 acres of land. Every alternative allowed for motorboat and snowmobile usage on the large lakes and Mukooda Lake. Aircraft landings would be restricted in varying degrees according to the amount of land proposed for wilderness designation, with the most restrictive alternative allowing landings only at Kettle Falls and the Canadian Customs area on Sand Point Lake.[53]

Some restrictions and caveats, which were/are based on language in the Wilderness Act and/or NPS policy regarding wilderness, applied to the designation of any wilderness in Voyageurs. The status of surface and subsurface rights within the park as of summer 1980 precluded any large units qualifying for wilderness designation. Almost 7,000 acres of private land designated for acquisition remained scattered within park boundaries. In addition, lands formerly leased from the state were occupied until 1985. Another 102 use and occupancy reservations of fee lands had lengths ranging from 25 years to life estates. Five tracts of Ojibwe lands within the park were considered not suitable for wilderness or potential wilderness designation due to treaty authorities and Bureau of Indian Affairs

[49] Although park legislation states that snowmobiles and aircraft may be allowed, special regulations were needed for Voyageurs to allow these activities because NPS regulations prohibit these activities. Special regulations were developed in 1977 to allow snowmobiling and aircraft and in 1990 to allow snowmobiling on lake surfaces.
[50] Memorandum, Joel Kussman to Assistant Manager, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, Denver Service Center (DSC), August 28, 1979, 4, File 4 1979 Planning-Wilderness Study, Box Wilderness 1976-1981, VNP Archives. VNP, Wilderness Study Progress Report, Fall 1979, VNP Archives.
[51] The proposed action alternative and the other alternatives developed for consideration all remain the same in the 1980, 1981, 1982 drafts and the 1983 final version of the wilderness study. See drafts in VNP Archives. Significant additions among the drafts address consideration of endangered species and what mitigation would be taken to protect bald eagle nesting locations and the gray wolf.
[52] NPS, VNP Draft EIS Wilderness Recommendation, July 1980, 20. Quotes as included in the original.
[53] Ibid., 17-34.

policies.[54] Subsurface rights remained a challenge. Nearly 1,000 separate mineral interests existed inside the park as of summer 1980. Of these, the federal government controlled four, the state held 102, and private landowners held clear title to 73. Another 795 mineral interests were held in private ownership but without clear title due to improper registration or tax delinquency. State law prohibited exploration or development of mineral resources without consent of the owner. The Voyageurs enabling legislation prohibited all mining and mineral activities. The state, in transferring its surface lands to the federal government, attached covenants to all retained mineral rights banning any mineral activities by the state so long as the lands remained under NPS use. The park's land acquisition plan recommended acquisition of all privately owned mineral rights within the park.[55]

Other provisions required inclusion in any legislation declaring wilderness in Voyageurs National Park. The state DNR needed to have motor access, by boat and floatplane, to continue harvesting of muskellunge eggs from Shoepack Lake and conduct fisheries research at Little Trout, Mukooda, and O'Leary Lakes. Allowance had to be made for shore-mounted navigation aids for visitor safety. Motorboats were to be allowed to pull up on shores of wilderness areas. Rustic wooden picnic tables at wilderness campsites accessible by motorboat would be allowed.[56] Wilderness designation would need to reaffirm that provisions of treaties[57] between the United States and Canada concerning the border region would remain in effect, plus the International Joint Commission would continue to regulate water levels of the major lakes and have authority to build such water control structures needed for controlling those water levels. Hydrological measuring devices to monitor and control water levels would need to be allowed in wilderness areas. Provisions of the 1964 Wilderness Act would also need to be reaffirmed allowing for adequate access to private lands.[58]

The mineral rights issue delayed presentation of the draft wilderness proposal to the Department of the Interior until its resolution by the Washington solicitor's office, completed in January 1981.[59] By this time, a new administration, under Reagan, was set to begin. The National Park Service's Office of Legislation then communicated to the chief planner for the Voyageurs study that "the new administration could result in a different philosophy on wilderness and a new wilderness recommendation."[60] This suspicion proved true. By March 1981, the National Park Service had decided "not to forward any wilderness recommendations (except perhaps recommendations for 'no

[54] Ibid., 17-18.
[55] Ibid., 3.
[56] NPS management policy states that picnic tables are not allowed in wilderness except in those limited circumstances when they are necessary for resource protection and when documented and approved through a minimum requirements analysis. All alternatives provided for picnic tables to reduce soil compaction and erosion, but a special legislative provision had to be included in any wilderness legislation.
[57] See Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, and Orders established by the International Joint Commission.
[58] NPS, VNP Draft EIS Wilderness Recommendation, July 1980, 17-18.
[59] Memorandum, J. L. Dunning to Chief, Office of Legislation, Washington Area Service Office (WASO), October 31, 1980, VNP Archives. Status VNP Wilderness Study, February 9, 1981, 1, VNP Archives. The solicitor did recommend that the NPS include a discussion of the minerals situation and its implications with regard to wilderness designation in a finalized version of the study and EIS.
[60] Memorandum of Telephone Call, David Given with Art Eck, Office of Legislation, WASO, January 12, 1981, VNP Archives.

wilderness') to the Department [of the Interior]."[61] This decision resulted in consideration of alternative actions, including leaving the issue in limbo and developing special regulations for motorized uses in the park.[62]

The wilderness study team did present in July 1981 the wilderness study, and the Director did order completion of a Final EIS. This director's order, however, did not guarantee further progress of the study. NPS Director Russell Dickenson forwarded in fall 1983 the wilderness proposal and environmental statement, along with a draft bill, to the Department of the Interior.[63] Assistant Secretary G. Ray Arnett "balk[ed]" at the request for his signature on the package for forwarding to the Secretary.[64] Arnett responded in December 1983 to a letter from State Senator Bob Lessard, stating that the wilderness review was concerned with the same issues raised by Lessard, "especially the effect of wilderness designation on the Park Service's management capabilities and on appropriate uses of the park for outdoor recreation."[65] The National Park Service and the Department of the Interior subsequently made a negative recommendation for wilderness at Voyageurs National Park. The Midwest Regional Director submitted in January 1984 his assessment of the situation and probable results of this decision. Regional Director Charles Odegaard rated as highly probable that the department and the agency would lose credibility in light of the fact that interested members of Congress, interest groups, and the public through newsletters and meetings had ample access to the study process and thus would focus attention on "obvious discrepancies between the study process and the negative recommendation." Odegaard also warned as highly probable that the wilderness issue at Voyageurs could become a factor in the 1984 Minnesota elections, forcing candidates to take sides. Walter Mondale, a former US Senator from Minnesota and vice president under Carter, was running for the presidency in 1984. Odegaard warned that conservation organizations would likely file suit against the negative recommendation and that motorized usage in the park, especially snowmobiling, would remain a significant public issue.[66]

Park Planner David Given from the Midwest Regional Office's Division of Planning and Environmental Quality, helped develop the EIS for the early 1980s wilderness study. His memories of the process reinforce the above description of the situation as it stood in 1983. He readily admitted that "the study itself, especially application of the criteria for wilderness suitability, is relatively straightforward." And, based upon the criteria of the Wilderness Act, the regional office review "determined, to no one's surprise, that there was a lot of land within Voyageurs National Park that was suitable for wilderness designation." But, Given also acknowledged the controversial nature of such a wilderness designation at Voyageurs. He noted that "because of the controversy, and it gets involved

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[61] Quote from Memorandum, David Given to John Kawamoto, March 23, 1981, 1, VNP Archives. See also Memorandum, David Given to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, March 27, 1981, 1, VNP Archives.

[62] Memorandum, Jack Strain to Regional Director, Midwest Region, March 30, 1981, VNP Archives.

[63] Memorandum, David Given to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, March 27, 1981, 1, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Jack Strain to Regional Director, Midwest Region, March 30,1981, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Dale Tomrdle to Assistant Manager, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, DSC, July 28, 1981, 1, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Russell Dickenson to Legislative Counsel, June 8, 1983, VNP Archives. Memorandum of Telephone Call, David Given with Jeff Chidlaw, October 28, 1983, VNP Archives.

[64] Memorandum of Telephone Call, David Given with Jeff Chidlaw, October 28, 1983, VNP Archives.

[65] G. Ray Arnett to Bob Lessard, December 5, 1983, VNP Archives. Arnett was the assistant secretary who ordered Superintendent Berry to accept the trapping provision in the state's management policy for the Black Bay wildlife area.

[66] Memorandum, Charles Odegaard to Director, WASO, January 31, 1984, VNP Archives. Quote on p. 1.

in partisan politics. It got involved in partisan politics back in the '80s when the first wilderness study was done." Those partisan politics meant that conservationists, who wanted wilderness designation, favored sending a wilderness recommendation to Congress when the politics largely supported an environmental agenda. On the opposite side, those calling for no wilderness designation at Voyageurs preferred congressional consideration when the politics was lukewarm to negative with regard to environmental issues. Given argued that "whether you support or don't support wilderness designation, it's advantageous to both sides to have a recommendation forwarded to Congress because" without a decision, the park's management had to treat the proposed area as wilderness. But, the decision did not come because the Department of the Interior in 1983 refused to forward a recommendation to Congress.[67]

This limbo status for wilderness designation meant that the National Park Service did not have the ability to define snowmobile usage and aircraft landings in its master plan implementation, except to maintain the areas considered for such status as wilderness. These two problematic topics remained as barriers for some of the park's subsequent superintendents to interact in a fully cooperative fashion with the local communities.

Rainy Lake Visitor Center[68]

Superintendent Berry oversaw the construction and opening of the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. The $5 million, 6,000 square-foot complex has a large exhibit area, an auditorium, and outdoor space with boat launch, tour boat docking, and a picnic area. The facility opened in August 1987 with a dedication ceremony attended by NPS Director William Penn Mott, Jr., and a host of elected officials. A flotilla of north canoes, manned by costumed interpreters dressed as voyageurs, welcomed guests. Other entertainment included an environmental singer and a walleye luncheon served by the local volunteer fire department.[69] The center faces Black Bay and is framed by hardwood forest. Cloaked in western red cedar, red oak, and granite, it represents "the culmination of my [architect Bob Quanbeck's] attempt to merge architecture with the environment."[70]

The opening included a surprise. Vic Davis, in another land dispute with the Park Service, "welcomed" the new visitor center by bulldozing a swathe of trees on an opposite bank of Rainy Lake, in full view of the visitor center. He erected another one of his voyageur statues, this one dubbed Big Louie, for Louis Riel, the resistance leader to Canadian control over the former Hudson's Bay Company area.[71] Berry later described the incident as "Vic having fun."[72] Davis presented Big Louie

[67] Dave Given, transcript of interview with the author, July 10, 2013, VNP Archives. Quotes on pp. 3-4.
[68] A description of the Rainy Lake Visitor Center exhibit area is in chapter eight. A description of construction of the visitor center is in chapter nine.
[69] Given, transcript of interview, 1. VNP, Annual Report, September 8, 1988, 1, VNP Archives. NPS, Press Release, August 4, 1988, 1, VNP Archives. Note: VNP released multiple Annual Reports for the years 1986-1988, making it difficult to cite them as a specific to a year. For this reason, I will identify these annual reports by the date they are submitted.
[70] Quanbeck, as quoted in VNP, Annual Report, February 29, 1988, 1, VNP Archives.
[71] The land dispute is chronicled in Vic Davis to Russell W. Berry, Jr., April 6, 1985, and attached Davis to Paul R. Kausch, Jr., April 5, 1985, VNP Archives. Larry M. Corcoran to Charles H. LeDuc, 22 February 1988, VNP Archives. Russell W. Berry, Jr. to James Kalstad, January 20, 1989, and attached US Department of the Interior (USDI) NPS, Analysis of the Environmental Assessment Worksheet for Wilderness Properties' Proposed Development within VNP, January 1989, VNP Archives. Davis wanted to build a condominium complex on land he owned within the boundaries of Voyageurs. VNP, Annual Report, February 29, 1988, 3.
[72] Berry, transcript of interview, 15.

as an indication of his larger plans. Koochiching County in 1985 granted Davis a permit to build log cabins, despite county regulations requiring a setback. By 1987, he had expanded his vision to construct 18 condominiums and a golf course on the 122-acre parcel he owned inside the national park's boundaries. This effort, like his previous one on Little Cranberry Island, was incompatible with the national park, and Davis took a settlement of $1.2 million for the federal government to purchase the land for the national park.[73]



Figure 14 The Rainy Lake Visitor Center opened in 1987, with exhibits that traced the history of transportation in northern Minnesota. NPS Photo

A two-lane road initially took visitors to the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. Berry called the road "tortuous" both vertically and horizontally, incapable of safely allowing vehicles to carry boats to the boat launch.[74] A year passed, and the site had a new road. This achievement prompted another dedication ceremony, tied with events at the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center and Kettle Falls. Interior Secretary Donald Hodel attended this August 1988 observance.[75]

[73] Voyageurs Region National Park Association (VRNPA), Newsletter, Fall 1988, 1, 6, VNP Archives. Jennifer Hunt to Harriet Lykken, January 10, 1990, File 1990 Meetings and Events, Box 2, VNPA Collection, Minnesota Historical Society.
[74] Berry, transcript of interview, 15.
[75] NPS, Press Release, August 4, 1988, 1.

Kettle Falls Hotel

The National Park Service completed a major rehabilitation of Kettle Falls Hotel during Superintendent Berry's administration. The Kettle Falls Hotel, built between 1910 and 1913, sits on the US-Canadian border on the eastern end of the Kabetogama Peninsula, where Namakan Lake flows into Rainy Lake. Two falls, Kettle Falls (US side) and Squirrel Falls (Canadian side), now dammed (see chapter one), form two channels from Namakan Lake around Kettle Island. The Canadian border is south of the US border at Kettle Falls. W.E. (Ed) Rose, a timber cruiser who assessed forests for their potential for lumbering, owned the original hotel, but local legend names Nellie Bly, a well-known madam, as the financier. The hotel benefited from logging and commercial fishing operations, but by the 1930s, the tourist trade proved the big draw.[76]



Figure 15 The park dismantled and rehabilitated the Kettle Falls Hotel, which re-opened for summer 1988. NPS Photo

People who either lived in the area or who had stayed at the hotel were devoted to the building and its service. Superintendent Tom Ritter remembered taking a trip to Kettle Falls one winter near the beginning of his term at Voyageurs. He later described what he saw as "a disaster. The building was collapsing, and there was a huge amount of problems with the infrastructure and the safety features." He and those with him--as he recalled ranger Joe Cayou and facility manager Lufbery-- expressed concern about putting large amounts of money into the hotel. At the next staff meeting, Ritter remembers saying that he was considering closing Kettle Falls. "Well, the meeting wasn't even over, and somebody within the room had gotten the word to the state historic society." Then Ritter started getting phone calls from elected officials, including Sen. David Durenbuger and Rep. Jim Oberstar,

[76] Shannon King, *Kettle Falls: Crossroads of History* (Jefferson National Parks Association, 2011), 9, 14-15, 22-23. Architectural Resources, Inc., Historic Structures Report: Kettle Falls Hotel and Associated Facilities VNP (NPS, April 1980), Introduction, VNP Archives.

each expressing the view that, as Ritter stated later, "it was a horrible thing if anybody plans to close Kettle Falls Hotel." That was the end of the conversation, according to Ritter.[77]

The L-shaped building, placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976,[78] is a two-story frame structure with gable roofs. White clapboards cover the plain exterior with double-hung sash windows. A one-story screened-in porch runs the length of the front (south face) with the hotel entrance roughly in the center of the porch. Two chimneys of buff-colored brick stand at either end of the hotel's wings. The hotel retained its original configuration, with two small additions (both dating from the 1960s) of a laundry on the east end and a bathroom on the north side. The original structure had on the first floor a kitchen, dining area, living room, bar, and storage rooms. The second story had 19 numbered guest rooms (minus #13) originally. The hotel had no indoor plumbing or electricity when first built. People used outdoor privies, and a well just outside the kitchen provided water. Employees cut ice in the winter to store in the ice house for warmer months. More than likely a water line and then plumbing came in the 1950s, with bathrooms following soon afterward. Kerosene and gas lamps provided the initial lighting for the hotel. Electricity, powered by an outdoor generator, came in 1918. The hotel began relying upon a diesel-powered power plant, located just northeast of the building, in the late 1940s.[79]

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the hotel is its wavy, sagging floors and resultant off-kilter windows and doors. The original foundation of large logs was placed on silty clay soil. Heavy rains would wash a kind of quicksand under the building, as one former owner remembered, which would then freeze in the winter and heave. The owners would cut out parts of the floor and dig out the sand. But these efforts could not halt the eventual sinking of the load-bearing walls, which dropped as much as five feet. The interior hardwood floors gently bowed over the years, and by the 1940s, the sloping floors came to remind guests of walking on a ship in rough seas. One upstairs hallway resembled a "hogs back" to some people, and the 20-foot barroom was one foot higher in the middle than along the edges of the floor. Windows came to resemble parallelograms instead of perfect rectangles, and doors had their corners cut off if they couldn't close on the roly-poly floors.[80] These floors were noted in the National Register nomination, which stated that "the result [of settling] has added an [*sic*] unique feature to the site which no one wants to change."[81]

The idiosyncratic look to the hotel helped guide the National Park Service (which purchased the hotel in 1978) in its full rehabilitation of the hotel, costing $1.2 million (which is $2.5 million in 2013 dollars, as a way to fully appreciate the cost). NPS concessions policy uses concessions contracts for necessary and appropriate visitor services that are held by the private sector. Due to the hotel's isolated location, its historic value, and its tradition of providing lodging, the Park Service decided that

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[77] J. Thomas Ritter, transcript of interview with the author, August 23, 2013, 44, VNP Archives. See also Memorandum, Randall Pope to Director, National Park Service, Attn: Tom Ritter, September 8, 1983, 1, VNP Archives.

[78] The nomination lists its areas of significance as commerce, industry, transportation, and recreation. See Kettle Falls Hotel, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, January 11, 1976, section 8, VNP Archives. The hotel was included in the nomination for the Kettle Falls Historic District, approved 1978. See Kettle Falls Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, July 17, 1978, VNP Archives.

[79] Architectural Resources, Inc., Kettle Falls Historic Structures Report (HSR), 2, 4, 42, 52, 55-56, 104, 177, 195. See also Mike Williams, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 16, 2013, 9, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1976, 2, VNP Archives.

[80] Ibid., 4, 22. King, *Kettle Falls*, 26.

[81] Kettle Falls Hotel, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, January 11, 1976, section 7, VNP Archives.

the hotel should be rehabilitated and then run by a concessioner. The hotel closed in 1986, work was completed in late 1987, and the hotel officially re-opened for the summer season in 1988. About 20 percent of the original hotel was saved in the rehabilitated building. The National Park Service kept the quirky feature of the barroom floor as a reminder of the hotel's previous charm.[82]

Kettle Falls' concessioners struggled despite these changes to the building and grounds. The Williams family had long owned and managed the hotel until they sold the hotel to the National Park Service. The family continued to operate the hotel through a concessions contract with Mike Williams until late 1982 and then with Mike's brother Chuck until 1990. The hotel was closed in 1991 due to the lack of a concessioner. A new concessioner took over and opened the hotel for winter use in 1993, but financial struggles challenged the hotel operation.[83] Rick Oveson currently holds the concessions contract for Kettle Falls Hotel.

Resources management

In 1984, Berry instituted some organizational changes in staffing. He put more emphasis on resources management by hiring Jim Benedict as the park's first Resource Management Specialist, to work under the Chief Ranger. Benedict started at the park in December 1984. Berry also changed the district structure, retaining the Rainy District and consolidating the remaining two, Ash and Sand Point, into a new Namakan District.[84]

Park staff addressed disturbed lands caused by a variety of circumstances. The State of Minnesota had donated lands to the federal government as an initial step in the park's establishment. Many of these tracts had been leased to individuals, and they had built cabins and other structures on those leased lands. The Voyageurs National Park enabling legislation allowed the Secretary of the Interior to grant those lessees continued occupancy for no more than 10 years after establishment, which was in 1975. In 1985, those state leases ended, and the park's staff began the process of returning those tracts to natural conditions.[85] The park offered the structures for sale. Staff then prepared a comprehensive rehabilitation plan for each site and determined removal actions. Part of this planning involved evaluation of sites for their archeological and historical values. For example, in July 1986, Resource Management Specialist Jim Benedict worked with Seasonal Naturalist Lee Grim, Maintenance Supervisor Leigh Evans and Maintenance Worker Steve Maass to develop a preliminary list of sites on parts of Rainy Lake and Kabetogama Lake. Midwest Archeologist Jeff Richner reviewed these sites for archeological significance. Benedict and Park Ranger Graves conducted research to determine the site's history and then consulted with the Midwest Regional Office and the Minnesota SHPO on significance if the sites had not already been evaluated. That same summer, the

[82] Memorandum, Berry to Assistant to the Regional Director for Public Affairs, Midwest Region, March 28, 1986, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, December 1, 1986, 3; February 29, 1988, 2; September 8, 1988, 1, VNP Archives.

[83] Mike Williams, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 16, 2013, 2, 24, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 6, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1993, 4, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1992, 7, VNP Archives.

[84] VNP, Annual Report, 1984, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 17, 1984; December 11, 1984, VNP Archives.

[85] Dwight Austin in 1985 had contested this 10-year limit, saying that he had been told by NPS that he would have 25 years in his cabin. April 9, 1985 Squad Meeting Minutes, VNP Archives. An attempt to have congressional action on the state-leased cabins failed, and cabin owners vacated by the end of September 1985. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 30, 1985, VNP Archives.

park used Koochiching County probationers and work study students, who donated 920 volunteer hours to clean up three of the sites. In 1986, a seasonal NPS employee oversaw county probation youth and volunteers in doing further abandoned cabin site cleanup.[86]

Park staff completed a series of plans to guide actions with respect to land and wildlife. The Human/Bear Management Plan, approved in 1986, was applauded by the Commissioner of the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources for "its detail and thoroughness."[87] An important first step in implementing this plan was placing bear-proof food storage lockers at lakecountry campsites. In 1986, Resource Management Specialist Benedict wrote and the park released for public input a Lakecountry and Backcountry Site Management Plan Environmental Assessment. This plan attracted some concerns from representatives of houseboat rental companies who worried about the number and location of houseboat mooring sites. When the park compared the sites Rainy Lake Houseboats recommended their customers use, these sites matched the ones identified in the draft plan. The final approved plan, signed April 8, 1988, had an expanded list of sites for development and management. Early implementation of the plan, in 1988, involved closing some sites to use, closing others to wood fires, and rehabilitating or constructing 10 campsites or day use sites.[88]

Benedict, with input from other members of the park's natural resources staff, drafted the Wildland Fire Management Plan. As part of the process of developing the plan, Benedict met with different governmental organizations, such as the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, MDNR, and the US Fish and Wildlife Service. The NPS Washington Office of Fire Management called the park's plan one of "the finest, most exemplary fire management plans" they had yet reviewed. Following public input and minor revisions, the Midwest Regional Office approved this plan in August 1987. This fire plan brought prescribed natural fire back to Voyageurs National Park, and the first implementation came in June 1988 when a lightning-struck fire at Bear Slide Creek on the Kabetogama Peninsula was allowed to burn until rain extinguished it.[89]

In collaboration with other organizations, park staff conducted research. Park personnel joined with the MDNR to study wolf numbers and distribution. In 1988, studies indicated 5-8 packs containing 32-41 total wolves utilizing the park. Park staff and the MDNR also worked with the University of Minnesota, the Welder Wildlife Foundation, the US Forest Service and the US Fish and Wildlife Service to study moose habitat quality and availability in the park. Between 1983 and 1987, park staff, notably Research Biologist Larry Kallemeyn, worked with researchers from five universities to assess the impacts of the regulated lake levels on wildlife and vegetation. In 1988, Kallemeyn completed a draft report that summarized the study results and developed and evaluated 11 alternative water regulatory systems. The park then began working with other authorized water users to select an alternative that is more ecologically sound and that also meets the needs of other users.[90]

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[86] VNP, Annual Report, February 19, 1987, 2; 1986, 2, VNP Archives. Squad Meeting Minutes, July 15, 1986, VNP Archives.
[87] VNP, Semi-annual Report to Congress, March 27, 1986, VNP Archives
[88] VNP, Annual Reports, 1985, 2; December 1, 1986, 2; February 29, 1988, 2; March 14, 1989, 3, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 15, 1986; September 2, 1986; September 9, 1986; May 19, 1987; July 7, 1987; April 12, 1988, VNP Archives.
[89] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 24, 1987; April 7, 1987; June 23, 1987 (quote from this set of minutes); June 30, 1987; June 21, 1988, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, February 29, 1988, 2, VNP Archives.
[90] VNP, Annual Reports, February 29, 1988, 2; September 8, 1988, 2; March 14, 1989, 2, VNP Archives. The water-level regulations issue is covered more completely in Chapter 7.

Cultural resources work continued during Berry's superintendency. In 1987, Berry responded to an Operations Evaluation from the Midwest Regional Office and appointed Mary Graves as Cultural Resources Specialist, re-instituting the position that had been eliminated in 1981. Graves had worked as a field archeologist with the Minnesota Historical Society and as the park's Museum Technician. She and other park staff worked in cooperation with Midwest Regional Office's history office, the Midwest Archeological Center, and the Denver Service Center to assess archeological sites and test new techniques to stabilize threatened sites. In March 1984, Mark Lynott and other archeological team members from the Midwest Archeological Center treated one of the park's most significant and most threatened sites at Clyde Creek. This technique showed promising initial results. Lynott, joined by Jeff Richner from the Midwest Archeological Center, used the same approach the following year at Sweetnose Island. These sites were threatened due to impacts from regulated water levels and corresponding eroding wave action.[91]

During the 1980s, four of the park's archeological sites gained listing on the National Register of Historic Places. One additional site, Height of Land, a portage site which is not in Voyageurs National Park but instead in Cook County in Superior National Forest, had been listed in 1974. In November 1985, Graves and Benedict reviewed the National Register nominations of the Clyde Creek and Sweetnose Island archeological sites, plus King Williams Narrows, and agreed that the park should support these nominations. The Clyde Creek site was named to the Register in December 1987 and King Williams Narrows in February 1988. Two unnamed archeological sites were listed in July 1988 and January 1989.[92]

The park's collections also received attention. A Collections Management Team from Washington and led by Ann Hitchcock visited the park and completed a comprehensive Collections Management Plan, approved in 1987. This plan guided collections care at the park until the collection was moved into the new headquarters building. Greg Byrne from Harpers Ferry Center conducted a collection condition survey in 1988, giving the park guidance on care of its objects, including the large number of metal artifacts related to logging that had been retrieved from the bottom of Hoist Bay.[93]

Visitor Services

Park staff developed a range of opportunities for visitors to enjoy and explore the park. In 1986, the interpretive division offered for the first time a North Canoe Adventure, in which visitors donned life jackets and paddled two 26-foot replicas of voyageurs' north canoes. The *Pride of Rainy Lake*, a 42-foot concession tour boat that could hold 49 passengers, dropped anchor in May 1987. This boat allowed visitors to enjoy the water but in complete comfort with a temperature-controlled cabin or outdoor viewing. To reach younger visitors, the park in 1988 contracted with the Minnesota Environmental Education Board (MEEB) to develop a curriculum for 4th-6th grade children. Assistant

[91] VNP, Annual Reports, 1984, 1; December 1, 1986, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 22, 1983; November 8, 1983; March 20, 1984; February 27, VNP Archives. VNP, Summary of Cultural Resources (CR) Program History, 2016, 3-5, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Midwest Region Historian Jill York to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Midwest Region, April 11, 1983, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Regional Historian, Midwest Region Jill York to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Midwest Region, August 10, 1983, VNP Archives.

[92] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, 1985; November 5, 1985, VNP Archives. National Register listings available online at the Minnesota Historical Society website and in VNP Archives.

[93] VNP, Annual Reports, December 1, 1986, 2; February 10, 1987, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Summary of CR Program History, 2016, 3-5, VNP Archives.

Chief of Interpretation Neil De Jong worked with MEEB to produce handbooks on Interpreting Biological Diversity, to be published and distributed Servicewide. Also in 1988, park interpreters offered an environmental education program, attended by 850 students, at the new Rainy Lake Visitor Center.[94]

Park staff and its cooperators reached out to the public in various ways. The park ran a logo contest in 1982 to represent the park to the public. The judges considered 23 entries and chose the one by Dick Weis of Ray, Minnesota. This logo, which the park used in its print materials, showed a bald eagle silhouetted against the sun while flying above a northern landscape of water, islands, and trees. In 1987, Lake States Interpretive Association produced a 56-page full-color book (done with $44,000 in grants) titled *Voyageurs National Park*. The book won an Award for Excellence at the Biennial Conference of National Cooperating Associations. In 1988, the local community promoted the park and its services in two ways. Twenty businesses in the International Falls area joined together under the nationwide Take Pride in America campaign and donated $6,500 to print 50,000 copies of a 12-page park newspaper. In addition, the International Falls *Daily Journal* published a 94-page special edition on the park in February 1988.[95]

The park had an unexpected change in its visitor services at Kabetogama Lake. In December 1986, the visitor center that had been housed in the triple-wide modular unit was destroyed by fire. The park obtained emergency funding from the Midwest Regional Office and worked closely with the contractor to have a new facility built within a year and a half. The park set up a temporary trailer as a visitor center for the intervening season until the new building was completed. The park's Building and Utilities Foreman Chris Case supervised the project. The new 2,850-square foot Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center opened in August 1988. The site also offered a triple-wide boat launch ramp and parking lot. Photographer Dr. Arnold Bolz donated about 40 photographs for the new exhibits. The park's interpretive staff was responsible for the initial exhibits as the emergency funding did not include exhibit money.[96]

Prior to the destruction of the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center modular unit, the park had worked with the MDNR on enhanced boat launching and parking at this site. This area had heavy visitor use, prompting this construction. Following cooperative meetings, the state agreed to plan and construct the boat-launching ramp and visitor parking area and to perform all dredging for the boat ramp use. The NPS agreed to build the breakwater extension, providing boaters with protection from northeast winds. Construction bids came in much higher than the state had anticipated, delaying the project by a year. Once the ramp and parking area were completed in July 1986, Berry commended the park's entire maintenance division for fulfilling the Park Service's obligations in addition to stepping in when the state's contract fell apart and providing routine maintenance, too.[97]

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[94] VNP, Annual Report, December 1, 1986, 1; February 29, 1988, 2; March 14, 1989, 5, VNP Archives.
[95] VNP, Annual Reports, 1985, 2; February 29, 1988, 2-3; March 14, 1989, 5, VNP Archives. Russ Berry to Valerie Ann Kraft, July 12, 1982, VNP Archives.
[96] VNP, Annual Reports, February 10, 1987, 2; September 8, 1988, 1; March 14, 1989, 4-5. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 8, 1988, VNP Archives. This modular unit had served as the park's headquarters facility until the headquarters moved to the Armstrong Ford dealership site. Memorandum, Acting Superintendent VNP to Regional Director, n.d. [early 1987], VNP Archives. Memorandum, Acting Superintendent Richard Frost to Regional Director, Midwest Region, February 6, 1987, VNP Archives.
[97] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 25, 1985; July 8, 1986, VNP Archives. Regional Administrator, MNDNR John Chell to Berry, May 30, 1985, VNP Archives. Berry to Chell, March 8, 1985; Chell to Berry, February 1, 1985, VNP Archives.

The park formalized its presence at Crane Lake when it opened the Crane Lake Ranger Station in 1987. The park's maintenance staff completed the renovation work of the original building, leased under a 10-year arrangement with Larry Olson. This building serves as a limited visitor contact station and housing for the Crane Lake ranger.[98]



Figure 16 The Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center was built 1983-1986 and opened in 1987. NPS Photo

Trail plan and wilderness

One of Russ Berry's final contributions to Voyageurs was development of a trail plan. Approved in April 1989, this plan sought to present alternatives to land-based summer and winter trail systems that formalized the intent of the park's 1980 master plan. The park reached out to the public both in gathering ideas for what types of trails people wanted and in measuring public reaction to different possible trail alternatives (winter and summer). The Park Service wanted trails in Voyageurs to have a variety of uses, not just for snowmobiling, but also for cross-country skiing, hiking, backpacking, canoe portaging, and nature viewing. Environmental assessments of possible impacts on natural and cultural resources, visitor use, and the local economy would determine trail locations and uses.[99]

[98] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 9, 1987, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Reports, December 1, 1986, 1, 3, VNP Archives. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 2016, 3, VNP Archives.
[99] VNP, Draft Trail Plan and Environmental Assessment (NPS, 1988), 7-9, 12, VNP Archives. This plan is labeled "draft" but this version is the final version as announced in letters and a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI). The NPS never printed a new cover. See also Memorandum, Rick [no last name] to Rep. Bruce [Vento], April 26, 1989, 1, File Resources MN, Resources VNP 1989-1994, Box 65, Bruce Vento Collection, Minnesota Historical Society (MHS).

Summer trails did not garner pronounced public attention. The plan called for a total of 94 miles of footpaths.[100] The vast majority of these (almost 73 miles) were for hikers, seven miles encompassed interpretive trails, five miles were designated handicapped accessible, and nine miles would be canoe portages. One new trail would cross an area of glaciated rock, with stunning views of the landscape, on its way to Lucille Lake in the vast land mass west of Sand Point Lake. Backpackers could utilize the 24-mile route to Cruiser Lake on the Kabetogama Peninsula while visitors to Kettle Falls Hotel could follow a new trail north of the falls.[101]

The winter trails, and specifically those meant for snowmobiles, induced public outcry. Cross-country skiers would have 32 miles to explore different areas of the park. Loop trails on the western end of the Kabetogama Peninsula would give residents of International Falls access. One ski trail, off the Ash River Trail, would travel to Nebraska Bay and require a cooperative agreement with the state for extending beyond park boundaries. Snowmobilers would have 47 miles, with 18 of those miles designated for safe portages around hazardous ice conditions. All of the snowmobile trails would be two-way except a new one which would cross the Kabetogama Peninsula, providing access to some interior lakes, forest environments, and the Kettle Falls Hotel, which was closed in the winter at the time this trail plan was released. The park planned to construct two parallel one-way trails, no more than 300 feet apart. They would curve and force snowmobilers to slow down and enjoy the scenery as opposed to travel at high speeds. Both cross-country ski and snowmobile trails were routed to avoid moose habitat in the southeastern portion of the Peninsula. The cross-peninsula overland trail would extend the snowmobile season because it did not rely upon favorable ice conditions for use. The overall goal was to provide a leisurely park experience that allowed skiers and snowmobilers access to the varied resources of the park.[102]

This cross-peninsula trail, in particular, enraged environmental groups. Jennifer Hunt Gelo remembers that this trail divided two wolf pack areas and infringed on a moose wintering ground. As early as the 1988 release of the draft trail plan, the Voyageurs Region National Park Association (VRNPA) sent its concerns to William Penn Mott, Jr., Director of the National Park Service. This letter focused upon the park's legislative history, arguing that Congress accepted snowmobiling as a possible use but had rejected language that it be required. The VRNPA also asserted that such a cross-peninsula snowmobile trail would sufficiently degrade the wilderness character of the area before full consideration of wilderness designation. This concern for wilderness designation, and the refusal of the Park Service to revise the draft plan to remove such a trail, resulted in the association's decision to take legal action against the agency.[103]

Russ Berry later remembered going to the VRNPA executive committee to work out an agreement about the trail plan. He knew that state officials and local residents wanted a snowmobile trail down the center of the peninsula. He also knew that the environmental organizations strongly opposed such a trail. He wanted to move past the stalemate. So, as Berry remembered later, he met

[100] Later planning documents (such as the Wilderness Recommendation and the General Management Plan) provided for fewer summer trails than those proposed in the Trail Plan.
[101] VNP, Draft Trail Plan, 1988, 30.
[102] VNP, Draft Trail Plan, 1988, 20.
[103] Jennifer Gelo, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 17, 2013, 11, VNP Archives. A. David Kelly to William Penn Mott, Jr., September 9, 1988, 1, VNP Archives. Memorandum, VRNPA to William Penn Mott, Jr., 9 September 9, 1988, 1-2, VNP Archives. Minutes, VRNPA Board Meeting, October 5, 1988, 2, File Meetings 1987-1989, Box 2, VNPA Collection, MHS. Minutes, Executive Committee Meeting, April 12, 1990, 1, File 1989 and 1990 Executive Committee, Box 2, VNPA Collection, MHS.

privately with the VRNPA leadership and promised that, if the association did not block the trail plan from being released, he would not do anything to build or maintain such a snowmobile trail until such time as the courts had adjudicated the case. He fully expected and wanted the association to sue, but he needed to break the stalemate by having the trail plan move forward (the Park Service had worked nearly four years on the trail plan). Berry recalls that he asked the regional director to back up the promise, that whoever replaced Berry, that person would also honor the agreement.[104]

The sources do not say directly that Berry made this deal with VRNPA. Jennifer Hunt Gelo, who served as Executive Director, does not mention it in her oral history interview of the events. But, documents do hint that there was at least an understanding that there would be time before the cross-peninsula snowmobile trail was built, and the association worked on that presumption. A February 1989 notice of two executive committee meetings states that the second meeting would focus on the trail plan. "The National Park Service indicated, off the record," Gelo wrote in the meeting notice, "that some changes may be made to their preferred alternative trail plan that would reduce snowmobile miles. . . . They also indicated they could give VRNPA time to work for reauthorization of a wilderness study for VNP [Voyageurs National Park] before they implement the final trail plan."[105] At a May 1989 VRNPA Board meeting, Director Harriet Lykken reported that she had met with Berry and Midwest Regional Director Don Castleberry about the trail plan. Lykken stated that it would take about three years for the development of the trail plan, suggesting that the association had that time to proceed to fight the cross-peninsula trail.[106] When VRNPA directors first met Superintendent Ben Clary, who replaced Russ Berry in September 1989, they asked Clary about the implementation of the trail plan. A press release had made statements that "agree[d] with comments made by past superintendent, Russ Berry, but he had not made them in writing." The directors were reassured that it would take two to three years for the park to get funding for the new trail, reinforcing that the association would have the needed time to sue the government before any actions might be taken that would potentially keep the Kabetogama Peninsula from being designated official wilderness.[107]

In fall 1989, the association joined forces with six other groups, including the National Parks and Conservation Association, to sue the Department of the Interior. They argued that the National Park Service had to complete its legally obligated wilderness study and halt snowmobiling on the Kabetogama Peninsula until such wilderness determination was made. The court ordered the Interior Department to make a wilderness recommendation to the President, but the court refused to stop snowmobiling in any area of the park. VRNPA and its six co-plaintiffs appealed and lost their appeal

[104] Berry, transcript of interview, 10. During the interview, Berry refers to the wilderness designation, not the trail plan, as the issue that he sought to end the stalemate over. He later noted that he really meant the trail plan. See Russ Berry, email message to author, September 17, 2013, Berry oral history interview file, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Rick [no last name] to Bruce [Vento], April 26, 1989, 1, File Resources Minnesota Resource VNP 1989-1994, Box 65, Bruce Vento Collection, MHS.
[105] Memorandum, Jennifer Hunt to VRNPA Executive Committee, February 20, 1989, File Meetings 1987-1989, Box 2, VNPA Collection, MHS.
[106] Minutes, VRNPA Board Meeting, May 6, 1989, 1, File 1989 and 1990 Executive Committee Meetings, Box 2, VNPA Collection, MHS.
[107] Minutes, VRNPA Executive Committee Meeting, October 11, 1979, 4, File Meetings 1987-1989, Box 2, VNPA Collection, MHS.

on enjoining snowmobiling on the peninsula. In the meantime, the Park Service did begin the process of completing another wilderness study.[108]

Assessment of Berry's superintendency

When Russ Berry left Voyageurs National Park in 1989 to become superintendent of Denali National Park and Preserve, Alaska, Sen. Durenberger submitted a good-bye statement in the *Congressional Record*. Durenberger did not mince words when admitting that Berry "has been the person in the hot seat" these past several years, dealing with people watching over his shoulders. But, Durenberger noted, that "is where he excels. Russ painstakingly worked with concerned citizens to reach consensus." In the end, the Senator argued that Berry "left the park better than when he found it," and his accomplishments with the trail plans, Rainy Lake Visitor Center, and Kettle Falls Hotel rehabilitation "will be secured for generations to come. We will miss him."[109]

Berry gained such admiration because he was willing to address areas of contention by reaching out to people. He brought in Dick Frost to handle the park's day-to-day operations so that Berry was free to deal with exterior park issues. In the smallest ways, Berry advocated for the park within the larger community. Park biologist Larry Kallemeyn recalled that when the state DNR was putting up barriers to collect fish for a research project, Berry gave Kallemeyn solid reinforcement, saying that Kallemeyn would be doing the research whether the state helped or not. Kallemeyn recognized that the state fisheries agents did not want the park to veer into what the state considered to be their own area of expertise. Berry's support meant that Kallemeyn would continue with his work no matter what, and with time, as Kallemeyn started interacting with the state agents more (because they went out with Kallemeyn when he collected fish), the barriers slowly wore down, and real collaboration began. Kallemeyn "really appreciated the help" from Berry at that crucial first step in his ongoing fish research studies.[110]

Maintenance chief Raoul Lufbery remembered that Berry was "always cool, calm, and collect[ed]." Even in the most stressful situations, Lufbery rarely saw Berry get upset. This composure impressed Lufbery, and he readily adopted it for himself. Lufbery stated later that in his own work, people "may not be happy with this [situation]," but he would work with others to "find the solution, and we'll get it done, and we'll do it to a good standard." Lufbery admitted that "Russ instilled that in me," and for that he was appreciative of Berry's time at the park. Such composure from both Lufbery and Berry aided interactions across many aspects of the park's dealings with others in the community.[111]

Berry himself relished the challenges at Voyageurs. He described his job as being a "political officer." He liked to play in the traffic, which was his way of describing the jumble of issues, people, and places that required attention at Voyageurs. Berry admitted that "I enjoy that type of 'Let's get something done, there's adversity, I'll deal with the adversity.'" He not only enjoyed such adversity, he accomplished a lot within those difficult scenarios. When the MDNR tried to keep trapping in Black Bay, he worked within his agency and the Department of the Interior to address the situation as he could, but he also went outside to the VRNPA to encourage that organization to fight the state's

[108] VRNPA v. Manual Lujan, 966 F.2d 424 (1992). Memorandum, Jennifer Hunt to VRNPA Board of Directors, October 8, 1990, 3, File 1990 Meetings and Events, Box 2, VNPA, MHS. See chapter five for more on this topic.
[109] Cong. Rec. S5740 (May 18, 1989) (Statement of Sen. Durenberger).
[110] Larry Kallemeyn, transcript of oral history interview with the author, July 19, 2013, 6, VNP Archives.
[111] Raoul Lufbery, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 15, VNP Archives.

attempt. With the winter trail plan, he repeated this approach. He went as far as he could with the Park Service and then went to the VRNPA, asking it to let the trail plan move forward with the understanding that no trails would be built immediately. That would give the conservation organizations time to take legal action to force the Park Service to complete the wilderness study. But in the meantime, the park would be able to move beyond the trail plan. Berry liked being the traffic cop, the political officer, who helped keep different lines of traffic going without crashing into each other. And, as Sen. Durenberger saw it, Berry was good at that job.[112]

[112] Berry, transcript of interview, 19.

Chapter Five

Ben Clary 1989-1995

Ben Clary arrived at Voyageurs National Park in September 1989, as Russ Berry headed up to Denali National Park, Alaska. Clary was a Texan who had started with the Park Service as a civil engineer in San Francisco. He moved into park management as chief of maintenance and served at Padre Island National Seashore, Texas, and Great Smoky Mountain National Park, Tennessee and North Carolina, before transferring to the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha, Nebraska. Before his assignment at Voyageurs, he had served as assistant superintendent at Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming. Clary brought a people-focused attention to the park.[1] He later stated that "The goal that I was trying, to bring the various groups together, the so-called environmentalists, I guess you would call them, and local people who had lived there all their lives and still enjoy the area." This effort especially related to the snowmobiling issue.[2] Biologist Lee Grim remembered that "Ben was a very gentle man. He maintained things here and worked on getting some funding."[3]

Clary arrived during a labor riot in International Falls, an indication of the stress within the community. This stress came from a string of events. In 1984, Boise Cascade decided to close its Insulite plant, which had produced home insulation at International Falls for 70 years. At its peak in 1978, the Insulite mill employed 1,000 workers. But the national recession and accompanying housing crisis had significantly reduced demand, and a fire had caused $750,000 worth of damage to the plant. Another stress came in 1985 when the company at International Falls had implemented a contract that called for more flexibility in work assignments and productivity. Several of the mill's unions complained to the National Labor Relations Board, arguing that Boise had unilaterally changed contract terms. But, Boise required such flexibility in anticipation of making significant capital improvement expenditures. In 1988, the mill negotiated a new contract with its unions, paying union members back pay and bonuses to gain their approval.[4]

The situation between union workers and company representatives worsened. Boise had decided to undertake a major expansion of its Falls plant, to increase efficiency with a new machine for

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[1] NPS Press Release, Benton Clary Named Superintendent of Voyageurs National Park, August 2, 1989, VNP Archives. Ben Clary, transcript of oral history interview with the author, September 17, 2013, 1, VNP Archives.
[2]Clary, transcript of interview, 2.
[3] Lee Grim, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 13, 2013, 34, VNP Archives.
[4] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 12, 1989, VNP Archives. Bill Beck, *The Mill at the Falls: 100 Years of Papermaking on the Border* (International Falls: North Star Publishing, 2010), 226-32, 240.

producing uncoated white paper. But, Boise selected a non-union general contractor for this $525-million plant expansion. In July 1989, 150 construction workers walked off the site. In late August, busloads of protesters from the Iron Ranges of Minnesota and Michigan's Upper Peninsula arrived. Then on September 9, a mob of 200 protesters broke through security forces and a chain link fence and set fire to the mobile home park that housed many of the general contractor's out-of-town workers. Courts determined that most of the rioters came from the Iron Ranges, but Falls union representatives had not tried to stop them, according to newspaper reports. The new plant, called I-1 (International Falls One), started up in November 1990, promising a new period of economic stability for the local community.[5]

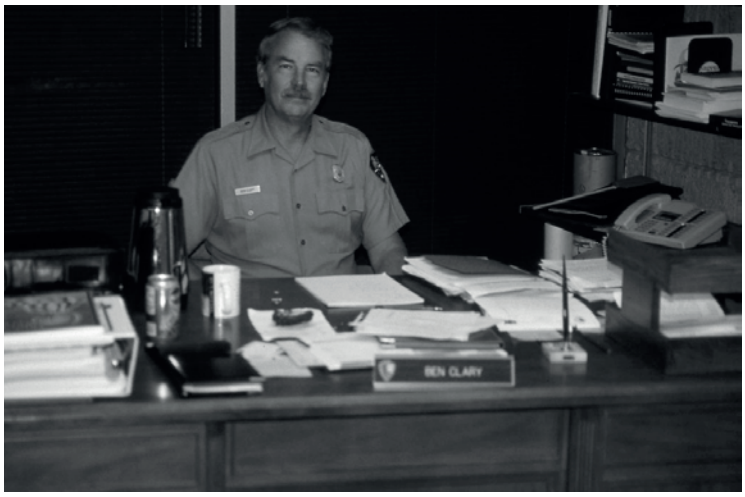


Figure 17 Superintendent Ben Clary (1989-1995) and his staff worked hard to build connections with the local community. NPS Photo

Trail plan/wilderness study completed

Clary entered another contentious environment with the park's trail plan and wilderness study. As Russ Berry left and Clary took over the park, the Voyageurs Region National Park Association in April 1989 joined with six other organizations and filed legal action to require that the Park Service complete a wilderness study. The suit also sought the requirement to enjoin the Park Service from allowing snowmobiling and establishing permanent and temporary trails on the Kabetogama Peninsula for such activity until completion of the wilderness study. The NPS Director issued a "Waiver of Policy for the Voyageurs National Park Trail Plan," which recognized that implementation of the Trail Plan would require a waiver of both the snowmobile and wilderness provisions of the NPS Management Policies.[6] The Park Service determined that waiver of such policies was appropriate, referring to the Voyageurs National Park enabling legislation, which stated that when "planning for development of the park, [the agency may] include appropriate provisions for (1) winter sports, including the use of snowmobiles."[7] In addition, the Park Service stated that the snowmobile trails

[5]Beck, *Mill at the Falls*, 234, 240-45.
[6] VRNPA v. Manual Lujan, 966 F.2d 424 (1992).
[7] VNP legislation, P.L. 91-661, January 8, 1991, Sec. 303.

would not be hard surfaced and would require only minimal clearing and signage, thus allowing the park to remove any trail vestiges if Congress designated the area as wilderness.[8]

The courts ultimately supported the Park Service's actions. As the legal case initiated by VRNPA proceeded through the system, the Park Service on January 30, 1991 issued a regulation, 36 C.F.R. § 7.33(b) 1991,[9] authorizing snowmobiling on certain lakes and trails (including the Kabetogama Peninsula) within the park. Special regulations for snowmobiling and aircraft had started before Clary's superintendency, but implementation of them occurred during his time at the park. These regulations were necessary to turn the park's legislation from "may" into actual use of these vehicles. On April 15, 1991, the district court ordered the Secretary of the Interior to make his/her wilderness recommendation to the President within a year of the date of the order (making the court-ordered deadline April 15, 1992). The court refused to enjoin snowmobiling in the park, referring directly to the park's legislation and stating that the Park Service's action did not violate the Wilderness Act of 1964, nor was it arbitrary and capricious with respect to regulating snowmobiling in the park. The VRNPA and the other six organizations in December 1991 appealed the decision not to enjoin snowmobiling in the park, and the appellate court on June 10, 1992 upheld the district court ruling.[10]

Even before the district court's ruling, the National Park Service recognized that the park needed to make a wilderness recommendation to Congress. The park's enabling legislation and the boundary change legislation required such action. Clary, working with the Midwest Regional Office, determined by July 1990 that the park would update the 1983 Wilderness Recommendation and EIS and include the alignment for the winter preferred alignment. This would become the new draft wilderness proposal for public consideration. The NPS wilderness study team, which included staff from the Denver Service Center and the park, first gathered in December 1990. Two months later, in February 1991, the park sent out a public newsletter on the revised wilderness recommendation and EIS, asking for public input on the alternatives.[11]

This revised draft wilderness study and environmental impact statement included six alternatives. They ranged from no wilderness designation (existing conditions) to park-wide wilderness of all lands suitable for such designation (with subsequent removal of all motorized use in wilderness areas except when needed for existing winter portages). The preferred alternative recommended park-wide wilderness with a one-way snowmobile trail on the Chain of Lakes Trail on the Kabetogama Peninsula. This trail had become the default snowmobile trail under the 1989 trail plan until the park obtained the needed funds and permitting authority to build the proposed cross-peninsula trail.[12]

This 1991 draft wilderness study garnered public comments that largely settled on two alternatives. One group of responses favored retaining the Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail and managing the park as is without formal wilderness designation. The other group of public comments preferred formal wilderness designation and removal of the Chain of Lakes trail. These opposing views were represented prominently by the Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park (CCVNP) and the Voyageurs Region National Park Association (VRNPA), respectively. A contentious

[8] VRNPA v. Manual Lujan, 966 F.2d 424 (1992).
[9] This regulation included snowmobiles and aircraft.
[10] VRNPA v. Manual Lujan, 966 F.2d 424 (1992). VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 23, 1991, VNP Archives. Senior Historian, Midwest Regional Office Ron Cockrell to the author, June 5, 2015, 4, VNP Archives.
[11] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 3, 1990; December 18, 1990; February 26, 1991, VNP Archives.
[12] VNP, Revised Draft Environmental Impact Statement for a Wilderness Recommendation, 1991, iii-vii, VNP Archives. Ben Clary to Eugene O'Brien, February 23, 1990, VNP Archives.

environment developed between these two camps. Clary attended a meeting of the Kabetogama Lake Association in September 1991, where he had "his first public roasting since arriving at Voyageurs." Association members said that they saw no need for any wilderness designation within the park.[13] This antagonism, however, did not transfer to the public meetings held in the fall of 1991. At the meeting held at the Rainy River Community College in International Falls, 230 people attended, with 50 giving testimony. Speakers were allowed to make their statements "without disruption from the audience," a scenario that had not characterized some past public meetings.[14]

This civil attitude as presented in the public meetings did not mean that people supported the park's preferred alternative. Of the 115 people who testified at the three public meetings, 102 spoke against wilderness. The park also received 1,333 written responses against wilderness, in comparison to 224 for wilderness and only two supporting the park's preferred alternative. The park identified two points needing elaboration in the final EIS, the economic impact of a wilderness designation and noise on wilderness values.[15]

In October 1991, the Citizen's Council explored devising a new alternative by bringing together the national park superintendent and representatives from the CCVNP and VRNPA. A subsequent meeting found some areas of common ground between the two groups, but none of these dealt directly with the contested issue at hand. Two major points needed to be addressed through compromise, namely no formal wilderness and no motorized use on the peninsula. In December 1991, two representatives from each group reached such a compromise, which would eliminate the Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail in exchange for no wilderness designation, and signed a proposed agreement.[16]

Their work quickly went for naught. The VRNPA voted in early January 1992 to support the compromise, but the CCVNP at its January 18, 1992 meeting voted to reject the wilderness compromise. The council instead voted to support the efforts of the Stewardship Alliance for Voyageurs National Park, a newly formed grass-roots organization. The Stewardship Alliance proposed that the national park be managed as a multi-faceted facility for the enjoyment of all people using environmentally sound research as a guide. This approach aligned with the central tenets of the Wise Use movement, which advocated for the reduction of government regulations on publicly held lands. The movement was a loose-knit coalition of various groups which promoted private and public uses of public lands and saw human use of lands as good stewardship.[17] Clary had attended in late December 1991 the first meeting of the Stewardship Alliance, where he "did a lot of listening (two hours) to a litany of mistakes supposedly performed by park management."[18]

The district court, upheld by the appellate court, had set a one-year deadline for submitting a wilderness recommendation to Congress. This date, April 15, 1992, drove NPS action. The park finalized the wilderness study in May 1992, recommending park-wide wilderness designation and a Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail. Director of the National Park Service James M. Ridenour forwarded

[13] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 24, 1991, VNP Archives.
[14] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 8, 1991, VNP Archives.
[15] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, November 26, 1991, VNP Archives.
[16] Benton Clary to Milton Knoll, January 17, 1992, VNP Archives. Superintendent to Files, n.d. [c. October 1991], VNP Archives. Proposed Agreement, Preferred Alternative—Wilderness Study VNP, December 1991, VNP Archives.
[17] Karen Briese to Ben Clary, May 20, 1992, and attached Stewardship Alliance for VNP, draft Vision for VNP and Adjacent Areas, May 13, 1992, VNP Archives. Minutes, CCVNP Meeting, January 18, 1992, 2, VNP Archives. David Helvarg, *The War Against the Greens: The "Wise-Use" Movement, the New Right, and the Browning of America* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 2004), 45-46.
[18] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 6, 1992, VNP Archives.

this study to the Interior Department, and Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, Jr., presented it to President Bill Clinton in July 1992. This act by the Interior Secretary fulfilled the requirements of the Wilderness Act and the court order. Clinton in early 1994 sent the wilderness proposal back to the Department of the Interior for further evaluation, and the study remains there, having had no congressional review. The primary interest expressed by the Office of the President in the wilderness proposal, according to the park's 1993 annual report, was in the Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail.[19]

Snowmobiling

A short history of national parks and snowmobiling helps to understand the events at Voyageurs. The early 1960s saw the introduction of snowmobiles to an American public ready to embrace this new form of winter recreation. Yellowstone National Park became one area that attracted snowmobilers in increasing numbers. Winter visitation in the park grew substantially in the 1960s and early 1970s, in large part due to snowmobiles. When park managers sought guidance on how to address this new sport, they only had at the time Mission 66 policies which encouraged use across the spectrum. The Park Service, though, did not have the benefit of hindsight to know the snowmobile's eventual popularity and the associated concerns about its use. NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. in 1968 amplified support for snowmobiles, saying such winter use should be encouraged.[20]

President Richard Nixon in 1972 issued an Executive Order to curb such off-road use as snowmobiles.[21] Nixon had previously signed into law the National Environmental Policy Act, and his executive order thus served as a further attempt to promote environmental stewardship. He directed that off-road vehicles be managed so as to protect resources and diminish conflicts with land users. Park managers had to consider wildlife, noise, and compaction of vegetation when developing plans for off-road vehicle use. The NPS answered this directive by adopting a "closed unless specifically opened" approach. Many national parks, such as Grand Canyon, Yosemite, and Glacier, used the off-road vehicles executive order as a guide for addressing snowmobiles. They outright banned snowmobiles to protect resources. Other parks placed varied levels of restrictions on snowmobiles, such as restricting use to certain trails. Voyageurs, Rocky Mountain, and Grand Teton National Parks eventually joined Yellowstone in significant snowmobile usage. President Jimmy Carter in 1977 strengthened Nixon's executive order[22] by requiring federal land managers to close trails and areas that showed adverse effects from off-road usage. The National Park Service's response was a policy that endorsed the utility of off-road vehicles as a mode of transportation as opposed to their recreational value. Snowmobiles allowed access to natural features without plowing roads. Plowing left the roads vulnerable to extreme temperatures and scarring. Road salting, which followed plowing, left native vegetation vulnerable. Plowing also encouraged motorists traveling the nation's highways to include

[19] Benton Clary to David Durenberger, January 22, 1992, 2, VNP Archives. Manual Lujan to The President, July 22, 1992, VNP Archives. Memorandum, James Stewart to Regional Director, Midwest Regional Office, September 4, 1992, and attached Record of Decision, File 9 September 1992 ROD, VNP Archives. James Oberstar to Bruce Babbitt, November 29, 1993, 1, VNP Archives. Briefing Statement, Midwest Regional Office to Director, March 19, 1997, 2, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1993, 19, VNP Archives.
[20] Michael J. Yochim, *Yellowstone and the Snowmobile: Locking Horns over National Park Use* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009), 54-59, 62. Mission 66, from 1956 to 1966, was a park development program that sought protection of park resources while also accommodating increased usage in the post-World War II days.
[21] This was E.O. 11644, Use of Off-Road Vehicles on Public Lands, February 8, 1972.
[22] This was E.O. 11989, Off-Road Vehicles on Public Lands, May 24, 1977.

Yellowstone in their travels, opening up the national park to an order of magnitude of visitation that could overwhelm park resources during an already fragile seasonal period.[23]

Yellowstone struggled with developing a policy toward snowmobiles. Its original open door policy meant that merchants just outside its boundaries began to depend upon the winter tourism dollars that snowmobiling was increasingly providing. These businesses resisted any attempts to restrict snowmobiles in the park, and they used political connections to reinforce their positions. But, park superintendents and environmental groups recognized the costs of snowmobiles. They were loud to the point that park rangers could hear one five miles away. Their exhausts released enough pollution that when large numbers of snowmobiles congregated, winter air inversions would leave a blue pall of bad-smelling air. Some irresponsible snowmobilers harassed wildlife, increasing their winter hardship.[24]

Yellowstone managers finally had researchers conduct the park's first studies on snowmobiles. A report released in 1989 identified existing winter use management guidelines and needs. This report made clear that snowmobiling ate up time, effort, and limited funding at the expense of summer visitation. More studies informed the subsequent Visitor Use Management Plan, released in 1999. But this plan also polarized the groups that wished to ban snowmobiles, leaving the study ineffective in moving the national park toward resolution of the issue. A lawsuit by the Fund for Animals forced the park to conduct its first snowmobile-focused Environmental Impact Statement. This EIS led the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), in its mandated review of the draft EIS, to declare that snowmobiles had adversely affected the park's natural and aesthetic values. In response, the EPA in 1999 declared its support for a total ban of the machines. The NPS regional director confirmed this ban in her Record of Decision in 2000. At this point, the snowmobiling issue in Yellowstone became a political hot-potato, with the George W. Bush administration in 2001 opposed to such a ban and the courts deciding that the Park Service had violated the National Environmental Policy Act in numerous ways with its snowmobiling policies. Not until 2013 did Yellowstone managers find a promising compromise to the snowmobiling issue, reached through deliberations with snowmobile groups and environmental organizations.[25]

This short history makes clear that the snowmobiling issue in Voyageurs did not take place in a vacuum. The National Park Service had first embraced the winter sport and then reluctantly tried to place limits upon it. This effort came too late with respect to the entrenched popularity and economic benefit snowmobiling offered. Snowmobiling in Voyageurs came in the middle of this story. Park managers did not have a clear-cut example for moving forward, and so they struggled to develop policies, as witnessed with the Trail Plan. One significant concern related to endangered species, and this is where more challenges emerged.

Wolves and bald eagles

More controversy erupted when the US Fish and Wildlife Service released in February 1992 its biological opinion in response to the Voyageurs draft wilderness recommendation and EIS. This opinion compelled the Park Service to add to its wilderness study restricted use areas originally

[23] Ibid., 62, 77-78, 81, 93. Quote on p. 77.
[24] Ibid., 73, 76, 89, 95-107, 115.
[25] Ibid., 95, 121, 126-27, 142-43, 147, 156-57, 164-69. Ruffin Prevost, "Planners, Public Optimistic about Path Forward on Yellowstone Winter-Use Plan," *Yellowstone Quarterly* (Winter 2013): 2-5.

identified in the Voyageurs National Park 1989 trail plan.[26] Wolf research in the park had suggested that repeated disruptions of wolf activity and subsequent dispersal could result in a "cumulatively significant effect, particularly during periods of stress caused by severe weather or reduced prey availability."[27] Restrictions on snowmobiling in areas of concentrated wolf activity would thus seem a "reasonable and prudent measure," according to the biological opinion, for ensuring protection of wolves.[28]

In late December 1992, Voyageurs National Park established wildlife protection zones for the first time in the park. These zones closed 17 areas, including 16 bays and designated shorelines, from winter mechanized use and dogsleds. These protection zones were located on the park's four major lakes and were established, in consultation with the US Fish and Wildlife Service, to minimize harm to the threatened gray wolf.[29] The Park Service took these steps to meet the requirements of the Fish and Wildlife Service's 1992 biological opinion.[30] The Fish and Wildlife Service, was responsible for overseeing the protection of threatened and endangered species.

Research on snowmobiles and wildlife had produced mixed results over the years. At Yellowstone, 1970s studies showed that groomed roads for snowmobiles altered bison distribution, an unnatural effect that the park's bison ecologist labeled as an unacceptable influence. Subsequent studies in the 1980s looked at individual wildlife displacement versus population movements and found that cross-country skiers caused more displacement than snowmobilers. Yellowstone researchers did not study the impact of snowmobiles on wolves because wolves did not exist in Yellowstone after the 1930s until their reintroduction in 1995.[31]

The Fish and Wildlife Service's 1992 biological opinion also addressed bald eagles, another federally listed threatened species in Minnesota. The opinion required establishment of restricted use areas for active breeding areas, roost sites, and foraging areas within Voyageurs. These restricted areas were to be established by February 15 each year or when eagles returned to their breeding spots, whichever came first. The Fish and Wildlife Service took this stance in response to studies that showed

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[26] The draft trail plan and environmental assessment, released in November 1988, was approved April 27, 1989 with issuance of the FONSI (Finding of No Significant Impact). Public meetings had been held in January 1989 in International Falls and St. Paul. The 1988 draft trail plan became the approved trail plan without changes and without publication of a new cover.

[27] VNP, 1989 Trail Plan, as quoted in Biological Opinion, Section 7 Consultation, US Fish and Wildlife Service, February 28, 1992, 13, attached to US Fish and Wildlife North Central Region Acting Regional Director John R. Eadie to NPS Midwest Regional Director Donald H. Castleberry, March 4, 1992, VNP Archives. See also Memorandum, Rick [no last name] to Bruce [Vento], April 26, 1989, 1, File Resources MN Resources VNP 1989-1994, Box 65, Bruce Vento Collection, Minnesota Historical Society.

[28] Quote from Biological Opinion, 1992, 7. References to VNP research on wolves include VNP, Draft Trail Plan, 1988, 51. VNP, Revised Draft EIS for a Wilderness Recommendation, 1991, 122. Possible Impacts on Wildlife from the Proposed Trail Systems in Voyageurs, Research Section, March 1989, 2, attached to Sam Marler to Donald Castleberry, February 16, 1994, VNP Archives.

[29] NPS Press Release, VNP Announces Wildlife Protection Zones, December 21, 1992, VNP Archives. These closures equaled 6,451 acres of the total 73,000 acres available for snowmobiling. See Memorandum, Benton Clary to Files, VNP, February 24, 1994, 2, VNP Archives. Peter J. P. Gogan, et al., Gray Wolves in and adjacent to VNP, Minnesota: Research and Synthesis 1987-1991, Technical Report NPS/MWR/NRTR/2004-01 (NPS, 2004), 11-13, 33-35. James Schaberl, Preliminary Review of Activity in Wildlife Protection Areas (WPA), VNP, 1996-1997 Season, 3, VNP Archives.

[30] The biological opinion is a document that states the opinion of the US Fish and Wildlife Service as to whether or not a federal action is likely to jeopardize the continued existence of listed species or result in the destruction or adverse modification of critical habitat.

[31] Yochim, *Yellowstone and the Snowmobile*, 116-17.

human harassment and habitat degradation, especially from pesticides and mercury, had resulted in lower breeding success in the national park than in adjacent forested areas. With both the wolf and the bald eagle, the Fish and Wildlife Service also required collection of field data for at least four years to determine if further actions should be taken.[32]

Members of the public reacted intensely to this 1992 biological opinion. Most people accepted the steps required to protect the bald eagle,[33] and the park had already implemented the closures on an annual basis. Some local residents near the park and their elected officials, however, vigorously opposed the snowmobile restrictions for the gray wolf. Rep. Oberstar wrote to the Fish and Wildlife Service in April 1992 that "the bulk of the scientific community agrees that snowmobiling does not adversely impact wolves." He called the steps ordered by the Wildlife Service as "purely bureaucratic and counter-productive" that "further antagonize Park users—who have already voluntarily cooperated" with snowmobiling restrictions. Oberstar stated that "nearly every wolf in the contiguous United States ranges in my congressional district" and studies had shown that its population had grown from 500 in 1974 to more than 1,500 in 1990, a number that exceeded the Wildlife Service's recovery targets. He called for the agency to review and reconsider its "ill-timed, unjustified demand."[34] The Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park echoed Oberstar's indignation at the biological opinion. The CCVNP expressed its "strong opposition" to the restrictions on snowmobile use, calling them "unjustified" due to "scientific data [that] does not support this action." The Council requested review and withdrawal of the regulation.[35] On the other side, the "soap opera continue[d]," as the VRNPA gave notice that it intended to sue the Park Service if it did not implement the Wildlife Service's preference for Alternatives 4 or 6 as the NPS wilderness recommendation.[36]

Superintendent Ben Clary questioned the Fish and Wildlife Service's opinion with respect to the gray wolf. He wrote to Midwest Regional Director Donald H. Castleberry in May 1992 that the Wildlife Service admitted the proposed action for the Voyageurs wilderness study (which would designate maximum wilderness with a Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail) "is not likely to jeopardize the continued existence of the gray wolf population in Minnesota." Shorelines under the wilderness study would not be changed or altered, thus the biological opinion would have a "no-jeopardy" impact on wolves. Clary worked with representatives from the Denver Service Center, the Midwest Regional Office and the Department of the Interior to draft a response to the Wildlife Service's opinion, hoping for a compromise. The Wildlife Service responded that its opinion was "not negotiable."[37] Further meetings with NPS officials indicated that everyone was "uncomfortable" with the closures but that the park would comply.[38] The regional chief scientist and the region itself had already decided to

[32] Biological Opinion, 1992, 8-11, 13-14.
[33] USFWS Biological Opinion, February 28, as found in US Fish and Wildlife Service North Central Region Acting Regional Director John R. Eadie to NPS Midwest Region Regional Director Donald H. Castleberry, March 4, 1992. NPS, *Final Environmental Impact Statement, Voyageurs National Park*, 1992, Appendix E.
[34] James Oberstar to John Turner, April 30, 1992, VNP Archives.
[35] Quote from Milton Knoll, Jr. to John Turner, May 5, 1992, 1, VNP Archives. For examples of research that did not find significant effects of snowmobiling on wolves, see L. David Mech to Russell Berry, Jr., April 29, 1987, VNP Archives. Rolf Peterson to Russell W. Berry, Jr., May 13, 1987, 3, VNP Archives. See also a collection of statements by wolf researchers that provides positive and negative concerns about snowmobiles and wolves, "Snowmobiles versus Wolves," *International Wolf* (Spring 1992): 7-10.
[36] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 24, 1992, VNP Archives.
[37] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 21, 1992, VNP Archives.
[38] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 29, 1992, VNP Archives.

implement the restrictions. But Clary emphasized that "we should question the opinion" even as the park moved forward with the plan.[39]

Clary also made clear that the park had no discretionary funds to fully realize a research program or enforce the snowmobile restrictions. He stated that the park could only support using one seasonal employee for interpretation and one seasonal biologist for resource management to address requirements of the biological opinion. One permanent employee oversaw the park's trail program, and volunteers and the Student Conservation Association and Minnesota Conservation Corps completed trail maintenance. The park had no funds for a wildlife ecologist position, and Wildlife Biologist Peter Gogan had transferred to Yellowstone in February 1992. Just to conduct a cumulative impact study of the gray wolf would cost the park an estimated $750,000[40] over the required four-year period. A bald eagle study would take an additional amount. He urged that implementation of the biological opinion should be outside of the park's budgetary base, leaving intact the "most significant needs" of Voyageurs, namely research, resources management, and operations.[41]

Ninety percent of frozen lake surfaces would be open under the new restrictions, but three individuals, led by Duluth resident Jeffrey Mausolf, and the Minnesota United Snowmobilers Association filed suit in January 1994 against the federal government. They argued that the biological opinion did not justify closing what they considered to be so much of the park and that the Park Service had acted without giving notice or inviting public comments. The snowmobilers thus called the government's action arbitrary and capricious. They also disputed the scientific research upon which the Fish and Wildlife Service had based its order. In January 1996, after Clary had left Voyageurs in February 1995, the US District Court granted the snowmobilers' motion for summary judgment and agreed that the government's explanation for the imposed restrictions was inadequate under the Endangered Species Act. The court directed the Park Service and Fish and Wildlife Service to augment their defense. In the meantime, the court ordered the lifting of restrictions on the frozen lakes.[42]

Land Acquisition

The park made steady but small gains in acquiring tracts. The park's Land Protection Plan guided these transactions.[43] In 1989, the park acquired 289 acres (10 tracts) for $1,983,200. Two of these included Cemetery Island, and Harry Oveson's fish camp on Lost Bay. One of those tracts was the 122 acres owned by Vic Davis of Wilderness Properties, Inc. Davis had threatened to build condominiums and a golf course on this land across from the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. Davis and the

[39] Memorandum, Benton Clary to Regional Director, Midwest Region, May 15, 1992, 2, VNP Archives. Clary does not specify in his memorandum if the chief regional scientist is for the NPS or the USFWS. If from NPS, that person would have been Regional Chief Scientist Ron Hiebert.
[40] $1.2 million in 2013, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI Inflation Calculator, providing a way to translate the immensity of the 1992 expense.
[41] Ibid., 2-3. Quote on p. 3. See also Overview—Orientation, n.d. [1991], Issues Summary section, VNP Archives.
[42] Press Release, VNP Announces Wildlife Protection Zones, December 21, 1992, 1. Jeffrey Mausolf v. Bruce Babbitt, 85 F.3d 1295 (8th Circuit, 1996). Briefing Statement for Regional Director William Schenk, June 2, 1998, 2, VNP Archives. NPS Press Release, VNP Opens Restricted Use Areas, January 26, 1996, VNP Archives.
[43] The Land Protection Plan was approved in 1984, updated in 1987 and 1989, and then substantially revised in 1991. Copies of these plans are available in the VNP Archives.

Park Service settled, with the federal government purchasing Davis' Black Bay Estates for $1.2 million.[44]

In the 1990s, more land came into the park. In 1990, the park acquired 51 acres (three tracts) for $275,000. In 1991, the park acquired almost 22 acres (two tracts) for $150,000. In 1992, the park acquired one 38-acre tract through condemnation for resource protection values. The park likewise acquired one 2.5-acre tract from a willing seller. The park also had to address the actions of Dr. Thomas Leach, who wanted the government to condemn and buy his land. The park had no direct land acquisition funds at the time, and the appraisals between the government and that of Leach were so far apart, according to the park's Squad Meeting Minutes, that the case would certainly go to court to determine fair market value. Clary and his staff estimated that the land would cost $3 million. In January 1992, Leach clear-cut portions of his property on Sand Point and Namakan Lakes. The Park Service decided not to react but did stay in touch with St. Louis County and the State so that they could ensure enforcement of applicable laws and regulations. Another contested property situation occurred in 1993 with Bruce LaVigne threatening to build a cabin near the east end of Kempton Channel.[45]

Collaborations

During Ben Clary's time as superintendent, there were many instances of collaborating with the local community. Clary and his staff distinguished themselves by trying to find common areas of action. For example, in anticipation of the 100th anniversary of the Rainy Lake Gold Rush of 1893, park staff worked with the local community to develop programming. Cultural Resource Specialist Mary Graves and Rainy District Naturalist/Environmental Education Specialist Carol Borneman served on the International Falls gold rush planning committee to coordinate events held by the park and by the city. Some organizations, however, refused to participate in the event due to a misperception that the park was hosting the event. This 100th anniversary planning was going on at the same that the Park Service was completing the work on its wilderness recommendation and when the US Fish and Wildlife Service had issued its biological opinion requiring closure of bays from snowmobiling. Chamber of Commerce executive director Shawn Mason tried to address this confusion and animosity by going on the radio and speaking personally with people that this celebration was an opportunity for the park and community to work together.[46] Graves and Borneman demonstrated their commitment to the process by attending multiple planning meetings and actively participating in many key aspects of the event planning.[47]

These efforts at collaboration proved successful, with the city developing its own ten-day celebration, called Gold Bug Jimmy's Jamboree,[48] in conjunction with events hosted by the National Park Service. The Koochiching Development Authority donated $20,000 for construction projects, in spite of the City of International Falls' request that the KDA withdraw its support for the park. Other critical funding came from the Lake States Interpretive Association ($8,000 for waysides), important

[44] VNP, Annual Report, 1989, 6, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 20, 1989; August 22, 1989; January 9, 1990, VNP Archives.
[45] VNP, Annual Report, 1990, 7; 1991, 8; 1992, 6; 1993, 21. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 6, 1992; January 14, 1992; April 5, 1994. The maintenance division removed the cabin following condemnation in 1997. See VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 11, 1996; February 11, 1997, VNP Archives.
[46] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 16, 1993, VNP Archives.
[47] VNP, Squad Meeting Summary, 1993, 10, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1992, 7, VNP Archives.
[48] Planners used the nickname of James Dunn, Gold Bug Jimmy, who was one of many colorful people who came to look for gold. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 7, 1992, VNP Archives.

park proponent and former governor Elmer Andersen ($5,500 for book publishing), and cyclic funding and fee account funds from NPS (total $100,000 for dock reconstruction and other activities). The park made accessible two gold mine sites on Little American Island, offered trips on the *Pride of Rainy Lake* tour boat, and provided interpretive waysides. The park's maintenance staff also developed trails on the island. Graves wrote the majority of the 27 articles published in a weekly series in the *Daily Journal* to inform the public about the history of gold-mining in Rainy Lake. Lake States Interpretive Association produced a centennial book about the gold rush. City planners decided to make this event an annual one and, in a demonstration of partnership with the park, invited Graves to chair it and Borneman to serve on the committee.[49]

Another example of cooperation related remarkably to snowmobiles. Though snowmobiling in the park's Kabetogama Peninsula had become contentious during Clary's superintendency, there did exist possibilities for positive relations with park staff in other areas of the park. The park negotiated agreements with three snowmobile groups to groom all snowmobile trails in the Namakan District. The park and the clubs discussed snowmobile trails, and the three clubs stated at one point, in fall 1993, that they wanted a groomed trail on Rainy Lake, even if it at the expense of the Chain of Lakes Trail on the Kabetogama Peninsula. The club grooming saved the park about $30,000 and measurably improved snowmobile trail standards.[50]

More cooperative activities indicated the park's efforts to reach beyond its boundaries. The park initiated a candlelight ski to link with the annual International Falls Ice Box celebration. The ski involved a one-mile beginner's loop lighted with luminaries. In 1991, the park assisted Koochiching County in building a shelter for the Tilson Bay Ski Trail on Rainy Lake. For Rainy River Community College's Elder Hostel program, the park developed a custom Rainy Lake Cruise, a special evening program about the historical voyageurs, and a nighttime trip on the *Pride of Rainy Lake* tour boat to observe stars. The year before the gold rush articles in the *Daily Journal*, the park's Chief Naturalist Bill Gardiner in 1992 worked closely with the local newspaper. The park's new poster photograph, showing an aerial view, was published on the front page of a special edition, called "Taking Care of Our Environment." Several in-depth articles about the park could be found inside this special issue.[51]

The park, in cooperation with local communities, worked to build tourism. In April 1989, at the Edge of Wilderness conference, the Crane Lake community, with park staff in attendance, discussed ways to establish an image, facilitate cooperation within the area, talk more to land management agencies, and develop a wide range of activities beyond fishing. In May 1987, the Minnesota Travel Information Center opened in, but was not operated by the City of Orr. When the state closed it, the City of Orr assumed its operation. The park participated through a cooperative agreement, contributing annual funds in exchange for space to provide information. The park set up temporary exhibits and had a large map of the park placed in the center's lobby, as examples of what educational activities it supported at the center.[52]

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[49] VNP, Squad Meeting Summary, 1993, 9-10, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 16, 1992; July 14, 1992; April 20, 1993, July 6, 1993, VNP Archives.
[50] VNP, Annual Report, 1993, 14, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 19, 1993; January 11, 1994, VNP Archives.
[51] VNP, Annual Report, 1990, 5; 1992, 4; 1993, 16, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes Summary, 1991, 9-10, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 22, 1990, VNP Archives.
[52] VNP, Annual Report, February 29, 1988, 3; 1989, 6, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 16, 1991; January 17, 1995, VNP Archives.

State of Minnesota

The relationship between the park and the field office of the state's Department of Natural Resources changed in a positive way during Clary's time at the park. Research Biologist Larry Kallemeyn[53] facilitated this connection. As noted in previous chapters, the state had initially not issued Kallemeyn a permit to conduct fisheries research to assert its authority over water management. With time during Berry's superintendency, the state recognized the benefits of working together with the park to conduct aquatics research. This collaborative relationship grew during Clary's superintendency. In February 1989, for example, Kallemeyn participated in the state's annual fisheries training program, which "provided [him] with a good opportunity to interact both formally and informally" with the state fisheries staff.[54] In October 1990, in "another significant first," the state asked Kallemeyn to comment on the state's annual lake management plans for the four large lakes in the park. The park's Squad Meeting Minutes note that "the park really needs to make the most of [this opportunity]." While the state continued to believe "very strongly that they have ultimate authority and responsibility" for fisheries management in the park, "they are now at least willing to listen to our concerns."[55]

More promising connections developed. In 1992, Kallemeyn attended for the first time the Minnesota and Ontario Border Lakes Technical Committee annual meeting. The park had for several years tried to get involved, because parts of Rainy and Namakan Lakes sat inside park boundaries, but the state DNR had refused to support that involvement. The park and the state DNR found several areas of cooperation as a result of this meeting. In January 1993, following a meeting at the park, the state expressed interest in similar cooperative meetings so that the park could become more involved in the park's fisheries.[56]

Tensions still remained, however. In February 1993, at the state DNR's annual fisheries training program, Kallemeyn attempted to present a park collecting permit application to the head of the state's fisheries research section for a project they were planning to do at the park. The state representative refused to accept the permit application, asserting that the state had authority for fisheries management in park waters.[57] When Kallemeyn went in 1993 to the annual meeting of the Border Waters Technical Committee, a year after his first attendance, he found that the other participating agencies "seem to be having a difficult time understanding how the park fits into the picture," even though Rainy, Namakan, and Sand Point lakes all bordered Ontario and were part of the park.[58] The park and the MDNR had signed a cooperative agreement in May 1989, and later they had discussed a Memorandum of Understanding. The park and MDNR signed a General Agreement in 2006, which was renewed in 2011. The park also drafted a 30-year Memorandum of Agreement with

[53] Kallemeyn's position changed while working at the park. He was an NPS employee of Voyageurs National Park until 1993 when research scientists throughout all Department of the Interior bureaus were assigned to the short-lived National Biological Survey, subsequently renamed National Biological Service (NBS, 1993-1996). In October 1996, all NBS research scientists were shifted into the newly-formed U.S. Geological Survey-Biological Resources Division (USGS-BRD). Kallemeyn remained duty-stationed at Voyageurs under both assignments and his Voyageurs-based scientific research is pivotal to understanding the park's history.
[54] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 28, 1989, VNP Archives.
[55] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 9, 1990, VNP Archives.
[56] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 7, 1992; January 13, 1993, VNP Archives.
[57] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 16, 1993, VNP Archives.
[58] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 13, 1993, VNP Archives.

MDNR, Division of Fish and Wildlife, Section of Fisheries in 2008 for management of fisheries and aquatic resources, but the agreement has never been signed.[59]

Another point of tension involved state lease lands. The MDNR argued in 1989 that the Park Service owed the state rent for lands leased to the United States prior to conveying them to the park in 1987. This dispute revolved around the park's 1983 boundary legislation, which added 18.45 acres of state land at the Kabetogama Forestry Station for a new visitor center and added about 120 acres of state land for extending from the Ash River Trail. This road intersected with the road, NPS-1, leading to the Ash River Visitor Center. The Office of the Solicitor, Department of the Interior, determined that NPS did not owe any money, but the state put a moratorium on new leases or renewals to Voyageurs National Park. The state would not renew the park's lease for the radio tower at Island View. The state ordered the park to remove all equipment in the tower by November 20, 1989, or else the state would declare the property abandoned and dispose of it. The state eased up on the removal of equipment request, and also allowed the Park Service to use the tower for visibility monitoring by June 1990, but the state continued to argue that someone had to pay for the lease of the lands during the time it took legislation to execute the transfer. The land in dispute was West Kabetogama and the realignment of the Ash River Trail, which was school trust land. The amount in question totaled more than $10,000. In June 1990, Minnesota Attorney General Hubert Humphrey III sent a letter to NPS Director Manuel Lujan offering an approach for addressing this situation. Upon realignment of the Ash River Trail, the five to six acres that fell south of the road would revert back to the state because the park would no longer need that land. The newly realigned Ash River Trail would become the park's southern boundary only at Ash River (as opposed to the entire park).[60]

Water-level regulation

A successful and long-running collaboration, involving many different organizations from all levels of government, plus private groups and individuals, involved studying and making recommendations for adjusting the rule curves.[61] Rule curves determine water levels in Rainy and Namakan reservoirs. Namakan Reservoir includes Kabetogama, Namakan, Sand Point, Crane, and Little Vermillion lakes. The International Joint Commission (IJC), an independent agency with representatives from the United States and Canada, was established under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 and works to prevent boundary disputes. A hydroelectric dam on the Rainy River at International Falls and Fort Frances and two dams at Kettle Falls, Ontario, control water levels, in accordance with the rule curves established by the IJC. Boise, Inc. on the American side and H2O Power LP on the Canadian side own these dams. The IJC has set minimum and maximum discharges to avoid emergency conditions that would cause extensive flooding or significantly reduced capacity for power generation.[62]

The rule curves, which had been most recently set in 1970, largely favored, as determined by extensive scientific study by Voyageurs National Park staff, power generation as opposed to ecological

[59]VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 23, 1989; March 15, 1994; December 2, 1999, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Ron Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 8, VNP Archives.
[60] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, November 14, 1989; November 21, 1989; June 26, 1990; June 26, 1990, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1985, 2; 1987, 3. P.L. 97-405, An Act to Revise the Boundary of VNP and for Other Purposes, January 8, 1983, 96 Stat. 2028.
[61] The resources management aspects of the water regulation research are covered in Chapter 7.
[62] Boise, History of Watershed, https://www.boisepaper.com/boise/about-boise-paper/watershed-borderland-lakes/watershed-history, accessed May 21, 2015.

circumstances. Some examples help illustrate. Larry Kallemeyn, who led the park's research on northern pike and other species, found that the winter drawdowns left the vegetation where pike preferred to spawn high and dry and thus left the pike with nowhere to go. Loons, the Minnesota state bird, oftentimes had their nests flooded out due to the timing of when lake levels were brought up in the summer.[63]

Kallemeyn joined an international lake level steering committee, established in 1991, to review the existing rule curves and make recommendations to the IJC. Four representatives each from Canada and the United States worked closely together on alternatives for IJC review. The groups included the Minnesota DNR, the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, and the Rainy Lake/Namakan Reservoir Water Levels Steering Committee.[64] Various groups commented upon alternatives, including the Lac La Croix Band in Ontario, Boise Cascade, the Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park, and the Rainy Lake International Fisheries Task Group. The CCVNP passed a resolution to lobby for support of the proposed rule curves. The organization reached out to the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Minnesota congressional delegation, State of Minnesota, Province of Ontario, and each respective resource management agency to gain support.[65]

Building on significant public input, the international lake level steering committee submitted in 1993 its alternatives to the IJC. This report included a preferred alternative which, in the eyes of the steering committee, balanced environmental and economic considerations. The IJC referred the report to the Rainy Lake Board of Control, which worked under the auspices of the IJC to oversee the management of water levels at Rainy and Namakan lakes. This Board of Control evaluated the alternatives and recommended in 1999 to the IJC a revised rule curve, based upon the steering committee's report. The IJC agreed with this recommendation and put forth a revised rule curve, with the stipulation that continued studies be pursued for an evaluation in 2015. The park's active collaboration with the other members of the steering committee, plus its cooperative research efforts with the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, proved essential to the effort to have the IJC revise the rule curve.[66]

Visitor services

Voyageurs National Park celebrated some special milestones during Clary's time at the park. The National Park Service celebrated its 75th anniversary and the park celebrated its 20th anniversary of its authorization. Former governor Elmer Andersen, who had been the leading local proponent of the park, gave the keynote address for the joint celebration. The park's *Rendezvous* newspaper had a lead story on the 75th anniversary, and the park developed interpretive programs to highlight the park anniversary. In 1995, the park celebrated its 20th anniversary of establishment with an open house. Geographic Information Specialist Sam Lammi impressed visitors with a presentation, plus there were displays by Fire Management Officer Steve Jakala and another on resource management in the park.[67]

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[63] Larry Kallemeyn, transcript of interview with the author, July 19, 2013, 12, VNP Archives.
[64] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 25, 1992; March 31, 1992, VNP Archives.
[65] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 5, 1992; May 4, 1993; May 25, 1993; June 28, 1994, VNP Archives.
[66] VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 5, 7, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1993, 12, VNP Archives. Kallemeyn, transcript of interview, 8-9.
[67] VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 6, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 4, 1991; May 30, 1995, VNP Archives.

The Kettle Falls Hotel underwent some changes with respect to concessions operation and services for guests. Chuck Williams had taken over the concession contract from his brother Mike in late 1982. Chuck served as concessioner through the significant construction work for the hotel, completed in two phases and another half-completed phase. Phase I, which went from 1986 to the end of 1987, involved a full rehabilitation of the historic hotel. Begun in 1988, Phase II involved construction of satellite housing for up to 40 guests (three guest villas) and a dorm for up to 16 concession employees. Phase II ½, completed in September 1990 by park day-labor, involved construction of trails, docks, boat launching ramp, comfort station, maintenance building, and service road.[68]

New concessioners began to run the hotel. In late 1991, Chuck Williams ended his operation and sold his assets in 1992 to DARJO, Inc., owned by Darrell and Joan Knutson. Williams had not opened the hotel in 1991 because he did not want to operate again at a loss. The hotel remained closed the 1991 season. The Knutsons opened the hotel in summer 1992 and then again during winter 1993, a first for that concession. Poor weather conditions during the summer and lack of adequate publicity for the winter opening resulted in marginal financial success. The Knutsons terminated their concessions contract in September 1995.[69]

The Volunteers-In-Parks program connected volunteers to all park divisions, providing critical help. In 1979, Congress had passed the enabling legislation for the VIP program, formalizing how volunteers might help in all of the national parks. The numbers of volunteers across the park system grew from 855 (1971) to more than 112,000 (1998). Volunteer hours exploded, from 197,213 (1971) to just over 4 million hours (1998). As an example at Voyageurs National Park, in fiscal year 1993, 77 volunteers donated 13,581 hours of service. These volunteers included Maurice and Bea Parkin, who returned for their 8th summer as volunteer voyageurs. They were a critical component of the north canoe interpretive program in the Rainy District. Max and Alice Smith returned in 1993 for a third summer at the Ash River Visitor Center.[70]

Various organizations supported the park financially during Clary's superintendency. The Take Pride in America program, started under Secretary of the Interior Donald Hodel, provided another vehicle, in addition to the VIP program, for connecting volunteers with national parks and other federal agencies. At Voyageurs National Park, local businesses donated funds to allow printing of the park's *Rendezvous* newspaper. This support continued throughout Clary's time at the park, and Chief Naturalist Bill Gardiner was noted in the Squad Meeting Minutes for his work in helping to make the program so successful. The North American Indian Fellowship Center also donated to the park. In 1990, these funds helped staff a visitor center, purchase exhibits, and employ a maintenance worker. In 1991, another donation supported hiring an Ojibwe to work on trails, two Ojibwe youth to clean abandoned cabin sites, money to assist the park's Environmental Education program, and money to help print the *Rendezvous*.[71]

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[68] Additional information about Kettle Falls is found in Chapters 4 and 9. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, December 7, 1982; February 2, 1988; June 6, 1989, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, March 14, 1988, 4; 1989, 4, VNP Archives.

[69] VNP, Annual Reports, 1991, 8; 1992, 7; 1993, 4; Calendar Year 1994 and Fiscal Year 1995, 7, VNP Archives.

[70] VNP, Annual Report, 1993, 16-17, VNP Archives. History of NPS Volunteers-In-Parks Program, http://www.slideshare.net/jmp0966/history-of-vipprog09-5799913, accessed June 28, 2016.

[71] VNP, Annual Reports, 1988, 5; 1990, 7; 1991, 8; 1992, 7; 1993, 15; CY 1994 and FY 1995, 11, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 22, 1990, VNP Archives.

Assessment of Clary's superintendency

Clary led Voyageurs National Park during an increasingly tight fiscal situation. When the US Fish and Wildlife Service imposed the bay closures for studying the effects of snowmobiles on wolves, Clary made it clear that the park did not have the funding to complete such research. Aquatics Biologist Kallemeyn had years when he lacked sufficient funding for his research.[72]

Beyond research, though, key park divisions experienced financial challenges. Clary wrote in the 1991 annual report that "the park would not be operational" if not for critical project funding, vacancies, donations, and volunteers.[73] Volunteers made it possible to keep one visitor center open, for example, which had been closed for two years due to funding shortfalls. College workstudy students, Student Conservation Association park assistants, and senior citizen volunteers helped in the early 1990s with staffing the visitor centers and conducting naturalist-guided activities.[74]

Staffing issues had an impact. As another example from 1991, Clary reported that a critical funding shortage and then transfer of two permanent law enforcement rangers left the Division of Resource Management and Visitor Protection operating "well below standard."[75] In 1992, the park hired Chuck Remus as the Namakan District Ranger, but the park could not afford to hire any seasonals that year, leading Clary to write in the annual report that the entire division operated well below standards. The Administrative Officer position remained lapsed for an extended period,[76] beginning in 1990, leaving the staff in that division to rotate into that position for six weeks at a time. That staff person was responsible for the Administrative Officer duties in addition to his/her own. Administrative Officer Cathy Losher reported to park headquarters in September 1993 and stayed until 1998, providing some measure of stability. Despite these lapses, though, Clary used cross-training to build morale and increase employee career development.[77]

Ben Clary worked to build collaborative relationships between the National Park Service and the local communities, but his efforts largely went for naught due to public outrage over the closing of the lake bays in accordance with the US Fish and Wildlife Service's 1992 biological opinion. Clary questioned this biological opinion on gray wolves and bald eagles, arguing that the USFWS's report had admitted that closure of the bays likely would not jeopardize these two species. He even flew to Washington, DC, to try to negotiate an agreement on a revised action plan, but the USFWS stated that its decision was not negotiable.[78]

Maintenance chief Raoul Lufbery emphasized Clary's interest in working with people. Lufbery stated that Clary "really wanted to hear what people had to think." But, Lufbery noted, Clary "wanted to know your side more than he wanted to explain his side to get an understanding" which led some people, according to Lufbery, to "then misread that as him…not giving it his full attention; but he really was."[79] Jennifer Hunt Gelo, who served as Executive Director of the Voyageurs Region National Park Association during the time of Clary's superintendency, stated later that Clary (and Russ

[72] VNP, Annual Reports, 1989, 3; 1992, 3, VNP Archives.
[73] VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 1, VNP Archives.
[74] VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 6-7; 1992, 5, VNP Archives.
[75] VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 8-9. Quote on p. 8.
[76] Dorothy Anderson left in 1990. Lowell T. (Tom) Back served 1991-1992.
[77] VNP, Annual Report, 1990, 2; 1991, 2; 1992, 6; 1993, 1; CY 1994-FY 1995, 5, VNP Archives.
[78] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes Summary, 1992, 1, VNP Archives.
[79] Raoul Lufbery, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 15, VNP Archives.

Berry) "deliberately got involved with their churches, with the Chamber of Commerce, with Rotary, and really tried to put a positive spin on their residence in the International Falls area."[80]

Clary also built connections within the staff. According to Law Enforcement Ranger Joe Cayou, "the staff, he [Clary] brought them all together."[81] Clary remembered that the park had many areas to clear out, with old cabins that had been acquired. "The whole park staff," according to Clary, "would go out and spend a couple days cleaning up building sites and old dump sites." This effort helped build a sense of common purpose within the park's staff.[82] Having the staff work together in pursuit of common goals would help after Clary left, and the park faced one of its greatest challenges. Rep. James Oberstar submitted legislation to de-authorize Voyageurs of its national park status. Superintendent Barb West relied upon this staff camaraderie to address this threat.

[80] Jennifer Gelo, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 17, 2013, 15, VNP Archives.
[81] Joe Cayou, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 16, VNP Archives.
[82] Clary, transcript of interview, 5.

Chapter Six

Barbara West 1995-2005

Barbara "Barb" West focused upon resource protection during her tenure at Voyageurs National Park from 1995 to 2005. She came from a diverse work background with public policy as the common thread. Her expertise shifted from American Indian programs and coal issues to mining. With the National Park Service, she moved into air quality and then water resources. She had a one-year detail at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona with its natural resources division, then West headed to Washington, DC, to work on such policy matters as overflights in Everglades National Park, Florida. It was there in Washington that she was introduced to Voyageurs National Park, and when she heard of the superintendency opening, she applied and got the job. It was her first superintendency. She was excited about the opportunity, though she admitted later that folks in Washington "knew more than I did" about the difficult challenges she would face.[1]

West stated later that the opposition she faced came in part from the larger economic forces of the region. Boise Cascade had just expanded and put into operation the I-1 paper machine, leading to fairly secure times for the local population. "You [local members of the community] could only attack the park when times were good," West said. "When times were bad, [locals would say], 'We need to do something about this because our future depends on this.'" She remembered that the International Falls Chamber of Commerce treated the park "appallingly" during her time at the park.[2] Bill Beck, author of the centennial history of the International Falls papermaking mill, wrote that the mill moved into the new millennium as one of the most productive uncoated free sheet paper mills in the world, with a daily capacity of about 1,500 tons of paper, two-thirds of which the I-1 machine produced.[3] West quickly noted that her personality may also have contributed to the tension between the park and the local community, but she argued that "these large forces really had a lot to do with it."[4] She believed that poor economic conditions during the time Kate Miller served as superintendent, immediately following West, aided park attempts to build positive relations with International Falls.

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[1] Barbara West, transcript of oral history interview with the author, June 10, 2013, 1-8, VNP Archives. Quote on p. 8.
[2] West, transcript of interview, 15.
[3] Bill Beck, *The Mill at the Falls: 100 Years of Papermaking on the Border* (International Falls, MN: Northstar Publishing, 2010), 274.
[4] West, transcript of interview, 15.

Previous chapters have discussed the state of the mill and its economic impact in relationship to the park, and West's characterization has some substance.



Figure 18 Superintendent Barb West (1995-2005) focused upon protecting the park's resources, including wolves and bald eagles. NPS Photo

With West's departure, the International Falls mill underwent tremendous change, and uncertainty.[5] In late July 2004, Boise Cascade announced its intention to sell all of its pulp and paper business to Madison Dearborn Partners LLC (MDP), a Chicago-based private equities firm active in the increasingly common mergers and acquisitions worldwide marketplace. Boise Cascade had recently acquired OfficeMax, the office supply chain, but the new OfficeMax held a $175 million investment in the MDP acquisition, which MDP named Boise Cascade LLC. Mill historian Beck wrote that operationally, in 2004, the MDP acquisition led to almost no changes at the Falls mill. But, more changes came with Boise Cascade LLC selling 2.2 million acres of timberland, including in Minnesota. Then, in 2007, MDP took Boise Cascade LLC private. In October 2007, MDP split Boise Cascade LLC in half, with the five pulp and paper mills sold to private-equity firm Aldabra 2 Acquisition Corp., a Chicago-based firm formed to undertake this acquisition. Aldabra 2 named the new incarnation Boise Paper Company, but in spring 2008, Aldabra 2 changed this name to Boise Inc. and filed for an initial public offering (IPO). Boise Cascade Holdings LLC, the parent of Boise Cascade LLC, finished the IPO with about 49 percent of the ownership of the new publicly held company, Boise Inc. By this

[5] See the Epilogue for more information about the park during the superintendencies of Kate Miller and Mike Ward.

time, the United States experienced the Great Recession, the worst economic situation since the 1929 Great Depression. Boise Inc. had come out of the IPO on the New York Stock Exchange with an $18 share price, but by 2009, with worsened economic conditions, that share price dropped to well below $1. Boise Inc. gained some ground with the nation's 2009 recovery, but the ups and downs of the previous five years may have contributed to the positive relationship Kate Miller and then Mike Ward fostered with the city. In any case, West and the park confronted many hostile situations during her ten years at the park.[6]

Under legislative fire

Preparation for four Voyageurs-specific congressional hearings between 1995 and 1996 consumed the attention of Barb West and the park staff. The hearings became a kind of baptism by fire for the new superintendent. First, the House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Lands of the Committee on Resources jointly held a field hearing on August 18, 1995 with the Senate Subcommittee on Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources in International Falls. Second, the House subcommittee alone held a hearing on October 28, 1995 in St. Paul. Neither of these hearings addressed a specific piece of legislation but rather collected public remarks regarding the management of these two federal areas.

Congress held the other two hearings a year later in Washington, DC. Rep. James Oberstar (D-MN) introduced HR 3298 Voyageurs National Park Intergovernmental Council Act of 1996 on April 23, 1996. The House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Lands held a hearing on this bill, plus two others, on July 16, 1996. These two other bills were HR 3297 (To Provide for Improved Access to and Use of Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness, and for Other Purposes, introduced by Oberstar) and HR 3470 [Minnesota National Treasures Conservation and Protection Act of 1996,[7] introduced by Rep. Bruce Vento (D-MN)]. Sen. Rod Grams (R-MN) introduced the companion bill to HR 3298, S. 1805 Voyageurs National Park Accessibility and Partnership Act of 1996 on May 23, 1996. The Senate Subcommittee on Parks, Preservation, and Recreation held a hearing on this bill on July 18, 1966. None of these bills moved forward beyond the subcommittee hearings.[8]

A combination of factors prompted the introduction of these bills and decision to hold these hearings, especially the field hearings. Many local community members and their elected officials had expressed continued alarm about the snowmobile restrictions on certain frozen lake bays to study the effects of these vehicles on wolves. Plus, the recommendation for wilderness designation raised the alarm about more limitations on recreational activities. Combined with constraints on floatplane landings within the park and other checks on resource use, many local residents felt hemmed in by the park's management. State Senators and Representatives wrote US Senator Rod Grams in March 1995 to "strongly urge" appropriate Senate and House congressional committees to hold field hearings in Minnesota to discuss possible management alternatives for both Voyageurs and Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness, another federally managed area with contested resource controls.[9]

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[6] Beck, *Mill at the Falls*, 280-85.
[7] HR 3470 would have declared the lands and waters of the Kabetogama Peninsula as Voyageurs National Park Wilderness, in furtherance of the purposes of the Wilderness Act.
[8] All details about US Congress bills is available on Congress.gov, searchable by bill number, title, and year
[9] Douglas J. Johnson et. al to Senator Rod Grams, March 30, 1995, VNP Archives. Quote on p. 2.

This call for field hearings came at the same time as many congressional actions with relevance to Voyageurs National Park. Rep. Joel Hefley (R-CO) introduced[10] the National Park System Reform Act (HR 260) in January 1995, with one of its goals being to appoint an 11-member National Park System Review Commission. This commission would have the responsibility to review a required management plan presented by the Secretary of the Interior. The Secretary's management review would specifically involve compiling a potential list of areas, except those areas designated as National Parks, that might be modified or terminated. Only Congress, according to the bill, had authority to make the final decision about removing a National Park System unit, but even the mention of such action produced panic.[11]

Many people greeted the bill with mixed reactions. Rep. Bill Richardson (D-NM) wrote in his dissent to the bill that the National Park System Review Commission (what he called the "Park Closure Commission") would have the power to recommend the closure of any unit of the National Park System, with the exception of the then-54 national parks. He worried that "more and more [people] talk of this bill. . . as a means to close parks they believe are 'non-essential.'"[12] Rep. Bruce Vento (D-MN), who was an original co-sponsor for the bill, argued otherwise, saying that "I've little fear that almost all the NPS units can be held up to public and intense examination. . . to judge their inclusion in the National Park System." But Vento left open the door for even some park terminations.[13] At Voyageurs, staff reacted with uneasiness. Acting superintendent James Sanders tried to reassure his staff, stating that the "key point for all of us to remember is that HR 260 is a bill, not a law!"[14]

HR 260 stirred more concerns. For the first time in 40 years, Congress had a Republican majority in both the House and Senate. This 104th Congress thus had the potential to negotiate within its chambers reforms of federal agencies that had a good chance to reach President Bill Clinton's desk. Also, the press and public began to associate this HR 260 with the idea behind the Base Realignment and Closure Commission (BRAC), a federal effort to evaluate and close military sites in response to decreased needs with the end of the Cold War. Many people saw the proposed national parks commission as having a similar authority with potentially negative consequences. A tight fiscal environment exacerbated the situation, leading some congressional members, such as Rep. Vento, to hope that closures of some parks would fuel operations and maintenance needs across the remaining system.[15]

In March 1995, Rep. Oberstar introduced in succession two bills specific to Voyageurs. HR 1207 Voyageurs National Park Revitalization Act of 1995[16] and HR 1310 To Provide for the Management of Voyageurs National Park, and for Other Purposes went straight to the heart of issues that many of his constituents expressed. Among other things, both bills would have motorboats,

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[10] Hefley, in the 103rd Congress, had introduced HR 1508 National Park System Reformation Act of 1993 and HR 4476 National Park System Reform Act of 1994. The House passed the latter, but the bill did not make it out of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

[11] Comm. On Resources, National Park System Reform Act of 1995, H.R. Rep. No. 104-133 (1995).

[12] Dissenting Views of Rep. Bill Richardson in Ibid.

[13] Additional views to HR 260 by Rep. Bruce Vento, in Ibid. Vento was also an original co-sponsor of HR 4476.

[14] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 21, 1995, VNP Archives.

[15] Arthur R. Gomez, "Public Lands and Public Sentiment: A Comparative Look at National Parks," in *Land in the American West: Private Claims and the Public Good*, ed. William G. Robbins and James C. Foster (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 154-56. Additional views to HR 260 by Rep. Bruce Vento, in Comm. On Resources, National Park System Reform Act of 1995, H.R. Rep. No. 104-133 (1995).

[16] HR 1207, introduced March 10, 1995, was a shorter version of HR 1310, introduced on March 23, 1995, which detailed actions to be taken by the Secretary of the Interior.

aircraft, hiking, and skiing on all the major lakes and bays plus a list of at least 10 other lakes. The bills called out snowmobiling, allowing its use on the lakes described, even in spite of the Endangered Species Act. HR 1310 also authorized the Secretary of the Interior to submit to Congress a park management plan, which provided for recreational opportunities pursuant to those listed elsewhere in the bill. HR 1207 instead required revision of the park's master plan to incorporate the changes called for in the bill. For HR 1310, the Secretary would conduct a study comparing recreational developments and economic benefits between park establishment as of the date of the bill's enactment. Both bills repealed the requirement for reporting on possible wilderness designation.[17] He defended these two bills, saying that he wanted to launch a "common sense approach to the management of Voyageurs National Park" and "reverse this trend of restricting access."[18]

Oberstar's bills never made their way out of the House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Lands, but they served him in other respects. Oberstar's 1992 election had resulted in his lowest winning percentage at 59 percent, possibly leading him to bolster his pro-multiple use credentials for the following campaign seasons.[19] He later stated that he "just wanted to reinforce [the] original provisions and spirit of the introduced bill for Voyageurs Park" by saying to the Park Service, "'You're straying from the original use. You're not keeping faith with the people, and you need to manage this park in the way that was originally intended and sold to the public.'"[20] His 1995 bills, instead of focusing upon the intergovernmental commission of HR 260, explicitly removed the idea of wilderness. He later admitted that "I don't think you need to designate a wilderness within a national park. It'll just simply inflame all the old animosities again about Voyageurs."[21]

As the snow and ice receded from International Falls and political tempers flared, the park prepared for National Park Week, held May 22-28, 1995. National Park Week celebrated the national parks, their superb resources, and their educational opportunities. Staff at Voyageurs National Park planned a multi-faceted program, celebrating National Park Week and also the 20th anniversary of the park's establishment. They paid special attention to informing the public about how national parks are managed because "many aspects of park management are being questioned at the local, State, and Federal levels."[22] Acting Superintendent Jim Sanders wrote five articles explaining why there is a Voyageurs National Park in northern Minnesota and how it was managed. These appeared in 10 major newspapers throughout the state. Sanders and some of the division chiefs each sat on the "hot seat" in 30-minute slots on KGHS-AM's "Let's Talk" program the week of May 21-27.[23]

The park also held an open house on May 25 in the park headquarters in International Falls. Visitors could meet park staff and learn a little about what the staff did while touring the remodeled offices and the new museum storage area. Geographic Information Specialist Sam Lammi produced handouts and gave "Wow-Em" GIS presentations. Other popular displays focused upon fire management and resource management. The event was a huge success, according to the Squad

[17] To Provide for the Management of Voyageurs National Park, and for Other Purposes, H.R. 1310, 104th Cong. (1995).
[18] Quotes from James Oberstar to Roger Kennedy, March 24, 1995, VNP Archives.
[19] Jim Oberstar entry, Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jim_Oberstar#Political_campaigns, accessed 28 January 2014.
[20] Oberstar, transcript of interview, 24.
[21] Ibid., 25.
[22] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 25, 1995, VNP Archives.
[23] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 9, 1995, VNP Archives.

Meeting Minutes, with 89 registered guests and Lee Bob's Barbeque selling more than 200 sandwiches, an indication that many people attended and stayed to learn more about the park.[24]

This celebratory atmosphere quickly dissipated. Continued complaints from many people living in the area of both Voyageurs National Park and Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness prompted US Senators Paul Wellstone (D-MN) and Rod Grams (R-MN) to visit International Falls in early July 1995. At the same time, both Rep. Oberstar and Sen. Grams asked their respective subcommittees on national parks to hold field hearings, and these subcommittees agreed.[25]

The national park's staff "mobiliz[ed],"[26] as West later stated, to address what she recognized as an attempt to prevent the park from being "disestablished. At the time that I arrived there, there was legislation pending in the Congress that would have turned over management of the park to the county."[27] Based upon her experience in the Washington Office, West "knew what we had to do to prepare for these hearings," and she marshaled her personnel, which "did just an absolutely phenomenal job."[28] Different work groups focused on certain tasks. One planned for holding a reception, hosted by the Voyageurs Employees Association on August 17, the night before the joint hearing. One compiled fact sheets and issue statements which were distributed to all St. Louis and Koochiching county commissioners, members of the city councils of Orr and International Falls, public and school libraries, all resorts along the park boundary, the four houseboat companies, established interest organizations, such as CCVNP, and any other interested individuals. Another identified and displayed examples of park cooperation with organizations. One compiled short statements of "Why Voyageurs Is Special to Me," that park employees might share with the public.[29] The park also sold T-shirts, a "big hit with employees, but by the general public also."[30]

Talk of de-authorization of national parks immediately came up at the hearing. Rep. James Hansen (R-UT) opened the August 18, 1995 field hearing in International Falls by referring to the National Park System Reform Act under consideration by the subcommittee, which he chaired. Hansen stated that those working on the act, including himself, "are supporters of the park system, not trying to dismantle it." Plus, the act, as then configured, would leave alone all national parks, including Voyageurs. And, Hansen stated, "any action to de-authorize any park would require a separate Act of Congress."[31] Rep. Vento, however, stated plainly that he came to the meeting to hear directly from those "who have advocated stripping designation," but he cautioned opponents of the national park that they could not "undermine it and at the same time say it is going to continue to be a park." Vento

[24] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 30, 1995, VNP Archives.
[25] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 11, 1995, VNP Archives.
[26] West, transcript of interview, 5.
[27] West, transcript of interview, 8.
[28] West, transcript of interview, 6.
[29] VNP, Public Service Announcement, August 15, 1995, VNP Archives. VNP, email from Audrey Harmening to Flo Six at MWRO, July 31, 1995, VNP Archives. VNP, email Audrey Harmening, August 23, 1995, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 27, 1995; August 1, 1995; August 29, 1995, VNP Archives.
[30] VNP, email Audrey Harmening, August 23, 1995, VNP Archives.
[31] *Oversight Hearings Before the House Subcomm. on National Parks, Forests, and Lands and the Senate Subcomm. on Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation*, 104th Cong. 3 (1995) (statement of Rep. James Hansen).

asserted that he and many other Minnesotans "strongly oppose modifying these parks and wilderness resources and lowering the threshold to make them just another resort community."[32]

Rep. Oberstar argued both at the joint hearing and in letters and a press release that he wanted to return Voyageurs to what he remembered was its "original purpose."[33] He had served as administrative assistant to Rep. John Blatnik (D-MN) and told how he had drafted the original language for the legislation, based upon "dozens and dozens of meetings and hearings and public forums" in anticipation of Voyageurs National Park.[34] Oberstar was particularly concerned about what he saw as the use of the Kabetogama Peninsula "becoming increasingly more restricted."[35] He wrote to NPS Director Roger Kennedy in March 1995, stating that "the Park Service has gone too far in its onerous management style; it is time to reverse this trend of restricting access to Voyageurs by placing unreasonable limitations" on legally allowed activities.[36]

Superintendent West delivered prepared remarks and answered questions at the August 18 hearing. She made clear in her appearance that the National Park Service allowed a multiplicity of uses in Voyageurs National Park, but "those uses cannot be unregulated uses." These uses including snowmobiling on one-third of the area of the park and motorboating on all but four major lakes, without restrictions on party size or engine horsepower. Floatplanes could land on seven interior lakes. "What we are trying to do," West stated, "is provide a balanced spectrum of recreational opportunities so that one does not dominate to the exclusion of others."[37]

But Sen. Grams and others referenced the belief that many local residents did not feel that they had been given enough of a role in the decision-making process in the park's management. West agreed that since arriving at Voyageurs, she had heard such talk. But, she wanted to reassure the organizers of the oversight hearing that she intended to reach out and listen to the local communities.[38] West referred to establishing Memorandums of Understanding with the local counties, hosting citizen forums, and expanding partnership programs.[39] Oberstar exclaimed that West was a "breath of fresh air up here. They will probably make a statute [statue] to you." He thanked her for her "cooperative spirit" and then said that "we are going to help you with some changes in the legislation," not indicating specifically which legislation he meant.[40]

Twenty other people spoke at the International Falls joint hearing, attended by a thousand people (opposition forces had predicted 5,000 would attend), and about a third were wilderness supporters.[41] Some elected officials from the Minnesota legislature spoke, such as State House Speaker

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[32] *Oversight Hearings Before the House Subcomm. on National Parks, Forests, and Lands and the Senate Subcomm. on Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation*, 104th Cong. 8 (1995) (statement of Rep. Bruce Vento).
[33] Press Release, "Return Voyageurs to Its Original Purpose," March 10, 1995, VNP Archives.
[34] *Oversight Hearings Before the House Subcomm. on National Parks, Forests, and Lands and the Senate Subcomm. on Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation*, 104th Cong. 18 (1995) (statement of Rep. Oberstar).
[35] Press Release, "Return Voyageurs to Its Original Purpose," March 10, 1995, 1, VNP Archives.
[36] James Oberstar to Roger Kennedy, March 24, 1995, VNP Archives.
[37] *Oversight Hearings Before the House Subcomm. on National Parks, Forests, and Lands and the Senate Subcomm. on Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation*, 104th Cong. 18 (1995) (statement of Superintendent Barbara West).
[38] *Oversight Hearings, August 18, 1995,* 2, 5, 12, 18.
[39] *Oversight Hearings, August 18, 1995,* 23-24.
[40] *Oversight Hearings, August 18, 1995,* 24.
[41] Yvette La Pierre, "Divided over Voyageurs," *The Free Library* (1996), http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Divided over Voyageurs.-a017817393, accessed July 10, 2016. (Originally published by the National Parks Conservation Association)

Irv Anderson and State Senator Bob Lessard. Other people testifying included those involved with local tourism efforts, such as Tim Watson from the Lake Kabetogama Resort Association, who noted that the Namakan Reservoir resorts lost $800,000 each spring during the fishing opener because guests could not access the park due to water levels. Watson also wanted citizen input on park management decisions.[42] Don Parmeter from the Northern Resources Center, David Dill from the Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park, and Don Carey of the Citizens' Task Force on Alternatives for Voyageurs National Park all spoke. Finally, representatives from the Izaak Walton League of America (David Zentner), Save Our Park (Ray Anderson), and an individual, Martin Kellogg, who had helped found the Voyageurs National Park Association in 1965 and had served on the CCVNP, all contributed their views.

Some of these people at the Falls hearing talked about the need for changes to the national park and its management. Irv Anderson argued for "actual decisionmaking input from local and State interests." He wanted to return Voyageurs to its original intent of recreational uses and not make it into a wilderness preserve.[43] Lessard stated that he had always wanted Voyageurs to be a national recreation area, which would protect the natural characteristics but also allow for diverse recreational use, including hunting.[44] Carey urged Congress to keep Voyageurs under federal ownership but turn management over to local and state governments. Dill reported that the CCVNP strongly opposed wilderness designation for Voyageurs and also wanted the Council to serve as an advisory board to the park to increase responsiveness to local and state concerns. Parmeter reminded Congress that NPS had failed to complete the visitor use and facilities plan, as mandated in the 1982 boundary change legislation. This plan, Parmeter argued, would help determine appropriate levels and types of visitor use, thus providing rigor to park planning. Parmeter thought the NPS in practice used a piecemeal approach to its planning.

Other people emphasized the value of the national park. Ray Anderson pointed at the tranquility the park offered. Zentner recalled the original conversations about park establishment and supported wilderness designation. Kellogg emphasized that Voyageurs National Park needed to be managed to national park standards.[45]

On October 28, 1995, the House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Lands held an oversight hearing in St. Paul on the same topic of visitor access and public use management at Voyageurs and Boundary Waters. This hearing attracted about 1,500 people, with twice as many wilderness folks versus multiple-use supporters.[46] A dozen people spoke, in addition to the members of the subcommittee. West did not make a formal statement, but she did attend. The elected officials who spoke at St. Paul and not International Falls were Martin Sabo (D-MN) and William Luther (D-MN). They both expressed vigorous support for wilderness areas and national parks,[47] with Sabo calling the two areas under study that day "crown jewels" and "precious," needing protection and management to keep them "wild and beautiful for the sake of our children and future generations."[48]

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[42] *Oversight Hearings, August 18, 1995*, 49-50.
[43] *Oversight Hearings, August 18, 1995*, 28.
[44] *Oversight Hearings, August 18, 1995*, 31.
[45] *Oversight Hearings, August 18, 1995*, 33-34, 45-46, 48, 50-54.
[46] Yvette La Pierre, "Divided over Voyageurs," *The Free Library* (1996). VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 17, 1995, VNP Archives.
[47] *Oversight Hearings, October 28, 1995*, 112.
[48] *Oversight Hearings, October 28, 1995*, 111.

Some people spoke in favor of wilderness designation in the national park. Jim Martineau, Chairman of the Voyageurs Region National Park Association, recognized that Voyageurs was a "compromise park" that allowed for motorboats and snowmobiles on the large lakes but also kept the Kabetogama Peninsula free of mechanized vehicles.[49] Scientist John Pastor reported his and other scientific findings with regard to Voyageurs and, in particular, the Kabetogama Peninsula. Pastor stated that this area still contained 280 acres of forest with trees three-feet in diameter and 200 years old, indicating that logging was not as extensive as believed and that wilderness qualities remained in evidence. He argued therefore that Congress should continue to strengthen preservation of the park. Frances Heinselman echoed Pastor's comments and also described her trips with her husband to the Peninsula, Kettle Falls Hotel, and other areas in the park. They saw wolves, raptors, and a diverse array of waterbirds.[50]

Other people emphasized the recreational possibilities in the national park. Jeff Mausolf from the Minnesota United Snowmobilers Association called the 1993 closure of 16 bays on major lake surfaces "arbitrary and capricious with no scientific basis or otherwise." He also characterized park management as leaning heavily toward preservation without taking into adequate account the recreational demands of taxpayers. The association had recently filed suit against the federal government to demand opening of the bays.[51] Carol Selsaas from the Stewardship Alliance for Voyageurs National Park referred to her late father George Esslinger who had fought for the national park's creation but then turned against it when he realized that the park prohibited what he had been promised in the draft bills, such as hunting, fishing, and trapping. His daughter Carol recognized that her father's dogsled trail to his camp no longer existed since the park did not maintain it. The Stewardship Alliance wanted to ensure the "reasonable use and the enjoyment by all people now and in the future."[52]

Sarah Williams of the Greater Northland Coalition described how her family had run Kettle Falls Hotel for 70 years but had been essentially run out of operating the hotel because of regulations. The Coalition wanted to preserve the history and culture of the northland, protect the rights of Americans to use and enjoy the public and private lands of the area, and to return more authority and responsibility to local government.[53] The Greater Northland Coalition represented a coalition of eight local organizations. The National Parks and Conservation Association reported that the Wise Use Movement had joined forces with these local organizations to try out the possibility of downsizing the national park system, with Voyageurs being a test case. The Wise Use Movement, dating from the late 1980s, opposed environmental protections in the name of unfettered resource exploitation.[54]

The third and fourth hearings related to Voyageurs National Park occurred in Washington in July 1996. Rep. Oberstar introduced HR 3298 to provide for the establishment of an intergovernmental council for Voyageurs National Park. Sen. Grams introduced similar legislation with S. 1805 Voyageurs National Park Accessibility and Partnership Act. These two bills proposed establishment of an intergovernmental council, which would submit to the Interior Secretary proposed revisions to the park's management plan. The Secretary would have to adopt these revisions or explain why they could

[49] *Oversight Hearings, October 28, 1995*, 136.
[50] *Oversight Hearings, October 28, 1995*, 138-41
[51] *Oversight Hearings, October 28, 1995*, 150-51.
[52] *Oversight Hearings, October 28, 1995*, 152-53. Quote on p. 152.
[53] *Oversight Hearings, October 28, 1995*, 153-55.
[54] Pierre, "Divided Over Voyageurs."

not be adopted due to existing laws and regulations. If disagreements occurred, a special board would resolve the dispute. Oberstar emphasized that such a bill would not remove the national park status from Voyageurs, but the Interior Department argued that the bill would damage the entire system of national parks by allowing local interests to control national park planning. The bills, by favoring local views, would encourage the type of multiple-use that local communities had long sought.[55]

The park's squad meeting minutes reported that the House and Senate hearings "went as well as could be expected."[56] Superintendent West attended both hearings and prepared draft testimony for Department of the Interior Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks George Frampton to give. Frampton testified before the House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Lands on July 16, 1996, saying that the Interior Department "so strongly oppose[d]" HR 3298. The bill, according to Frampton, "would change Voyageurs from a national park to a national park in name only." The bill would establish a management council "unaccountable to anyone," with the power to supersede the US Congress and Executive through the council's authority to make, or veto, decisions about the park's management and administration. Frampton warned that the proposed council would "substitute the judgment of professional park managers with that of parochial and narrow interests to the detriment of the national interest." Frampton argued that even with passage of HR 3298, "continued acrimony—and continued litigation" would haunt park management.[57]

Frampton also referred to HR 3470, Rep. Vento's bill to formally establish wilderness on the Kabetogama Peninsula. Frampton said that "in the spirit of reconciliation and to put aside the contention that has characterized much of the existence of this beautiful park," the Interior Department opposed this bill. Frampton stated that "to enact HR 3470 at this time would, we believe, continue the conflict associated with Voyageurs to its detriment and to our loss as a society." However, Frampton also reminded the subcommittee that 10 years of studies had indicated that this area of the park was "fully suitable for wilderness designation."[58]

Friends of the park

The combination of these four hearings, with their overwhelming negative tone from some people in the surrounding park community, prompted park supporters to organize as the Friends of Voyageurs National Park. Namakan District Naturalist Carol Maass had helped to organize this group. She gathered information from other friends groups and the Lake States Interpretive Association to help the group to define its organizational structure. This Friends organization raised funds for the benefit of the park.[59] These monies went towards "preservation, protection, use and enhancement of resources, education programs, and research."[60]

Friends of Voyageurs National Park initiated some important annual activities. In 1997, the Friends joined the park and Rainy River Community College to conduct an annual Christmas bird

[55] Section-by-section analysis HR 3298, VNP Archives. News Release, Oberstar Introduces Voyageurs Legislation, April 22, 1996.
[56] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 31, 1996, VNP Archives.
[57] Statement of George Frampton, Jr., before the House Subcomm. on National Parks, Forests, and Lands concerning HR 3298 and HR 3470, July 16, 1996, VNP Archives.
[58] Statement of George Frampton, Jr., before the House Subcomm. on National Parks, Forests, and Lands concerning HR 3298 and HR 3470, July 16, 1996, VNP Archives.
[59] VNP, Squad Meeting Summary, 1996, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, FY 1996, 21, VNP Archives.
[60] Memorandum of Agreement between National Park Service and Friends of Voyageurs National Park, 1997, 1, VNP Archives.

count, identifying 26 species. The organization also began sponsoring a program it called "Get the Lead Out!" Loons and other water birds, including eagles, had shown in research studies in New England and Michigan percentages ranging from 22% to more than 50% of deaths attributed to lead poisoning. A key contributor to lead in the ecosystem came from lead weights used in fishing. The Friends educated people about the threats and sought a switch to non-lead sinkers. Membership dues, annual garage sales, and pledges raised during an annual March for Parks event held during Earth Day Week helped fund these park programs and others. The group's first March for Parks occurred in International Falls and raised $3,800 to help support construction of the Echo Bay Hiking/Ski Trail near Kabetogama Lake. The district maintenance staff and local community volunteers worked together to complete the two and one-quarter mile trail. [61]

Federal mediation

Even before the July 1996 hearings took place, Sen. Wellstone recommended that the various interests take part in a federal mediation process.[62] The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS), an independent federal agency, works to provide voluntary mediation, conciliation, and arbitration services. Sen. Wellstone asked FMCS to convene a mediation panel with regard to Voyageurs and Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness to develop consensual recommendations for Congress, supported by all interests in the disputes. Soon afterward, two mediation panels formed, one for each federal area. The Voyageurs mediation panel met between August 1996 and November 1997.[63]

The negotiating committee for Voyageurs recommended six consensus decisions. First, the committee urged that the national park, the MDNR, and the St. Louis County Sheriff's Office develop an improved emergency reporting and response system for water areas in and around the park. In particular, the committee saw the need for a communication system to help with identifying hazardous objects or situations and to secure assistance for accidents, injury, or other emergencies. Second, the committee presented a consensus decision regarding the need for improved weather service transmission to increase the quality and range of reporting weather conditions for the park and surrounding areas. Third, the negotiating committee recommended that the park and MDNR continue their activities to develop special regulations on Rainy Lake and the Namakan Reservoir and to convene a roundtable on fish management, including non-native species within and around the park. Consensus Decision #4 supported a line-item, no-year money appropriation for an estimated $6.3 million to complete the build out of the campsite and trail plan with appropriate interpretive signage. In its fifth consensus decision, the negotiating committee expressed its support for the International Steering Committee's recommendations on water levels and urged the International Joint Commission to implement those recommendations. Finally, the negotiating committee recommended that the

[61] VNP, Squad Meeting Summary, 1997, 5, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, FY 1996, 21, VNP Archives. Get the Lead Out! Informational sheet; and Newsletter, Friends of VNP, 2, both in VNP Archives.
[62] Barb West stated that Sen. Wellstone was going through his re-election campaign during this period and wanted to take the wilderness issue off the table until after the campaign, thus prompting his recommendation for mediation. See West, transcript of interview, 21.
[63] Tom Klein, "Department to Urge Veto on Park Bill," *Daily Journal*, July 17, 1996. Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, VNP Final Report of the Mediation Panel (January 1998), Section 5 Convening Report and Response, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 7, 1996; May 28, 1996, VNP Archives.

Visitor Use and Facilities Plan be completed as part of the General Management Plan planning process.[64]

The negotiating panel discussed several other issues but did not come to consensus. The committee debated the idea of a management council, which had been the focus of Rep. Oberstar's and Sen. Grams proposed legislation. Points of concern included what management council's function might be, who might serve, and whether the CCVNP in a slightly revised form might fulfill the expectations for such a council. In the end, the negotiating committee agreed that the management council would serve three purposes: dispute resolution, pro-active involvement, and strategic advice.[65]

Other topics concerned jet skis, houseboats, and floatplanes. Jet skis raised concerns among many motorboat fishermen who wanted a wilderness fishing experience. Plus, they argued that jet skis ruined fishing in some areas. The National Park Service began deliberating the idea of a general ban of jet skis throughout the national park system, taking this topic off the agenda for Voyageurs. The negotiating committee approached the topics of houseboats and floatplanes, along with other motorized water vehicles, by recommending that the NPS Director shall (not may) include appropriate provisions for such vehicles, with the allowance for temporary closures to such use in order to ensure public safety, wildlife management, or park management objectives. With houseboats, the committee suggested that up to 60 commercially operated houseboats in each of the two basins be allowed, and thereafter allow for up to 10 additional in each basin.[66]

In July 1996, separate from the hearings and the mediation effort, the park held three scoping meetings to determine the public's need and desire for commercial floatplane activities in association with the park. The meetings were held in International Falls, Cook, and St. Paul. About 12-18 people, on average, attended the meetings in each location. The general consensus was that commercial floatplane activity be limited to the four large lakes, leaving the interior lakes free of floatplanes.[67]

The Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail on the Kabetogama Peninsula and wilderness designation generated significant debate. The negotiating committee discussed whether the snowmobile trail should be two-way, ending at Shoepack Lake. Some members worried if there was enough room to physically allow for such a trail. The committee debated whether the trail should have beginning and/or end dates, thereby controlling access to the area.[68]

With wilderness, the negotiating committee deliberated on several ideas. The committee considered using the term "Primitive Area" instead of wilderness area for the park. The Voyageurs National Park Final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for a Wilderness Area had offered Primitive Area as Alternative 6 in the report. Another approach used the term "reserve" to designate a primeval area. One suggestion involved naming the Ernest C. Oberholtzer-Judge UW Hella Reserve, located on the Kabetogama Peninsula and the southern portion of the park. This Reserve would still allow the Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail, but motorized boats and floatplanes could only pull up on shorelines of lakes where such vehicles were allowed. Some committee members wanted any

[64] Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS), VNP Final Report of the Mediation Panel, January 1998, VNP Archives.
[65] FMCS, VNP Final Report, Section 2, Summary Minutes, September 19, 1996; October 15, 1996; October 16, 1996.
[66] FMCS, VNP Final Report, Section 2, November 14, 1996; December 9, 1996; January 8, 1997; February 18, 1997. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 25, 1997; September 23, 1997.
[67] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, August 13, 1996, VNP Archives.
[68] FMCS, VNP Final Report, Section 2, November 14, 1996; December 9, 1996; December 10, 1996; January 8, 1997; Attachment 2, Draft Consensus Proposal for Management of VNP.

reference to the Wilderness Act removed from the park's enabling legislation. The committee developed an extensive table of interests in wilderness issues and the status of such interests: managed (regulatory), designated (statutory), and nothing. This table, which included such interests as skiing, snowmobiling, aircraft use, motorboats, wildlife preservation, research, angling, and camping, indicates the complexity of the wilderness topic and what confounded the committee in its deliberations.[69]

Some members of the negotiating committee expressed continuing frustration with the inability of other members representing organizations to negotiate in good faith. The representative from the CCVNP, for example, had to wait for the next board meeting and the board's vote on issues discussed by the negotiating committee. At one point, some committee members called to adjourn the meeting until representatives from certain organizations had met with their full constituencies. By May 1997, some members of the committee stated their belief that the committee seemed "further apart than it had been for several months and that that was especially true in terms of the group's degree of candor."[70]

In mid-December 1996, the negotiating committee did come to a tentative and tenuous compromise. In exchange for no formal wilderness designation in the Kabetogama Peninsula by Congress, the environmentalists "would live-with" the Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail. The environmentalists, however, said that they did not want ski-planes, floatplanes, or motorboats on the interior lakes except Mukooda Lake. In February 1997, however, the Minnesota United Snowmobilers Association voted to reject the compromise.[71]

West had tried during this period to build positive relationships with elected officials, local organizations, and the general public with the aim of saving the park from de-authorization. As seen above from the different people who testified at the hearings, many of these people had an interest in the key issues related to the park and West's overtures to them were important. Within the state government, she met with the Department of Natural Resources Commissioner, former Governor Elmer L. Andersen (and key advocate for park establishment), the former Federal representative and mayor of Minneapolis, and state senators. She telephoned former senator Dave Durenberger.

West also communicated with a range of people with the authority to shape reviews of the park and public opinion. She spoke to representatives of Voyageurs Region National Park Association (VRNPA), recognizing the organization's commitment to ensuring preservation of the park's natural resources, even using the courts to obtain this goal. She talked with the Director for the Minnesota Historical Society, which had a role in the process for state review of any National Register nominations. West reached out to the owner of the *Daily Journal*, whose newspaper could shape public viewpoints of the park. West communicated with the media, being interviewed by Duluth's KBJR for a two-part series titled "Parks Under Siege," the *Duluth News Tribune*, and KTCA public television based in St. Paul.

West also reached out at the local level. She conducted breakfast meetings with a variety of community members, including Koochiching County commissioners, area city councils, and representatives from the boards of directors of the Chamber of Commerce, Visitors and Convention

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[69] FMCS, VNP Final Report, Section 2, December 9, 1996; February 18, 1997; April 7, 1997; May 16, 1997; November 13, 1996 [probably mistyped; should be 1997].

[70] FMCS, VNP Final Report, Section 2, April 7, 1997; May 16, 1997; Attachment 2: Draft Consensus Proposal for Management of VNP. Quote from May 16, 1997 minutes. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 11, 1997, VNP Archives.

[71] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, December 17, 1996; February 11, 1997. Quote from December 17, 1996 minutes.

Bureau, and School District 361. She regularly attended CCVNP meetings. These efforts may have contributed to the demise of the de-authorization attempt, but her superintendency remained volatile.[72]

Snowmobiling and endangered species

Ben Clary had left Voyageurs National Park before the US District Court's action regarding snowmobiling in the closed bays. Barb West, in managing the park, had to comply with the court's January 1996 ruling. That ruling, as described in the previous chapter, stated that the federal government needed to augment its defense, and in the meantime, the court ordered the opening of the bays. The VRNPA and other environmental groups established standing in the snowmobile case and appealed the decision to open the bays. The Eighth Circuit Court in September 1997 ruled in favor of the federal government and the environmental groups, stating that the National Park Service has authority to make management decisions with regard to the type and scope of activities permitted on park land, including temporarily closing routes and lake surfaces to meet park objectives. Such action, according to the court, required at least an annual review to uphold the need for the closures with respect to park management objectives. The park in January 1998 temporarily closed 11 bays on the major lakes to protect hunting and foraging areas for the gray wolf, bald eagle, and other wildlife. The previous year, as the park awaited resolution in the courts, the park had established wildlife protection zones for recreationists to avoid on a voluntary basis.[73]

Research and requests for public comments shaped the next stage in the wolf versus snowmobile story at Voyageurs. Three public hearings in International Falls and St. Paul during the fall of 1996 allowed the Park Service to inform interested citizens about the aerial monitoring effort that had followed from the initial closing of the 17 areas, in response to the US Fish and Wildlife Service's biological order. Under contract for the National Park Service, the University of Minnesota conducted a two-year snowmobile use survey in Voyageurs National Park. The resulting information aided the park in understanding the typical snowmobile visitor in terms of where they called home, whether they rented or owned their vehicles, what trails they favored, and whether they included wildlife viewing during their trips. Combined with the aerial monitoring data of wolf movements, the park had an idea of snowmobile use versus wolf activities.[74]

Four years of monitoring between 1992 and 1996 indicated that 11 bays had the most frequent wolf activity, both currently and as recorded in scientific studies dating from the 1970s and 1980s. Research also demonstrated that 93% of the time, wolves avoided snowmobiles, leading researchers to conclude that it was reasonable and prudent for the Park Service to close those important foraging areas pending further studies. The 1996 appeals decision allowed the Park Service to continue its monitoring program to determine the most scientifically valid approach toward wolf protection versus recreational use.[75] This research effort resulted in February 2002 with the Fish and Wildlife Service modifying its 1992 biological opinion. The agency stated that nine years of wolf research at Voyageurs had

[72] VNP, Squad Meeting Summary, 1995, 2, VNP Archives.
[73] Mausolf v. Babbitt, 125 F.3d661 (1997). Briefing Statement for Midwest Regional Director William Schenk, June 2, 1998, 2. NPS Press Release, Voyageurs Announces Winter Wildlife Protection Areas, January 12, VNP Archives.
[74] David W. Lime and Michael S. Lewis, Research Summary No. 9, "Snowmobile Use in Voyageurs National Park: A Comparison of Data from a Two-Year Study and an In-Depth Look at First-Time Snowmobilers to the Park in 1996," June 1997, St. Paul: University of Minnesota, Department of Forest Resources, Cooperative Park Studies Unit.
[75] VNP, Restricted Winter Use Report, October 1996, 3, 8, 13, VNP Archives.

determined that bay closures "did not have a biological significance to a healthy gray wolf population" at the national park.[76] The Park Service could reopen the areas on the frozen lakes.

The VRNPA, with seven other environmental groups, in March 2002 filed suit against the Department of the Interior for the reopening of the bays. Jennifer Hunt Gelo questioned the validity of the studies used to support reopening of the bays. This case was remarkable not for its decision—which affirmed the agency's right to reopen the bays—but for the conundrum environmental groups faced in deciding to join the suit or not. Dave Zentner, past national president of the Izaak Walton League and Duluth resident, argued that instead of paying for attorneys, the groups should partner with the Park Service and put the money toward biologists who could complete more rigorous research. Other environmentalists worried that VRNPA was using wolves and the Endangered Species Act as a way to control snowmobiling in Voyageurs. They saw such attempts as having the negative result of trivializing the act and watering down its importance.[77] Such "propensity of environmental groups to sue at the drop of a hat" was dangerous, according to area nature photographer and author Mike Furtman, because opponents would have "increased animosity toward our [environmental] movement."[78]

John Pastor, a lead researcher at the University of Minnesota Duluth's Natural Resources Research Institute, had studied the Kabetogama Peninsula since 1988. His research largely guided the VRNPA and its decisions about the park and snowmobiles. He found that wolf activity declined with each snowmobile intrusion, and he thus argued that erring on the side of protection best aided wolf populations. Other environmentalists did not agree that the research supported full-scale bay closures.[79] But Gelo later stated that Pastor's research "was very helpful for us" and that he served for a long time on the VRNPA Board.[80]

During this time period, from 1998 to 2000, the state of Minnesota worked with stakeholders to determine a wolf management plan, in anticipation of the federal government's decision to de-list the gray wolf as a threatened species in the state. The Minnesota Department of Natural Resources initiated in 1998 the Wolf Management Roundtable, which developed recommendations through a consensus process that addressed especially "the controversial aspects of wolf management."[81] The DNR and the Roundtable members, of which Voyageurs National Park was one, convened in 1998 a series of meetings across the state. The public was invited to attend, but to keep the discussion at each meeting focused, members of the public were only allowed to speak for 10-15 minutes prior to the lunch break and again before meeting adjournment. The DNR submitted the results of the roundtable's deliberations to the state legislature in 1999 for approval, but the proposed management plan did not pass. The DNR submitted a revised plan the following year, which the state legislature passed and the governor signed. The state could not implement the plan until the federal government delisted the gray wolf, but hand-in-hand, the state had to demonstrate its financial commitment to properly implement its

[76] US Fish and Wildlife Service Press Release, US Fish and Wildlife Service Modifies Measures for Protecting Gray Wolves in VNP in Northern Minnesota, February 1, 2002, 1, VNP Archives.
[77] Marshall Helmberger, "Voyageurs Lawsuit Divides Environmentalists," *Timberjay* [Orr, MN], March 2, 2002. Jennifer Hunt, letter to the editor, *Star Tribune* [Minneapolis/St. Paul], March 4, 2002. VRNPA v. Gale A. Norton, 381 F.3d 759 (2004).
[78] Mike Furtman to NMW Boards, February 13, 2002, VNP Archives.
[79] Ibid. John Pastor to Barbara West, Pat Lynch, Jim Schaberl, March 4, 1996, VNP Archives. John Pastor to Rep. James Oberstar, January 19, 1994, VNP Archives.
[80] Gelo, transcript of interview, 31.
[81] Wolf Management Roundtable Operating Agreement, May 1, 1998, 1, VNP Archives.

plan, which relied upon dedicated monitoring and research. No action occurred until the lifting of the protection in 2012.[82]

Water jurisdiction

Carl Brown in 1975 had used duck hunting to try to prove that the state retained jurisdiction of the waters within Voyageurs National Park. The district court applied the Property Clause to rule that the federal government had the congressional power to prohibit hunting and possession of loaded firearms within Voyageurs boundaries as a way to protect normal uses within the parklands. The court did not rule, however, that the Park Service could enforce its rules on all park waterways. The agency only had jurisdiction over those which had commercial or recreational activities that significantly interfered with the use of the park. Brown appealed this decision to the Supreme Court, but the district court ruling prevailed (see chapter four).

Brown continued to assert that the state retained control over the waters within the national park, and he tested it further. He first tried in 1992 by operating a tour boat across Rainy Lake to Kettle Falls, and he waited patiently until Ranger Joe Cayou finally gave him a $50 ticket. Superintendent Ben Clary stated at the time that the park was within its rights, according to the Code of Federal Regulations, to determine who would hold permits for commercial tour boats within park boundaries. The Hilkes had the permit to operate the tour boat on Rainy Lake (chapter five). The case went to the US Magistrate, who found Brown guilty for not having the required permits for operating a tour boat. The Magistrate referred to the decision in the duck hunting case as deciding the water jurisdiction case.[83] Brown believed otherwise. He stated," I don't hate the park. I'm just defining the law."[84] He questioned how the Park Service could "interfere with our boating uses on a lake as large as Rainy Lake when they only own five percent of the shoreline."[85]

This case did not help Brown reach the Supreme Court for final deliberation. He tried one last time in August 1996. He hatched what he considered to be a "genius of a scheme."[86] He asked his friend Harold "Bo" Armstrong to join him, with each operating their tour boats on Rainy Lake. The catch was that Armstrong was Canadian, forcing the courts to use the international treaties regarding navigation on boundary waters as a basis for their rulings. The international aspect, Brown hoped, would push the case further up in the courts. Plus, Canada initially decided to join the case by filing an amicus curiae brief. The US Magistrate found Brown and Armstrong guilty of operating a commercial enterprise on national park waters without permit. Both appealed the decisions. The US District Court next heard the case and affirmed the lower court decision. The District Court decided that the park permits did not violate the international treaties.

The District Court sentenced Brown to six months in jail and a $5,000 fine and Armstrong to 30 days in jail and a $300 fine (this incarceration was stayed for one year). Brown's conviction was stayed so long as he followed terms of his unsupervised probation. One requirement of that probation

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[82] Wolf Management Roundtable Operating Agreement, May 1, 1998, 4, VNP Archives. Barbara West to Mike DonCarlos, January 23, 1998, VNP Archives . Tom Klein, "Tight Budget Could Keep the State from Managing the Wolf," *Timberjay*, November 1, 2002. Ron Cockrell to the author, July 24, 2015, VNP Archives.
[83] Wendy Thering, "Brown to Challenge Park Rule," *Daily Journal*, June 22, 1992. Steve Kuchera, "Fight for Voyageurs Continues," *Duluth News-Tribune*, April 1, 1994.
[84] Brown, as quoted in Steve Kuchera, "Who's in Control of Lakes in Voyageurs?" *Duluth New-Tribune*, August 13, 1993.
[85] Brown, as quoted in Tom Klein, "Brown Loses First Round in Park Case," *Daily Journal*, March 30, 1994.
[86] Carl Brown, transcript of oral history interview, May 15, 2013, 25, VNP Archives.

was that Brown was barred from Voyageurs National Park unless he had a permit to conduct business operations.[87] The federal attorney had argued that Brown was the instigator of the case, that "I am a troublemaker," so the attorney went for the maximum fine. "I was banished from Voyageurs National Park," Brown exclaimed. "They banished me! I mean I was on Jay Leno! Man banished from Voyageurs National Park. Banished!"[88]

Brown and Armstrong went to the next level, the US Court of Appeals. This court affirmed the lower courts' decisions, except with regard to the sentence imposed on Brown. It stated that the banishment (the court used the term "no presence") represented cruel and unusual punishment when entering Voyageurs for non-business activities that other visitors pursue. The court decision admitted that "Brown has persisted for a long time in his quest to have the federal courts decide that the NPS is without authority to regulate commercial activities on the lake," but he still deserved the right to enjoy the same privileges as other visitors.[89] Brown and Armstrong asked the US Supreme Court to consider their case, which the court denied. The lower court decision held.[90] Brown had hoped the courts would have to consider admiralty law, especially if Canada had joined the case. Canada never filed the amicus curiae, and the courts never dealt with this potential aspect of the case, an issue that Brown holds up, saying "the Supreme Court never heard the case of, that issue was never brought up."[91] He still envisions another test case, this time actually being heard by the Supreme Court.[92]

General Management Plan

In the middle of the various court cases, the staff at Voyageurs embarked on developing a new management plan. Barb West later admitted that, "I didn't want to do a new General Management Plan; I wanted things to calm down some." But Sen. Grams, according to West's recollections, made the Voyageurs GMP a priority, and the NPS Midwest Regional Office followed suit and provided the funding. These plans, if confronting controversial topics at a national park, could take a dozen years to complete, and West knew that she would only have two to three years before a new presidential administration started. That time constraint and the potentially hot topics she would have to address, gave her pause.[93] Her approach, though, was to fold in the Visitor Use and Facilities Plan (VUFP) with the GMP, an idea also discussed during the federal mediation process.[94]

The requirement for a VUFP had been written into the 1983 boundary revision legislation, but Congress had never appropriated the designated $250,000. West had been bombarded by the local communities to complete the plan. Visitor use surveys would identify where people went in the park and what they did. This information could then shape facilities development. For some people in the local communities, this information could justify expanding visitor use in the park with more trails, campsites, and other services. The park and University of Minnesota began in winter 1995 a two-year visitor use survey. The National Park Service had also completed in August 1995 a one-year visitor use survey. The park, however, needed to complete a comprehensive one, as directed by the 1983

[87] United States v. Harold M. Armstrong and United States v. Carl E. Brown, 186 F.3d 1055 (1999).
[88] Brown, transcript of interview, 27.
[89] United States of America v. Harold M. Armstrong and USA v. Carl E. Brown, 186 F.3d 1055 (1999).
[90] Carl E. Brown v. USA, 99-989, and Harold M. Armstrong v. USA, 99-1000 (2000).
[91] Brown, transcript of interview, 28-29. Quote on p. 29.
[92] Carl Brown, letter to the editor, *Daily Journal*, October 19, 2000.
[93] West, transcript of interview, 29.
[94] FMCS, VNP Final Report, Section 2, May 16, 1997 minutes.

boundary revision legislation.[95] The GMP process seemed a perfect way "to completely defuse the Visitor Use and Facility Plan for time and eternity," West stated later, "which made me feel really good."[96]

The park did achieve its goal of completing the GMP/EIS/VUFP by 2001 in a remarkably organized and responsive way. Kathleen Przybylski joined the park staff, as GMP Coordinator, and oversaw the entire process. Przybylski had started as a Student Conservation Association intern at San Francisco Bay National Wildlife Refuge, where she later accepted a permanent position, doing education and interpretation. After a few moves, her husband then secured a job at Boise Cascade at the paper mill in International Falls, and she followed him. The park already had a contractor to write the reports, and Przybylski set the dates for the public open houses, gathered and compiled the comments, put together the newsletters, and generally handled the logistics.[97]

The GMP purposefully did not address some of the controversial subjects that might have derailed the effort. Wilderness was off the table. The Secretary of the Interior had fulfilled his obligation to forward the wilderness study to the President. President Clinton had sent the report back to the Interior Department, but the park had no further responsibility. Since Congress had not ruled on wilderness for the park, the topic sat outside the purview of the GMP. Water levels were under the authority of the International Joint Commission. Carl Brown's water jurisdiction case was still in the courts, and the park thus could not address the ramifications of that issue. The National Park Service did not anticipate any need to adjust park boundaries. Life estates and leases were already decided through settlements and the 1998 Land Protection Plan. Activities, such as logging, hunting, and trapping, were prohibited under federal law or NPS policy. Houseboats, motorboats, aircraft, and snowmobiles would continue to have a presence in the park, in acknowledgment of their traditional use in the park. The Park Service did assert its authority to limit their uses to protect resources and visitor experiences in parts of the park.[98]

The park communicated the development of the GMP and alternatives reviewed in newsletters. The May 1999 newsletter presented three alternatives under consideration. Alternative 1 would Continue the Present Course of Action (No Action). Alternative 2 would involve Resource Preservation, Partnerships, Balanced Uses. Alternative 2 would allow for motorized water use during the summer on the four major lakes and Mukooda Lake but not the remaining interior lakes. The Chain of Lakes trail would continue as a snowmobile trail. Tent, day use, and houseboat sites would focus on spacing sites to ensure solitude. The park would develop a total of 250-275 sites for these purposes. The park would also institute a fee reservation system for all tent and houseboat sites. Alternative 2 would build a trail connecting the Kabetogama and Ash River communities, for summer and non-motorized winter use. Concession boat tours, lodging, and food would continue at Kettle Falls Hotel and limited concession contracts would be established with the four existing houseboat rental companies. Rental houseboat numbers would be limited to 50 per basin (Rainy and Namakan). The reservation system would limit the number of private houseboats. Alternative 2 would have the state

[95] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 23, 1995; June 20, 1995; July 11, 1995; July 18, 1995; January 30, 1996, VNP Archives. Major Park Issues fact book, August 8, 1995, Visitor Use Plan section, VNP Archives.
[96] West, transcript of interview, 31. See also Draft, Making Voyageurs Work for Everyone, January 1998, attached to CCVNP, Meeting Minutes, November 6, 1997, VNP Archives.
[97] Kathleen Przybylski, transcript of oral history interview with the author, August 28, 2013, 2, 5, VNP Archives.
[98] VNP Newsletter, August 1998, 2-3, VNP Archives.

and park develop cooperative and unified approaches to both fisheries and wildlife management. More historic properties would be accessible to the public under this alternative.[99]

Alternative 3, as presented in May 1999 to the public was named Emphasis on Visitor Experience and Opportunities. This alternative would emphasize the visitor experience with the widest range and largest quantity of activities, facilities, and experiences consistent with the park's mission, purpose, and significance. Resource protection to ensure a quality visitor experience would be emphasized. Alternative 3 combined many of the ideas presented in Alternatives 1 and 2. Alternative 3 would allow motorized water use on the four major lakes, plus seven interior lakes (Locator, War Club, Quill, Loiten, Shoepack, Little Trout, and Mukooda). Commercial floatplanes would continue to use permitted areas, plus an expanded area of Kabetogama Lake. Facilities would be expanded at Ash River Visitor Center to include possibly an outdoor amphitheater, environmental education center, exterior interpretive space and exhibits, and a research center. At Kettle Falls, Alternative 3 called for a workstation and housing for park employees. At Kabetogama Historic District and Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center, this alternative proposed trails, roads, buildings, interpretive facilities, car parking, and the adaptive use of historic buildings. Tent, day use, and houseboat sites would increase to 400 or more sites. A concessioner-run small group campground would be built at Kettle Falls. The park would work with outside entities to increase the number of day use and overnight sites outside the park, including a RV campground. A fee reservation system would be instituted, but some tent sites would continue on a first-come, first-served program. Hiking trails would be planned in the wilderness study area, along with one connecting the Kabetogama and Ash River communities.[100]

By far, public input showed a clear preference for Alternative 2 of the draft GMP. This alternative emphasized resource preservation with an effort to balance various uses and visitor experiences. Solitude in a natural setting was a highlight. Respondents felt that this option most closely aligned with the NPS's mission as laid out in the enabling act.[101]

The Final General Management Plan for Voyageurs National Park adopted a modified version of the proposed action described in the draft Environmental Impact Statement. The January 18, 2002 Record of Decision reported the key aspects of the GMP and how these addressed public comments and the park's legal obligations. For example, to address public comments, the final plan included additional trails; a moderate increase in the number of overnight sites, with an upper limit ranging from 280 and 320, a decrease from the amount recommended in the Lakecountry and Backcountry Site Management Plan; and also new day use and visitor destination sites. Houseboat operation would be studied, and a management plan specific to this form of transportation and overnight use would be completed at a later date. In the meantime, the final GMP allowed for existing levels, 60 houseboats per basin or a 120 total, with the possibility of adjusting that number of houseboats. To address NPS concerns, the final GMP prescribed land and water management areas and density zones for visitor use. The final GMP called for intensified natural resource protection and management, to address public, agency, and interest group comments as well as NPS mission and policy. This effort included a comprehensive inventory of natural resources and revision of the fire management plan. For cultural resources, NPS would continue to identify, evaluate for significance, plan for, protect, and share

[99] VNP, General Management Plan (GMP)/Visitor Use and Facilities Plan (VUFP), Newsletter 2, May 1999, 14-17, VNP Archives.
[100] VNP,GMP/VUFP, Newsletter 2, 18-19.
[101] VNP, GMP Newsletter, May 1999, 16. "Park: Most Want Conservation Option," *Daily Journal*, October 5, 1999.

information. Surveys would be completed of visitor use, the need for resource protection from visitor use, and quality of visitor experience. This information would be used for future programming and planning.[102]

Certain subjects generated the most discussion and concern as the public reviewed the draft GMP. Houseboats and especially how many private ones could be in each basin (Rainy and Namakan, the latter of which also encompassed Kabetogama) at one time brought many people to the table. The park proposed in Alternative 2 Resource Preservation, Partnerships, and Balanced Uses that up to 50 rental houseboats could be in a basin at a time and the number of private houseboats would be restricted by a required overnight reservation system, initially 10 per basin. Private houseboaters organized as a group and shared many comments, emphasizing that they had low impact on the resources and that they often helped lost or struggling boaters.[103] Once hearing that many more private houseboaters were out on the lakes than the park had originally calculated, Przybylski reassured attendees at an International Falls public meeting. She said that the meeting "has been really valuable to us" and that the park would adjust the numbers accordingly. "This is a draft proposal," she reminded listeners, "it's not final yet."[104] The Final GMP/EIS provided an interim limit of 60 houseboats per basin, without identifying private or rental houseboat numbers. The Final GMP also stated that the park would initiate a houseboat management plan when overnight houseboat use reached 60 boats per basin.[105]

Overnight and day use also gained much attention. This topic included the number of camping sites and day use sites and whether a reservation system should be implemented. The number of sites recommended ranged from the existing number to 400, with most people favoring the criteria of the park's Lakecountry and Backcountry Site Management Plan, meaning a total of less than 400 sites. Preservation of the natural environment should guide placement and ultimate number of campsites. People wanted to continue gathering firewood and having fires in metal fire rings. The Final GMP stated that 280-320 overnight sites would be developed and a no-fee reservation system would be implemented to gather information about levels of use to determine if a more formal program should be implemented. The park was called upon by the final GMP to study the feasibility of implementing facility use fees for camping and parking.[106]

Motorized use remained an issue of concern, but people largely wanted to keep the existing situation. While some people wanted unrestricted motorized use summer and winter, many focused upon the desire to have a quiet and natural experience as a way to control use. Most people agreed with the existing rules on having motors (boats, floatplanes, snowmobiles on the Chain of Lakes trail) on the seven interior lakes as was already in place. There was general agreement that people did not want no-

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[102] General Management Plan for Voyageurs National Park, January 2002, Appendix B: Record of Decision, VNP Library.
[103] VNP Newsletter, May 1999, 16-17, VNP Archives. Przybylski, transcript of interview, 8. Kathleen Przybylski, Input on VNP's Plan has been Heard, August 2000, 1, VNP Archives. Tom Klein, "Houseboat Concerns Expressed," *Daily Journal*, July 25, 2000. Fred Schumacher, "VNP Houseboat Users Want More Input in New Park Plan," *Timberjay*, July 29, 2000. Richard and Suzie Douville to Kathleen Przybylski, August 14, 2000, VNP Archives. Tom and William Dougherty to VNP, September 2, 2000, VNP Archives. VNP Visitors Association to VNP, September 21, 2000, VNP Archives.
[104] Schumacher, "VNP Houseboat Users."
[105] VNP, Final GMP/EIS, August 2001, I-vii, VNP Archives.
[106] VNP, GMP/VUFP Management Alternatives Responses, August 26, 1999, 1-2, VNP Archives. VNP Final GMP/EIS, August 2001, I-vi-I-vii. VNP Final GMP, January 2002, Appendix B: Record of Decision, 44, 48-49.

wake zones due to the intrusion of buoys and the feasibility of enforcement. Plus, people recognized that potential no-wake areas already forced people to slow down to the physical characteristics of the area. Significantly, snowmobiling generated very few comments, a result probably of the wilderness study process. The Final GMP kept existing motorized uses in place.[107]

Trails generated interest, too. Most respondents wanted more hiking and cross-country trails, plus they wanted long distance trails and trails specifically located near Crane Lake. The Final GMP identified the development of a summer/winter non-motorized trail between the Kabetogama Lake and Ash River communities, plus possibly extending to Crane Lake. Several new trails would be built on the Kabetogama Peninsula. Having visitor destination spots was a suggestion that the Final GMP implemented by having some hiking trails go to such sites.[108]

People wanted a variety of visitor information. Respondents encouraged having existing or expanded hours at the visitor centers, plus having a year-round Crane Lake visitor center. They wanted the tour boats in the Rainy and Namakan districts, plus maybe a water taxi service and even a tour boat on Crane Lake. More services for kayaking and canoes were mentioned, including improved boat launches and concessions for renting boats. People noted that the park needed to provide more visitor safety information with regard to camping and motorized use. Visitor destination sites garnered attention. Educational programming also gained consideration. The Final GMP incorporated many of these ideas, identifying the possibility of 15 to 20 destination spots and having a multi-agency Crane Lake visitor center.[109]

For the Visitor Use and Facilities Plan, the park gathered together an ad hoc consultation group that met almost monthly from May 1999 to April 2000. Simply advisory, this group included representatives from a large number of regional organizations, plus elected officials or their designates. Environmental groups, special interest ones (including resort owners, houseboat users, kayakers, guide services), and state, Canadian, and local institutions had a place at the table. The VUFP was meant to address both the national park's visitor services and what the gateway communities had and might develop to increase tourism. NPS Midwest Regional Office Legislative Affairs Specialist Al Hutchings remembered that those meetings seemed to have large numbers of people, with the pro-park people gathered together and the anti-park people sitting together. The meetings were open, so interested individuals also observed the deliberations. The anti-park folks, according to Hutchings, used the meetings to rant about what was wrong with the park and how they wanted to go back to the pre-park days. The pro-park people, again according to Hutchings, kept quieter during the meetings but then went out and wrote their comments or submitted ideas. The end result was that both sides had about equal input.[110]

Public responses to the draft GMP/VUFP

Overall, the houseboat issue was by far the topic that attracted attention in GMP meetings, but the discussion was largely civil and productive. Koochiching County and to a lesser extent St. Louis

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[107] VNP, GMP/VUFP Management Alternatives, 1-2. Final GMP/EIS/VUFP, 2001, I-vii. The park completed an Environmental Assessment prior to construction of the Kab-Ash section of the trail in 2000. The park hosted a grand opening ceremony on August 24, 2002. See Chapters 7 and 9.
[108] VNP, GMP/VUFP Management Alternatives, 3-4. Final GMP/EIS/VUFP, 2001, I-vii.
[109] VNP, GMP/VUFP Management Alternatives, 3-5. Final GMP/EIS/VUFP, 2001, I-vii.
[110] Al Hutchings, transcript of oral history interview with the author, August 21, 2013, 19, 24-27, VNP Archives. VNP Consulting Group, July 15, 1999, VNP Archives.

County residents and their elected officials voiced the loudest and most sustained opposition to the entire GMP and VUFP process and products. City of International Falls Councilman John McCarthy wrote to Przybylski in February 1999 that the GMP/VUFP process did not include, in his mind, the required (by federal law) representatives from state and local governments plus a range of private individuals from the outdoor recreation or visitor services fields. McCarthy also expressed dismay that the park had developed three alternatives without the required input. The Koochiching Board of Commissioners echoed these same concerns, emphasizing the need to expand the involvement of many others.[111]

In an effort to draw out more local perspectives, both Koochiching and St. Louis County sponsored public hearings in the fall of 2000.[112] The Koochiching County one, held in International Falls, became a forum for negative attacks on the park. Many statements harkened back to those made in the 1980 master planning process, with people feeling nostalgic about their past access to what was now park lands and wondering if NPS was really listening to them. Jack Bergstedt from an island on Rainy Lake said that he got "pretty upset about the attitude that the Park does portray to this community" and that "I feel very strongly in support of taking a lot of the power away from the government."[113] Sen. Grams, in a letter he submitted to be read at the Koochiching meeting, wrote that he felt the "Park Service has consistently demonstrated a misunderstanding of the outdoor culture of northern Minnesota."[114] Tom Dougherty from Rainy Lake Houseboats asked, "I honestly want to know what have they given up in the compromise game? We have done nothing but give and give and give." He called the "planning process. . . nothing more than a popularity contest between two different user groups."[115]

The Koochiching Board proceeded to take an increasingly antagonistic posture. Board members had decided early in the GMP process that they would not make specific recommendations because they lacked the scientific and technical expertise. They also felt that attending planning sessions "might be misinterpreted as an endorsement of the Park's processes." Attempts by the Board to suggest ways to lessen conflicts resulted in, as they stated, Superintendent West declaring that such ideas "as being outside her authority and therefore she was not open to discussion."[116]

The Board contradicted itself, however, arguing with West at a special Board meeting that it had "submitted comments throughout this planning process either through its representative on the Ad Hoc committee [for the VUFP] or during meetings with Park staff."[117] West replied that the Board had not submitted comments during the scoping process of developing alternatives for the GMP, nor had the Board shared its views on the draft GMP or VUFP. West emphasized that "she felt the Board did not want to participate. They always said no and did not try to work with the Park. Going to a meeting and saying no doesn't solve anything."[118] Exasperated, Commissioner Wade Pavlek ended the

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[111] John McCarthy to Kathleen Przybylski, February 22, 1999, VNP Archives. Special Meeting of the Koochiching County Board of Commissioners, March 9, 1999, VNP Archives.
[112] Public Hearing of the Koochiching County Board re VNP GMP/EIS/VUFP, September 14, 2000, 29, VNP Archives. St. Louis County, Voyageur's Park Forum, 7 October 2000, VNP Archives.
[113] Jack Bergstedt, as quoted in Public Hearing of the Koochiching County Board re VNP GMP/EIS/VUFP, September 14, 2000, 29, VNP Archives.
[114] Sen. Rod Grams, as quoted in Ibid., 88.
[115] Tom Dougherty, as quoted in Ibid., 97.
[116] Larry Chezick to Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Director Robert Stanton, October 6, 2000, 2, VNP Archives.
[117] Special Meeting of Koochiching County Board of Commissioners, October 10, 2000, 1, VNP Archives.
[118] West, as quoted in Ibid., 1.

conversation by stating that "unless the false statements by Ms. West are retracted and an apology made," he warned, he would support her resignation.[119]

The Board did not act immediately on its threat, but frustration and anger came pouring out in March 2001 when the Koochiching County Board of Commissioners requested Acting NPS Director Denis Galvin to remove Superintendent Barb West immediately from her post at Voyageurs National Park. Board Chair Mike Hanson described West's management style as "capricious and arbitrary," with her focus on "her agenda only" in "total disregard" of the local communities. Hanson wrote that "her callousness and arrogance in dealing with the people of this area is totally unacceptable." He argued that she "will not use her position to work with the local people and create a positive stewardship" for the national park.[120]

At least one other person had already expressed a similar desire for West's removal. State Rep. Irv Anderson (DFL-International Falls) had declared in a press release in October 2000 that West had ignored local people when developing the park's new planning document. He called attention to West's perceived "unwillingness to work with local interests" and that she "has totally ignored calls for more discussion on the plan." He went on to say that "these are acts of defiance" made by West against the local people, to the point that the Koochiching Board could no longer work with her, "she has lost credibility with the board as well as myself."[121]

Field happenings

Barbara West oversaw many important changes in the park. One of her most important accomplishments, in her estimation, was that Voyageurs looked more like a national park by the time she left in 2005 than it had when she arrived in 1995. A big factor was the maintenance division's methodical removal of abandoned cabins and restoration of disturbed lands. Many of the use and occupancy leases had 25-year limits, and as those came up, the park's staff, with contractors, cleaned up the shorelines of the lakes and allowed for natural growth to return.[122]

Historic Structures Management Plans for Voyageurs informed cabin removal. Park and regional staff in 1989-90 had inventoried 650 buildings on 423 tracts of land, and this information had fed into the 1990 Historic Structures Management Plan (HSMP). In 1992, the park with the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) reviewed 14 properties and determined all but one was eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. The following year, the park and SHPO concurred on the eligibility of another eight properties. Due to their limited numbers, all recreational cabins built prior to the 1930s were found eligible. One property, Oveson's Fishing Camp, was considered eligible despite being less than 50 years old. One group of properties was set aside for review, pending completion of a historic context for recreation.[123]

The park then undertook the final steps for completing an updated plan. Staff completed the historic context for tourism and recreation in 1999. The park applied the criteria developed in this

[119] Wade Pavlek, as quoted in Ibid.
[120] Mike Hanson to Denis Galvin, March 20, 2001, 1, attached to Mike Hanson to William Schenk, August 30, 2001, VNP Archives.
[121] Irv Anderson, as quoted by Sam Cook, "Legislator Asks Park Superintendent to Resign," *Duluth News-Tribune*, October 6, 2000.
[122] VNP, Annual Report, FY 2001, Goal ID Number Ia1A; FY 2002, 1; FY 2003, 1; FY 2004, 3-4, VNP Archives.
[123] VNP, Draft Historic Structure Management Plan (HSMP) and Environmental Assessment, 2002, 8-9, VNP Archives.

historic context to evaluate for significance the majority of structures related to recreation. Between 1999 and 2000, in staff meetings and workshops, the park decided upon nine decision points for retaining historic structures.[124] There had been a range of views within the staff of what to do, from preserving all or none of the historic properties. The issue for some people was finding a way to balance the natural environment and the historic scene, keeping in mind the park's enabling legislation and suite of planning documents. The nine decision points helped with the development of the new Historic Structures Management Plan, with the FONSI (Finding of No Significant Impact) signed in 2002.[125]

The 2002 HSMP used interpretive stories as the way for the park to address its historic structures. This preferred alternative (Alternative 4) proposed preserving properties which have rich interpretive stories. Plus, this alternative recommended using a variety of media to interpret historic properties, including those proposed for removal. This media included brochures, boating guides, web-based information, virtual tours, and videos. This preferred alternative made visitor access to a majority of historic properties a priority, but some sites would have more limited access and be places for visitors to "discover" on their own. This preferred alternative proposed having multi-use opportunities for camping, interpretation, and education at Hoist Bay but removing other properties where tent and houseboat sites were planned. This alternative resulted in preserving 16 properties, containing a total of 50 buildings, with future potential for preservation of four additional properties, currently in private hands. Other alternatives considered but rejected were No Action, Alternative 1 Emphasis on Individual Properties, Alternative 2 Emphasis on Landscape View, and Alternative 3 Emphasis on Best-Known Properties.[126]

West identified as another one of her contributions as the 2001 cessation of the annual snowmobile radar run in the park. This victory, she noted in the FY 2004 annual report, came "at a not inconsiderable political and personal cost to me."[127] Snowmobile clubs sponsored races, known as radar runs, and park management in the past had granted special use permits for such races within park boundaries. In January 1992, the radar run had involved 403 participants on Saturday and 265 on Sunday. About 100 spectators watched the races each day. These numbers indicate that the radar runs attracted a considerable number of people for both racing and watching the races.[128] West cited NPS policy that snowmobiles had a speed limit of 45 mph, which was below the 50 mph speed limit for snowmobiles in the state. The Koochiching County Board of Commissioners especially expressed their anger at this decision, with some commissioners being "very mean and very personal" in their remarks to West. This reaction struck the park's staff oddly, given that the radar run occurred in St. Louis County, not Koochiching.[129]

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[124] The nine decision points were:
Significance (cultural theme using NPS thematic framework); Integrity (good, fair, poor); Condition (good, fair, poor); Public interest (low to high); Ability to maintain (distance from maintenance base, access in winter, sustainability of materials, security); Political considerations; Potential for continuing use (resort/recreation cabins problematic) or reuse (administrative/operational use); Ability to enliven, enrich, inform (amount of interpretive material); Is another public agency saving similar example? See Historic Structures Management Planning History, VNP Archives. See also Chapter 7.
[125] VNP, Draft HSMP, 2002, 9.
[126] VNP, HSMP, 2002, 19-21.
[127] VNP, Annual Report, FY 2004, 3-4, VNP Archives.
[128]VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 14, 1992, VNP Archives.
[129] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 27, 2001; March 15, 2001; Quote in February 27, 2001 minutes.

The park's staff developed more ways for visitors to go out into the park and enjoy its features. As stated above, the park's friends group contributed funds for the construction of the Echo Bay Trail, located south of Woodenfrog campground on Kabetogama Lake. Park maintenance staff, with partners from such organizations as the Kabetogama Lake Association, Friends of VNP, and the Minnesota Conservation Corps (MCC), constructed the hiking/skiing trail. Superintendent West gave a short dedication speech at the trail's opening in August 1996. Another hiking and skiing trail went from the Ash River Visitor Center to the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center area. This Kab-Ash Trail opened to the public in August 2002 with a dedication ceremony. MCC employees built the trail with a combination of park day labor and contractors.[130]

The park in 1995 contracted with Hoover Construction Company, from Virginia, Minnesota, to reconstruct NPS-1, which led from Ash River Trail to the Ash River Visitor Center. This narrow road had a very sharp curvature and wound through hills and sharp rock outcroppings, with obscured sight distances and poor drainage. NPS-1 increased access to one of the park's visitor facilities, but its reconstruction also involved realigning the Ash River Trail, which had one horizontal curve and poor drainage. Many people living in the Ash River community, a resort area, had protested in 1990 the construction work on Ash River Trail. When the park announced that it had received funding of $4.8 million for the NPS-1 project, some people in the area argued about this high price. The Citizen's Task Force on Alternatives for Voyageurs National Park called the nearly $5 million a wasteful use of taxpayer dollars. The task force emphasized that the three-mile road was going to cost taxpayers $1.6 million per mile, when only 250,000 people visit the park each year. Acting superintendent Jim Sanders defended the expenditure, stating that the project included building a boat launch and three parking lots, plus enlarging the parking lot at the visitor center. The money also included returning the original roadbed to natural conditions. The park held a dedication ceremony in August 1997. The park's maintenance staff built three wayside parking lots and trails and vista views along the three-mile length of NPS-1. The staff also built a small picnic site at the forest overview.[131]

A new person took over the concession contract for Kettle Falls Hotel. Concessioner Darrell Knutson had experienced financial problems despite two good summer seasons in 1994 and 1995 and a good winter season in between. Knutson terminated his contract in September 1995. Lake States Interpretive Association agreed to run the hotel, with limited services, during the winter, closing in March 1996. Superintendent West expressed her great appreciation to the staff for making this happen, thereby preventing criticism from some elected officials for not having the hotel open that winter. Beginning in 1996, the park contracted with Ricky Oveson, through his company Oveson Kab-Con, Inc., and the current concession contract period is 2011-2020.[132]

Since the beginning of Russ Berry's superintendency, the park had had its headquarters, main maintenance area, museum storage, and library in the former Armstrong Ford dealership complex in

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[130] Chapter 9 provides more information about trails and roads. VNP, Annual Report, FY 1996, 20, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 6, 1996; August 6, 1996; August 20, 1996; August 27, 1996; July 9, 1997; December 2, 1999; September 4, 2001; August 7, 2002; September 12, 2002, VNP Archives.
[131] Federal Highway Administration, Eastern Direct Federal Division, VNP Road Access Study, January 1985, 36, 52-53, 59, 61, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, FY 1996, 19, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 22, 1990; April 4, 1995, VNP Archives. "Group Wants Park Road Project Halted," *Daily Journal*, May 12, 1995. Center Access Road to Close," *Daily Journal*, May 25, 1995.
[132] VNP, Annual Report, CY 1994 and FY 1995, 7, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, November 21, 1995; January 16, 1996; March 12, 1996; May 21, 1996, VNP Archives. Ron Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 9, VNP Archives.

International Falls. The federal government's General Services Administration (GSA) negotiated the lease. The most-recent lease was set to expire in December 2004. In early 2003, GSA reviewed the park's requirements for the buildings under a new lease and began inquiring whether building to suit may be more cost effective than paying more in the lease for the additional requirements. The park staff wanted a new HVAC system or a functioning existing system, accessibility, reconfiguration of library space and museum space, and needed law enforcement space, among other items. GSA had a market analysis done, which identified three potential properties where new facilities could be built. Next, GSA needed decisions from the park about specific needs that could be costed out for comparison purposes. Meanwhile, GSA negotiated a three-year extension to the present lease for the Armstrong Ford location. In September 2005, the park gained an operating increase to the GSA lease for as many changes the park could make to its present headquarters space, at an increase to the park's lease payments of $60,000 per year. Ultimately, the park would lease a new headquarters building and maintenance yard from the City of International Falls.[133]

Water levels remained an issue. As stated in the previous chapter, the Rainy Lake Board of Control, which worked under the auspices of the International Joint Commission (IJC) to oversee the management of water levels at Rainy and Namakan lakes, evaluated the alternatives presented by the international lake level steering committee, which included VNP Aquatics Biologist Larry Kallemeyn. In 1999, the Board of Control submitted a revised rule curve, which was based upon the one recommended by the steering committee. The IJC agreed with this recommendation and presented a revised rule curve, with the stipulation that continued studies be pursued for an evaluation in 2015. In the meantime, in 1995, Sen. Wellstone sponsored legislation that became law, requiring Boise Cascade to keep water levels at the top of the rule curve until the IJC had made a determination. The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission's license with Boise required Boise to respond to this legislation. Boise argued that it had sold 70% of its ownership of the International Dam to Stone Consolidated in December 1995. The legislation, however, required Boise to take responsibility for lake-level forecasting in compliance with the legislation. Resort associations in March 1996 held a rally in front of Boise Cascade to protest the company's failure to comply with the legislation.[134]

West and her staff provided input as the Department of Energy (DOE) and its partner the University of Minnesota considered building a NOvA Far Detector facility. The Department of Energy had previously built a facility in Soudan, Minnesota, to intercept a neutrino beam from FermiLab in Batavia, Illinois. The Ash River neutrino beam far detector would be aligned to use the same

[133] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, November 4, 2003; March 23, 2004; April 20, 2004; May 25, 2003; September 22, 2005, VNP Archives.

[134] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 23, 1996; February 27, 1996; March 12, 1996, VNP Archives. Public Law104-46, Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act of 1996, Sec. 510. IJC accepted the steering committee's recommendation and issued a Consolidated Order in 2001 to change the rule curves (known as the 2000 Rule Curves), which was subject to a 15-year review. The IJC funded a set of studies designed to fill gaps in knowledge regarding the effects of their 2000 Rule Curves (Plan of Study for the Evaluation of the IJC 2000 Order for Rainy and Namakan Lakes and Rainy River, prepared for the IJC June 30, 2009 by the 2000 Rule Curve Assessment Workgroup). The component studies were carried out during 2011 – 2015 and covered a wide range of topics including hydrology, bathymetry, aquatic ecology, cultural resources, and economics. Upon completion of the studies, the IJC will review the results of these studies along with all other applicable information regarding the effects of the 2000 IJC Rule Curves for Rainy and Namakan lakes before deciding whether to maintain the current set of rule curves or to alter them once again. Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 9.

FermiLab-Soudan-neutrino beam but at a greater distance. The Ash River facility would search for an unobserved oscillation, different from the known oscillations measured at the Soudan site. Neutrinos are useful probes of the weak interaction, one of the four fundamental forces of the universe. Studying neutrinos aids basic research in physics. The Department of Energy proposed the Ash River location for the NOvA Far Detector facility to maximize distance from FermiLab in the direct line of the neutrino beam to the Soudan facility. In 2003, when the park first learned of the proposal, West offered to take on a tour one of the UM physics professors involved with the project. She hoped to convince him to consider a site further away from the park. By April 2005, the proposed Ash River site had the construction site further from the park, the building size smaller, and the elevation lower. In July 2005, the Energy Department had two sites in the running, the one off the Ash River Trail near the national park and another along the Elbow Lake Forest Road near Buyck, Minnesota.[135]

The NovA Far Detector Facility elicited concern by the park for a couple of reasons. The facility would include a building 67 feet wide, 375 feet long, and 38 feet high and would be sunk 40 feet below the existing grade into granite rock. First, the park worried about visual intrusions. There would be a two-story above-ground building, and DOE proposed to have an earthen berm to surround the building to roof level and use muted gray and green colors for exterior surfaces of buildings. Noise also registered considerable concern. Contractors would have to drill and blast to remove granite bedrock. The Energy Department planned to complete this part of the construction project as quickly as possible, within a two-to-four-month period. The University of Minnesota estimated that although the decibel level at the construction site would be about 140 decibels, taking into account distance and the topography (with hills and vegetation), that noise level would drop down to 20 to 30 decibels, or the level of a whisper. Water-spray application would mitigate dust during construction. In the end, DOE chose the Ash River site. The University of Minnesota announced in 2013 that the first completed section of the far detector had recorded its initial three-dimensional images of particles, compiled from data from cosmic rays.[136]

The park staff, along with Harpers Ferry Interpretive Design Center staff and the Chief of Interpretation and Education, Midwest Region, developed the Voyageurs National Park Long-Range Interpretive Plan (LRIP), released in 2005. Harpers Ferry conducted workshops in 2002 for park staff and a variety of park partners and stakeholders. In 2004, the park hosted a planning workshop. The resulting plan identified six primary interpretive themes: geology, water, scenery, Voyageurs and the Fur Trade, Plants and Animals, and People. The park's 2002 GMP had identified eight visitor experience goals: visitors will enjoy the park's solitude and tranquility, expansive and undeveloped landscape, and abundance and diversity of plants and animals; visitors will find a diversity of quality and safe opportunities in the park; people with disabilities will have opportunities to use visitor facilities and experience park attractions and resources; visitors and the general public will learn about

[135] US Department of Energy, Final Environmental Assessment for Construction and Operation of Neutrinos at the Main Injector Off-Axis Electron Neutrino (ve) Appearance Experiment (NOvA) at the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory, Batavia, Illinois and St. Louis County, Minnesota (DOE/EA-1570) (June 2008), iv, 4. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 25, 2003 (June 30, 2003 Briefing Statement attached to minutes); July 1, 2003; April 19, 2005; November 8, 2005. Steve Kuchara, "Neutrino Device Proposed Near Falls," *Duluth News Tribune*, October 24, 2003. Marshall Helmberger, "Ash River Detector Funding Approved," *Timberjay*, April 30, 2005.

[136] DOE/EA-1570, iv, 20, 81-82. "NOvA Neutrino Detector, Constructed by University of Minnesota Researchers and Students, Records First 3D Particle Tracks," University of Minnesota Discover, March 28, 2013, http://discover.umn.edu/news/science-technology/nova-neutrino-detector-constructed-university-minnesota-researchers-and, accessed July 19, 2016.

the park's significance and support preservation; park programs will facilitate appreciation for the park's natural and cultural resources; visitor experiences are enhanced though park partnerships, concessions, business permit-holders, and public entities; related tourism and educational programs are encouraged and supported by the park; and visitors will understand the fragility of park resources and comply with regulations. The LRIP then detailed a range of non-personal services and media (such as audio-visual, bulletin boards, exhibits, and publications) and personal services (boat tours, canoe trips, interpretive walks and talks, Junior Ranger program, and winter programs with talks and walks) to implement the LRIP. Chapter 8 will detail the interpretive approach and themes.[137]

Assessment of West's superintendency

Barbara West distinguished herself by advocating for the park's natural resources in a firm, direct, and unwavering fashion. She knew the ins and outs of National Park Service policy, and she used that knowledge to fortify her efforts. West essentially transformed the shape and tenor of park management by making clear to the local community that the Park Service had a legislated obligation to consider the health of the park's natural (and cultural) resources in the present and for the future. West's tactics, however, alienated many people and thus reduced the effectiveness of her overall goals.

Shawn Mason, who had served on the city council and then as mayor of International Falls, experienced difficulties with West and her predecessors. Mason noted that "I just felt like there was no consideration of how the local citizens felt, what they expected from this national park." Mason admitted that, "I'm sure very, very nice human beings, but the relationship between this gateway community and Voyageurs National Park wasn't healthy." But, Mason quickly turned the spotlight on the local citizens, agreeing that, "it's a two-way street. . . . If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem, right? So I don't know if anyone was really in solution-mode. And that may have been the biggest problem."[138]

NPS Midwest Deputy Regional Director David Given, who knew West from her time in Washington, DC, acknowledged that Voyageurs was not the best park for a person to take as a first superintendency. "It was just too complicated and controversial," Given stated, "even though Barb is one of the brightest people I know." West, in his opinion, almost always was correct in the positions she took, "but, the way she presented them, and, I mean, her management style, if you will, was a little more in-your-face" than what may have helped in the cause for which she was advocating. "She couldn't convince people that didn't agree with her that she was right," Given explained. Nevertheless, she achieved some very good things, "she fought some tough battles, and she always put the resources first," Given said. But, he allowed, "she was never going to mend the difficult relationships with the local communities. It just wasn't going to happen."[139]

Al Hutchings, also from the NPS Midwest Regional Office and someone who worked with West on the General Management Plan, agreed with Given that West "really understood a lot about wilderness and about, particularly, natural resource preservation. And was a very strong proponent of that." But again, her methods did not aid her cause. She "had trouble negotiating, if you will. Things were pretty plain with her," Hutchings said. "Sometimes you can have a decent working relationship with somebody you don't agree with," Hutchings offered, but "that just didn't happen much with

[137] VNP, Long-Range Interpretive Plan, 2005, 13-14, Part 2, 233, VNP Archives.
[138] Shawn Mason, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 9, VNP Archives.
[139] David Given, transcript of interview with the author, July 10, 2013, 21, VNP Archives.

Barbara." He went on to defend her, though, arguing that "I don't think anybody could disagree with what her motives and goals were, but it was the methods."[140]

West recalled that when the George W. Bush administration started, she found herself under attack by the local officials. She named state Sen. Bob Lessard, who "tried to get things going with the new administration to get rid of me, and that was one of the ones I remembered now, I'd forgot about that. And so those politics were sort of bad." The decision in March 2001 by the Koochiching Board to call for her resignation may have also been influenced by the change in administration. One of West's friends from the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources "said that he'd seen a lot of politics in his time and that Iron Range politics were tough, but he'd never seen . . . them attack anyone as viciously as they attacked me. So there was just a lot of real personal animus and it was pretty unpleasant." West had to admit that "there was an element of meanness and nastiness that was beyond anything that I had ever encountered before, and that -- it was tough."[141]

Aside from politics, there were also some hints that the local residents and West were at loggerheads with each other. During the contentious period when the park closed some of the bays to protect wolves and research their habits, the park had held public meetings. These were either videotaped or audiotaped. One meeting in December 1996 at the Rainy River Community College shows Lessard arguing with West. He contended that "you are going to shut down snowmobiles sooner or later. You don't listen to anything we say unless we go along." He then talked about the "insensitivity" of the Park Service, having meetings on opening day of the deer season, for example. West replied, in almost a deadpan way, that everyone received the meeting notice at the same time, possibly trying to defuse Lessard's tone. But Lessard would not give up, saying that "you take them [snowmobile access to certain interior lakes] away. Keep taking a little and a little away, pretty soon we won't have anything."[142] At a similar meeting, West admitted that "I know the Park Service has a rap for not listening to public comments. I am trying to change that." She went on to say that "we are looking for your suggestions, if you have a better way to do this." But for some people, listening to her and seeing her body language, they might question how seriously she made that offer.[143]

West aimed to address this charged environment. She tried to "think ahead of them, you had to imagine how they were going to do stuff, and you had to parry all those moves." She also felt that "I think I was the right person for that job at that time, and I think that most of my staff recognized that they needed, they needed somebody like me, maybe there wasn't anybody like me; maybe I was the only person for that."[144] Audrey Chute, who served as the superintendent's secretary, stated later that "they [the Park Service] needed a troubleshooter . . . She very much knew National Park Service policy and regulation." In Chute's opinion, West knew the policies or knew exactly where to find the information. But, Chute recognized that "I think she came across to the local area and some parks as being very hardnosed, but I believe that's the way she had to be to get us through that era." West could not have survived the attempt to de-authorize the park, for example, if she "didn't have a really strong backbone."[145]

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[140] Al Hutchings, transcript of interview with the author, August 21, 2013, 16-17, VNP Archives.
[141] West, transcript of interview, 36.
[142] Bob Lessard at public meeting, December 3, 1996, VNP Archives. The author has tried to capture the speaker's words as closely as possible.
[143] West, at public meeting, no date, VNP Archives. Tape called "Targeted for Torture."
[144] West, transcript of interview, 37.
[145] Audrey Chute, transcript of interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 21, VNP Archives.

West had Deputy Superintendent Kate Miller, who served three years before her assignment as the park's superintendent. West transferred in spring 2005 to Chaco Culture National Historical Park, New Mexico. Miller, while deputy superintendent, came to understand the complex relationship between the park and the local community. Shawn Mason had served as director of the Convention and Visitors Bureau and later in city government. Newly elected as mayor, Mason had put together an economic summit. When the tourism part of the summit started, and people raised issues about the national park, Mason looked into the audience and saw Kate with tears running her cheeks. Mason realized that "This is genuine. This woman feels their pain."[146]

[146] Mason, transcript of interview, 11.

Chapter Seven

Cultural and Natural Resources

Voyageurs National Park has benefited in its management of cultural and natural resources by committed personnel and a commitment to collaboration. Many people have contributed to natural resources management. Lee Grim initiated birds of prey surveys in 1973 and accumulated more than 40 years of data, essential for understanding the changing status of these birds, especially bald eagles. Grim also served as an important spokesperson for the park. Wildlife Biologist Glen Cole, who joined the park in 1976, developed a long-range research program and also investigated the feasibility of re-introducing extirpated species, such as caribou. Following Cole's retirement in 1987, J. Peter (Pete) Gogan continued Cole's work while also initiating research on deer, moose, and wolves. Gogan went to Yellowstone in 1991, and the park did not have a wildlife biologist until 2003 when Steve Windels took that role.

Other people continued the research and resource management work. Jim Benedict came to the park in 1984 as the park's first Resources Management Specialist. Benedict developed a comprehensive resource management program, which included campsite management, disturbed land restoration, control of exotic plants, fire management, air quality monitoring, human/bear management, trail planning, as well as writing a 1000-page Resource Management Plan. Larry Kallemeyn came to Voyageurs in 1980, and until his 2007 retirement, he began a systematic analysis of fisheries and used this data to help develop recommended changes to the rule curve for water levels. Samuel (Sam) Lammi worked first as a cartographic technician in 1992 and then as the park's GIS specialist 1994-2000. Wayne Wold and then John Snyder in 2002 followed.

In 1997, the park reorganized to take resources management out from under the direction of the Chief Ranger because of the program's increased size and complexity of issues necessitating a stand-alone division. Roger Andrascik became the first Chief of Resources. Chris Holbeck took this position when Andrascik transferred to Mount Ranier in 2002. Holbeck focused on air quality impacts and regional haze issues and campsite development after completion of the GMP in 2002.[1]

Many people also contributed to the park's cultural resources management. Mary Lou Pearson completed more than 80 oral history interviews to capture the life of the northwoods and the early development of the national park. Catherine Wovcha (now Crawford) cataloged various aspects of the

[1] VNP, Overview of the Natural Resources Division at Voyageurs National Park, November 24, 2015, VNP Archives.

park's museum collection, including photographs, and helped with the historic building surveys. Later, Crawford has served as Museum Technician to ensure the preservation, protection, and use of the collection, plus catalog the contents of the museum collection and library. Jeff Richner from the Midwest Archeological Center worked with Mary Graves on the collection of historical and archeological data on historic use of the area by the Bois Forte Band of Ojibwe. Mary Graves drew upon her previous work as a field archeologist for the Minnesota Historical Society for this work. She was also responsible for Section 106 evaluations. Richner went on to conduct excavations in Rainy Lake City, and later, wrote the park's archeological overview and assessment. Graves worked on the historic building survey and wrote the 1990 Building Management Plan. Midwest Field Area Cultural Resource Specialist Marla McEnaney and Graves drafted a treatment plan in 1997 for Ellsworth Rock Gardens. Graves in 1994 completed a major revision of the Cultural Resources Management Plan and in 1996 drafted the Historic Furnishings Report for Kettle Falls Hotel.[2]



Figure 19 Mary Graves (1980-present) contributed to the park's archeological survey work during the 1980s and 1990s in support of developing plans for park development. NPS Photo

[2] VNP, History of Cultural Resources Program, November 2015, VNP Archives.



Figure 20 NPS crews and volunteers have repaired parts of the Ellsworth Rock Gardens, which has 62 flower beds (minus the flowers) and more than 200 whimsical rock sculptures. NPS Photo 2002

Cultural resources inventory

The general area now encompassing Voyageurs National Park was home to prehistoric Indians, dating back at least 8500 years. Prehistoric sites are largely located along shorelines, identified by archeological remains of habitation, subsistence activity, and burials. Historic groups, including the Cree and Assiniboin, occupied areas within what is the now the national park until the mid-1730s. The Ojibwe then became the sole aboriginal residents.[3]

Thirty sites within the park have historic American Indian components. All but one of these are habitation sites. In some cases, historic American Indian sites within the park can be associated with specific individuals and families, such as the Woodenfrog family. Some information suggests that additional sites related to wild rice processing, temporary hunting/fishing camps, maple sugar extraction, canoe making, and burial sites. are known to exist within the park. One site with an Archaic component is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.[4]

[3] VNP, General Management Plan (GMP), 2001, I-155, VNP Archives. VNP, Statement for Management, 1995, 18, VNP Archives.
[4] GMP, 2001, I-156. VNP, Statement for Management, 1995, 18.

Europeans first appeared in this area as a result of the fur trade era. French explorers and fur traders plied the waters between the 1680s and the mid-1760s. The British, as the newest employer of the voyageurs, then followed until the 1840s, when the fur trade had largely collapsed, as a result of changes in fashion, availability of less-expensive materials for hat-making, and the decreased amount of lands for Ojibwe to hunt due to treaties with the US government.[5]

There are no documented fur trade sites per se in Voyageurs (except the waterways). Posts and outposts existed in close proximity to the current park boundaries, and some portage trails may relate to the fur trade. Camps, "watching tents," fishing sites, stopping places, and other temporary, small-scale sites might occur within the park, but none of these types of sites has been confirmed. However, fur trade-related artifacts, such as knives, axes, buttons, and glass beads, are found on some multi-component archeological sites in the park. These probably reflect Native (most likely Bois Forte), rather than Euro-American site use.[6]

Many of the remains from the logging period that are inside park boundaries exist as archeological sites. Logging camps were dispersed throughout the area, but camp buildings no longer exist. The railroad at Namakan Lake allowed for the transport of logs to markets. Other cultural artifacts from the logging period include pilings from the hoist and trestle at the logging camp, dating between 1913 and 1926, located at Hoist Bay. This Hoist Bay logging camp on Namakan Lake reflects a larger story of the transition from water-based transportation to rail-based transportation in Minnesota. At this location, a railroad trestle extended over the water, making it possible to hoist logs from the water to waiting railroad cars. Remains from two International Lumber Company sites are on the north shore of Kabetogama Lake. Vestiges of Virginia & Rainy Lake Lumber Co. (V&RL) camps include earthen berms, dumps, and other debris. When V&RL closed its doors in 1928, logging (for lumber) in the area essentially ended, but logging for pulpwood (to make paper) continued.[7]

The 1893 discovery of gold on Little American Island in Rainy Lake prompted a vigorous but short-lived gold rush, which also encompassed Bushyhead and Dryweed islands.[8] Miners and the associated businesses established Rainy Lake City at the mouth of Black Bay, but this outpost soon was abandoned when the mines stopped producing gold. The Gold Mine Historic District, listed on the National Register, encompasses the seven most extensive and confirmed mine sites from the period. The park has located four former streets and more than a dozen features remaining from the core business district of Rainy Lake City. On Little American Island, a tailings pile and pieces of heavy machinery remain.[9]

Commercial fishing began appearing in the area of the park in the 1890s. Between the late 1890s and early 1900s, seven or eight large-scale fishing operations focused on producing sturgeon caviar, primarily on Crane Lake. Small-scale family fishing replaced these larger companies. The

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[5] GMP, 2001, I-155 - I-156. VNP, Statement for Management, 1995, 18. See also the Minnesota Historical Society website about the decline of the fur trade: http://www.historicfortsnelling.org/history/fur-trade.
[6] Ron Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 3, VNP Archives. Douglas A. Birk and Jeffrey J. Richner, *From Things Left Behind: A Study of Selected Fur Trade Sites and Artifacts, Voyageurs National Park and Environs*, 2001-2002 (Midwest Archeological Center Technical Report Number 84 and Institute for Minnesota Archeology, Reports of Investigations Number 606, November 16, 2004, Chapter Three, VNP Archives.
[7] VNP, Statement for Management, 1995, 18. Barbara Wyatt, *The Logging Era at VNP: Historic Contexts and Property Types* (NPS, Midwest Support Office, 1999), 108-11, VNP Archives.
[8] Midwest Regional Office, Cultural Landscape Program, Rainy Lake City and Gold Mines Historic District Cultural Landscapes Inventory, 2013, VNP Archives.
[9] VNP, Statement for Management, 1995, 19. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-156.

small family operations, which numbered as many as 48 in 1910, relied upon auctions at Kettle Falls to sell their catches. Commercial fishing was banned on Kabetogama Lake in 1923. Only 10 licensed family operations remained by 1942. Physical evidence of fishing operations can be found within the park, including camps and net-tarring sites. One commercial fishing site, Oveson Camp dating from the 1950s, has been determined eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.[10]

Outdoor recreation became the most recent use of the Voyageurs National Park area. In the 1920s and 1930s, the state started buying back private properties due to concerns about depleted forests, increasing numbers of tax delinquencies, and a growing interest in outdoor life. The state turned these properties into state parks, forests, and wildlife reserves. During the 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps worked with the Minnesota Forest Service to make substantial changes to the landscape. The CCC in 1935 built the Kabetogama Ranger Station complex for use by the Minnesota Forest Service. The CCC also helped save the Kettle Falls Hotel during the 1936 wildfire on the Kabetogama Peninsula. The CCC imprint can be found in public campgrounds like Woodenfrog State Forest Campground, plus smaller campsites and public landings on area lakes.[11]

Several factors contributed to the growth of recreational use in the area of the national park. Minnesota Highway 11 (now US Highway 53) opened in 1923, providing a reliable way to travel from other parts of the state. The CCC work, joined with that of the Minnesota Forest Service, promoted conservation practices. The state forest service also started leasing homesites on area lakeshores. By the time of the national park's establishment in 1975, there were more than 60 resorts surrounding the park. Within park boundaries in 1975, there were 12 resorts, 97 leased-cabin sites, and more than 120 private recreational properties. The US Forest Service, the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, and Boise Cascade built campgrounds on the shores of Namakan, Sand Point, Crane, and Kabetogama lakes, plus on the Kabetogama Peninsula before the park was established.[12]

Voyageurs National Park contains 16 historic properties with 50 buildings and hundreds of archeological sites. Five archeological sites[13] are listed on the National Register, however the majority of sites have not been evaluated. Also on the National Register are: Little American Mine (1975),[14] Gold Mine Historic District (1977),[15] Kettle Falls Hotel (1976),[16] Kettle Falls Historic District (1978),[17] Kabetogama Ranger Station Historic District (1993),[18] Jun Fujita Cabin (1996),[19] Adolph Levin Cottage (2011), I. W. Stevens Lakeside Cottage (2011), Monson's Hoist Bay Resort (2011), and William Ingersoll Estate (2011). The Kettle Falls Historic District contains the 1910 hotel, c. 1910 dam, log cabin, and horsebarn; the c. 1945 dam tender's cabin and shed; and four post-1960 dependencies, including a fishhouse, garage, boathouse, and shed. The Kabetogama Ranger Station Historic District contains six CCC-built structures, a ranger station, oilhouse, privy, warehouse,

[10] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-157.
[11] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-157.
[12] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-157 – I-158.
[13] The five sites are: 21SL141 (1987), 21SL35 (1987), 21SL82 (1988), 21SL35 (1988), and 21SL55 (1988).
[14] Douglas George, Survey Archeologist, Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) completed the Little American Mine National Register nomination. National Register sites are searchable on http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp.
[15] Liza Nagle, Survey Inventory Coordinator, and John J. Hackett, Survey Coordinator, both of the MHS, completed the Gold Mine Historic District National Register nomination.
[16] Henry M. Harren, Survey Analyst, MHS completed the Kettle Falls Hotel National Register nomination.
[17] Hackett and Nagle of MHS completed the Kettle Falls Historic District National Register nomination.
[18] Rachel Franklin, Seasonal Historian, Midwest Regional Office, completed this National Register nomination.
[19] John Hurley, Seasonal Historian, VNP completed the Fujita Cabin National Registration nomination.

boathouse, and retaining wall. This district also includes the c. 1921 Minnesota Forest Service patrol cabin and privy that the CCC structures were built to replace. The Gold Mine Historic District (since completion of the Cultural Landscape Inventory) contained nine mine sites, including the Little American Mine, along the shores of Rainy Lake.[20]

The park's museum collection contains natural history specimens and cultural objects. Some archeological materials (historic and prehistoric) collected in the park through surveys conducted by the Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC) are on loan to and stored at MWAC. Other archeological materials are stored in the park's collections. The park's cultural history collection includes: archeological materials systematically excavated from within the park's boundaries and associated field records; an ethnology collection of Ojibwe textiles, beadwork, and basketry; historic objects associated with the area's fur trade, gold mining, logging, homesteading, commercial fishing, Civilian Conservation Corps, recreation, and forestry activities; and archival collections such as organizational, planning, and lands records and scientific and resource management documents. The park's natural history collection includes: voucher specimens of small mammals; the herbarium, which contains vascular plants and lichens that occur within the park; fish scales; geological specimens; freshwater invertebrates; associated project documentation and reports. These collections are relatively small, as little research pertaining to these disciplines has been conducted in the park to date.[21]

Cultural resources administrative history overview

In the field of archeology, the NPS contracted with the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) to complete the preliminary surveys of archeological resources and historic structures 1972-1975 and the first comprehensive, parkwide archeological survey 1976-1977. Beginning in 1979, the Midwest Archeological Center conducted the majority of archeological investigations in the park. Park and MWRO staff completed a comprehensive historic structures survey 1989-1990. Surveys identified three properties, Kettle Falls, Little American Mine, and Ellsworth Rock Gardens, for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The Minnesota State Review Board rejected the Ellsworth Rock Gardens nomination.[22]

The Midwest Archeological Center, and especially Archeologist Jeff Richner, completed several archeological projects at the park. In the early 1980s, Mark Lynott developed a shoreline stabilization method to halt erosion and prevent further loss of archeological resources threatened by being submerged by water. Lynott and Jeff Richner worked with park maintenance staff on the stabilization projects. In 1993, Richner led an archeological survey of the Rainy Lake City historic townsite and relocated numerous features. In 1997, Richner continued this work by collecting archeological data at Rainy Lake City Saloon prior to removal in 1997 of two non-historic additions and 1998 restoration of the building by park maintenance. In 2004, Richner completed the park's archeological overview and assessment summarizing the park's archeological work, titled *Expressions of the Past: Archeological Research at Voyageurs National Park* (published

[20] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-156 – I-157. Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 3.
[21] VNP, Scope of Collections Statement, 2011, 1, VNP Archives. Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 4.
[22] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 23, VNP Archives. VNP, Mary Graves, History of Cultural Resources Program, November 2015, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, General Management Plan, 2001, I-158, VNP Archives.

in 2008). In 2005, MWAC conducted testing in the meadow of Ellsworth Rock Gardens to determine provenance of berms and ditches reportedly related to a logging camp.[23]

The park has addressed its historic buildings. For Kettle Falls Hotel, the park began in 1978-1979 to conduct fieldwork, learning about the electrical system, in anticipation of building rehabilitation. In 1987, Dave Wallace, Harpers Ferry Center (HFC), documented the history of the hotel's furnishings. Archeological Services Consultants of Ohio was contracted in 1994 to do the archeological excavation around the 1910 log cabin at Kettle Falls prior to rehabilitation. Park maintenance staff and NPS Williamsport Preservation Center completed the rehabilitation. In 1996, Cultural Resource Specialist Mary Graves drafted the Historic Furnishings Plan for Kettle Falls Hotel.[24] The park wrestled with the question of preservation or removal of historic buildings. NPS contracted with MHS to complete the first survey of historic structures in 1975. Preliminary archeological surveys were completed 1972-1975 with the first comprehensive, parkwide archeological survey 1976-1977.

By 1986, the combination of parkwide cleanup of abandoned cabin sites, archeological surveys of proposed campsites, and regional effort to update the List of Classified Structures raised concerns. The park and others questioned if all buildings had been documented in the 1978 survey. Changes may have happened due to new acquisitions and the fact that the later date might then make some buildings eligible. Park management and park staff largely did not support retention of buildings, instead wanting to return the sites to their natural conditions. Graves and Crawford (then Wovcha), along with MWRO staff completed the comprehensive historic structures survey 1989-1990. They documented all buildings in the park (those that were ultimately torn down as well as those that were preserved). Their documentation provided the basis for making determinations of eligibility for the National Register. Preservation of historic properties remained contentious among staff, but SHPO pushed the opposite way. Documentation efforts in the 1990s to help eligibility determination included National Register nominations, cultural landscape reports, cultural landscape inventories, an updated List of Classified Structures. In 1999-2000, to educate park staff about cultural resources and address this contentious subject within the park, MWRO Historical Architect Craig Kenkel gave a presentation. A subsequent series of staff meetings and workshops resulted in the creation of nine decision points and a pallet of alternative uses for each property under consideration.[25]

In 1986, archeological and historical surveys helped with assessing abandoned cabin sites, checking proposed campsites, and evaluating data on historic use of the area by the Bois Forte Band of Ojibwe. In 2002, the park consulted with Bois Forte Band on archeological investigations for building removal, the fire management plan, and vegetation management at historic Ojibwe sites. Two band members visited the park to discuss Richner's *People of the Thick Fir Woods*, treatment of historic Ojibwe sites, and Bois Forte Band history. In 2004, Richner and Mary Graves began the first of a three-year Ojibwe study, including six weeks of archeological study. They continued research on Bois Forte Band association with sites in the park, analysis of off-reservation allotments, and researching features on historic Ojibwe sites. In 2005, MWAC fur trade archeologist Tom Thiessen retired and

[23] VNP, Mary Graves, History of Cultural Resources Program, November 2015, 1, 3, 7, 9, 14, VNP Archives.
[24] See later in this chapter about Ellsworth Rock Gardens National Register designation. VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 23, VNP Archives. Graves, History of Cultural Resources Program, 2, 4, 9, VNP Archives.
[25] VNP, Graves, History of Cultural Resources Program, 1, 4-8, 10. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-158 - I-159.

donated 10 linear feet of fur trade research materials to the park. The park's fur trade/Ojibwe materials constitutes a significant body of information.[26]

The park completed work at Ellsworth Rock Gardens. In 1989, the Kabetogama resort community expressed renewed interest in the site. In 1996, cultural resource specialists from the Midwest Regional Office (MWRO) visited the gardens and helped organize the first workday. The gardens had become completely overgrown with thick vegetation. In 1997, MWRO Marla McEnaney and Mary Graves drafted a treatment plan for the gardens, recommending a phased rehabilitation. McEnaney coordinated the second volunteer work day in 2000. The park then hosted an annual "blitz," to do collaborative problem solving "on the spot" stabilization of features. The blitz happened 2001-2008, and then again in 2010. Other activities at the gardens included in 2001 a mortar analysis, a comprehensive inventory of features, and a base map of the gardens. The next year, the park, other NPS representatives, and contractors started repairing sculptures, developed planting plans and made drawings of the wooden bridge, which was constructed the following year. In 2004, the NPS Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation completed a tree condition assessment. In 2005, Dry Stone Conservancy of Kentucky completed a condition assessment of the stone walls and subsequently sponsored stone wall repair workshops in 2006, 2007, and 2011.[27]

The park's collections have received attention. Wayne Judy in 1974 donated the first items to the museum collection, including the open that President Richard Nixon used to sign the park's enabling legislation. In 1985, the park started identifying artifacts in its collections and that of other repositories (such as the Koochiching Historical Society) suitable for exhibits in the soon-to-be-opened Rainy Lake Visitor Center. This same year, a curatorial team from Washington, DC, assessed the park's collection and storage facilities and made recommendations for changes. In 1995, following the recommendations of the collections management plan, the park built a new storage facility for its collections. The facility had temperature and humidity controls, plus fire suppression and security systems.[28]

Staffing at Voyageurs National Park has built the cultural resources division. By 1976, the park had hired Mary Lou Pearson and G. Franklin Ackerman. Pearson completed 81 of the 100-plus oral history interviews done 1975-1981. In the early 1980s, Mary Graves started as temporary and then part-time Museum Technician, developing collections. By the mid-1980s, Graves had responsibility for compliance. Graves and Resource Management Specialist Jim Benedict worked on the Resources Management Plan. From 1985-1987, Graves was a Park Ranger in the Division of Interpretation and park receptionist and radio dispatcher. In 1987, Graves became Cultural Resources Specialist. Catherine Wovcha (now Crawford) began in 1986 to catalog the IW Stevens photos. In 1988, both Graves and Crawford worked on collections cataloging. Crawford became a seasonal museum aid 1989-1992 and assisted with the historic structures survey. Her appointment ended in 1992, and she went to work as director of the International Falls Main Street Program. Crawford returned as Museum Technician in 2002, she continues to the present. Graves served as Cultural Resources Specialist until 2006, then Program Lead for Resources 2006-2009, then Chief of Natural and Cultural Resources 2009-present.[29]

[26] VNP, Graves, History of Cultural Resources Program, 4, 13-15. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-160 – I-161.
[27] VNP, Graves, History of Cultural Resources Program, 5, 9-11, 13-15.
[28] VNP, Graves, History of Cultural Resources Program, 2-3. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-159 – I-160.
[29] VNP, Graves, History of Cultural Resources Program, 2-5, 7, 13.

Historic structures management planning

When Voyageurs National Park was established in 1975, 248 tracts of land were still in active use. These tracts supported state lease cabins (99), a federal lease cabin, privately owned seasonal cabins (120), two permanent residences, resorts (11), a hotel, organizational properties (4), and Boise Cascade hunting leases. The organizational properties were three summer youth camps and one privately established Indiana Northwoods Club. The hunting leases allowed for one permanent, moveable recreation structure per lease.[30]

The National Park Service arranged for and financed for the Minnesota Historical Society in 1975 to conduct a survey to locate and assess National-Register eligible structures. Field visits to 77% of the buildings, plus review of the relevant documentation and completion of interviews determined that two areas were significant and eligible for National Register designation. One of these, Ellsworth Rock Gardens was found ineligible due to not meeting the 50-year recommendation.[31] The other site was the Kettle Falls Hotel, which was added to the National Register in 1976 and an expanded Kettle Falls Historic District was designated the following year. Little American Mine received designation in 1975 and Gold Mine Historic District followed in 1977.[32]



Figure 21 Park resources staff surveyed historic buildings in the park, including abandoned cabins, and determined eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. NPS Photo, 1993

Cultural Resource specialists from the Midwest Region and Voyageurs National Park re-evaluated the historic structures in the park between 1989 and 1993, a customary practice in recognition of changing ideas about significance and the passage of time. These cultural resource specialists investigated all developed tracts in some form, either by review of lands files or field

[30] VNP, Draft Historic Structures Management Plan and Environmental Assessment (HSMP), 2002, 6, VNP Archives.
[31] Ellsworth Rock Gardens was reevaluated in 1998 and found eligible for listing.
[32] VNP, Draft HSMP and Environmental Assessment, 8. Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 4.

surveys. In particular, they looked at all structures more than 50 years old and any structures less than 50 years old which had the potential for designation. The 1989-1990 survey resulted in identification of 68 potentially eligible properties containing a total of 174 structures. This survey served as the basis for the 1990 Historic Structures Management Plan.[33]

Additional surveys followed. In 1992, the park and the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) reviewed 14 properties and concluded that all but one were eligible. The SHPO and park agreed in 1993 that an additional eight properties met eligibility criteria. All recreational cabins dating to before the 1930s, due to their limited numbers, were identified as eligible. The Oveson Fish Camp on Rainy Lake, despite being less than 50 years old, met criteria for eligibility. A 1999 evaluation of the historic context for tourism and recreation led to a 2000 inventory and analysis of additional properties, producing another ten properties for the National Register. In 2000, therefore, 30 properties were found eligible for the National Register.[34]

At this point, Voyageurs National Park's Cultural Resource Specialist Mary Graves and Biologist, Education Specialist David Syzmanski worked with the park's Interdisciplinary Environmental Review Team and completed NEPA review and assisted with writing the Environmental Assessment. Mary Graves wrote and updated the historic structures management plan. Between 1999 and 2000, the park staff participated in staff meetings, workshops and debates which resulted in nine decision points for evaluating historic structures. Park staff had wide-ranging ideas about historic structures, from preserving no historic structures to preserving all historic structures. A planning team composed of VNP staff, and contractors then completed a General Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, which defined management zones and visitor destinations. With this information in place, the park developed a new Historic Structures Management Plan and Environmental Assessment.[35]

This 2002 plan evaluated the potential impacts or alternative treatments for 24 eligible properties (containing a total of 94 buildings), using public scoping and consultation with the SHPO. The Preferred Alternative retained 16 properties, with recognition of the future potential of four additional properties (still privately owned in 2002). Four properties would be completely removed. Of the 16 properties, 50 structures would be saved. One property would be preserved in its entirety, and secondary structures would be removed from all of the other properties. The preferred alternative emphasized interpretive stories, preserving examples from the early, middle, and late recreational properties from each of the park's districts. The majority of the properties would become major tourist destinations, as appropriate to the physical condition of the structures and site. The National Park Service's Midwest Regional Office, Minnesota SHPO, and Voyageurs National Park signed in 2002 a Memorandum of Understanding delineating stipulations for meeting SHPO requirements before rehabilitation or removal of any historic structures. The Midwest Regional Director signed a Finding of No Significant Impact in 2003, ending the process and making the draft version into the final plan.[36]

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[33] VNP, Building Management Plan, December 1990, 3, VNP Archives. VNP, Historic Structures Management Planning History, 1, VNP Archives.
[34] VNP, Draft HSMP, 2002, 9.
[35] VNP, HSMP, 2002, 67-68. VNP, Historic Structures Management Planning History, 1-2. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-419 - I-420.
[36] VNP, HSMP, 2002, 6-9, 21-23, 54-63, VNP Archives. VNP, Historic Structure Management Planning History, 2015. Memorandum of Agreement Between NPS, Minnesota SHP and VNP, 2003, VNP Archives. Finding of No Significant Impact, Historic Structures Plan, VNP, Minnesota, May 23, 2003, VNP Archives.

This historic sites management plan is commendable for several reasons. This is the only plan in the region that uses a holistic approach to managing historical structures in a primarily natural park. The plan led to the first park-wide programmatic agreement for implementing Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in a Midwest park unit. Significantly, this plan resulted in a multi-property documentation for recreation resources at Voyageurs. This was the only document of this type in the Great Lakes area. Many NPS managers found challenging the recommendation to have vernacular recreation cabins as historic. Many of these cabins were linked to use and occupancy leases or had been private property, making overall management of these structures complex while also groundbreaking.[37]

Specific examples of properties indicate the range of actions taken. Jack Ellsworth spent his summers between 1944 and 1965 on Lake Kabetogama. During that period, he constructed 62 flower beds interspersed with more than 200 whimsical rock sculptures. The resulting Ellsworth Rock Gardens was first evaluated in 1980 but determined ineligible for the National Register. The house was removed, and the gardens abandoned. A re-evaluation in 1998 determined eligibility and a Preservation Treatment Plan was put into place. The Kettle Falls Historic District was to be fully preserved, including the hotel, fish house, and log cabin. The Harry Oveson house, ice house, and fish shed were preserved and turned into a visitor destination. Oveson had run a longtime commercial fishing establishment. The Rainy Lake City Saloon was rehabilitated, and the shed was preserved. The Meadwood Lodge continued service as the Ash River Visitor Center. The park considered a range of alternatives at Monson's Hoist Bay Resort, including rehabilitation of cabins for camping shelters, rehabilitating the kitchen for exhibits, and removing some structures. This resort stood where the Virginia & Rainy Lake Lumber Company once had a railroad hoist camp. The site represents the type of "ma and pa" resorts that once existed to cater to a newly mobile middle class.[38]

National Register program

An important aspect of this management planning for historic structures involved identification of the park's eligible National Register structures or sites. The National Register of Historic Places is a list of sites, objects, buildings, districts, and landscapes that have local, state, or national significance and that have retained enough of their physical integrity to convey that significance. Congress created the National Register when it passed in 1966 the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). The National Register does not mandate protection by the property owner, local or state entities, or the federal government. However, the National Register, with its criteria, has become the centerpiece for preservation efforts. For example, designation on the National Register (or identification of eligibility) opens a property to a wide range of associated governmental and non-governmental opportunities. The eligibility criteria guides how federal agencies comply with Section 106, a key component of NHPA which requires these agencies to take into account historic properties when planning actions. Owners wanting to use the federal rehabilitation tax credit program (and oftentimes state tax credit programs) must demonstrate the eligibility of their property.[39] Many state and local governments use the National Register criteria to inform their own preservation regulations.[40]

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[37] Ron Cockrell to the author, March 28, 2014, 4, VNP Archives.
[38] VNP, HSMP, 32, 35-37, 41, Appendix A.
[39] The federal rehab tax credit does not apply to federally owned properties.
[40] John H. Sprinkle, Jr., *Crafting Preservation Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 1.

During the beginnings of the implementation of the NHPA, federal agencies had many more properties to evaluate than they had the time to obtain actual designation. And these agencies were rapidly planning actions that could affect historic properties that might indeed become listed. To address this immediate situation, President Richard Nixon signed Executive Order 11593 in 1971. This order required federal agencies to identify, evaluate, and nominate all eligible properties within, at the time, two years. Subsequent interim procedures advised that federal agencies exercise extreme caution when conducting their surveys so as not to negatively impact eligible sites. This principle has become a pillar in historic preservation: federal agencies must treat unevaluated cultural resources as potentially eligible when doing their planning. Section 106 now includes the language "eligible for inclusion" as a significant aspect of its requirements.[41]

The National Register lists four general categories for evaluating sites. These include: sites associated with significant events to the broad patterns of US history; sites associated with people significant to US history; sites that embody distinctive physical characteristics or that represent the work of a master; and sites likely to yield information significant to US history and prehistory. Using this list, individual national parks, in consultation with the regional and Washington offices, have developed specific guidelines for evaluating historic sites within park boundaries. At Voyageurs, according to its 1990 Building Management Plan and 2002 Historic Structures Management Plan, park staff preserved at least one example of each park theme. Properties that were removed were those that were the weakest representative of a particular theme, lacked interpretive information, or were in conflict with other park resources or objectives. Development of theme came in part from the National Park Service, which has developed a thematic framework for capturing the progression of US history, prehistory, and cultural themes. The park staff, while developing the 2002 Historic Structures Management Plan, had identified specific park themes that take into account these national themes. The park themes are: prehistoric and historic American Indian occupation; early settlement; recreational activities; architecture; landscape architecture; traditional culture; fur trade; logging; commercial fishing; mining; hunting, trapping, and blueberry harvesting; Prohibition; and conservation. Properties that were determined to be eligible were then categorized by the themes Early Settlement/Homesteading, Commercial Fishing, Conservation Period and Recreation. The Recreational period was divided into seasonal cabins (early, middle, and late period), state lease cabins, seasonal estates, resorts, and group camps.[42]

Archeological site investigations and site stabilizations

The National Historic Preservation Act refers to above-ground historic sites and below-ground archeological sites. Section 106 of NHPA requires that federal agencies consider the effects of their undertakings on historic properties. Section 110 of NHPA requires the identification, evaluation, and protection of historic properties. There are additional historic preservation laws requiring federal government agencies to conduct surveys for resources. These include the Antiquities Act of 1906 and the Historic Sites Act of 1935. Beyond these legal requirements, archeological investigations reveal important information about the past that supplement documentary and architectural sources or that alone provide clues. Since the park's 1971 authorization, the National Park Service and its contractors

[41] Sprinkle, *Creating Preservation Criteria*, 199.
[42] Sprinkle, *Creating Preservation Criteria*, 214-15. VNP, HSMP, 2002, Appendix B. National Register Evaluation Criteria, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, at http://www.achp.gov/nrcriteria.html, accessed October 13, 2015. Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 5.

have conducted a range of archeological surveys. Jeffrey Richner from the National Park Service's Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC) oversaw many of these investigations. He summarized the extent of all known archeological work in (and around) the park and the subsequent findings in his 2008 report, *Expressions of the Past: Archeological Research at Voyageurs National Park*. This report has a 2008 date, but it represents an edited version of a 2004 draft. The delay, caused in part by retirements in the MWAC, resulted in the report not including field studies post-2002. Richner notes in his abstract that his report cites 408 archeological sites but as of January 2008, he knew of another 26 sites being recorded. Some of these were local resources without sufficient information, and so he notes that as of January 2008 Voyageurs National Park had 419 archeological sites with adequate information. Richner makes clear, though, that his report remains "fully accurate and timely" with regard to the historical information presented and the characterizations of the sites.[43]

The park, with staff at the Midwest Archeological Center, has completed a range of different types of archeological investigations to address different needs. Reconnaissance inventories use non-intensive field surveys to visually assess a geographic area. This type of action is often done in response to documentary research and oral histories. Interval shovel testing was not done during the reconnaissance inventories at Voyageurs. Park staff and contractors conducted reconnaissance inventories from 1972 through 2000. There have been three parkwide intensive inventories, another type of archeological survey, done at the park, in 1976, 1979-1980, and 1985-1987. A 1975 intensive inventory at Kettle Falls addressed a project-specific need.[44]

Campsites, day use areas, and houseboat mooring sites have been inventoried for archeological remains as part of the NHPA Section 106 and Section 110 requirements. Nearly all of these sites are located near the shores of the large lakes on relatively flat ground, making them excellent choices for modern-day use. These are also, not surprisingly, within the zone of the park containing essentially all of the known aboriginal archeological sites. Campsite inventories are therefore an important source of information on archeological sites. The park staff has taken the approach that if archeological sites are located in proposed campsite areas, planners first try to find a compatible solution for developing the campsite while protecting archeological resources. This might include designing facilities to avoid sensitive areas or covering archeological resources with soil. If no solutions can be found, then park staff will seek an alternative location for the campsite.[45]

Reservation of use and occupancy tracts have also been inventoried for archeological resources. Some property owners sold their land to the park but retained their right to occupy their land, such as in a cabin on-site, for a fixed amount of time. By the year 2000, many of these use and occupancies had ended, and the park took on the job of removing the structures. Removal has the potential to disturb the ground, and so the park with the Midwest Archeological Center addressed this potentially adverse action through archeological inventories. The reservation of use and occupancy inventories have produced a fewer number of sites than the campsite inventories, but these sites have been significant in the information revealed.[46]

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[43] Sprinkle, *Creating Preservation Criteria*, 104-06, 214. Jeffrey J. Richner, *Expressions of the Past: Archeological Research at Voyageurs National Park*, Midwest Archeological Center Technical Report 104 (Lincoln, NE: NPS, 2008), i-ii. Quote on p. i.
[44] Richner, *Expressions of the Past*, 63-67.
[45] Richner, *Expressions of the Past*, 71-72. Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 5-6.
[46] Richner, *Expressions of the Past*, 72-73.

Shoreline erosion from wave action has severely affected some archeological sites, and the park has undertaken site stabilization to address this situation. Mark Lynott of the MWAC developed the program for completing this work. This process involved adding fill to the edges of the sites and anchoring this fill with geotechnical fabric and stone "riprap." The park worked on these eroded sites during the late winter because the low-water exposed the sites and trucks could get materials to the sites on ice roads. Later analysis has shown that these stabilization efforts have been extremely successful and expected to last beyond 20 years.

All primary lake shorelines have had reconnaissance inventories. Large parts of Kabetogama, Namakan, and Sand Point Lakes have been intensively inventoried. There remains a need for additional shoreline inventories of a 50-100-meter strip along all major lakeshores until all shorelines are intensively inventoried. Campsite planning, in particular, has resulted in archeological inventories being completed widely across the park. Archeological evidence suggests that various American Indian groups have utilized sections now encompassed by the park for the past 12,000 years, with the most intense usage starting after 2150 BP. The Richner report identifies 137 Euroamerican sites, with these being largely associated with logging, mining, commercial fishing, homesteads, and Kettle Falls. This archeological work overall has provided a rich understanding of the prehistory and history of the area now known as Voyageurs National Park.[47]

Richner synthesized the archeological and ethnohistorical record of the Bois Forte Ojibwe use of the area that is now within Voyageurs National Park. Richner used the baseline data from the archeological record and conducted an exhaustive review of such documentary sources as census records, treaties, diaries, and photographs to piece together the Bois Forte use of park lands. He also shared this information with the Bois Forte and incorporated their feedback into guidelines for the protection of burial sites and other archeological sites. Richner received the 2012 John L. Cotter Award for Excellence in NPS Archeology in recognition of his work.[48]

While the park and MWAC have been completing cultural resources work on American Indian life in the area of the park, they have also reached out to the tribes in other ways. Some of these contacts have been driven by cultural resource investigations. The park, for instance, has been consulting with the Bois Forte Band since at least 1988 on major park plans and development, such as roads, visitor centers, campsite development, and exhibits. Other contacts have helped connect tribe elders to their ancestral lands and cultural meanings. The park sponsored in 2003 the first annual boat trip for Bois Forte elders and families to visit ancestral lands in Voyageurs. This event has become an important way for Bois Forte people to stay connected with ancestors and traditional resources. In some cases, they learn about their family history, get children interested in history and culture, and communicate to park management concerns about protection of resources. In all cases, the park has tried to foster positive, professional, and long-lasting relationships.[49]

Other cultural resources activities

Mary Lou Pearson made a significant contribution to the park's oral history collection, and she gathered many of the materials that are in the park library and archives. She worked at the park

[47] Richner, *Expressions of the Past*, 63, 67, 71-73, 75-76, 121-23.
[48] Nomination for the John L. Cotter Award for Excellence in NPS Archeology. NPS, Archeology Program, NPS Announces 2012 Cotter Award Winners, April 2012 Archeology E-Gram, http://www.nps.gov/archeology/pubs/egrams/1204.pdf, accessed October 16, 2015.
[49] Email, Mary Graves to the author, May 16, 2014, VNP Archives.

seasonally in interpretation (the Park Ranger series), but she was the park historian. She was a history teacher in Falls High School. Pearson conducted 81 interviews between May 1975 and August 1981. She conducted an additional 11 interviews in 1982. Pearson talked to a range of different people to cover various aspects of the history of the park and the region. These topics included early Euroamerican settler life in the area, logging, commercial fishing, growth and changes of the city of International Falls, the 1936 Kabetogama Peninsula fire, seasonal cabin owners, water levels and the rule curve, wildlife, the papermaking industry, Ojibwe culture and history, and the establishment of the national park. Pearson also interviewed local Ojibwe. In combination, these interviews, most of which are transcribed, reveal a rich history of the region that encompasses the park.[50]

As reported in the 2005 Long Range Interpretive Plan, the park has repositories for its various collections. The park library, meant not just for park staff but also for the local population, park visitors, and researchers/scholars, focuses upon books and other media addressing natural and cultural resources related to the park. The park archives contain the documentary record of the establishment and management of the park. The park museum collection contains irreplaceable artifacts related to the key time periods of the history of the park, such as the fur trade-era and logging, mining, and commercial fishing. Other parts of the museum collection contain ethnographic materials and natural history specimens. Park staff use the Scope of Collections Statement to ensure that any collecting is directly relevant to the park's history and this scope is routinely reviewed to meet current park goals and objectives.[51]

The collection has moved over the years. The 400-square feet of space for the museum collection (that was referred to in the 1978 annual report) was located on the second floor of the Armstrong Ford dealership. It was a small room on the northside of the building. Later, the museum was housed on the second floor on the south side of the building. This storage area was remodeled in 1990. The park also installed fire doors. In January 1995, the collection moved again and was kept in a new storage facility adjacent to park headquarters. This new space provided adequate temperature and humidity controls, plus fire suppression and security.[52]

Two people served as Cultural Resources Specialist over the course of the park's history, Stephen Goodrich (1980-1981, when the position was abolished) and then Mary Graves Budak from 1987 to 2009. The Cultural Resource Specialist position was eliminated for the second time in 2010 and the duties incorporated into the Chief of Resources position held by Mary Graves. Cultural resources sat in different divisions over time: Interpretation and Resources Management (1973), Interpretation (1979), Resource Management and Visitor Protection (1980), Resources Management (1988), Resource Management and Research (1993), Resources Management under the Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services (1994-1995), and Resource Management and Research (1996).[53]

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[50] NPS, Oral History: Index/Abstracts, 1981, 1-3. An additional 11 interviews were done in 1982.
[51] VNP, Long Range Interpretive Plan (LRIP), 2005, 169.
[52] VNP, Annual Report, 1978, 2. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, December 5, 1989, 5; January 9, 1990, 3; July 19, 1994, 3; January 24, 1995, 3. Draft, Your National Park Service, no date, 4, with the Management Meeting Minutes, March 30, 1999. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-160.
[53] VNP, Annual Report, 1973, 1; 1974, 1; 1975, 1; 1976, 2; 1979, 2; 1980, 2; 1981, 2; 1988, 3; 1989, 2; 1990, 2; 1991, 2; 1992, 2; 1993, 13; 1994-1995, unpaginated [last page]; 1996, 18. Where there are jumps in date in the citations of annual reports, either the author has not found those annual reports or, in the 2000s, the annual reports do not provide the per-division information. See also VNP, Permanent Staff Inventory 1971-2004, VNP Archives.

Natural resources administrative history overview[54]

Park staff, along with volunteers, contractors, and researchers from universities and other organizations, has worked toward fulfilling the park's overall natural resource management objectives in a number of ways. One has involved conducting long-term targeted research. This research has determined what those natural processes are and what changes may be occurring over time. NPS policy relies upon natural processes to maintain native plant and animal species. NPS Management Policies provide guidance on when NPS staff may intervene and when extirpated species may be restored. Targeted research, for instance, has tracked bald eagle and osprey in the park. These raptors have suffered from such human intrusions as manipulated water levels from the dams, reduced numbers of ungulates as a source of carrion during the scarce winter months, and mercury in fish which may affect productivity levels. For these reasons, park staff has counted the numbers of offspring each year since 1973 as part of its larger research program. Lee Grim initiated this research on raptors and other birds in the park and conducted it each year for 40 continuous years.[55]

Inventorying and mapping have also assisted the park in meeting its management objectives. At first, park resource staff accomplished this work by recording findings on paper sheets and then analyzing them to check for trends, which would inform models to predict future impact. The ready availability of computers allowed park staff to link disparate data. This computer work eventually fed into a Geographic Information System (GIS). GIS references data for creating ecological models that track relationships among different resources and how they react to management actions. For example, data on vegetation (fuel) and landforms would help predict the size, shape, and intensity of fires—natural or prescribed.[56]

Jim Benedict served as the park's first resource management specialist. He stayed for five years, but his imprint has been much longer, stretching into many different aspects of the park's resources. He established a comprehensive resource management program and wrote a Resource Management Plan that addressed many complex issues. He worked with Lee Grim to establish campsite selection criteria and wrote a campsite management plan still used by the park. He initiated the park's air quality monitoring program, black bear management program, exotic species treatment plan, and the fire management program. He linked building removal and site restoration. He reviewed proposals for activities outside park boundaries and provided thoughtful comments. He also left the park's resources team with meticulous records to continue his work. The descriptions below of the park's various natural resources activities do not specifically refer to Benedict, but he did shape much of this initial work.[57]

Shortly after authorization of the park in 1971, the park started conducting natural resource inventories and developing a natural resource program. Rainy River Community College biology instructor Lee Grim was doing eagle, osprey, and great blue heron inventories by 1973 and gathering data for a Resource Management Plan. Grim continued to work at the park as a seasonal Resource Management Biologist until his retirement in 2011.

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[54] Mary Graves, Overview of the Natural Resources Program at VNP, November 24, 2015, VNP Archives.
[55] VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan, 1994, ii-00-01, II-00-10. VNP, Annual Report, 1973, 2. Lee Grim, transcript of oral history interview with author, May 13, 2013, 8, VNP Archives.
[56] VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan, 1994, II-00-03.
[57] VNP, Significant People in the History of VNP, 2, VNP Archives.

Wildlife Biologist Glen Cole was hired in 1976 to develop a long-range research program. Cole's wildlife experience at Glacier, Grand Teton and Yellowstone National Parks was desirable for exploring the restoration of declining or absent native wildlife species such as caribou and porcupine.

By 1979, the park had identified the major resource issues as lake levels and its effects on wildlife and fish, effects of acid rain on lakes and water quality, air quality, and absent and declining wildlife. J. Peter (Pete) Gogan arrived from California in 1987 after Cole retired. Gogan continued Cole's work investigating the potential for reintroduction of caribou as well as initiating research on deer and moose habitat and wolves. Gogan expanded the program by developing long-standing university partnerships such as the University of Minnesota's Natural Resource Research Institute which conducted research on impacts of beaver on the landscape. Gogan accepted an Ungulate Research Biologist position at Yellowstone in 1991. The park was not to have a wildlife research biologist on staff again until Steve Windels filled that role in 2003.

Larry Kallemeyn became the park's first Aquatic Biologist in 1980, a position he held until retirement in 2007. Kallemeyn was hired to prepare research proposals to assess effects of lake levels on fish populations. Kallemeyn spent nearly 30 years building interagency support on fisheries, lake level management, and addressing other issues in the watershed. Ryan Maki was hired in 2004 when the park received a large amount of funding for lake levels studies and is now the park's Aquatic Ecologist.

Jim Benedict arrived from Grand Teton National Park in 1984 to become the park's first Resource Management Specialist. During his 6 years at Voyageurs, Benedict developed a comprehensive resource management program, which addressed campsite management, disturbed land restoration, control of exotic plants, fire management, air quality monitoring, human/bear management, trail planning. He wrote a 1000-page Resource Management Plan. Resource Management Biologists William (Mac) Brock (1991-1994), Pat Lynch (1994-1996) and James (Jim) Schaberl (1995-2002) continued the resource programs started by Benedict.

The park's Geographic Information System (GIS) program started with a cooperative project in the late 1980s to evaluate moose habitat. Samuel (Sam) Lammi became a cartographic technician in 1992 and GIS specialist from 1994-2000. Wayne Wold served in this capacity for a brief time followed by John Snyder in 2002.

In 1997, the park reorganized and resource management became its own division with Roger Andrascik as Chief of Resources. Until then, resources staff worked under the Chief Ranger in the visitor protection division. The period from 1991-1997 became a time when staff was re-directed to focus on wolves, wilderness, snowmobiles, lawsuits, and threats of deauthorization.

Chris Holbeck arrived from Joshua Tree National Park when Andrascik transferred to Mount Ranier in 2002. Holbeck's focus was on air quality impacts and regional haze issues and campsite development after completion of the GMP in 2002.

Wildlife monitoring, management, research

The park initiated surveys of birds in 1973 through what would become more that 40 years of research led by Lee Grim. The park's resources staff started gathering baseline data on wildlife in 1978. At the same time, the park investigated wolf eating habits and deer-moose parasites, the latter important to understanding the possible reintroduction of caribou, also described below. Examination of bears in the park led to the approval in 1985 of a bear management plan. The Commissioner of the

MDNR praised this report for "its detail and thoroughness." The park took its first steps in implementing this plan by placing six bear-proof food storage lockers at lakecountry campsites.[58]

The park also studied large ungulates. The results of this research fed into studies analyzing the possibility of reintroduction of caribou. Research in 1989, for example, measured the percentage of white-tailed deer with brainworm.[59]

Wolf research continued in the 1980s and 1990s. One aspect in the 1980s involved identifying packs and determining their respective sizes. Findings in 1988 suggested 5-8 packs containing 32-41 wolves having a presence in the park. The park collared 15 wolves that same year from each pack and monitored them through aerial observation. Voyageurs and Isle Royale collaborated with the University of California, Los Angeles Department of Biology to analyze genetic variability between wolves in each park. More research the following year found that the Voyageurs wolves appeared to suffer from a greater parasite load in comparison to those at Isle Royale. Analysis of blood samples in 1990 determined that wolves in Isle Royale had less genetic variability than the Voyageurs wolves. Beginning in 1993, the park introduced Restricted Use Areas for motorized use (i.e. snowmobiles) in 17 bay and shoreline areas to help protect hunting and feeding areas of the threatened gray wolf.[60]

Throughout the park's existence, resources staff have used aircraft to survey wildlife and monitor its numbers and locations. At first, the park rented airplanes and contracted with pilots to work with the resources staff to conduct this work. But the park encountered delays due to the unavailability of aircraft. By 1991, the park had purchased its own plane. Pilot R. Scott Evans started at Voyageurs in 1976 as a Park Ranger and then became the Park Pilot in 1979. He served as the pilot until 1998. Jay Jesperson served as temporary pilot for part of 1998. Tom Hablett followed, serving from 1999 to 2004; Scott Taylor served in 2008; and Steve Mazur became Park Pilot in 2010 to 2016.[61]

The park's resources management staff tracked an array of wildlife by air. The staff surveyed moose, otter, beaver, and breeding birds. This work counted numbers of each species and locations within the park. By 1987, staff were tracking radio-collared wolves. The park coordinated with the MDNR and the US Fish and Wildlife Service in live-capturing wolves to radio-collar them. Sometimes, this tracking resulted in a "banner day." In 1988, Seasonal Bio-Technician Bill Route went by ground and air to find wolves on a kill, a pup, and tracks of a group of wolves.[62]

[58] VNP, Annual Report, 1978, 2; 1979, 4; 1985, 2, VNP Archives. Quote in Semiannual Report to Congress, March 27, 1986, attached to Memorandum, Superintendent to Assistant Regional Director for Public Affairs, Midwest Region, VNP Archives.
[59] VNP, Annual Report, 1989, 3, VNP Archives.
[60] VNP, Annual Report, 1988, 2-3; 1989, 2-3; 1990, 3-4; 1991, 3-4; 1993, 11; 1994-1995, 10; 1996, 12; 1996, 16, VNP Archives. See Chapters 5 and 6 for more information about wolves and wilderness.
[61] VNP, Permanent Staff List, in Appendices. VNP, Research-Resource Management Squad Notes, 1975-2005, 212, 214, 217, 230, VNP Archives. See also Chapter 10.
[62] VNP, Research-Research Notes, 105, 134, 141. Quote on p. 141.



Figure 22 Ranger Pilot R. Scott Evans (1976-1998) was the park's first pilot. NPS Photo

Wildlife reintroductions

A long-time consideration for park managers and scientists at Voyageurs was the idea of reintroducing woodland caribou and elk to the area. The 1968 master plan referred to anticipated studies that would investigate the possible reintroduction of caribou.[63] The 1980 master plan went further, stating that reintroductions of caribou, elk, and moose (the latter of which had only remnant numbers in the park) "appear necessary to reestablish viable" populations and support native predator and scavenger populations, such as wolves.[64] Biologist Glen Cole paid particular attention to the caribou-elk-moose situation for two reasons. He argued in 1979 that such reintroductions would help meet the goals of the park's enabling legislation, which called for preserving the natural environment and native biota of the historic voyageurs waterways. Cole also saw caribou and elk as food sources for wolves, especially since the white-tailed deer population seemed to be decreasing due to maturing forests.[65]

Park biologists studied the idea of caribou reintroductions in cooperation with the North Central Caribou Corporation (NCCC), an organization that led this effort. Wildlife Research Biologist Peter J.P. Gogan attended meetings of the corporation at least from 1989. Caribou reintroductions would necessarily rely upon cooperation between the Canadian and US governments, with the remaining caribou stock in North America primarily located in Canada. Thus NCCC served as a facilitator, with Parks Canada, the US Department of Agriculture, the US Forest Service, and the

[63] VNP, Master Plan, 1968, 15, VNP Archives.
[64] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 18, VNP Archives.
[65] Cole, Mission-Oriented Research in VNP, 1, 6, 9-10.

Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources being key players in the discussions. Since 1988, the NCCC had evaluated three possible reintroduction locations, the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness, Superior National Forest and Quetico Provincial Park, and Voyageurs National Park. Voyageurs offered the least promising environment, according to Gogan's 1994 assessment, due to the limited number of caribou that could be released, the number of predators, and the number of white-tailed deer that could transfer the deadly brainworm disease to caribou.[66] However, that same year, the Woodland Caribou Reintroduction Committee did recommend relocation of caribou from Canada to northern Minnesota. In 1996, NCCC continued to assess the possibility of reintroducing caribou to the Boundary Waters, but there is no further mention of reintroductions in Voyageurs after this date.[67]

The idea of reintroductions continued to inform natural resources management into 1994 with the new Resources Management Plan. This plan stated that "Perhaps the single most important initiative for the remainder of this century is the restoration of absent and declining native wildlife species" especially the large ungulates and the predator and scavenger species dependent upon this large prey.[68] The 2001 General Management Plan does not specifically refer to reintroduction of caribou in its preferred alternative, but its mission statement does leave the idea open to further consideration: "Native plant and animal species diversity, abundance, and behavior reflect sustainable and naturally occurring conditions."[69] The updated Resources Management Plan, also dating from 2001, does make reintroduction a concept for continued study: "Animal species diversity, abundance, and behavior reflect sustainable and naturally occurring conditions. The park supports or helps to sustain healthy populations of large predators such as eagles, wolves, and bear. The park works cooperatively with neighboring land managers to restore, where feasible, locally extinct or declining wildlife to the region."[70]

Birds of prey research and other bird research

Lee Grim has led the longest-standing inventory and monitoring project in the park. He surveyed bald eagles, beginning in 1973, when the state handed this responsibility over to the park, and into the present. Grim has a master's degree in zoology, with an emphasis in ornithology. He continued his education on birds but also geology. He was teaching biology and science at Rainy River Community College in International Falls when the park was established. In 1972, he started working seasonally at the park. He had met superintendent Myrl Brooks and suggested that the park should hire local people. Grim considered this opportunity at the park as "an opportunity of a lifetime." And the park has equally benefited from the relationship, having the data on bald eagles collected from a single person essentially over the course of the park's history. Grim also worked with researchers from

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[66] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 12, 1989, 2; December 5, 1989, 2; January 23, 1990, 1, VNP Archives. Peter J.P. Gogan and Jean Fitts Cochrane, "Restoration of Woodland Caribou to the Lake Superior Region," in *Restoration of Endangered Species*, ed. by Marlin L. Bowles and Christopher J. Whelan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)(whole article: 219-42), 228-38. By the time this article was published, Gogan was at Yellowstone National Park.

[67] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 25, 1994, 2; March 12, 1996, 2, VNP Archives. Reintroduction of caribou was determined to be unfeasible because of the numbers of predators (wolves and bears) and parasites in white-tailed deer. The parasites show no apparent effect on white-tailed deer but are often fatal to caribou and moose.

[68] VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan, 1994, II-00-20.

[69] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-9.

[70] VNP, Resources Management Plan, 2001, 66, VNP Archives.

Michigan State University to band bald eagles and collect blood and feather samples to assess levels of contaminants. He also started doing breeding bird surveys in 1995.[71]

Grim's inventory and monitoring projects expanded to osprey, herons, and cormorants. He counted nests from the ground or estimated numbers of birds in colonies in specific sites using aerial surveys. He could trace how such birds as the herring gull were replaced by the ring-billed gulls who successfully invaded the herring gull's territory. He also traced the dynamics of certain animal and bird populations. He watched as beaver entered an area and flooded it. The trees (mainly ash) fell and died. Herons used these fallen trees as nest sites. But then bald eagles appeared, and the herons left. He has recorded the changing breeding territories of bald eagles and osprey, sometimes shifting between the two.[72]

Grim contributed greatly to the life of the park, beyond his wildlife inventory and monitoring. He started as a seasonal park ranger (interpreter) before the park had a resources division. In 1973, Superintendent Brooks gave Grim a boat and said, as Grim later recalled, "I don't want to see you the rest of the summer. I want you to go out and see what's out there." And Grim did that. He got to know the lakes and where the cabins were located. He started looking for possible trail locations and where campsites might be placed.[73] This initial inventory and evaluation of the park's resources laid the foundation for the park's management plans.

Grim was a first-class spokesperson for the park. He never turned down an invitation to speak about the park, whether in a formal setting or on an impromptu basis. He took his classes out into the park, an opportunity that he marveled at. "I mean, can you imagine," he said, "being a student in a class where you get in a big boat, and your teacher takes you out to a heron [rookery], or cormorant [rookery], or gull [rookery], or eagles nests, and osprey nests, and you see all these things in one day?"[74] He tried to pass his enthusiasm for the park to everyone, and he built bridges between the park and the local community to foster constructive relationships. He was the friendly "bird expert" and "geology expert." He knew the sciences, and he worked constructively with people to meet goals, whether with respect to water level research or exotic plant removal. Grim received the Kallemeyn Award in 2012, an honor bestowed by the Lake of the Woods Water Sustainability Foundation in recognition of Grim's many years of inventory and monitoring, working in the community and with the International Joint Commission (IJC), and serving as a professor at the community college.[75]

Aquatics program

Larry Kallemeyn joined the park's natural resources team in May 1980 as the aquatics research biologist. As described in the section below on water levels management, wildlife research biologist Glen Cole had suspected that the manipulated water level from the dams appeared to have a negative impact on the aquatic environment, and he needed a biologist to conduct the research to determine scientifically if such a linkage existed. Kallemeyn had his bachelor's degree in Fisheries and Wildlife

[71] Grim, transcript of interview, 1-2, 8-9. Quote on p. 9.
[72] Grim, transcript of interview, 14-17.
[73] Grim, transcript of interview, 3.
[74] Grim, transcript of interview, 16.
[75] VNP, Significant People in the History of VNP, 1. See also VNP, Annual Report, 1972, 1, VNP Archives.

and his master's degree in the same program with an emphasis on fisheries. He had been working for the US Fish and Wildlife Service before coming to Voyageurs.[76]

Kallemeyn encountered a fair amount of resistance from the MDNR to his presence. As he recalled, the MDNR viewed fisheries work in the park as its territory, and Kallemeyn perceived that MDNR representatives "weren't exactly thrilled to see that the park was hiring a fish guy." In an initial meeting between the Park Service and the local, regional, and state fisheries, Kallemeyn found that "they weren't very supportive." Superintendent Russ Berry went to bat for Kallemeyn, telling the state that, as Kallemeyn remembered, "'You guys can either get involved or whatever, but we're going to go ahead and start with this research project.'" The DNR's response to the initial request for a collecting permit for this research resulted in Kallemeyn having authorization to collect as many fish as the average person who went fishing in the state. Kallemeyn considered this limited permit to be a "slap in the face." But the state sent "one of their own guys" to accompany Kallemeyn on this research project, and this person's presence proved beneficial. The state worked with Kallemeyn on this entire project, and "it was just a matter of them starting to recognize I wasn't there to take over or anything and that we could gain more by working together." The relationship with the local fisheries office in particular improved so that soon enough the state and park began collaborating on an array of projects, especially long-term monitoring.[77]

One such long-term monitoring program involved annual fall index netting. Since 1982, the state has sampled Rainy Lake. In addition, the state and park have cooperatively conducted index netting on Namakan Reservoir (Namakan, Kabetogama, and Sand Point lakes). This program has proved important for tracking year class strengths of walleye. For 25 consecutive years, Kallemeyn led the sampling by seine on Kabetogama Lake of 16 sites six times a year from mid-June to late August. These measurements yielded relative abundance and growth data to assess reproductive success and its contribution to year classes for the fishery.[78]

The park implemented a plan to re-introduce the northern pike to Beast Lake. The MDNR had treated the Beast and O'Leary lakes in 1961 with a toxicant to eliminate native species, including northern pike. Beginning in 1964, MDNR used Beast and O'Leary lakes to stock the non-native species rainbow trout for fishing purposes. Walleye and northern pike invaded O'Leary Lake in 1971, making trout survival less likely. MDNR suspended its efforts in this lake. MDNR ceased in 1980 the Beast Lake program at the request of the National Park Service, which pointed out that rainbow trout did not occur naturally in that part of the United States. In a cooperative effort, the park, National Biological Survey, and MDNR developed a plan for capturing 60 adult northern pike in the Moose River area of Namakan Lake and flying them to Beast Lake, hopefully before the fish had spawned. The plan also called for closing Beast Lake to fishing to give the northern pike time to re-establish its presence. The park and its cooperators flew in more northern pike in 1996 and 1997, and the lake remained closed through 2001. Northern pike re-establishment was hampered by the presence of non-

[76] Kallemeyn worked directly as an employee for NPS from 1980-1993, then was transferred to the National Biological Survey for a short time before being assigned to the US Geological Survey. He fortunately never changed desks at the park though his supervisors came from USGS. He retired in 2007.
[77] Larry Kallemeyn, transcript of oral history interview with the author, July 19, 2013, 6, VNP Archives. Kallemeyn does not identify exactly who from the MDNR joined him during his initial research trips on the lake waters.
[78] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 6, 2005, 3, VNP Archives. Kallemeyn, transcript of interview, 13.

native predatory fish. This effort to restore northern pike in Beast Lake represents one example of the evolving cooperative relationship between the park and MDNR.[79]

Exotics

Exotic species challenged the park in its attempts to maintain the ecosystem at least from the time of park establishment. Purple loosestrife grew in areas inside and outside the park but was concentrated on the west edge of Kabetogama Lake. The park formally noted purple loosestrife in its 1987-1988 annual report. This plant, an invader from Eurasia, replaces native wetland vegetation and severely deteriorates the natural ecosystem. Park staff received crucial support from state and other federal agencies. In combination, these "strife busters" acted aggressively. They cut off loosestrife flower heads and bagged them and then spot-sprayed the plants with an aquatic herbicide. Park staff reached out to the public through news releases and interviews on local radio and television shows. These efforts reduced the invasive plant density by 95 percent.[80]



Figure 23 A park crew, called "strife busters," is treating purple loosestrife, an invader from Eurasia, which replaces native wetlands vegetation and severely deteriorates the natural ecosystem. NPS Photo

The park's exotic program has been interrupted by other priorities over time. Intensive monitoring and control continued through 1994. Most park staff between 1995 and 1997 switched to working on restricted use area monitoring (to evaluate the relationship between wolves and snowmobiling) and also to providing general support for the park's response to lawsuits, congressional hearings, and threats of de-authorization. The park in 1997 focused its exotics program on controlling

[79] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 24, 1995, 3; April 11, 1995, 4; April 18, 1995, VNP Archives. NPS, Press Release, Voyageurs National Park Restores Northern Pike and Controls Non-natives in Beast Lake," May 10, 2001, VNP Archives. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-141 – I-142. Re-establishment of northern pike in Beast Lake may have been slowed by the introduction of smallmouth bass, but the most recent (as of 2015) fisheries survey carried out by the MDNR shows the re-establishment of northern pike in Beast Lake was successful. Ron Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 8, VNP Archives.

[80] VNP, Annual Report, 1987-1988, 1; 1988, 3; 1989, 2; 1990, 2;1993, 11. Minutes, VRNPA Board of Directors, July 16, 1988, 2, File Meetings 1987-1989, Box 2, VNPA Collection, Minnesota Historical Society.

invasive thistle in the Ash River area. Around 2003, the park returned to eradicating purple loosestrife, this time using biological controls. The last insects were introduced in the 2010-2011 period. As of late 2015, the park considers purple loosestrife "controlled," meaning that it does not require annual treatment. But park staff does do hand-pulling every two or three years. Other species of concern have included the Eurasion watermilfoil, spread by boats and waterbirds.[81] It has the capacity to cause severe damage to native species. This plant had not invaded the park as of 2001 but was evident regionally. Exotic rainbow smelt, and rusty crayfish have colonized waters in and adjacent to park waters and displaced native species. Zebra mussels have not infested park waters. Spiny water flea, an exotic zooplankton species, has invaded Rainy Lake and Namakan Reservoir and is causing concern due to ecosystem changes after invasion: large decreases in zooplankton biomass and shifts in zooplankton species assemblages.[82]

GIS

GIS is a computer system used to store and analyze spatial or geographical data. The GIS program started at Voyageurs when Dr. Maury Nyquist, Chief of Washington, DC Office GIS in Denver, visited the park in 1987. In 1988, a cooperative project to evaluate moose habitat quality and availability in the park was developed with the Denver GIS office, University of Minnesota, Welder Wildlife Foundation, US Forest Service, and US Fish and Wildlife Service. Sam Lammi became a cartographic technician in 1992 and then the park's first GIS Specialist (1994-2000). He developed a GIS plan for the park and worked closely with staff to gather and add data layers to the GIS so that more kinds of analysis could be done. Wayne Wold was GIS specialist for a brief time before John Snyder arrived in 2002. GIS now contains hundreds of base layers of data with probably thousands of project data layers. GIS is routinely used in natural resources and many other aspects of park management.[83]

One small but illustrative example of GIS work comes from 1994. Park natural resources staff conducted an inventory of abandoned mine lands within the park boundaries to determine if these mines could support any bat populations. The inventory concluded with finding a single bat in the long horizontal shaft on Bushyhead Island. Park staff uploaded into the park's GIS abandoned mines inventory 19 mine shaft locations. This information created a new thematic layer. Various attributes were then attached to the layer.[84]

An example about bats demonstrates the close relationship between inventory and monitoring (which in the mid-1990s became known formally within NPS as Inventory and Monitoring or I&M) work and GIS. The first applied I&M project in the park involved counting breeding birds in the forested areas of the park. GIS was used to reclassify forest cover types. The overall project, done in cooperation with the University of Minnesota-Duluth and the Natural Resources Research Institute, allowed the park to share its findings with local, regional, national, and international avian conservation groups.[85]

By 1996, the park had a sophisticated GIS with several different data sets. These data sets reflected research conducted by the park and that acquired from other agencies. The data sets included

[81] The Eurasian watermilfoil has not invaded the park as of 2016.
[82] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-17, I-33. Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 9.
[83] Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 9.
[84] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 18, 1994, 2, VNP Archives.
[85] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 20, 1995, 5, VNP Archives.

bald eagle surveys, campsites, lichen locations, small mammal locations, plus the Echo Bay hiking/skiing trail, geology, and Canadian topographic data. Vegetation field data was collected in access databases with linkages to GIS units.[86]

A cooperative project to evaluate moose habitat quality and availability in the park was developed in 1987 with the NPS' GIS office (WASO, Denver), the University of Minnesota, the Welder Wildlife Foundation, the USFS, and the USFWS. It used GIS to evaluate recent observations of moose relative to a Habitat Suitability Index (HSI) model for moose developed by the USFWS. Some of the same methods and materials were used to evaluate habitat selection by radio-collared deer.[87]

Air and water quality monitoring

Voyageurs National Park became a Class I area when the Clean Air Act was amended in 1977 and defined Class I areas as national parks larger than 6,000 acres or wilderness areas over 5,000 acres. This designation has the most stringent air quality protection under the Clean Air Act and requires NPS to do everything the agency can to ensure air pollutants do not adversely impact the park's air quality-related values, such as flora, fauna, visibility, soil, and water. NPS personnel review any permit applications for any new or expanded industrial operations near the park that may have an adverse effect on air quality. With respect to visibility, a 1991 study showed that air south of the park often contributed to poor visibility within the park. The NPS Air Resources Division mapped all larger industrial sources in the region, finding that several emitted at least 10,000 tons per year of a combination of suspended particulates, nitrates, sulfates, and volatile organic compounds.[88]

The Boise Cascade (now Boise Paper) plant in International Falls, according to this 1991 study, emitted on average 1,000 tons of these suspended particulates, nitrates, sulfates, and volatile organic compounds per year, but studies had not found that westerly winds (given the location of the plant with respect to the park) contributed to poor visibility in the park. The Boise plant has regularly exceeded standards, at least until the 2001 date of the park's General Management Plan, for total reduced sulfur, most noticeable by the rotten egg smell. Lichens studies (1997) in the park showed that the sulfur concentrations in lichens were much higher than natural background levels. Boise Paper most recently has not exceeded standards.[89]

Between 1985 and 1987, the park had a bioindicator plot at Black Bay to monitor air quality. Members of the Plant Pathology Department at the University of Minnesota, St. Paul planted the plot. The Minnesota Environmental Quality Board primarily funded the effort. The team conferred with Naturalist Park Ranger Lee Grim about plot layout and measurement techniques. Two work-study students documented plant growth and condition once a week, looking for injury to plant sensitive to different air pollutants. Members of the Plant Pathology Department planted new plants in the same plot the following year. Students collected data, but so did Grim. Each year, the university harvested the plants for study in its labs. The department decided not to plant the bioindicator plot during the summer of 1988, instead analyzing and interpreting the data already collected.[90]

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[86] VNP, Annual Report, 1996, 15, VNP Archives.
[87] Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 9.
[88] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-126.
[89] VNP, GMP, I-126 – I-127. Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 10. For annual emissions levels for Boise, please see: https://www.pca.state.mn.us/quick-links/eda-air-quality-search-point-source-data.
[90] VNP, Research-Resource Notes, 50, 82, 88, 96, 121, 137.

The park has conducted other long-range air quality measurements. Ozone monitoring since 1988 (until at least 1997, according to the 2001 GMP) has indicated a statistically significant decreasing air quality trend for ozone, though the average 8-hour ozone concentrations in the park did not exceed Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) standards. Air pollutants, such as sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides, from coal-burning plants and taconite mining have resulted in acid precipitation falling within the park. Some of these contaminants came from as far away as Texas and Alberta. Despite the presence of acid rain, the park's large lakes have been somewhat buffered, thanks to their relative alkalinity. A USGS study, however, found many of the 26 interior lakes to be sensitive to acid rain.[91]

The park's Black Bay Air Quality Monitoring Site (began in 1986) and, later, Ash River Air Quality Monitoring Site provided data to aid these analyses. The Black Bay site measured criteria pollutant, meteorological, and visibility levels. In late 1995, park staff from the natural and cultural resources divisions met to plan a strategy for the new site. In June 1996, NPS contractor Air Resources Specialists came to the park to make the new air quality system functional. Park Air Quality Biological Technicians took daily recordings from the Black Bay and Ash River sites. At different times in the park's history, it also had an air quality visibility camera to check for haze.[92]

The US Geological Survey (USGS) in 1977 conducted its first preliminary survey of the water quality of the park's four largest lakes. The USGS continued monitoring in collaboration with NPS through 2007 when Larry Kallemeyn retired. Voyageurs staff have since led the monitoring from 2007 to the present. Data collected between 1977 and 1983 revealed that these lakes largely met EPA criteria for protection of freshwater aquatic life, recreation, and drinking water, although some distinct areas did not meet some criteria. For example, protection of aquatic life was threatened in some bays and other lake areas due to the presence of sulfides, ammonia, or PCB concentrations. USGS conducted another sampling in July 1999 and compared these results with the ones taken 1977 to 1983. For the most part, the 1999 levels were unchanged from the earlier ones with respect to alkalinity and specific conductance. Nutrient concentrations showed a decrease with the 1999 levels. Trace metals were detected less frequently in the 1999 values. Trophic status during 1999 was below median 1977-1983 trophic levels at all sampling sites. Since 1983, the MDNR continues to take water quality samples from one station and fish from multiple stations annually on each of the four large lakes in the park.[93]

Since 1981, the park has conducted a limnological monitoring program for the park's four large lakes. This water survey measured temperature and dissolved oxygen profiles, alkalinity, conductivity, pH, and Secchi disk (water transparency) amounts, taken every two weeks from mid-May

[91] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-126 – I-128, I-139 – I-140.
[92] VNP, Research-Resource Notes, 78, 148, 200, 248, 325, 334, 388.
[93] VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan, 1994, II-03-7. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-136. Don P. Weeks and Roger J. Andrascik, Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota, Water Resources Scoping Report, Technical Report NPS/NRNWS/NRTR-98/201 (October 1998), 30-31, VNP Archives. Kerry L. Holmberg, Beth Y. Odde, and Jim Perry, Water Resources Management Plan, Voyageurs National Park, April 2005, 33, VNP Archives. Gregory A. Payne, Water Quality of Lakes and Streams in Voyageurs National Park, Northern Minnesota, 1977-1984, Water Resources Investigations Report 88-4016, 1991, 74-76, VNP Library. Gregory A. Payne, Water Quality of Lakes in Voyageurs National Park, Northern Minnesota 1999, Water Resources Investigations Report 00-4281, 2000, 11, VNP Library.

to October. Beginning in 2000, in response to the change in the rule curves for water levels, the park also measured total phosphorous chlorophyll-a levels.[94]

Mercury, as of the park's 2001 GMP, is found in elevated levels in the fish and wildlife in Voyageurs National Park, even in comparison to next-door neighbor Superior National Forest. These levels are caused by atmospheric contamination, especially from coal-fired power plants and other regional and global industrial sources. Nearby mining and processing of iron ore taconite may affect the mercury levels in the park's wildlife. Collaborators of the park identified processes associated with lake-water pH, dissolved sulfate, and total organic carbon as major factors influencing mercury concentrations in fish in the inland lakes. Water-level fluctuations strongly corresponded to mercury concentrations in fish in the large regulated lakes. The US EPA has listed the lakes of Voyageurs National Park as impaired for mercury.[95]

The park is particularly sensitive to the effects of climate change. It is located in a unique transition zone at the southern end of the boreal forest. Any slight changes in overall average temperatures could change the composition of the park's flora and fauna.[96]

Restoration of disturbed land

Another natural resources effort restored the landscape to an earlier time period. The 99 state-leased lands reached their 10-year limit in 1985, requiring leaseholders to vacate these properties. In 2000, a large number of the 25-year leases on lands previously sold to the Park Service also came due. These two events meant that the park could remove the cabins and other manmade structures and restore the landscape. The park's enabling legislation determined the scope of removals of these manmade structures. The legislation states that "the purpose of this Act is to preserve, for the inspiration and enjoyment of present and future generations, the outstanding scenery, geological conditions and waterway system which constituted a part of the historic route of the Voyageurs who contributed significantly to the opening of the Northwestern United States." Removals allowed park staff to re-create those environmental and historical conditions.[97]

However, NPS is also responsible for identifying and planning for the protection of cultural resources significant at the local, state, and national levels, whether or not such protection relates to the specific authorizing legislation or interpretive programs of the parks in which they reside. While all historic structures cannot be removed, they all may not be worthy of saving. Demolishing a historic structure or allowing it to decay naturally is justifiable when all other alternatives are judged infeasible. Within Voyageurs, park staff debated the best disposition of historic structures that balanced these two factors, the park's authorizing legislation and NPS responsibility to historic structures.[98]

The act of removal of buildings is governed by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) as well as the in-house property disposition process. The park had internal tracking procedures for making sure Section 106 and protection of archeological resources was

[94] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 6, 2005, 3, VNP Archives.
[95] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-127 – I-128, I-140. VNP, Annual Report, 2005, 1, VNP Archives.
[96] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-128.
[97] VNP, HSMP, 2002, 16. VNP, Annual Report, 1990, 2; 1991, 2; 2004, 1-2, VNP Archives. VNP Enabling Legislation, 1971.
[98] Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 10. VNP, HSMP, 2002, 18.

integrated into the property disposition and removal process. On an ongoing basis, there were also individual properties that had been sold with owners not opting for leasebacks or life estates.[99]

Building removals have evolved over the course of the park's history. In the early years as the park acquired property, ranger staff typically burned buildings in situ. Many of these sites had to be cleaned up a second time to remove nails and other non-burnables. It was also highly emotional for former residents to see buildings burned, so the park started putting buildings up for sale through the property disposition process, and people could bid on them. Buildings typically sold for very little (a few dollars), and buyers would salvage desirable parts and leave the rest for the park to clean up. The responsibility for building removal then went to the maintenance division until 1985 when it went to the resource management division. Seasonal resource management employees Lee Grim and Don Graves set up a program to dismantle buildings piece-by-piece, separate materials, and haul non-burnables. Their crews consisted of county juvenile probationers and work study students.[100]



Figure 24 Resource Management Biologist Lee Grim(on roof) leads a cabin removal on Sphunge Island on Kabetogama Lake. NPS Photo

Around 1991, the maintenance division again took responsibility for building removal. The majority of park use and occupancy cabins expired in 2002-2003, so during that period, much of the building removal was contracted. Today in 2016, when the park does building removal, the staff combine it with restoration of native plants because the "let nature take its course" method had resulted in the proliferation of exotic plants. The park built a greenhouse in 2012 to propagate native plants endemic to northern Minnesotaa an endemic to Voyaguers. The park collects and processes seed from within the park to ensure local genotypes and phenotypes are being replanted into the park. As of 2013, thousands of individual plants from over 40 different species were growing in the nursery. The

[99] Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 10.
[100] Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 10. Raoul Lufbery, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 7-9, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Superintendent, VNP to Public Affairs Officer, Midwest Region, February 19, 1987, 2, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1990, 2; 1991, 2.

park plans to plant these plants (many by volunteers at VNPA's Volunteer Rendezvous) along the new Recreation Trail when it is completed and in the Ethnobotanical Garden at the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. The park also uses these plants at building removal sites to speed up their ecological restoration.[101]

Cabin site restoration depended on whether the park planned to use the land for park developments or not. If for campsites, Lufbery's staff cleared the area of manmade structures. They then installed campsite facilities following standards established in the Lakecountry and Backcountry Site Management Plan, including picnic tables, fire rings, and tent pads. If not planned for other uses, the workers prepared the seed bed in the area and "let Mother Nature take over by coming back with its own vegetation." Lufbery noted that within four or five years, "we'd generally get a fast reproduction -- vegetation reproduction growth there."[102] Concerns about exotic plants have modified site restoration.[103]

Man and the Biosphere program

UNESCO initiated the Man and the Biosphere (MAB) program in 1971 to establish a scientific basis for improving the relationships between humans and their environments. The program uses the natural and social sciences, economics, and education to improve people's livelihoods and equitably share benefits. This work is also meant to safeguard ecosystems. MAB uses this combined approach to promote innovative approaches to economic development which are socially and culturally sensitive and environmentally sustainable.[104]

A US-Canadian MAB panel recommended in 1986 a North Woods Biosphere Reserve, which would encompass the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness, Voyageurs National Park, Isle Royale National Park (this park already had designation as a Biosphere Reserve in Lake Superior), and Quetico Provincial Park in Ontario. Some local groups opposed such a designation in fear that such an intergovernmental label would infringe upon traditional recreational activities and private property rights. MAB in fact did not have such authority or intent, but these local groups maintained their opposition. The US Forest Service withdrew the Boundary Waters from consideration, but the National Park Service submitted its two sites for consideration. By the time this proposal came up for review by the US National MAB Committee, the issue threatened to become a factor in state elections. United States Representative James Oberstar in particular opposed the program, reminding NPS that Voyageurs was meant to be a multi-use recreation area. He may have opposed the designation in part because NPS had not consulted with him. Plus, local opposition may have made the proposal untenable during his re-election campaign. The US National MAB Committee terminated the proposal and recommended public education about the program.[105]

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[101] Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 10. John Snyder, Why a National Park Needs a Greenhouse, VNPA Blog, 2013, VNP Archives.
[102] Lufbery, transcript of interview, 9.
[103] Cockrell to the author, March 28, 2014, 29. The goal with the Flexible Park Base funding that the park received for disturbed land restoration was to restore 22 former cabin sites; the park visited/assessed over 170 former cabin sites and treated for exotics and/or restored vegetation at 135 of them (the rest did not need restoration). Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 13.
[104] UNESCO, Man and the Biosphere Programme, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/ecological-sciences/man-and-biosphere-programme/, accessed October 18, 2015.
[105] W. Gregg, "Environmental Policy, Sustainable Societies," in *Ecosystem Management for Sustainability: Principles and Practices Illustrated by a Regional Biosphere Reserve Cooperative, and Biosphere Reserves*, ed.

Water levels management

One concern that National Park Service officials discussed in the 1960s as they considered proposing a Voyageurs National Park revolved around the dams at Kettle Falls and International Falls. The area's natural landscape of water, rocks, and trees, had a fundamentally unnatural aspect to it—water levels mechanically controlled to furnish electrical power for the paper mills. Boise Cascade owned those dams and operated them according to regulations established by the International Joint Commission (IJC).[106] The Park Service ultimately decided that the inherent natural beauty and recreational opportunities of Rainy, Kabetogama, Namakan, Crane, and Sand Point Lakes outweighed the water levels issues, and Congress agreed by setting aside the national park. The park's enabling legislation acknowledges the supremacy of treaties between the United States and Great Britain (relating to Canada) with regard to shared lands and waters. Water levels had been manipulated since 1909 when the first dams were built, and the IJC had jurisdiction to assess possible emergency conditions of high or low water levels and to take steps with regard to the dams in regulating those water levels. The unspoken expectation within the Voyageurs Act was that the changing water levels ultimately did not severely alter the park's environment.[107]

The park's first biologist, Glen Cole, soon found otherwise. His studies in 1979 noted that the life requirements of native fish, aquatic plants, and shore-nesting birds were not being met due to the regulated water levels.[108] Cole was a wildlife biologist, especially with regard to the large ungulates, and he "basically figured out that the lake-level issue," according to aquatic specialist Larry Kallemeyn, "was a real problem" for the park's natural environment. Cole responded, as noted above, by hiring Kallemeyn the following year.[109] Kallemeyn focused his research on two areas. He investigated if the rule curves, or rules for governing dam operation on Rainy and Namakan lakes, actually had a negative effect. If that was the case, he then had to use modeling to research whether alternative hydrology could restore some level of natural conditions.[110]

Kallemeyn evaluated the 1970 Rule Curves, the most recent set the IJC had established for the Namakan Reservoir, which included Kabetogama, Namakan, and Sand Point lakes (plus Crane and Little Vermilion lakes outside the national park). These rule curves on average made the fluctuation on

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by John D. Peine (Boca Raton, FL: Lewis Publishers, 1999), 32. https://books.google.com/books?id=PElLQwiWFK4C&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false, accessed October 18, 2015. Carol W. LaGrasse, "A Little-Known NPS Program: Biosphere Reserves, the International Vanguard of Rural Depopulation," *Positions on Property* 2, no. 1 (1995), as reproduced by the Property Rights Foundation of America, at http://prfamerica.org/positions/ALittleKnownNPS_BioRes.html#Little1up, accessed October 18, 2015. The park initiated in 1984 its efforts to be found eligible for and nominated as a biosphere. See VNP, Annual Report, 1984, 1, VNP Archives.

[106] Boise Paper in International Falls and the Canadian company H2O Power in Fort Frances now operate the dams.

[107] Memorandum, Chester Brown to Regional Director, Region Two, June 21, 1962, 2-3, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Chester Brown to Director, October 5, 1962, 3-4, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Eliot Davis to Harry Robinson, June 21, 1963, 2, VNP Archives. Davis notes that American Indian sites have been washed out, exposing artifacts, due to raised water levels from the artificial dams. P.L. No. 91-661, Establishment of VNP 1971, (8 January 1971), Section 304.

[108] VNP, Annual Report, 1979, 4. Glen F. Cole, "Mission-Oriented Research in VOYA" (paper presented at the Second Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks, San Francisco, November 26-30, 1979), 9-10, VNP Archives.

[109] Kallemeyn, transcript of interview, 6.

[110] Kallemeyn, transcript of interview, 10, 18.

Rainy Lake and Namakan Reservoir about 3 feet greater than natural or pre-dam conditions, according to US Army Corps of Engineers estimates, and about 2.6 feet less than natural on Rainy Lake. The overwinter drawdown on the Namakan Reservoir averaged 7.5 feet, which was about 6.6 feet greater than natural conditions. Rainy Lake overwinter drawdown was 2.6 feet, similar to the 2.3 feet under natural circumstances. Timing of these fluctuations also differed from natural circumstances under the 1970 Rule Curves. Peak lake levels on the Namakan Reservoir under regulated conditions came in late June or early July, as opposed to late May or early June in the pre-dam days. Water levels then remained stable over the course of the summer on both the Namakan Reservoir and Rainy Lake, instead of gradually declining during the summer under natural conditions.[111]

Kallemeyn particularly studied northern pike and walleye spawning habits to determine the effects of the 1970 rule curves. Northern pike spawn within two to three weeks of ice-out, or when the lake under study becomes free of ice, generally May 1 for Kabetogama Lake. Northern pike need flooded emergent vegetation for successful spawning, but Kallemeyn's research indicated that during the crucial time period after ice-out, this condition existed in the Namakan Reservoir only when lake levels exceeded the maximum levels allowed under the water levels management program. In other words, ideal spawning conditions were achieved only when regulated water levels were not followed, an unreliable "management by default" situation.[112] Walleye spawn within the two-week period following ice-out, and they require gravel and rubble substrates that have been cleaned by wave action during the summer. Such wave action would occur, under the 1970 rules, only if there was a significant rise in lake levels in the spring, since summer levels were kept static under the rule curves. Such a scenario would happen only 50 percent of the time, based upon the timing of past ice-outs.[113]

These negative effects upon fish spawning actually happened due to a combination of regulated water levels across the seasons. High and stable water levels during summer and early fall encouraged vegetative growth and wave-washed gravel substrates at higher elevations—or at the larger perimeter of the lakeshore. This situation, along with a large winter drawdown, meant that flooding of these preferred substrates following ice-out was difficult, especially during low runoff years. The necessary water level did not reach in early spring where the preferred spawning sites had been created in the previous summer.[114]

Other animals displayed similar negative effects to the set of 1970 regulated water levels. Biologists Kallemeyn and Cole presented the results of a decade of study in 1990. Beaver built their lodges based upon the high and stable water levels of the summer seasons. Their lodges in the Namakan Reservoir, however, by January were out of the water and their entrances covered with ice sheets due to the winter drawdowns. Nearly 80 percent of the beaver abandoned their lodges and had to find alternative food sources since their food caches were locked in ice. They opened themselves to predation while searching for food, plus they relied upon excessive use of body fat reserves for survival. They had fewer and smaller kits in comparison to Rainy Lake beaver which did not

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[111] Larry W. Kallemeyn and Glen F. Cole, Alternatives for Reducing the Impacts of Regulated Lake Levels on the Aquatic Ecosystem of Voyageurs National Park (NPS, October 1990), 2-3, VNP Archives.
[112] Larry W. Kallemeyn, Effects of Regulated Lake Levels on Northern Pike Spawning Habitat and Reproductive Success in Namakan Reservoir, VNP (NPS, May 1987), 6-11, VNP Archives.
[113] Larry W. Kallemeyn, Effects of Regulated Lake Levels and Climactic Factors on Walleye and Yellow Perch Recruitment in Namakan Reservoir and Rainy Lake, VNP (NPS, 1986), 13-16, VNP Archives. Kallemeyn, transcript of interview, 18-21.
[114] Larry W. Kallemeyn, "An Attempt to Rehabilitate the Aquatic Ecosystem of the Reservoirs of Voyageurs National Park," *George Wright Forum* 9:2 (1992): 41.

experience drawdowns significantly different from natural conditions. Otter were routinely forced to change their home ranges with the winter drawdowns on the Namakan Reservoir, which lost 25 percent of its area due to water regulation. Loons on the Namakan Reservoir lost their nests primarily from rising lake levels, which flooded the nests. Other reasons for losing their nests were desertion due to human disturbance or predation. For loons nesting on Rainy Lake or the interior lakes, they only lost their nests from desertion or predation. None of these nests experienced flooding. Rainy Lake water levels with the dams remained largely at natural conditions during this season. The dams did not affect water levels on the interior lakes. Red-necked grebes in the Namakan Reservoir also saw about half of their nests being flooded out over the multi-year study period, with average reproductive rates being much lower than those observed on naturally fluctuating lakes. The benthic community, organisms that inhabit the bottom substrates of lakes, also indicated negative effects from water fluctuations. Sampling showed that the winter drawdowns stranded organisms which had concentrated in areas that eventually lost water. Many of these stranded organisms eventually died, reducing possible food sources for fish.[115]

Park biologists Kallemeyn and Cole then reviewed in 1990 thirteen alternative rule curves, which they developed as part of their study, and assessed their feasibility with respect to approximating the magnitude and timing of natural fluctuations, in comparison to the 1970 Rule Curves. One alternative most closely replicated natural conditions, but it would also have had unacceptable effects for late summer navigation and dock usage. Instead, park managers recommended another alternative that largely mimicked the magnitude, and partially the timing, of natural hydrological conditions. None of the alternatives could fully replicate natural conditions with respect to year-to-year variation because power production, navigation, sanitation, and water supplies took precedence over such variability.[116]

Additional analysis of fisheries data by the MDNR and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources reinforced the concerns raised by the Park Service studies. Another factor involved the licensing action of the US Federal Regulatory Commission, which stipulated that the licensee (Boise Cascade) of the hydropower dam at the outlet of Rainy Lake develop a water-level plan that included the protection and enhancement of, among other things, water quality and fish and wildlife. The combination of these different surveys and licensing requirements led interest groups in the United States and Canada to join together in June 1991 in a steering committee. Members included dam owner Boise Cascade, state and provincial organization representatives, and the public. The steering committee's goal, using consensus-building methods, was to coordinate submission of a proposed rule curve to the IJC that would improve biological conditions while also meeting other user needs. The most significant other user need was hydropower generation for the Boise Cascade mills. Boise noted that it was open to possible changes in the rule curves, but its primary focus remained preservation of hydropower. Boise argued that there needed to be compelling evidence for a change, and it believed that other factors may have influenced the reduced fish numbers in the studies, such as overfishing. The company also worried aloud about any potential liability the company might incur from water-

[115] Kallemeyn, "An Attempt to Rehabilitate the Aquatic Ecosystem," 40-42. Kallemeyn and Cole, Alternatives for Reducing Impacts, 18, 21, 23, 28-29, 38-41. Larry W. Kallemeyn, Yosef Cohen, and Paul Radomski, "Rehabilitating the Aquatic Ecosystem of Rainy Lake and Namakan Reservoir by Restoration of a More Natural Hydrologic Regime," *Biological Report* (US Fish and Wildlife Service), 19 (1993): 440. Kallemeyn, transcript of interview, 18, 21-22. Grim, transcript of interview, 19-20.
[116] Kallemeyn and Cole, Alternatives for Reducing Impacts, ii, 88.

level related damages if the rule curves were changed. The 1970 Rule Curves not only promoted power generation, but they also protected against spring flooding[117]

The steering committee submitted its proposed rule curves in a final report to the IJC in November 1993. Public comments from both sides of the border were taken into consideration as the steering committee developed its proposal. All meetings of the steering committee had a place on the agenda for public comments and questions. Steering committee members met separately with special-interest organizations and also reached out specifically to the Lac La Croix First Nation to determine the effects of the current and proposed rules curves on American Indian people. On three separate occasions, the steering committee sent out brochures and questionnaires to inform the public and ask for comments. These comments largely favored the proposed changes, roughly 80 to 20 percent. Concerns were raised about the possibility of spring flooding and the effects of the changes on navigation and dock access. Positive feedback reflected a desire to improve fish stocks and return to more natural conditions. Many organizations also expressed their support for the rule curves changes, notably the Citizen's Council on Voyageurs National Park, the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, the Crane Lake Commercial Club, and the Voyageurs Region National Park Association.[118]

The 1993 proposed rule curve recommended the following changes. There should be an earlier rise in spring water levels than the present rule curves allowed. There should be stable or declining June water levels. There should be a slight summer drawdown. And, the winter drawdown on Namakan Reservoir should be reduced from the 1970 Rule Curves.[119]

Boise Cascade in February 1994 submitted a statement to the IJC requesting the maintenance of the 1970 Rule Curves. The IJC in April 1995 turned to its International Rainy Lake Board of Control to develop a study plan to review the steering committee's findings and recommended rule curves. The Rainy Lake Control Board, after four years of study, recommended adoption of the proposed rule curves. The IJC in January 2000 largely accepted the proposed rule curves with the condition that a monitoring program be instituted over the next 15 years to evaluate the effects of the changed water levels.[120] In 2002, Voyageurs and natural resources agencies in Ontario and Minnesota established a coordinating committee to guide the needed long-term research program. Funding for such an extended program remained a concern, but Kallemeyn noted in 2013 that the IJC has largely

[117] Kallemeyn, Cohen, and Radomski, "Rehabilitating the Aquatic Ecosystem," 443-44. Steering Committee: Regulated Lake Levels Objectives, attached to Meeting Minutes, Rainy Lake/Namakan Chain Water Level Steering Committee, June 10, 1991, VNP Archives. Meeting Minutes, Rainy Lake/Namakan Chain Water Level Steering Committee, October 23, 1991, 1, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Don Weeks to Superintendent, VNP, December 9, 1997, 4, VNP Archives. Boise Cascade Position Statements Concerning Lake Level Management on Rainy Lake and Namakan Reservoirs, November 26, 1991, VNP Archives. Jeff Lowe to Radomski and Darby, March 15, 1993, VNP Archives. Larry W. Kallemeyn, Kerry L. Holmberg, Jim A. Perry, and Beth Y. Odde, Aquatic Synthesis for VNP, Information and Technical Report 2003-0001 (USGS/BRD/ITR, May 2003) 1.
[118] Summary of Mailed Questionnaires as of February 1, 1993, attached to Steering Committee Notice of Meeting, March 3, 1993; Steering Committee, Meeting Minutes, December 2, 1992, 1; Public Review Draft of Steering Committee Final Report and Recommendations, June 1993, 5-7; Steering Committee, Meeting Minutes, August 27, 1993, 1, all VNP Archives.
[119] Public Review Draft of Steering Committee Final Report and Recommendations, June 1993, 5. Rainy Lake and Namakan Reservoir Water Level International Steering Committee, Final Report and Recommendations, November 1993, 75-78 and attached copies of letters of support, VNP Archives.
[120] The IJC did not accept some important aspects of the proposed rule curves for Rainy Lake.

funded those studies specifically identified by the coordinating committee. In 2015, the IJC will review these studies to determine if the projected benefits from the changed rule curves materialized.[121]

Kallemeyn had essentially spent his entire career at Voyageurs studying how water-level management from the dams had affected the aquatic ecosystem in the park, and the 2000 decision by the IJC was a "red-letter day" for him. It "validated spending 20 years of my life trying to make a point." He won't be working at the park when the 2015 report is delivered and the IJC decision comes down, but he can find satisfaction in the important role he played in conducting the studies to initiate such a change.[122] Kallemeyn's 27 years of methodical research on aquatic biology at the park was gathered together in the 2003 Aquatic Synthesis for Voyageurs National Park and serves as a foundation document. He was prescient in collecting data on zooplankton that has since provided the park with pre- and post-spiny waterflea conditions. Spiny waterfleas are an exotic species from Eurasia which eat native zooplankton, an important food source for native fish. The Lake of the Woods Water Sustainability Foundation established the Kallemeyn Award, named for its first recipient, in 2008. This award recognizes the great respect Kallemeyn gained from scientific researchers and land managers on both sides of the border. The award honors Kallemeyn, "who throughout his career, made significant contributions to scientific understanding, resource management and collaborative and cooperative approaches in the [Lake of the Woods and Rainy River] watershed."[123]

The park hired Ryan Maki in 2004, and he has taken the water-levels program to 2016. Maki was hired as part of the NRPP-Natural Resource Management project titled, "Assess the Impacts of International Lake Level Management by Using an Interdisciplinary Approach." It was a temporary position that eventually led to Maki's permanent position as the park's Aquatic Ecologist. He coordinated three of the five portions of the project, developed cooperative working relationships not only with the principal investigators involved in the lake levels research project but also with professionals at several cooperating agencies involved in the management of the international border waters of the park. He also collaborated for several years with Aquatic Biologist Larry Kallemeyn who had worked on lake level issues for over twenty-five years. Maki became the Project Manager for the IJC's Plan of Study and in 2016 will consolidate the results of the studies and present a report to the IJC for the review of the rule curves.[124]

As of 2016, natural and cultural resources are in one division led by Chief Mary Graves. Natural resources is divided into 3 program areas (wildlife, aquatics, and vegetation). Wildlife Biologist Steve Windels is the lead for the wildlife program, Aquatic Ecologist Ryan Maki for aquatics, and Biologist John Snyder for vegetation. Air quality monitoring is currently a part of Windels' responsibilities. NEPA compliance is part of Snyder's responsibilities. Windels has one employee who is partially funded with NPS air quality funding; Maki has one employee who is shared with the Great Lakes Network. There is no longer a cultural resources division since shortfalls in funding forced elimination of the cultural resource specialist position in 2012. Graves oversees the cultural resources program. Catherine Crawford is responsible for museum, library and archival collections and an

[121] Kallemeyn, Holmberg, Perry, and Odde, Aquatic Synthesis, 9-13. Kallemeyn, transcript of interview, 12-13.
[122] Kallemeyn, transcript of interview, 14.
[123] Quote from Lake of the Woods Water Sustainability Foundation, Kallemeyn Award, http://www.lowwsf.com/component/acymailing/archive/view/listid-11-acajoomlist3/mailid-19-kallemeyn-award-deadline-reminder.html, accessed October 19, 2015. VNP, Significant People in the History of VNP, 1.
[124] Cockrell to the author, November 25, 2015, 12.

Integrated Resource Technician position was filled in 2013 by Andrew LaBounty to serve as park archeologist, Section 106 coordinator, and assist with natural resource inventories and GIS.[125]

Resources management work in the national park continues to build on the division's previous work. For example, Resource Management Biologist Lee Grim retired in 2011, but he continues to inventory and monitor birds of prey in the park as a volunteer. Until his 2016 departure from the park, Park Pilot Steve Mazur assisted with surveying and monitoring wildlife, from wolves to moose to beavers. Park staff has been working with the Voyageurs National Park Clean Water Joint Powers Board since 2009 to provide sewer collection service in communities that surround the park. Work has started at Crane Lake and Kabetogama. Construction for the Island View system is scheduled to start in Spring 2017. To date, no plans are completed for Ash River.[126]

Park staff has focused upon other current natural resources management work. The park's aquatics program has been assessing the ecosystem health of 25 interior lakes. This program has also been monitoring for the presence of the spiny water flea, a non-native species. The aquatics staff has been studying the relationship between artificial lake levels and mercury concentrations in fish in Rainy Lake. The vegetation and GIS program manages park vegetation (both native and non-native), maps vegetation locations using GIS, and addresses compliance. This program has been monitoring and treating non-native plant species around the visitor centers, housing areas, entry roads, and the Rainy Lake Recreation Trail. The resources management staff has been developing an Environmental Assessment to control invasive cattails and restore wetlands on the large lakes. The staff has also been developing seed collection and propagation techniques for wetland and marsh species to restore areas after cattail removal. The park's wildlife program has been studying the effects of water-level management in the large lakes on beavers, loon, and other sensitive wildlife. Regarding climate change, the wildlife program has studied the response of moose to extreme temperatures and has predicted changes in distribution of plants, birds, and mammals in the Great Lakes national parks.[127]

Current work in cultural resources has focused at Kettle Falls, including a 3-year archeological investigation, completion of a cultural landscape report, and planning for historic furnishings. Restoration efforts continue at Ellsworth Rock Gardens, which is the most heavily visited destination in the park. Development of interpretive media and visitor facilities at historic properties is on-going with development recently completed at I.W. Stevens Pine Cove Resort and Monson's Hoist Bay Resort. Cultural resource staff works with the maintenance division on planning for rehabilitation of historic properties, including most recently at the Garrett and Mittet properties. For the collections, Catherine Crawford and volunteers have been reducing the cataloguing backlog, organizing the historic structure building materials collection, and undertaking a multi-year effort to organize and make the archives accessible. The park library, which is one of the few in the NPS that is open to the public, will soon be accessed through the NPS library program. Cultural resource staff has been working with the Koochiching County Historical Society to develop history exhibits and historic photo displays in park

[125] Cockrell to the author, December 21, 2016, 6-7.
[126] VNPA, "Army Corps of Engineers Moves Voyageurs Sewer Project Forward," VNPA Blog, VNP Archives. Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 15.
[127] Resources Division, Newsletter, January 2016, sections on Aquatics Program, Vegetation and GIS Program, Wildlife Program, VNP Archives.

gateway communities and on potential partnerships with the Minnesota Historical Society as it develops plans to re-open the Grand Mound Historic Site west of International Falls.[128]

[128] Resources Division, Newsletter, January 2016, section on Cultural Resources program. Cockrell to the author, December 21, 2016, 7.

Chapter Eight

Interpretation

In its most basic form, interpretation serves visitors by educating them about park resources and facilitating a personal connection to those resources. Interpretation at Voyageurs National Park is guided by the purposes set forth in the park's enabling legislation. These purposes are, in summary form, to preserve for present and future generations the outstanding scenery, geology, and waterways important to the historic route of the Voyageurs, who helped open the Northwest.[1]

Interpretive planning

A series of planning documents, dating from 1968 to 2005, lay out how the park has put its legislated purposes into practice for interpreting the park's natural and cultural resources for its visitors. The 1968 Master Plan, completed before the 1971 authorization of the park, used the natural environment and the history of the region as the two major themes for interpretive activities. This plan speculated that "The Voyageur and the Land" might be a standard approach. Natural resources, including geology, ecological recovery with respect to wildlife and human history, and the logging and paper pulp industry would be topics to illustrate these two main themes. The 1968 Master Plan also recommended disbursing interpretive materials throughout the park. Visitor centers would use exhibits and personal services as a primary contact point. Park rangers would give talks and slide programs at campground amphitheaters throughout the park. Natural features and historical events would have in-place interpretation, possibly using folders, signs, demonstrations, or audio stations.[2]

The park's 1980 Master Plan built upon the ideas presented in the 1968 Master Plan. The park's environments and the human relationship to those environments would lead interpretation. The role of glaciers in shaping the physical landscape; the role of American Indians, the voyageur, and the lumberjack in influencing the environment; and the continual process of recovery of nature would all illustrate the overall interpretive theme. As with the 1968 Master Plan, the 1980 Master Plan envisioned distributing interpretation throughout the park using a variety of media, including publications, exhibits, demonstrations, and talk and slide programs. The 1980 Master Plan also recognized that areas outside the park offered their own interpretation and that the park should coordinate with them to give the visitor a larger story than what the park could provide. These other

[1] P.L. 91-661, An Act to authorize establishment of Voyageurs National Park, January 8, 1971.
[2] A Master Plan for the Proposed Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota, 1968, 11, VNP Archives.

locales included Grand Portage National Monument, Superior National Forest, Quetico Provincial Park, and Fort William Historical Park in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada. The park planned to use interpretation about humans and the environment to highlight the need for respecting the fragility of the natural resources, given the short growing season and thin soils.[3]

Directly following the 1980 Master Plan, the park released its 1981 Interpretive Prospectus. The 1981 Interpretive Prospectus further developed the ideas presented in the 1980 Master Plan, using the fundamental theme of the park's environments and the human relationship to them. The 1981 prospectus laid out a series of subthemes: the role of glaciers, human influence on the environment, ecological system recovery from human actions, and the functioning of natural systems and their impact on human activities. The prospectus identified seven objectives to address these themes and a series of goals to fulfill in specific ways these objectives. The seven objectives were to foster awareness about the natural environment both in the present and historically; develop an appreciation for the methods to preserve, restore, and maintain natural systems; develop and promote responsible visitor use of resources; promote safe use of park resources; foster awareness about scientific research in the park; stimulate visitor recognition of their connection to the human past; and generate an appreciation for the park's cultural resources.[4]

The 1981 Interpretive Prospectus focused upon development of interpretive facilities. Personal services were highlighted only as they complemented facility development. These facilities would serve as thresholds for visitors, giving experienced visitors new broader horizons for exploring the park and uninitiated visitors an introduction to the park's resources. A key aspect of the interpretation would encourage visitors to leave their cars behind and venture into the park and experience the natural and cultural resources firsthand. The proposed facilities would sit unobtrusively within the landscape but not hide from visitors. They would not duplicate interpretive offerings in the vicinity. The prospectus also recommended a systematic and phased facility development.[5]

Aspects of the interpretive approach at Voyageurs reflected changing emphases within the national park system as a whole. By the late 1960s, NPS interpretation had begun to incorporate three new directions: audiovisual advances, living history, and environmental education. The Voyageurs 1981 Interpretive Prospectus includes each of these methods. Proposed visitor facilities at Black Bay (on Rainy Lake), Kabetogama Narrows (at Ash River), and West Kabetogama each identify audiovisuals, such as films or slide programs, for consideration. To connect visitors to the historical voyageur, the 1981 prospectus encouraged activities that in some way reenacted the voyageur way of life. Environmental education appears in many of the prospectus's objectives and goals, such as raising awareness about air and water pollution and how visitors might minimize it, describing the restoration of the natural environment following human overuse, or making connections between the environment and the range of human actions done in that environment.[6]

The park's interpretive staff participated in an intense planning and development period between 1985 and 1988. Staffing was challenging. Chief of Interpretation Bill Gardiner supervised

[3] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 13, 32, VNP Archives.
[4] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, June 1981, 5-9, VNP Archives.
[5] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 21-22.
[6] Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: NPS, 1986), chapter 3, http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/mackintosh3/directions_av_innovations.htm. accessed October 30, 2015. VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 6-9, 25, 33, 36.

three permanent employees, including Rainy District Interpreter Ron Erickson, Namakan District Interpreter Michael Braley, and Park Ranger Mary Graves. By 1989, both district naturalist positions were vacant, and Graves had been re-assigned to the Resource Management and Visitor Protection Division. Despite these decreasing numbers, the staff produced important interpretive materials to match the building program, with the opening of the Rainy Lake Visitor Center (RLVC, 1987), Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center (KLVC, 1988), and the re-opening of Kettle Falls Hotel after its extensive rehabilitation (1988).[7]

The park's interpretive staff worked with staff from Harpers Ferry Center on many projects. The RLVC exhibits, described later in this chapter, focused upon the theme of transportation over time in northern Minnesota. The park and Harpers Ferry Center in 1986 also developed a new slide show for RLVC to replace the film *Pace of the Seasons*. They worked with Harpers Ferry Center on exhibits about the park for the State's Travel Information Center in International Falls (1986). Park staff participated in the planning for exhibits for the Orr Visitor Center (1987), which were contracted out to JPG Communications.[8]

The Wayside Exhibit Plan, produced by Richard Helman at Harpers Ferry Center in 1987, was a comprehensive plan. The plan was designed to provide visitors an orientation to the park as well as information about safety, rules and regulations, and interpretive programs at every access point to the park, major historic sites, primary roads and trails (including the ice road), through the use of unified wayside exhibit and bulletin board design. The 1987 Wayside Exhibit Plan described the subject matter and specified the text and images for each wayside panel to be built under the plan. Waysides would go up at Kettle Falls (dock, hotel, and dam), Crane Lake, boat ramps (Kabetogama Narrows, KLVC, Woodenfrog, and RLVC). More waysides would be placed at tour boat waiting areas, Hoist Bay dock, and Kabetogama Narrows road pull-offs. A 1989 addition to the plan described waysides for the newly designed Ernest Oberholtzer Trail at RLVC.[9]

Park interpretive staff developed more interpretive materials. They collaborated with author Greg Breining on the park's first full-color book (designed by Christina Watkins and published by Lake States Interpretive Association, 1987) and with author Shannon King on a book about Kettle Falls (both published by the Lakes State Interpretive Association). Park staff planned temporary exhibits at Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center (KLVC). Finally, in 1986, park staff worked with concessioner Bob Hilke on a design for a 49-passenger tour boat.[10]

Beginning in 1993, the National Park Service worked to reinvent its overall interpretive program. The NPS Interpretive Development Program (IDP) began, and in 1996, forty interpreters met at the Stephen T. Mather Training Center in West Virginia. They developed a peer review system and professional standards. This initial work led to collection of feedback from more than 400 interpreters. The team identified the core standard, that successful interpretation provides visitors with opportunities to make their own intellectual and emotional connections to the relevance and significance of park resources. Three tenets underpinned this core standard: that resources have meaning and relevance, that visitors seek something of value for themselves, and that interpretation facilitates this connection between visitors and the resources. In 2003, the National Park Service released its encapsulation of the

[7] Ron Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 1-2, VNP Archives.
[8] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 5, VNP Archives. Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 1-2.
[9] VNP, Wayside Exhibit Plan, 1987 (1989 addition), VNP Archives. Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 1-2.
[10] Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 1-2. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 5- 6.

IDP's work in the publication *Meaningful Interpretation: How to Connect Hearts and Minds to Places, Objects, and Other Resources*. Part textbook, park workbook, and part journal, *Meaningful Interpretation* now guides interpretation in NPS, and its overall approach is seen in Voyageurs' 2001 General Management Plan and 2005 Long Range Interpretive Plan.[11]

The park's General Management Plan indicated a shift in interpretive approach. The GMP argued that the park's previous interpretive theme--of the park's environments and the human relationship to those environments—did not single out the specific mission, purpose, or significance of Voyageurs. The 2001 GMP instead identified waterways and their importance to life as the primary theme. This theme could help interpreters tell the multi-faceted story of the park and its human and natural history. The GMP also noted that the 1981 prospectus failed to take into account visitor usage or visitor experience. Subsequent years left the interpretive program slow to react to changes in critical resource management issues and fluctuating visitor use patterns. The GMP benefited from visitor surveys in its recommendations for the interpretive program. These surveys covered summer and winter use as the primary seasons for the park, but shoulder seasons also had seen increased visitation in recent years.[12]

The park released its Long-Range Interpretive Plan (LRIP) in 2005. The GMP and its visitor surveys, plus additional surveys conducted in 2003 and 2004, informed the LRIP. Park staff, led by Chief of Interpretation Kathleen Przybylski, and the Department of Interpretive Planning at Harpers Ferry Center, used a goal-driven process to define desired visitor experiences and how best to meet those desired outcomes while respecting the park's natural and cultural resources. The team identified four goals for the LRIP: to effectively orient visitors, to provide a broad range of information, to provide opportunities for visitors to connect to the park's resources, and to educate visitors about the park's critical management issues and to facilitate stewardship. The plan especially emphasized orientation as a way for visitors to connect with and enjoy the park's resources. The team then singled out six interpretive themes: geology, water, scenery, voyageurs and the fur trade, plants and animals, and people. The park should foster, according to the LRIP, the idea of discovery, to traverse the waterways like the voyageurs and Ojibwe.[13]

The LRIP took into account an earlier wayside plan from 1987. This wayside plan identified 28 exhibits and defined what would be on bulletin boards and interpretive panels to be scattered throughout the park. Waysides would focus upon interpretive themes appropriate to each location, such as the boreal forest as related to wildlife, the water ecosystem, and Ojibwe cultural heritage as related to the area's natural resources. Funding restrictions limited the production of waysides to only two, and these were never installed. As a result, the 2005 LRIP recommended that the park review the suggested waysides, take those of relevance to the park in the current time period, and undergo a new planning process once funding is available. The park had previously placed ten waysides and replaced most of them in 2002 and 2003.[14]

An important aspect of the LRIP was the use of visitor statistics for determining how best the park might respond to the expectations and interests of its visitors. The NPS Public Use Statistical Office develops a unique mathematical formula for each national park site to calculate visitation. The current formula for Voyageurs dates to 1992. The Public Use Statistics Office staff used aerial counts

[11] NPS, About Interpretation, http://idp.eppley.org/about-interpretation, accessed October 29, 2015.
[12] VNP, General Management Plan, 2001, I-177, I-196 – I-197, VNP Archives.
[13] VNP, Long-Range Interpretive Plan, 2005, ii, 12-13, 37, Appendix F, VNP Archives.
[14] VNP, Wayside Exhibit Proposal, 1987, no pagination. VNP, LRIP, 2005, 58-61.

and survey information collected over a 12-month period to establish correlations between the number of people at the Rainy Lake Visitor Center and the number of people on houseboats, fishing, snowmobiling, etc.[15]

The park has requested a re-evaluation of this formula to take into account several changes. These changes include better access to the Ash River Visitor Center; more sites for tent camping, houseboats, and day use; additional trails; changes in fishing regulations for the United States and Canada; and an increased number of large groups. In addition, the current park visitation methodology, as stated in the park's 2001 GMP, fails to provide rich data about visitor use patterns, visitor needs, and visitor experiences. The National Park Service's Public Use Statistics Office visitor counts were used for informing the GMP and the 2005 LRIP. The park has continued to question the accuracy of the official visitation numbers.[16]

No matter how these visitation numbers have been calculated, they do not reveal visitor use patterns, visitor needs, or visitor experiences. Park staff and their collaborators sought some insight in this area. A series of park visitor surveys helped inform development of the 2001 General Management Plan and the 2005 Long-Range Interpretive Plan. These surveys provided a snapshot into visitor use and recreation levels. A 1995 study by the University of Minnesota showed that only 14% of snowmobilers surveyed were from out of state, and these came mostly from neighboring states or Canada. A 1996 recreation survey by the University of Minnesota-Duluth substantiated the 1995 survey, finding that visitors came from Minnesota (60%) or adjoining states Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin (20%). Less than 1% were international visitors.[17]

The University of Idaho conducted two summer surveys. A 1997 survey determined the reasons visitors came to Voyageurs, both in the present and past. The top reasons for the 1997 visit were sight-seeing, viewing wildlife, fishing (without a guide), visiting a visitor center, photography, and hiking. The top past reasons to visit were fishing (without a guide), sightseeing, viewing wildlife, visiting a visitor center, and camping. Another University of Idaho summer survey, done in 1998, revealed information about visitor use. This study showed that most people arrive in family (60%) or peer groups. Most visitor groups contained two to four people (66%), with the principal age group being 36-50 years old (34%). A typical stay usually lasted several days, with 55% of visitors staying three or more days in the park and another 21% staying more than seven days. One-third of summer visitors spend less than a day at the park, often just a few hours.[18]

The University of Minnesota conducted surveys during the summer of 2002 and 2003 to further inform the LRIP. These surveys reinforced previous ones. Combining the survey data from both years, the LRIP reported that groups averaged 3.4 people, with 69% from Minnesota, with another nine percent from Illinois or Wisconsin. Seventy percent of people visited for more than one day and 70% of all groups operated or used watercraft. People went to a visitor center, fished, and hiked. Groups stayed in resorts (31%), camped (22%), or stayed in private cabins (14%).[19]

Beginning in 1998, the National Park Service and the University of Idaho Cooperative Park Studies Unit developed a Visitor Survey Card system for all units in the national park system. The visitor survey system identifies a certain time period (July 1-31 for Voyageurs National Park) during

[15] VNP, GMP, 2001, II-11 – II-12.
[16] VNP, GMP, 2001, II-11 – II-12. VNP, LRIP, 2005, 272.
[17] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-163 – I-164. VNP, LRIP, 2005, 266-67.
[18] VNP, LRIP, 2005, 268-69.
[19] VNP, LRIP, 2005, 17.

which a particular park randomly hands out the survey cards. The Voyageurs 2005 LRIP partially reported on two of those surveys, done in 2003 and 2004. The 2003 survey respondents described the significance of the national park, saying to preserve land and wildlife; offer boating, camping, and fishing; represent the history of the fur trade; and keep the area pristine, as a wilderness. The 2004 survey respondents ranked park facilities, visitor services, and recreational opportunities. For each of these categories, visitors scored the park at more than 85%, when combining the good and very good scores. Overall satisfaction was 96%, when combining the good and very good scores. The 2005 LRIP reports on all of this survey data, indicating its value to the development of the plan.[20]

Visitor centers

The park had temporary exhibits at its changing headquarters locations in International Falls. There is no information about temporary exhibits in the park headquarters during its initial years, but once staff moved into the triple-wide trailer (late 1975), staff had a dedicated area for a couple of years interacting with the public. This visitor center space, by 1980, included an information desk, cooperating sales area for interpretive literature, nautical (lake) charts, topographic maps, and the park library. The visitor area also had an audiovisual room and small exhibit spaces.[21]



Figure 25 The park's fledgling staff welcomed visitors at the headquarters building visitor center, located south of International Falls. NPS Photo, 1977

The park headquarters moved in 1982 to the former Armstrong Ford dealership and used the showroom to provide visitor information until a visitor center could be constructed. Superintendent Tom Ritter had initiated the process of having the General Services Administration acquire the dealership property, and Russ Berry would be the first superintendent to use the former dealership. The park headquarters remained at this location until 2011 when it moved to its present site along the Rainy

[20] VNP, LRIP, 2005, 270-71. The LRIP does not provide the other results of these two surveys, nor does it provide results from the survey card system going back to 1998.
[21] VNP, Annual Reports, 1976, 3; 1978, 2; 1979, 2; 1980, 4, VNP Archives. VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 10, VNP Archives. VNP Interpretive Program Summary, 2.

River on Highway 11. Exhibits changed at the International Falls Visitor Center. In 1981, as an example, park staff completed exhibits on the Great Blue Heron and on artifacts for the International Falls Visitor Center (triple-wide trailer location) to represent natural and cultural resources.[22]



Figure 26 The park moved its headquarters in 1982 to the former Armstrong Ford dealership in International Falls and used the showroom as a visitor center. NPS Photo, 1984



Figure 27 Visitors could see the North canoe, which William Hafeman built using traditional techniques, in the park's visitor center at the former Armstrong Ford dealership. NPS Photo

A temporary information contact station, at the former Meadwood Lodge, opened in 1978 on the south shore of Kabetogama Lake, near the mouth of the Ash River. The park identified this site as

[22] J. Thomas Ritter, transcript of oral history interview with the author, August 27, 2013, 41-42, VNP Archives. Russ Berry, transcript of oral history interview with the author, September 17, 2013, 23, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1981, 1-3, VNP Archives.

Kabetogama Narrows. The park initiated a review of possible visitor contact locations in this general vicinity. A 1978 Development Concept Plan (DCP) for Black Bay, Sullivan Bay, and Kettle Falls identified the Kabetogama Narrows location as the primary visitor use area and entry point for the park. The DCP proposed building a visitor center and associated facilities and leaving Meadwood Lodge, which had been a resort until acquired by the park, as a support building. A 1980 addendum to the 1978 DCP proposed construction of a visitor center complex and removal of Meadwood Lodge.[23] The park underwent further evaluation of potential development sites, making the decision to build the Rainy Lake Visitor Center on Black Bay and Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center at West Kabetogama, away from Meadwood Lodge. The park remodeled Meadwood Lodge in the 1980s and in 1987 changed the name from Kabetogama Narrows Information Station to Ash River Information Station. Eventually, that name shifted to Ash River Visitor Center.[24]



Figure 28 The historic Meadwood Lodge on Kabetogama Lake now serves as the Ash River Visitor Center. NPS Photo

Interpretive planning for the area known as Kabetogama Narrows or Ash River has changed over the years. The 1981 Interpretive Prospectus proposed that visitor development would rely upon construction of "pods" to meet such functions as information, exhibits, or theater. The prospectus identified the following themes for the exhibits at Kabetogama Narrows: glaciation, forest succession, life histories of beaver and/or other major animal species, life and culture of Ojibwe, logging activities, commercial fishing, and the transition from these to resort-based recreation. By 2005, Meadwood Lodge was the Ash River Visitor Center, and it used exhibits made in-house, which told visitors about the lodge's history and the park's Artists-in-Residence program. The 2005 Long-Range Interpretive

[23] The decision to remove the historic Meadwood Lodge was changed in the 1990s during planning for rehabilitation of NPS-1, Meadwood Road.

[24] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 10. VNP, Annual Report, 1981, 2-3; 1984, 1, VNP Archives. NPS Press Release, VNP to Dedicate Three Visitor Facilities, August 4, 1988, 2. Interpretive Program Summary 1976-2009, 1, 9, VNP Archives. Ron Cockrell to the author, March 28, 2014, 22, VNP Archives. Architectural Resources, Inc., VNP Addenda to Conceptual Design Alternatives for Facilities at Kabetogama Narrows (Sullivan Bay), Black Bay, and Kettle Falls, April 1980, VNP Archives.

Plan made geology and scenery, especially with respect to recreation, as the two main interpretive themes for this location. The former lodge has retained its rustic charm, offering visitors comfortable chairs to sit on by the stone fireplace.[25]

The Rainy Lake Visitor Center (RLVC) opened in August 1987. This 6,000 square-foot building contains a large exhibit area and auditorium as prime interpretive spaces. The 1981 Interpretive Prospectus had used transportation, its evolution and role in the opening of the Border Lakes region, as the key theme for this proposed visitor center. One set of exhibits would look at the contributions of early American Indian cultures and their use of the canoe, toboggan, dog team and sled, and snowshoe. The story would then follow in a chronological fashion, describing the voyageur adopting the canoe during the fur trade era, the use of larger canoes, and then steam power and sails until the present-day use of internal combustion engines to get around the lakes inside the park's boundaries. Exhibits would also encourage visitors to go out in different transportation vehicles (not their cars) to enjoy the waterscape. But, the Interpretive Prospectus also emphasized that exhibits should educate visitors about potential hazards of traveling in the park.[26]

As built, the Rainy Lake Visitor Center exhibits, professionally designed by the NPS Harpers Ferry Center, address the transportation theme through the voyageur story. The overall design was meant "to illustrate the historic continuum of the relationships between people and nature. The natural history specimens were intended to provide a setting, not to explain natural history. The 'island exhibits' were intended as a poetic representation of the park--'Like islands in the lake, the exhibits rise about you from the level surface of the floor.' It was all very intentional—and well-designed—but later interpretive staff found the exhibits frustrating and started adding other elements to the exhibits."[27] However, as the 2005 LRIP states, this transportation story seems disjointed because of the introduction of some natural history information that is not clearly related until the end of the exhibits.[28]

The display area includes a voyageur, an American Indian woman, a north canoe, and some fur trade objects. A life-size bull moose was added in the late 1990s. The USFS was looking for a temporary home for it and the VNP staff found a spot in the sitting area of the visitor center. Other taxidermied animals also inhabit the exhibits. There is an exhibit on transportation across water and ice. The RLVC also has space for temporary exhibits, changed one to three times a year. The 2005 LRIP reframes the interpretive theme to voyageurs and the fur trade and recommends rehabilitation of the existing exhibits to reduce visitor confusion.[29]

By the 2000s, the three park visitor centers each ran a slide program as an orientation for visitors. In 2003, the park's interpretive division contracted with Dreamcatcher Films to produce a new film. The scope of the film was to provide a brief introduction to the park and why it was established, to the relationship of the Ojibwe to the waterway system, and to the fur trade era. The video was to include, but not be limited to, two main seasons (winter and summer), the geology of the park, and visitor activities. The contractors were instructed to allow the viewer to make personal connections to Voyageurs National Park. Park staff involved in the planning included Chief of Interpretation Kathleen Przybylski, Rainy District Naturalist Tawnya Schoewe, Superintendent Barb West, Deputy

[25] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 28-33; VNP, LRIP, 2005, 102-04.
[26] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 27-28. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, August 25, 1987, VNP Archives.
[27] Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 3.
[28] VNP, LRIP, 2005, 110.
[29] VNP, LRIP, 2005, 110-11.

Superintendent Kate Miller, Cultural Resources Specialist Mary Graves, Namakan District Naturalist Andrea Schwartz, Resource Management Biologist Lee Grim, Aquatics Research Biologist Larry Kallemeyn, and Biological Science Technician Mike Broschart. The park debuted the film in March 2005. The film's producer, Holly Stadtler of Dreamcatcher Films, won two awards, the CINE 2005 Golden Eagle Award and the other, the international Aurora Awards Gold Award. Schoewe facilitated the contract at the park.[30]

The Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center (KLVC) started as a single mobile home-style contact building. The park in 1984 replaced this small contact station with a triple-wide trailer, which had originally been the park's headquarters building. A fire destroyed this visitor center in December 1986, and the park received funds to build a permanent structure, completed in August 1988. The 1981 Interpretive Prospectus identified aquatic systems and their relationship to other resources, especially the life cycle of fish, as the interpretive theme for this visitor center. Temporary, in-house produced exhibits, plus a bald eagle display and aquarium, initially filled the permanent building. The 2005 LRIP noted that the exhibits did not meet NPS standards, and the limited, awkward space hindered visitor exploration of the exhibits. The LRIP identified three interpretive themes for the KLVC: water, especially wetlands; plants and animals; and people, especially forest management and the historic district encompassing the space where the visitor center stands.[31]



Figure 29 The triple-wide trailer that had served as the park headquarters became the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center in 1984. NPS Photo, 1984

The park received funding in 2004 to replace these KLVC exhibits. The park contracted with the firm Formations, Inc. The project included exhibits, plus an information desk and sales area to fit in with the design of the exhibits. In addition to the themes of wetlands, plants and animals, and forest

[30] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 25-28. VNP, LRIP, 2005, 110-13. VNP, Minutes, All-Employee Meeting notes, December 14, 2005, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 1, 2003; March 22, 2005; December 14, 2005, VNP Archives. Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 3.
[31] VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 36. VNP, LRIP, 2005, 107-09. VNP, Annual Report, 1984, 1; 1986, 2; 1988, 1; 1991, 7, VNP Archives.

management/historic district, the exhibits were to introduce visitors to the voyageurs and the park's geology. Issues of safety and resource protection related to the wildlife and forests were to be incorporated as well. The new exhibits opened in May 2007. These 2007 exhibits distinguish themselves with many interactive features, such as a park map and flip panels about the park's geology. An overhead bald eagle display and a beaver lodge that invites looking into its interior space further engage visitors. A special children's activity area lets these younger visitors learn ways to protect the park's environments. The KLVC exhibit planning committee included Cynthia Coffelt from Harpers Ferry Center, Museum Technician Catherine Crawford, Computer Specialist Lois Fogelberg, Resource Management Biologist Lee Grim, Namakan Work Leader Monica Olson, Chief of Interpretation Kathleen Przybylski, Cultural Resource Specialist Mary Graves, Rainy District Naturalist Tawnya Schoewe, Namakan District Naturalist Andrea Schwartz, Environmental Education Specialist Teri Tucker, Superintendent Kate Miller, and Chief Interpreter Tom Richter from the Midwest Regional Office. Cultural Resource Advisors were Rose Berens and Bill Latady from the Bois Forte Heritage Center.[32]

The park began a 10-year lease in 1985 for a Crane Lake Ranger Station and residence. This site had limited visitor contact potential as it depended upon the availability of the resident park ranger for assistance. The 1981 Interpretive Prospectus recognized that Crane Lake sat directly on the historic voyageur route and thus made the voyageur an interpretive theme. The Interpretive Prospectus also saw value in having a limited museum-exhibit space, in which the park's north canoe may be appropriate. In 1996, the park cooperated with the US Forest Service to create bulletin boards, meant to be an information source. The 2005 LRIP identified geology and voyageurs and the fur trade as the primary interpretive themes. The National Park Service continues to search for a way to have visitor facilities at Crane Lake. The situation is challenging, however, because NPS does not own land at Crane Lake. The park's GMP directs that NPS would work with other agencies to establish a multi-agency, year-round visitor center, with hours and staffing determined by visitor demand.[33]

Interpretive programming

During Myrl Brooks' superintendency (1971-1978), interpretive programming slowly blossomed. As early as 1973, the park's annual report boasted 14 offsite programs and one 15-minute television program. The 1976 interpretive programs, led by seasonal biologist Lee Grim, historian Mary Lou Pearson, and student trainee Steve Durant, responded to specific requests from the local communities. G. Franklin (Frank) Ackerman joined the park in August 1976 as the first Chief of Interpretation, and the following summer the park saw more programs, testing different interpretive formats and topics. Student interns and volunteers helped make it possible for the park to try new programs in new settings. Evening programs in 1976 took place around campfires, often at the Woodenfrog State Campground on Kabetogama Lake, and indoors at resorts since the park did not have sufficient facilities for hosting such gatherings. Talks on Wednesday evenings at the Crane Lake Chapel, for example, used slides or a movie to accompany information about the plants and animals of the park or the human history of the vicinity. Park staff conducted trips by canoe and foot, taking visitors to see a beaver pond or a certain forest type. By the end of the 1977 summer season, the park

[32] Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 3. VNP, Annual Report, FY2007, 4-5, VNP Archives.
[33] VNP, Annual Report, 1985, 3; 1986, 1; FY 1996, 8, VNP Archives. VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 33-34. VNP, LRIP, 2005, 105-06. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-60.

had its first visitor film, titled *Pace of the Seasons*. Conservationist Sigurd Olson shared his writings and Dr. J. Arnold Bolz, a well-known author and nature photographer, supplied the photographs. These words and images interpreted the natural surroundings of the park.

Park planners, with film in hand, declared 1978 as the official beginning of the park's full-fledged interpretive program. Campfire programs at state and private campgrounds in the vicinity and evening programs at resorts and within local communities continued. Canoe caravans and hikes brought visitors out on the water and into the landscape. Information stations aided visitors at the park headquarters south of International Falls on Highway 53 and at the former Meadwood Lodge, as described above. Brooks had a vision early on for the park to start an archives, museum collection, photographic archive, and library to support the interpretive work. Pearson conducted oral history interviews with local people and staff members to capture the beginnings of the park and how early settlers had lived in the region. Steve Goodrich, as cultural resources specialist,[34] supervised Museum Technician Mary Graves and coordinated the cultural resource program for a very short period of time.[35]

Park staff built relationships with other organizations to enhance and expand interpretive programming. The film demonstrated one such cooperative venture with two well-known individuals. Another involved the National Geographic Society. This organization, probably prompted by Brooks, contracted in 1973 with William Hafeman, who had a boat works in Big Falls, Minnesota, to build a 26-foot birch bark canoe. Hafeman had long experience in hand crafting such canoes, and he delivered his piece the following year. The National Geographic Society donated the canoe to the park, but the park had no place large enough to display it. The Koochiching County Historical Society displayed the canoe in the meantime. National Geographic continued to show interest in the park. One of its writers, Anne LaBastille, visited the park in 1978 to write an article. Seasonal biologist Lee Grim gave her a tour, an experience she later wrote about in her book *Woodswoman II*.[36]

While Frank Ackerman served as the park's Chief of Interpretation (1976-1980), he helped fashion these earliest interpretive programs. He had a slowly growing staff and limited facilities to conduct programs. Being in a water park, he also felt keenly the need for boat tours to get people out of their cars and on the water. He sought ways to engage the traditional visitor to the area by offering possible activities when the fish didn't bite or the weather was uncooperative.[37]

During Tom Ritter's superintendency (1979-1982), the park expanded its interpretive offerings. The park applied for and received a grant from the Minnesota Humanities Commission to sponsor special evening programs in summer 1979 and 1980. Guest speakers from around the state talked about their areas of specialty and research efforts. Topics did not necessarily focus upon the national

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[34] Goodrich was reassigned as Sand Point District Ranger in 1981 and his former position (which was brief) as Cultural Resource Specialist in the Division of Interpretation was abolished. He served as Resource Management Coordinator until he left the park in 1984. VNP, Annual Report, 1981, 2.

[35] VNP, Annual Report, 1973, 1; 1978, 2, VNP Archives. Myrl Brooks, "Interpreting the Park on This Year's Schedule," Voyageurs National Park Association (VNPA) newsletter, April 1977, 2; "Park Interpreted at Crane Lake Programs," VNPA newsletter, July 1977, 3; VNPA News Release, "New Voyageurs Film to Premier at Ft. Snelling," August 31, 1977; Minutes, VNPA Board of Directors meeting, May 24, 1977, 3, VNP Archives. G. Franklin Ackerman, transcript of interview with Mary Lou Pearson, May 23, 1981, 2-4, 7, VNP Library. VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981.

[36] VNP, Annual Report, 1973, 2; 1974, 3. Ackerman, transcript of interview, 5. Anne LaBastille's article, "National Parks, the Best of Our Land," appeared in 1979. Anne LaBastille, *Woodswoman II: Beyond Black Bear Lake* (New York: WW Norton, 1987).

[37] Ackerman, transcript of interview, 2-5.

park itself. They included the need for wilderness experiences, the philosophical basis for political conflicts, and the power of art to express social values. Park interpreters worked with the local newspaper and provided 36 photographs and a total of 34 pages of articles for a special anniversary edition of the International Falls *Daily Journal*, focusing upon Rainy Lake Country. Rainy River Community College in International Falls regularly partnered with the Park Service to offer credit courses, including some on wilderness skills, landscape painting, and geology, all using park locations as part of the course experience.[38]

Programming increased in number and variety. In 1979, park staff conducted for the first time daily summer trips in the Kabetogama Lake vicinity. The Lost Bay Caravan had visitors motor boating in a caravan to Lost Bay and then hiking the Lost Bay trail system with a park naturalist. New courses included all-day cross-country trips and a basic canoeing course certified by the American Red Cross. Guided motor boat trips went once a week from Kabetogama Narrows to Kettle Falls. An important step in getting visitors into the water happened with the start of Rainy Lake trips, offered by boat concessioner and long-time Rainy Lake resident Bob Hilke of Rainy Lake Cruises on the *Betsy Anna*.[39]

Park interpretive staff reached out to the public through various media. Between 1980 and 1997, Bill Gardiner served as Chief of Interpretation, with him overseeing the range of programs described below. Ron Erickson served as District Naturalist for Rainy (1980-1986) and then Assistant Chief Naturalist/Program Manager (1986-1987). Maps and guides directed novice boaters to Kettle Falls via Kabetogama Narrows, Lost Bay Trailhead, and West Kabetogama. Additional maps and guides delineated the Black Bay and Mukooda ski trails. A park folder initiated visitors to the park's resources. Pamphlets and handouts in 1981 addressed the topics of bears, cross-country skiing, and the Voyageurs' ecosystem. The park continued to provide news releases to area newspapers, with articles submitted twice during the summer months and once each month during other seasons. Internally, the park developed in 1981 its first employee newsletter, called the *Voyageur Voice*, published five times a year. In 1982, the park wrote its first park visitor newsletter, *La Chanson*, with winter and summer editions. The following year, its name changed to the *Rendezvous*. The Elmer Andersen Foundation in 1982 gave $1,500 for this publication. Park staff participated in regular radio programs and wrote scripts for North Country Radio, based upon the oral histories Pearson had conducted for the park.[40]

Russ Berry's (1982-1989) period sustained the programming already in place and added new offerings. White Wings Historic Tours in 1983 joined Rainy Lake Cruises in offering charter tours. In 1986, the park and Bob Hilke of Rainy Lake Cruises worked together on a design for a new tour boat that Hilke would purchase. That 42-foot tour boat, *Pride of Rainy Lake*, began operations in May 1987. The boat could hold 49 passengers and provided a temperature controlled cabin with spacious windows and comfortable seats, plus outdoors seating on the stern and upper decks. Another boat concessioner on Namakan Lake proved in 1987 to be substandard. The concessioner was not available in mid-July to drive the boat, and the backup driver was licensed to carry only six people. Twenty visitors had to be turned away for three different trips during the height of the summer season. The Park Service, on the other hand, found Rainy Lake Cruises tours to be quite successful. Rainy Lake Cruises was the only tour boat concessioner in the park in 1988.[41]

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[38] VNP, Annual Report,1979, 2-3; 1980, 4. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 1, VNP Archives.
[39] VNP, Annual Report, 1979, 2; 1980, 4. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 1.
[40] VNP, Annual Report, 1980, 4; 1981, 2-3. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 2-3.
[41] VNP, Annual Report, February 29, 1988, 2, VNP Archives. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 5-6. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 21, 1987, VNP Archives.



Figure 30 Commander Bob Hilke launched the Pride of Rainy Lake in May 1987. NPS Photo

A separate boat program, Boats on Interior Lakes (BOIL) started in the mid-1980s. Before the park was established, three to four dozen boats and canoes owned by resorts, cabin owners, trappers, hunters, float plane operators, and members of the general public were stored on the shores of the interior lakes. This was in conflict with 36 CFR Section 2.22 (2), which prohibits leaving property unattended for longer than 24 hours. To comply with this NPS regulation, the park (in 1985) established a "Policy for Storage of: "NPS Boats on Interior Lakes" and agreed to store NPS boats and canoes for public use on some of the interior lakes. The policy allowed the public to reserve and use the boats free of charge when they signed a visitor use agreement. A limited concessions permit (now a Commercial Use License) was issued to resort owners on Crane Lake to provide four 16-foot boats for rental services on Mukooda Lake, the most heavily used interior lake at the time.[42]

The park introduced some new ranger programs during Berry's time period. Ranger-guided tours went to Crane Lake and Locator Lake, with additional offerings including a blueberry safari, Kettle Falls boat trip, and a sunset cruise. More trips on the water in 1984 explored Rainy, Kabetogama, and Crane lakes. In 1985, ranger guided tours expanded to snowmobile excursions. In 1986, the park introduced "North Canoe Voyage," in which visitors in life jackets paddle two 26-foot replicas of the voyageur's north canoes. Rainy River Community College bought the canoes, life jackets, and paddles for this program.[43]

Education and outreach continued as important aspects of the park's interpretive program. The park initiated in 1985 a significant effort to have American Indian Studies students at Rainy River Community College and Bemidji State University participate in ranger programs. That same year, Rainy River Community College offered summer seminar classes for secondary students in such topics as voyageurs, botany, and the aquatic and geological environments of the park. In 1988, the park further pursued educational aims. The park contracted with the Minnesota Environmental Education Board to develop a curriculum for 4th-6th graders on biological diversity. This curriculum could be

[42] VNP, Annual Report, February 29, 1988, 2, VNP Archives. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 5-6. Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 4.
[43] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 3-5. VNP, Annual Report, 1986, 1.

applied servicewide. Also in 1988, the park started a new environmental education program at the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. A 1989 program introduced 1,700 school children to fire and other resource management ideas.[44]

The park used various media to reach beyond its boundaries. Park staff provided bi-weekly fishing reports for publication in area newspapers. A "What's Happening" banner, published daily in the local newspaper, listed interpretive activities. Many activities involved the local AM radio station, KGHS. Staff pre-recorded Public Service Announcements for broadcast. The radio station hosted a program in 1986 called "Let's Talk," which involved an hour-long interview with park employees. In 1988, both KGHS and CFOB (FM station in Fort Frances) ran interviews every other week with park staff.[45]

Ice Box Days is an annual event held in mid-January in International Falls. The park over the years has contributed by hosting various activities. The Best Guess Ski Tour in 1980 challenged skiers to guess their finish times on a 6 ½-mile course. In 1982, the park hosted 15K and 36K cross country skiing competitions known collectively as the Voyageur Loppet. The following year the park added the Moonlight Ski program, renamed the Candlelight Ski. The 1987 Loppet had 70 people racing in -25 to -30 degree temperatures. The International Falls Jaycees in 1987 and 1988 offered sleigh rides from Black Bay Ski Trailhead.[46]

During the superintendency of Ben Clary (1989-1995), environmental education took a big step forward. The Washington Office of the National Park Service granted Voyageurs $10,000 to transport 4th and 5th grade students by boat into the park. The grant money paid for the use of a concessioner's tour boat. The park spent $11,000 to build a boat dock where the students could safely leave the boat. They then hiked into a beaver pond area on the Kabetogama Peninsula. The program went international in 1992 when students from Fort Frances participated. Students learned how beavers transform the land versus how humans have. They also learned about how environmental contaminants, maybe produced thousands of miles away, affect park wildlife populations. This environmental educational program saw healthy student participation, with hundreds of students taking part each year. Teachers, especially those in Fort Frances, considered this program an essential aspect of the school curriculum. Other environmental education programs during Clary's time period addressed biodiversity, the role of fire in the park, and aquatic ecosystems.[47]

In 1993, the park celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Rainy Lake Gold Rush. The park's maintenance staff built a boat dock and trail with a bridge on Little American Island to make accessible two gold mine sites. Harpers Ferry Center produced three waysides. The park's cooperating association, Lake States Interpretive Association, published a guide to the gold rush sites and a book, the latter titled *Gold Town to Ghost Town, Boom and Bust on Rainy Lake*. The concessioner led boat trips to the island throughout the summer. The International Falls Chamber of Commerce sponsored and promoted the program, called Gold Bug Jimmy's Jamboree, an idea with the national park's staff developed. Gold Bug Jimmy was the name of one of the gold rushers. Park staff members Mary Graves and Carol Borneman attended meetings in International Falls in support of the event.[48]

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[44] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 4-7. VNP, Annual Report, 1988, 5; 1989, 5.
[45] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 4-8. VNP, Annual Report, 1986, 1
[46] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 1, 3, 6-7.
[47] VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 6; 1992, 5; 1993, 8. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 8-15. See Chapter 5 for more information about the gold rush festivities.
[48] VNP, Annual Report, 1993, 7. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 12.

Barb West (1995-2005) oversaw an emphasis on cooperation with outside groups and agencies for interpretive programming. The park in 1996 established a Resort Naturalist Program for area resorts. Park staff participated in strategic planning for School District #361 to raise awareness of the expertise and resources the park could provide teachers and their students. The park facilitated in 1996 establishment of a Friends Group and then attended its meetings. Other outside meetings included the Northern Lights Tourism Alliance and Gateways Group, the latter for four gateway communities. The park worked to promote the park and area recreational activities within these four communities. For the Northern Lights Alliance, the park in 2000 helped with the Ecotourism and Watchable Wildlife Summit. Rainy River Community College benefited from the park's participation, with the park increasing the program from one to two sessions. Park staff responded to a request from the International Falls Visitor and Convention Bureau to develop a birders' guide for the park and area.

The park fostered a continuing relationship with the city of Orr and its visitor center. Beginning in 1987, park staff contributed to the planning for exhibits. That same year, the park gave the visitor center $3,200 in exchange for space to display and distribute park information. The park attended the tourist information board meetings into the mid-1990s and also upgraded the initial exhibits.[49]



Figure 31 Lee Grim leads science activities for children participating in Kids College, a three-week summer program that included six day-trips to the park. NPS Photo

Environmental education remained an important and longtime part of the park's interpretive program and partnership initiatives. An early partner was Rainy River Community College. Lee Grim remembered taking his students into the park and showing them a heron rookery or eagles nests or examples of the geology they were studying in class. By 1981, park naturalist staff participated in a program called Kids College, later known as College for Kids. Kids College was a three-week summer

[49] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 6, 11, 15-16.

program for children held at Rainy River Community College. This popular program included six day-trips to the park.[50]

More environmental education programs involved park staff developing curriculum. In 1988, Assistant Chief of Interpretation Neil De Jong worked with the Minnesota Environmental Education Board (MEEB) to develop curriculum for 4th-6th grade school children on biological diversity. This curriculum, funded by the National Park Service, was available servicewide. De Jong also oversaw the production of handbooks on Interpreting Biological Diversity, notebooks, a poster, and a training video.[51]

The "birth" of the Internet in park operations led to a partnership with TIES (Technology and Information Services), a consortium of 45 Minnesota member school districts. Namakan District Ranger Carol Maass developed the partnership with TIES. The park assisted in developing three curricula, on fire ecology, winter ecology, and the fur trade. Just in 1999, as an example of the reach of the park's environmental education programs, 15,636 students attended these programs. Plus, the entire Minneapolis school district (80 schools) taught the bald eagle curriculum, which used park data. The park in 2005 activated the Nature and Science pages on its new website.[52]

The park's Interpretation and Resources Management staff ran all of these environmental education programs until the park hired its first Environmental Education Specialist in 1998. First Lynda Lancaster (1998-2000) and then David Szymanski (2000-2002) served in this role. In 2003, the position was shared by the resources division. Teri Tucker was hired as Biologist/Education Specialist (2003-2007). The position has remained vacant, with the exception of 2010-2012 when Kim Reich was hired as the park's winter education specialist.[53]

In 1994, the park tried to find a boat concessioner for the Namakan District. Bob Hilke and his wife Mary had been running tour operations on both Rainy and Kabetogama lakes. In 1990, they had upgraded the quality of their boat tours on Kabetogama Lake by leasing the 19-passenger boat *The Sight-Sea-Er*.[54] They decided in 1994 however to focus just on Rainy Lake. In 2000, Bob Hilke retired, and the park did not have a tour boat operator. Advertising resulted in no proposals. In 2002, the park hired NPS employees to pilot *Lac la Pluie*, but this boat only lasted that season. The Federal Highway's alternative fuel program funded a new tour boat in 2003.[55] As Barb West later recalled, the shop building the new boat went bankrupt, but in the end, the park had its own tour boat and hired concessioners to run it. This arrangement made it so that the park, according to West, wouldn't be "held hostage by somebody else owning the boat."[56]

West hired Kathleen Przybylski in 1998 to lead the effort for the General Management Plan. Once completed, Przybylski served as the park's Chief of Interpretation, until 2006. She addressed several goals. She oversaw revision of two of three books to be printed under a National Park Foundation grant. Her successor Tawnya Schoewe oversaw completion of the third book, *The Geology*

[50] Lee Grim, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 13, 2013, 16, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1981, 2; 1981, 2.
[51] VNP, Annual Report, 1988, 5; 1989, 5.
[52] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 16-22. Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 5. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 22, 1997.
[53] Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 5.
[54] See also Chapter 10.
[55] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 14, 20. VNP, Annual Report, 1990, 7; 1991, 8. Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 5.
[56] Barb West, transcript of oral history interview with the author, June 10, 2013, 19, VNP Archives.

of Voyageurs National Park. Przybylski oversaw the development of the park's LRIP, and she and Schoewe (then a District Naturalist for Rainy) worked together on the new park film. Przybylski especially focused upon upgrading the exhibits at the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center. The park had made the original exhibits in-house. She described them as "all handmade, homemade, … not National Park Service kind of thing." The new professionally designed exhibits, described above, addressed her concerns. Schoewe served as the Interpretive Program Manager (2007-2011) before becoming Chief of Interpretation in 2011.[57]



Figure 32 The Sight-Sea-Er pontoon boat served visitors at the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center. NPS Photo

Voyageurs National Park adopted the Artist-in-Residence program, beginning in 1995. This NPS program recognized that artists had helped raise the visibility of the lands, such as those now encompassed by Yellowstone National Park and Yosemite National Park, that would later be preserved. Artists like Thomas Moran and photographer Carleton Watkins made these areas tangible for an Eastern public. The Park Service defined artist broadly, including visual, performance, musician, and writer or poet. Each park has its own application and review processes. At Voyageurs, artists-in-residence worked in watercolors (Bonnie Dufrenes, 1996), poetry (Christine Hemp, poetry), photography (Gary Nelson, 1996), ceramics (Bruce Holden, 1997), writing (Yvonne Heimer, 1997), painting and digital photography (Amy E. Arnston, 1998), painting and filmmaking (Leif Goldberg, 1998), poetry (Kathleen Heideman, 2003), and visual art and writing (Rema Boscov, 2003), painting (Carl Gawboy, 2004), and (Arnan Rennan, 2004). Artists ran workshops and donated a piece of their art to the park.[58]

[57] Kathleen Przybylski, transcript of oral history interview with the author, August 28, 2013, 17-18, VNP Archives. Schoewe became Program Manager for Interpretation 2006-2009 and then Assistant Chief Naturalist/Program Manager 2009-2011.

[58] Squad Meeting Minutes, August 6, 1996, 7; August 20, 1996, 2; August 27, 1996, 5; May 6, 1997,2; April 21, 1998, 2; June 3, 2003, 3; and August 24, 2004, 2, VNP Archives.

The park's website serves visitors by informing them about the park and teaching them about its purpose and significance. In 2002, the park's website coordinator added the park newspaper *Rendezvous* to the website. The park added links to its brochures, plus maps, in 2003. That same year the park improved its press release page. As of 2005, the website addressed all interpretive themes. In 2005, the National Park Service decided to redesign park profile pages, requiring changes to Voyageurs website.[59]

Outside groups helping the park

Volunteers, either individuals or groups, have helped the staff at Voyageurs National Park meet the park's mission and goals. As early as 1977, Myrl Brooks reported in the year's annual report that Volunteers-in-the-Park (VIP) worked in the library and on a campground survey. By 1986, the VIP program had contributed $75,000 in services to the park, a 20-fold return on the money spent on the program. 1988 saw the park using VIPs to serve as a naturalist and assist researchers and resource management personnel. As park funding reduced capabilities to meet all of the park's needs, volunteers proved an essential source of coverage in all park divisions. These volunteer contributions jumped substantially in FY 2001, with hours going from 9,210 to 14,324. These volunteers came from individuals and Student Conservation Association park assistants, as examples. Volunteers have been a critical part of the interpretive program in keeping visitor centers open, conducting tours, and assisting with many other tasks that park staff could not otherwise accomplish.[60]

Under the direction of Wilderness Canoe Base in 1979, a Youth Conservation Corps camp at Hoist Bay completed the Lost Bay Trail system on the Kabetogama Peninsula. The following year, the youth completed a major portion of the ski and hiking trail in the vicinity of Mukooda Lake.[61]

Area businesses and other groups visibly ratcheted up their relationships with the park. Chief Naturalist Bill Gardiner facilitated these relationships. The businesses contributed funds, beginning in 1987, to finance such items as the park newspaper *Rendezvous*, which was handed out to visitors with the park folder. Other groups included the International Falls Visitor and Convention Bureau, the Kabetogama Lake Association, and the Crane Lake Commercial Club. These area entities joined together under the auspices of the nationwide Take Pride in America effort. In 1992, Boise Cascade donated 40 reams of paper for printing the newsletter. The company made this donation because some area businesses had withdrawn their support of the park to protest the proposed wilderness designation.[62]

Tourism promotion was one important component of the relationship with area businesses and other groups. The Crane Lake Community in 1989 invited the park to its "Edge of Wilderness" conference, with the community taking the positive step to incorporate the national park into its promotions. Discussion at the conference ranged from development of non-fishing activities as alternative recreation opportunities to the need to gain better lake access. The park's Chief Naturalist in 1991 worked with the Minnesota Office of Tourism to create a large photo of Voyageurs that

[59] VNP, LRIP, 2005, 62. Barb West requested that the park newsletter be placed on the website in 1999. See Supervisory Staff Minutes, November 16, 1999, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 24, 2003, 1; November 18, 2003, 1, VNP Archives.
[60] VNP, Annual Report, 1977, 3; 1986, 2; 1988, 5; 1990, 6; 1993, 16; 1994-1995, 12; FY 2001, 1.
[61] VNP, Annual Report, 1977, 3; 1978, 1; 1979, 2; 1980, 1.
[62] VNP, Annual Report, 1990, 7; 1991, 8; 1992, 7. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 17, 1990; May 1, 1990; May 22, 1990, VNP Archives.

appeared in the "Minnesota Explorer" newspaper, with a circulation of one million. Superintendent Ben Clary reported in the 1992 annual report that park staff continued to play an active role in the local chamber of commerce, the International Falls Visitor and Convention Bureau (where Voyageurs served as a Board member), and regional Arrowhead tourism association. The city of Orr opened an information center in 1987, and the park worked with four area resort communities to produce an exhibit promoting the park. The park and these area resorts also financially supported the Orr information center.[63]

Between 1990 and 1992, the North American Indian Fellowship Center (NAIFC) gave grants to the park for a range of activities. Namakan District Naturalist Jim Dougan and Chief Naturalist Bill Gardiner developed the successful connection with this organization. NAIFC disbursed funds raised from charitable gambling, favoring projects that helped a range of people and/or projects that included Ojibwe. During the summer of 1991, funding from NAIFC (70%) and the park (30%) paid the wages for Ojibwe youth to work in the park. One worked on the trails and two Ojibwe youth helped clean up cabin sites. The NAIFC also contributed to the active environmental education program and contributed to printing the park newspaper.[64]

Cooperating associations are not-for-profit partner organizations that provide services at NPS units, such as operating bookstores, developing publications, and supporting the educational and interpretive programs of the parks. Voyageurs National Park benefited from a cooperating association early in its history. Members of the National Park System Advisory Board took their first tour of Voyageurs in 1975, and they advocated for the creation of a cooperating association. Voyageurs National Park Association existed to monitor and even criticize national park actions, but a cooperating association would work as a private arm of the National Park Service in a strictly supportive way. Then-VNPA President Lloyd Brandt asked attorney Noble Shadduck to prepare the necessary legal papers for the cooperating association, named Lake States National Park Association. Frank Ackerman, who had previous experience with such organizations, had joined the Voyageurs staff in 1976 as its first chief of interpretation. He used his past expertise to assist the association as it built up its volume of business. The Lake States National Park Association sold books and maps, navigational charts, and other similar items at the park headquarters in its first years at the park. Its offerings increased from 39 titles in 1978 to 105 choices in 1979. Sales increased accordingly, from $1,875 in 1978 to $7,500 in 1979. The cooperating association changed its name in 1979 to Lake States Interpretive Association (LSIA).[65]

Lake States Interpretive Association had the unusual distinction of serving visitors to multiple agency sites, including Voyageurs National Park, Chippewa and Superior National Forests in Minnesota, and Nicolet National Forest in Wisconsin. The organization sought, prepared, and distributed publications and other materials that strengthened public understanding of and appreciation

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[63] VNP, Annual Report, 1989, 6; 1991, 6; 1992, 7; 1993, 15; 1994-1995, 11, 14; FY 1996, 24. *Duluth News-Tribune*, July 7, 1987.

[64] VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 8. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 27, 1990; October 9, 1990; April 23, 1991; May 21, 1991; June 4, 1991, VNP Archives.

[65] Ron Cockrell to the author, March 28, 2014, 13, VNP Archives. "Literature Distribution Is Launched by New Association," VNPA newsletter, October 1977, 4; Brooks, "Interpreting the Park on This Year's Schedule," VNPA newsletter, April 1977, 2, VNP Archives. VNP Annual Report, 1976, 1; 1978, 2; 1979, 3. Ackerman, transcript of interview, 2-3. *Certificate of Restated Articles of Incorporation of the Lake States National Park Association, Inc. (whose name is being changed by these restated Articles to) Lake States Interpretive Association, Inc.*, 1979, Lake States Interpretive Association, VNP Archives.

for the natural and cultural resources of Minnesota and Wisconsin. Lake States provided interpretive publications, trail guides, and in 1987, a full-color book on the park. The cooperating association also funded the professionally designed bald eagle exhibit at the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center. For the Rainy Lake Gold Rush centennial, Lake States provided some of the money for events and development projects to support the celebration. In 2005, the park won a grant from LSIA and the National Park Foundation to publish the book *Ojibwe Tales*. This publication won the 17th Annual Northeastern Minnesota Book Award.[66]

Gladys Cole served as General Manager of LSIA from 1982 to 1989. She provided important continuity for the association. Under her management, LSIA published three books: the 54-page *Voyageurs National Park*, *Fifty Years in the Minnesota North Country*, and *Kettle Falls, Crossroads of History*. The *Voyageurs National Park* book won an Award for Excellence at the Biennial Conference of National Cooperating Associations. Suzett Promersberger served as the next LSIA General Manager.[67]

A group of park supporters established the Friends of Voyageurs National Park in 1995 in reaction to the legislative attempt to change the park's status. The Friends reached out to the community to support the park's natural, historical, and educational activities. The Friends sponsored a series of March for Parks events, held during Earth Day, to raise funds for building a hiking trail, restore the nickelodeon at the Kettle Falls Hotel, and place a wayside at the viewing platform at Kettle Falls to see the route of the voyageurs. The Friends gave the park snowshoes in 1998 to assist educational programming and allow visitors to enjoy the winter months in the park. The Friends published a quarterly newsletter, *Les Amis de Voyageurs*, to advertise the organization's events and build interest in the organization.[68]

Voyageurs National Park continues to have a vibrant interpretive program. In 2010, volunteers assisted VNP staff in cleaning up a one-acre area of invasive canary reed grass which the park removed and replaced with native plants selected to interpret Ojibwe use of plants. Volunteer couples during 2013 and 2014 led tours of the garden, with 700 visitors attending. In 2014, park interpretive staff developed an interactive hands-on program for local school children. Students learned about Ojibwe lifestyles and even cooked traditional bannock, or fry bread, over a fire. The park began offering a Junior Ranger Garden Explore Book in 2015, in which kids can complete an activity book, review it with a ranger, and earn a badge as a Garden Explorer.[69]

The park's interpretive division offers many other environmental education programs. Most recently, 1,500 students annually take part in some kind of environmental education activity offered by the park. A classroom field trip for elementary-aged students often includes one or two ranger-led programs and then a teacher-led hike. Seventh-grade students each year participate in Science Day, in which youth rotate through six different stations, covering such topics as water quality, fisheries management, and native tree identification. One winter program includes snowshoeing, either in the park or at the schools. There are also classroom presentations, traveling trunks (containing props and

[66] VNP, Annual Report, 1976, 2; 1978, 2; 1985, 2; 1987, 2-3; 1989, 7; 1992, 8; FY 2005, 3, VNP Archives. History: Lake States Interpretive Association, Inc., VNP Archives. The park transitioned to Jefferson National Parks Association in 2010.
[67] VNP, Annual Report, 1981, 4; 1988, 5; 1989, 7
[68] Kathleen Przybylski, Friends of Voyageurs National Park nomination for the National Association of Interpreters Region V Excellence in Interpretive Support award, VNP Archives. The park has a run of the Friends newsletters from 1998-2004.
[69] Kat Audette-Luebke, Visit the Ojibwe Ethnobotanical Garden, VNPA Blog Post, 2015, VNP Archives.

lessons, shippable to the lower 48 states), and programs to help scouts earn badges. Annual programs are the Kids Art Show and Junior Ranger Day.[70]

The Teen Ambassador Program is a program developed and sponsored by the Voyageurs National Park Association. Park staff participates by assisting with programs. Teens from the park's gateway communities and the Twin Cities metro area take part in a five-day camping and canoeing adventure, followed by a three-day to Mississippi National River and Recreation Area. Teen Ambassador Program gives teens who may not otherwise have an opportunity to experience nature and connect with a national park. The hope is that they will develop a life-long connection to national parks and practice good land stewardship.[71]

President Barak Obama initiated the Kid in Every National Park program in 2014. Fourth-graders go to a website, complete an activity, and then obtain a pass for themselves and their family to have free admission to all national parks from September 1, 2015 to August 31, 2016. At Voyageurs, the park offered activities for winter and summer. Winter activities include going out on snowshoes or crosscountry skis. Summer activities include taking a guided canoe trip or boat tour, going on ranger-led hike, or working on one or more of the park's three Junior Ranger books. The park also developed specific programs for fourth graders. At wintertime, these students might go snowshoeing and look for animal tracks. During the fall, fourth graders went out on the Voyageur Tour Boat to complete special hands-on activities. In Spring 2016, Falls Elementary School fourth graders spent a full day experiencing the park at the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. The hope, as with the Teen Ambassador program, is to have students become life-long supporters of national parks and practice environmental stewardship throughout their lives.[72]



Figure 33 Park interpreters led guided canoe trips for visitors wanting to explore the voyageurs waterways. NPS Photo

[70] Lisa Maass, Environmental Education at VNP, VNPA Blog Post, 2016, VNP Archives.
[71] Maass, Environmental Education.
[72] VNPA, VNP Welcomes 4th-Grade Students in Every Kid In a National Park Initiative, VNPA Blog, 2015, VNP Archives.

Chapter Nine

Facilities and Maintenance

Voyageurs National Park is home to a varied array of facilities, from the historic Kettle Falls Hotel to the modern Rainy Lake Visitor Center. The park's maintenance staff has shared the assignment with the resources staff over the years to remove hundreds of structures, namely cabins that people had used largely during the summers when staying on the lakes now encompassed by the park. This removal process has had the long-term effect of returning the former cabin sites to their natural conditions. With Kettle Falls Hotel, the park's contractors took apart the historic structure piece-by-piece, laid a new foundation, and then slowly rehabilitated and modernized the resulting structure, keeping as much of the historic fabric as possible. Rainy Lake Visitor Center challenged planners and the maintenance staff to design and build a structure that sat securely on top of ancient bedrock. The resulting building meets the interpretive goals while also appearing as part of the natural setting.

Trails have been built by and maintained by the park's maintenance crew, connecting these facilities and the natural setting. Perhaps the most controversial trail is the Chain of Lakes snowmobile trail that crosses the Kabetogama Peninsula, as described in a previous chapter. Volunteers from various local organizations and young people from such nationwide groups as the Youth Conservation Corps and the Student Conservation Association have also contributed significantly to constructing and clearing many of the park's trails. This chapter reviews the many ways in which the park's maintenance crew over the years has helped visibly shape the park.

Park facilities also include launch ramps, houseboat sites and day use sites (including visitor destinations), roads (including ice roads, highway signs), and concession facilities (Kettle Falls Hotel). In addition to administrative offices, there are facilities that support field operations (e.g. fueling stations, maintenance facilities, marinas, storage facilities, housing, and the radio system). The primary operational facilities are located at Rainy Lake, Kabetogama, Ash River, Kettle Falls, and Crane Lake.[1]

A fledgling park

In the years following authorization (1971) but before establishment (1975) of Voyageurs National Park, NPS Operations Evaluation team from the Northeast Region expressed concern about potential maintenance issues at the park. Large tracts might soon be turned over to the park. Many of

[1] Ron Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 2, VNP.

these lands had experienced "considerable use" as campgrounds and picnic areas. Boise Cascade had established 33 campsites, with portage trails to them. The Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and the US Forest Service had developed sites for camping, while the DNR had also created a state lease land system where individuals could build a cabin on land they leased from the state. The Operations Evaluation in 1972 warned that Project Manager Myrl Brooks (later Superintendent) would need a "competent Maintenance Supervisor who could intelligently program to meet" the public's continuing needs for camping and picnicking facilities.[2]

Once formally established in 1975, Voyageurs National Park inherited about 100 developed campsites, 400 undeveloped campsites, and 300 lakeshore cabin sites which the park would evaluate as possible campsites in the future (once the state leases and use and occupancy reservations ended and the cabins were removed). Many tracts contained ancillary facilities, such as guest houses, employee quarters, generator buildings, pit toilets, work sheds, boat houses, docks, patios, and walkways. Residents planted exotic species in gardens and had dumps for un-burnable waste. The park's maintenance division would need to sort through this modern detritus, haul it away, and then rehabilitate each site for use as a campsite or for regeneration.[3]

Timing also had a role. Voyageurs National Park was not established until the state had donated its 32,000 acres within the boundary of the national park. The next large land acquisition was purchase of 50,000 acres from Boise Cascade. The state lease lands, according to the park's enabling legislation, had a 10-year end date from when the park was established. Therefore, park staff would acquire the remaining 62 state lease cabins in 1985. Many other people owned land within the park's boundaries, and they sometimes chose to sell their land to the park but then take a 25-year use and occupancy reservations ended. Those leases came up around 2000, adding more cabins and their associated materials to the park's list of responsibilities. Other landowners chose life estates, giving the owner and spouse right to live on the land until death. Finally, many people simply sold their property and moved away. Maintenance staff thus had varying times in which they had many sites to rehabilitate or not.[4]

In 1977, Myrl Brooks hired Raoul Lufbery as his Chief of Maintenance to lead the effort in turning acquired lands into parklands for use by visitors. Lufbery had spent his summers during college working as a seasonal in the Connecticut state parks and Cape Cod National Seashore (Massachusetts). He joined the maintenance team at George Washington Memorial Parkway (Virginia) once he graduated and soon started a facility manager development program. Four and a half years later, he was up at Voyageurs and never looked back, as he said later. Opportunities at other parks presented themselves, but he loved the challenges of figuring out how to build visitor services in a tough climate on top of the oldest and hardest rocks.[5] He also knew that he worked with some of the best people anywhere. His division hired many locals, and Lufbery knew he had a talented and dedicated group. Their work ethic was strong. They were very independent individuals. They

[2] Quotes from VNP, Operations Evaluation, June 25-27, 1972, 2, VNP Archives. See also VNP, Lakecountry and Backcountry Site Management Plan and Environmental Assessment (cited as LC/BC Plan), July 1986, 2, VNP Archives.
[3] VNP, LC/BC Plan, 6. Fred T. Witzig, *Voyageurs National Park: The Battle to Create Minnesota's National Park* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 223-24.
[4] See Chapter 2 for more information about early land acquisition.
[5] Raoul Lufbery, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 14, 2013, 1-3, 9-12, VNP Archives.

contributed their own ideas about a project. And even if they "thought you were the biggest jerk that day, they'd still go out and give you a good day's work . . . . I was always so grateful for that."[6]

Lufbery soon hired people to fill out his division. In 1979, Rodney Booth (1979-1984) started as Foreman Buildings and Utilities and Jeffery Harsha (1979-1983) as Foreman Roads and Trails. Lufbery also hired tradesmen, including Electrician Clayton Stevens (1976-1986, seasonal in 1993), Equipment Operator Wesley (Stub) Horne (1978-1994), and Marine Mechanic Craig Moe (1978-2009).[7]

Early planning documents directed work for the maintenance division. The 1977 Statement for Management identified park-wide management objectives which related to maintenance. These objectives included providing facilities to support visitor uses, such as boating, recreational fishing, snowmobiling, camping, skiing, and hiking. Access via trails for hiking, skiing, and snowmobiling needed development. These objectives also called for connections to private and public transportation routes to facilitate recreational access.[8]

For the maintenance division, campsites proved a challenge. Pre-park sites, which numbered 100 developed and 400 undeveloped, required cleanup and resource attention. The park's 1986 Lakecounty Backcountry Site Management Plan noted that the maintenance division had sufficient funds to complete weekly cleanup and maintenance of the 100 developed sites but not the 400 undeveloped sites. Funding levels also did not support evening patrols by Park Rangers to educate visitors about low-impact camping and resource preservation regulations. The Lakecounty Backcountry Site Management Plan authorized 217 individual tent sites, 39 group tent sites, 208 houseboat mooring sites, and 28 day-use sites as a way to control usage while also allowing for regeneration of overly used areas. Maintenance staff would conduct biweekly cleanups and annual and cyclic maintenance and rehabilitation. Those sites then in use but not scheduled for conversion to developed sites would be cleaned up by maintenance staff and rehabilitated for restoration to natural conditions.[9]

The maintenance division, along with the park superintendent, contributed to the entire planning process for developing new facilities and renovating existing ones. Park staff collaborated with representatives from the Denver Service Center, Harpers Ferry Center, and the US Forest Service on Development Concept Plans for Black Bay, Sullivan Bay, and Kettle Falls. Consultants from Architectural Resources, Inc. from Duluth and STRAAM Engineers from Milwaukee assisted.[10] The Development Concept Plans do not identify exactly who had responsibility for what information, but a recent oral history interview with Lufbery indicates that he and his staff worked on all aspects of the design and construction for each facility. Lufbery said: "And we would work on the design of the visitor center, all the utilities, water and waste water things, marinas, roads, the whole works. And we would get that done, and then we would go to construction, do the bidding process, and we would work together on whoever the contractor was building the project."[11]

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[6] Lufbery, transcript of interview, 30.
[7] VNP, Permanent Staff, 2015, VNP Archives. Ron Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 1, VNP Archives.
[8] VNP, Statement for Management, November 4, 1977, 24-24, VNP Archives.
[9] VNP, LC/BC Plan, 33.
[10] Memorandum, Assistant Manager, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, DSC Donald Purse to Superintendent VNP, November 24, 1976, 10, VNP Archives. Architectural Resources and STRAAM Engineers, Addenda to Conceptual Design Alternatives for Facilities at Kabetogama Narrows (Sullivan Bay), Black Bay, Kettle Falls, VNP, Change Order No. 2, April 1980, VNP Archives.
[11] Lufbery, transcript of interview, 8.

Some aspects of design and construction were unique to the location of the park. With the rocky ground and thin soils, designers had to find ways to remove wastewater or dispose of solid waste or direct electricity to the site. For the Rainy Lake Visitor Center (RLVC), the 1982 Design Directive identified a mound sewage disposal system as a likely approach for wastewater removal. A thorough soils investigation was needed to verify such an approach. Electricity would be brought in through an underwater cable from Island View. For Kettle Falls Hotel, design staff considered several options for solid waste disposal since not all waste could be affordably hauled by boat. These options included incinerator, baling waste, bulk storage and shipment, or compacting. NPS recommended both incineration and compacting.[12]

Visitor centers and developed areas

If the 1970s involved inventorying the status of newly acquired lands and determining the best ways to ensure resource quality, the 1980s at Voyageurs National Park involved major construction projects. The maintenance staff played a significant role in helping to plan for these facilities, overseeing contractors, and building ancillary roads, trails, walkways, docks, and other features to improve the visitor experience, ensure safety, and preserve natural and cultural resources. Park managers needed more staff to complete these tasks, and they often hired from the local community. This situation worked well, as Boise Cascade went through an economic downturn, and some people lost their jobs. The park received 300 applications for 30 jobs, as an example, and, in 1983, the maintenance staff doubled for six months.[13]

The park currently has three visitor centers, Rainy Lake Visitor Center (RLVC) on Black Bay; Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center (KLVC); and Ash River Visitor Center (ARVC), located in the historic Meadwood Lodge on the far eastern portion of Kabetogama Lake. The park also operates the Crane Lake Ranger Station, which serves as housing for the Crane Lake Ranger and as a visitor information station with varying hours dependent upon ranger availaibility. NPS Director William Penn Mott, Jr. joined Superintendent Russ Berry and local elected officials to dedicate RLVC in August 1987. RLVC replaced the headquarters visitor center with the opening of this new building. KLVC, a newly constructed building opened to the public in summer 1988, replaced the triple-wide modular trailer. This trailer had once served as the park's headquarters but had been moved in 1984 to operate as a temporary visitor center. This triple-wide trailer had burned down in December 1986, and the NPS Midwest Regional Office provided funding to replace it. Before that new building was completed, the park used a 12-foot by 50-foot office trailer to provide exhibits about the area during summer 1987. The park repurposed in 1978 the historic Meadwood Lodge, initially known as the Kabetogama Narrows Information Station and now known as the Ash River Visitor Center.[14]

The mechanics of building RLVC and KLVC cannot be minimized. Voyageurs Facilities Manager Raoul Lufbery worked closely with the NPS Denver Service Center, the architectural firms, and the construction contractors to design and build both centers. The Park Service conceptualized

[12] VNP, Addenda to Conceptual Design Alternatives, April 1980, 51, Appendix E. Memorandum, Assistant Manager, Midwest/Rocky Mountain Team, DSC Robert Shelley to Regional Director, Midwest Region, April 8, 1982, VNP Archives.
[13] Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 2.
[14] Before the triple-wide trailer, the park used in 1983 a single, mobile-home style trailer. See VNP, Annual Report, 1984, 1; 1987, 1, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 7, 1987, 1; April 28, 1987, 5; May 17, 1988, 4; August 30, 1988, 3, VNP Archives. VNP, Interpretive Prospectus, 1981, 10, VNP Archives.

RLVC to fit into the landscape in terms of design and materials. The long harsh winters and the geological reality of the setting complicated the planning and execution. Eight-foot depths for the foundations and utility lines, so as to be below the frost line, meant that contractors had to blast their way through ancient and unforgiving bedrock. There were always surprises that sent planners back to the drawing board, but they kept within budgets, a remarkable achievement given the unusual conditions. An existing well that would be used for the Rainy Lake Visitor Center, as another example of the challenges involved, was enlarged and deepened to 420 feet, but the contractor still had to set off an explosive charge in the well to get the required rate of water flow.[15]

Bowman Construction of International Falls was awarded the contract for Phase I construction of the RLVC facilities. This work involved construction of a comfort station; sewer and water systems; site grading; dredging of the harbor; development of bulkheads, boardwalks, and launch ramp; sowing seed and sod; placement of signage; laying out a picnic area; and building bituminous roads and a parking lot. The Denver Service Center Design Branch developed the plans and specifications for this project. Bowman started work in April 1985. Road construction, harbor dredging, and utility trenching required extensive blasting through the ancient bedrock. Unsuccessful bedrock drilling for the bulkhead in the harbor required design changes using rock blasting and rock bolting to secure the bulkhead. Bowman completed its work in spring 1987.[16]

Agassiz Construction, Inc., of Crookston (now located in Fargo) was awarded the contract for Phase II development, construction of the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. This work included building the wood-frame structure containing an exhibit area, audio-visual space, offices, and restroom facilities. The planners designed the architectural appearance of the visitor center to be rustic and harmonious with the dense woods and surroundings of Rainy Lake. This contract also required site development with grading, construction of walkways, trails, and landscaping. Agassiz had to ensure the visitor center had sufficient electrical and mechanical systems that hooked up to existing utilities. Sovik Mathre Sathrum Quanbeck Architects designed the building, with consultants Lundquist, Wilmar, Schultz, Martin, Inc. and Meyer Borgman and Johnson, Inc. The Denver Service Center Design Branch prepared the landscaping, sewer, and utilities plans. Construction began in October 1985 and was completed in spring 1987.[17]

The Rainy Lake site also has several ancillary facilities, for visitors and for staff. It is also a major maintenance area. For visitors, there is car parking and vehicle and boat trailer parking. There are visitor boat slips and an excursion/shuttle landing place for visitors to go on boat tours. The site also offers picnic spots and hiking trails. For staff there is a Rainy District Maintenance Facility, NPS boat fueling station, NPS boat dock and ramp, and facilities for water distribution, waste water collection and processing, security and site lighting, and landscape improvements.[18]

Liebfried Construction Company, from Littlefork, Minnesota, was awarded the contract to build the KLVC. NPS Midwest Region architects Mike Fees and Trung-Son Nguyen designed the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center. Construction of new facilities at Kabetogama was a partnership with

[15] Lufbery, transcript of interview, 8-12, VNP Archives. Completion Report, Visitor Contact Facility, Contract CX-6000-5-9004, Narrative Statement, VNP Archives.
[16] VNP, Completion Report, Roads, Parking, Utilities, and Boat Facilities, Narrative Statement, 1987, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 2, 1985, 1, VNP Archives.
[17] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 18, 1985, 1, VNP Archives. NPS, Completion Report, Visitor Contact Facility, Narrative Statement, 1987, VNP Archives. Memorandum, Shelley to Regional Director, Midwest Region, April 8, 1982, 1.
[18] VNP, Addenda to Conceptual Design Alternatives, April 1980, 8.

the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (DNR). The Park Service was in charge of construction of the visitor center, plus extending the jetty/breakwater. The DNR agreed to upgrade the boat launch ramp. Liebfried worked steadily, in collaboration with the park and the Regional Office, through 1987 to lay the concrete and raise the walls and roof in time for winter. Liebfried largely completed the work by May 1988, in a remarkable year and a half. The park had only accolades for the contractor (and regional architects), stating that "everyone was impressed with the design, layout, space and workmanship." This building was modeled after RLVC but on a smaller scale, in a modern Northland rustic style.[19]

The KLVC is located in an area called West Kabetogama, which serves as one of three operations bases (this means that several park operations, e.g. interpretation, resources, protection, and maintenance) that work out of that area. The Kabetogama developed area includes the KLVC and public boat launch, the Kabetogama Lake operations building (constructed in 2005), marina and fueling station for park boats, and the Kabetogama Ranger Station Historic District. In 2002, the park reassessed the Kabetogama and Ash River developed areas and identified several issues related to the quality of work environment and living conditions for staff, lack of storage, inadequate parking, and impacts on resources (West Kabetogama Ranger Station Historic District and Ash River Develop Area Environmental Assessment, 2002). As a result, at Kabetogama, the historic ranger station, which serves as housing for the district ranger (a position that is currently vacant), was rehabilitated 2008-2009 and the maintenance operation moved out of the historic boathouse and relocated in a new operations building with a parking lot constructed northwest of the visitor center in 2005. The boathouse is waiting for funding to address structural issues and will eventually be used as a garage for the ranger station residence. The warehouse has always been used for storage and will continue to be used for storage. The planned exhibits for the historic patrol cabin have not been completed.

At Ash River, the historic Levin Cabin was rehabilitated in 2003 for seasonal office space. In 2010, materials storage areas were formalized and two operations buildings constructed. At Whispering Pines, the park constructed a new laundry facility/community building and additional parking. The planned rehabilitation of Building 14 next to the Ash River Visitor Center for interpretive operations and improved accessibility to the visitor center have not been funded.[20]

During the early 1980s, the park removed or relocated many surplus buildings at Ash River to maximize its work space. The former Parker, Hanson, Lund (Levin), and Bern (Meadwood) properties at Ash River contained a large number of buildings. The park assessed the usefulness of each building and made decisions to remove, repurpose, or relocate. The Levin Cabin was initially proposed for removal but later retained for use. The majority of cabins associated with the Bern/Meadwood resort were removed, with the exception of the cabin next to the lodge (NPS building 14).[21] The Lund building was removed and the pole building formerly adjacent to the visitor center parking lot was relocated to the maintenance operations area. Some buildings were removed to reduce the visual impact for visitors. Parker's cabin was sold, Hanson's cabin and a storage building were removed. A

[19] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 15, 1987, 2; November 3, 1987, 3; November 17, 1987, 2. Quote from May 4, 1988, 3. See also May 17, 1988, 3. VNP, Annual Report, 1988, 4. Ron Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 4, VNP Archives. National Register Nomination Form, Kabetogama Ranger Station Historic District, October 28, 1994, Section 7, page 3.

[20] Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 17.

[21] Building 14, located next to the visitor center, is designated as park housing until funding becomes available for rehabilitation for interpretive operations and to construct replacement housing (at Whispering Pines or another location). Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 17.

privy near the boat launch ramp was replaced and another one near the buildings was removed. The pump house was moved closer to the fueling station. The laundry building and generator buildings were removed. The park removed the Whispering Pines Lodge but kept many of the cabins for use as seasonal housing. Cabins retained were those in the best condition. Two cabins of fair condition were kept but not maintained, with the intent of eventually removing them. The park removed the generator building, pump house, fish cleaning/dockhouse, water treatment building, shop and garage, boat ramp, and all docks but one for official NPS use. Many of these buildings had no use in the modernized complex. A nearly new gas pump was moved to the maintenance area.[22]

In 1985, the NPS Washington Office approved the park's plans to establish a ranger station and quarters at Crane Lake. The Midwest Regional Office put out a bid for proposals for such a facility, and one bid came back, from Larry Olson, owner of Olson's Borderland Lodge and Canoe Outfitters on Crane Lake. By December 1986, a contractor had finished constructing a building and garage as part of the complex. The park continues to lease this building from Larry Olson.[23]



Figure 34 NPS-1 to Ash River Visitor Center prior to reconstruction. NPS Photo

Entry roads for RLVC (County Road 96) and ARVC (NPS-1) required a significant amount of time for planning and completion. The Minnesota legislature passed legislation in 1985 to donate land for the KLVC site and the ARVC right-of-way for its entry road. This legislation followed the requirements of the park's 1983 legislation, in which NPS deeded its portions of Black Bay back to the

[22] VNP, Kabetogama Narrows-Whispering Pines Building Use Plan, 1-4. Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 17.

[23] VNP, Annual Report, 1986, 3. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 9, 1985, 2; April 8, 1986, 1; July 8, 1986, 1; October 14, 1986, 3; November 8, 1983, 1; January 24, 1984, 5; July 10, 1984, 1; April 9, 1985, 2; November 26, 1985, 2; December 9, 1986, 2; November 2, 2004, 1.

state, as discussed in a previous chapter.[24] The Federal Highway Administration (FHA) evaluated these two roads for the Park Service in 1985. County Road 96 had a severely cracked and heaved bituminous pavement with many sharp curves and rock outcrops. It needed a total reconstruction to meet minimum standards. NPS-1 was the most primitive of all of the park's access roads. This road was narrow with sharp curvature, had a gravel base filled with potholes, and had short sightlines due to vegetation. The Federal Highway Administration recommended complete reconstruction to meet standards.[25] The Denver Service Center in 1986 sent a survey team out to survey County Road 96. Funding for this road construction came from Federal Highway Administration funds.[26]



Figure 35 NPS-1 to Ash River Visitor Center after reconstruction, which was completed in fall 1996. NPS Photo

Reconstruction of NPS-1 to ARVC involved a multi-year process in collaboration with many different federal agencies. But, before such work started, VNP maintenance staff had to keep repairing this road. Two big rainstorms in 1988, for example, caused major flooding and washouts along this road which the park addressed.[27] Federal Highway Administration staff in 1990 began surveying and making construction drawings for NPS-1. The park, the Midwest Regional Office, and representatives from the Denver Service Center worked with FHA in reviewing and revising these drawings. Additional input came from the US Fish and Wildlife Service and the US Army Corps of Engineers in evaluating impact upon wetlands. Members of the park's resources management staff worked with DSC staff to determine how best to protect and restore native plants in the construction zone to reduce the likelihood of exotic plants from moving in. One action involved transplanting 6,000 New England

[24] VNP, Annual Report, 1985, 2; 1987, 3. P.L. 97-405, An Act to Revise the Boundary of VNP and for Other Purposes, January 8, 1983, 96 Stat. 2028.
[25] Federal Highway Administration, VNP Road Access Study, January 1985, 52, VNP Archives.
[26] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 8, 1986, 1; May 12, 1987, 1;
[27] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, August 23, 1988, 2; September 20, 1988, 2

Blue Violet (*viola novae-angliae*), a rare plant species that would have been plowed over by the construction work. Hoover Construction Company, from Virginia, Minnesota, was awarded the NPS-1 contract, and work went from spring 1995 to fall 1996. The park's resources management staff completed work in tandem with the road reconstruction, especially with respect to the three interpretive overlooks (beaver pond, old-growth forest, and Kabetogama Lake). The park held a combined dedication ceremony for NPS-1 and the newly rehabilitated Ash River Visitor Center in August 1997.[28]

Campsite development

A key facet of park planning from the start has been to limit automobile use and instead have visitors explore the park's resources, via watercraft, hiking, skiing, and snowmobiles. Park staff have developed a wide array of trails over the course of the park's history. They have also established campsites, day use areas, and houseboat moorings along lake shores. Lee Grim did some of the initial background work, as early as 1973, in identifying potential campsite and trail locations. He conducted this surveying as part of his larger mission to educate himself, and the park, about the lay of the land and water resources inside park boundaries. He would have found in his explorations about 100 developed campsites and between 400 and 500 undeveloped campsites, all pre-National Park Service.[29] For the most part, the MDNR and the USFS (and Boise) had developed the 100 sites. The undeveloped sites were created by people camping and may only be evidenced by an informal fire ring of rocks, a clearing from repeated use, or a dump. Plus, there were in the early 1970s 460 lakeside cabin sites that in the future might have utility as campsites or day use sites, once the cabins and associated structures were removed.[30]

To address these large numbers of campsites and possible campsites, volunteer Rick Reaume completed an off-campus project in 1983.[31] He examined the ecological impacts that occur on campsites from recreational use. He approached this research in three ways. First, he designed an inventorying system to determine the extent of impact on such ecological components as soils, vegetation, water quality, and shorelines. Second, he found correlations by analyzing the data collected that highlighted certain components that were more impact-resistant than others. These components were then used as criteria for new site selections. Third, Reaume established a conceptual plan for the use and location of campsites in Voyageurs and made recommendations on resource management policies affecting the recreational use of these campsites at the park.[32]

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[28] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, July 31, 1990, 2-3; April 23, 1991, 2-3; July 21, 1992, 4; October 20, 1992, 1; April 20, 1993, 1; October 12, 1993, 2; April 4, 1995, 1; August 29, 1995, 2; September 17, 1996, 3; October 8, 1996, 4; July 9, 1997, 2-3.

[29] The number of undeveloped sites is around 475, depending upon definitions of undeveloped.

[30] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 13, VNP Archives. Grim, transcript of interview, 3. VNP, Annual Report, 1973, 1. VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, 1994, II-17-1, VNP Archives. VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan, 1994, II-17-1, VNP Archives. Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 13.

[31] The 1984 Squad Meeting Minutes refer to Rick Reaume as being a VIP from Tucson. See VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 21, 1984, VNP Archives. Reaume completed development of the campsite criteria as a student intern from the University of Minnesota, Division of Landscape Resources. Since he probably didn't receive a salary as a student, he was therefore considered a volunteer. Cockrell to the author, December 21, 2016, 8. Rick Reaume, Natural Resource Management at VNP: Managing the Ecological Impacts from Recreational Use of Campsites, VNP Archives.

[32] Reaume, Natural Resource Management, i.

Reaume pointed out one particular type of user, the fisherman. Local sports fishermen, he found, put intensive pressure on lakeshores for camping and picnicking. They heavily used these areas, creating severe ecological impacts. As many as 475 of the undeveloped spaces were used by these fishermen. Reaume wrote that he wanted to help find a way to balance such use with preservation of the natural resources. He developed a site selection criteria data sheet for this purpose. Perhaps not surprisingly, latrine potential and resource-land size (small islands versus mainland) were key limiting factors for designating a site. In addition, special limitations, such as wildlife, vegetation, historical, or archeological components may also limit where a campsite may be located. If a site could not suit any one of these three limitation factors, then Reaume stated the site could not be a National Park Service site. Additional parameters, including accessibility, resource protection, facility suitability, sociological factors, and hazard trees were then used to rank sites.[33]

By 1986, the park's staff had constructed an additional 10 campsites and rehabilitated 30 developed sites, dating from the pre-national park time period. The park had adequate funding to cleanup all of the developed sites (which totaled 100, most of them dating from the pre-national park days), but the park did not have adequate funding for cleaning up the undeveloped sites, nor for conducting daily evening patrols to keep sites clean, educating visitors about minimal impact camping, and enforcing regulations. And, overall, visitor use exceeded the capacity of the natural environment and physical facilities to adequately absorb a variety of recreational impacts on developed campsites, undeveloped campsites, and day use sites. No policy kept visitors from using the undeveloped sites. Human waste and garbage and fish offal were not adequately managed and human-bear conflicts were occurring.[34]

Staff at Voyageurs developed a lakecountry backcountry site management plan in 1986 to address the campsite situation. The plan largely used the selection criteria Reaume had created in evaluating the 100 developed campsites and 400 undeveloped campsites, plus 300 lakeshore cabin sites that might be converted to campsites. The plan called for all undeveloped campsites and cabin sites be evaluated by Reaume's criteria to determine the feasibility of their conversion to developed campsites (for tents or houseboat moorings) and day use sites. The plan estimated that 279 of these undeveloped sites and cabin sites would meet criteria, bringing the total number of developed sites to 351. These would be broken down to 131 tent sites, 37 group tent sites, 159 houseboat mooring sites, and 24 day-use sites. Location-wise, there would be 20 backcountry sites and 331 sites on the shores of the major lakes, divided as 79 on Kabetogama, 93 on Namakan, 69 on Rainy east of Brule Narrows, 49 on Rainy west of Brule Narrows, and 41 on Sand Point Lake. The plan also called for the issuance of camping permits for all overnight use and use of a reservation system.[35]

The park's 1994 Natural Resources Management Plan and its 2001 General Management Plan identified continued problems with camping, day use, and houseboat mooring. By 2001, the park had 215 developed sites for overnight and day use. The number and locations of developed sites often did not meet demand, in both 1994 and 2001, leaving people frustrated. By 2001, some wanted a reservation system to ensure they had a place to stay. Day use visitors could use any site until 4 pm, but such a scenario had caused conflict with overnight users.[36]

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[33] Reaume, Natural Resource Management, 8, 42, 109-122.
[34] LC/BC Plan, 2, 6.
[35] LC/BC Plan, 24-35.
[36] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-13. VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan, 1994, II-17-1 -I-17-4.

To meet these needs, the 2001 General Management Plan called for the park to implement a no fee self-registration permit system for overnight winter and summer use. The GMP also called for the park to conduct a feasibility study for facility use fees of some visitor services, including overnight camping and parking lots. Park staff would study both the no fee permit system and facility fee system to determine site usage and educate visitors about park activities, conditions, and rules. Analysis of these findings would guide future development. The GMP provides for 108 houseboat sites (two boats per site) and states that a houseboat management plan would be initiated when overnight houseboat use has reached 60 boats per basin. By 2016, the park had about 170 tent sites and had instituted a fee overnight use reservation system.[37]



Figure 36 Park maintenance and resource management staff worked together in identifying campsites and constructing tent pads and other features for safe and comfortable visitor stays. NPS Photo

From the 1970s, the park's maintenance staff has led the work for developing campsites. Lee Grim initially scoped out potential sites in the 1970s. Once sites had been identified using a detailed process of evaluation and prioritization, the staff went in and constructed tent pads, fire rings, and pit toilets, plus placed picnic tables. Some sites also had bear lockers for food storage. The vast majority of these sites sat on shorelines. The staff routinely checked these sites, repaired and cleaned them, and ensured they were in good shape for the start of each summer season. Campsite placement and development took into account any archeological findings so as not disturb these sensitive areas. Other sites provided space for day-use visitors and houseboats. Houseboat sites provided mooring posts or rings, to protect trees from girdling, and metal fire grills. Day-use ones included picnic tables, fire grills, and a toilet.[38]

[37] VNP, GMP, 2001, I-56 – I-57.

[38] Lufbery, transcript of interview, 6. VNP, Lakecountry and Backcountry Site Management Plan Environmental Assessment, July 1986, 24, 29. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 12, 1987, 3; January 26, 1988, 3; May 4, 1988, 3; June 6, 1989, 3; July 9, 1996, 3.

Trail development[39]

Voyageurs offers trails for winter and summer use. Winter trails primarily serve snowmobilers and crosscountry skiers. Recreational trails accommodate hikers, skiers, and, most recently, cyclists. Park managers have established these recreational uses to allow visitors to go inside the park and experience its scenery, wildlife habitats, and historic features. The park's 1980 Master Plan guided initial trail development. Trails would take visitors into a cross-section of the park to accommodate hiking, backpacking, snowmobiling, crosscountry skiing/snowshoeing, and interpretation. Backcountry trails would link with the water transportation system and were designed for a few hours to several days of travel. Trails would allow people to get out of their cars and explore.[40] Both summer and winter trails would provide "quality resource-related recreation consistent with the protection of the natural ecosystems."[41]

Winter use has generated the most attention with regard to trail development in Voyageurs. The park's enabling legislation allows for snowmobiles in the park, stating that "The Secretary may, when planning for development of the park, include appropriate provisions for (1) winter sports, including the use of snowmobiles, (2) use by seaplanes, and (3) recreational use by all types of watercraft, including houseboats, runabouts, canoes, sailboats, fishing boats and cabin cruisers." Under this direction, park superintendents, in consultation with the Midwest Region and in response to court orders, have developed snowmobile trails that travel over the frozen lakes, with portages to avoid hazardous areas having slushy ice conditions. The most controversial snowmobile trail is the Chain of Lakes across the Kabetogama Peninsula. According to the 1980 Master Plan, the National Park Service would make snowmobiling permissible throughout the rest of the park (beyond the five major lakes) but snowmobiling would be neither encouraged nor discouraged through trail marking or maintenance of routes.[42]

The Denver Service Center worked with park staff and the Midwest Regional Office to develop the Voyageurs Trail Plan and Environmental Assessment (1989). This 1989 plan benefited from public meetings and consultations with governmental agencies, consultants, and business interests. The plan called for all trails to blend with the surroundings to minimize adverse effects on significant natural and cultural resources, including threatened species. Trails should also be cost-effective to construct and easy to maintain.[43]

In 1989 with the approved Trail Plan, the maintenance division started grooming snowmobile trails and staking snowmobile routes on lake surfaces. The 1989 Trail Plan expanded hiking and cross-country ski trails and designated overland snowmobile trails, which included a 29-mile snowmobile trail to be constructed on the Kabetogama Peninsula.[44] With the adoption of the Trail Plan, the park initiated the process for issuing a special regulation establishing the on-land snowmobile trails and also identifying lake surfaces where snowmobiling would be allowed. The rulemaking process involved the writing of an Environmental Assessment for the frozen lake surfaces and providing for public review and comment.

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[39] Dates of trail construction are in the Appendices.
[40] VNP, Trail Plan and Environmental Assessment, 1989, 8, VNP Archives. VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 26, VNP Archives.
[41] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 13, 17. Quote on p. 17.
[42] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 26.
[43] VNP, Trail Plan, 1989, 10, 112-15, 133.
[44] VNP, Trail Plan and Environmental Assessment, 1989, 20, 30, VNP Archives.

As an interim measure, the undesignated snowmobile trail to the Chain of Lakes and Shoepack Lake was brushed for use by snowmobiles starting in the winter of 1989-90; all other overland snowmobile use was prohibited except for safety portages. Snowmobile routes were also established on the major lakes to improve visitor safety and reduce use of areas important to wildlife, particularly the threatened gray wolf. Routes were marked with painted wooden stakes on Black Bay, Kabetogama, Namakan and Sand Point lakes and groomed by the park and local snowmobile clubs. The park's plan to establish an interim snowmobile trail on the Peninsula was met with enthusiasm by the snowmobile groups.[45] The park currently allows a Chain of Lakes Trail, which crosses from Black Bay on Rainy Lake, across Locator, War Club, Quill, Loiten, and Shoepack lakes and exits due south to Lost Bay on Kabetogama Lake. A short side trail goes to Moose Bay on Kabetogama Bay. The entire trail is one way.

The park submitted two wilderness recommendations (1983, 1992), one which the Department of the Interior did not forward and the other which the Interior Department did forward to the President. The latter was returned to the Interior Department for further study, and the recommendation remains there. However, because the second recommendation was submitted to the President, the park had met the requirements of the Wilderness Act. Park managers, however, do not have a decision from Congress, which has the authority to designate or not any part of Voyageurs as wilderness. Until such time, park managers are obligated by NPS policy and the Wilderness Act to treat the eligible area within the park as wilderness so as not to permanently harm its wilderness qualities.[46]

Crosscountry and snowshoe trails have been built over the course of the park's development. The Interpretive Division has complemented these trails with guides and informative maps. The first ski trail was the Black Bay Ski Trail, opened in 1975, and then the Mukooda Ski Trail in 1980 (which was closed in 1984). For both of these, the park developed interpretive guides, meeting another park goal of educating visitors about the resources in the park. By 1983, the park had incorporated these trails into its outreach to the local community by sponsoring the Voyageur Loppet 32-km ski race and a Moonlight ski on the Black Bay Trail. Both of these events came during the annual International Falls Ice Box Days event and have been annual park events. The Interpretive Division has published a series of guides to the full range of winter sports, both in the park and in the general area.[47]

One important step in ski trail development involved connecting park trails with outside ones. In 1990, the MDNR approached the park about linking the MDNR's Tilson Creek Ski Trail to the park's Black Bay Ski Trail. Resource Management Specialist Jim Benedict, Maintenance Supervisor Leigh Evans, Rainy District Ranger Joe Cayou, and Resource Management Biologist Lee Grim reviewed the trail and agreed to the connection. The park's maintenance crew cleared and brushed the 1.9-mile extension.[48]

The Echo Bay ski (and hiking) trail opened in 1996. This trail represented a cooperative effort. The newly formed Friends of Voyageurs National Park held its first "March for Parks" in April 1996 to raise money to fund a ski and interpretive trail at Echo Bay on Kabetogama Lake. Park maintenance workers flagged the trail and cleared the corridor. Superintendent Barbara West helped dedicate the

[45] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 6, 1989; August 8, 1989; October 10, 1989; October 24, 1989; November 21, 1989; January 9, 1990, VNP Archives. Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 5-6.
[46] See Chapters 4 and 5.
[47] VNP, Trail Construction Dates, VNP Archives. VNP, Ski Trail History, 1-4, VNP Archives.
[48] VNP, Ski Trail History, 11.

trail in August 1996. In 1997, a Minnesota Conservation Corps crew, with the park's maintenance staff, cleared extensions for the Echo Bay Ski Trail.[49]

Summer trails within the national park have proved much less controversial than the snowmobile trails. A Youth Conservation Corps crew helped build the Cruiser Lake Trail System (originally called the Lost Bay trail system), running from Lost Bay on Kabetogama Lake to Anderson Bay on Rainy Lake, cutting across the Kabetogama Peninsula at Cruiser Lake. This trail, completed in 1981, measured more than 15 miles in length.[50] In 1982, a Student Conservation Association crew worked in the park to construct the bridge and walkway sections of the Locator Trail. Another SCA crew worked in 1983 on the tread surface for the Locator Trail. Summer 1983 saw 728 hikers on the Locator Trail and 1,478 on the Cruiser Lake Trail System. In 1986, a new SCA crew built a short extension to the Locator Trail. Plus, the park's Chief Naturalist Bill Gardiner, Volunteer Artist Dick Weis, and Biologist Lee Grim developed a self-guiding nature trail guide for the Locator Trail.[51]

The 1989 Trail Plan and Environmental Assessment recommended almost 100 miles of summer trails, with 73 miles for hiking, seven miles for interpretive trails, five miles for handicap-accessible trails, and almost 10 miles for canoe portages. At the time of the report's drafting, Voyageurs had 26 miles of hiking trails, with many of them being short and also serving as canoe portages. Through the course of public meetings, presenting alternatives, and drafting the trail plan, park staff developed a nature trail at the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. This trail was handicap-accessible for the first quarter-mile. Maintenance and natural resources staff laid out the route and maintenance staff built it. The park decided to name this trail the Ernest Oberholtzer Trail, and the park's natural resources staff contacted the Oberholtzer Foundation in preparation of the waysides. Oberholtzer had been a staunch advocate for the preservation of the areas now encompassed by Superior National Forest's Boundary Water Canoe Area Wilderness, Quetico Provincial Park, and Voyageurs National Park. Harpers Ferry Center completed the waysides for the nature trail. The Oberholtzer Trail formally opened with a dedication ceremony in September 1990.[52]

More trails opened to the public in the 1990s. These were: Black Bay Beaver Pond Hiking Trail (1992), Blind Ash Bay Hiking Trail (1993), Little American Island Hiking Trail (1993), and the Echo Bay Ski/Hiking Trail (1996, discussed above). Visitors could motorboat or canoe to the new dock near the Black Bay Ski Trailhead and then hike a half mile on the Black Bay Beaver Pond Hiking Trail to the beaver pond. SCA crews between 1992 and 1994 worked on construction of the Blind Ash Bay Hiking Trail. Park maintenance crews followed up in 1993 by brushing the trail and completing the boardwalk. In preparation for the centennial celebration of the 1893 Gold Rush, park staff laid out trails and a new dock on Little American Island. The Division of Interpretation planned for three waysides and a trail guide. The trail opened in June 30, 1993, in time for the gold rush festivities.[53]

The 1989 Trail Plan included a hiking trail from Kettle Falls west to the Beast Lake canoe portage and then west again to the Cruiser Lake Trail System. This trail would offer loop trails and hiking opportunities for guests of the Kettle Falls Hotel. The Kettle Falls Phase III Development Plan had also included a Kettle Falls trail.[54] However, review by the park's resources management division

[49] VNP, Ski Trail History, 16-17, 19.
[50] VNP, Hiking Trail History, 2016, 1, VNP Archives.
[51] VNP, Hiking Trail History, 1-2, 5.
[52] VNP, Trail Plan, 1989, 60, 96. VNP, Hiking Trail History, 8-10, 13.
[53] VNP, Hiking Trail History, 14-16.
[54] VNP, Trail Plan, 1989, Finding of No Significant Impact.

found that proposed "alignment did not tie-in the historic fabric of Kettle Falls." Funds earmarked for the initial 0.9 mile of the trail were moved to the construction of the Kabetogama-Ash River Trail.[55]

The park developed the Kabetogama-Ash River Trail to meet the need for more hiking and skiing trails across the park's mainland and to connect the Kabetogama and Ash River communities. Following a 2000 Environmental Assessment, the park maintenance crew constructed the trail inside park boundaries. The Kab-Ash Trail construction involved many different people within the park and outside. Maintenance, with Bruce Barrett as the Kab-Ash Trail Maintenance Field Leader, laid out the trail. Resources Management marked the trail via GPS. Cultural Resources Specialist Mary Graves worked with the State Historic Preservation Office to obtain approval, in consonance with the National Historic Preservation Act, Sections 106 and 110. The park and the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources needed to amend their Memorandum of Understanding, plus add a supplementary agreement to allow use of the Civilian Conservation Corps buildings at the state Woodenfrog Campground. Minnesota Conservation Corps employees, contractors, and park day labor constructed the trail inside park boundaries.[56]

The Kabetogama and Ash River communities constructed the portions of the trail outside park boundaries. Superintendent Barb West saw this trail as important for connecting the two communities. The park and the local communities celebrated the trail's opening in August 2002, but this trail suffered from lack of funding, at least initially, to keep it properly signed and maintained. During summer 2004, MCC youth (thanks to funds from the Voyageurs National Park Association) helped with clearing brush and undergrowth to keep the trail open.[57]

Finally, one multi-use trail, the Rainy Lake Recreation Trail, took almost 20 years to open. Planning started in 1996 when bike trail surveyors laid out the trail along Highway 11 East, going from Ranier to the Rainy Lake Visitor Center. By 2003, the bike trail went from Ranier to the Thunderbird Lodge. Koochiching County wanted to extend the trail to the visitor center, and the county's Highway Engineer Doug Grindall worked with the park's Maintenance Chief Raoul Lufbery to submit a grant application for State Enhancement Project Funding.[58] The park would be responsible for engineering, plans, specifications, and letting the contract. Technical support would come from the Midwest Region. But funding from the park was an issue, until 2005 when Grindall notified the park that the trail was 100% funded without any contribution from the park.

In late 2005, Midwest Region landscape architect and environmental specialist visited the park to consider possible layouts for the trail at the visitor center, but they found the terrain rough, limiting possibilities. Changes to the trail alignment due to concerns over the rough terrain, wetlands protection, and visitor safety raised the cost for the project, causing further funding problems. The State of Minnesota received money for the trail in 2010 as part of the federal economic stimulus program, and the park was told by the Midwest Region that it had been previously assigned an amount that would cover its share plus more.

A construction contract was let in 2011 to Bowman Construction, but the park terminated the contract for fault the following year. Bowman had built the trail too wide, thus negatively impacting

[55] VNP, Hiking Trail History, 19.
[56] VNP, Hiking Trail History, 19-20.
[57] VNP, General Management Plan, 2001, I-25. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 12,2002, 1; November 24, 2003, 1; February 24, 2004, 3; August 3, 2004, 1. Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 5.
[58] The squad meeting minutes refer only to the State Transportation Enhancement, not federal. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, November 5, 2003, VNP Archives.

the natural resources. A new contract was let in 2014 to Wagner Construction. The trail finally opened in 2015. The 1.7-mile paved, multi-use trail goes from the Rainy Lake Visitor Center, paralleling County Road 96, and meets up with the International Falls Bike Trail at the intersection with Highway 11.[59]

Partnerships have helped develop park trails. Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) members, Student Conservation Association (SCA) members, Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC), and Minnesota Conservation Corps (MCC) members have all contributed their time and talents to maintenance work in the park, especially with trail development. The YCC started in 1971 and connects youth ages 15-18 to public lands agencies. SCA works with high school age students, plus young adults, who volunteer to work during summers. MCC was established in 1981 when YCC lost federal support. At Voyageurs, these different programs have provided important labor and talent for projects including trailwork. In 1980, for example, YCC and SCA members built a 3.5-mile addition to the cross-country ski trail in the Black Bay system. They also built a seven-mile crosscountry ski trail system at Mukooda Lake. The SCA and MCC in 1993 worked with the park on the Blind Ash Bay Trail. That same year, the SCA also replaced the deteriorated wooden stairway leading from the Namakan Lake docks to Kettle Falls Hotel.[60]

More trail work involved other types of partnerships. The park, for example, reached out to local snowmobile clubs and benefited in 1993 by having three of these groups groom the park's snowmobile trails in the Namakan District of the park. Club grooming saved the park a remarkable $30,000 that year and greatly improved the snowmobile standards, as admitted in the park's annual report for that year. In 1996, the Echo Bay hiking and cross-country ski trail resulted from partnerships with volunteers from the Kabetogama Lake Association, Friends of Voyageurs National Park, and the MCC. The Friends of Voyageurs National Park devoted their March for Parks events in 1996 and 1997 to raise money to fund development of this interpretive/ski trail.[61]

Surplus building removal and land restoration

The park's maintenance staff and resources staff initiated abandoned cabin cleanups in the mid-1970s with the removal of large dumpsites at Mukooda Lake and Big Island on Rainy Lake. Naturalist Park Ranger Lee Grim and Biological Science Technician Don Graves led cabin removal crews early in the park's history. Through the 1980s, the maintenance staff led as-needed annual fall cleanups to address particularly large cleanup areas. In 1983, the Ranger Greg Zeman completed an inventory of tracts of land in need of cleanup, which included uninhabited buildings, cabin salvage sites, and dumpsites. The resulting 177 tracts were prioritized for cleanup, and this list became the park's clean-up "to do" list for many years. Regional and park cultural resource specialists have since inventoried all of the park's developed tracts of land and described any sites that might be culturally significant.

[59] VNP, Hiking Trail History, 17, 21-22, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37-39. VNP, Press Release, VNP Announces the Opening of the Rainy Lake Recreation Trail, July 21, 2015, VNP Archives.
[60] Memorandum, Facility Manager, VNP to Superintendent, VNP, February 4, 1981, 2, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1993, 14. This Mukooda Lake Trail fell out of use in the mid-1980s and is no longer in existence.
[61] VNP, Annual Report, 1993, 14. VNP, Annual Report, 1996, 20. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 6, 1996, 4; February 11, 1997, 7.

Any National Register-eligible historic structures have been identified and their treatment identified in the park's most recent historic structures management plan.[62]



Figure 37 One of the early tasks for park maintenance staff was clearing out dumps left from previous residents and campers, such as this one on Big Island, Rainy Lake. NPS Photo, 1974

The maintenance staff organized the large as-needed cleanups as events and invited the entire staff to assist. It was frequently in a remote area and staff stayed overnight in a park facility (e.g. Hoist Bay, Kettle Falls, King's Cabin on Sand Point, Whispering Pines) depending on the location of the cleanup. These were memorable, fun events that brought the staff closer together in addition to being an efficient use of staff.[63] Superintendent Ben Clary expressed his thanks to Namakan District Supervisor Gary Mott and the 43 staff members who had participated in one park-wide cleanup in September 1993 at Swanson's Bay on Sand Point Lake. Clary stated that "We accomplished much more than anyone anticipated and finally put to rest who the undisputed cribbage champs are!"[64]

Maintenance staff followed applicable NPS directives for disposing of items at restoration sites. In general, building removal focused upon removing any dangerous materials and returning the site to a natural and safe condition. Maintenance staff worked to disturb the ground the least amount as possible to preserve any potential archeological remains and to keep the lay of the land intact. The

[62] VNP, Building Management Plan, 1990, 3, VNP Archives. VNP, Historic Structures Management Plan, Finding of No Significant Impact, 2002, VNP Archives. Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 7. Lee Grim, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 13 2013, 3, VNP Archives.
[63] Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 7.
[64] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 5, 1993.

staff used different means to remove the buildings themselves. Former maintenance chief Raoul Lufbery stated that in the park's earlier years, the park held auctions for the surplus buildings. People could bid on a cabin, for example, and then dismantle it or move it. But, many of the cabins sat in isolated areas, making their removal difficult. Auction winners ended up taking out the windows or other discrete parts of the cabins and leaving the rest, forcing the park to do the major cleanup. With time, Lufbery said, the park ended the bidding process and simply removed the cabins. A large number of cabin sites were vacated with the 2000-2003 expiration of the 25-year use and occupancy reservations. In addition, many local residents objected to seeing these cabins remain empty. In response, the park decided to contract out much of the building removal.[65]

With removal of the cabins and other surplus buildings, park resources staff has been responsible for site restoration to as natural a condition as possible, unless the site had been identified for another use, such as a campsite. Exotic vegetation is a particular concern for the park because exotic plants may overtake native plants. Although the "Cabin Site Cleanup and Restoration Standards" (in the Building Management Plan) called for removal of exotic plants and revegetation using native seeds/plantings, most cabin sites were allowed to regenerate on their own. This approach worked well in some areas but at other sites resulted in an invasion of exotic species. It was not until the park received special funding in fiscal year 2008 to fiscal year 2010 for control of exotics and restoration of disturbed lands that park maintenance staff had the ability to restore former cabin sites on any kind of large scale.[66]

Kettle Falls Hotel

The park's Master Plan (1980) identified Kettle Falls as one of four primary development sites within the park's boundaries. This area contains the Kettle Falls Hotel and the Kettle Falls Historic District, both listed on the National Register of Historic Places. A Development Concept Plan (DCP) elaborated on the master plan's proposals. The DCP specified locations for new docks, maintenance and employee housing facilities, and the portage road. The DCP also evaluated the safety of the hotel for lodging and approved the concept of and location of satellite lodging. The Kettle Falls Historic Structures Report (1981) determined that the hotel itself was in a state of dilapidation that did not meet current health and life safety standards. The hotel required stabilization and rehabilitation work to meet current standards. Four associated, non-historic structures, including an employee housing unit, hotel annex, and two guest cabins, also were found dilapidated. The economics of rehabilitating these non-historic structures did not prove cost efficient, and NPS management decided to have them removed. The hotel would, however, be renovated to its 1945 appearance. The park conducted interviews with the Williams family (who had owned the hotel for 75 years) to understand the hotel's electrical and plumbing history.[67]

Construction work involved two phases. Phase I, completed by Nor-Son, Inc., of Brainerd, Minnesota, involved rehabilitating the hotel. The contractor took down, numbered pieces, and stored the entire structure. The contractor then laid a concrete foundation (the original hotel had a wood

[65] VNP, Building Management Plan, 1990, 5, Appendix E. Lufbery, transcript of interview, 5-6. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 5, 1982, 3.
[66] VNP, Building Management Plan, 1990, Appendix E. Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 7.
[67] NPS, Denver Service Center, Environmental Assessment Kettle Falls Development, July 1985, 1, VNP Archives. Historic Structures Report, Kettle Falls Hotel and Associated Facilities, December 1981, 106-111, 183, VNP Archives.

foundation) and reconstructed the remainder of the hotel using as much of the original materials as possible. The rehabilitated hotel interior included the historic furnishings and ephemera that the Williams family had accumulated over the years. The park acquired these furnishings from the Williams family in 1991. The barroom, including the uneven floor, displayed "the girls," six color prints (reproductions of the originals, obtained in 1996-1997) of nudes that had long been part of the décor and considered popular by guests. Nor-Son completed its work in November 1987, and the park celebrated the newly renovated hotel, along with the opening of RLVC and KLVC, in 1988. During this same time period, the park worked directly with North Star Electric to install commercial power at Kettle Falls. This work, which involved laying an underwater cable from the Ash River area, was completed in March 1988.[68]

The renovated building had a reduced number of hotel rooms. Remodeling of the second floor during hotel renovation and removal of the hotel annex building reduced the number of rooms available to visitors and staff. As a result, the Park Service let out for contract Phase II for Kettle Falls to build guest lodging and seasonal employee housing. The decision to replace the lost guest lodging reflected in part recognition that the concessioner needed a reasonable opportunity to make a profit. In April 1988, Agassiz Construction, Inc. won this Phase II contract and completed the work in August 1989. The guest lodging units (three separate buildings) accommodate 40 visitors. During what the park called Phase 2.5, the park's maintenance crew constructed a dam overlook, plus trails and docks. There is also a small maintenance facility (located west of the hotel), built in 1989.[69]

Park Housing

Voyageurs National Park provides housing for some of its full-time staff and seasonal employees. There are park requirements for ensuring the safety and preservation of the resources, and there are NPS policies for determining the full scope of such housing. Both shape these housing decisions. The first seasonal park housing was probably the Angell cabin on Bittersweet Island, Kabetogama Lake. It was a state lease cabin that was purchased in 1976 and used until the park started using Whispering Pines for seasonal housing. The Angell cabin was torn down sometime in the 1990s. The park started using Whispering Pines Resort as seasonal housing in 1985. In 1983, Ranger Bruce Malloy and his family were housed year-round at the Sand Point Ranger Station (also known as King's Cabin) until they moved into the Crane Lake Ranger Station in 1986. King's Cabin was acquired by the NPS in 1977 and still serves as remote seasonal housing. The Hall Cabin, also on Sand Point Lake, was also acquired in 1977 and served as seasonal housing until 1989. The Kabetogama Ranger Station, which was built in 1935 by the Civilian Conservation Corps, was used as office and residence for the Minnesota Forest Service and then Minnesota Department of Natural Resources until the State donated it to the NPS in 1987. It was used as housing shortly after and became permanent housing for the Namakan District Ranger by 1992.[70]

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[68] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 24, 1986, 1; September 2, 1986, 2; October 28, 1986, 1; November 4, 1986, 2; November 3, 1987, 3; March 22, 1988, 2. Mike Williams, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 16, 2013, 23. The park's museum collection stores the original photos. Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 8.

[69] VNP, Environmental Assessment Kettle Falls, 1985, 1. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, April 12, 1988, 1; May 30, 1989, 2; June 6, 1989, 3; August 8, 1989, 3. VNP, Annual Report, 1986, 1; 1987-1988, 1; 1988, 4; 1989, 4. VNP, Addenda to Conceptual Design Alternatives, April 1980, 48. Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 18.

[70] Cockrell to the author, January 22, 2016, 8-9.

Maintenance addresses all of the property development work needed to ensure that this housing is safe and comfortable for the users so that they can do their work under optimal conditions. For seasonal quarters, maintenance will open the housing by cleaning and preparing the units. At the end of each season, the crew will then close down the housing, making necessary repairs and winterizing the buildings. Work at Whispering Pines, a former resort turned into seasonal housing, serves as an example of what the maintenance crew has done for quarters. Whispering Pines had been a concession-run resort, like Kettle Falls Hotel, within the park's boundaries on Kabetogama Lake. The park owned the property and thus directed its upkeep and addressed repairs. When the concessioner Jeff Berggren in 1984 declined to renew his contract, the park turned the resort into seasonal housing, following approval from the Midwest Regional Office. In making the shift from concession to housing, maintenance had to bring the electrical wiring and plumbing up to code, improve the sewer and wastewater systems, rehab and paint the interiors, paint the exteriors, and landscape. The Whispering Pines quarters first opened in spring 1985.[71]

[71] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 23, 1984, 2;

Chapter Ten

Resource Protection and Visitor Safety

Joe Cayou served as a longtime ranger for Voyageurs National Park, serving as the Kabetogama District Ranger in 1973, moving up to the Chief Ranger position from 1981 to 1986, and then serving as the Rainy District Ranger/Operations Specialist until his 1994 retirement. His approach for much of his visitor contact and enforcement duties was to educate violators as opposed to simply issuing tickets. He wanted people to have a good time in the park, not worrying about the details of regulations.[1] Carl Brown remembered that Cayou stopped and helped people, serving as a kind of ambassador for the park.[2]

This approach of emphasizing education has continued to characterize the work of protection rangers at Voyageurs National Park. Park Rangers provide information and explain regulations with the goal of educating visitors and making them aware of the rules. The hope is that these visitors would then act according to this awareness. Park Rangers have also acted proactively to avoid a potentially dangerous or controversial situation. They have, for example, educated schoolchildren about water safety to reduce the numbers of water accidents.

Staffing in the Protection Division has ranged over the years. Bob Walker served as the park's first Chief Ranger, with Cayou as District Ranger, Kabetogama. Walker left in 1976, and Cayou became Chief Ranger. Crane Lake Rangers have been Larry Hach (Ash/Crane) 1977-1982, Stephen Goodrich (Sand Point) by 1980-1985, Bruce Malloy (Namakan Sub-District) 1983-1991, Dave Little (Sand Point) 1991-1994, Matt Urch 1996, Rene Buehl 1998-2000, Kevin Sheffer 2002-2004, Marshall Plumer 2003-2004, Brad Farlinger 2008-2010, Greg Drum (Rainy/Crane) 2010-2014, and Jeff Quam 2015-present. Field Rangers have been Joe Cayou (Kabetogama) 1973-1981, Gilbert Hall (Ash) 1976-1981, R. Scott Evans (Rainy) 1976-1979, Jay Liggett (Namakan) 1988-1989, Becky Henrekin (Namakan) 1990-1993, Mike Larsen (Namakan) 1993-1999, Kevin Grossheim (Kabetogama) 2001-present, Dave Little (Rainy) 1994-2000, Karl Spilde (Rainy) 2001-2010, and Pete Sweger (Rainy) 2012-present. In 1985, the park reorganized into districts and refilled the vacant District Ranger positions. Namakan District Rangers have been Roger Moder 1985-1987, Hugh Dougher 1988-1991, and Chuck Remus 1992-2013. Rainy District Rangers have been Larry Johnson 1994-1998, Dennis Kaleta 1999-2000, Dave Little 2001-2010, and Karl Spilde 2011-present. Chief Rangers have been

[1] Joe Cayou, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 10, VNP Archives.
[2] Carl Brown, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 5, VNP Archives.

Bob Walker to 1976, Joe Cayou (1976)1981-1986, Steve Martin 1987-1990, Bruce McKeeman 1990-1999, James Hummel 1999-2006 (Chief of Operations 2006-2009), Chuck Remus 2013-2014, and Ben Welch 2015-present. Cayou served as Operations Specialist 1987-1994 when he retired.

Because of Core Operations, the park was reduced to four division chiefs during the period 2006-2009 so Chief Ranger Jim Hummel was Operations Chief during that time and supervised the interpretation and resource management staff, in addition to protection staff. Today there is a Chief Ranger, Ranger Pilot, two district supervisors, four permanent field rangers and four seasonal rangers. Around 2003, the Park received a $200,000 base increase under a Border Protection initiative. This allowed the park to add one full-time ranger on Rainy Lake, hire a Ranger Pilot, and increase flight hours.[3]

Rangers have contributed to education in their field. From 1992 to the present day, Rangers have had a cooperative agreement with the Vermilion Community College in Ely, Minnesota. This arrangement has enhanced the quality of training and allowed the Rangers to recruit promising Park Ranger candidates to Voyageurs. The Chief Ranger has been the chair of the advisory board for the NPS' law enforcement training program. Rangers have instructed classroom training in NPS topics, provided practical training scenarios, and have offered Motorboat Operators Certification Courses to students.[4]

An important resource protection function has been fire management. Fire Management Officer Steve Jakala built on the work Benedict had done and wrote a Fire Management Plan considered one of the best in the National Park Service. Dave Soleim served as Fire Management Officer 2002-2005.

Commercial Services

The National Park Service uses concession contracts or commercial use authorizations to provide commercial visitor services that are necessary and appropriate for public use and enjoyment. Anyone who wants to operate commercially in Voyageurs has to meet the requirements of the NPS, and the U.S. Coast Guard if operating on the water. These requirements are in place to keep the visiting public safe.[5]

At Voyageurs, commercial visitor services include concession contracts and commercial use authorizations (CUAs). Concessions have included Whispering Pines Resort (until 1984), Kettle Falls, and water transportation services. There were 36 commercial use license holders in 1993; in 2016 there are 78, primarily for fishing guide service.[6]

The park began preparing business owners about the requirement for concessions and commercial use licenses (also called Incidental Business Permits and now called commercial use authorizations) in 1982 through meetings with specific groups, press releases, and public meetings.[7] It became mandatory in 1984 to obtain commercial use licenses for offering services, such as guiding and charter boat rides in the park. Many businesses operating in the park in the 1980s did not meet the

[3] See Appendices for a full list of VNP Permanent Staff. Ron Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 6, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, November 4, 2003, VNP Archives.
[4] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 6.
[5] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 1.
[6] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 1. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 4, 22, VNP Archives.
[7] See Chapter 4.

necessary requirements and had to either come into compliance or quit doing business. Rangers worked closely with each commercial user to help get their business into compliance. For example, the park provided first aid and CPR training, a requirement for all CUA holders. Ranger staff continues to hold yearly meetings with commercial users to exchange information. The regulation of commercial services (as well as Special Use Permits for activities on the water) has been challenged several times by those who believed the State retained jurisdiction over any activities on the water.[8]

Concessioners fill a vital role in helping the NPS carry out its mission. Concessioners are allowed to offer certain specific goods and services to park visitors, which are not provided by NPS personnel. By welcoming the private sector as a partner in park operations, NPS broadens the economic base of the region and of the communities surrounding the park. The National Park Service in the Voyageurs National Park 1968 Master Plan indicated its preference to exclude from the park boundary as many existing resorts as possible. In this way, these 52 resorts would continue to serve visitors and benefit economically from the increased numbers of people attracted to the national park. Concessions contracts protect a concession-operated business from other people providing the same service in the same area so that a financially-feasible, quality service can be achieved. The protection division is responsible for all concession-related contracting, pricing and evaluations.[9]

One example of concessions is Mukooda Lake. The boat rental on Mukooda Lake was a limited concessions contract from 1987-2005. Four were issued to resorts/outfitters for one boat each on Mukooda. The park changed these to CUAs in 2006, which greatly simplified the process and resulted in one-time flat charge for two years as opposed to paying a percentage of earnings under a concession contract. (See below for more information on boats on interior lakes.)

Beginning in 1984, Bob and Mary Hilke, of Voyageurs National Park Boat Tours, Inc., beginning in 1984, provided service on Rainy Lake. They had built a custom boat, *The Pride of Rainy Lake*, which launched in 1987. They signed a 10-year concession contract with NPS in 1990. In 1990, they leased the19-passenger tour pontoon boat, the *Sight-Sea-Er* and purchased it in 1991 to replace the *Betsy Anna* (which started at Namakan in 1988) and improve tour boat service in the Namakan District. The Hilkes struggled financially despite excellent service to the public.[10]

By the mid-1990s, the park's interpretive program addressed changes in tour boats and tour boat operators. Prior to the summer of 1994, the Hilkes decided not to continue the Namakan District tour boat service, and the limited concession permit was awarded to Richard (Ricky) Oveson, who acquired the *Sight-Sea-Er*. Kathy Wilson purchased the *Sight-Sea-Er* in 1999 (the same year the Hilkes sold the *Pride of Rainy Lake*) and replaced Ricky Oveson as Namakan District tour boat operator.[11]

Changes in tour boat operators came with the new millennium. In 1999, the Hilkes retired. To meet demand on Rainy Lake, Lake States Interpretive Association developed a temporary concession contract with Camp Koochiching (later changed to personal services contract) to use the *John L. Holden* for tours on Rainy Lake. In 2002, the park ran the tour boat *Lac la Pluie* on Rainy Lake, but that boat's engine died on the last day. In 2003, Kathy Wilson purchased the 55-foot tour boat and named it the *Sight-Sea-Er II* but shortly after moved her operation to Vermilion Lake. The park advertised for a tour boat concession on Namakan in 2005 but received no proposals. Park staff considered purchasing the *Sight-Sea-Er* from Kathy Wilson but could not because of funding. In 2005,

[8] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 2.
[9] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 1-2. VNP, Master Plan, 1968, 9, VNP Archives.
[10] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 7. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 4, 8-9, 13.
[11] VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 18, 20, 36.

the park was without tour boats in both basins and ended up using park boats for tours. The park purchased a 22-passenger pontoon boat for the Namakan District for tours starting in 2006.[12]

As of May 1, 1985, the park ordered the removal of all unattended boats on interior lakes. The park took this step to meet its obligation under 36 CFR Section 2.22 (2), which prohibits leaving property unattended for longer than 24 hours. This CFR addressed concerns over visitor safety and helped to promote the visitor experience by not having unused boats intrude visually or physically upon the setting. This decision led some park visitors and park neighbors to write letters to the park criticizing this change.[13]

Private boats stored illegally on public land were removed in 1985. As a compromise, the NPS provided boats on several interior lakes that could be used by the public. At first, the boats were free but at some point the park starting charging a minimal fee to pay for replacing boats, paddles, and oars. The program was expanded in the 1990s to include opportunities on the Rainy Lake side, with additional boats on Brown and Peary Lakes. The Boats on Interior Lakes program was placed on an on-line reservation system in 2014. Visitors may now (2014 to the present) reserve a canoe or rowboat through http://www.recreation.gov on Cruiser Lake, the Chain-of-Lakes, Little Shoepack Lake, Shoepack Lake, Ek Lake, and Brown Lake.[14]

Private businesses wanted to have boats on Mukooda, and the only way that they could do that id through the concessions authority. Concessions were also offered on Cruiser and Shoepack, but no one submitted a proposal. The limited concession contract authority was replaced by the Commercial Use License in 2006, which greatly simplified the process and resulted in the park charging a minimal fee in 2002. The park now uses Commercial Use Authorizations for these limited concessions. Currently Voyagaire, Pine Point, Scotts Peaceful Valley and Norway Lodge each have a boat in Mukooda Lake under a Commercial Use Authorization.[15]

Local resorts have offered the largest percentage of lodging options for park visitors. Two operations within the park have provided lodging: Whispering Pines Lodge and Kettle Falls Hotel. In both cases, the National Park Service purchased the existing properties and then negotiated concessioner contracts to run these facilities, which started in 1978. Whispering Pines remained a concessioner-operated resort until the end of the 1984 season, when concessioner Jeff Berggren decided not to continue the concession. The park then evaluated the Whispering Pines facility for quarters and made the necessary changes to turn it into quarters for seasonal employees and visiting researchers.[16]

Mike and Chuck Williams, shared the concession operation at Kettle Falls until 1982. After Mike left to become owner-operator of Thunderbird Lodge on Rainy Lake, Chuck remained as concessioner until 1991. The hotel was closed for a year until Darrell and Joan Knutson (DARJO, Inc.)

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[12] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 7. VNP, Interpretive Program Summary, 18, 20, 36, 40, 42-43. See also Chapters 4, 6, and 8.
[13] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, August 14, 1984, 1; April 1, 1986, 1. Ron Cockrell to the author, December 4, 2015, 4, VNP Archives. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 6.
[14] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 8. See also Chapter 4. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 8.
[15] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 8. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 9, 14. Cockrell to the author, December 21, 2016, 8. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, March 17, 1987. VNP, March 31, 1986, Boats on Interior Lakes/BOIL, VNP Archives. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 8, 2002.
[16] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 23, 1984, 1; February 27, 1985, 3. VNP, Chief Ranger's Annual Report, 1978, 1.

purchased the assets from Chuck Williams. They opened for the 1992 season and re-opened for New Year's, marking it the first time the historic hotel provided services during the winter season. DARJO terminated its contract in October 1995. In May 1996, Rick Oveson took over the Kettle Falls concession contract.[17]

Aviation program

Voyageurs National Park has used aircraft since first being staffed in 1972. Aircraft facilitates monitoring fire, wildlife populations, and hunting within park boundaries and other illegal activity. Aircraft also aids in park rescues and speeds access to the far-off points within the park. From 1972 to 1977, the park had rented airplanes from local vendors and hired pilots to meet its needs, such as the yearly survey of birds of prey. In 1977, the park hired Scott Evans to serve in the dual position as airplane pilot and law enforcement ranger. Evans became a full-time pilot for the park in 1983 to meet the park's growing needs for aircraft usage. These requirements included law enforcement, search and rescue, medical evacuations, tracking of radio-collared animals, creel surveys, visitor use surveys, wildlife censuses, transportation of personnel and supplies, fire detection and initial attack, aerial photography, and VIP tours.[18]

In 1983, it switched from rentals to a lease with Bohman Airways for a Piper Super Cub. When that lease terminated in 1988, the park entered into a contract with Portage Air until that company went out of business in 1991. It then rented an airplane from Einarson Flying Service until its own airplane arrived. In 1991, it acquired its first airplane, a 1989 Christen Husky, which was obtained from the US Border Patrol. The park obtained in spring 2000 a new airplane, a Christen Aviat, financed in part by a loan from the Region. Superintendent Barb West redirected monies from the aviation program to the tour boat operation because of the absence of the park pilot. In 2003, the Border Protection Initiative provided a $200,000 increase to base funding which was used to hire a new pilot, Scott Taylor, and pay for flight hours.[19]

By 2005, the cost of maintaining and keeping the airplane almost forced the park to mothball it for part of the year. But the Midwest Region contributed funds toward the plane's operating costs. Evans had retired in early 1999. Jim Hummel arrived in 2000 and split his duties between Chief Ranger and Park Pilot. Tom Hablett lost his license and retired due to medical reasons. Steve Mazur served as park pilot 2010-2016.[20]

Fire program

During mid-July 1980, Voyageurs personnel faced what they later called "an explosive situation" with three uncontrolled fires burning within the park. Four crews of park rangers and volunteers battled these fires, plus a re-flamed fire at Shoepack Lake. Scott Evans, the park's pilot,

[17] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, June 25, 1991, 2; November 5, 1991, 1; April 29, 1992, 1; December 15, 1992, 3. VNP, Annual Report, 1992, 7; 1996, 2. See also Chapter 5.
[18] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 8. See Appendices for VNP Staffing dates. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, October 2, 1976, VNP Archives. See Chapter 7.
[19] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 8. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, August 23, 1983; September 10, 1991; December 2, 1999, VNP Archives.
[20] Memorandum, Roger Andrascik to Kimberly Salwasser, January 29, 1999, 1-2, included with Management Team Meeting Minutes, January 25, 1999. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 2, 1997, 1; March 14, 2000, 2; May 2, 2000, 1; February 22, 2005, 2; June 15, 2004, 2. VNP, Annual Report, 1991, 7. Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 8.

made 298 take-offs and landings, carrying equipment, food, and personnel to the scenes. At least one of these fires, thought to be out, was rekindled due to high winds and hot temperatures. The park sought back-up help and supplies from the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources and US Forest Service, but these agencies had their own fires to fight. Park managers, later in a de-briefing meeting, agreed that they did not have adequately trained personnel, properly functioning equipment (two of three sections of a hose burst and a mechanical pump lost its carburetor), or the safety procedures in place to fight fires.[21] The park had spent four days to get the fires under control, and in total, 1980 saw 21 forest fires in the park, with seven lightning-caused and 14 human-caused.[22]

Voyageurs operated at this time under a full fire suppression policy. The park's 1980 master plan recognized that fires had historically shaped vegetation patterns in the park area and that the use of fire as a possible management tool in the future may be possible. However, extensive research was needed, according to the master plan, before such a shift in practice would be put in place. The master plan instead called for fire suppression to maximize protection of cabins and other structures within the park's boundaries.[23]

The National Park Service as an agency had extensively studied fire in the national parks and had determined that prescribed burns benefited a park's ecosystem and should be instituted under carefully delineated circumstances. But first, a bit of context. About a half-dozen forest fires in the Great Lakes region from the 1870s through the 1920s, according to fire historian Stephen J. Pyne, were quite large. Logging practices during this time period left abandoned slash. Farmers used fire to clear lands for cultivation. Railroad brakes and smokestacks served as a frequent source of ignition. Droughts in the 1910s and 1920s made everything more flammable. All of these factors contributed to notable fires in north woods towns, such as Hinckley and Cloquet. The effects of these large fires and a host of smaller ones led directly to state-initiated endeavors to use mechanized means to suppress fires. The Great Lakes region was doing what other regions in the United States also began pursuing in an attempt to avoid such large fires in the future.[24]

Within this backdrop, the National Park Service, from its establishment in 1916 until the 1960s, incorporated the US Forest Service's evolving approach to fires. The latter agency went from a program of protection (with suppression of larger fires) to one that largely sought to control all fires through a complete suppression program. The Park Service adopted suppression in part because it relied upon forest rangers for expertise and help in controlling fires. Plus, park managers saw the large iconic national parks as scenic and recreational treasures whose value diminished with fires and smoke obscuring vista lines. Not until publication of the Leopold Report in 1963 did the Park Service begin to question its fire policy. The Leopold Report emphasized that biotic relationships be maintained or if necessary recreated to return to the period when Euro-Americans first visited the area. One Park Service biologist in the 1950s had already demonstrated the value of fire in reinvigorating native sawgrass and pines in Everglades National Park. Research continued in the 1960s with respect to Sequoia National Park. Scientists identified a range of native species, including the chickaree squirrel

[21] Fire Review Meeting, 22 July 1980, 1, VNP Archives.
[22] Fire Review Meeting, 1. VNP, Annual Report, 1980, 2-3.
[23] VNP, Master Plan, 1980, 19. The 1973 annual report headlined its fire section as "Fire Prevention and Suppression" and noted that it had drafted a cooperative agreement with the US Forest Service. See VNP, Annual Report, 1973, 1.
[24] Stephen J. Pyne, *Fire in America: A Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), 199, 207-09, 214-18. GH Carlson, "Minnesota Droughts and Floods," USGS Survey Water-Supply Paper 2375, 345-52.

which spread seeds from sequoia cones they broke open. This seed dispersal and other actions contributed to new growth, catalyzed by fire. Researchers also warned that the build-up of flammable debris in the understory could feed extremely hot fires that threatened the very existence of these giant trees. Park rangers in the latter 1960s instituted prescribed burns to reduce this possibility.[25]

At Voyageurs, it lagged behind some of these examples from the 1950s and 1960s because it was not a national park at that time. Once a national park, park managers had to take into account the large numbers of cabins in the park. As a result, in its early history, park managers adopted suppression of all fires. However, this practice left a new danger. Ranger Joe Cayou described the results of total suppression at Voyageurs. This program ultimately led to the accumulation of so much debris on the forest floor and the concentration of densely packed trees that park managers recognized a huge problem. As Cayou said half-jokingly, half-seriously, "Smokey Bear did too good of a job."[26]



Figure 38 The park successfully tested in May 1989, under an updated wildland fire policy of the same year, its first prescribed burn on Cutover Island on Kabetogama Lake. NPS Photo

Under Superintendent Russ Berry's administration, the park in 1987 instituted a new fire management program. This program implemented prescribed burns and prescribed natural fires under carefully identified conditions. This plan provided the criteria for allowing the park's first naturally occurring fire in 1987 to proceed without human intervention. This Bear Slide Creek fire on the Kabetogama Peninsula near Shoepack Lake burned for four days before rain extinguished it.[27] The park successfully tested in May 1989, under an updated wildland fire policy of the same year, written by Fire Management Officer Steve Jakala, its first prescribed burn on Cutover Island on Kabetogama Lake, with another one in October at Mukooda Lake, west of Sand Point Lake. The Cutover Island burn went for three days and burned about half the island. The Mukooda Lake burn unit, on the

[25] Pyne, *Fire in America*, 261, 282-83, 296-97, 300-03. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 88-89, 126-28, 256-58.
[26] Joe Cayou, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 29, VNP Archives.
[27] VNP, Annual Report, 1987, 2. VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan, 1994, II-24-6.

northern end of the lake, affected about 10 acres before self-extinguishing due to increased humidity and falling temperatures. The park continued this burn the following year.[28]



Figure 39 Fire Management Officer Steve Jakala (1989-2000) wrote the park's Fire Management Plan, considered one of the best in the National Park Service. NPS Photo

Berry later expressed his approach for implementing the revised policy. He stated that he "was very concerned about the protocols and the prescription. And made absolutely sure everybody understood that I wanted a good prescription, and I wanted that prescription followed to the letter. One doesn't like to let those fires get away. And we did that."[29] He probably was particularly cautious about following protocol because the Voyageurs prescribed burn happened only a year after the Yellowstone fires. These 1988 fires, that captured intense media attention, affected about 36 percent of the total park and also burned 500,000 acres outside the park's boundaries. Yellowstone in 1988 was the largest fire-fighting effort up until that time, with 25,000 people involved in some way in battling the blazes. Nine fires had been caused by humans and 42 from lightning strikes.[30]

Voyageurs managers continue to use prescribed burns to implement the park's fire management plan. The park's 1994 Natural Resources Management Plan details the many ways in which fire had played a historical role in shaping the area's ecosystem for plants, trees, mammals, and

[28] NPS, Press Release, VNP Controlled Burn Successful, 23 May 1989, 1; Prescribed Burn Plan for Cutover Island, March 1989, both VNP Archives. NPS, Press Release, Prescribed Burn Scheduled in Voyageurs National Park, 28 May 1990, VNP Archives. VNP, Wildland Fire Management Plan, 1989, VNP Archives. VNP, Annual Report, 1989, 2.
[29] Russ Berry, transcript of oral history interview with the author, September 17, 2013, 25, VNP Archives.
[30] NPS, The Yellowstone Fires of 1988 (2008), at http://www.nps.gov/yell/naturescience/upload/firesupplement.pdf, accessed January 21, 2014.

birds.[31] The park's 2001 General Management Plan included in its Preferred Alternative the need for expanding the fire management plan to allow for re-establishing natural fire regimes. This assessment of the 1989 wildland fire management plan resulted in the decision to allow for an expanded prescription burn policy. The revised plan increased the number of situations under which a prescribed burn could occur and identified a target condition for vegetation which informed the fire management plan. The goal was to capture within the park as a whole the succession and change once characterizing the area now bounded by the park. The park was the first in the national park system to have its natural fire program reinstated after the moratorium imposed during the 1988 Yellowstone fires. The Voyageurs plan, according to the park's 1989 annual report, became the standard for fire management plans in both the National Park Service and Parks Canada.[32]

Superintendent Kate Miller described the result of this enhanced fire management approach. In her fiscal year 2004 annual report, she noted upfront that "our most significant event" of the year was a lightning-caused fire on the Kabetogama Peninsula near Shoepack Lake. The fire was significant both for its size, burning 1,435 acres (which she called the largest fire in the park's history), and the fact that the park allowed the fire to burn. Miller described how the park closed hiking trails and camp sites to protect the public. A fire crew came in from Lewis and Clark National Forest to protect the Kettle Falls Historic District, in case the fire swept in that direction. And, the park used extensive public information channels to update the public about the fire. In the end, the fire was not highlighted in the annual report for causing harm to life or property. Instead, the fire was noted because it brought resource benefits to the ecosystem, the underlying goal of the revised fire management plan.[33]

The park has used aircraft to help with firefighting. In late August 1991, a series of lightning strikes caused several fires requiring suppression. Eight of the ten fires were controlled with the initial attacks, but two, Net and Lucille, spread quickly due to high winds and dry conditions. The park's firefighting team gained air support from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, two contract helicopters, and the park's own fixed-wing aircraft. The park also conducted overflights equipped with infrared sensing equipment to detect hidden hot spots. The Lucille fire required continued attention until September 7.[34]

Most recently in Voyageurs, the 2002 Fire Management Plan, and its updates, guide actions with regard to fire in the park. The plan divides the park into two Fire Management Units (FMU): Prescribed Fire/Suppression FMU and Wildland Fire Use FMU. The Prescribed Fire/Suppression FMU area is located where the risk of fire to escape beyond park boundaries is high, mainly along the western and southern boundaries. Developed areas, including the park visitor centers and resort areas, are included in this FMU. All islands, campsites, day use areas, houseboat sites, and private inholdings are also included. The Wildland Fire Use FMU encompasses a significant portion of the Kabetogama Peninsula, to a line north from Mica Bay through Ryan Lake to Rainy Lake. To manage accumulating fuel loads and reproduce natural conditions with respect to vegetation reproduction in the Prescribed Burn/Suppression FMU, the 2002 fire management plan called for prescribed burns that would mimic the intensity and severity of natural fires when safety and control can be assured. The Wildland Fire

[31] VNP, Natural Resources Plan, 1994, II-24-8 – II-24-18.
[32] VNP, Finding of No Significant Impact, Fire Management Plan, 2002, 2-3, VNP Archives. VNP, GMP, 2001, I-vi. VNP, Annual Report, 1989, 2.
[33] VNP, Annual Report, FY 2004, 1.
[34] VNP, Research-Resource Notes, 230.

Use FMU allowed for lightning-caused fires to proceed under prescribed-burn conditions, so long as human life and property were not threatened.[35]

Technology is playing a role in determining what actions to take when with regard to fire. For 30 years, the National Park Service and other federal agencies had used the Wildland Fire Situation Analysis to effectively evaluate fires and what actions to take. As of 2009, agencies use the Wildland Fire Decision Support System, which combines desk-top and web-based functionality for easier data acquisition and easier sharing of analyses and reports across all levels of fire organization. Fire managers can link their analyses to decision points, and one system can account for the decision process and documentation system across all types of wildland fires. For Voyageurs, staff can enter into the system all of the factors that might influence the shape and duration of a fire, and the system guides human action with objective analyses.[36]

Land Protection

The land protection program includes developing priorities for land acquisition and annually updating the land protection plan. The park made a significant shift in its land acquisition priorities in 1980. Previously, VNP Chief Land Acquisition Officer Ken White had used condemnation as one alternative for acquiring land from unwilling sellers. The 1980 Land Protection Plan instead stated that the National Park Service would not file any new condemnation actions, unless particular property was needed for a major park development (such as a visitor center) or if the owner began to adversely affect his/her property inside park boundaries. This new land acquisition approach created a willing seller-willing buyer relationship between the park and the inholders.[37]

By the early 1990s, however, the park's land acquisition funding had shrunk. The park could not always buy from willing sellers due to this tight situation. Dr. Thomas Leach owned one such property. The Midwest Region, Land Resources office conducted an appraisal in 1990, but this appraisal came out much lower than what Leach's appraisal had been. Leach wanted NPS to condemn his property and go to a judge or jury to determine fair market value. But, the park did not have enough funds to pay such a sum. Leach then threatened and finally did cut over sections of his property on Sand Point and Namakan lakes. Park superintendent Ben Clary decided not to take action, and the park's Resource Protection Rangers observed Leach's activities and kept the state and St. Louis County informed so that they could enforce their own rules and regulations on developments and uses on private lands. The Leaches eventually filed a lawsuit, and the Midwest Regional lands office worked with the family to settle out of court. The Leaches ended up selling their 332 acres for about $1.6 million, and they retained a 25-year use and occupancy for the cabin site.[38]

The Leach property situation highlights other aspects of Park Ranger duties. The VNP Rangers work with the State, counties, and other agencies on land issues, exchanges, donations, and zoning. They also work closely with hundreds of landowners, personally visiting each holder of a use and occupancy reservation many times throughout the course of their reservation. With the Leaches

[35] VNP, Fire Management Plan, October 2012, 12-16, VNP Archives.
[36] VNP, Fire Management Plan, October 2012, 19. Kurt Fogelberg, phone conversation with the author, July 22, 2016. Wildland Fire Decision Support System website, http://wfdss.usgs.gov/wfdss/WFDSS_Home.shtml, accessed July 23, 2016.
[37] See Chapter 2.
[38] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, August 28, 1990; October 16, 1990; January 6, 1992; January 14, 1992; February 4, 1992; April 5, 1994; December 13, 1994, VNP Archives.

having a use and occupancy, they would have expected VNP Rangers visit and explain regulations and procedures and have Rangers work to resolve issues. In addition, Rangers address land encumbrance issues, such as water rights, timber rights, mineral rights, and rights-of-way. They monitor encroachment of park land from activities, such as timber removal. They facilitate environmental site assessments when land is acquired.[39]

Park Rangers issue Special Park Use permits for special park uses. A special park use is an activity that takes place on park land or waters that provides a benefit to an individual, group, or organization, rather than the public at large. The permit is only issued if the activity is consistent with the NPS mission and purpose for which the park was established. Many special use permits at Voyageurs have been for common activities, such as weddings and films. Other Special Park Uses have included such things as easements, rights-of-way permits for utilities and roads (including ice roads), special events, First Amendment rallies, filming, and telecommunications. A Special Park Use must be approved through issuance of a Special Park Use permit. In 1975, as an example, the park issued a Special Park Use permit for an underwater power line.[40]

Sometimes, the issuance (or not) of a Special Park Use permit has generated controversy. In 1976, Carl Brown intentionally plowed an ice road without seeking a permit because he believed that the State retained jurisdiction on the water. In 1984, the Crane Lake Commercial Club expressed displeasure that the Special Park Use permit for the annual Voyageurs Day did not include the air show. In 1990, the Ash-Ka-Nam Resort held a snowmobile race event without a permit while the next year the Kabetogama Snodrifters did pursue and receive a permit to hold January Jamboree. Radar runs, or snowmobile event races, have also been controversial. They are illegal under 36 CFR 2.18(d). Superintendent Barb West created a Special Use Zone on Kabetogama Lake for intensive spectator-related recreational activities.[41]

The park has allowed but discouraged fishing tournaments. In 2000, the park's division chiefs debated a bass fishing tournament permit request. Ultimately, the park granted the Special Park Use permit for the bass fishing tournament on Rainy Lake September 8-9 because: "sportfishing is in park legislation, lake levels are artificially controlled, bass is an exotic and the event is catch and release with the caveats that we are not issuing the permit because it accedes to the activity, fishing tournaments are not something we wish to encourage, our interests are to maintain the native fishery, and the sponsor is not to mention the park in promotional literature."[42]

Visitor protection and safety

Park Rangers work to ensure visitor protection and safety activities in many ways. They prevent visitor injuries, protect property, issue weather warnings, conduct search and rescue, provide emergency medical services, control traffic, and deal with bear incidents. Rangers also ameliorate conflicts between visitors, investigate criminal activities, and respond to fatalities. Protection rangers are often the only NPS personnel that a visitor will see or meet. Being on the front line also means that Rangers are sometimes placed in dangerous situations—being treated with disrespect and hostility, intentional non-compliance of law, threats both on and off the job. Visitors sometimes question a

[39] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 2.
[40] VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 1.
[41] VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 3, 13, 16. See Chapter 6. Cockrell to the author, September 29, 2016, 18.
[42] VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 36.

Ranger's authority and jurisdiction, even during something as routine as enforcing state fishing regulations. The philosophy of the protection division has been to be ambassadors and educators for the park. Protection rangers make thousands of contacts with visitors over the course of a year and most of these involve education and giving out information. The number of visitor contacts that Rangers make can be greater than the number of visitors that are contacted in the visitor centers.[43]

In 1988, park rangers instituted a permit system, requiring hunters and trappers to obtain a written permit to transport legally taken wildlife across park lands and waters. By 1989, the two most common law enforcement problems were illegal hunting and trapping and intoxicated operation of motor vehicles. Boaters and snowmobilers have both committed violations with regard to liquor consumption. Other violations have involved snowmobiling off designated trails and vandalism and theft from abandoned structures.[44]

Park staff, throughout the history of the park, has actively worked towards making the lakes and surrounding lands safe for boaters, snowmobilers, and other visitors. Staff members have placed buoys to mark troubling navigation areas with rocks. Depending upon high or low water years, park staff has placed additional buoys to warn boaters of potential hazards. Boating safety posters, placed at resorts in the Ash River district in 1982, for example, warned about boating without lights, overloading, and intoxication. Rangers followed up with personal contact with visitors. Snowmobile trails have been adjusted to avoid bad ice areas and thus keep visitors safe. The park's newsletter for visitors has long included safety information. Park visitor centers have carried navigational aids and safety information.[45]

With the increased popularity of snowmobiles in the 1980s and 1990s came an increase in serious injury and fatality accidents inside the park. In response to the serious problem of alcohol and snowmobiling, the Rangers developed a snowmobile safety program, including public education, educating area businesses, and creating trail blocks. The trail blocks, started in 1991, were an interagency effort with NPS Rangers, Minnesota Conservation officers, and deputies from St. Louis and Koochiching counties. The trail blocks were held at night and resulted in numerous arrests for Driving While Under the Influence. One particularly notable accident occurred in January of 1992 and resulted in the death of two people. Investigations into any snowmobile deaths found that they happened due to excess alcohol and nighttime conditions. After several years of the program there was a marked decrease in serious injury and fatality accidents inside the park.[46]

Park rangers have used education as an important tool for enforcing and correcting violations of CFR regulations. In the first decade of the park's existence, for example, Chief Ranger Joe Cayou reported that his division practiced a "low key" enforcement approach. Park rangers brought infractions of regulations to the individual's attention, explaining the reason for the regulation. The ranger and individual then evaluated if the explanation was sufficient for settling the problem. If so, no citation was issued, which was often the case.[47]

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[43] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 3.
[44] VNP, Annual Reports, 1975, 4; 1989, 5; 1991, 7. VNP, Chief Ranger's Annual Report, 1980. VNP, Natural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, 1994, II-14-2.
[45] VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 25, 1982, 2; July 13, 1982, 3; July 20, 1982, 1; October 31, 1983, 2; January 11, 1983, 2; March 15, 1988, 4; June 11, 1996, 2.
[46] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 3. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 29, 1991; February 5, 1991; January 14, 1992; February 18, 1992; February 25, 1992; January 13, 1993; January 11, 1994, VNP Archives.
[47] VNP, Annual Report, 1989, 6. VNP, Chief Ranger's Annual Report, 1978, 2. See Chapter 2.

Taking a proactive approach, the law enforcement Rangers conduct safety-related outreach programs at area schools and special events. Topics included water safety, surviving if lost, boat safety and life jacket use, all relevant topics for surviving in northern Minnesota. Rangers participate as instructors in the Minnesota Snowmobile training for area youth to promote safe and responsible snowmobiling.[48]

Park rangers have collaborated with other agencies in law enforcement activities. In 1992, VNP rangers coordinated the first field level evaluation conducted by Project Northstar, a national northern border counter drug program involving many federal agencies, National Guard units, and military forces. Voyageurs National Park also joined in 1992 the newly organized Northern Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee, which included US federal, state, local, and Canadian law enforcement agencies.[49]

More cooperative activities with regard to safety demonstrate the importance of the Rangers beyond park boundaries. Rangers are called to help other law enforcement agencies on incidents that occur outside the park boundary. In many cases Park Rangers are the first on the scene because the nearest county deputy is over an hour away. After a string of serious out-of-the park responses by Rangers involving a shooting, a domestic dispute involving a knife, and an attempted suicide, Chief Ranger Jim Hummel drafted Law Enforcement General Agreements with both county Sheriffs' Offices to better define NPS roles and legally protect the LE Rangers during these actions. The Rangers participated in a number of joint U.S. and Canada border operations that concentrated on cross border traffic. There were numerous agencies from both sides of the border participating in the operations. Rangers are registered Emergency Medical technicians and have dealt with numerous medical emergencies both inside and outside of the park. They have been credited by the hospital ER staff with saving lives. Rangers developed a strong working relationship with both the U.S. Coast Guard station in Duluth and the Coast Guard Auxiliary group out of the Ash River community, adjacent to the park.[50]

Employee safety

The current Safety Officer is Karl Spilde. The park also has a Safety Committee that addresses safety issues in the park. The ranger division has kept park staff in compliance with the Department's Motorboat Operator Certification Course (MOCC) training required of those who operate park watercraft, winter operations safety training, and snowmobile operator's certification. Ranger staff, often in partnership with the Coast Guard Auxiliary, has had a station on boater safety at Environmental Education Days for many years, and they sponsor youth snowmobile training courses.[51]

Employee safety also developed. In 1986, the park took steps to eliminate employee injuries by, for example, modifying the marine winch, placing emergency lighting at the headquarters building, and implementing a hazardous materials program. Staff received training in defensive driving, boat operations, and emergency weather conditions. In 1993, the park's safety committee adopted a "green sheet" for all employees to submit identified safety hazards to the committee. In 1996, the safety

[48] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 3-4. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 12, 28.
[49] VNP, Annual Report, 1992, 6; Calendar Year 1994 and FY 1995, 10.
[50] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 3-4. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 19, 34, 39. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, May 20, 1997; Visitor Safety and Protection information with November 24, 2003 minutes; March 23, 2004; September 28, 2004.
[51] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 9.

committee established a parkwide safety award. Park safety officers have been Scott Evans and David Little.[52]

Jurisdiction and Regulations

As a federal agency, NPS is responsible for implementing the rules and regulations that are necessary for use and management of the park. Federal regulations are created through the rulemaking process. Superintendents have the authority to compile designations, closures, permit requirements, and other restrictions into a Compendium without triggering rulemaking. Typical notices in the VNP Compendiums are visiting hours, swimming areas, waterskiing, fishing locations, fires and firewood, camping and food storage, pets, ice fishing, portages for snowmobiling, and aircraft mooring sites. The VNP Compendiums also list activities that need permits and/or have daily fees. The Compendiums provide guidelines for allowable areas for protests and distribution of printed materials.[53]

Rulemaking is the next step in guiding visitors and park activities. If the nature, magnitude or duration will result in a significant alteration in the public use pattern of the park, adversely affect the park's natural, aesthetic, scenic or cultural values, require a long-term or significant modification in resource management objectives, or is of a highly controversial nature, then rulemaking is required. Proposed rules are drafted and published in the *Federal Register* where they are subject to public comment before a final rule can be published. The NPS issues rules to designate routes, water surfaces, and areas where motor vehicles and snowmobiles may be used off park roads, in compliance with 36 CFR 2.18 and 4.10 and Executive Orders 11644 and 11989. Examples at Voyageurs include special regulations for aircraft use and snowmobiling on frozen lake surfaces.[54]

The park has concurrent jurisdiction with the State of Minnesota over the land and water, with the exception of private lands within the park (see Section 8.3.5 of *NPS Management Policies* for more information on jurisdiction as well as the Jurisdictional Compendium for Voyageurs assembled by Chief Ranger Jim Hummel in 2009). The protection staff has been directly involved in jurisdictional challenges since establishment of the park.

The Carl Brown cases are addressed in other chapters, but here they are from a protection ranger perspective: There were three cases brought forward by local resident Carl Brown that challenged NPS authority and jurisdiction on the waters of Voyageurs National Park. These cases had national significance because of the potential effects on NPS jurisdiction on navigable waters nationwide. In 1977, Carl Brown was convicted of duck hunting in Voyageurs National Park (Brown I). Brown argued that the State of Minnesota never ceded jurisdiction over the waters in the park. Both the District and Circuit courts upheld his conviction. In 1994, Carl Brown intentionally violated park regulations by operating a tour boat in the park (Brown II). He was cited on federal land. He was found guilty of operating a tour boat without required permits. In 1996, Carl Brown, along with Canadian boat operator Bo Armstrong, intentionally violated park regulations by operating their tour boats in the park waters on Rainy Lake. Both were cited and convicted of the infraction.[55]

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[52] VNP, Annual Report, 1986, 2; 1993, 20; 1996, 25.
[53] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 4. VNP, Compendiums, 2011-2016, VNP Archives.
[54] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 4. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 1, 3, 11, 13-14, 29.
[55] See Chapters 2 and 6. Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 4-5. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 20, 31-32.

Brown brought his case through the court system and the eighth Circuit Court upheld NPS authority to regulate activities on or in all waters within the park boundary, ruling 99-1190 (Brown III). Mr. Brown appealed his case to the U.S. Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear his jurisdiction case. In a newspaper article the Minnesota Attorney General was quoted as saying, that the case was settled and it was the "law of the land," that NPS had jurisdiction on the waters of Voyageurs National Park.[56]

There have been numerous social protests that occurred when the public did not agree with a management decision. All of these protests were managed by the protection division in such a way as to maximize public and officer safety and minimize public disturbance. The protests were not stopped, but Rangers gathered information on who was involved and addressed violations of the law after the fact instead of creating a public scene during the event.[57]

There are many examples of public protests in Voyageurs. In 1993, Governor Arne Carlson's snowmobile ride through the park was joined by a Minnesota United Snowmobiler Association's rally. The event was covered by WDIO TV of Duluth. In 1997, the Minnesota United Snowmobiler's Association (which had filed a lawsuit against the Department of Interior in 1994) held an organized ride through the park to protest wolf closure zones. A group of nearly 100 snowmobilers rode through the park to protest areas of the park being closed off to snowmobile use to provide undisturbed areas for wildlife to utilize. The activity was monitored, no laws were broken and no action was taken.[58]

The use of personal watercraft (such as Jet Skis), which are prohibited in the park, was becoming a problem by the early 1990s. The Freedom Flotilla**,** sponsored by the Borderland Borders Association in 1999, was held to protest Jet Ski regulations. A group of people on boats, jet skis, and a float plane operated through the park, around Dryweed Island and then back out. The people that were illegally operating Jet Skis were videotaped by undercover rangers. From these tapes rangers were able to identify the operators and issued them citations all of which ended in convictions. In 2001, the Koochiching County Board held the Tom Cod Snowmobile Radar Run to protest the Superintendent discontinuing issuing special use permits to allow snowmobile radar runs in the park. The event was monitored, and no laws were broken so no action was taken.[59]

Hunting and trapping is not allowed in the park, except on private land. On August 13, 1976, Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (MDNR) Commissioner Robert Herbst issued Order No. 1947 that prohibited hunting and trapping on all lands and waters within Voyageurs National Park. In 1976 the park contained approximately 6,600 acres of privately owned land. On December 1, 1979, No. 1947 was revoked by MDNR Commissioner Joseph Alexander through order No. 2055. Hunting and trapping have occurred on private property within the park to the present date.[60]

When the state lifted the ban on hunting on private lands in the park, some hunters used the private land as a starting point to poach wildlife in the park. In some cases, there would be a five-acre tract of private land, and 10-20 people claiming to hunt it. There were numerous observations and

[56] See Chapter 6. Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 4-5. VNP, Summary Resource and Visitor Protection, 31-32.
[57] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 5.
[58] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 5. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, January 19, 1993, February 11, 1997.
[59] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 5. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, February 27, 2001; March 15, 2001.
[60] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 5. See Chapter 3.

cases made of people hunting within park boundaries. The people hunting in the park wore brown or camouflage clothing to avoid detection by the Rangers working the field and by aircraft.[61]

Rangers used a proactive approach and worked with private land owners to locate the property lines and to flag the park boundary. This approach also cut down on the number of wildlife violations in the park. The park initiated a wildlife transportation permit program in 1988 that required hunters to get written permission from the landowner before they were issued a permit that allowed them to transport game through the park. This significantly cut down the numbers of people hunting within park boundaries and the problems associated with it. The wildlife transportation permit also allowed people hunting in Canada to legally transport game through the park. Those lands that were receiving the heaviest hunting pressure and creating the most problems were moved up the land acquisition priority list and purchased. If the conditions on the wildlife transport permit were violated, the person would be cited and put on probation where they could not get a permit for five years.[62]

Resource protection and visitor safety are the bedrock upon which a national park exists. The National Park Service's Organic Act of August 25, 1916 names the purpose of national parks to "conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." The resources must be protected and visitors must be able to enjoy those resources safely. With these two requirements addressed in a sustainable fashion, the National Park Service and its employees can further add to these accomplishments interpretation, research and conservation of natural and cultural resources, maintenance, and facility and resource development for interpretive and recreational purposes.

As can be seen from this chapter, there have been some key resource protection and visitor safety issues transcending time at Voyageurs. First, rangers have served as park ambassadors in a range of circumstances. They have maintained contacts with use and occupancy holders, reached out to schoolchildren and adults about water and snowmobile safety, and talked with potential violators of rules and regulations to educate them about those directives. Second, rangers have developed important ties to the larger community for the benefit of everyone. These ties have been with the MDNR, local cities and counties, the US Coast Guard, and US and Canadian border control agencies, among others. Third, VNP rangers have ensured the full enjoyment of resources, in a safe and economical way by overseeing concessions. Lodging and food at Kettle Falls, boats of all types in the park's waters, and fishing and guiding services allow visitors to take full advantage of the park's resources.

[61] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 5-6. See Chapter 3.
[62] Cockrell to the author, February 9, 2016, 6. VNP, Squad Meeting Minutes, September 20, 1988.

Epilogue

The National Park Service in March 2011 moved into its new headquarters building on State Highway 11 at the far eastern edge of International Falls. This building, its architecture meant to evoke a historic sawmill, represents its own momentous point in time. Superintendent Barbara West had explored possible locations for a new headquarters building, and one possibility she investigated was moving the offices to Orr. Kate Miller, who replaced West, held informal conversations with local leaders and developed some concepts for a possible new building in International Falls. Miller also presented the idea for building at the Midwest Regional Office.[1]

Mayor Shawn Mason remembered later that Miller reached out to Mason soon after settling into the superintendency, inviting Mason and other city officials to a multi-day workshop on the East Coast about gateway communities. Mason recalled reacting skeptically to the invitation. She was skeptical of the park after Barb West. As Mason said later, "I did not want to get brainwashed by the National Park Service." But she sent another person from the city, and "those folks came back, and it was like sunshine all over the town." What had happened? She kept wondering, and her curiosity finally led her. "Slowly but surely, they kept telling us what happened, and slow but sure," Mason recalled, "because the people who went to the workshop that were some of the community, I trusted, right? So, I listened to them, and then grabbed their hand, and they pulled me over the line, the dark side."[2]

Mason and Miller started working together on the park's new headquarters building. The Park Service tried to find a location in town because Miller knew that International Falls was where employees sent their kids to school, and people wanted to be near that larger population base. But the park could not find a suitable place. The city meanwhile had bought a piece of property on Rainy River with no immediate plans for use and that location ended up being where the Park Service would have its headquarters.[3]

Once Miller left, Raoul Lufbery as Acting Superintendent took the reins and worked the headquarters building project through NPS Modeling and the Development Advisory Board. The one remaining hitch was getting the General Services Administration to consent for NPS to lease the building from the city. When Mike Ward arrived in 2008, the city was ready to break ground, but the park had no authority to let them. GSA then announced they would be seeking a competitive lease instead of a sole source with the city. This decision almost caused the end of this dream.

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[1] Information from Mike Ward, in Ron Cockrell to the author, July 24, 2015, VNP Archives.
[2] Shawn Mason, transcript of oral history interview with the author, May 15, 2013, 14, VNP Archives.
[3] Mason, transcript of interview, 14.



Figure 40 Mike Ward served as VNP Superintendent from 2008 to 2016. NPS Photo

Moving through this then led to the next hurdle in negotiations for price that ended with the Washington Office stating that they would no longer fund the project and that they would not sign off on the lease. Ward found out this information from the city, not NPS. He was stunned.

Over the next several months, Midwest Deputy Regional Director David Given and Ward worked to convince the WASO office that the lease was the right thing to do. This is all important because if it had failed, Ward believed the park would have been back to square one with the community. Ward wrote that "the potential for a huge swelling of hatred back at the park was inches away twice in this process, and those who doubted from the start would have had plenty of fuel to burn Kate, Raoul, and I in effigy."[4]

The city owns the land, and it owns the building. The city worked with the General Services Administration to design and build the facility to meet the Park Service's needs while also recognizing that the city would have a place there. The total square footage of the administrative building is 19,213. The maintenance building measures 16,380 square feet. An environmentally controlled museum storage area and research library in the administration building provides much needed space for the park's archives, library, and museum collections. Meeting space on both levels are joined by offices and small kitchens. The large meeting space on the lower level has audiovisual capabilities. Natural stone lines the back wall of the greeting area. The city had the building built to Silver LEED requirements, having lights on motion detectors, recycled fiber carpet, and energy efficient heating and cooling features. The city achieved this Silver LEED status in 2012.[5]

[4] Mike Ward, as quoted in Cockrell to the author, July 24, 2015, 4-5.
[5] Ron Cockrell to the author, March 28, 2014, 33-34, VNP Archives.



Figure 41 The National Park Service leases its Voyageurs National Park headquarters building from the City of International Falls. NPS Photo

Most importantly, the building signals that the National Park Service at Voyageurs has a willing and new sense of partnership with the local community. Mason says that with Miller and then Mike Ward, their "leadership style . . . has not compromised the integrity of the National Park Service, nor has it jeopardized any of the implementation of rules and regulations that our National Park Service endorsed." Mason emphasized that "it truly is about relationships. There wouldn't be wars if relationships were done in the right way, right?" Plus, Mason noted that "it really is about communication. Communication, building relationships, and nurturing those relationships genuinely, because there's nothing worse than a fake relationship, but to be genuine about it, and sincere, to identify common ground, is so powerful."[6] VNP Management Assistant Kathleen Przybylski reinforced this description, saying that "it was when the hand was reached out to 'let's talk' that it got better."[7]

The staff at Voyageurs National Park continues to reach out to the local community and reinforce the bridges already built. Mike Ward acknowledged that Barb West's strong preservation stance made it possible for him and Kate Miller to turn their attention to cultivating relationships with local residents. Mason appreciated the change in attitude from the park, but when Miller had

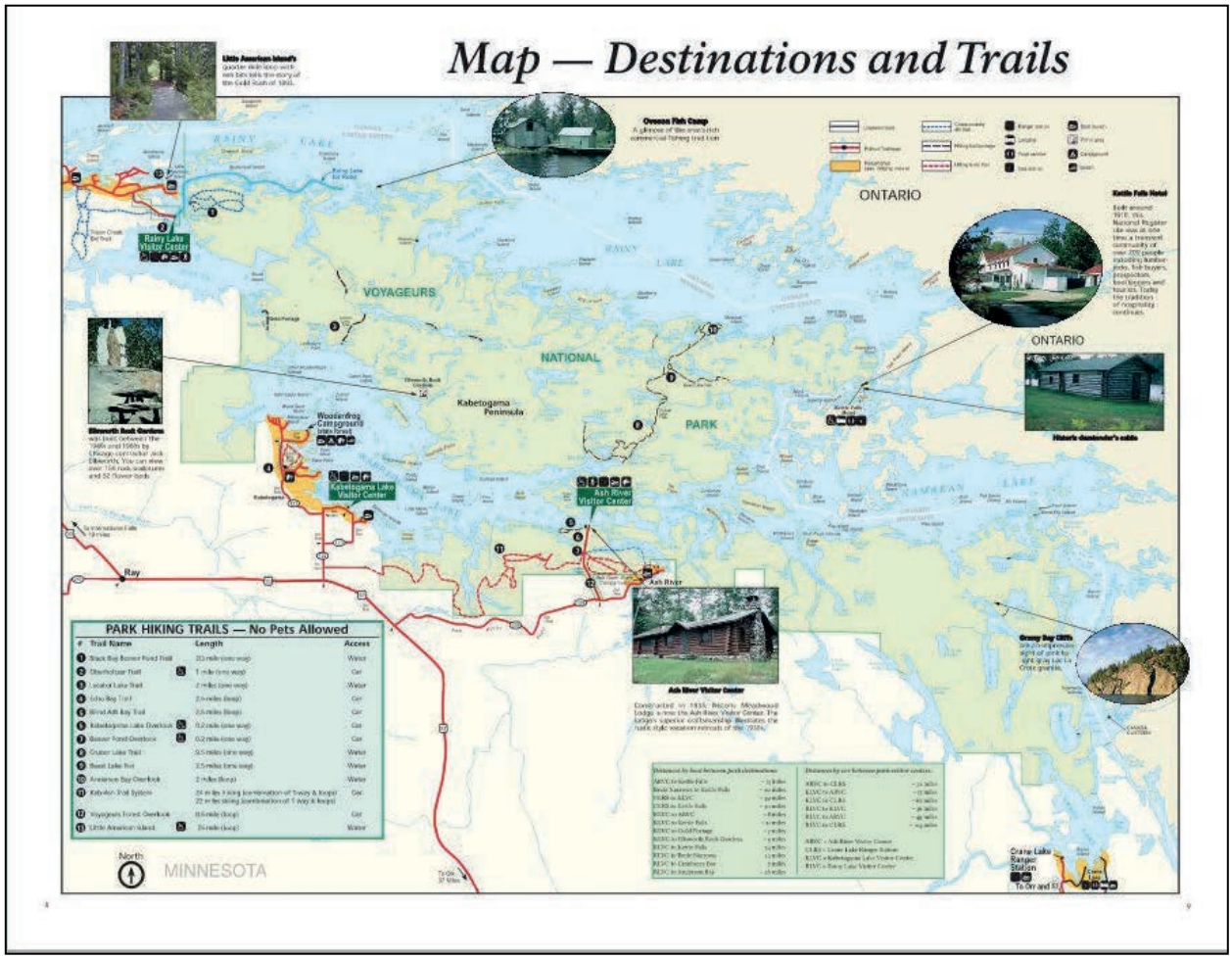
[6] Mason, transcript of interview, 11-12.
[7] Kathleen Przybylski, transcript of oral history interview with the author, August 28, 2013, 22, VNP Archives.

"announced her retirement, I was so nervous. I thought, for certain, we would be in trouble," not knowing who the next superintendent would be.[8] Mason admitted that "Mike Ward is the one who I just adore, who I would fall on my sword for," reminding the National Park Service that the personal connections are so important to the health of the park-community relationship.[9]

[8] Mason, transcript of interview, 8.
[9] Mason, transcript of interview, 5.

Appendix A

Voyageurs National Park Map



Appendix B

Voyageurs Regional Map



Appendix C

1971 Legislation

PUBLIC LAW 91-611-JAN. 8, 1971
January 8, 1971
[H. R. 10482]

AN ACT

To authorize the establishment of the Voyageurs National Park in the State of Minnesota, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the purpose of this Act is to preserve, for the inspiration and enjoyment of present and future generations, the outstanding scenery, geological conditions, and waterway system which constituted a part of the historic route of the Voyageurs who contributed significantly to the opening of the Northwestern United States.

ESTABLISHMENT

SEC. 101. In furtherance of the purpose of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is authorized to establish the Voyageurs National Park (hereinafter referred to as the "park") in the State of Minnesota, by publication of notice to that effect in the Federal Register at such time as the Secretary deems sufficient interests in lands or waters have been acquired for administration in accordance with the purposes of this Act: *Provided,* That the Secretary shall not establish the park until the lands owned by the State of Minnesota and any of its political subdivisions within the boundaries shall have been donated to the Secretary for the purposes of the park: *Provided further,* That the Secretary shall not acquire other lands by purchase for the park prior to such donation unless he finds that acquisition is necessary to prevent irreparable changes in their uses or character of such a nature as to make them unsuitable for park purposes and notifies the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs of both the Senate and the House of Representatives of such findings at least thirty days prior to such acquisition.

SEC. 102. The park shall include the lands and waters within the boundaries as generally depicted on the drawing entitled "A Proposed Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota," numbered LNPMW-VOYA-1001, dated February 1969, which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the offices of the National Park Service, Department

of the Interior. Within one year after acquisition of the lands owned by the State of Minnesota and its political subdivisions within the boundaries of the park the Secretary shall affix to such drawing an exact legal description of said boundaries. The Secretary may revise the boundaries of the park from time to time by publishing in the Federal Register a revised drawing or other boundary description, but such revisions shall not increase the land acreage within the park by more than one thousand acres.

LAND ACQUISITION

SEC. 201. (a) The Secretary may acquire lands or interests therein within the boundaries of the park by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange. When any tract of land is only partly within such boundaries, the Secretary may acquire all or any portion of the land outside of such boundaries in order to minimize the payment of severance costs. Land so acquired outside of the park boundaries may be exchanged by the Secretary for non-Federal lands within the park boundaries. Any portion of land acquired outside the park boundaries and not utilized for exchange shall be reported to the General Services Administration for disposal under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (63 Stat. 377), as amended. Any Federal property located within the boundaries of the park may be transferred without consideration to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary for the purposes of the park. Lands within the boundaries of the park owned by the State of Minnesota, or any political subdivision thereof, may be acquired only by donation.
(b) In exercising his authority to acquire property under this section, the Secretary shall give immediate and careful consideration to any offer made by any individual owning property within the park area to sell such property to the Secretary. In considering such offer, the Secretary shall take into consideration any hardship to the owner which might result from any undue delay in acquiring his property.
SEC. 202. (a) Any owner or owners (hereinafter referred to as "owner") of improved property on the date of its acquisition by the Secretary may, if the Secretary determines that such improved property is not, at the time of its acquisition, required for the proper administration of the park, as a condition of such acquisition, retain for themselves and their successors or assigns a right of use and occupancy of the improved property for noncommercial residential purposes for a definite term not to exceed twenty-five years, or, in lieu thereof, for a term ending at the death of the owner, or the death of his spouse, whichever is later. The owner shall elect the term to be retained. The Secretary shall pay to the owner the fair market value

of the property on the date of such acquisition less the fair market value on such date of the right retained by the owner.

(b) If the State of Minnesota donates to the United States any lands within the boundaries of the park subject to an outstanding lease on which the lessee began construction of a noncommercial or recreational residential dwelling prior to January 1, 1969, the Secretary may grant to such lessee a right of use and occupancy for such period of time as the Secretary, in his discretion, shall determine: Provided, That no such right of use and occupancy shall be granted, extended, or continue after ten years from the date of the establishment of the park.

(c) Any right of use and occupancy retained or granted pursuant to this section shall be subject to termination by the Secretary upon his determination that such use and occupancy is being exercised in a manner not consistent with the purposes of this Act, or upon his determination that the property is required for the proper administration of the park. The Secretary shall tender to the holder of the right so terminated an amount equal to the fair market value of that portion of the right which remains unexpired on the date of termination.

(d) The term "improved property", as used in this section, shall mean a detached, noncommercial residential dwelling, the construction of which was begun before January 1, 1969, together with so much of the land on which the dwelling is situated, the said land being in the same ownership as the dwelling, as the Secretary shall designate to be reasonably necessary for the enjoyment of the dwelling for the sole purpose of noncommercial residential use, together with any structures accessory to the dwelling which are situated on the land so designated.

SEC. 203. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary is authorized to negotiate and enter into concession contracts with former owners of commercial, recreational, resort, or similar properties located within the park boundaries for the provision of such services at their former location as he may deem necessary for the accommodation of visitors.

SEC. 204. The Secretary is authorized to pay a differential in value, as hereinafter set forth, to any owner of commercial timberlands within the park with whom the State of Minnesota has negotiated, for the purpose of conveyance to the United States, an exchange of lands for State lands outside the park. Payment hereunder may be made when an exchange is based upon valuations for timber purposes only, and shall be the difference between the value of such lands for timber purposes, as agreeable to the State, the Secretary, and any owner, and the higher value, if any, of such lands for recreational

purposes not attributable to establishment or authorization of the park: Provided, That any payment shall be made only at such time as fee title of lands so acquired within the boundaries is conveyed to the United States.

ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 301. (a) Except as hereinafter provided, the Secretary shall administer the lands acquired for the park, and after establishment shall administer the park, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535) as amended and supplemented (16 U.S.C. 1-4).

(b) Within four years from the date of establishment, the Secretary of the Interior shall review the area within the Voyageurs National Park and shall report to the President, in accordance with subsections 3(c) and 3(d) of the Wilderness Act (78 Stat. 890; 16 U.S.C. 1132 (c) and (d)), his recommendation as to the suitability or nonsuitability of any area within the lakeshore for preservation as wilderness, and any designation of any such area as a wilderness may be accomplished in accordance with said subsections of the Wilderness Act.

(c) All mining and mineral activities and commercial water power development within the boundaries of the park shall be prohibited, and further, any conveyance from the State of Minnesota shall contain a covenant that the State of Minnesota, its licensees, permittees, lessees, assigns, or successors in interest shall not engage in or permit any mining activity nor water power development.

SEC. 302. (a) The Secretary shall permit recreational fishing on lands and waters under his jurisdiction within the boundaries of the park in accordance with applicable laws of the United States and of the State of Minnesota., except that the Secretary may designate zones where and establish periods when no fishing shall be permitted for reasons of public safety, administration, fish and wildlife management, or public use and enjoyment. Except in emergencies, any regulations of the Secretary pursuant to this section shall be put into effect only after consultation with the appropriate agency of the State of Minnesota.

(b) The seining of fish at Shoepac Lake by the State of Minnesota to secure eggs for propagation purposes shall be continued in accordance with plans mutually acceptable to the State and the Secretary.

SEC. 303. The Secretary may, when planning for development of the park, include appropriate provisions for (1) winter sports, including the use of snowmobiles, (2) use by seaplanes, and (3) recreational

use by all types of watercraft, including houseboats, runabouts, canoes, sailboats, fishing boats, and cabin cruisers.

SEC. 304. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to affect the provisions of any treaty now or hereafter in force between the United States and Great Britain relating to Canada or between the United States and Canada, or of any order or agreement made or entered into pursuant to any such treaty, which by its terms would be applicable to the lands and waters which may be acquired by the Secretary hereunder, including, without limitation on the generality of the foregoing, the Convention Between the United States and Canada on Emergency Regulation of Level of Rainy Lake and of Other Boundary Waters in the Rainy Lake Watershed, signed September 15, 1938, and any order issued pursuant thereto.

SEC. 305. The Secretary is authorized to make provision for such roads within the park as are, or will be, necessary to assure access from present and future State roads to public facilities within the park.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 401. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, not to exceed, however, $26,014,000 for the acquisition of property, and not to exceed $19,179,000 (June 1969 prices) for development, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of ordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost indices applicable to the types of construction involved herein.

Approved January 8, 1971.

Appendix D

1983 Legislation

PUBLIC LAW 97-405-JAN. 3, 1983
January 3, 1983
[S. 625]

An Act

To revise the boundary of Voyageurs National Park in the State of Minnesota, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the establishment of the Voyageurs National Park in the State of Minnesota, and for other purposes", approved January 8,1971 (84 Stat. 1971), is amended—

(1) in section 102 by striking out "The" after "SEC. 102." and inserting in lieu thereof "(a) Except as provided in subsection *(h)* of this section, the";

(2) by inserting after section 102(a), as redesignated by paragraph (1), the following new subsection:

"(b)(1) In addition to such revisions as the Secretary may make in the boundaries of the park from time to time pursuant to other provisions of law, the Secretary may, according to the provisions of subsection (a)—

"(A) delete approximately 782 acres in the Neil Point area of the park;

"(B) add approximately 180 acres in the Black Bay Narrows areas of the park;

"(C) add approximately 18.45 acres owned by the State of Minnesota at the Kabetogama Forestry Station;

"(D) add approximately 120 acres owned by the State of Minnesota, being a strip of land through that portion of section 1, township 68 north, range 20 west, fourth principal meridian, which is parallel to and 400 feet on both sides of the unimproved road extending northward from the Ash River Trail as such road crosses each section; and

"(E) subject to the provisions of paragraph (2), delete approximately 1,000 acres at Black Bay and convey such lands to the State of Minnesota.

All of the aforementioned boundary changes if accomplished shall be accomplished such that the boundary of the park shall conform to that generally depicted on the drawing entitled "Boundary, Voyageurs

National Park, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service", numbered 172-80, 008-MWR, and dated November 1981, which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

"(2) The Secretary may not delete or convey the lands referred to in paragraph (1)(E) unless, prior to or simultaneously with such deletion or conveyance and in consideration of such conveyance, the State of Minnesota—

"(A) tenders a conveyance of the lands described in paragraph (1) (C) and (D) to the United States by such instrument and in such manner as are satisfactory to the Secretary, including but not limited to lease or easement: *Provided,* That if the interest conveyed is a lease or easement, the State of Minnesota shall substitute therefore a transfer of all right, title, and interest in the land by June 30, 1987: *Provided further,.* That if the State does not transfer all right, title, and interest in such lands by June 30, 1987, the land described in paragraph 1(E) shall revert to the United States for administration by the Secretary as part of the park; and

"(B) enters into a recordable agreement satisfactory to the Secretary which provides that—

"(i) the State has established a wildlife management area in the area authorized to be deleted and conveyed to the State by paragraph (1)(E);

"(ii) the State has prepared a plan acceptable to the Secretary to manage all the waters of and State lands riparian to Black Bay (including all of the State-owned lands and waters of Rainy Lake) to preserve the natural resources of the area so as to complement to the fullest extent possible the purposes for which the park was established;

"(iii) the State shall not transfer any right, title, or interest in, or control over, any land described in paragraph (1)(E) to any person other than the Secretary; and

"(iv) the State shall permit access by the Secretary at reasonable times to the land described in paragraph (1)(E).

"(3) If at any time the State fails to comply with the material requirements of the agreement referred to in paragraph (2)(B), all right, title, and interest in the land described in paragraph (1)(E) shall revert to the United States for administration by the Secretary as part of the park. Such reversion shall take effect upon the delivery by the Secretary of notice to the State respecting such failure to comply without further notice or requirement for physical

entry by the Secretary unless an action for judicial review is brought in the United States Court of Appeals for the appropriate circuit within ninety days following such notice. In any such action the court may issue such orders as are appropriate to carry out the requirements of this subsection.";

(3) by adding after the last sentence of section 301(b) the following new sentence: "The President shall, no later than June 1, 1983, advise the United States Senate and House of Representatives of his recommendations with respect to the suitability or nonsuitability as wilderness of any area within the park."; and

(4) in section 401—

(A) by inserting "(a)" after "SEC. 401.";

(B) by striking out "$26,014,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$38,314,000"; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

"(b) The Secretary shall, in cooperation with other Federal, State, and local governmental entities and private entities experienced in the fields of outdoor recreation and visitor services, develop and implement a comprehensive plan for visitor use and overnight visitor facilities for the park. The plan shall set forth methods of achieving an appropriate level and type of visitation in order that the resources of the park and its environs may be interpreted for, and used and enjoyed by, the public in a manner consistent with the purposes for which the park was established. Such plan may include appropriate informational and educational messages and materials. In the development and implementation of such plan the Secretary may expend funds donated or appropriated for the purposes of this subsection. Effective October 1, 1983, there is authorized to be appropriated for the purposes of this subsection not to exceed $250,000, to remain available until expended.

"(c) The Secretary is directed to study existing road access to the park and to report to Congress on the impact of park-related use of those roads and to report specific recommendations on improvements necessary to insure adequate road access to the park. The Secretary is directed to report, within one year of the date of enactment of the Act which appropriates funds authorized under this subsection, to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate. Effective October 1, 1983, there is authorized to be appropriated for the purposes of this subsection not to exceed $75,000.

"(d) For purposes of section 7(a)(3) of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (16 U.S.C. 4601-9(a)(3)), the statutory ceilings

on appropriations established by this section shall be deemed to be statutory ceilings contained in a provision of law enacted prior to the convening of the Ninety-fifth Congress.

Approved January 3, 1983.

Appendix E

Visitation

Year	Recreation Visitors
1976	121,200
1977	140,300
1978	255,426
1979	195,277
1980	266,935
1981	257,490
1982	143,724
1983	146,454
1984	154,723
1985	183,984
1986	172,137
1987	201,727
1988	223,735
1989	209,626
1990	223,554
1991	221,857
1992	227,498
1993	228,143
1994	224,181
1995	210,938
1996	246,588
1997	223,418
1998	231,958
1999	228,898
2000	227,371
2001	243,374
2002	238,227
2003	234,231
2004	249,041
2005	234,577
2006	231,875
2007	220,650
2008	221,585
2009	222,429
2010	253,891
2011	177,184
2012	214,841
2013	233,390
2014	239,160
2015	238,313

Appendix F

Budget

Date	Amount
1975[1]	$ 135,000
1976	$ 286,600
1977	
1978	$ 508,900
1979	$ 714,100
1980	$ 819,000
1981	$ 829,000
1982	$ 1,068,800
1983	$ 1,163,800
1984	$ 1,241,600
1985	$ 1,335,900
1986	$ 1,269,000
1987	$ 1,456,200
1988	$ 1,497,300
1989	$ 1,529,200
1990	$ 1,583,000
1991	$ 1,718,000
1992	$ 1,842,000
1993	$ 1,920,000
1994	$ 2,302,000
1995	$ 2,343,000
1996	$ 2,345,000
1997	$ 2,413,000
1998	$ 2,495,000
1999	$ 2,576,000
2000	$2,656,000
2001	
2002	$ 3,178,000
2003	$ 3,185,000
2004[2]	$ 3,174,000
2005	$ 3,248,238

[1] Includes an additional amount of $8,700 for Transition Year

[2] There were 2 across-the-board and other reductions

Appendix G

Superintendents

Myrl G. Brooks – July 11, 1971 to December 2, 1978
J. Thomas Ritter – December 3, 1978 to January 23, 1982
Russell W. Berry, Jr. – April 18, 1982 to June 3, 1989
Benton J. Clary – September 10, 1989 to February 19, 1995
Barbara J. West – June 11, 1995 to June 11, 2005
Kathleen L. Miller – November 13, 2005 to February 29, 2008
Michael M. Ward – August 17, 2008 to April 15, 2016

There were Division Chiefs who filled in as Acting Superintendent during the gaps.
Joe J. Cayou (Chief Ranger) filled in between Tom Ritter and Russ Berry.
Richard W. Frost (Assistant Superintendent) filled in between Russ Berry and Ben Clary
James A. Sanders (Assistant Superintendent) filled in between Ben Clary and Barbara West
Kate Miller (Deputy Superintendent) filled in between Barbara West and herself.
Raoul C. Lufbery (Chief of Maintenance) filled in between Kate Miller and Mike Ward.

Appendix H

Voyageurs National Park Permanent Staff (1971 – 2014)

Superintendent's Office

Superintendent
Myrl G. Brooks 1971-1978
J. Thomas (Tom) Ritter 1978-1982
Russell W. Berry, Jr. 1982-1989
Benton J. Clary 1989-1995
Barbara J. West 1995-2005
Kathleen (Kate) Miller 2005-2008
Michael M. Ward 2008-2015

Assistant Superintendent/Deputy Superintendent
Richard Frost 1982-1993
James Sanders 1994-1999
Kathleen (Kate) Miller (Deputy Superintendent/Administrative Officer) 2002-2004

Superintendent's Secretary/Stenographer
Sharon Landgrave 1971-1972
Jan (Yescavage) Gauthier 1972-1981
Arlene Duciome 1982-1984
Audrey (Harmening) Chute 1984-2013

Environment Planning and Partnerships
Chris Holbeck 2006-2009

Administration

Administrative Officer
Clayton Cabeen by 1978-1981
Jan Gauthier 1981-1985
Dorothy (Dottie) Anderson 1985-1990
Lowell T. (Tom) Back 1991-1992
Cathy Losher 1993-1998
Rita Sims 1998-2002
Kathleen Przybylski (Management Assistant) 2006-2012
Elizabeth (Beth) Lowthian 2012-present

Human Resources
Terri Sumner by 1980-1985
Loraine (Lynn) Lufbery 1986-2007
Leroy Driffel (Administrative Assistant-HR) 2010-2012

Rebecca Olson (Administrative Assistant-HR) 2012-present

Budget
Ethel Stillar by 1979-1984
Cheryl (Sherry) Stemm (mail and file clerk 1980-1984) 1985-2014

Purchasing/Contracting
Richard Neider by 1981-1982
David Knight 1983-1985
Judy Wendt by 1987-2004
Katherine (Kay) Crowthers 2004-2008

Administrative Assistant/Clerk
Dorothy Pearson 1980-1983
Lois (Gordon) Fogelberg 1985-1995
Susan Marvel 2010-2014

Computer Specialist
Lois (Gordon) Fogelberg1995-present

Facility Management
Facility Manager/Chief of Maintenance
Raoul Lufbery 1977-2012
William (Bill) Carlson 2012-present

Maintenance Supervisor/Foreman/Work Leader
Jeffrey Harsha 1979-1983
Rodney Booth 1979-1984
Chris Case 1985-1989 Buildings and Utilities Foreman
Michael Schneegas 1990-1992 Buildings and Utilities Foreman
Leigh Evans 1985-1990 Roads and Trails Foreman
Gary Mott 1991-1995 Roads and Trails Foreman
Steve Maass (seasonal 1983-1994) 1995-2000 Namakan Supervisor
Bruce Barrett (seasonal 1981-1995) 1996-1999 Work Leader; 2000-2008 Namakan Supervisor
Paul Roelandt 1992-1996 Rainy Supervisor
William Carlson 1991-1995 Work Leader; 1996-2012 Rainy Supervisor
William Johnson (YCC 1981; seasonal laborer 1982-1995) 1996-2012 Work Leader; 2012-present Rainy Supervisor
Seth Nelson (seasonal 2001-2006; FMSS Specialist 2007-2009) 2010-present Namakan Supervisor
Monica Olson (Namakan Work Leader 2001-2012) 2012-present Work Leader

Mechanic
David Crawford 1985-2015
Craig Moe 1978-2009

Adam Hanson 2009-present

Carpenter
Norbert Goulet by 1980-1984 (came back as a seasonal in 1992)
Roger Hanson 1983-1993
Noel Hoppe 1995-2005
Beau Readman (Historic Carpenter) (seasonal 2004-2006); 2007-present

Maintenance Mechanic
James Larson 1990-1994
Mark Goulet 1992-present

Electrician
Clayton Stevens 1976-1986 (returned as a seasonal in 1993)
William Carlson 1988-1990
Ben Line 2010-present

Utility Systems
Robert Hagen (seasonal 1982-1990) 1991-1995
James Larson (seasonal 1976-1989; maintenance mechanic 1990-1994) 1995-2014

Equipment Operator
Wesley (Stub) Horne by 1978-1994
Rich Wilson 1995-2004
Russell (Russ) Waldorf 2007-2014

Axeman
Douglas Boose (axeman/foreman) 1978
Dennis Lagergren (seasonal by 1978) 1982-2001
Russ Waldorf 2001-2007

Maintenance Worker
Garfield Gauthier by 1981-1985
Douglas R. Pratt by 1980-1982?
Russell (Russ) Waldorf (term 1993-2000) 2001-2007
Monica Olson (seasonal 1989-1993) 1994-2001
Lamont (Monte) Bokovoy (seasonal 1993-1994) 1994-2013
Noel Hoppe 1991-1994
Steve Schultz (seasonal 2003-2009) 2010-present
Mike Johnson (seasonal 1989-1993) 1993-2014
Steven Dow (seasonal 1988-1993) 1993-2004
Douglas Bertilson (seasonal 1988-1993) 1993-2012
Keith Manninen (seasonal 1987-1988) 2001-present

Project Clerk
Audrey Harmening 1978-1984
Sharon Kennedy 1985-1997

Long-Term Seasonal Employees
Don Nuthak 1997-present
Nate Berlin 2003-2011
Mike Potvin 2003-2011
Delane Baumchen 2004-present
Rusty Lehto 2004-present
Candy (Bruers) Ginter 2004, 2008-present
Adam Miles 2004-present
Nick Kaviuk 2004-2013
Chad Nevalainen 2005-2011
Derek Dowty 2005-2013
Garrett King 2006-present
Robert Belanger 2009-present
Josh Meyers 2009-present
Keith Stevens 2009-present
Von Morgan 2009-present

Visitor and Resource Protection
Chief Ranger
Joe Cayou 1981-1986
Steve Martin 1987-1990
Bruce McKeeman 1990-1999
James Hummel 1999-2006 (Chief of Operations 2006-2009)
Chuck Remus 2013-2014
Ben Welch 2015-present

Operations Specialist
Joe Cayou 1987-1994

Namakan District Rangers
Roger Moder 1985-1987
Hugh Dougher 1988-1991
Chuck Remus 1992-2013

Rainy District Rangers
Larry Johnson 1994-1998
Dennis Kaleta 1999-2000
Dave Little 2001-2010
Karl Spilde 2011-present

Crane Lake Rangers
Larry Hach (Ash/Crane) 1977-1982
Stephen Goodrich (Sand Point) by 1980-1985
Bruce Malloy (Namakan Sub-District) 1983-1991
Dave Little (Sand Point) 1991-1994
Rene Buhl 1998-2000
Kevin Sheffer 2002-2004
Marshall Plumer 2003-2004
Brad Farlinger 2008-2010
Greg Drum (Rainy/Crane) 2010-2014
Jeff Quam 2015-present

Field Rangers
Joe Cayou (Kabetogama) 1973-1981
Gilbert Hall (Ash) 1976-1981
R. Scott Evans (Rainy) 1976-1979
Jay Liggett (Namakan) 1988-1989
Becky Henrekin (Namakan) 1990-1993
Mike Larsen (Namakan) 1993-1999
Kevin Grossheim (Kabetogama) 2001-present
Dave Little (Rainy) 1994-2000
Karl Spilde (Rainy) 2001-2010
Pete Sweger (Rainy) 2012-present

Park Pilot
R. Scott Evans 1976-1998 (Park Ranger 1976-1979) Park Pilot 1979-1998
(Jay Jesperson served as temporary pilot for part of 1998)
Tom Hablett 1999-2004
(Chief Ranger Jim Hummel also served as pilot)
Scott Taylor 2008
Steve Mazur 2010-2016

Fire Management
Fire Management Officer
Steve Jakala 1989-2000
Dave Soleim 2002-2005
Terry Severson 2006-2008
Scott Bressler 2008-2014

Forestry Technician
Kurt Fogelberg 1980-present

Fire Ecologist
Kelly Ann Gorman 2002-2003

Scott Weyenberg 2004-present

Fire Program Clerk
William Route (seasonal bio-tech 1988) 1989-1990
Brenda Miles (seasonal 1989-1990) 1990-present

Dispatcher/Communications Equipment Operator (Interpretive Division 1983-1987)
Tami Meyer 1983-1984
Mary Graves Budak 1985-1987
Natalie (Niki) Scheldrup 1987-2011
Susan Marvel 1996-2010
Doug Silvers 2012
(dispatch position currently filled by Seasonal Park Ranger Jenna Anderson)

Resource Management and Research
Chief of Natural Resources
Roger Andrascik 1997-2002
Chris Holbeck 2002-2006
(Jim Hummel served as Operations Chief for Resources, Interpretation and Visitor Protection 2006-2009; Mary Graves served as Program Lead for Resources 2006-2009)
Mary Graves Budak (Chief of Natural and Cultural Resources) 2009-present

Resource Management Specialist
James Benedict 1984-1990
William (Mac) Brock 1991-1994
Pat Lynch 1994-1996
Steve Windels 2003-2011

Resource Management Biologist
James Schaberl 1995-2002

Cultural Resource Specialist
Stephen Goodrich 1980-1981 (position eliminated 1981)
Mary Graves Budak 1987-2009

Aquatic Ecologist
Ryan Maki (term 2004-2009) 2010-present
Geoffrey Smith 2010-2014

Biological Science Technician
Steve Blair 1991-1994
Jennifer Fox 2004-2007

Jaime LeDuc (seasonal 2008-2009; SCEP 2010-2012) 2013-present
Cameron Trembath (seasonal 2004-2006) 2007-2012
Bryce Olson (seasonal 2008-2011, Pathways 2012) 2013-present

Research Biologist (wildlife)
Glen Cole 1976-1987
Peter Gogan 1987-1992
Steve Windels 2012-present

Research Biologist (aquatics)
Larry Kallemeyn 1980-2007 (National Biological Service 1996-1997; USGS-BRD 1998-2007)

Geographic Information System Specialist
Samuel Lammi (Cartographic Technician 1992-1993) 1994-2000
Wayne Wold 2000
John Snyder 2002-present

Environmental Education Specialist
David Szymanski (Natural Resources Intake trainee 1998-1999) 2000-2002
Teri Tucker (shared resources/interp position) 2003-2007

Museum Aid/Museum Technician
Mary Graves Budak (seasonal 1979) 1980-1987 (position changed to Park Technician in 1985 with collateral museum duties)
Catherine (Wovcha) Crawford (Work Study/Volunteer/Seasonal 1986-1992; temporary 2002; SCEP 2003-2011); 2011-present

Integrated Resources Technician
Andrew LaBounty 2013-present

Long-Term Seasonal Employee
Leland H. Grim Park Ranger (Naturalist) 1972-1990; Resource Management Biologist 1991-2011

Interpretation
Chief Naturalist/Chief of Interpretation
James R. (Bob) Walker (Chief of Interpretation and Resources Management) 1972-1975
Frank Ackerman by 1976-1980
William Gardiner 1980-1997
Kathleen Przybylski (GMP Coordinator 1998-2000) 2000-2006
(Jim Hummel served as Operations Chief for Resources, Interpretation and Visitor Protection 2006-2009; Tawnya Schoewe served as Program Manager for Interpretation 2006-2009)
Tawnya Schoewe 2011-present

Assistant Chief Naturalist/Program Manager
Cornelius (Neil) DeJong 1987-1989
Ronald Erickson 1986-1987
Teri Tucker 2007
Tawnya Schoewe 2009-2011

District Naturalist
Ronald Erickson (Rainy) 1980-1986
Michael Braley (Ash/Sand Point) 1980-1985
Jim Dougan (seasonal naturalist 1987-1988) (Namakan) 1988-1991
Deb Liggett (Rainy) 1988-1989
Carol Borneman (Rainy) 1990-1994
Ronald Meer (Namakan) 1991-1994 (Rainy) 1995-1997
Merrith Baughman (Rainy) 1997-2001
Carol Maass (Namakan) 1995-2000
Andrea Schwartz (Namakan) 2000-2005
Megan Wilkins (Namakan) 2010-2011
Tawnya Schoewe 2001-2009 (Rainy 2001-2007; Rainy and Namakan 2007-2009)
Chris Amidon (Namakan) 2011-present
Justin Olson (Rainy) 2012-2015
Eric Grunwald (Rainy) 2016

Park Ranger Interpreter/Park Guide/Staff Naturalist
Tamara (Tami) Meyer 1983-1984
Mary Graves Budak 1985-1986
Deb Liggett 1987
James Dougan 1987-1989
Melissa Dahl (seasonal 2007) SCEP 2008-2009
Matt Holly 2010

Environmental Education Specialist
Lynda Lancaster 1998–2000
David Szymanski 2000-2002 (resources position)
Teri Tucker (shared resources/interpretation position) 2003-2007

Fee Manager
Chuck Remus 2014-present

Appendix I

National Resources Research (1973 – 2005)

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1973-	Lee Grim, VNP	Bald eagle, osprey, great blue heron, herring gull, common tern and double-crested cormorant nesting survey
1973-1976	Dr. E.E. Banttari, University of Minnesota	Role of viruses and mycoplasma-like organisms in wild areas including their impact on park ecosystems.
1974-1976	L.C. Merriam, Jr., Vilis Kurmis, University of Minnesota	Vegetation survey of Kettle Falls Area
1976-1987	Glen Cole, VNP	Wildlife investigations: field study on population status, trends and ecological relationships of white-tailed deer, beaver, moose and wolves; adjunct study to assess biological feasibility of restoring woodland caribou; survey to document extent to which improper handling of garbage is causing bears to be controlled or destroyed; developing and testing different apporaches for restoring absent or decling wildlife; measure effects of relying on natural processes to restore a viable moose population; measure the effects of reintroducing porcupines; fire-vegetation relationships
1976-1980	Vilis Kurmis, L.C. Merriam, Jr., Myron Grafstrom, Jeffrey Kirwan, University of Minnesota	Inventory of plant community types in Voyageurs National Park.
1977-1978	Michael S. Coffman, Lawrence Rakestraw, Michigan Technological University	Study of fires and logging history of Voyageurs National Park.
1977-1979	Glen Cole, Lee Grim & student from RRCC	Deer-moose parasite study.
1977-1979	Dr. E. Miller & assoc. Governors State University, Illinois	Behavior of loons.
1977-1979	Glen Cole, Lee Grim, student RRCC	Food habits of timber wolves in Voyageurs
1977-1980	Clifford M. Wetmore, University of Minnesota	Lichens of Voyageurs National Park.
1977-1985	G.A. Payne, USGS	Water quality monitoring in Voyageurs National Park.
1978-1980	Jack R. Hargis, UMD	Ecological analysis of the plankton communities of Voyageurs.

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1978-1981	Dr. Gary E. Glass, USEPA-Duluth	An assessment of impacts in the BWCA-VNP from atmospheric transported pollutants: An evaluation of emissions from the electric station at Atikokan, Ontario.
1981	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) Development of postal creel census card for use on fisheries on the park's interior lakes; 2) Evaluation of northern pike spawning populations in two tributaries of Kabetogama; 3) Initiation of water quality and plankton sampling on four park lakes; 4)bi-weekly seining mid-June through August on Kabetogama and Namakan to monitor abundance of young-of-the-year fish; 5) and creel census run on the Lake Kabetogama fishery from May through September with park conducting census and DNR doing the data analysis.
1982	Paul Monson, UMD	An analysis of fluctuating water levels on the littoral biota of the Namakan Reservoir and Rainy Lake, Voyageurs National Park
1982	Clifford M. Wetmore, University of Minnesota	Lichens and air quality in Voyageurs.
1982-1986	Glen F. Cole	Park visitor use carrying capacity relationship.
1982-1990	D.S. Lang, MEQ Board, K.W. Kromroy & P.S. Teng, University of Minnesota	Biological indexing of air quality (Black Bay bioindicator site).
1983	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) Evaluation of northern pike spawning in 2 tributaries on Kabetogama; 2) bi-weekly seining program run mid-June through August on 4 large lakes to monitor young-of-the-year fish and water level management; 3) adult fish sampling with gillnets on 4 large lakes to obtain measure of fish abundance; 4) creel census on major lakes to obtain information on fish harvest and fishing pressure; 5) water quality and plankton sampling on 4 major lakes and 6 interior lakes to describe park resources and determine if acid rain is impacting Voyageurs
1983-1986	Marshall Flug, Raymond Herrmann, NPS	Analysis of lake level fluctuations at Voyageurs National Park.
1983-1986	Rolf O. Peterson, Michigan Technological University, Dr. P.C. Shelton, University of Virginia, cooperators Douglas W. Smith & William Route	Effects of abnormal water level fluctuations on the abundance and dynamics of beaver and muskrat colonies

APPENDIX I

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1983-1986	Dr. David Karnosky, NYBG Cary Arboretum, Paul Berrang, Michigan Technological University	A genecological evaluation of air pollution tolerance in hardwood trees in eastern forest parks.
1983-1987	Hildegard Reiser, Northern Arizona University	Investigation on the effects of regulated and natural water fluctuations on the species diversity, distribution, and reproductive success of marsh and shoreline nesting birds.
1983-1987	Walter E. DeKock, Russell Wiley, University of Northern Iowa	Lake water chemistry
1983-1988	Kenneth L. Kraft, Michigan Technological University	Effects of abnormal water level fluctuations on the abundance and dynamics of benthic macroinvertebrates. Smith, Douglas W. and Rolf O. Peterson. 1988. The Effects of Regulated Lake Levels on Beaver in Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota. NPS Research/Resources Management Report MWR-11. 84 pp
1984-1994	MPCA, Division of Air Quality; Donald Bock	Minnesota acid deposition program. Phase 1: Assess wet deposition throughout the State, with particular emphasis on the sensitive areas of the northern part of the State. Phase 2: Establish a deposition standard based upon rainfall chemistry and pH. Phase 3: Develop a control plan and monitoring of sensitive areas for compliance
1983-1996	Dr. P. Brezonik, University of Minnesota, Katherine Webster, Wisconsin DNR	Long term trends in lake acid-base chemistry.
1985	Larry Kallemeyn, USGS-VNP	1) Evaluation of northern pike spawning in 2 tributaries of Kabetogama for 4th year; 2) bi-weekly seining program mid-June through August on 4 large lakes to monitor abundance of young-of-the-year fish; 3) adult fish sampling with gillnets on 4 large lakes to obtain fish abundance; 4) creel census on major lakes to obtain information on fish harvest and fishing pressure; 5) water quality and plankton sampling restricted to 4 major lakes; 6) tagging program for walleye in Kabetogama during spawning run in late April early May.

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1985-1986	Robert Stottlemyer, Ray Kepner, Michigan Technological University	Comprehensive determination of physical and chemical factors affecting primary production in the Voyageurs lake system.
1985-1987	Nancy Albrecht, Clifford Wetmore, University of Minnesota	Elemental analysis of Voyageurs' lichens. Monthly collection of 3 species of lichens and their analysis of various elements including sulfur.
1985-1987	Rolf O. Peterson, William T. Route, Michigan Technological University; John Fisher, DVM, Douglas Smith and Joanne Thurber	Factors influencing the distribution, abundance and habits of the otter in Voyageurs National Park.
1985-1987	Francesca J. Cuthbert, University of Minnesota	Factors influencing the distribution, abundance and reproductive success of osprey in Voyageurs National Park.
1986	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) During late April and early May, walleye spawning run in Kabetogama was sampled to collect information on tag losses from walleye tagged in 1984 and 1985; 2) bi-weekly seining from mid-June through August on 4 large lakes to monitor abundance of young-of-the-year fish; 3) Adult fish sampling with gill nets on 4 large lakes to obtain measure of fish abundance; 4) Two poster papers presented at National Conference on Science in National Park at Fort Collins in July on sportfishery on walleye and the impact of water level regulation on northern pike reproduction on Kabetogama.
1986-1993	Robert J. Naiman, Carol A. Johnston, James C. Kelley, NRRI-Duluth	Hydrologic control of nutrient cycling processes: Animal influences on the aquatic landscape.
1986-1993	Dr. Peter J. Hudleston, John R. Tabor, University of Minnesota; Robert Bauer, University of Missouri	Structural and metamorphic transect of the Vermilion Granitic Complex, NE Minnesota.
1986-1993	Miguel Flores, NPS Air Quality Division	Criteria pollutant monitoring.
1987	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) During April, walleye spawning run in Kabetogama sample to collect information on tag losses from walleye tagged in 1984 and 1985. Tag returns obtained from sportfishery throughout 1987 fishing season; 2) Bi-weekly seining from mid-June through August on 4 large lakes to monitor abundance of young-of-the-year fish. Captured fish counted and lengths and weights taken from a representative sample; 3) Adult fish sampling with gill nets conducted on 4 large lakes to obtain measure of fish abundance. Adult fish also sampled in Kabetogama with trap nets to

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
		obtain second estimate; 4) publication
1987	Glen F. Cole (retired)	Restoration of porcupines.
1987	Jim Benedict, VNP	Black Bay Air Quality Monitoring Site: AeroVironment SFS-500 particulate aerosol sampler installed at site in 1985 operated continuously throughout 1987. Additional criteria pollutant monitoring equipment installed in an instrument shelter and on 40-foot tower in October 1986 by NPS Air Quality Division. One shelter located on the west side of Black Bay about 100 yards from air quality monitoring site. The other located on east side of Black Bay immediately south of Rainy Lake City.
1987	William L. Downing, Hamline University	Survey by SCUBA of clams (unionid mussels) in Voyageurs National Park.
1987	Douglas A. Wilcox, USFWS, James Meeker, University of Wisconsin	Study of aquatic macrophyte communities in water level regulated lakes at Voyageurs National Park.
1987-1998	Dr. Bill Malm, NPS Air Quality Division, Jim Benedict	Visibility monitoring. Two automatic visibility monitoring cameras installed at the Kabetogama Lake Visitor Center site October 1986. Voyageurs selected as one of Service's IMPROVE (Interagency Monitoring of Protected Visual Environment) sites.
1987-1991	Gary E. Glass, USEPA	Assessment of mercury toxicity in selected Minnesota lakes and streams (study region of Northeastern Minnesota including Superior National Forest, Voyageurs National Park, and Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness.
1987-1999	Peter J. Gogan, VNP/USGS-BRD, Montana State University, Karin Kozie, Bill Route	Restore absent and declining native wildlife species. Research to establish quantifiable baseline data on: 1) ecological status of populations of large mammal species now occurring at low numbers and identified as declining; 2) potential of the park to provide the habitat required by extirpated ungulate species.
1987-1999	Peter J.P. Gogan, Karin Kozie, Bill Route, Ed Olexa, VNP; Dale Kuehn, MnDNR	Status of the wolf population at Voyageurs National Park.

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1988	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) Bi-weekly seining from mid-June through August on Kabetogama, Namakan, and Sand Point to monitor abundance and growth of young-of-the-year fish; 2) Adult fish sampling with gill nets on 4 major lakes to obtain measure of fish abundance. Adult fish also sampled on Kabetogama with trap nets to obtain second estimate; 3) Sampling with commercial minnow traps along with seining on Kabetogama to assess potential for using traps to monitor young-of-the-year fish abundance; 4) Principal editor for 7 reports dealing with the effects of regulated lake levels on the park's aquatic environment. Six reports released within MWRO's Research/Resources Management Report Series and the other published in the Great Lakes Area Resource Studies Unit Technical Report Series; 5) Synopsis report summarizing results of studies conducted by NPS and researchers from 5 universities on impacts of regulated lake levels; 6) "Loss of Carlin Tags from Walleye" accepted for publication in the North American Journal of Fisheries Management; 7) publication
1988	Dr. Carol A. Johnston, NRRI-Duluth	Geographic Information System Plan for Voyageurs National Park. Digitized the 1972 cover map of Voyageurs National Park using PC-ARC/INFO.
1988	Edward B. Swain, MPCA; Patrick Brezonik, University of Minnesota, George Rapp, UMD, Gary Glass, EPA-Duluth	Assessment of mercury toxicity in selected Minnesota lakes and streams. Samples of lake water, lake sediment, fish, and crayfish collected in 1988 for analysis.
1988	Michael H. Davis, University of Minnesota	Lichen ecology of Thuja occidentalis. Collection completed in 1988 for two cedar stands located along western shore of Daley Bay and the western tip of Tom Cod Bay.
1988	Joe Palmer, University of Minnesota	Reptiles and amphibians of Voyageurs National Park
1988-1990	Peter M. Groffman, University of Rhode Island; J.A. Smith, K.J. Ranson, D.L. Williams, NASA; Dr. Hank Shugart, University of Virginia	Forest ecosystem dynamics (Trace gas fluxes in the boreal forest). Field sites include Itasca State Park, Voyageurs, and Superior National Forest. Part of an ongoing NASA funded research effort on boreal forest dynamics. Sites sampled included fir, pine, black ash, black spruce, and aspen stands as well as a beaver dam.

APPENDIX I

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1988-1992	Thomas C.J. Doolittle, Cable Natural History Museum, Sigurd Olson Environmental Institute	Status, distribution and breeding biology of the merlin (Falio c. columbarius) in the Upper Midwest region.
1988-1991	A. Bergerud & Associates	Habitat assessment for woodland caribou at Voyageurs National Park. RPRS # 9419
1988-1996	Dr. David F. Grigal, University of Minnesota; Nancy S. Duncan	Testing of the Habitat Suitability Index Models: Moose Lake, Lake Superior Region--A Geographic Informations Systems Approach. RPRS #9410, 9432, 9444, 9471
1989	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) Bi-weekly seining from mid-June through August on Kabetogama and Sand Point ; 2) Sampling with commercial minnow traps along with the seining on Kabetogama; 3) Adult fish sampling with gill nets on 4 large lakes; 4) Designed and coordinated implementation of a use-survey of most of the park's interior lakes.
1989-1990	James A. Schmidt, St. Cloud State University	Food habits of the timber wolf in Voyageurs National Park.
1989-1991	Dr. Bruce Barton, University of North Dakota	Biology, present distribution, and potential for dispersal of rainbow smelt, with particular reference to waters affected by the Garrison Diversion Unit.
1989-1991	Dan Helwig, MPCA;Dr. Gary Glass, Dr. George Rapp	PCBs and Hg in the St. Louis and Mississippi Rivers and in Sandpoint and Crane Lakes
1989-1993	Dr. Carol A. Johnston, John Pastor, NRRI-Duluth	Regional modeling of trace gas production in grassland and boreal ecosystems.
1989-2002	William Bowerman IV, Michigan State University, Dr. John Giesy, Lee Grim	Great Lakes region bald eagle contaminant survey.
1990	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) Bi-weekly seining program mid-June through August on Kabetogama and Sand Point Lakes to assess reproductive success 2) adult fish sampling with gill nets on 4 large lakes to gain measure of fish abundance 3) 2 types of minnow traps testing for sampling fish in Beast Lake 4) fish collected on Sand Point Lake provided to USEPA and UMD researchers conducting research on mercury in Sand Point and Crane Lakes.
1990-1991	Dan Helwig, MPCA	Contaminant analysis for fish advisories and trend analyses. Crane and Sand Point lakes are study lakes for intensive food chain studies.
1990-1992	Dr. Clifford Wetmore, University of Minnesota	Lichen elemental monitoring at Voyageurs National Park. Elemental analysis at 10 localities between International Falls and the park on lichens to monitor changes in air quality resulting from modifications at Boise mill.

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1990-1996	Dr. Robert J. Naiman, University of Washington; Carol Johnston, John Pastor, Heather Erickson, Jackie Haskins, Brian Allen, John Bonde, Geoff Poole, Michael Broschart	Animal influences on the aquatic landscape: Vegetative patterns, successional transitions and nutrient dynamics.
1990-1996	Dr. Fred Witzig, Duluth	Legislative and administrative history of Voyageurs National Park
1990-1997	Robert Bauer, University of Missouri, Columbia	An integrated study of deformation, metamorphism and geochronology in the Archean rocks along the northern margin of the Quetico subprovince, northeastern Minnesota.
1991	Lee Grim, VNP	Bald eagle and osprey surveys.
1991	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) Bi-weekly seining program mid-June through August on Kabetogama and Sand Point to assess reproductive success 2) adult fish sampling with gill nets conducted on 4 large lakes to obtain measure of fish abundance 3) collaborated with USEPA and UMD researchers on study dealing with mitigating mercury 4) initiated sampling program for zooplankton in Namakan Lake to be used in assessing impacts of smelt invasion.
1991-1993	Dr. Gary E. Glass, USEPA-Duluth; John Sorensen; George Rapp, Jr., UMD	Mercury sources, distribution and mitigation of impacts on aquatic resources. Objective: Define mechanisms of mercury bioavailability and identify and test various options for mitigation of elevated mercury residue levels iin fish using shoreline enclosures.
1991-1993	Katherine E. Webster, Patrick Brezonik, B.J. Holdusen, Wisconsin DNR	Long-term trends in lake chemistry related to acid deposition in the upper Great Lakes States.
1991-1996	Douglas W. Smith, University of Nevada, Reno/Yellowstone Center for Resources	Dispersal strategies and cooperative breeding in beaver.
1992	Leland Grim, VNP	Bald eagle and osprey surveys.
1992	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) Bi-weekly seining program mid-June through August on Kabetogama and Sand Point Lakes to assess reproductive success; 2) adult fish sampling with gill nets on 4 large lakes to gain measure of fish abundance; 3)collaborated with researchers from USEPA and UMD on study dealing with mitigating mercury in lakes and reservoirs; 4) initiated sampling program for fish in beaver ponds on Kabetogama Peninsula.
1992-1994	Dr. Kenneth L. Cole, University of Minnesota, Dr. V. Kurmis, Katherine F. Crowley	Recent vegetation change at Voyageurs National Park.

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Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1992-1996	Dr. Carol A. Johnston, NRRI-Duluth; John Pastor	Beaver, succession, and ecosystem dynamics across the boreal landscape. Experiments being conducted in the 2 dominant beaver meadow ecosystems (grass and sedge) to determine: 1) above-ground productivity and nutrient relationships; 2) effects of nutrient availability on species and community responses, and; 3) relatives roles of N and P in contrasting meadow ecosystems.
1992-1996	Dr. Kenneth L. Cole, University of Minnesota	Holocene paleoenvironments of Great Lakes National Parks.
1992-1997	David Evers, Whitefish Pt. Bird Observatory, Paradise, MI; Dr. Francie Cuthbert	Northern Great Lakes Common Loon monitoring program.
1992-1997	Dr. Isaac J. Schlosser, University of North Dakota; John F. Elder	Effects of landscape attributes on fish ecology and genetics in the Kabetogama Peninsula. Objectives to examine the influence of beaver pond age and morphology on 1) the distribution, abundance, and recruitment of fish and 2) the hybridization of finescale (Phoxinus neogaeus) and northern redbelly (P. eos) dace.
1993	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	1) Bi-weekly seining program on Kabetogama and Sand Point to assess reproductive success and growth of YOY; 2) adult fish sampling with gill nets on 4 large lakes to obtain index of fish abundance; 3) continued fish sampling in beaver ponds; 4) survey of crayfish in 4 large lakes; and 5) continued collaboration with USEPA and UMD researchers on mitigating mercury in lakes and reservoirs.
1993	Leland Grim, VNP	Bald eagle and osprey surveys.
1993-1994	David Hougen, University of Iowa; Dr. George Malanson	Effects of isolation of shoreline based forest sites on stand composition
1993-1995	Mary Derr, University of Minnesota, Dr. Emmet Braselton, Michigan State University	Environmental contaminants in the Piscivorous waterbird community of Voyageurs National Park.
1993-1997	Keren (Ensor) Giovengo, USFWS; Stanley Smith	Contaminant exposure of bald eagles via prey at Voyageurs National Park.
1993-1997	Dr. George Rapp, Jr., UMD	Mercury deposition and lake quality trends in Minnesota.
1994	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	Aquatic research Voyageurs National Park, 1994.
1994-1996	Dr. David W. Lime, University of Minnesota	Voyageurs National Park Snowmobile Visitor Use Study (1994-1996)
1994-1999	Dr. John Pastor, NRRI, Duluth; Dr. Yosef Cohen	Moose foraging strategy, energetics, and ecosystem processes in boreal landscapes.

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1995	Dr. Kenneth Hornback, WASO-TNT; Jasmin L. Baylosis, Sandra D. Valdez	Voyageurs National Park 1995 Summer Visitor Use Survey.
1995-1998	Larry Kallemeyn, Dr. G. Glass, Dr. J. Sorensen, Dr. Issac Schlosser	Aquatic research: 1) Identify and document the impacts of intentional introductions as well as invasivons by exotic fish and native fish species and other components of the aquatic food web; 2) Describe the relation of exotic and native fish abundance and distribution to physical and chemical lake features, and zooplankton and zoobenthos abundance and distribution; 3) As part of cooperative study with Isle Royale National Park, determine the genetic distinctness of populations of Pimephales promelas, Rhinichthys atratulus, and Margariscus margarita.
1995	Dr. William Bowerman, Gale Gleason Environmental Institute, Sault Ste. Marie, MI; Terry Grubb, Dr. William Robinson	Identify biological, toxicological, and human stressors to bald eagles nesting at Voyageurs National Park
1995-1996	Mitchell Anderson, UMD	Late Archean sedimentation and petrology of the Seine Conglomerate Group within a pull-apart basin(?): Wabigoon Greenstone Belt, Northern Minnesota and Northwestern Ontario
1995-1998	Dr. Michael Brown, South Dakota State University; Craig A. Soupir	Trophic ecology of allopatric and sympatric populations of northern pike and largemouth bass in Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota. RPRS #9475, 9475, 9502, 9507
1995-2000	Dr. Anthony Starfield, University of Minnesota; Jean Cochrane	Gray wolf population model for Voyageurs National Park.
1996	Jeff Eibler, MDNR	An angler creel survey of the Minnesota waters of Rainy Lake, summer of 1996.
1996	Jeff Eibler, MDNR	Annual large lake sampling (using Minnesota DNR fisheries large lake sampling guidelines). Rainy, Kabetogama, Namakan, and Sand Point Lakes.
1996	Lee Grim, VNP	Aerial bald eagle surveys.
1996	Lee Grim, VNP	Aerial bird surveys: Osprey, great blue heron, and common loon.
1996	Myron Lysne, Patricia J. Freeman, Mary Peterson	Development and implementation of a study investigating the effects of human activity on the breeding success of common loons at Voyageurs National Park.
1996	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	Ek Lake survey. Standardized lake survey used by MnDNR fisheries to monitor lakes.
1996	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	Population assessment on Namakan Lake to monitor fish stocks.
1996	Frank Swendsen, MDNR	Aerial beaver survey, Kabetogama Peninsula.

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Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1996-1998	James Schaberl, VNP	Winter abundance of white-tailed deer in Voyageurs National Park.
1996-1999	Dr. Daniel Engstrom, St. Croix Watershed Research Station; Edward Swain, MPCA; Deborah Swackhamer	Atmospheric deposition of mercury and atmospheric and non-point pollution trends in Minnesota lakes.
1996-1999	Steve Flackey, MDNR; Mark Majewsky, Barbara Knight, Andrew Gillespie	Forest health monitoring program.
1996-2000	Don Faber-Langendoen, The Nature Conservancy; Kevin D. Hop, Norm Aaseng, Michael Smith	National Park Service vegetation mapping project.
1996-2001	Frederick J. Jannett, Jr., University of Minnesota	Small mammal inventory and long-term monitoring program.
1997	Cory Counard, University of Minnesota; David Evers, Dr. Francie Cuthbert	Loons: indicators of mercury in the environment.
1997	Jeff Eibler, MDNR	An angler creel survey of the Minnesota waters of Rainy Lake.
1997	Jeff Eibler, MDNR	Annual large lake sampling (using Minnesota DNR fisheries large lake sampling guidelines).
1997	Lee Grim, VNP	Aerial bald eagle surveys.
1997	Lee Grim, VNP	Aerial bird surveys: Osprey, great blue heron, and common loon.
1997-1998	Margaret Littlejohn, University of Idaho; Dr. Gary Machlis	Visitor services project -- Voyageurs National Park visitor study
1997-1998	Lisa Garrett, Gerald Wright, Karen Larsen	Natural resource bibliography project.
1997-2001	Dr. George Rapp, UMD; John Sorenson	Effects of exotic rainbow smelt on nutrient/trophic pathways and mercury contaminant uptake in the aquatic food web of Voyageurs National Park.
1997-1999	Dr. Carol Johnston, NRRI; John Pastor, Howard Mooers	Control of productivity and plant species segregation by nitrogen fluxes to wetland beaver meadows.
1997-1999	Steve Jakala, VNP	Fire effects monitoring--vegetation plots.
1997-1999	Dr. Richard Whitman, USGS	Inspect, assess and monitor inland lakes of the Great Lakes Cluster Parks (characterize local and regional biological and limnological conditions of Locator and Mukooda Lakes along with other selected inlands lakes of the Great Lakes Cluster National Parks).
1997-1999	Dr. Marjorie G. Winkler, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Dr. Patricia R. Sandford, Dr. Kenneth L. Cole	Holocene paleoenvironments of Voyageurs National Park.

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
1997-2001	Dave Garshelis, MDNR; Kristina Timmerman	Black bear population dynamics and interactions with humans in Voyageurs National Park.
1997-2001	Dr. Richard Stoffle, University of Arizona	Ojibway traditional resources in the Upper Great Lakes
1998	Leland Grim, VOYA	Bald eagle monitoring program.
1998	Lee Grim, VOYA	Aerial bird surveys: Osprey, great blue heron, and common loon.
1998	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	Large lake sampling program.
1998	William Route	Distribution and abundance of gray wolves in and adjacent to Voyageurs National Park.
1998-1999	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	An angler creel survey of Crane, Kabetogama, Namakan,…
1998-1999	Tom Drummer, Michigan Technological University	Analysis of Voyageurs wolf track monitoring database.
1998-1999	Christopher Hemstad, UMD; Richard W. Ojakangas	Geologic map of the Island View 7.5 minute quadrangle: Implications for Archean tectonics, basin development, and ore deposits.
1999	Lee Grim, VNP	Bald eagle monitoring program.
1999	Lee Grim, VNP	Aerial bird surveys of osprey and great blue heron and common loon.
1999	Lee Grim, VNP	Forest breeding bird surveys.
1999	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	Large lake sampling program.
1999	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	Fish population assessments on Shoepack, Little Shoepack, …
1999	James Schaberl, VNP	Common tern monitoring and restoration.
1999-2001	Greg Payne, USGS	Water Quality of lakes and streams in Voyageurs National Park. RPRS #9580, 19531,21192
1999-2001	Rolf Peterson, Jennifer Fox, Michigan Technological University	Gray wolf management in the Lake Superior Region: Voyageurs National Park and Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore.
1999-2001	Gerald Wright	A synthesis of scientific research at Voyageurs National Park…
2000	Konrad Schmidt, MDNR	Northern brook lamprey (Ichthyomyzon fossor) surveys in Rainy River drainage.
2000	Ted Gostomski, NPS	Common loon nest monitoring at Voyageurs National Park. R
2000	Dr. Robert Foster, Allan Harris, Northern Bioscience, Thunder Bay, Ontario	Invasive plants survey--Voyageurs National Park.
2000	Phillip C. Shelton, MDNR	Aerial beaver survey, 2000.
2000	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	An angler creel survey of Rainy Lake.
2000	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	Large lake sampling program.
2000	Kevin Peterson, MDNR	Fisheries lake survey on Locator and War Club lakes.

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Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
2000	James Perry, Kerry Holmberg	Water resources management plan for Voyageurs National Park.
2000	Lee Grim, VNP	Bald eagle nest census and nesting success survey. Long-term effort to determine the distribution and abundance of nesting eagles.
2000	Lee Grim, VNP	Forest breeding bird survey
2000	Lee Grim, VNP	Great blue heron and osprey nesting census
2000	David Szymanski, VNP	Common tern colony restoration
2000	Bill Route, Jim Schaberl, VNP	Lynx inventory
2000-2001	Dr. David Anderson, Dr. Clint Boal, Texas Tech University	Northern goshawk study
2000-2001	Tonnie Maniero, Keri Hornbuckle, University of Iowa	Air quality synthesis.
2000-2002	James Wiener, Jeffrey Jeremiason, Brent Knights, Mark Sandheinrich, USGS	Identification of ecosystem factors affecting methylmercury contamination of food webs in semi-remote lakes of Voyageurs National Park.
2000-2003	Mark Brigham, Robert Goldstein, USGS; Jim Wiener, Brent Knights, Helwig, Kallemeyen	Mercury cycling in small lakes in Voyageurs National Park.
2001-2002	Dorothy Anderson, Jerrilyn Thompson, University of Minnesota	Estimating snowmobile use at Voyageurs National Park.
2001	Laurel Woodruff, Bill Cannon, USGS	Geochemistry of bedrock and soils at Voyageurs National Park.
2000-2001	Isaac Schlosser, Carol Johnston, University of North Dakota	Dispersion and ecological interactions of clonal and sexual fish in a successional landscape influenced by beaver activity.
2001	Larry Kallemeyn	Assessing ecological impacts of exotic rainbow smelt on nutrient/trophic pathways and mercury contaminant uptake in the aquatic food web of Voyageurs National Park.
2001	Larry Kallemeyn	Aquatic research and long-term monitoring in Voyageurs.
2001	William Route, NPS	A field inventory of bats (chiroptera) occurring in Voyageurs.
2001-2002	William Route, NPS	Canada lynx, bobcat, cougar, and weasel detection surveys.
2001-2002	Gregory Payne, Victoria Christensen, USGS	Assessment of effects of changes in reservoir operations on trophic-state indicators in Voyageurs National Park.
2001-2002	Dawn Cummings, Gary Nuechterlein, Northland College	Effects of lake levels on loon productivity
2001-2003	Clay Pierce, Iowa State university; Nick Frohnauer, Larry Kallemeyn	A population and angler use assessment of muskellunge in Shoepack Lake, Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota.
2001-2003	Clay Pierce, Iowa State university	Northern Goshawk nest survey.

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
2001-2004	Dr. Jim Meeker, Northland College; Allan Harris, Robert Foster	Assess the impacts of international lake level management by using an interdisciplinary approach: Wetland vegetation monitoring.
2002	Michael Sydor	Document changes in reservoir management for mercury…
2002	Michael Sydor	Total and methyl mercury analysis of crayfish.
2002	Larry Kallemeyn	Lake sturgeon (Acipenser fluvescens) spawning habitat…
2002	Larry Kallemeyn	Control of exotic smallmouth bass to restore a native predator in Beast Lake.
2002-2003	Dorothy Anderson, Jerrilyn Thompson, University of Minnesota	Develop a summer visitor count methodology
2002-2004	Walter Sadinski, USGS	Inventory and monitoring of amphibians and turtles in the Upper Mississippi River Wildlife and Fish Refuge Complex, St. Croix National Scenic Riverway, and Voyageurs National Park.
2002-2005	Kevin Hop, USGS-BRD	Vegetation classification and mapping tools for National Parks: Demonstration products for Voyageurs National Park.
2002-2006	Dr. Jim Petty, Carl Orazio, USGS	Use of semipermeable membrane devices to assess the presence and potential impacts of polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons resulting from recreational snowmobile use in National Parks, specifically Voyageurs.
2002-2012	Dr. David Garshelis, University of Minnesota; Karen Noyce, Pamela Coy	Ecology and population dynamics of black bears in Minnesota.
2003	Allan Harris	Plant surveys at Voyageurs National Park.
2003-2004	Mark Sandheinrich, University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse	Bioaccumulation of methylmercury in planktonic food wet…
2003-2006	Dr. Laurel Woodruff	Impacts of forest fires on levels of mercury in lake and forest environments.
2003-2010	Stephen Flackey, MDNR	Forest inventory and analysis (previously called forest health monitoring program).
2004	McCrea Cobb, Montana State University; Dr. Lynn Irby, Dr. Peter Gogan, Dr. Rick Lawrence	Home range characteristics of sympatric moose and white-tailed deer in northern Minnesota.
2004	Dr. Joan Rose, Michigan State University; Stephanie L. Molloy	Development of Great Lakes natural resource gateway. Gather, summarize, and make available a wide range of natural resource information.
2004	Laura Cheney, Northland College	Behavioral response of breeding loon pairs according to direct human approach of nesting sites in Voyageurs.
2004	Cory Counard McNulty, Northland College; Dave Evers	Assess the impacts of international lake level management using an interdisciplinary approach: Common loon (Gavia immer) nest success.
2004	Allan Harris	Plant and odonate surveys at Voyageurs National

Years of Work	Researcher(s)	Project Description
		Park.
2004	Steven Windels, VNP	Assess the impacts of lake level management by using an interdisciplinary approach: Vital characteristics of muskrats in Rainy and Namakan Lakes.
2004-2005	Carol Reschke, UMD; Cindy Hale, Ethan Perry, George Host	Development of monitoring protocols to assess impacts of European earthwom invasions.
2004-2006	Dr. Malcolm Butler, North Dakota State University; Len Ferrington	Assess the impacts of international lake level management using an interdisciplinary approach: Benthic invertebrate community structure.
2004-2007	Larry Kallemeyn, VNP	Assess impacts of lake level management with an interdisciplinary approach: Effects on the fish community.
2005	David Evers, Jim Paruk, Biodiversity Research Institute	Determining biotic exposure and risk of methylmercury in Voyageurs National Park as indicated by the common loon.
2005	James Hudson, University of Guelph-Ontario	Evaluation of Voyageurs National Park in the context of an organizational ecosystem.
2005	Scott Niemela, MPCA	MPCA biological monitoring activities, 2005.
2005-2006	Michael Zicus, MDNR	Breeding ring-necked duck helicopter survey.
2005-2007	Mark Edlund, St. Croix Watershed Research Station-Science Museum of Minnesota	Determine the historical impact of water-level management on lakes in Voyageurs National Park.
2005-2009	Dr. William Bowerman,Clemson University	Bald eagle biosentinel study.
2005-2012	Scott Weyenberg, VOYA	Fire history and stand origin of Voyageurs National Park

Appendix J

Voyageurs National Park Trail Construction Dates

Name of Trail	Construction Date
Black Bay Ski Trail	1975
Cruiser Lake Trail System	1979
Mukooda Ski Trail	By 1980; trail closed 1984
Locator Hiking Trail	By 1982
Oberholtzer Trail	1990
Black Bay Beaver Pond Hiking Trail	1992
Blind Ash Bay Hiking Trail	1993
Little American Island Hiking Trail	1993
Echo Bay Ski/Hiking Trail	1996
Kab-Ash Hiking Trail	2001-2002
Sullivan Bay Snowshoe Trail	2006
Rainy Lake Recreation Trail	Planning started 1996; construction started 2011; dedication June 2016

Appendix K

Cultural Resources Studies

Cultural Resources Data
Compiled 2016

Ackerman, G.Franklin, and Mary Lou Pearson, *A Partial History of the Kettle Falls, Squirrel Falls and International Falls-Ft. Frances Dams,* Voyageurs National Park, 1980.

Ackerman, G. Franklin, Mary Lou Pearson, Mary Graves Budak and Diane Rognerud, *Newspaper Register for Voyageurs National Park 1960-1982*, Voyageurs National Park, 1982.

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Birk, D.A., *Preliminary Survey Notes on Sites in the Eastern Namakan-Sand Point-Crane Lake Area of Northern Minnesota,* Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1972.

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Byrne, Greg, *Collection Condition Survey, Voyageurs National Park,* Harpers Ferry Center, Harpers Ferry, 1989.

Catton, Ted, *Special History: The Environment and the Fur Trade Experience in Voyageurs National Park, 1730-1870*, National Park Service, July 2000

Coffman, M.S., L. Rakestraw and J.E. Ferris, *The Fire and Logging History of Voyageurs National Park,* Michigan Technological University, Houghton, 1980.

Collins, Susan, George Rapp, Jr., John A. Gifford, Dennis Rondine and Margaret Thompson, *Phytolith Analysis of Samples from Voyageurs National Park,* University of Minnesota, Duluth, 1980.

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Demeter, C. Stephen, Kent C. Taylor, and Donald J. Weir, *Archaeological Data Collection on the 1910 Log Cabin Site, Kettle Falls National Register District,* 1994.

DeVore, Steven, *National Register Nomination for King Williams Narrows Campsite, 21SL82,* Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, 1988.

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Driapsa, David, *Site Plan: Ellsworth Rock Garden, Voyageurs National Park*, June 25, 2010

Driapsa, David, *Site Development Plan: I.W. Stevens Visitor Destination, Voyageurs National Park*, September 10, 2010

Driapsa, David*, Site Development Plan: Harry Oveson Fish Camp Visitor Destination, Voyageurs National Park*, **(Draft, 2010)**

Dripasa, David, *Site Development Plan: Rainy Lake City Visitor Destination, Voyageurs National Park*, (**Draft 2011)**

Falk, Carl R., *Vertebrate Fauna from Archeological Sites within Voyageurs National Park, 1979-1980,* Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, 1982.

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Audrey Chute	May 14, 2013	International Falls	Transcribed
Ben Clary	September 17, 2013	By phone	Transcribed
Jennifer Hunt Gelo	May 17, 2013	Kabetogama	Transcribed
David Given	July 10, 2013	By phone	Transcribed
Lee Grim	May 13, 2013	International Falls	Transcribed
Al Hutchings	August 21, 2013	By phone	Transcribed
Larry Kallemeyn	July 19, 2013	By phone	Transcribed
Raoul Lufbery	May 14, 2013	International Falls	Transcribed
Shawn Mason	May 15, 2013	International Falls	Transcribed
Jim Oberstar	May 30, 2013	Potomac, Maryland	Transcribed
Kathleen Przybylski	August 28, 2013	By phone	Transcribed
Tom Ritter	August 27, 2013	By phone	Transcribed
Barb West	June 10, 2013	By phone	Transcribed
Mike Williams	May 16, 2013	International Falls	Transcribed

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Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota

Bruce Vento Collection
Voyageurs National Park Association Collection
Voyageurs National Park Archival Collection

Voyageurs National Park Archival Collection, International Falls, Minnesota

When I completed my research for this history, the park had its files divided into the collections listed below. Since that time, the park staff has refiled and re-boxed the documents, and for that reason, I have not included references to boxes or files in my citations. The information in the footnotes is sufficient to retrieve the documents from the park with the assistance of park staff. For the sake of indicating what collections I did review, and their general topics, I include the following list:

Annual Reports Collection
Area Organizations Collection
Audrey Chute Collection
Boundary Revisions Collection
Central Files
Citizen's Council [also Citizen's Committee] for Voyageurs National Park Collection
Ben Clary Files
Concessions Collection
Vic Davis Collection
General Management Plan Collection
Mary Graves Files
Interpretation Collection
Library Collection
Master Plan Collection
Natural Resources Collection
Oral History Collection
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Voyageurs National Park Association Collection
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January 13,2015
June 5, 2015
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November 25, 2015
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January 22, 2016
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