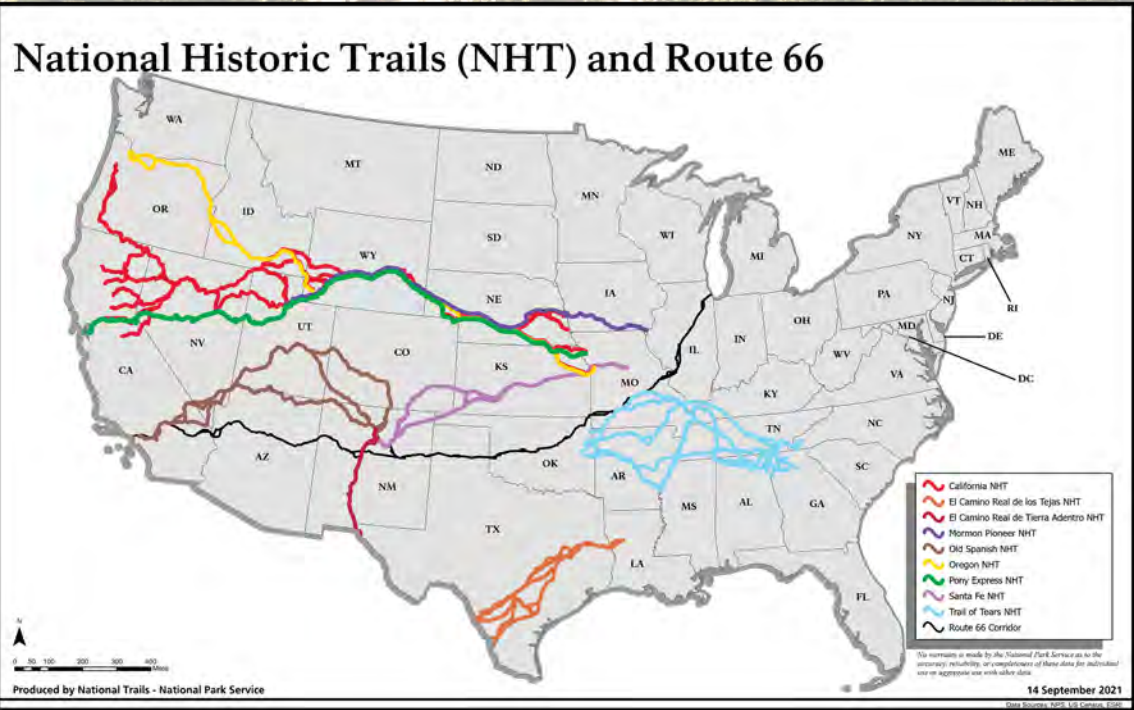




The Heritage of America's Trails:



A History of the National Park Service- National Trails Region 6, 7, and 8

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Santa Fe, New Mexico

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United States Department of the Interior



National Park Service

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Foreword

This administrative history took a long time to research and write. The project was initially broached with trails management in March 2013, and later that year research was well underway. A number of key interviews with longtime trails personnel – Tom Gilbert, Jere Krakow, and John Conoboy among them – took place in early 2014, and during the same period, a visit to the Salt Lake City trails office allowed a substantial records investigation and the opportunity to interview the existing staff. By late that year, several chapters that covered the trail office’s early years (up to 1991) had been completed. After that point, however, other duties intervened, and in more recent years the remaining chapters have been completed in conjunction with other history-related tasks.

I’m heartened to say that I have received consistent, and substantial, support from trails management – specifically Superintendent Aaron Mahr (a longtime historian), along with Chief of Trail Operations Sharon Brown and Deputy Superintendent John Cannella. Steve Elkinton, who served as the NPS’s National Trail System program leader from 1989 to 2014, cheerfully answered scores if not hundreds of trail-related questions. In addition, several longtime leaders of partnership organizations such as Joanne VanCoevern (SFTA), Ross Marshall (OCTA and SFTA), and Steven Gonzales (ELTE) have been very helpful. Former Superintendent Jere Krakow went so far as to transcribe and transmit his NPS Trail of Tears-related journal notations from November 1988 to December 1992. In addition, I interviewed Jerry Rogers, the former NPS associate director for cultural resources during the 1980s; John Latschar, Peggy Dolinich and Michael Duwe, trails administrators during the late 1980s and early 1990s; Deborah Salt and Sarah Schlanger, from the Bureau of Land Management (BLM); William deBuys, with the Santa Fe Trail Foundation; and various present and former NTIR staff. All went out of their way to cooperate and to supply needed information.

For those interested in going back to source materials that were used in this study, major sources were the various Superintendent’s Annual Reports (SARs), which are available – in almost all years – for both the Santa Fe and Salt Lake City offices between 1995 and 2001, and for the combined trails operation between 2001 and the present day. In recent years, the agency has taken a relatively relaxed view toward the completion of these reports, citing the plethora of other periodic reports that are required by park staff. Historians, however, recognize that there is no substitute for a series of well-written SARs, and I am deeply thankful that previous administrators have insisted on the completion of these reports, and for the high quality of the reports themselves. For the early years (between 1987 and 1995), SARs are either scattered or nonexistent. By good fortune, however, the Santa Fe office’s first trails leader, David Gaines, had a penchant for thorough, standardized record keeping, and these files – now located at the agency’s Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson – proved invaluable in piecing together the history of trails administration during those years.

This volume is dedicated to Jere Krakow (1936-2017), who served the trails as a historian, planner, and superintendent. Born and raised along the overland trails in southern Nebraska, Krakow repeatedly showed his love for trails throughout his academic and governmental careers, and he continued to be active with several trail partnership association during his retirement years. He is kindly remembered, as a friend and colleague, by many in the trails community.

Frank Norris
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Acronym List

ADA – Americans for Disabilities Act	CM&UP – Comprehensive Management and Use Plan	National Historic Trail Association (formerly ELTEA)	ISTEA – Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (1991)
AHS – American Hiking Society	CMP – Comprehensive Management Plan	ELTE – El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail	ITDS – Interagency Trail Data Standards
AIANTA – American Indian and Alaska Native Tourism Association	COED – Census of Overland Emigrant Documents	ELTEA – El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Association (now ELCAT)	KCAHTA – Kansas City Area Historic Trails Association
ARC – (Route 66) Archives and Research Collaboration	CRS – Congressional Research Service	FAA – Federal Aviation Administration	KSHS – Kansas State Historical Society
ARD – (NPS) Associate Regional Director	CTTP – Connect Trails to Parks	FHWA – Federal Highways Administration	LDS – Latter-Day Saints
ATPO – (NPS) Appalachian Trail Project Office	CWC – Central Wyoming College	FLAP – Federal Lands Access Program	LDT – Long Distance Trails
ATR – Auto Tour Route	D&D – Design and Development Team	FONSI – Finding of No Significant Impact	LLC – Limited Liability Corporation
BLM – Bureau of Land Management	DAR – Daughters of the American Revolution	FOSM – Fort Smith National Historic Site	LODI – (NPS) Long Distance Trails Office, Santa Fe
BOR – Bureau of Outdoor Recreation	DCP – Development Concept Plan	FWS – Fish and Wildlife Service	LODT – (NPS) Long Distance Trails Office, Salt Lake City
BSA – Boy Scouts of America	DIGIT – Digitally Integrated Geographic Information Technologies	FY – Fiscal Year	LWCF – Land and Water Conservation Fund
CALI – California National Historic Trail	DO – Director’s Order	GIS – Geographic Information Systems	MARC – Mid-America Regional Council
CARTA – Camino Real Trail Association	DOI – Department of the Interior	GLO – General Land Office	MET – Mapping Emigrant Trails
CAS – Comprehensive Administrative Strategy	DOT – Department of Transportation	GPO – Government Printing Office	MOA – Memorandum of Agreement
CCSP – Challenge Cost Share Program	DSC – Denver Service Center	GPS – Global Positioning System	MOPI – Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail
CESU – Cooperative Ecosystem Study Unit	EA – Environmental Assessment	HCRS – Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service	MOTCI – Museum of the Cherokee Indian
CFR – Code of Federal Regulations	EIS – Environmental Impact Statement	HRS – Historic Resource Study	MOU – Memorandum of Understanding
CHS – Colorado Historical Society	ELCA – El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail	HSR – Historic Structure Report	MPDF – Multiple Property Documentation Form
CIRCLE – Council of Indigenous Relevancy, Communication, Leadership and Excellence	ELCAT – El Camino Real de los Tejas	IMR – Intermountain Regional Office	MTA – Mormon Trail Association
		INAH – Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia	MTSU – Middle Tennessee State

University	Region)	Historic Trail	SFTC – Santa Fe Trail Council
MWAC – (NPS) Midwest Archeological Center	NTSA – National Trail Systems Act	RD – Regional Director	SHPO – State Historic Preservation Office
MWRO – (NPS) Midwest Regional Office	NTSF – (NPS) National Trails Office, Santa Fe	RFP – Request for Proposal	SITLA – School and Institutional Trust Lands Administration
NCA – National Conservation Area	NTSL – (NPS) National Trails Office, Salt Lake City	RMP – Resource Management Plan	SIU – Southern Illinois University
NEPA – National Environmental Policy Act	NWR – National Wildlife Refuge	RMRO – Rocky Mountain Regional Office	SLC – Salt Lake City
NG – National Grassland	OCTA – Oregon-California Trails Association	ROSI – Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program	SSC – (NPS) San Francisco Service Center
NHL – National Historic Landmark	OLSP – Old Spanish National Historic Trail	RRAD – Recreation Resources Assistance Division	STEP – Student Temporary Employment Program
NHP – National Historical Park	OREG – Oregon National Historic Trail	RTCA – Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program	SWBRPP – Southwest Border Resource Protection Program
NHS – National Historic Site	ORRRC – Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission	SAFE – Santa Fe National Historic Trail	SWRO – Southwest Regional Office
NHT – National Historic Trail	OSFTB – Old Santa Fe Trail Building	SAR – Superintendent’s Annual Report	THC – Texas Historic Commission
NLCS – National Landscape Conservation System	OSR – Old San Antonio Road	SCEP – Student Career Experience Program	TOTA – Trail of Tears Association
NM – National Monument	OSTA – Old Spanish Trail Association	SCORP – Statewide Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Program	TP&WD – Texas Parks and Wildlife Department
NPCA – National Parks and Conservation Association	OTMA – Oregon Trail Memorial Association	SCR – Senate Concurrent Resolution	TRTE – Trail of Tears National Historic Trail
NPEA – National Pony Express Association	PFNTS – Partnership for the National Trails System	SCRC – Spanish Colonial Research Center	UALR – University of Arkansas, Little Rock
NPS – National Park Service	P.L. – Public Law	SECORHT – Southeast Colorado Heritage Task Force	UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
NRHP – National Register of Historic Places	PMIS – (NPS) Project Management Information System	SERO – Southeast Regional Office	UNM – University of New Mexico
NSHSB – National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings	PNRO – Pacific Northwest Regional Office	SFNHT – Santa Fe National Historic Trail	UPARR – Urban Park and Recreation Recovery Program
NST – National Scenic Trail	PNTS – Partnership for the National Trails System	SFT – Santa Fe Trail	USDA – United States Department of Agriculture
NTC – National Trails Council	POEX – Pony Express National	SFTA – Santa Fe Trail Association	USDI – United States Department of

the Interior

USFS – United States Forest Service

USFWS – United States Fish and Wildlife Service

USGS – United States Geological Survey

VUEE – Visitor Use, Experience, and Engagement Team

WACC – Western Archeological and Conservation Center

WASO – Washington Service Office



National Park Service - National Trails Regions 6, 7, and 8

A Brief History

The various national historic trails administered by the National Park Service – National Trails Regions 6, 7, and 8 are most directly traced to the National Trails System Act, which was passed by Congress and then signed by President Lyndon Johnson on October 2, 1968. Efforts to recognize the various national historic trails, however, had been taking place since the early twentieth century, not long after they were used as historical routes. In Kansas, an officer in the Daughters of the American Revolution called, in 1902, for the Santa Fe Trail to be marked, and granite markers were installed up and down the trail beginning in 1906. Ezra Meeker was a similar dreamer for the Oregon Trail. In 1906, with almost no outside support, he took a wagon train from Olympia, Washington, east over the trail, dedicating trail markers as he went. (Later, between 1912 and 1916, additional Oregon Trail markers were erected.) In Texas, V.N. Zively surveyed the Old San Antonio Road, across the state, and markers soon followed. During the 1930s, efforts were made to mark both the Mormon Pioneer Trail to Utah and the Pony Express trail between Missouri and California. And in 1950, a small group in Las Vegas, Nevada, marked some of the Old Spanish Trail between Santa Fe and Los Angeles.

During the mid-1950s, the National Park Service took its first steps toward recognizing the importance of the national trails. In 1956, Regional Historian Merrill Mattes, prodded by requests from “several groups in Kansas,” surveyed a number of Santa Fe Trail historical sites. Mattes’ study was later seconded by more extensive trail inventories by Ray Mattison. Soon afterward, the Congressional passage of

Mission 66 legislation brought a revival in the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, which resulted in three major trail volumes. The first, about the Lewis and Clark expedition, was written by Mattison and two other authors and was published in late 1958. A second, more expansive volume, entitled *Overland Migrations West of the Mississippi*, was published in 1959. And the third volume in the series, about the Santa Fe Trail, was written by William E. Brown and published in 1963. During the late 1950s, the only option that historians had when they encountered valuable historical properties was to nominate them as potential NPS units. Beginning in 1960, however, the establishment of the National Historic Landmarks program provided an additional option to protect either historic sites or trail segments owned by non-federal property owners. The establishment of the National Register of Historic Places came later, with the passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act.

The decade of the 1960s brought an ever-increasing amount of federal attention to conservation issues in general, and to a federal role in trails administration more specifically. The four-year work of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, completed in early 1962, recommended the formation of a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, and the Kennedy administration authorized that bureau soon afterward. Federal action specific to trails took place in 1964, when Congress passed a bill creating a Lewis and Clark Trail Commission. Less than a year later, President Johnson sent a “Natural Beauty Message” to Congress in which he requested that his Interior Secretary, Stewart Udall, “recommend to me a

cooperative program to encourage a national system of trails.” The BOR, asked to provide specifics about that cooperative program, emerged in September 1966 with the Trails for America report, which recommended three sets of trails: national scenic trails, park and forest trails, and metropolitan area trails. Congress, anticipating the conclusions in the BOR report, submitted the first national trails bill in March 1966. That bill, and others introduced that year, went nowhere, but new bills submitted in early 1967 brought a favorable response during subsequent hearings. Both houses of Congress passed trails bills in July 1968, and after House and Senate leaders resolved the differences between them, President Johnson signed the National Trails System Act into law in early October. The act authorized two long-distance scenic trails (the Appalachian and the Pacific Crest), and it also called for 14 other trails to be studied as proposed future trails. Four of these were generally scenic in character, while the other ten were historic.

Once a trails system had been established, regulations were needed to govern its administration. In 1969, various Interior and Agriculture Department officials hammered out a Memorandum of Agreement for the Development and Operation of the National Trails System, and it also established a coordinating body: the Federal Interagency Council on Trails, also called the National Trails System Council, led by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation chief. The BOR, meanwhile, undertook the task of evaluating the 14 study trails that had been identified in the 1968 act. Perhaps because the two existing trails were scenic trails, however, the regulations drawn up in the wake of the NTSA evaluated proposed trails according to scenic trail criteria. As a result, the BOR issued a negative report on the Oregon Trail, the Lewis and Clark Trail, the Santa

Fe Trail, the Mormon Trail, and all of the other historical trails. Interior Department officials soon recognized the shortcomings of trying to evaluate historic trails according to scenic trail regulations, and by the mid-1970s key members of Congress recognized the need for a rule change. Finally, in 1976, Congress worked out language that created an entirely new category of national historic trails. Two years later, President Carter signed the National Parks and Recreation Act, which not only included the historic trails provision but also authorized the first four national historic trails. These were the Lewis and Clark Trail, the Oregon Trail, the Mormon Pioneer Trail, and the Iditarod Trail. The National Park Service was tapped to oversee the first three of these trails, while the BLM was asked to administer Alaska’s Iditarod Trail.

The NPS, on the heels of the 1978 act, showed little interest in trail administration. Agency leaders eventually decided that the Midwest Region would administer the Lewis and Clark NHT, the Rocky Mountain Region would take care of the Mormon Pioneer NHT, and the Pacific Northwest Region would be in charge of the Oregon NHT. The agency then assembled two-person teams that compiled a comprehensive management plan (CMP) for each trail, all three of which were completed by early 1982. Once the plans were completed, however, the agency treated its national trails as an afterthought. Starting in 1983, the most favored of these trails – the Oregon Trail – was provided a paltry \$15,000 annual budget, while the other two trails had no line item funding. The NPS’s directives for each trail were to decide on a trail marker design, to encourage the establishment of a partnership association, and to ascertain a method for certifying non-federal properties. It also needed to establish an ostensible

staff presence, typically a regional office employee who had a range of collateral duties. Once those steps were completed, agency officials anticipated scaling back further involvement.

The agency’s trails administration gained new energy in May 1987, when Congress authorized the Santa Fe Trail. Given the trail’s western terminus, the decision was made to administer it from the Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Regional director John Cook envisioned a strong role for this trail, and early in the trail’s planning process, Cook made it known that the Santa Fe Trail would be administered much like a national park unit. This was a radical departure from previous agency actions. Even before the planning effort was complete, the trail had a two-person staff, and in 1990, Cook broke with other regional directors by establishing a Branch of Long Distance Trails in the regional office.

Meanwhile, the late 1980s brought cohesion and strength to the struggling, uncoordinated long distance trails system. By 1988, Congress had authorized sixteen long distance trails: eight national scenic trails and eight national historic trails. The NPS administered eleven of these trails. There was no centralized trails leadership, however, and the only trails with a substantial budget were the Appalachian and Ice Age trails, both national scenic trails. Two events that took place in September 1988, however, considerably improved the trails’ outlook. Thanks to the efforts of two stalwart advocates, Louise Marshall and Susan “Butch” Henley from the American Hiking Society, a budgetary line item was inserted into an Interior Department funding bill that resulted in the first NPS Washington long distance trails staffer, plus substantial additional funds for trails administration. Later that same month, an equally important

event took place at a Boys’ Club camp near Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Thanks to action by the Ice Age Park and Trail Foundation, representatives from the various national trails convened for the first-ever National Scenic and Historic Trails Conference. This gathering turned out to be so successful that similar conferences have been held, on a biennial basis, up to the present day.

During the early 1990s, further progress took place with trails administration at the national level. During the second national trails system conference, held in 1991 in Oregon, the various trail partnership associations hit upon the idea of forming a coalition, which was called the “Committee of 17” based on the fact that, at the time, there were seventeen national scenic or national historic trails. The delegates also decided to pool their efforts and petition Congress for a stronger trails budget. In the spring of 1992 the committee’s leader, Gary Werner, testified at House and Senate subcommittees. He was rebuffed in both instances. But Werner, undeterred, returned the following year, made much the same pitch, and found a more welcome reception. Thanks to Werner’s persistence, and the efforts of scores of supporters from the Committee of 17 groups, virtually all of the long distance trails gained a line-item budget beginning in Fiscal Year 1994.

Back in Santa Fe, the trails office witnessed major growth. Thanks to action by New Mexico Senator Pete Domenici, the Masau Trail proposal went through the planning process in the early 1990s, only to fade away due to a lack of political support. Meanwhile, the administration of the Trail of Tears NHT shifted from the Southeast Region to the Southwest Region midway through the trail’s comprehensive planning process. The Santa Fe Trail, during this period,

started sponsoring its first interpretive and development projects, but little Trail of Tears activity took place beyond advisory council meetings. John Cook, the Santa Fe-based regional director, recognized the importance of long distance trails when he appointed David Gaines, in October 1994, as the agency's first-ever superintendent of Long Distance Trails.

To the north, the Oregon and Mormon Pioneer trails continued to be administered – marginally at best – from regional offices in Seattle and Denver, respectively. Then, in August 1992, Congress added two new northern trails: California and Pony Express. Not long afterward, Denver Service Center (DSC) personnel began preparing a CMP for all four of the northern trails. Meanwhile, agency officials moved to have the California and Pony Express trails administered by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, and in the fall of 1993, a meeting of regional directors resulted in the Oregon Trail being transferred to the NPS's Denver office. Agency planners, however, chafed at the notion of four NHTs being administered from a facility that was more than 175 miles away from the nearest trail route. After some searching, therefore, they decided to establish a trails office in Salt Lake City. The first NPS trails staff occupied the new office in January 1995; five months later, DSC historian Jere Krakow moved to Salt Lake City and became the office's new superintendent.

During the mid- to late 1990s, Congress passed study bills for several trails located in the legacy Intermountain Region: El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, followed by the Old Spanish Trail and El Camino Real de los Tejas. Congress authorized these three trails in 2000, 2002, and 2004, respectively, causing the number of trails that were administered through the Santa Fe office to swell from two to five.

Meanwhile, trail administration added a new wrinkle in January 2001, when Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt announced that El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT would be administered by both the NPS and the BLM. In June 2003, Interior Secretary Gale Norton followed suit with a similar proclamation related to the Old Spanish Trail.

During the first decade of the new millennium, trail administration gained new momentum in both the Santa Fe and Salt Lake City offices, with steadily increasing budgets and a number of new staff. Trails leadership shifted in 2002 when David Gaines stepped down from his superintendent's position. Soon afterward, the agency undertook an operations evaluation of the region's trails offices; that evaluation concluded that the region needed to keep its two offices but that it needed just one superintendent. As a result, Krakow assumed control over both offices while based in Salt Lake City. By the summer of 2004, however, the increasing demands of the Santa Fe office resulted in Krakow moving to New Mexico, where he remained until his retirement in early 2007. In the wake of Krakow's retirement, trails historian Aaron Mahr was chosen to succeed him. Mahr continues to serve as the National Trails Regions 6, 7, and 8 superintendent.

In March 2009, Congress passed a bill (Public Law 111-11) that authorized an expansion of the number of authorized Trail of Tears routes. It also called for studies related to cattle trails, the Butterfield Overland Trail, and the so-called "four trails study" which called for the study of more than 70 routes related to the Oregon, California, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express trails. National Trails Regions 6, 7, and 8 staff undertook each of those studies. Aside from those tasks, however, most recent staff activity has been related to working with partners on a wide variety

of projects dealing with interpretation, signage, site planning, historical research, and cultural resource management. Given the sheer numbers of trails and extent of trail mileage that the office either administers or co-administers, along with a large number of congressional study proposals it has overseen, National Trails Regions 6, 7, and 8 has, in recent years, attained a position of general prominence related to long distance trails administration.





Chapter 1.

America's Historical Trails: Commemoration and Growing Awareness, 1902-1968

Introduction

Ever since the pre-contact period, long-distance trails within the present-day United States have fostered exploration, migration, trade, warfare, and the exchange of ideas and other cultural elements. Americans have long been aware of the importance of these historic trails in the nation's evolution and growth, and since the 1960s Congress has recognized the importance of preserving, interpreting, and developing a representative number of these trails. Today, under the legislative umbrella of the National Trails System Act (NTSA), the United States boasts a diverse assemblage of nationally recognized trails located in all 50 states; these include not only 19 national historic trails (NHTs) but 11 national scenic trails (NSTs), approximately 1,300 national recreation trails (NRTs), and six connecting or side trails.¹ The NHTs are the primary focus of this study.

Of the 19 NHTs, 15 are administered solely by the National Park Service (NPS), while two others are jointly administered by the NPS and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). In addition, one is administered solely by the BLM, and another is administered solely by the USDA Forest Service (see appendix 1). The NPS's National Trails Regions 6, 7, and 8 (NTIR), with offices located in Salt Lake City, Utah, and both Santa Fe and Albuquerque, New Mexico, helps administer nine NHTs, along with the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program. The trails (and program) that NTIR administers are noted in Table 1.

The study that follows is an administrative history of how agencies have administered these nine NHTs over the years, along with national context information pertaining to the administration of these trails.

¹ NSTs and NHTs are provided for in the NTSA, Section 5. At last count, there are 1,316 national recreation trails (Section 4). Connecting and side trails are noted in Section 6. Six trails have been designated under this category. Two were designated in 1990 by Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr.: the 10-mile Timm's Hill Trail in Wisconsin, a side trail to the Ice Age National Scenic Trail (NST), designated March 21, 1990, and the 86-mile Anvik Connector in central Alaska, authorized on April 12, 1990, a connector trail which links the village of Anvik, on the Yukon River, to the Iditarod NHT. (Doug Humphreys, "The Forgotten Trails," *Backpacker* 22 (December 1994), 62-63; Tom Gilbert, email to the author, November 2, 2018; Kevin Keeler (BLM), email to the author, November 13, 2018.) On May 16, 2012, Interior Secretary Ken Salazar added four water-based connecting trails to the Captain John Smith Chesapeake NHT along the Susquehanna, Chester, Upper Nanticoke, and Upper James rivers. Jonathan Doherty to the author, email, Nov. 30, 2018; <https://www.doi.gov/news/pressreleases/AMERICAS-GREAT-OUTDOORS-Secretary-Salazar-Designates-Captain-John-Smith-Chesapeake-National-Historic-Trail>; *Federal Register* 81 (May 27, 2016), 33704.

Early Trail Commemoration Efforts

As shown in the chart below, the period of active use for the various NHTs (excluding the Route 66 corridor) extends from 1598 to 1882. Three of these trails were active for relatively short periods: the Trail of Tears, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express NHTs each had periods of significance for just two years, all during the mid-nineteenth century. Most of the remaining trails were supplanted by railroads or other more efficient transportation modes, and they were typically abandoned for long-distance purposes soon afterward.

Table 1. National Historic Trails - NPS Intermountain Region

National Historic Trail	States	Authorized Length	Period Significance	Congressional Authorization
Oregon	Idaho Kansas Missouri Nebraska Oregon Wyoming	2,170	1841-1848	Nov. 10, 1978
Mormon Pioneer	Illinois Iowa Nebraska Utah Wyoming	1,300	1846-1847	Nov. 10, 1978
Santa Fe	Colorado Kansas Missouri New Mexico Oklahoma	1,203	1821-1880	May 8, 1987
Trail of Tears	Alabama Arkansas Georgia Illinois Kentucky Minnesota North Carolina Oklahoma Tennessee	5,045	1838-1839	Dec. 16, 1987 + Mar. 30, 2009
California	California Colorado Idaho Kansas Missouri Nebraska Nevada Oregon Utah Wyoming	5,600	1841-1869	Aug. 3, 1992

Table 1. National Historic Trails - NPS Intermountain Region

National Historic Trail	States	Authorized Length	Period Significance	Congressional Autohization
Pony Express	California Colorado Kansas Missouri Nebraska Nevada Utah Wyoming	2,000	1860-1861	Aug. 3, 1992 + June 30, 1997 ²
Route 66 [Corridor Pres. Program]	Arizona California Illinois Kansas Missouri New Mexico Oklahoma Texas	2,400	1926-1985	Aug 10, 1999 + Mar. 30, 2009
El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro	New Mexico Texas (+ Mexico)	404 (in the U.S.)	1598-1882	Oct. 13, 2000
Old Spanish	Arizona California Colorado Nevada New Mexico Utah	2,700	1829-1848	Dec. 4, 2002
El Camino Real de los Tejas	Louisiana Texas (+ Mexico)	2,600 (in the U.S.)	1680-1845	Oct. 18, 2004

While these national trails were still active, there was little or no public sentiment for their preservation or interpretation. For several of these trails, however, the graying of those who had endured them, by the early twentieth century, resulted in the founding of organizations that resulted in reunions, conventions, and trail marking.² Along the Oregon Trail, for example, Ezra Meeker – who had headed west over the trail in 1852 – became a tireless promoter. Fearing that the trail would be plowed over and forgotten, the septuagenarian Meeker began advocating for the trail. A well-publicized eastbound wagon train trip in 1906 resulted in a series of historical markers; these were supplemented by others in 1912-1914.² In 1922, he founded the Old Oregon Trail Association, and four years later he established the Oregon Trail Memorial Association (OTMA). The OTMA convinced Congress to mint annual Oregon Trail memorial half dollars, which were issued on an intermittent basis from 1926 to 1939.³ The OTMA was later succeeded by the American Pioneer Trails Association, headed by Howard Driggs, which continued

² As noted in Chapter 5, a Secretarial Order – not congressional legislation – expanded the Pony Express NHT.

³ <http://www.historylink.org/File/7737>

trail commemoration efforts until Driggs's death in 1963.⁴

Other groups that marked the western trails included the Sons of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). In 1902, at the behest of Mrs. Fannie Geiger Thompson of Topeka, the Kansas DAR chapter (according to its website) “kicked off a campaign to place historical markers along the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas. It acquired red granite stones for the markers and by late 1906 were installing them.”⁵ These efforts continued until November 1914 when, in Morton County, the 95th (and last) DAR marker was installed in Kansas.⁶ Similar marker placements, at this time, were undertaken by DAR chapters in Missouri, Colorado, and New Mexico.⁷ During this same period, civic authorities hosted Santa Fe Trail reunions in Las Vegas, N.M. (in 1910), Westport, Mo. (in 1912), and perhaps elsewhere.⁸ Following those Santa Fe Trail activities, in 1916, the Sons and DAR established markers along the Cowlitz Trail (an offshoot of the Oregon Trail) in Washington state.⁹

Other than the DAR, there have been other efforts to commemorate the Santa Fe Trail. In 1913, the Douglas-Osage Old Trails Association was organized in order to raise funds to mark the route with sign boards.¹⁰ The late 1920s witnessed scattered trail-marking activities in western Kansas.¹¹ During the 1940s, Kansas had a short-lived Pioneer Trails Association, and in November 1948, several Santa Fe Trail plaques were placed near Kansas schools that were located along the historical route.¹² Then, during the 1950s and early 1960s, the Santa Fe Trail Highway Association (also known as the Highway 56 Association) was successful in placing scattered green-and-white trail markers along the historical route in Kansas,

⁴ http://www.byhigh.org/Alumni_A_to_E/Driggs/Howard-R.html. Commemorations of the Oregon Trail appear to have had impacts in many states along the route, but events related to the California trail (and the California gold rush), by contrast, have not engendered historical re-enactments and appear to have been limited, geographically, to the State of California.

⁵ <http://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/daughters-of-the-american-revolution-in-kansas/17336>

⁶ <http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/research/dar-marker-location-ks.html>; <http://www.santafetrailresearch.com/research/dar-markers-1915.html>; Michael Olsen, “Myth and Memory: The Cultural Heritage of the Santa Fe Trail in the Twentieth Century,” *Kansas History* 35 (Spring 2012), 48; http://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2012spring_olsen.pdf.

⁷ <http://www.santafetrailscenicandhistoricbyway.org/darmarkers.html>; Olsen, “Myth and Memory,” 49.

⁸ Olsen, “Myth and Memory,” 45.

⁹ <http://www.historylink.org/File/7737>

¹⁰ *Wagon Tracks* 2 (August 1988), 3.

¹¹ *Wagon Tracks* 5 (February 1991), pp. 25-26, and *Wagon Tracks* 13 (February 1999), p. 24.

¹² “Old Santa Fe Trail Road Association,” *Wagon Tracks* 2 (May 1988), 3; “Historic Markers,” *Wagon Tracks* 3 (November 1988), 8-9.

including markers in Rice and McPherson counties.¹³

Along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, the first known trail commemoration was undertaken by the New Mexico territorial legislature; in 1905, it gave the name El Camino Real to the territory's first designated north-south highway.¹⁴ The importance of New Mexico's north-south connections with Mexico was largely neglected for much of the twentieth century, but in 1987, Dr. Gabrielle Palmer and others founded the Camino Real Project, Inc., an effort to "relocate the lost highway" by undertaking a number of archeological, historical, and educational projects (see chapter 5). Given the cooperation of the state, the University of New Mexico, and the government of Mexico, the 1990s witnessed a reawakening of interest in El Camino Real; two major byproducts of that interest were the installation of 46 historical highway markers on the subject (33 in New Mexico, 13 in Chihuahua) and the 1995 commencement of an annual series of historical and archeological colloquia, which alternated between U.S. and Mexican venues and continued until 2006.¹⁵

The marking of El Camino Real de los Tejas dates back to 1915, when the State of Texas and the DAR funded a project to place pink granite markers at approximately 5-mile intervals along the route of the Old San Antonio Road (OSR). Major V.N. Zively, a professional surveyor, mapped the route in 1915 and 1916 and placed an oak post at each marker site. Inscribed granite markers were installed later, and the Texas DAR presented the markers to the State of Texas in a ceremony in San Antonio on March 2, 1918. The State of Texas also marked a series of county roads as State Highway OSR, and in 1929 the state legislature designated the OSR as one of the historic trails of Texas.¹⁶

Efforts to commemorate the Pony Express date from 1935, when the OTMA (see above) helped orchestrate a "re-ride" commemorating the trail's 75th anniversary along with the placing of many historical markers at various points along the route. Several organizations, during the late 1950s and early 1960s, pooled their efforts, to commemorate the trail's centennial with both a "re-ride" and the installation of additional historical markers at the station sites.¹⁷

¹³ Linn Peterson to NPS, August 5, 1987, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder, and David Gaines to Dorman Lehman, October 16, 1989, in "SFT Correspondence 1989" folder; both in "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; "SFTA to Receive Funds," *Wagon Tracks* 4 (November 1989), 1.

¹⁴ Olsen, "Myth and Memory," p. 53 (http://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2012spring_olsen.pdf)

¹⁵ Latin American Institute of the University of New Mexico, *Encounters*, Issues 1-10 (1989), pp. 32, 43, 61; NPS, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail Feasibility Study/Environmental Assessment* (Denver, the author, March 1997), 77-80.

¹⁶ <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/exo04>

¹⁷ <http://www.xphomestation.com/npea.html>

Commemorating the 1829-1848 Old Spanish Trail, the Mexican trade route between New Mexico and California, has been the result of various local efforts.¹⁸ William R. Palmer of Cedar City, Utah organized the Spanish Trail Association in 1946. According to one source, the association – primarily due to the efforts of Palmer and Howard Driggs – planned to place one hundred markers along the trail between Santa Fe and Los Angeles on a single day (September 29, 1950). Many of these markers, which said "The Spanish Trail, 1800-1850," were erected on or about that time; the exact number, however, is unknown. The association faded soon afterwards. In 1964, Las Vegas, Nevada residents Sherwin "Scoop" Garside and John Lytle erected 33 concrete obelisks (inscribed "Old Spanish Trail, 1829-1855") along the historical route, four in Nevada and the remainder in eastern California, in conjunction with Nevada's centennial.¹⁹

In the 1930s, as part of the centennial of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association (in Utah and Wyoming), along with the Civilian Conservation Corps (in Iowa), undertook trail research and established markers along the Mormon Pioneer Trail. These were followed, in later years, by similar efforts from both the Sons of Utah Pioneers and the Daughters of Utah Pioneers.²⁰ On a broad, trail-wide scale, the Mormon Pioneer Trail Foundation was established in 1969 "to foster research [and to] encourage development and preservation of significant historic sites" along the trail between Nauvoo, Illinois and Salt Lake City.²¹

Along the Trail of Tears, the various states along the routes typically placed a smattering of historical markers, some of which date to the 1930s, that pertain to the Cherokee and the Trail of Tears. Because of the extreme difficulties that the removal process brought to the Cherokees, no privately-organized association

¹⁸ The effort has also been confusing at times, because there were two other "Old Spanish Trails" commemorations. The first was associated with an early (1915-1927) highway of the same name, which connected St. Augustine, Florida with San Diego, California. <http://www.americanroads.us/autotrails/oldspanishtrail.html>. In addition, commercial interests in El Paso associated the name with Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's 1522-28 expedition, and they were successful in having the U.S. mint issue a 1935 coin with that name. <http://www.coinmaven.com/1935-old-spanish-trail-commemorative-silver-half-dollar-a-48.html>

¹⁹ Elizabeth von Till Warren, "Old Spanish National Historic Trail," in *Pathways Across America* (PNTS), Summer 1994, online at http://www.oldspanishtrail.org/learn/trail_history.php; see also http://www.desertreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/DR_Spring2012.pdf; Jack Pritchard email, May 17, 2014; Mark Henderson email, May 17, 2014; Dennis Ditmanson email, May 17, 2014; Harold Steiner, *The Old Spanish Trail Across the Mojave Desert*, (Las Vegas, The Haldor Co., 1999), 83-89; <http://d.library.unlv.edu/digital/collection/pho/id/17157/>.

²⁰ Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Resource Study, Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*, May 1991, p. 74 (online at <http://www.mormontrails.org/Trails/Summary/trailful.htm>); also see <http://www.greatriverroad.com/quincy/mormontrailleco.htm> and <http://www.sonsofutahpioneers.org/monuments-trails/>

²¹ Tom Curry, "Download the Mormon Trail PDF Ebooks For Free," pdf2745.xibpdf.org/the-mormon-trail-P-3258522.pdf.

existed to commemorate the Trail of Tears experience until several years after Congress had authorized the Trail of Tears NHT in 1987 (see chapter 5).

Initial Federal Historic Trails Support

The first known attempt to involve the federal government with trail commemoration took place in 1910 when, due to efforts by Ezra Meeker, the so-called Humphrey Bill (to appropriate money for Oregon Trail monuments) passed the U.S. House of Representatives. Three years later a similar bill passed the Senate, but the bill was never signed into law. In 1926, however, Congress responded to Senate committee testimony from the 95-year-old Meeker and agreed to mint thousands of Oregon Trail memorial half dollars – and it continued to do so, on an intermittent basis, until 1939.²²

Additional federal support commenced during the 1930s, as the result of the publication of a series of book-length publications in the American Guide Series of the Federal Writers' Project, which was part of the Works Progress Administration. The directors of the project decided that one of the volumes in the “regions and territories” series would focus on the Oregon Trail, and in 1939 the volume *The Oregon Trail, US 30: The Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean* was published.²³ Many of the statewide volumes in this federally-sponsored series also dealt with historical trails; indeed, one 1940 statewide volume was called *Oregon: End of the Trail*.

In addition, the Congressional passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 resulted in the federal recognition of many trailside sites, along with a few trail segments as well. A February 1936 memo from Interior Secretary Harold Ickes averred that “the National Park Service, through its Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings, shall . . . study and investigate historic and archeologic sites and buildings throughout the United States” in order to evaluate them – and perhaps to acquire them as well. Historians welcomed the move because some two-thirds of the cultural properties in the NPS, at the time, consisted of military sites (battlefields or forts). A broad survey, therefore, offered the possibility of nominating sites to the system from a broad range of non-military themes. This directive resulted in the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings (NSHSB) (commonly called the Historic Sites Survey), which commenced in July 1936. As its name implies, however, the goal of this effort was the identification and evaluation of sites and buildings, not linear features such as trails. Most of the studies completed by NSHSB historians during

²² <http://www.historylink.org/File/7737>. William E. Humphrey (1862-1934) was a U.S. congressman representing Seattle, Washington and vicinity from 1903 to 1917.

²³ An online, full-text version of this volume is available at <http://books.google.com/books?id=T1sz3w79VrwC>

the next few years dealt with themes that were specific to the nation's early history, and they focused on areas east of the Mississippi River.²⁴

More extensive federal involvement awaited the end of World War II. In 1948, the NPS proposed a “Lewis and Clark Tourway,” a commemorative highway route between St. Louis and Three Forks (between Butte and Bozeman), Montana. Five years later the expedition's upcoming sesquicentennial – which was primarily celebrated in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana – brought increased attention to the western end of the route. The governors of those four states proclaimed 1955 as “Lewis and Clark Year,” and in 1956 Senator Warren Magnuson (D-Washington) headed the effort for an expanded Lewis and Clark “national tourway.” States east of Montana, however, showed little interest in Magnuson's proposal, and it was not implemented.²⁵

Within the NPS, the Historic Sites Survey was re-activated – after a false start or two – as part of NPS Director Conrad Wirth's successful launch of “Mission 66,” an effort to improve and rehabilitate park facilities in time for the NPS's 50th anniversary. Agency historians were apprised of the Survey's renewal by April 1956, although funding to support the agencywide effort did not begin until July 1957.²⁶

Central to the ideas that were put forth as part of the survey's renewal was a focus on the central and western United States. Specifically, studies were authorized for 1) the fur trade, 2) westward migrations, 3) the farmers' frontier, 4) military and American Indian affairs, 5) the cattlemen's empire, and 6) transportation and communication. Many of the above studies made passing references to historical trails.²⁷ Of greater relevance to the trails, however, was the volume entitled *Overland Migrations West of the Mississippi*, published in 1959. It was written by Dr. Robert W. Johannsen, a University of Kansas professor, with historic-sites assistance from NPS historians Robert M. Utley, William C. Everhart, and Ray Mattison. The study was primarily concerned with the Oregon and California trails, but it also – more briefly – discussed the Mormon Trail and four different “southern and southwestern trails

²⁴ Barry Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program* (Washington, NPS History Division, 1985), 5-7, 11-13 (http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/mackintosh4/nhl.pdf).

²⁵ Wallace Lewis, “On the Trail: Commemorating the Lewis & Clark Expedition in the Twentieth Century,” in Kris Fresonke and Mark David Spence, eds., *Lewis & Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 2004), 205, 208.

²⁶ Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey*, 33.

²⁷ The authorized studies, with titles specifically as noted above, were all part of “Theme XV: Westward Expansion and the Extension of the National Boundaries, 1830-1898.” They were completed and published in either 1959 or 1960. See the “Military and Indian Affairs” subtheme document, p. i. The *Overland Migrations* study is located at FOUN/NPS.

to the California gold fields.”²⁸

Other NSHSB studies focused entirely on individual long-distance historical routes: the Lewis and Clark Expedition route and the Santa Fe Trail. The Lewis and Clark study was called either *The Advance of the Frontier: 1763-1830 (Theme XI)*, *Lewis and Clark Expedition (Sub-theme)* or *Special Study of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. It was written by Ray H. Mattison, William C. Everhart, and John O. Littleton, then revised and edited by Roy E. Appleman. Begun in the fall of 1957, it was published in December 1958.²⁹

Regarding the Santa Fe Trail, the year 1956 – the year that NPS plans for Mission 66 were released – marked the commencement of a three-year spate of historical activity that resulted in four separate NPS reports on the subject. At this time, the NPS had just one unit along the trail: Fort Union National Monument, near Las Vegas, New Mexico, which Congress had authorized in the spring of 1954.³⁰ In October 1956, Regional Historian Merrill Mattes (in the NPS’s Region Two office, in Omaha) responded to the requests of “various groups in Kansas” that made “numerous requests” to evaluate potential properties along the Santa Fe Trail. He visited eleven Kansas trail sites and segments that month and wrote a report recommending “more intensive study of Fort Larned and the Santa Fe Trail remains west of Dodge City.”³¹

A year later, historian Ray Mattison (also from the Omaha NPS office) undertook a broader Santa Fe Trail survey by visiting trailside sites and segments in both Kansas and Colorado. In his 36-page trip report, issued in January 1958, he concluded that “In this writer’s opinion, of the sites visited, only three (Fort Larned, the Santa Fe Trail remains near Dodge City, and Old Fort Bent) merit consideration for national designation. . . . Old Fort Bent is, in his opinion, of the greatest historical significance.”³² During March and April 1958 Mattison, as part of the larger NSHSB effort, traversed the entire length of the Santa Fe Trail, from Old Franklin to Santa

²⁸ The four southern/southwestern gold rush routes were 1) the Salt Lake-Los Angeles Route, 2) the Fort Smith-Santa Fe Route, 3) San Antonio-El Paso Route: the Upper and Lower Emigrant Roads, and 4) the Gila River Trail. This study, a copy of which is located at Fort Union NM, was also part of Theme XV, noted above. The author wishes to thank Mitch Barber, the Fort Union NM librarian, for assistance in locating this volume and making it available.

²⁹ Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey*, 43; <http://www.npshistory.com/publications/nhl/theme-studies/lewis-and-clark-expedition.pdf>.

³⁰ <http://homesteadcongress.blogspot.com/2010/02/national-monuments.html>

³¹ See Merrill Mattes, “Report of Historical Investigation of Eleven Areas in Kansas Proposed for National Recognition,” as noted in Ray Mattison, “Report on the Santa Fe Trail,” June 1, 1958, p. 37.

³² Ray H. Mattison, “National Historic Sites Survey; Report of Reconnaissance of Santa Fe Trail in Kansas and Colorado,” January 1958, 32-33. “Old Fort Bent,” at that time, was a ruin; it was reconstructed in 1976, sixteen years after Congress authorized Bent’s Old Fort National Historic Site.

Fe. The result of that effort, a 77-page report released in June 1958, included a historical overview along with the identification and evaluation of numerous trail-related sites. Mattison, as before, suggested that the three above-named sites “have sufficient merit to deserve our serious consideration.” (This “consideration” would be for future NPS units, because in 1958 neither national historic landmarks nor the National Register of Historic Places had yet been established.) Mattison also noted 13 “other significant sites along the Santa Fe Trail” along with 24 “other sites noted.”³³

While Mattison was conducting his survey work along the trail, NPS historian Robert Utley was doing more site-specific work at the recently designated Fort Union National Monument in New Mexico. His report, also part of the NSHSB effort and entitled *Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail*, was published in 1959; it focused not only on Fort Union, but also on the numerous, easily visible trail ruts in the fort’s vicinity.³⁴

Meanwhile, actions were taking place in Washington that would result in a major expansion of the NPS’s role in studying and evaluating nationally significant historical sites. Given the resumption of the Historic Sites Survey, both historians and top agency officials recognized that it was both politically and financially impossible for all of the qualified, nationally significant properties identified in the various NSHSB studies to become National Park System units. Therefore, NPS Chief Historian Ronald Lee, working in concert with Director Conrad Wirth, promoted the idea of national historic landmarks (NHLs). These would be properties that, while nationally significant, would continue to be privately owned and managed. The concept was finalized, and approved by Interior Secretary Fred Seaton, in the summer and fall of 1959. On June 30, 1960, Seaton signed the certificate for the first NHLs, which commemorated the Sioux City, Iowa, grave of Sgt. Charles Floyd, who died in August 1804 during the early days of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.³⁵

Given the decision to establish NHLs, NPS historians – along with members of the National Park System Advisory Board – combed through the seven completed

³³ Mattison, “Report on the Santa Fe Trail,” June 1, 1958, p. 38; mss. at MWRO Library, courtesy Verne Haselwood.

³⁴ Robert Utley, *Fort Union and the Santa Fe Trail; Special Study of Santa Fe Trail Remains at and near Fort Union*, (NPS), 1959, at WACC/NPS. Mitch Barker, the Fort Union N.M. librarian, notes that “the area [Utley] covers is roughly bounded by Ocate Creek on the north, the Canadian on the east, and the Mora and Sapello on the south. Some references are made to the area outside this boundary but they do not appear to be extensive. There are several maps, two of which are of a broad area surrounding Fort Union, the remainder cover the vicinity of the post.” Barker, email to the author, May 22, 2014.

³⁵ Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey*, 37-45.

NSHSB volumes and identified a total of 116 sites that had been recommended as being nationally significant and were thus candidates to be NHLs.³⁶ The number of these nationally significant sites, moreover, increased as additional NSHSB reports were completed. Between 1960 and 1963, the Advisory Board designated many if not most of these “recommended” sites as NHLs. Not surprisingly, quite a few of these sites were associated with today’s NHTs. A canvassing of the list of NHLs that were established between 1960 and 1963 shows that between 35 and 40 of them were thematically associated with the NHTs that NTIR presently administers, either wholly or in part. Approximately 15 were related to the Santa Fe Trail, 11 with the California or Oregon trails, and 3 each with the Trail of Tears and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Two NHLs were related to the Pony Express and Mormon Pioneer trails, while one was related to El Camino Real de los Tejas.³⁷ Notably, the great majority of these NHLs were either historic structures or sites of historic events. Only a smattering of these sites commemorated the physical remnants of the trails themselves. Examples in the latter category included the Santa Fe Trail Remains near Dodge City, Kansas; South Pass, Wyoming; and Emigration Canyon, Utah.³⁸

No sooner had the Advisory Board finished taking action on this backlogged NHL inventory than a new NSHSB volume would be completed about a long-distance trail. In 1962, NPS historians in Washington (Herbert Kahler and Robert Utley) had asked William E. Brown to undertake a volume about the Santa Fe Trail that would build upon, and substantially revise, the earlier work of Merrill Mattes, Ray Mattison, and Robert Utley. Brown would be supervised by historian Roy Appleman. Using a format similar to the 1956 and 1958 trail studies noted above, Brown completed *The Santa Fe Trail* in 1963.³⁹

Both Mattison’s and Brown’s Santa Fe Trail volumes, in the years to come, would prove useful to agency employees and also to trail enthusiasts. These reports also, however, may have had legislative consequences. As noted above, the NPS managed only one Santa Fe Trail site (Fort Union National Monument) in 1956, when agency site-inventory efforts began. But just two years after the completion of Mattison’s 1958 survey efforts, Congress authorized a second Santa Fe Trail site, Bent’s Old Fort National Historic Site, in Colorado. Then, within two years of Brown completing his NSHSB volume, Congress authorized Fort Larned National Historic

³⁶ Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey*, 40.

³⁷ <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/find/statelists.htm>. The numbers on this list are inexact, inasmuch as several sites are thematically related to more than one trail, particularly along the so-called northern corridor. So far as is known, no NHLs from the 1960-1963 period are thematically related to the Old Spanish Trail.

³⁸ The “Oregon Trail Ruts,” located one-half mile south of Guernsey, Wyoming, became a listed NHL in May 1966. These ruts are part of the Mormon Pioneer, California, and Pony Express trails as well as the Oregon Trail.

³⁹ Brown’s 1963 volume, 205 pages long, was produced in typescript, and perhaps 100 copies were printed. In 1988, this volume was reformatted and – at 221 pages in length – was republished by the Patrice Press.

Site and Pecos National Monument, in Kansas and New Mexico, respectively.⁴⁰

The National Trails System Act

Prior to World War II, two long-distance hiking trails (the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail) were conceived, and construction had begun on them.⁴¹ The present system of nationwide trails, however, can best be attributed to the Federal effort to assess the nationwide needs for outdoor recreation opportunities, carried out through the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC), established in 1958. The ORRRC issued its report in January 1962. It recommended governmental support for private efforts to establish interconnected trail systems, citing the Appalachian Trail as an example. It further recommended preserving unimpounded, scenic rivers in their free-flowing condition. (This recommendation eventually resulted in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968.) Finally, the ORRRC report recommended the creation of a Federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) which Interior Secretary Stewart Udall created by Secretarial Order in April 1962.⁴² This agency, which was charged with planning outdoor recreation opportunities in the Department and with assisting private, local, and state organizations with their recreation planning, was formally established in May 1963 with the passage of the National Outdoor Recreation Act.⁴³ At first, the new bureau showed little interest in trails, but the enactment of the Wilderness Act in September 1964, and a general upsurge of public interest in hiking, brought forth a similar spike in interest for trails among a broad range of government officials.

One way in which Congress responded to the growing public interest in historic trails was by creating public-private partnerships to commemorate specific trail corridors. Regarding the Lewis and Clark expedition, Congress passed a bill on

⁴⁰ The authorization date for Bent’s Old Fort NHS was June 3, 1960; Fort Larned NHS, August 31, 1964; and Pecos NM, June 28, 1965. (Pecos NM was enlarged in area and became Pecos NHP on July 2, 1991.) NOTE: throughout this volume, “NHS” will be used to denote a national historic site, while “NM” denotes a national monument; “NHP” denotes a national historical park.

⁴¹ In October 1921, Benton MacKaye envisioned what would become the country’s first long-distance trail in an article entitled “An Appalachian Trail: A Project in Regional Planning,” in the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*. The first section of that trail was opened in 1923.

<http://www.appalachiantrail.org/about-the-trail/history> Out west, advocates started promoting the idea of a Pacific Crest Trail during the late 1920s, and in 1939 the trail – still largely uncompleted – appeared on the first government map. <http://www.pcta.org/about-us/history/>

⁴² Back in 1945, legislation to establish a “national system of foot trails,” an amendment to a highway funding bill, was considered but not reported by committee. Donald D. Jackson, “The Long Way ‘Round,” *Wilderness* 51, no. 181 (Summer, 1988), 19-20, noted online at <http://www.americantrails.org/resources/feds/NatTrSysOverview.html>.

⁴³ This act (Public Law 88-29) was the direct result of a major recommendation of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, which released its final report (the “ORRRC Report”) in 1962 after a four-year effort. <http://www.rff.org/files/sharepoint/WorkImages/Download/RFF-DP-08-44.pdf>.

October 6, 1964 calling for a Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, one objective of which was that the expedition's route "should be identified, marked, and kept available for the inspiration and enjoyment of the American people." The commission, a cooperative effort utilizing agencies from 11 states along the route, remained active until a final report was submitted in October 1969. Among the commission's many accomplishments, the trail was located, a highway-route logo was designed and installed in many areas, and a number of the expedition's campsites along the way were withdrawn from public entry.⁴⁴ Within the Interior Department, proposals were also considered during the mid-1960s for an Oregon-California Trail Commission, but this idea did not enter the legislative arena.⁴⁵

Some government leaders hoped to see new trails on a nationwide scale. On February 8, 1965, President Lyndon Johnson, in his "Natural Beauty Message" to Congress, called for development and protection of a balanced system of trails. He noted that

We can and should have an abundance of trails for walking, cycling, and horseback riding, in and close to our cities. In the back country we need to copy the great Appalachian Trail in all parts of America. . . . I am requesting, therefore, that the Secretary of the Interior work with his colleagues in the Federal Government and with State and local leaders and recommend to me a cooperative program to encourage a national system of trails, building up the more than [a] hundred thousand miles of trails in our national forests and parks.⁴⁶

In response to Johnson's request, Interior Secretary Udall in April 1965 directed the BOR to conduct a nationwide trails study. What resulted from that directive was the publication, in September 1966, of the *Trails for America* report. That report called for a "Nationwide System of Trails" in three categories: 1) National Scenic Trails, which were "long 'trunk' trails [that] would permit extended hiking or riding trips," 2) Park and Forest Trails, which were "trails on units of public land [that] would open important recreation areas to public use and enjoyment," and 3) Metropolitan Area Trails, which were located in and near urban centers. In the "national scenic trail category," the report recommended the immediate authorization of the Appalachian Trail, and the quick completion of "pre-authorization studies" for the Pacific Crest Trail, the Potomac Heritage Trail, and the Continental Divide Trail.

⁴⁴ Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, *Lewis and Clark Trail, Final Report to the President and to the Congress*, October 1969, ii, iii, 3, 17, 23.

⁴⁵ Historians, Office of Resource Planning, SSC to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC, August 19, 1966; Director BOR to Director, NPS, January 26, 1967; both in Trail Coordinator files, NPS-WASO.

⁴⁶ Thomas L. Gilbert, "The National Trails System, What It Is and How It Came to Be," January 1988, in NTIR files; BOR, *Trails for America; Report on the Nationwide Trails Study* (Washington, USDI, December 1966), 3.

In addition, the report noted five "Potential National Scenic Trails," which were the Lewis and Clark Trail, Oregon Trail, North Country Trail, Natchez Trace (from Tennessee to Mississippi), and the Santa Fe Trail. Finally, the report identified 16 other trails that were "suggested . . . in the Nationwide Trail Study but were deferred for possible future consideration." This category included the Chisholm, Mormon, Trail of Tears, and California trails. Notably, the report did not recommend any historic trails for either immediate authorization or for a quick "pre-authorization study."⁴⁷

Neither the administration nor Congress, however, was willing to wait until the BOR report was finalized before considering legislation that would implementing the report's recommendations. President Johnson, as part of a February 23, 1966 natural heritage preservation message, stated his intent to submit proposed national trails legislation.⁴⁸ The administration, in fact, submitted a recommended bill to Congress on March 31. Just one day later, nine senators – led by Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisconsin) and Interior Committee Chair Henry "Scoop" Jackson (D-Washington) – submitted S. 3171, "to establish a nationwide system of trails, and for other purposes." In the House of Representatives that year, seven bills were introduced with the same general purposes.⁴⁹ None of these bills, however, received a hearing during that year's congressional session.

On February 3, 1967, shortly after the 90th Congress began, senators Nelson and Jackson resubmitted a trails bill (S. 827). Members of the House responded with 11 other trail-related bills. One of those bills, H.R. 4865, was sponsored by Rep. Roy Taylor (D-North Carolina), who served as chair of the House National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee. That bill was the subject of a hearing held March 6 and 7. A wide variety of advocates – from the Appalachian Trail Conservancy and the Sierra Club to the New York-New Jersey Trail Conference, the Green Mountain Club, the California Parks and Recreation Society, and various wilderness, equestrian, and bicycling groups – weighed in on Taylor's bill. Less than two weeks later, the Senate held hearings on S. 827, and a similar array of trail advocates was

⁴⁷ BOR, *Trails for America*, 5, 13-16, 74-89. This report was dated December 1966, although it appears to have been completed in mid-September 1966. In the report, each of the five "potential national scenic trails" (all but one of them historic trails) were evaluated but were accorded comments such as "limited recreation potential," "landscape which many find relatively monotonous," "long mileage across private lands," or "incompatible with the rugged nature of the terrain and wilderness qualities." These comments, based purely on each route's recreation potential, would portend difficulties with the further evaluation of the various historical trails, as will be noted later in this chapter.

⁴⁸ http://www.fs.fed.us/cdt/pdf_documents/natl_trails_system_house_report_no_1631.pdf

⁴⁹ The first such House bill to be introduced was H.R. 14222, by Ralph Rivers (D-AK) on March 31. The other six bills, all submitted by late July, included H.R. 14289, by John R. Schmidhauser (D-IA); H.R. 14409, by William S. Moorhead (D-PA); H.R. 14897, by Bert Bandstra (D-IA); H.R. 15376, by Charles M. Price (D-IL); H.R. 15541, also by Bert Bandstra; and H.R. 16419, by Donald M. Fraser (DFL-MN).

on hand. During those two hearings, a few legislators spoke about the need to preserve specific historic trails: Rep. Joe Skubitz (R-Kansas), for example, spoke in favor of the Chisholm Trail, while Sen. Frank Moss (D-Utah) stressed the importance of the Mormon Trail. Most of the speakers, however, were scenic-trail advocates.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the Johnson administration, with the support of both the Interior and Agriculture secretaries, continued to advocate (as in the 1966 *Trails for America* report) for a bill that would establish four NSTs: the 2,000-mile Appalachian Trail, the 2,300-mile Pacific Crest Trail, the 825-mile Potomac Heritage Trail, and the 3,100-mile Continental Divide Trail.⁵¹

Further action on trails bills did not take place until the Senate issued its report on June 13, 1968.⁵² In short order, the Senate passed its version of the bill on July 1, which authorized four NSTs and \$10 million in trail acquisition funds. The measure that passed the House on July 15, however, authorized just one national scenic trail and \$5 million for trail acquisition.⁵³ Key differences in the two bills were not resolved until the House-Senate conference emerged with its report on September 12. Within a week, both chambers had agreed to the conference report.⁵⁴

On October 2, 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed Public Law 90-543, the NTSA. The act authorized and designated two NSTs, the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail. The Appalachian Trail was provided \$5 million in acquisition funds, while just \$500,000 for this purpose went to the Pacific Crest Trail. Regarding historic trail routes, the act generally followed, but expanded upon, the recommendations in *Trails for America*. Whereas the BOR's *Trails for America* report had identified the Lewis and Clark Trail, Oregon Trail, Natchez Trace, and Santa Fe Trail as "potential national scenic trails," one of the early Congressional proposals called for each of the above trails plus two more as trails to be studied: the Chisolm Trail [*sic*], from Texas to Kansas, and the Mormon Trail, from Illinois to Utah. The final bill, as signed by President Johnson, added even more "study trails"

to the total noted above. Section 5(c) of Public Law 90-543 called for fourteen trails to be studied: Continental Divide, Potomac Heritage, Old Cattle Trails of the Southwest, Lewis and Clark, North Country, Natchez Trace, Kittanning (in Pennsylvania), Oregon, Santa Fe, Mormon, Gold Rush Trails in Alaska, Mormon Battalion, the Long Trail, and El Camino Real (the latter in Florida, not to be confused with the two *camino reales* later designated as NHTs and administered by NTIR). Although ten of these fourteen trails were actually historic trails, all fourteen of these trails were considered potential NSTs that would be evaluated according to criteria set forth in Section 5(b) of the act (see chapter 2).

⁵⁰ 90th Congress, 1st Session, *Hearing . . . on H.R. 4865, and Related Bills to Establish a Nationwide System of Trails*, March 6-7, 1967, Serial No. 90-4 (Washington, GPO, 1967), p. 50; 90th Congress, 1st Session, *Hearing . . . on S. 827, a Bill to Establish a Nationwide System of Trails, and for Other Purposes*, March 15-16, 1967 (Washington, GPO), 1967, p. 16. An article written much later – Jennifer Seher, "Natural Passages," *National Parks* 65 (September-October 1991), p. 42 – states that "the act was passed largely through the efforts of supporters of the Appalachian Trail."

⁵¹ *Forbes*, August 1, 1967, 17-18. David Gaines, in a November 1, 2018 email to the author, notes that Heaton Underhill, who was then the head of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Interior Department, "was key to the drafting of the National Trails System Act."

⁵² *Congressional Record* 114 (1968), Index volume, p. 1059.

⁵³ The Senate bill called the authorization of the Appalachian, Pacific Crest, and Potomac Heritage trails, plus the northern portion of the Continental Divide Trail as national scenic trails. The more conservative House of Representatives, however, authorized only the Appalachian Trail. See "Statement of the Managers on the Part of the House," 90th Congress, 2nd Session, *House Report 1891*, pp. 10-12.

⁵⁴ Key legislative history for the National Trails System Act is available at the following URL: http://www.fs.fed.us/cdt/pdf_documents/natl_trails_system_house_report_no_1631.pdf



Chapter 2.

Establishing the National Historic Trails Category, 1968-1978

NTSA Implementation: Challenges with the Historic Trails

As noted in Chapter 1, the philosophical and legislative underpinnings of the National Trails System Act (NTSA) were based on outdoor recreation and the need for an increasingly urban America to have the opportunity to go hiking, bicycling, and horseback riding, both on long-distance scenic trails and in metropolitan areas. Regarding long-distance trails, the NTSA established as the first national scenic trail (NST) the Appalachian Trail, which ran from northern Georgia to central Maine through twelve intervening eastern states; and the Pacific Crest Trail, which was designed to go from Mexico to the Canadian border through California, Oregon, and Washington. The NTSA assigned administrative duties for these trails to the National Park Service (NPS) and the U.S. Forest Service, respectively.¹

In the months following the bill's passage, an interagency task force consisting of representatives from the interior and agriculture departments met to put together an interagency Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) for the Development and Operation of the National Trails System. This MOA, which was finalized in 1969, provided for the coordination and management of the National Trails System. It also established the Federal Interagency Council on Trails, also known as the National Trails System Council. The council was led by the Federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) chief, and its core members were the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), NPS, and the USFS, although provisions were made to allow other agencies, representing cultural and heritage interests, to join the council as well. Leadership of the Interagency Council, as it turned out, would pass to the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS) when that agency succeeded the BOR in 1977. The council would operate until 1981; it would then lay dormant for a decade or more before being resurrected (see chapter 5).²

In the meantime, the various local and regional trails groups that had worked with Congress during the 1960s to push the NTSA through Congress (see chapter 1) recognized, in the words of trails advocate George Cardinet, that “conflict or inaction was delaying federal implementation” of the NTSA.³ What was needed, therefore, was a nationwide organization to foster interest in the existing NSTs, to lobby for additional trails, and to meet on a periodic basis to discuss trail-related themes. Interior Secretary Rogers C.B. Morton, therefore, invited trails advocates to meet for a nationwide trails symposium, its purpose being a way to get citizen input in carrying out provisions of the NTSA. Morton asked the Open Lands Project, a conservation organization based in Woodstock, Illinois (northwest of

Chicago), to provide logistics for the symposium, which was held in Washington, D.C. from June 2 to June 6, 1971 (see appendix 2). On the heels of that conference, which attracted 350 participants, trails stalwarts such as Jeannette Fitzwilliams (Potomac Appalachian Trail Club), George Cardinet (California State Horsemen's Association), and others founded the National Trails Council (NTC), which was also headquartered in Woodstock.⁴ A year after the first national trails symposium, the NTC established a periodical publication to keep its members informed; at first called the National Trails Council Newsletter, it was renamed Trail Tracks four years later.⁵

The June 1971 Washington symposium turned out to be the first in a series of similar meetings that were held, biennially, in venues around the country. These symposia were primarily focused on Congressionally-designated national trails – “basically reporting on progress with the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail.”⁶ That progress, as the *Washington Post* noted, was halting at best, at least as it was applied to the Appalachian Trail. Although Congress in designating the trail had authorized \$5 million a year to be spent to protect it, no money was appropriated, and as late as 1978 (see chapter 3) the federal government had yet to purchase any land to protect the trail. These meetings remained well attended throughout the 1970s, but by the 1980s, according to one longtime trails observer, “they got smaller and smaller but didn't fade away completely.”⁷

During many of the biennial National Trails Symposia, participants advocated for additional trails to be added to the system. As noted in Chapter 1, Section 5(c) of the NTSA called for 14 trails to be studied, and each was subject to a special study “for the purpose of determining the feasibility and desirability of designating other trails as national scenic trails.”⁸ These studies were undertaken by the Interior Department's BOR. Given the BOR's budget and workload, it took several years to investigate and evaluate these trails according to the Section 5(b) criteria. These trails were judged according to criteria that were developed by the Federal

⁴ <http://www.americantrails.org/merger.html>; *Potomac Appalachian* 39:7 (July 2010), 8; Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, 18; Elkinton email, July 13, 2014. According to its website (<http://www.openlands.org/history>), the Open Lands Project was established in 1963 as a program of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, with a “commitment to conserve the natural resources of northeastern Illinois and the surrounding region.”

⁵ Both the organization and the newsletter are still active, although with different names; the NTC merged with the American Trails Network in 1988 to create a new, larger group called American Trails, and shortly afterward, the new *American Trails Magazine* was published in addition to *Trails Tracks*. (*Trails Tracks* ceased publication as a paper newsletter in 2005; two years later, however, it was reborn as an electronic publication and is still active in that form.)

⁶ Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, 18; Elkinton email, July 13, 2014.

⁷ https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1978/05/04/appalachian-trail-90-million-plan-that-would-protect-wilderness-path/139b4644-947d-443e-ac1a-3c047d52c879/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.681d661af82f.

⁸ NTSA, Secs. 5(b) and 5(c); 82 Stat. 921-922, October 2, 1968.

¹ NTSA, Sec. 5(a); 82 Stat. 920, October 2, 1968.

² DOI, et al., “The National Trails System Memorandum of Understanding” (2017-2027), signed Dec. 13, 2016, p. 6; Steve Elkinton, interview by Ron Brown, May 30, 2007, 3.

³ <http://www.americantrails.org/resources/advocacy/GeorgeCardinet.html>

Interagency Council on Trails; these criteria had been approved by both the Interior Secretary and the Agriculture Secretary in October 1969.⁹

Of the 14 trails that the BOR studied, four were generally scenic in character, while the other ten were historic. The four scenic trails were the Continental Divide Trail, from New Mexico to Montana; the North Country Trail, from Vermont to North Dakota; the Potomac Heritage Trail, located in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C.; and the Long Trail, in Vermont. All were studied during the 1970s. The historical trails, which were sometimes subjected to multiple BOR studies, were completed as follows:

- El Camino Real (in Florida) - 1970, 1977
- Gold Rush Trails in Alaska - 1974, 1975, 1977
- Kittanning - 1975
- Lewis and Clark - 1974
- Mormon - 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978
- Mormon Battalion - 1971, 1972, 1974, 1976
- Natchez Trace - 1974, 1976, 1978
- Old Cattle Trails of the Southwest - 1975
- Oregon - 1977
- Santa Fe - 1976

What quickly emerged from these studies was that the various historic trails, in the evaluation process, consistently fell short in meeting the October 1969 criteria because they were measured according to standards that had been specifically adopted for NSTs. This was, to some extent, similar to the way that the various historic trails had been evaluated in the 1966 Trails for America report. The 1975 Old Cattle Trails of the Southwest report, for example, stated that the three trails evaluated (Shawnee, Chisholm, and Western)

do not meet the qualifying criteria for inclusion in the National Trails System as National Scenic Trails. In essence, the corridor through which the three trails pass do not provide for maximum outdoor recreation potential and for the conservation and enjoyment of nationally scenic, historic, natural and

⁹ BOR, *The Santa Fe Trail*, July 1976, p. 1.

cultural qualities.¹⁰

The BOR's 1976 Mormon Trail report stated that

In comparing the Mormon Trail with the criteria established for a national scenic trail, it became clear that . . . a large portion of the trail has been destroyed by acts of man and nature. . . . a continuous hiking trail along the original Mormon route would be neither desirable nor practical. [Therefore] the route does not qualify as a national scenic trail.¹¹

The Santa Fe Trail, a National Scenic Trail Study (1976) evaluated criteria for both the Santa Fe and Mormon Battalion trails. The study stated that

Although the trails are historically significant, the scenic and recreational qualities are neither sufficient nor varied enough to attract a nationwide audience. Furthermore, the natural qualities of the trails have been significantly altered during the past century. . . . The Santa Fe and Mormon Battalion routes fail to meet established criteria and, therefore, are not recommended for inclusion in the system as national scenic trails.¹²

Finally, the Bureau's Oregon Trail study (1977) concluded that while

Strong public support exists for its commemoration and preservation. . . . It does not, however, qualify as a national scenic trail since approximately 80 percent of the route has been altered or destroyed by highways, utility rights-of-way, agriculture, and other activities. It also does not follow a continuous and scenic corridor suitable for hiking and horseback riding which are qualifying criteria for National Scenic Trails.¹³

Officials with the BOR, who were tasked with writing the various congressionally-mandated studies, were aware as early as November 1970 of the difficulties of applying scenic-trail criteria to historical trails. (At that time, the first Mormon

¹⁰ BOR, *Old Cattle Trails of the Southwest* (1975), p. 4.

¹¹ BOR, *The Mormon Trail; a Potential Addition to the National Trails System*, Sept. 1976, 1, in NPS-SLC files.

¹² BOR, *The Santa Fe Trail, a National Scenic Trail Study*, July 1976, in 95th Congress, 1st Session, House Document 95-180, July 19, 1977 (Washington, GPO), 1977.

¹³ BOR, *The Oregon Trail, a Potential Addition to the National Trails System* (April 1977), 5.

Battalion Trail study was already underway, and the initial Mormon Trail study had just begun.) One BOR memo, written after a July 1971 staff meeting, stated that “It was the consensus of the regional representatives that there are many problems associated with this type [of] trail; therefore, it was strongly recommended that no new historical trail studies be initiated and that efforts presently underway be suspended at the end of the fiscal year.”¹⁴ By early 1973, BOR officials openly wondered, given the problems endemic to the historic trails, “whether it is possible to include historic trail routes in the national system of trails.” A solicitor’s opinion, however, clarified that “we do not interpret the Act [NTSA] as requiring that a designated or proposed trail route include all of the trail between its points of origin and destination,” and that, furthermore, “it is clear that you [the BOR] have considerable flexibility in conducting your study and developing a proposal. It is left to Congress to make the actual designation of a trail.”¹⁵ Later that year, a Forest Service official echoed a similar sentiment, stating: “The existing data on the Oregon, Mormon, El Camino Real, and the Lewis and Clark indicate that historic trails do not readily conform to the concept of NSTs; however, there is great interest in all of the historic aspects in these trails.”¹⁶

During 1974, interagency working groups began to suggest alternatives to the existing, unsatisfactory state of affairs. That March, one group proposed two new categories: 1) national historic trails (NHTs), which were non-motorized recreational routes that linked cultural sites, and 2) NHTs, that represented “trails associated with events which made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of U.S. history.” Three months later, however, the Interagency Task Force on Trails recommended two differently-defined routes: 1) historic routes, which would be traversed by motorized vehicles, and 2) historic trails, where traffic would be limited to pedestrians, horses, and bicycles.¹⁷ In January 1975, BOR released (in preliminary form) a study suggesting that the Mormon Trail be a “Proposed National Historic Travelway.” (Given the strong emphasis placed thus far that national trails would be hiking routes, the term “travelway” was intended to suggest otherwise.) The study further stated that “appropriate memorialization may require that the NTSA be amended or supplemented to provide an additional category for National Historic

¹⁴ Assistant Chief, Division of Resource Area Studies, BOR, to Assistant Director for State Grants and Resource Studies, BOR, Nov. 24, 1970, in John Conoboy, “National Trails System History,” July 26, 2011 email; correspondence obtained from Trail Coordinator’s office, NPS-WASO and placed in NTIR working files. (Known, in later footnotes, as “Conoboy correspondence, NTIR.”) Also A. Heaton Underhill (Chairman, Interagency Task Force on Trails) to Director NPS, April 19, 1971, in NPS-SLC files.

¹⁵ Assistant Director for Federal Programs, BOR, to Associate Solicitor, Parks and Recreation, BOR, Jan. 9, 1973; Associate Solicitor to Assistant Director, Feb. 23, 1973, in Conoboy correspondence, NTIR.

¹⁶ Russell P. McRorey, USFS, in National Trails Council, *Proceedings: the Second National Symposium on Trails*, June 14-17, 1973, p. 60.

¹⁷ Northeast Regional Federal Agencies Meeting Working Group on National Trails Criteria, March 6-7, 1974; Chair, Interagency Task Force on Trails to Members, June 25, 1974; both in Conoboy correspondence, NTIR.

Trails and Travelways.”¹⁸ By mid-1975, the BOR (agencywide) had modified the 1974 Interagency Task Force recommendation to include what had been proposed in the Mormon Trail study; it was now advocating the establishment of 1) NHTs, which were limited to non-motorized traffic, and 2) national travelways, which were public highways and roads that closely followed a historic route.¹⁹

Congress Establishes a New Trails Category

As early as June 1974, Congress had begun showing an interest in adding a new category to accommodate the various historic trails, and in March 1976, the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation had held its first oversight hearing on the NTSA since 1968. Lawmakers were concerned because no new trails had been added since the NTSA’s passage, and a more specific issue expressed at that hearing was how to legislatively recognize nationally significant historical trails. By this time, the BOR had completed its studies on several historical trails (see above), with none of these being recommended for designation. Because most of the remaining trail studies were undergoing final review, BOR’s director, John W. Crutcher – who was doubtless aware that similar recommendations would accompany other historical trail studies – told Congress that his agency was “considering a new category for inclusion within the national system—historic trails and travelways.”²⁰ Crutcher, in a written response to a question posed by the subcommittee chair, Roy Taylor, elaborated on this concept:

A number of the study trails, those of a historic nature, do not fit the National Scenic Trail mold, however, they are thought to be worthy of some kind of Federal designation. Therefore, the [Interior] Department is considering proposing that a new category of trails, National Historic Trails and Travelways, be made a part of the National Trails System. This proposal would be forwarded to the Congress as part of the legislative package accompanying the first candidate trail for such designation.²¹

Less than a month after the oversight hearings, Alaska senators Mike Gravel and

¹⁸ BOR, Mid-Continent Region, The Mormon Trail, a Proposed National Historic Travelway, January 1975, p. 1.

¹⁹ Director, BOR to Westly K. Sasaki, Office of Management and Budget, July 28, 1975, in Conoboy correspondence, NTIR.

²⁰ 94th Congress, 2nd Session, “Oversight Hearings . . . on the National Trails System Act of 1968 and Various Proposals to Study Proposed Additions to the National Scenic Trails System,” Serial No. 94-50, March 11-12, 1976 (Washington, GPO, 1977), 3, 5.

²¹ “Oversight Hearings,” March 11-12, 1976, 167, 267. Several months later, in response to Congressional questioning, the BOR further elaborated upon its response by defining a “historic trail” and a “historic travelway” in verbiage similar to what it had stated in mid-1975 (see above).

Ted Stevens submitted a bill (S. 3287) to establish the Iditarod Trail (between Seward and Nome, Alaska) as the first designated national historic trail. The two senators had apparently been closely consulting with the BOR during this period, because in remarks noted in the Congressional Record, Gravel remarked,

I should like to argue today that it is altogether appropriate to amend the National Trails System Act to include a National Historic Trails category, covering such resources as the Iditarod. We would be irresponsible to our heritage, and present and future generations if we do not commemorate and preserve the great migration and transportation routes, with their remaining historic structures and artifacts, that are such an integral part of our Nation's story.²²

Gravel's testimony then went on to explain the legislative verbiage, in the form of an NTSA amendment, that would be needed to establish the new category. The proposed legislative language to effect those changes was also included.²³ The senators' bill, however, did not become law during the 94th Congress, so Gravel submitted a new bill (S. 929) in early 1977 with similar if not identical language.²⁴

In April 1977, the BOR completed its study that evaluated the eligibility of the Oregon Trail as a NST. That study, unlike any of the other trail studies, was based on a large body of historical research and the bureau's two thorough, recently written Oregon Trail guides. The first, by avocational historian Gregory Franzwa, was called *The Oregon Trail Revisited* and was published in 1972 (see chapter 3).²⁵ In addition, the NPS in 1972 had contracted with retired agency historian Aubrey L. Haines to complete a trailwide historical study. Haines' report, entitled *Historic Resource Study; Historic Sites Along the Oregon Trail*, was published by the NPS in June 1973.²⁶ The BOR, with deliberate purpose, recommended a relatively bare-bones route from Missouri to Oregon; it consisted of a single route except for route

²² *Congressional Record* 122 (April 9, 1976), 10342.

²³ *Congressional Record* 122 (April 9, 1976), 10342-43.

²⁴ *Congressional Record* 123 (March 7, 1977), 6513-14.

²⁵ Franzwa's book has remained popular ever since its initial publication. A second edition was published in July 1978; a third edition in 1983; a fourth edition in 1988; and a fifth edition in 1997.

²⁶ As noted by NPS Director Russell E. Dickenson in the foreword to Aubrey L. Haines, *Historic Sites Along the Oregon Trail* (Gerald, Mo., Patrice Press, 1981, vii), Haines wrote an extensive study in 1972-1973, but "due to publications restraints, the Park Service greatly abbreviated his work, eliminating many of the sites and most of the photos. The remainder was printed from typewritten text copy, and the press run [in 1973] was exactly 100 copies." In early 1981, however, Patrice Press began working with both Haines and the NPS on this effort, and what emerged was the publication of the full version of Haines's study.

splits in southwestern Idaho and in west-central Oregon.²⁷ As noted above, the BOR study's recommendations reiterated that the trail did not qualify as a national trail under scenic trail standards. The study did, however, recognize that the trail was of such great historic importance that the trail should be considered as a NHT. Similar recommendations had also been made in the BOR's reports for the Lewis and Clark Trail, the Iditarod Trail, and the study written by the HCRS for the Mormon (later Mormon Pioneer) Trail.²⁸

In early May 1977, Rep. James P. Johnson (R-Colorado.) introduced a bill (HR 6900) "to amend the National Trails System Act of 1968 . . . to designate the Oregon National Historic Trail and Travelway as a unit of the National Trails System." And, as the Iditarod bills had also proposed, it further called for the establishment of the new NHTs category, of which the Oregon Trail would be the initial entry. In mid-June, Johnson introduced two other bills that had much the same effect as the bill he had submitted in May. Neither these three bills nor Gravel's Iditarod bill, however, made much Congressional headway that year.²⁹

On May 23, 1977, trails received a new impetus when President Jimmy Carter presented his first environmental message to Congress. In that message, he was critical of the lack of new trails that had been enacted since 1968. He therefore recommended that

to restore and broaden the National Trails System, I am submitting legislation to designate three new Scenic Trails [the Continental Divide Scenic Trail, the North Country Scenic Trail, and the Potomac Heritage Scenic Trail]. In the near future I will also submit legislation to amend the National Trails System Act by adding a new category—Historic Trails—and I will give early attention

²⁷ The BOR's study, *The Oregon Trail, a Potential Addition to the National Trails System* (Washington[?], USDI, April 1977), p. 22, notes that "There was actually more than one route in places . . . Cutoff and alternate routes were established to speed travel. . . . To simplify future route marking and public information, a decision was made early in the [writing of this] study to concentrate on one primary route. The period 1841 to 1848, inclusive, was chosen for determining the primary route. This period of the westward migration was historically very significant to Oregon's development. After this period, from 1849 to 1852, most Oregon Trail travel was by people who turned off on the California Trail for the gold fields. By 1853, the Oregon bound traffic had gained in importance again, but by then the traffic pattern was much more complex."

²⁸ Robert L. Eastman (Assoc. Dir. for State Programs and Studies, BOR) to Director, BOR, June 24, 1977, in "Administrative History of NHT System and Office" folder, in NPS-SLC files. Also see, for example, the BOR study *Federal Environmental Statement 77-32, Proposed Designation of the Oregon Trail Route as a National Historic Trail*, 1977, pp. i, 1, in NPS-SLC files, and BOR, *Iditarod Trail (Seward-Nome Route) and other Alaskan Gold Rush Trails* (September 1977), 9 (http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/alaska/itarod_trail.pdf); and HCRS, *Mormon Trail, A Study Report* (June 1978), 1.

²⁹ *Congressional Record* 123 (May 4, 1977), 13470, for H.R. 6900; *Congressional Record* 123 (June 14, 1977), 18868, for H.R. 7773 and H.R. 7774.

to submitting trails in this new category.³⁰

Just three days later, Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus responded to Carter's statement by sending a letter to Senate President (and U.S. vice-president) Walter Mondale, explaining the rationale for the new historic trails category. He submitted a draft bill that would implement the provisions of that new category.³¹ Andrus's draft bill closely followed the language that had been propounded in Gravel's bill, but it was a significant departure from Johnson's bill in that it proposed a NHT category but not a "historic travelway" category.

On October 6, 1977, the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs (which was part of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs) held a hearing on Rep. Johnson's bill. As noted in the bill's legislative history, the hearing resulted in the subcommittee "report[ing] an amended bill to the full committee on that same date. The amended bill constituted a redrafted text." The new text dropped entirely any reference to the "historic travelway." Instead, "a major feature of the new text was the inclusion of more detailed language to institute the establishment of a new category of trail within the national trails system – NHTs – of which the Oregon National Historic Trail will be the first to be so designated."³²

The next action on trails-related bills took place in early 1978. During the week of March 6-10, senators submitted four bills on the subject: a general NHTs bill that largely mirrored Andrus's draft measure from the previous May, and individual bills to establish the Oregon Trail, the Lewis and Clark Trail, and the Mormon Pioneer Trail as NHTs.³³ The first three bills were introduced by Sen. James Abourezk (D-South Dakota), who chaired the Parks and Recreation Subcommittee of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, while the fourth was introduced by senators Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn (both R-Utah).³⁴

On March 30, House Interior Committee chair Morris Udall issued a report on Rep. Johnson's bill, introduced the previous May, regarding the Oregon NHT

³⁰ <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=7561>.

³¹ Cecil Andrus to Walter Mondale, May 26, 1977, in "Historic Trails Legislation," in *Senate Hearing on S. 929, etc.* (Publication 95-126), May 1, 1978 (Washington, GPO, 1978), 12-18.

³² 95th Congress, 2nd Session, *House Report 95-1022*, March 30, 1978, p. 12.

³³ At a Congressional hearing on the subject, Sen. Frank Church noted that all four of the historic trails subject to bills in the 95th Congress – the three trails just mentioned, plus the Iditarod Trail – "did not qualify for addition to the national system under the criteria of the 1968 act," but "each of these studies also concluded that the trail in question should be added to the Trails System." "Historic Trails Legislation," in *Senate Hearing on S. 929, etc.* (Publication 95-126), May 1, 1978, p. 99.

³⁴ "Historic Trails Legislation," May 1, 1978, pp. 2-36.

and Travelway. That bill, which had been severely amended as a result of its October 1977 hearing, incorporated language to establish the NHTs category. It also established the Oregon Trail as the first NHT, and provided for a \$5 million appropriation "for acquisition of identified high potential segments."³⁵ Just four days later, the amended bill was brought before the full House of Representatives, and it passed the House that day on a 353-4 vote. It was then referred to the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee.³⁶

On April 24, Sen. Frank Church introduced a trails bill (S. 2974) that differed from the House-passed bill, primarily in that it proposed the designation of four new NHTs (Iditarod, Oregon, Lewis and Clark, and Mormon Pioneer) rather than just one (Oregon). A week later, on May 1, Sen. Abourezk held a hearing on a total of seven trails-related bills: the four individual trail bills noted above, the House-passed bill, Abourezk's initial NHT bill (which had no specific trail designations attached), and the bill that had been recently introduced by Sen. Church. As a result of that hearing, Sen. Church – who represented the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee in lieu of Chair Henry M. Jackson – issued the Senate Report for the bill on July 21. That report suggested language that was similar to Church's April 24 bill in that it recommended the addition of four new NHTs – called the "National Historic Oregon Trail, the National Historic Mormon Pioneer Trail, . . . National Historic Lewis and Clark Trail, and the National Historic Iditarod Trail" – in addition to language that would implement the NHTs category. The committee dropped the \$5 million funding for the Oregon Trail that had previously been attached to the House-passed bill, but it also recognized, via cost estimates, that the historic trails associated with this bill would incur \$7.2 million in costs from fiscal years 1980 to 1984, inclusively, related to comprehensive plans, advisory councils, and "preliminary development." Later, in the "Cost and Budgetary Considerations" section, the report stated that "the only cost which might be associated with the passage of this legislation would be the marking of the designated NHTs."³⁷ Three days later, the amended bill was brought before the full Senate, which passed it with a voice vote.³⁸

All that remained was to reconcile differences between the House version of H.R. 6900 and its Senate counterpart. On October 11, just four days before the 95th Congress adjourned, the full House concurred with the Senate version of

³⁵ 95th Congress, 2nd Session, *House Report 95-1022*, March 30, 1978, pp. 6, 12; "Historic Trails Legislation," May 1, 1978, 94. At the May 1 hearing, Interior Department official David Hales was unable to justify the \$5 million notation. He stated, "The figure in the [BOR's April 1977 Oregon Trail] study report as I recall was about 3.7 million. And it's our impression that that figure is simply been indexed [*sic*] for inflation and raised to that amount."

³⁶ *Congressional Record* 124 (April 3, 1978), pp. 8467-8472, 8482-8483, 8499, and 8776.

³⁷ 95th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Report 95-1034* (Calendar No. 956), July 21, 1978, pp. 7, 13, 14; *Congressional Record* 124 (July 24, 1978), p. 22420.

³⁸ *Congressional Record* 124 (July 24, 1978), pp. 22181, 22417-22422, and 22427.

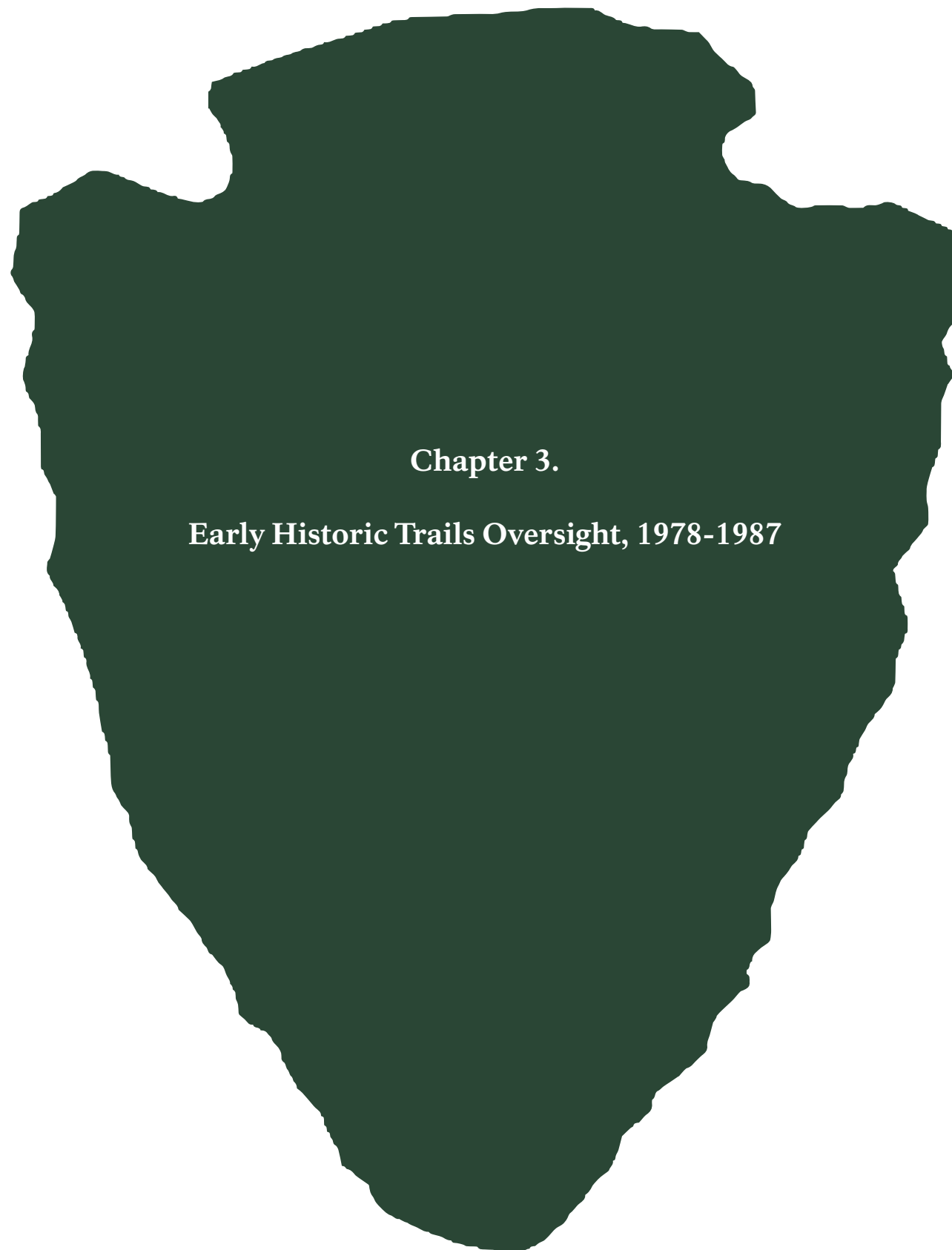
the bill, making only small, technical changes. (As part of this concurrence, the various trail names were modified so that the “National Historic Oregon Trail,” for example, became the “Oregon National Historic Trail.”)³⁹ Rather than send the bill to President Carter, however, House leader Phillip Burton (D-California) opted to include the NHTs provisions in a larger bill, S. 791, called the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978, of which the various trail provisions were included in Section 551. (This larger bill, notably, also included the establishment of the Continental Divide Scenic Trail, plus a study provision for the Overmountain Victory NHT.)⁴⁰ The following day, the full Senate agreed to the House-passed amendments and sent S. 791 to the president. A month later, on November 10, 1978, President Carter signed the act – known as the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 – into law as Public Law 95-625.⁴¹



³⁹ *Congressional Record* 124 (October 11, 1978), pp. 35673-35699 and 35736; for name change, see pp. 35673 and 35687.

⁴⁰ *Congressional Record* 124 (October 12, 1978), pp. 36193-36214.

⁴¹ *Congressional Record* 124 (November 10, 1978), pp. 38087, 38894-96; 92 Stat. 3511-3517.



Chapter 3.

Early Historic Trails Oversight, 1978-1987

Initial National Park Service (NPS) Administration of National Historic Trails (NHTs)

Until Congress passed the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-625), the NPS administered just one trail: the Appalachian NST. Both before and after the passage of the National Trails System Act (NTSA) in 1968, the trail had been overseen by the Appalachian Trail Conference (which had been founded in 1925) along with a number of satellite organizations, such as the Green Mountain Club, Georgia Appalachian Trail Club, Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, and so forth. The 1968 act had provided up to \$5 million “for the acquisition of lands or interests in lands” along the designated trail corridor.¹ Given the need to dispense those funds (see chapter 2), the NPS established a staff presence with Appalachian Trail-related duties. By fiscal year (FY) 1976, David Richie was working on trails issues, along with a less-than-full-time employee.² According to NPS Director Gary Everhardt, who testified about trails in March 1976, the two employees had “the role for coordinating with the Advisory Council, working with the some 40-odd clubs with respect to the Appalachian Trail.”³

Starting in late 1977 or early 1978, the NPS established an Appalachian Trail Project Office (ATPO) in order to assist with trail administration. The office was located in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, in the central part of the trail corridor near its Shenandoah River crossing. Inasmuch as the Appalachian Trail Conference’s office had moved to Harpers Ferry from Washington, D.C., five years earlier, the NPS’s move there allowed closer work with the ATC, its primary trail partner.⁴ In FY 1978, the ATPO received its initial budget, a relatively small \$48,000 allotment. During the next two years, the Project Office received more than \$170,000 annually, and starting in FY 1981, the office’s annual budget exceeded \$600,000 (see appendix 3).⁵ When Congress passed the National Parks and Recreation Act in November 1978, that act included a \$90 million appropriation for Appalachian Trail land acquisition. At that time, the NPS had been administering the Appalachian Trail for more than 10 years, it had had employees assigned to the trail for more than two years, and it had supported the trail with a separate budget line item for more than a year.

¹ <http://www.appalachiantrail.org/about-the-trail/history>; P.L. 90-543, Sec. 10 (82 Stat. 926).

² Richie’s primary job, between January 1974 and March 1976, was Deputy Director of the NPS’s Northeast Regional Office in Boston. As it pertained to the trail job, Richie, along with Charles R. Rinaldi, John F. Byrne, and others between the late 1970s and early 1990s (perhaps later) were officially called project managers, but for all intents and purposes they served as trail superintendents. http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/tolson/histlist10.htm#c

³ “Oversight on the National Trails System Act of 1968,” March 11-12, 1976, 40, 56; <http://www.nynjtc.org/news/five-inducted-appalachian-trail-hall-fame>.

⁴ <http://www.appalachiantrail.org/about-the-trail/history>; <http://www.nps.gov/appa/parknews/upload/TomsTrailTalk%20ATPO%20April2006.pdf>.

⁵ NPS, *Budget Justifications* volume (“green book”), editions of 1980 to 1992.

By the time the 1978 act had passed, the Interior Department's Federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) had been reorganized into the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS), having traded some functions and responsibilities with the NPS.⁶ Although HCRS completed at least one of the planning studies that the BOR had begun, one of the functions traded to the NPS in an April 1978 Secretarial Order from Interior Secretary Andrus was "the responsibility for the study of potential National trail routes" under the provisions of the NTSA.⁷ As a result, the verbiage in Public Law 95-625 stated that the maps for all four of the new trails (Iditarod, Lewis and Clark, Mormon Pioneer, and Oregon) would be "on file . . . in the office of the Director, National Park Service, Washington, D.C." Each of these trails would be administered by the Secretary of the Interior.⁸

By November 1978, when P.L. 95-625 was passed, the NPS had a fairly extensive history studying most of the trails that had just been designated as NHTs (see chapters 1 and 2). All except the Iditarod, for example, had been identified and studied as part of the "Westward Migrations" volume in the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings (NSHSB) series. For the Lewis and Clark trail, for example, the NPS had shown some interest as far back as 1948, when it had proposed a "Lewis and Clark Tourway." For the Oregon Trail, the authors of the 1977 BOR study had relied on the NPS for historical information and had contracted with retired historian Aubrey Haines for a site inventory.⁹ And for the Mormon Trail, the NPS was a co-author of the HCRS's final (1978) study.¹⁰ Only with Alaska's Iditarod Trail did the NPS have little or no institutional knowledge or history.

Given that track record, it was no surprise that the Interior Secretary's office delegated the administrative responsibility for three of these four NHTs to the National Park Service. On April 4, 1979, Assistant Interior Secretary Bob Herbst issued a "delegation of authority" stating that the NPS Director has been asked "to carry out the purposes of Public Law . . . 90-543 relating to the selection and location of boundaries, property acquisition, development, and administration for assigned components of the National Trails System. . . . This authority will be exercised in accordance with the provisions of 710 DM [Departmental Manual] 1." This decision brought the Lewis and Clark, Oregon, and Mormon Pioneer NHTs under NPS administration. It did not, however, apply to the Iditarod NHT, which

⁶ Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus established HCRS via USDI Order 3017 on January 25, 1978. See *Federal Register* 43 (February 23, 1978), 7482-7483.

⁷ "Historic Trails Legislation," May 1, 1978, 88; HCRS and NPS, *The Mormon Trail, a Study Report*, June 1978, p. i.

⁸ NTSA, Sec. 5(a), clauses 3, 4, 6, and 7.

⁹ BOR, *The Oregon Trail, a Potential Addition to the National Trails System*, April 1977, p. 127.

¹⁰ The NPS's "Mormon Pioneer NHT Summary Report," May 1985, p. 6 [in NPS-SLC files] states that the Interior Secretary waited until February 1982 before it formally delegated the NPS as the agency to coordinate the planning and administration of the Mormon Pioneer NHT. When this formal delegation took place for the other trails is not known.

would be administered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), and because no existing NPS units crossed the trail, logic suggests that Secretary Andrus, on that basis, asked the BLM to administer the Iditarod NHT.¹¹

The NPS, therefore, was now administering three new NHTs. Which agency offices, however, would be administering them? This question needed to be resolved fairly quickly, inasmuch as the NTSA, Section 5(d) required that each trail have an advisory committee established within one year of its authorization; in addition, NTSA, Section 5(f) required that "a comprehensive plan for the management and use"¹² of each trail shall be submitted to Congress "within two complete fiscal years of the date of enactment" of the specific legislation being enacted. NPS officials at the Washington level quickly recognized that each of the three new trails covered more than one region:

- Lewis and Clark NHT - in Midwest, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific Northwest regions
- Mormon Pioneer NHT - in Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions
- Oregon NHT - in Midwest, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific Northwest regions

In order to assign responsibility for these three trails, one trail administrator recalls that the directors for the three regions met in Denver sometime in 1979 or 1980. At that time, the three men decided to divide the three trails between them. The Midwest Region, headed by Jimmie L. Dunning in Omaha, chose to administer the Lewis and Clark NHT; the Rocky Mountain Regional Office in Denver, headed by Glen T. Bean, opted for the Mormon Pioneer NHT; and the Pacific Northwest Regional Office in Seattle, headed by Russell E. Dickenson, assumed administration for the Oregon NHT.¹³

Planning for the Mormon Pioneer and Oregon Trails, 1978-1981

¹¹ *Federal Register* 44 (April 19, 1979), 23384; Tom Gilbert, email to the author, November 2, 2018. On December 27, 1978, the Department had changed its manual to reflect the new set of trail administrators; this change paved the way for the April 4, 1979 delegation of authority.

¹² Most national trails – based on congressional language – have a comprehensive management plan (CMP). Land management agencies, however, do not *manage* trails; instead, they *administer* them, because these trails cross lands owned by federal agencies, state and local agencies, American Indian tribes, and private individuals.

¹³ The story of this meeting is attributable to Tom Gilbert, who worked for the NPS on the Lewis and Clark NHT beginning in 1981. Gilbert, interview with the author, February 11, 2014; Gilbert, interview with Ron Brown, May 25, 2007, 5.

Regarding the Mormon Pioneer NHT, NPS staff in Denver began by working on advisory council matters and by June 1979, they had drawn up a draft charter for that advisory council. (The final charter was not completed until the spring of 1981.) Meanwhile, staff began to solicit members for the advisory council, and before long they had assembled a 22-member council with representatives from nine states: at least one member from each of the five trail states, plus Kansas, Maryland, Nevada, and Virginia.¹⁴ The council was headed by C. Booth Wallentine of Salt Lake City, a longtime Utah Farm Bureau official who had also served in a variety of positions with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹⁵

Meanwhile, NPS staff – Mike Beaudry and Bob Kasperek, from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office (see appendix 4) – began work on the trail’s comprehensive management and use plan.¹⁶ The final version of this plan, 149 pages long, was completed in September 1981, immediately before the congressionally-imposed deadline of October 1. The plan called for various wayside exhibits, markers or information centers along the trail, plus the acquisition of three parcels – totaling 560 acres – that were needed for “full trail utilization.” These parcels, however, would be acquired by “donation, exchange, or fee purchase with donated funds,” and all other costs associated with trail administration would be “through existing federal, state, and local agencies’ funding programs with possible cost sharing and planning assistance from the National Park Service or other federal agencies.”¹⁷ Paying for trail-related costs proved elusive; in mid-1981, Rocky Mountain Regional Director Lorraine Mintzmyer had stated, in a memo to NPS Director Russell Dickenson, that the expenses related to the Mormon Pioneer NHT advisory council “should not be regional fund item” [*sic*], but Dickenson’s Deputy Director, Ira J. Hutchison, replied – in a memo to all regional directors – that “it will be the responsibility of the Regional Director charged with administration of the trail to provide for and coordinate its budget.”¹⁸

Meanwhile, in the NPS’s Seattle office, planning tasks associated with the Oregon NHT largely paralleled those of the Mormon Pioneer NHT in Denver. Interior Secretary Andrus signed the advisory council charter in June 1979, and in October 1980, Andrus signed appointment letters for 17 advisory council members, one of

¹⁴ NPS, “MOPI Advisory Council List,” March 1984, in “Mormon Pioneer” 3-ring binder, NPS-SLC Library.

¹⁵ C. Booth Wallentine obituary, *Deseret News*, Oct. 28, 2012; www.deseretnews.com.

¹⁶ This report does not indicate any specific authors; however, various documents associate Mr. Beaudry with this trail during the early 1980s. Beaudry apparently also worked on wild and scenic river issues during the same period that he was involved with the Mormon Pioneer Trail. Kasperek’s role as the plan’s co-preparer is noted in a Roger Blair article, “The Founding of OCTA,” *News from the Plains*, Summer 2007, 9.

¹⁷ NPS, *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail, Comprehensive Plan and Finding of No Significant Impact*, (Denver, NPS, September 1981), “Summary” pages.

¹⁸ RD, RMRO to Director NPS, July 13, 1981; Director NPS to Regional Directors, July 31, 1981, in John Conoboy correspondence folder, NTIR.

which was the retired NPS historian (and well-known Oregon Trail author) Merrill Mattes.¹⁹ Daniel Tobin, who in 1980 succeeded Russell Dickenson as Regional Director (after Dickenson became the NPS director), led the Oregon NHT advisory council.

Chosen to prepare the Oregon NHT’s comprehensive plan were Stan Young and John Latschar (see appendix 4). Stan Young, a wildlife management specialist based in Seattle, was the regional office’s Chief of River, Trail, and Water Project Studies, while Latschar was a Ph.D. historian who served on the Denver Service Center’s (DSC) Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team. During the course of writing this plan, Young and Latschar consulted with Merrill Mattes; they also met Gregory Franzwa (see below), an avocational historian who had self-published *The Oregon Trail Revisited* in 1972. Numerous public hearings – at least one per state – were held as part of the comprehensive planning process.²⁰ The three-volume plan,²¹ officially dated August 1981, was actually completed in mid-September, just before the agency-imposed October 1 deadline.²²

The ambitious plan, strong on protection of historic sites and trail segments, called for 16 overall administrative objectives, and another 16 “management responsibilities” that would be undertaken solely by the NPS.²³ The plan (unlike the Mormon Pioneer NHT plan) did not call for the acquisition of non-federal land; it did, however, recommend that of the 125 identified “historic sites (or site complexes),” the BLM would be primarily responsible for 28 of the 42 sites under federal jurisdiction, and that that agency would also be responsible for 4 of 7 identified “cross-country segments” as well. The NPS, by contrast, would be primarily responsible for just 5 historic sites and no cross-country segments. (The NPS administered four Oregon Trail park units: Scotts Bluff NM, Nebraska; Fort Laramie NHS, Wyoming; Whitman Mission NHS, Washington; and Fort Vancouver NHS, Washington. In addition, the agency agreed to work with the owners of the privately-owned Robidoux Pass site, near Scottsbluff, Nebraska.) The proposed

¹⁹ NPS, *Oregon Trail NHT, Comprehensive Management and Use Plan* (August 1981), p. 9. According to the URL <https://nebraskaaauthors.org/authors/merrill-j-mattes>, Mattes worked for the NPS from 1935 to 1975.

²⁰ John Latschar, email to the author, June 19, 2014.

²¹ The first of three volumes was the plan itself; Volume II was a compilation of primary route maps, and Volume III was entitled *Selected Historic Sites and Cross-County Segments—Status and Recommendations*.

²² Daniel J. Tobin (RD, PNRO) to Director NPS, Sept. 19, 1981, in NPS-SLC files. In September 1981, letters announcing the completion of the Oregon NHT plan – along with the attached plan – were apparently sent to the head of the appropriate committee heads in both the House and Senate. On February 10, 1982, however, NPS officials were informed that these letters had been lost, so in mid-March, they were sent once again. Donald Hodel (Acting Interior Secretary) to Sen. James McClure (R-ID), March 15, 1982, in “Oregon Trail NHT – Project Correspondence” file, NPS-SLC files.

²³ NPS, *Oregon Trail, Comprehensive Management and Use Plan* (Denver, the author, August 1981), 78-85.

budget associated with implementing the plan was a reflection of the BLM's central role among federal agencies; of the estimated \$625,200 needed to provide "the additional facilities recommended . . . for each of the [identified] sites and segments on federal lands," the BLM (at 21 sites and segments) would be shouldering more than \$500,000 of that total, while the NPS, by contrast, promised to fund just \$10,000 in improvements at its four sites along the trail. Given the NPS's role as the trail administrator, the agency was also given the responsibility for marking the trail; the costs of the marking program were estimated to be \$250,000, much of which would be the NPS's responsibility. In addition, the agency was asked "to arrange for the establishment and operation (but not funding) of interpretive centers located in Independence, Missouri and Oregon City, Oregon and intermediate points."²⁴

The plans for both trails – following the specific verbiage in NTSA's Section 3(a) – noted a provision for a logo and a marking program. But the two plans approached these two concepts in separate ways. Regarding a logo, the Mormon Pioneer trail plan – probably after consulting with the trail's advisory council, which had met early in 1981 – provided for a buffalo-skull logo. (Two years later, the Mormon Pioneer logo was slightly modified – probably due to actions taken at an April 1983 advisory council meeting – before being finalized that summer.) The Oregon Trail's plan, however, was less exact, suggesting instead one of three possible logo designs.²⁵ One of these suggested logos was significantly redesigned (again, probably due to advisory council action) before a final design emerged in 1985.²⁶ As for trail marking, the Mormon Pioneer trail plan provided for a "designated [marked] highway route . . . which closely parallels" the trail and "utilized primary and secondary paved highways the length of the Trail." The Oregon Trail plan, however, made no such designation; instead, its plan called for markers to be placed along the trail route itself, "within sight of each other or approximately at quarter-mile intervals."²⁷

While these so-called management plans²⁸ were being prepared, both the agency's trails staff and their superiors openly asked about the NPS's role in future trail administration. Language in the NTSA specified that for each trail, the agency needed to undertake three tasks: 1) complete a comprehensive management and use plan, 2) establish a trail marking program, 3) work with each trail's advisory

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 85, 88, 105-107.

²⁵ NPS, *Mormon Pioneer NHT Comprehensive Plan* (September 1981), 94-95; NPS, *Oregon Trail NHT Comprehensive Plan* (August 1981), 70-71.

²⁶ *Federal Register* 48 (March 14, 1983), 10758, and July 15, 1983, 32401; *Federal Register* 50 (September 11, 1985), 37063-64.

²⁷ NPS, *Mormon Pioneer NHT Comprehensive Plan*, 95-102; NPS, *Oregon Trail NHT Comprehensive Plan*, 72.

²⁸ Because the NPS did not either own or manage the great majority of trail mileage, these documents more accurately served as administrative plans, although they were called "comprehensive management plans" (or, more formally, "comprehensive management and use plans") due to language in the NTSA, Section 5(e).

committee, and 4) certify non-federal sites and segments as components of a given NHT. Given those specified tasks, NPS staff was unsure how best to proceed. Should the agency complete these three tasks and then adopt a passive role? Or did the administration of each NPS-administered trail require an active, ongoing presence in which agency staff worked with partners on a continuing round of projects that were intended (as the NTSA stated) to protect, preserve, and interpret the various trails and the resources adjacent to those trails?

Language in the NTSA, and congressional intent, provided no definitive answers. The act, for example, had provided land-acquisition funds for both the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail, but it did not address how those funds would be processed and disbursed, and it gave no specific direction for the more recently-authorized trails. Congress appeared to be similarly confused regarding funding levels for the various NHTs. An early version of H.R. 6900, which would have authorized only the Oregon NHT, provided \$5 million in land acquisition funds, but a few months later, this allotment was excised and replaced with a \$7.2 million cost estimate – over a 5-year period – to account for the administration of all four NHTs. Those costs were "front loaded" so that more than \$2 million would be spent during each of the first two FYs (ostensibly to underwrite the completion of the comprehensive management and use plans), but \$1 million or less for the succeeding three years.²⁹

Mormon Pioneer and Oregon Trail Administration, 1981-1987

The direction that the agency would take, in terms of the level of activity in trails administration, was largely determined by the budgets that were allotted to each trail. For administering the Mormon Pioneer NHT, the Rocky Mountain Regional Office assigned no full time staff, so Mike Beaudry, who appears to have written the comprehensive management plan (CMP), divided his time between trail work and other endeavors. Beaudry had no line-item budget to support trail development (see appendix 3), so he did what he could based on funds that became available through the regional office. Between January 1981 and May 1984, for example, the agency was able to host a meeting at least once each year of the trail's advisory council (see appendix 5): these included two meetings in Salt Lake City, along with those in Lakewood, Colorado; Nauvoo, Illinois; and Casper, Wyoming. At those meetings, the advisory council (following its goals as set forth in the NTSA) did its best "to review trail activities and to advise [the Secretary] on the selection of rights-of-way, the erection of trail markers, and on the administrative aspects for the trail."³⁰ After the Casper meeting, in May 1984, officials proposed a fifth

²⁹ *Congressional Record* 124 (July 24, 1978), 22420.

³⁰ NPS "Mormon Pioneer NHT Summary Report," May 1985, p. 5, in NPS-SLC files.

annual meeting, to be held in 1985, in either Omaha or nearby Council Bluffs.³¹ This meeting never took place, however, perhaps because of the active, growing Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) (see below). To NPS trails leaders, this new association was concerned about much of the same on-the-ground trail mileage that was covered by the Mormon Pioneer Trail, and working with OCTA leaders gave NPS staff the opportunity to discuss trail-related issues with private-sector advocates without the substantial expense of holding an additional advisory council meeting.³²

Along the Mormon Pioneer NHT, development projects eventually took place, if slowly. During the early summer of 1983, Beaudry (in a press interview in Fremont, Nebraska) noted that since plans for the trail had been first drawn up two years earlier, federal money for markers and exhibits had dwindled, which meant that any available project money would need to come from private sources.³³ Shortly after that, however, \$20,100 became available to sign the trail, and between late 1983 and early 1985 sign plans were laid out, and hundreds of trail markers were installed along roadsides in public lands areas of Iowa, Nebraska, and Wyoming.³⁴ In addition, the NPS funded the reprinting of the trail's brochure. Beaudry was eventually replaced as trail administrator by J. Brad Baumann, who continued work on marking the trail until late in 1986, by which time the trail marking program in Wyoming had been completely implemented.³⁵

³¹ "Meeting Report, MOPI, May 30, 1984," in "MOPI, Signs, Sign Program" file folder, NPS-SLC files.

³² Stanley Kimball, who served both on the MOPI advisory council and on the later SAFE advisory council, told David Gaines in a November 17, 1993 letter (in "SFNHT, Advisory Council -1993" folder, "SAFE - Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR) that he "certainly wish the Mormon Trail [advisory council] had something like what the Santa Fe Trail has - years ago councils did not do all that much and we never pulled a full hitch."

³³ *Farmington [NM] Daily Times*, July 2, 1983, 16. Mike Duwe, who helped administer the trail during the late 1980s and early 1990s, offered a similar opinion; he noted that both the regional office and DSC had a "high level [of emphasis that] continued into the early 1980s and then began to wane." Duwe, "Position Page, Long Distance Trails Management/Coordination, RMRO," June 5, 1992, NPS-SLC files.

³⁴ Various memos in "MOPI, Signs, Sign Program" file folder, NPS-SLC files. As noted in Chapter 1, the route in Utah had been extensively signed already by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association, the Sons of Utah Pioneers, and the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. In Iowa, the Civilian Conservation Corps had been responsible for installing earlier markers, so Beaudry, in an August 1984 memo, stated that (in conjunction with trail partners) he planned to take down some of these markers. Robert B. Kasperek (RMRO), in a letter to Joy Poole (Exec. VP, SFTC) on September 26, 1986 (in "SFNHT, Correspondence 1987" folder, "SAFE - Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR), noted that "Most of these markers were placed on roads approximating the route of the Trail as nearly as possible." These were placed, however, only on BLM and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service lands, and "no attempt was made to mark any cross-country routes on State, County, or private lands."

³⁵ J. Brad Baumann (Regional Trail Coordinator, Division of Planning and Compliance, RMRO), Oct. 16, 1986 memo, in "MOPI, Signs, Sign Program" file folder, NPS-SLC files. By August 1987, Baumann was described by his regional directorate as having "extensive experience with the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail." Richard Strait (Acting RD, RMRO) to RD/SWRO, August 10, 1987, in "SFNHT - NPS Memoranda, 1987" file, "SAFE - Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

Regarding the Oregon Trail, officials in the NPS's Pacific Northwest Regional Office initially had high hopes for developing the trail, and they compiled a long "to do" list in order to implement the 1981 management plan's recommendations. Guided by Regional Director Daniel Tobin, and implemented by Stan Young and John Latschar, initial tasks included:

- Holding advisory council meetings (none had yet been held, due to a lack of funds)
- Preparing and issuing a trail pamphlet for public distribution
- Designing an official trail symbol and a uniform method to mark the historic route
- Technical assistance for Independence, Missouri, and Oregon City, Oregon, visitor centers
- Encouraging the organization of a privately endowed Oregon NHT Association
- Contacting non-federal owners of sites and segments for certification agreements, and
- Helping prepare development plans for sites and segments.

Regarding a place from which the trail should be administered, Tobin concluded that "we favor retaining the responsibility here [in Seattle] for the time being. Eventually, we believe it should be assigned as a collateral duty to one of the Superintendents" of the four NPS trail sites noted above. And in a telling statement, Tobin opined that "The task of properly implementing the Comprehensive Management and Use Plan will require the energies of several individuals for a number of years. [But] Once the Oregon National Historic Trail is operating as envisioned in our report, it should be possible to scale back NPS involvement."³⁶

One of the major goals set forth in the plan – the "organization of a privately endowed Oregon NHT Association" – came to pass during the summer of 1982. The organizer was Gregory Franzwa, who by this time had published several Oregon Trail volumes through his press. (They included *The Oregon Trail*

³⁶ Daniel J. Tobin (RD, PNRO) to Dir NPS, Sept. 19, 1981, in black metal basket (OREG materials), SLC Admin Files. [Note: These records, and most other early administrative records, were boxed up in June 2017 and sent to the agency's Western Archeological and Conservation Center, in Tucson.] This arms-length attitude, apparently prevalent for many of the agency's long-distance trails during the 1980s, was described by former superintendent David Gaines as being one of "'Give everyone who asks a trail logo, and please go away.' . . . [This was] perhaps overly simplistic but essentially what these 'plans' required of NPS and the Secretary of the Interior." Gaines to the author, email, Aug. 20, 2014.

Revisited, which he had written in 1972; a 1981 reprint of Aubrey Haines' *Historic Sites Along the Oregon Trail*, first published in 1973; and his *Maps of the Oregon Trail* – a commercially-adapted version of the maps in the 1981 Oregon NHT comprehensive plan – which was published in early August 1982.) Franzwa, a strong trails advocate, was incensed because he noticed, during his years of field research, that many physical trail remnants of the trail were being lost. As he noted years later,

I am often asked what specific instance caused all this to come about. There were lots of them, but the one I recall most vividly was destruction of the fine rut swales [in 1971] on private property near Echo, OR. [Franzwa had photographed the ruts previously – probably during the 1960s – but when he returned to the site in 1971, they were gone.] Now you can complain all you want to, but there is no way to bring back ruts that have been plowed up for a potato field. About all one can do is pray the potatoes won't grow, which I did. And they didn't. But I was told that the farmer was unaware that those were the ruts of the Oregon Trail. Obviously, an education campaign was needed.³⁷

Hoping to form this “privately endowed” trail association, he invited several fellow trail enthusiasts to meet at the NPS's regional office in Denver.³⁸ That August 12 meeting, attended by eleven people – all of whom were Franzwa's acquaintances and were on his publishing-company mailing list – resulted in the formation of OCTA.³⁹ By early 1983 the original charter members, joined by others, had produced the first issue of its quarterly, the *Overland Journal*, and in mid-August of that year the group held its first annual meeting in Independence, Missouri (see appendix 5).⁴⁰

Given the existence – and quick growth – of a partnership organization, NPS officials recognized that the OCTA's annual conventions would be an ideal venue for meetings of the Oregon NHT advisory council. The first such gathering was thus held in the midst of OCTA's August 1983 Independence meeting, while a year later,

³⁷ Gregory Franzwa, “The Founding of OCTA,” *News from the Plains*, Fall 2006, 23; Franzwa, *The Oregon Trail Revisited*, fourth edition (1997), p. 371.

³⁸ *Wagon Tracks* 1 (February 1987), 3. Franzwa, at the time, lived in Gerald, Missouri, 70 miles west of St. Louis.

³⁹ The eleven who attended the original meeting included Franzwa plus Dr. John A. Latschar, Robert D. Tucker, James F. Bowers, Robert Rennells, Bertha Rennells, Troy Gray, Billie Gray, Merrill J. Mattes, Roger Blair, and James P. Johnson. *News from the Plains*, Fall 2006, 21-23; Summer 2007, 9-10.

⁴⁰ http://www.octa-trails.org/media/dynamic/files/299_OCTA%20Beginnings-2014.pdf. OCTA was the first partnership association related to an existing NTIR-administered trail. The NPEA, founded in 1977 (see below) preceded that of OCTA, but it was founded more than a decade before the Pony Express NHT was authorized.

a second advisory board meeting was held immediately prior to OCTA's second annual meeting in Oregon City, Oregon. The NPS, beginning in FY 1983, was able to pay for these meetings due to a small annual line-item budget specifically allotted to this trail. This allotment, which remained under \$15,000, remained for another decade (see appendix 3).⁴¹ After 1984, however, the NPS held no further Oregon NHT advisory council meetings.⁴² This decision may have been a cost-saving move, but it may also have been a tacit recognition that OCTA members, to some extent, were fulfilling some of the goals that had been laid out in the Oregon NHT's comprehensive plan.

After 1984, NPS efforts related to the Oregon NHT (in Seattle) were reduced to an even greater extent than they had been for the Mormon Pioneer Trail (in Denver). Stan Young retired soon after the completion of the CMP; John Latschar, as a DSC employee, was limited to project-based funding and had no Seattle-based operational duties. As a result, Oregon NHT responsibilities devolved (at least for a while) to Reed Jarvis, whose primary job at the time was Project Manager for Ebey's Landing National Historic Reserve, on Whidbey Island in western Washington. Of the bulleted goals laid out in the trail's comprehensive plan, progress was limited to technical advice related to an Independence, Missouri, interpretive center; otherwise, NPS personnel weighed in on various trail development proposals. And as noted elsewhere in this section, progress took place regarding a partnership organization and in trail marking, but without substantial NPS involvement. As noted above, the trail continued to receive a small annual budget; few known end products, however, resulted from those expenditures.⁴³

Perhaps as a result of pressure from trail partners, some progress was made – for both trails – in the design and installation of trail markers. Along the Mormon Pioneer NHT, as noted above, some efforts were made to mark and install signs (with the buffalo logo) that had been finalized in the CMP along roads that paralleled the trail.⁴⁴ Along the Oregon NHT, the CMP had recommended marking the actual trail with posts, but for roads that paralleled or crossed the trail, no agreed-upon design had been finalized. Without NPS direction, however, individuals in both Wyoming and Nebraska had “clearly marked the trail, although not with [any] official Park Service sign.” In Kansas, a similar trail-marking effort began at a meeting at the Alexander Majors House (in neighboring Missouri) in late 1984 attended by OCTA member Barbara Burgess (from Wamego, KS) and

⁴¹ The Oregon NHT was the only the second long-distance trail to receive a line-item budget (after the Appalachian Trail), and it was the first national historic trail to receive line-item funding. NPS, *Budget Justifications* volume (“green book”) for 1985 and 1986.

⁴² An NPS memo written after the 1984 meeting stated the NPS's intention to meet at OCTA's 1985 annual meeting, but other considerations apparently intervened.

⁴³ NPS, *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials* (May 1991), p. 92; John Latschar email, June 19, 2014.

⁴⁴ NPS, “FY 1994 Report” in Advisory Council, Oregon NHT folder, NPS-SLC files.

newly elected Kansas state senator Audrey Langworthy (R-Prairie Village). As a result of discussions between these two trail advocates, Langworthy submitted a bill (SB 223) in the 1985 session of the Kansas legislature which authorized marking the trail along highways in the state. That bill passed both houses, and on April 18 it was signed into law by Governor John Carlin.⁴⁵ Trail advocates, meanwhile, worked with NPS official John Latschar – who also served as OCTA’s secretary – on a trail-marking icon, which was similar to one of the three designs that had been formulated in the August 1981 CMP. On July 25, 1985, the first such highway marker was dedicated; it was located on the Kansas side of the Missouri state line, at 122nd St. and State Line Rd.⁴⁶ The marker installed at that time featured a side view of a covered wagon. That icon was used on signs that were installed up and down the trail in the coming years; it remained until 1999, when the agency finalized the CMP for the Oregon, California, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express NHTs. That document included a new Oregon NHT logo featuring a three-quarter view of a wagon (see chapter 5).⁴⁷

Given the NPS’s actions related to these two trails noted above, it appears that the agency, during the mid-1980s, expended a minimal amount of effort to administer the Mormon Pioneer and Oregon NHTs. Only one of the two trails had a dedicated line-item budget, and the staff that was purportedly responsible for these two trails spent much of its time on other, non-trails projects. It was clear, during this period, that the agency perceived its trail-related role to be tangential at best.

Emigrant Trails Legislative Initiatives

As noted above, OCTA was founded in August 1982. During the summer of 1983, the advocacy group had already published its first issue of the *Overland Journal* (its historical quarterly), and it had already held its first annual meeting, in Independence, Missouri.

Given OCTA’s strong leadership and the collective knowledge of its members, the organization quickly realized that while the Oregon Trail and the Mormon Pioneer

Trail were congressionally established NHTs, there were other equally important trails that had not yet been legislatively sanctioned. In 1977, for example, trail enthusiasts in California had organized the National Pony Express Association (NPEA), having as their goal to “Re-establish, Identify and Re-Ride the Historical Pony Express Trail” every year. Enthusiasm for the idea quickly spread to other communities along the Pony Express route.⁴⁸ In 1978, riders held their first re-ride since the 1960-61 centennial period; the ride that year went west from Salt Lake City to Sacramento. The following year the route was extended east to Julesburg, Colorado, and in 1980 the association sponsored a re-ride over the entire Pony Express route, from St. Joseph, Missouri, to California. Each year after that, a relay of riders has covered the route, eastbound in odd-numbered years and westbound in even-numbered years.⁴⁹

Given the recent surge of interest in the Pony Express, along with the enthusiasm engendered by OCTA’s establishment, advocates working with their congressional representatives formulated a series of bills calling for the further study of various overland routes. In July 1983, Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) introduced a bill (S. 1695) calling for the Pony Express Trail to be added as a congressional study route, and three months later, Rep. Norman Shumway (R-California), who represented the Stockton area, submitted a similar House bill (H.R. 4134). Both bills were well received. Over the next several months, both bills received hearings at the subcommittee level and were favorably reported at the committee level. Neither bill, however, received a vote in its respective chamber.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, in August 1983, Rep. Hank Brown (R-Colorado) had introduced a companion measure to the above bills: H.R. 3787, which called for a study of the California Trail. Brown’s bill received a subcommittee hearing and was favorably received by the House Natural Resources Committee. But when the committee marked up and reported the bill on April 4, 1984, it had been amended to include a study provision for the Pony Express Trail (and also the Daniel Boone Trail) as well as the California Trail. The amended bill was reported to the full House on April 26, and less than a week later it passed the House on a 401-15 vote. Action then shifted to the Senate, where a hearing was held in late May. The bill was reported to the full Senate in mid-July, and in early August the full Senate passed the bill – identical to the House version – on a voice vote. President Reagan signed the bill into law (P.L.

⁴⁵ *Kansas Session Laws*, 1985 (Chapter 229), p. 1113.

⁴⁶ Kevin Kelly, “The First NPS Oregon Trail Sign Is Installed,” *Overland Journal*, Summer 1985, 36-37.

⁴⁷ *Federal Register* 50 (September 11, 1985), 37-63-64; Jere Krakow, email to the author, January 29, 2015; NPS, *CMP/FEIS, CALI/POEX and Management and Use Plan Update/FEIS, OREG/MOPI* (June 1999), pp. 65, 348. Paul Singer, a New York City-based graphic designer “reshaped” a number of trail logos (including that for the Oregon NHT) in 1995-96, and they were adopted during the “four trails” CMP process. Steve Elkinton, interview by Ronald Brown, May 30, 2007; Jere Krakow, interview by the author, edits to January 23, 2014 interview.

⁴⁸ <https://www.xphomestation.com/npea.html#A>; <http://www.ponyexpressca.com/history>. Much of the re-ride’s early history is included in the NPEA booklet called *The Pony Express 150th Anniversary Year* (Salt Lake City, National Park Service), which was finalized in Dec. 2011. Longtime NPEA members Ken and Arleta Martin from Marysville, Kansas, were the primary authors of this booklet. Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018.

⁴⁹ Patrick Hearty and Dr. Joseph L. Hatch, *The Pony Express in Utah* (Arcadia Publishing, 2015), 86.

⁵⁰ See www.congress.gov, 98th Congress, for records pertaining to S. 1695 and H.R. 4134.

98-405) on August 28, 1984.⁵¹

Perhaps because the two existing emigrant trails were being administered by the NPS, the Interior Secretary referred these two study proposals to the NPS and more specifically to staff at the DSC. This study, led by historian John A. Latschar and with Denis Davis, followed by Alan Robinson, serving as team captains, was underway by the summer of 1985. In February 1987, the agency completed a draft study of the two trails. This study concluded “that both the California and Pony Express trails are eligible to be authorized as national historic trails,” and it offered four alternatives, of which one (Alternative B) called for “Authorization of All Routes and Cutoffs, with Substantial Federal Involvement.” (The NPS’s preferred alternative was Alternative C, “moderate involvement; original Pony Express and pre-Gold Rush California trails only,” and called for a designation of 3,821 miles on the California NHT out of a possible 5,665 miles.) The draft study was released for a 60-day public review on April 1, 1987, after which the agency held eight public meetings.⁵² During the public comment period, which lasted until May 30, the agency received 924 written responses, of which 611 (66 percent of the total) requested that the agency adopt Alternative B. After receiving approval of the trails’ significance from the National Park System Advisory Board, the agency incorporated a summary of the public’s comments in its final feasibility study, which was completed and published in September 1987. This study, reflecting the preponderance of public opinion, concluded that “it is both feasible and desirable to establish both the entire California Trail system [5,665 miles] and the entire Pony Express trail [1,855 miles] as national historic trails.”⁵³

Agencywide Trail Administrative Issues

⁵¹ See www.congress.gov, 98th Congress, for records pertaining to H.R. 3787. Sec. 1 of P.L. 98-405 stated that “the study under this paragraph shall be completed and submitted to the Congress no later than the end of two complete fiscal years beginning after the date of the enactment of this paragraph. Such study shall be separated into two portions, one relating to the Pony Express Trail and one relating to the California Trail.”

⁵² NPS, *Draft Eligibility/Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment for National Historic Trail Authorization, California and Pony Express Trails* (Denver, NPS), February 1987; NPS, *Eligibility/Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment for National Historic Trail Authorization, California and Pony Express Trails* (Denver, NPS, September 1987), 8, 11, 16, 137; Jere Krakow, interview by the author, Jan. 23, 2014; Tom Gilbert (NPS-MWRO) Press Release, appx. Apr. 1, 1987, in “CAL/PONY Feasibility Study, Task Directive & Correspondence” folder, NTIR-SLC files. Public meetings were held in St. Joseph, Mo.; Omaha, Nebr.; Rock Springs, Wyo.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Burley, Idaho; Reno, Nev.; Sacramento, Calif.; and Roseburg, Ore.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 136, 143. Maps of Alternative B were shown on p. 51 (California) and p. 89 (Pony Express). Lee Kreutzer, in a February 2, 2018 and August 20, 2018 emails to the author, notes that the expanded final study included the Applegate Trail, an 1846 route between Nevada and Oregon, which was placed there at the request of Oregon Republican Governor Victor Atiyeh.

As noted above, the NPS took a decidedly passive attitude toward the administration of existing NHTs during the early to mid-1980s. Congress, however, was more bullish about trails. Between 1980 and 1986, inclusively, Congress had authorized seven new national trails: five scenic trails and two historical trails. The authority to administer five of those trails, moreover, had been delegated to the NPS. (These were the North Country, Ice Age, Potomac Heritage, and Natchez Trace NSTs, along with the Overmountain Victory NHT.) Combined with the previously authorized national trails that had been delegated to the NPS, the agency by late 1986 was charged with administering five NSTs and four NHTs. Of these nine long-distance trails, the NPS supported line-item budgets for only two of them (see appendix 3): the Appalachian national scenic trail (NST) and the Oregon NHT. Three of these nine trails were administered by the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha, two others were administered from an office in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, and the other four trails were administered out of scattered locations.⁵⁴

As noted above, the Midwest Regional Office had begun to administer the Lewis and Clark NHT shortly after Congress authorized this trail. As with the trails noted above, some of the first administrative actions for this trail resulted in the appointment of an advisory council and the compilation of a CMP. Tom Gilbert, who had been working on trails-related issues in Michigan (with the BOR, and later with HCRS), transferred to Omaha in May 1981; he, along with Bill Farrand, wrote the trail’s CMP, which was completed in January 1982. By this time, two other recently-authorized trails – the North Country and Ice Age NSTs, both authorized in 1980 – had been assigned to the NPS’s Omaha office. Gilbert played a major role in writing the CMPs for these trails, both of which were completed by 1983. But after the various plans had been written, pressure loomed to reduce the staff in the various regional offices. Because there was no agency funding for national trails during this period, Gilbert’s position was slated to be moved to a park – and, in addition, his proposed position would include duties unrelated to trails administration. But because the widely-distributed trail CMPs had brought forth a broad range of needs from trails advocates, NPS officials (according to Gilbert) finally “started to figure out that we’re going to have to have somebody watch out for these national trail matters somehow.” By 1984, he was the region’s Trails Coordinator.⁵⁵ Though he had no line-item support funding during the mid-1980s (as noted in *Appendix 3*, the Ice Age NST was funded beginning in FY 1987, while the other two trails did not receive a budget until FY 1990), he was a full-time trails person throughout this period, and he was thus the first NPS employee outside of

⁵⁴ The Appalachian Trail and Potomac Heritage NSTs were administered from an office in Harpers Ferry; the Mormon Pioneer and Oregon NHTs (as noted above) were administered from regional offices in Denver and Seattle, respectively; the Overmountain Victory NHT was administered from a building adjacent to the Kings Mountain National Military Park office in Blacksburg, S.C.; and the Natchez Trace NST was administered from the Natchez Trace Parkway office in Tupelo, Mississippi.

⁵⁵ Gilbert also worked on wild and scenic rivers, recreation trails, and similar issues. Tom Gilbert, interview by Ronald Brown, May 25, 2007, pp. 4, 15; Gilbert, interview by the author, February 11, 2014; Gilbert email, September 9, 2014.

the ATPO to spend the majority of his time on long distance trails work.⁵⁶

Given his position in the NPS trails community, Gilbert played a significant role in coordinating with other agency trails personnel and, more importantly, in trying to establish consistent policies for trails – both scenic and historic trails – throughout the country. He collaborated on trails issues with Charles Odegaard, who had begun serving as the agency’s Midwest Regional Director in January 1984. In 1985, Gilbert – who had previously stated that “the NPS has no clear vision of where it should be or wants to be going in carrying out its responsibilities for national trails,” convinced his regional director to host an August 1985 a multi-region trails meeting in Omaha; that meeting identified six key issues (see below) surrounding national trails administration.⁵⁷ Shortly afterward, Gilbert wrote a three-page issue paper with specifics on how those six trails issues might be resolved. That November, Odegaard agreed to distribute that paper just prior to a Tucson, Arizona, meeting of the agency’s regional directors. A lack of time forced these officials to delay discussion of trails issues until a follow-up meeting in Philadelphia, but a full-fledged discussion of trails issues did not take place until early July 1986, at a regional directors’ meeting in Fort Collins, Colorado. At that meeting, the six major trails issues were discussed, and a recommended decision made for each.⁵⁸ Those issues – and answers – focused on the following topics:

1. Do we [the NPS] have continuing administrative responsibilities for NSTs and NHTs? Yes – it “will commit sufficient staff resources and operational base funding.”
2. Should NSTs and NHTs be treated differently in NPS policies and operations? No, because “administratively they are quite similar”
3. What should be the status of national trails within the National Park System? (Should they be “units” or “affiliated areas”?) “All national scenic and national historic trails administered by the Service should be administered as ‘units’ of the National Park System.”
4. Where should administrative responsibility for trails be located? They “should be located in the Regional Offices,” except for the Appalachian NST.
5. To which regional office should administrative responsibility for a given trail be assigned? Various criteria and considerations, all specified in the issues paper, “should be adopted as NPS policy and collectively applied to arrive at the best decision for assigning administrative responsibility for each national trail administered by NPS.”

⁵⁶ The budget information is from the *NPS Budget Justifications* volume (“green book”), 1988 to 1992 issues.

⁵⁷ Thomas L. Gilbert, “Issue Paper; all NPS-Administered National Scenic Trails Should Be ‘Units’ of the National Park System,” March 3, 2009, in author’s collection.

⁵⁸ [NPS-MWRO], “Issue Paper, National Park Service Administration of National Scenic and National Historic Trails,” July 1986, in “Miscellaneous – SF Trail” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989” box, NTIR; Tom Gilbert email, September 9, 2014.

6. Should administrative responsibilities for national trails be divided along regional boundaries? No – “Administrative responsibility for an entire national trail should be vested in a single Regional Office.”⁵⁹

That meeting also recognized the need to discuss two additional trails issues, and in late November 1986, Odegaard – after consulting with the other regional directors – issued a memo to NPS Director William Mott offering recommendations related to these two issues as well.⁶⁰ Those involved in this process fully recognized that what emerged from these discussions were recommendations, and because the NPS Director never acted upon those recommendations, they did not become directors’ orders or regulations. Perhaps for that reason, the various recommendations provided in the 1986 documents did not legally resolve any issues, and they certainly did not squelch future debate related to these issues.⁶¹ Lacking a more definitive consensus, however, the July 1986 issue paper and its supplement played a valuable role in providing guidance on a number of key trail-related issues.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Charles Odegaard (RD/MWRO) to Director NPS, “National Park Service Administration of National Scenic and National Historic Trails: Uniform Signing and Applicability of 36 CFR,” November 26, 1986, in “Admin History of NHT System and Office” folder, NPS-SLC files.

⁶¹ See, for example, the April 7, 1987 letter from Nancy Landon Kassebaum to Dale Bumpers (in “Letters Received – NPS, SFT” folder, in “SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989” box, NTIR), in which she argues that the Santa Fe Trail (which had not yet been authorized by Congress) should be managed by the NPS’s Midwest Region for reasons elucidated in Issue #5 (p. 6) of the July 1986 issue paper. Tom Gilbert, in a September 9, 2014 email, noted that in response to Odegaard’s November 1986 memo, “Mott did not reply in writing at all. . . . What Mott did . . . was to direct Associate Director for Operations Stan Albright to take responsibility for these trails and integrate them into park operations just as any other park.” Albright, in turn, delegated trails-related tasks to Bill Spitzer (see chapter 4), who eventually hired a trails coordinator (Steve Elkinton) for those purposes.



Chapter 4.

Trails Administration Expands, 1987-1991

The Santa Fe Trail: Legislation and Initial NPS Administration

As a result of 1983 legislation, the National Parks Service (NPS) (as noted in Chapter 3) had been responsible for administering nine national trails, of which just three – Lewis and Clark, Mormon Pioneer, and Oregon – were national historic trails (NHTs) that were located either primarily or completely west of the Mississippi River. All three of these trails had been authorized in 1978 after being studied – and found wanting by – the Federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR). The Santa Fe Trail had also been the subject of a BOR study, published in July 1976.¹ But because of “incompatible developments, lack of public ownership, and long stretches of dry, unvarying terrain,” the BOR had likewise concluded that the Santa Fe Trail did “not possess the qualities necessary for inclusion in the National Trail System.” Moreover, it was not included in the 1978 congressional bill that authorized the above three studies.²

After the NHTs category had been established, however, numerous attempts were made to include this trail in a congressional bill.³ Such a bill passed the House of Representatives in the 96th Congress (in 1980) and the 97th Congress (in 1982). Neither, however, made progress in the Senate. In 1986, during the 99th Congress, Reps. Bill Richardson (D-New Mexico) and Hank Brown (R-Colorado), along with Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kansas), all submitted Santa Fe Trail bills, at least one of which had been initially drafted by trail advocate Gregory Franzwa. Richardson’s bill passed the House, but as with previous Santa Fe Trail bills, it did not pass the Senate.⁴ At the beginning of the 100th Congress – on January 6, 1987 – Rep. Richardson introduced H.R. 240, which was much the same bill that had passed the House the year before. Richardson’s bill passed the House on March 10 and the Senate on April 21. It was then sent to President Ronald Reagan, who signed the bill into law (P.L.

¹ The study was delegated to the BOR’s Mid-Continent Region in July 1973, writing began in early 1974, and a draft study was completed in November 1975. A.L. Eastman, a BOR staff member, reluctantly agreed that the trail did not qualify under scenic trail criteria, but he noted that “there is a need for the report to stress the importance of preserving what historic sites and trail remnants may be left.” Various items in “D38 – Santa Fe Trail” and “D38SF – Santa Fe Trail, 1963-75” folders, “SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989” box, NTIR.

² Cecil Andrus to Hon. Richard Clark, U.S. Senate, July 14, 1977, in “D38 – Santa Fe Trail” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989” box, NTIR.

³ Jere Krakow, the NPS historian and superintendent, provided a detailed article on both the administrative and legislative background behind the Santa Fe Trail legislation in *Wagon Tracks*, August 2006, 12-13.

⁴ Nancy Robertson, a longtime trail advocate from Raton, NM, was (according to David Gaines) “instrumental in getting the trail legislation introduced.” Gaines memo, May 4, 1988, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1988” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Jere Krakow, “Santa Fe National Historic Trail: Long, Concerted Effort for National Recognition,” *Wagon Tracks* 20:4 (August 2006), 12-13. The 1986 bills were H.R. 4794 (Richardson), H.R. 5188 (Brown), and S. 2845 (Kassebaum).

100-35) on May 8, 1987.⁵

Within weeks after the signing, the Interior Secretary had decided that the NPS would administer the trail; this may have been determined by language to that effect in the two trail-related Congressional reports that had preceded the bill signing.⁶ On July 21, Acting NPS Director Denis Galvin issued a six-page activation memo stating, among other things, that the trail “should be administered through the Southwest Regional Office [SWRO; in Santa Fe] because the largest portion of the segments which possess original trail ruts are located in the Southwest, and many of the sites with high interpretive potential are located in that Region.”⁷

Galvin’s remarks on this subject were largely a restatement of April 1987 language in the U.S. Senate report on the trail, language which had also been strongly supported by Rep. Richardson.⁸ A week later, NPS personnel gathered in Santa Fe and held an activation meeting. In mid-August, agency officials held a two-day planning meeting to lay out future agency actions; the August 18 meeting was held in Santa Fe, while officials met the following day at Fort Union National Monument.⁹ Among those in attendance were officials from the SWRO and the Denver Service Center (DSC); the superintendents from Fort Union NM and Bent’s Old Fort NHS (both of which lay astride the Santa Fe Trail), and two trail coordinators (Thomas Gilbert from the Midwest Region and Brad Baumann from the Rocky Mountain Region). One of the DSC representatives was Dr. Jere Krakow, a historian who was currently on its Eastern Team.¹⁰

⁵ Author to William Unrau, January 16, 2009 and January 27, 2009, plus the *Congressional Record*, hearings, and congressional reports, all in “SAFE-TRTE Legislative Histories” folder, NTIR. Shortly after the trail bill became law, Rep. Richardson – dubbed “the law’s chief sponsor,” told a Santa Fe newspaper that the trail “reinforces national and internationally the historic record of New Mexico and the Old West, and it’s very positive for tourism.” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 18, 1987.

⁶ U.S. House of Representatives, 100th Congress, 1st Session, *Report 100-16* (March 10, 1987), p. 3; U.S. Senate, 100th Congress, 1st Session, *Report 100-39* (April 23, 1987), p. 2.

⁷ Denis Galvin (Acting Director NPS) to Regional Directors, July 21, 1987, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1987” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

⁸ U.S. Senate, 100th Congress, 1st Session, *Report 100-39* (April 23, 1987), p. 2. On March 16, 1987, Richardson had written to NPS Director William Mott, “I want to underscore my belief that the Southwest Region is the logical branch of the NPS to undertake such a management study,” primarily because, as he noted, eight of the nineteen national historic landmarks along the Santa Fe Trail were located in New Mexico. “Letters Received – NPS, SFT,” in “SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989,” NTIR.

⁹ Ed Natay memo, July 21, 1987; Robert B. Kasparek to Chief, Division of Planning and Compliance, RMRO, August 26, 1987; both in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1987” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹⁰ Attendance List, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1987” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR. Gilbert, at the time, administered the Lewis and Clark NHT, while Baumann oversaw the Mormon Pioneer NHT.

NPS officials, by this time, were well aware that an outside organization had recently been established to boost the Santa Fe Trail, an organization that had been several years in the making. In March 1980, the Santa Fe Trail Center – a six-year-old facility just outside of Larned, Kansas – had held its first “Rendezvous,” a three-day conference that featured lectures, tours, and historical entertainment. That event proved so successful that it became a regular event, held every two years.¹¹ In the fall of 1984, Joy Poole – who then managed the Baca House and Bloom Mansion in Trinidad for the Colorado Historical Society (CHS) – met with Bill Pitts and Ruth Olson (who were both affiliated with the Santa Fe Trail Center) at a Santa Fe conference of the Mountain Plains Museums Association.¹² They discussed the idea of a trails symposium that would be held in Trinidad, a town located astride the Santa Fe Trail. Poole then persuaded CHS president Barbara Sudler and director of education Marianne Lorenz (both in Denver) to sponsor the trail symposium. The symposium was made possible due to an American Association of University Women grant.¹³

That meeting took place in mid-September 1986 at Trinidad State Junior College. The two-day meeting was a solid success; attended by some 230 enthusiasts, it resulted in the formation of the Santa Fe Trail Council (SFTC), with well-known historian Marc Simmons as its president (see appendix 5). Krakow, a trails enthusiast, had attended the meeting; he gave a highly-regarded slide-tape show that he had co-produced with David Adams, a history professor at Southwest Missouri State University. Krakow, at that meeting, was chosen as an SFTC board member.¹⁴ During the months after the conference, Simmons and other SFTC members “lobbied strenuously” to get Rep. Richardson’s Santa Fe NHT bill through Congress.¹⁵ Once the trail was authorized, NPS officials did their utmost to keep members of this organization – known as the Santa Fe Trail Association (SFTA) after its September 1987 annual meeting – abreast of various trail planning

¹¹ Ruth Olson Peters, “Rendezvous History,” November 2005, included in Linda Revello to author email, November 1, 2018. Peters noted that the Rendezvous remained a March event until 1988, when it was moved to June (see appendix 5).

¹² Ruth Olson Peters to the author, email, November 1, 2018.

¹³ Marc Simmons, “SFTA – The Early Years,” at https://www.santafetrail.org/about-us/history/SFTA-The_Early_Years.pdf. As noted in a February 21, 1992 letter from Joy Poole to David Gaines and John Conoboy (“SFNHT Advisory Council – 1992” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR), the symposium was “a research project grant awarded to the Trinidad Branch of the AAUW and the Colorado Historical Society by the AAUW Educational Foundation.”

¹⁴ “Trinidad Symposium,” *Wagon Tracks* 1 (November 1986), p. 1; *Independence Examiner*, September 24, 1987. Krakow and Adams were professional colleagues, inasmuch as Krakow was a former history professor at SMSU.

¹⁵ *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 18, 1987.

issues, and later with various other issues related to trail administration.¹⁶

As with each of the other NHTs that had been authorized since 1987, agency officials recognized that the first two tasks that lay before them were the establishment of an advisory council and the compilation of a CMP. Interior Secretary Donald Hodel finalized an initial charter for the trail’s advisory council on December 1, 1987.¹⁷ The members of the council, according to National Trails System Act (NTSA) Section 5(d) criteria, were intended to be in place by May 8, 1988, but the 34-member advisory council was not appointed until October 26 of that year. William deBuys, a Santa Fe-based representative of the Conservation Fund, and David Sandoval, a history professor from the University of Southern Colorado in Pueblo, were chosen to head the advisory council.¹⁸ Welcome letters to the new council members were sent out in early 1989, but the advisory council did not have its initial meeting until June of that year.

Writing the Santa Fe NHT Comprehensive Management Plan

The Draft Planning Process

Meanwhile, in line with NTSA Section 5(f), the NPS was asked to complete “a comprehensive plan for the management, and use of the trail . . . within two complete fiscal years” of the trail’s enactment by Congress — in other words, by September 30, 1989. During the months initially following the bill’s authorization, titular leadership of the planning process was entrusted to Doug Faris, the Chief of Planning and

¹⁶ Board members changed the association’s name from SFTC to SFTA on September 24, 1987; see *Wagon Tracks* 2 (November 1987), p. 1. SFTC members, from the beginning, welcomed the participation of NPS staff in their organization. They were wary, however, of agency officials taking too active of an administrative role; as NPS official David Gaines noted after the September 1987 annual meeting, “Although we didn’t detect any jealousy, there are probably some feelings out there that the NPS will abscond with the baby that others helped deliver.” David Gaines, “Trip Report to SWRO,” September 30, 1987, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1987” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹⁷ A new charter was approved in early 1990, which would be in effect for the remainder of the council’s ten-year life. Acting Dir NPS to Interior Secretary, January 19, 1990, in “SFNHT – Advisory Council, 1990” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR. Other documents state that Hodel signed the charter on November 25, 1987.

¹⁸ Donald Hodel to various, October 26, 1988, in “SFNHT – Advisory Council, 1987-88” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; NPS, “Santa Fe National Historic Trail” planning newsletter #4 (February 1989), p. 1. David Gaines, who was responsible for the relatively large size of the advisory council, later wrote that “I tried to fill all authorized slots and never tried to economize, believing that the broader and more diverse the group, the bigger the benefit to the trail.” Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

Design in the agency's SWRO.¹⁹ But following the agency's initial two-day planning meeting in mid-August (see above), a planning team was named. Mike Spratt, from DSC, was named team captain, while other members included David Gaines, a landscape architect at SWRO; Jere Krakow, also from DSC, who was about to be moved from the Eastern Team to the Central Team in order to take part in the upcoming public meetings; Brad Baumann and Tom Gilbert, who served as the trail coordinators for RMRO and MWRO, respectively; and the superintendents of Fort Union NM, Bent's Old Fort NHS, and Fort Larned NHS.²⁰ The superintendent from Harry S Truman NHS joined the team soon afterward.²¹

Spratt and his colleagues moved quickly to get the planning process underway. Told that they would be budgeted about \$140,000 for the two-year project,²² they cobbled together a task directive that would provide a structure to be followed during the planning process; they assembled an ever-growing mailing list; they arranged for a series of public "pre-planning" meetings at venues along the trail, which took place in November 1987; and they compiled a brief planning newsletter that was distributed in October 1987.²³ Nine public meetings were held; heading from west to east, the first was held in Santa Fe on November 9, while the last was held November 19 in Independence. Between 20 and 80 people attended each of these meetings.²⁴ Despite the relatively large number of meeting venues, residents at the east end of the trail (in central Missouri) and on the Oklahoma panhandle complained, with some justification, that no meetings had been scheduled in their areas. As a result, NPS officials held an informal public meeting in early March 1988

¹⁹ Doug Faris to Sue Allison (Life Magazine), May 13, 1987, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

²⁰ Robert B. Kasperek memo, August 26, 1987, in "Letters Received – NPS, SFT" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989" box, NTIR; John Cook to Manager, DSC, December 3, 1987, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR. The superintendent at Pecos NM, the only other NPS unit along the Santa Fe Trail, was (in August 1987) getting ready to leave his post; a series of acting superintendents would lead the monument between September 1987 and February 1988. NPS, *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*, May 1991, p. 156.

²¹ NPS, "Santa Fe National Historic Trail" Planning Newsletter #1 (October 1987), 8 pp, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

²² The specific anticipated budget would be \$80,171 for fiscal year (FY) 1988 and \$58,908 for FY 1989. Michael Spratt memo, September 17, 1987, in "SFNHT – MPS Memoranda, 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

²³ The trail's task directive, begun soon after the mid-August planning meeting, was completed on March 16, 1988. John Cook to SHPOs (various), mid-November 1987, in "SFNHT, Correspondence 1987" folder, in "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; Doug Faris memo, November 16, 1987, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1987" file, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR; "SFNHT – Approved Task Directive, CM&UP" folder, in "SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1995" box, NTIR; Cook to RD/MWRO and RD/RMRO, March 17, 1988, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1988" file, "SAFE – Admin File, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

²⁴ See "Public Responses, Public Mtg., Nov. 9-20" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1963-1989" box, NTIR.

in Arrow Rock, Missouri, and another in late March in Boise City, Oklahoma.²⁵

Headquarters and Staffing Issues

A major issue that was voiced at these public meetings pertained to where the trail's administrative office would be located. As noted above, the Senate's report on the trail – which was doubtless influenced by New Mexico senators Jeff Bingaman and Pete Domenici, who echoed the sentiments of Rep. Bill Richardson – gave a strong nod toward locating the trail's office in Santa Fe. Even before the bill became law, however, Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS) and other Kansas legislators – citing language in the July 1986 trails "issue paper" (see chapter 3) – had protested the move and had instead urged that the trail be administered from the agency's regional office in Omaha.²⁶ Throughout the summer and fall, newspaper editorials and advocates of every stripe also weighed in on this issue, suggesting such disparate locations as Pecos NM,²⁷ Fort Union NM,²⁸ Larned, Kansas,²⁹ and Independence, Missouri.³⁰ The location of the trail office was additionally important because while some hoped for a regional office, where a diversity of personnel could administer the trail as a dedicated unit, others (specifically park superintendents) hoped to add trail responsibilities to their park-related duties. NPS Director Mott, to set the record straight, stated in September 1987 that no decision on an administrative office had yet been made – but until the comprehensive plan was completed, it would be assigned "to an appropriate Regional Office." He furthermore noted that after the plan had been approved, "NPS responsibilities are fulfilled in a Regional Office."³¹ Discordant voices

²⁵ Dan Murphy to Joan Kachel (Goodwell, Okla.), November 12, 1987, in "SFNHT, Correspondence 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; "Public Responses, Public Mtg., Nov. 9-20" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1963-1989" box, NTIR; Gaines to Marc Simmons, April 1, 1988, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1988" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

²⁶ Kassebaum to Dale Bumpers, April 7, 1987, and Kassebaum, etc. to Donald Hotel, April 21, 1987; both in "Letters Received – NPS, SFT" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989" box, NTIR.

²⁷ John Cook to Sen. Jeff Bingaman, December 28, 1987, and William Penn Mott to Sen. Pete Domenici, October 20, 1987; both in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

²⁸ Robert M. Utley to Domenici, August 4, 1987; Diana G. Stein (Citizens' Committee for Historic Preservation, Las Vegas), September 17, 1987; both in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

²⁹ *Tiller and Toiler* (Larned, Kansas), November 25, 1987. Members of the public that attended a February 29, 1988 public meeting in Larned felt that the decision to locate the office in Santa Fe was (in David Gaines's phraseology) "unprecedented Congressional meddling." Gaines memo, March 15, 1988, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1988" folder, "SAFE – Admin File, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

³⁰ Mott to Sen. John C. Danforth (R-MO), July 8, 1987, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder; Rep. Alan Wheat (D-MO) to Mott, June 8, 1987, in "SFNHT, Correspondence 1987" folder; both in "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

³¹ John Cook to Jeff Bingaman, December 28, 1987, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder, in "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR. David Gaines, in a November 1, 2018 email to the author, states that SWRO planning chief Doug Faris may have convinced Cook to locate Santa Fe Trail administration in the Santa Fe office.

continued to be heard on the matter throughout the comprehensive planning process, but Mott's statement (which reflected the verbiage in the Senate report) set a consistent tone that eventually settled the issue.

As noted above, the initial leaders of the trail's planning effort were Planning Division Chief Doug Faris (from SWRO), followed by Michael Spratt (DSC). Another key person during this period, however, was David Gaines (see appendix 4), a landscape architect who worked for Faris and had been an NPS employee in Santa Fe since January 1977. Gaines had participated in the two-day trails planning workshop in mid-August 1987, he was the designated contact person for a trail-related press release later that month, and in late September he spoke on behalf of the NPS at the SFTC's second annual meeting in Hutchinson, Kansas.³² These actions suggest that SWRO officials, by this time, had concluded that Gaines would eventually lead the agency's trail planning effort. Although Spratt led (and Krakow assisted with) the nine November public meetings, Gaines "attended and helped conduct" five of them.³³ In the aftermath of those meetings, Gaines was designated the SWRO project coordinator for the project. Gaines saw the ad hoc appointment as unexceptional, noting that "The National Park Service traditionally uses landscape architects and park planners to carry out its planning and design agenda."³⁴ Spratt continued to be active until May 1988, when he was replaced as team captain by John Paige, also of DSC.³⁵ But throughout this period, Gaines was known as the Project Coordinator for the planning team, and in that role he grappled with most of the day-to-day trail issues.³⁶ At that time, the NPS's SWRO was housed in the Old Santa Fe Trail Building, located 1½ miles southeast of the Santa Fe Plaza; due to space constraints, however, the Planning Division staff (and Gaines more specifically) occupied offices in the Piñon Building, located on St. Francis Drive south of Alta Vista St., 1½ miles west of the headquarters building.

³² SWRO Press Release, August 27, 1987, and Gaines memo, September 10, 1987; both in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; Gaines to author, email, Aug. 20, 2014. Gaines began his NPS career with the Blue Ridge Parkway, another linear resource.

³³ Other NPS employees who attended multiple meetings included Jere Krakow (DSC) and Tom Gilbert (MWRO). Gaines memo, December 2, 1987, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR. Writing much later about the opportunity in 1987 to lead a trail planning effort, Gaines – recognizing full well that the agency had been half-hearted at best in its approach to previous NHTs – said, "The Santa Fe Trail [had] a real opportunity to break new ground if NPS leadership wished to accept its legally [NTSA] mandated and ongoing administrative responsibility. And then Regional Director Cook, without a second thought, stipulates that he wants the SFNHT to be administered *as if it was a unit* of the NP System! . . . I jumped [at the chance]! David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

³⁴ Gaines to Nancy Lee Montgomery (Denver), November 23, 1987, in "SFNHT, Correspondence 1987" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

³⁵ NPS, *Santa Fe National Historic Trail, Comprehensive Management and Use Plan*, May 1990, p. 141; NPS, *SFNHT Newsletter*, October 1988, 1.

³⁶ Gaines letter, September 11, 1987, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1987" folder; Gaines letter, November 9, 1988, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1988" folder; both in "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

Mapping the Santa Fe Trail

Early in the planning process, NPS officials recognized that a key planning need was the preparation of a series of detailed (large-scale) maps of the trail corridor. In September 1987, therefore, DSC officials contacted publisher and trail advocate Gregory Franzwa who, as noted in Chapter 3, had published *Maps of the Oregon Trail* in 1982 and again in 1984.³⁷ That volume had featured 1:125,000 maps in rural areas, with more detailed inset maps in urban areas. Franzwa, at this time, expressed an interest in producing a series of maps to be self-published through Patrice Press. NPS officials, who were obligated to have a series of maps (as part of a draft CMP) ready by September 1988, convinced Franzwa to replicate his Oregon Trail effort for the Santa Fe Trail under a government contract, recognizing that Franzwa could later customize those maps and have them privately printed. Franzwa knew that any such mapping volume would require a top-notch Santa Fe Trail historian, so he asked NPS officials to include, as part of the mapping contract, the services of Dr. Leo Oliva³⁸ and his wife Bonita. Given that arrangement, DSC officials in early March 1988 finalized a sole-source contract "to locate and map the [trail] and its associated historic sites."³⁹

On the heels of that contract, the field mapping effort commenced. On March 15, 1988, a five-member team met in Boonville, Missouri to begin their work. That team, consisting of contractors Gregory Franzwa, Leo Oliva, and Bonita Oliva along with DSC employees Michael Spratt and Jere Krakow, headed across the Missouri River to nearby Old Franklin, at the trail's east end. From there, the team gradually headed west, and in the many weeks to come, they covered the entire trail. Traveling back roads and speaking to trail experts at many points along the way, they continued all the way to Santa Fe, zig-zagging between the Cimarron and Mountain routes, as well as the Aubry Route, the Granada-Ft. Union military road. After a bit of backtracking near the west end of the trail, they finished their effort in Santa Fe on May 20.⁴⁰

³⁷ Gregory M. Franzwa, *Impressions of the Santa Fe Trail* (St. Louis, Patrice Press, 1988), 1.

³⁸ Leo Oliva, a historian from Fort Hays State University, had published books about the Santa Fe Trail – primarily its military aspects – going back to 1967; in addition, he and his wife conducted an annual two-week Santa Fe Trail tour. As Spratt noted in his justification for a sole-source contract (see footnote below), "there is no one else [but the Olivas] with the time, knowledge, and unique capabilities to carry out this complicated task. . . . they have collected an extensive library of raw data that would take the NPS months and thousands of dollars to acquire."

³⁹ The total contract amount – to Franzwa and to Leo and Bonita Oliva – was \$9,464. John Cook (RD, SWRO) to Director NPS, November 2, 1989, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989" folder, and Michael J. Spratt to Contracting Specialist, DSC, March 1, 1988, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1988" folder; both in "SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

⁴⁰ Franzwa, *Impressions of the Santa Fe Trail*, 1-2, 80, 157, 178-80. Spratt spent little time on the trail; a more constant presence was Dr. Betty Burnett, Franzwa's professional colleague.

Franzwa, working on the DSC contract, completed and submitted a series of maps (at a 1:125,000 scale) on August 30, 1988. Those maps, in turn, were forwarded to officials in the Southwest, Midwest, and Rocky Mountain regions. The maps were then “subject to review by a panel of experts.”⁴¹ Jere Krakow, one of those experts, suggested “a few corrections,” which were completed by November 1.⁴² The agency then incorporated those maps into a draft map supplement volume, internal versions of which were prepared in January and April 1989, prior to its issuance to the general public later that year.⁴³

In the meantime, the planning team began working on the text portion of the plan (which, using NTSA nomenclature, was more formally known as the Comprehensive Management and Use Plan). John Paige, who had recently replaced Michael Spratt as the leader of the DSC planning team, led a July 18-19, 1988 meeting with regional and park personnel to organize the effort, and after soliciting comments from affected American Indian tribes (in order to comply with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act), the write-up began.⁴⁴

On March 3, 1989, a preliminary draft of the plan was completed and was sent to the five state historic preservation officers (SHPOs) along the trail. After responding to these comments, a delayed draft comprehensive plan, dated April 1989 (and including a map supplement), was sent to the printers on April 17 and made available to the public on May 12.⁴⁵ A public comment period then ensued until June 16; during May and early June, the NPS held ten public meetings, in towns up and down the trail, to solicit public comments.⁴⁶

Logo Development

A trail logo was a key element of the draft plan. In the fall of 1987, SFTA President

⁴¹ John W. Bright (Asst. Manager DSC) to RD (various), August 30, 1988, in “Letters Sent Out – NPS” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989” box, NTIR.

⁴² Jere Krakow (Historian, Eastern Team, DSC) to H. Denny Davis (Wood Creek Corp, MO newspapers), late Sept. 1988, “Letters Sent Out – NPS” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1963-1989” box, NTIR.

⁴³ NPS, “Santa Fe National Historic Trail, Comprehensive Management and Use Plan, Map Supplement (stapled), January 1989 and April 1989 version, in “SAFE – Admin Files, 1963-1989” box, NTIR.

⁴⁴ John Paige to David Gaines, August 4, 1988, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1988” folder, “SAFE Admin Files – 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Eldon G. Reyer to [14 American Indian tribes], April 19, 1988, and Edward H.L. Natay to All-Indian Pueblo Council, Inc., April 28, 1988, both in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1988” folder, “SAFE Admin Files – 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

⁴⁵ As noted in NPS, “Santa Fe National Historic Trail” Planning Newsletter #4 (February 1989, p. 1), the delay was caused when “the writer-editor responsible for overseeing production of the draft plan was detailed to the White House for a special project.”

⁴⁶ *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 4, 1989.

Marc Simmons had announced a logo contest for the association; that logo would be used for “auto tour route” signs and all other trail-related waysides and publications. But given the comments expressed at the fall 1987 public meetings, NPS officials in April 1988 opted to pursue a new course; rather than adopt the SFTA’s logo, they decided to craft their own. They decided to entrust the logo design to a professional graphic designer, with SFTA members being asked to serve as advisors to the NPS planning team.⁴⁷ The NPS then contacted Martin Kim, a Santa Fe-based designer, who donated his time and talents to create the present logo.⁴⁸ By October 1988, a foamboard prototype of the logo had been completed and was undergoing field testing along Interstate 25 near Santa Fe. (One staffer recalls that an orange and maroon logo was tested; another, however, has stated that the prototype was green and tan, with black letters.) That field testing quieted the fears of federal highway officials, who openly worried that traffic would stop at the signs and thus be a safety hazard. Field testing further revealed that the logo “was quite visible and identifiable,” but “adjustments were made . . . to use black instead of brown letters, to add an outside black border, and to improve the outline of the oxen.” That revised design was illustrated in the draft comprehensive plan, and its use was protected via a May 16, 1989 *Federal Register* notice.⁴⁹

Throughout 1989 and well into 1990, NPS and Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) officials in Washington were engaged in a long, tortuous debate about appropriateness of the logos and associated verbiage for highway travelers; FHWA and its sign research bureau advocated for greater simplicity (it suggested a change from six oxen to two oxen and eliminating the outside lettering), while the NPS stuck to its original March 1989 design. Based on these and other differences, FHWA officials refused to approve the signs. By the summer of 1990, after the final comprehensive management plan (CMP) had been completed, the final format for the road signs remained unchanged from the previous year’s design, except that the color arrangement in the areas outside of the logo had changed from green-on-tan to brown-on-white.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Wagon Tracks*, November 1987, 2; February 1988, 1; May 1988, 2; Eldon G. Reyer to Marc Simmons, April 4, 1988, in “Letters Sent Out – Groups” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989” box, NTIR.

⁴⁸ NPS Director James Ridenour lauded Kim for his work, noting that “the wagon and oxen design not only depicts and conveys the essential flavor of the trail, but provides a real sense of movement and vitality, a fitting combination to stimulate public commemoration of and interest in the trail.” NPS Director to Kim, May 4, 1989, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

⁴⁹ *Federal Register* 54 (May 16, 1989), 21131-32; Gerald Patten to Director NPS, May 9, 1989, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Conoboy to the author, email, October 24, 2018; Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

⁵⁰ Gaines to Joanne Orr, November 25, 1988, in “SFT Correspondence 1988” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; Eldon Reyer to Philip O. Russell, February 17, 1989 and Harry B. Skinner to Thomas B. Carroll, August 14, 1990; both in “SFNHT – Logo FHWA/Testing Issue” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1995” box, NTIR.

The FHWA Washington office's lack of approval continued to be a sticking point. But the highway agency's Denver Regional Office – which had a good working relationship with the NPS's DSC – resolved the problem by approving the signs as originally designed, and the helpful intervention of Carroll Morgenson from the Kansas Department of Transportation (DOT) resulted, in the summer of 1991, in FHWA approval for not only Kansas but for other states as well. In December 1991, therefore, an NPS Santa Fe Trail planning newsletter averred that “the Kansas section of the auto tour route should be fully signed sometime in early 1992.” The NPS, moreover, was optimistic that other SFT states would also have signs installed by the end of the 1992 FY. The successful implementation of this sign-approval process eased the way, in later years, for auto tour route signs to be adopted for other NHTs as well.⁵¹

Once a logo had been designed and published, it proved sufficiently popular that outside entities approached NPS officials hoping to “use the logo on their publications or product lines.” In early 1990, officials moved to enact regulations regarding licensing procedures of the logo for commercial and public service use. (Such uses would be allowed if “the intended use will be an enhancement of the [trail] which would complement the trail program as it is administered by the NPS.”)⁵² This need resulted in a November 1991 Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between the NPS and the National Park Foundation. This MOA gave the Foundation the responsibility for “trademark registration and commercial licensing” of the trail logo.⁵³

Another key part of the draft trail plan, closely related to the logo, was an auto tour route. This route concept, which was identical to the “designated highway route” that was included in the Mormon Pioneer Trail plan (see chapter 3), was “designed to allow reasonably simple and direct travel paralleling the approximate route of the main Santa Fe Trail . . . , keeping in mind travelers' convenience and year-round safety.”⁵⁴ During the public comment period that followed the release of the draft trail plan, the public broadly approved both the implementation of this concept and its specific geographical route. The only negative response (a minor one) was

⁵¹ Gaines to SFNHT Advisory Council, memo, Sept. 12, 1991, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; NPS, *Santa Fe National Historic Trail* (planning newsletter), December 1991, 2; David Gaines email, August 20, 2014.

⁵² Richard Smith to Harry Myers, August 28, 1989, in “SFNHT – Memoranda, 1989” folder; RD/SWRO to Director NPS, January 23, 1990 and Gaines to Chief, Division of Finance, SWRO, February 21, 1990; both in “SFNHT – Memoranda, 1990” folder; all in “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR. These regulations were intended to be published in the *Federal Register*, but so far as is known, this never took place.

⁵³ Alan A. Rubin to John E. Cook, November 8, 1991, in “SFNHT – MOA 7029-2-0002” folder, NTIR contract files; Gaines to Dave Webb, March 28, 1996, in “SFTA 1996” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR. The NPF had undertaken a similar agreement for the NPS logo that was used in the agency's 75th anniversary activities.

⁵⁴ NPS, *Santa Fe NHT Draft Comprehensive Plan* (April 1989), 40-41, 117-120.

voiced in Kansas, when senators Bob Dole and Nancy Kassebaum complained that the designated auto tour route did not pass either the Santa Fe Trail Center, near Larned, or Fort Larned National Historic Site. The agency amicably responded to the legislators' suggestion, and the route was modified in the final trail plan to include those two sites.⁵⁵

Finalizing the Plan

During the spring of 1989, the NPS decided to publicize both the newly-designated trail and the agency's planning process, so it underwrote the cost of a short film, *All's Set on the Santa Fe Trail*. The agency contracted with Ladder Films, and on a “shoestring budget,” filming took place up and down the trail in May 1989.⁵⁶ Given the assistance of SFTA and its members,⁵⁷ the “short [12-minute], introductory film” was completed by October and was made available in a VHS format. The film was “well received” by all concerned, and by late 1990 more than 1,000 people had reportedly seen it.⁵⁸

On June 21, 1989, a week after the public comment period closed for the draft comprehensive plan, the trail's advisory council met for the first time, in Santa Fe. At that meeting, most of the council members were pleased with the plan, but Edmundo Delgado, a tourism developer and former New Mexico legislator, was less than enamored with it; according to a briefing statement, he “objected to the lack of trail interpretation at Pecos [NHP] and objected to the draft plan's cultural bias that played down the role of Hispanics, Indians, and others in trail history.” As

⁵⁵ Dole and Kassebaum to Manuel Lujan, July 14, 1989, in “SFT Correspondence 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; NPS, *Santa Fe NHT Final Comprehensive Plan* (May 1990), 38-39, 114. The only known change to the auto tour route since 1990 took place in 2006, when the auto tour route heading north-south between Fort Larned NHS and U.S. Highway 56 was moved west from a partially-paved county road to (fully-paved) U.S. Highway 183. John Conoboy to Jere Krakow, July 12, 2006, in author's electronic files; “Re-Route Files,” July 10, 2006, in the following NTIR folder: U:\SantaFeTrail\Auto Tour Rt.

⁵⁶ Ed Natay to various, August 18, 1989, in “SFT Correspondence 1989” folder; Gaines letter, December 20, 1989, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1989” folder; Gaines to Bob Exline, Salina, July 17, 1991, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence, 1991” folder; all in “SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

⁵⁷ On September 29, 1989, the NPS and SFTA entered into a three-year memorandum of understanding (their first of many) related to the film and its distribution. Rick Smith to Marc Simmons, in “SFT Correspondence 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; “Closed Santa Fe Trail Agreements” (chart), file name “SAFE Agreements, 1989-1997”, in the following NTIR folder: U:\NTIR-Gen'l\Agrmnt Lists\Agreements Compilations.

⁵⁸ RD/SWRO to WASO, etc., October 2, 1989, in “SFT Correspondence 1989” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; Minutes of the Nov. 15-16, 1990 SFNHT Advisory Council Meeting, in “SFNHT – Advisory Council, 1990” folder, “SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR. Other filmmakers, most notably Gordon Knox of SKS Productions in Santa Fe, also proposed trail-related film projects, but no funds were available for them.

a result, Delgado worked with NPS staff members John Paige and Jere Krakow on a revised text, and by October 18, Delgado was pleased by the changes. Less than a month later, the advisory council reconvened, this time in Council Grove, KS; the local press noted that the meeting's purpose was to "focus on the revisions the NPS has made to the draft [plan]." At that meeting, the council unanimously endorsed the draft plan.⁵⁹

Although Delgado's concerns with the draft plan were amicably resolved, the concerns of another plan participant, Gregory Franzwa, proved to be more contentious. Franzwa, who was a leader among trail advocates because of his Oregon Trail research and his role in organizing the OCTA, had been involved with – and had embraced – the Oregon NHT's 1981 CMP. He pressed for a similar plan for the Santa Fe NHT. But as David Gaines and other NPS officials compiled the draft CMP, they began to comprehend and interpret the NTSA's requirements in ways that previous (early 1980s) NPS trail planners had not. Franzwa often did not agree with these evolving interpretations, and as Gaines has noted, Franzwa's "mindset and prior experience contributed to later disputes with the NPS over Santa Fe National Historic Trail planning."⁶⁰

Work then proceeded for completing and publishing the final plan. The agency produced a review draft in October 1989; in March 1990 a final draft was produced and reviewed by the advisory council.⁶¹ By mid-May 1990, the agency had prepared a brief "Finding of No Significant Impact," which was completed and approved by Regional Director John E. Cook on May 23.⁶² The two-volume final plan, dated May 1990, was sent to the printers in late June and was distributed to a wide audience in mid-August.⁶³

Once the plan was completed, the Santa Fe Trail was fortunate in that a budget was in place for its administration. As noted above, the trail had received planning funds (a total of approximately \$140,000) for FYs 1988 and 1989, and in 1990, the trail

⁵⁹ *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 4, 1995; Gaines to Delgado, August 9, 1989, in "SFT Correspondence 1989" folder, "SAFE – Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; NPS, "SAFE Briefing Statement," November 24, 1989, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR; NPS, "SAFE Briefing Statement, March 5, 1990, in "SFT Correspondence, 1990" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; *Council Grove Republican*, November 6, 1989.

⁶⁰ David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

⁶¹ Gaines to Advisory Council, March 14, 1990, in "SFT Advisory Council 89-90" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁶² Gaines to Prof. H. Paul Friesema, May 17, 1990, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; "SFNHT – Approved Task Directive, CM&UP" folder and "Finding of No Significant Impact" folder; both in "SAFE – Admin Files, 1987-1995" box, NTIR.

⁶³ John Conoboy to Dan Sharp, June 28, 1990, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; *Kansas City Star*, September 27, 1990.

received a line-item budget of \$74,000, a figure that remained more-or-less constant until 1993 (see appendix 6). Gaines, in early 1993, rued to an advisory council member that the trail's \$81,000 budget that year

does not cover existing staff salaries and benefits, advisory council expenses, travel, supplies, printing, nor project cost-share grants. We've supplemented trail funds by relying on the Washington Office's long-distance trails allocation [see section at the end of this chapter] and Regional Director Cook's assistance, which have increased our budget to about \$150,000. Nevertheless, without a permanent operating base increase we cannot hire additional permanent staff . . . based on this non-recurring funding.⁶⁴

Throughout the period in which the Santa Fe Trail draft CMP was being prepared, the SWRO employees comprised the ad hoc staff. David Gaines was the only employee who was solely devoted to trails work. (During the summer of 1988, because there was also a Masau Trail study that was being undertaken by regional office planners, Gaines became known as the regional trails coordinator, in an office known as the Branch of Trails Programs.) Assisting Gaines in trails work was Frances McCalmont (a planning division secretary), Jane Harvey (a writer-editor), and others, all of whom contributed their talents on an as-needed basis (see appendix 4).

Once the draft management plan was completed, staff changes took place. In August 1989, Gaines brought on his first professional staff person: John Conoboy, an outdoor recreation planner with park ranger experience at Cedar Breaks NM and Zion NP (both in Utah), at Mt. Rainier NP in Washington, and C&O Canal NHP near Washington, D.C.⁶⁵ In April 1990, the Branch of Trails Programs was renamed the Branch of Long Distance Trails. That same month, Terrie Quintana started working as a secretary for the branch; she was followed, six months later, by clerk-typist Anita Hackett, who also served for a fairly brief period (*Appendix 4*).

Issues Arising from the Comprehensive Plan

Interpretive Facilities; the Arrow Rock/Old Franklin Issue

⁶⁴ Gaines to Ramon Powers, February 19, 1993, in "SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

⁶⁵ Gaines letter, July 11, 1989, in "SFT Correspondence 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; John Conoboy, interview with the author, March 12, 2014.

As the planning process moved forward, several contentious issues arose, one of which dealt with interpretive facilities. At a 1986 House hearing prior to the trail's designation, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs suggested that "the National Park Service should take steps to expand upon the interpretation and preservation of the Santa Fe Trail at the five national park units located along the trail route."⁶⁶ The legislation itself, however, did not address this issue, and the trail's task directive merely asked if "any site(s) be designated as an interpretive center, and what would such a center include."⁶⁷

Perhaps because the 1981 Oregon Trail's CMP had called for an interpretive facility at each end of the trail, Gaines was initially inclined to support similar centers for the Santa Fe Trail. Recognizing that the State of Missouri had been planning an interpretive center at Arrow Rock State Historic Site since 1972, he stated in September 1988 that "Arrow Rock seems, from an NPS perspective, the most desirable . . . site for a major [east-end] trail interpretive facility." And in Santa Fe, plans aired that same month called for an "End of the Santa Fe Trail" exhibit to be housed at the Palace of the Governors. Both of these projects had state government support.⁶⁸ Given Congress's interest (see above), however, Gaines also stated that additional trail-related interpretation would be located at proposed "new visitor centers" at Fort Larned NHS, Kansas; Bent's Old Fort NHS, Colorado; and Fort Union NM, New Mexico.⁶⁹ Those plans, bold as they were, did not stop other entities from also weighing in, and during 1988 Gaines received entreaties for visitor centers in Baldwin City, Kansas;⁷⁰ Raton Pass, on the Colorado-New Mexico border;⁷¹ Clayton, New Mexico; Elkhart, Kansas;⁷² and Boise City, Oklahoma.⁷³ Agency officials, however, spurned those offers, and in its draft plan, the NPS held fast to its plan to offer interpretation at each end of the trail (both of which would take place at facilities that were still in the planning stage) as well as at "new or expanded facilities" at the three above-named NPS units.⁷⁴

⁶⁶ These units were Pecos NM, Fort Union NM, Bent's Old Fort NHS, Fort Larned NHS, and Harry S Truman NHS.

⁶⁷ NPS, "Task Directive, Santa Fe National Historic Trail, Package No. DS59, February 1988," in "SF-NHT - Approved Task Directive, CM&UP" folder, "Admin Files - 1987-1995" box, NTIR.

⁶⁸ Gaines memo, September 9, 1988; Dan Murphy to Gaines, September 19, 1988; both in "SFNHT - NPS Memoranda, 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR; Kathy Borgman to H. Denny Davis, September 14, 1988, in "SFNHT - Public Correspondence 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁶⁹ Gaines to Gordon Knox, November 7, 1988, in "SFNHT - Public Correspondence 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁷⁰ P. Philip Barnhouse to Gaines, November 26, 1988, in "SFT Correspondence 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁷¹ Gaines to Stephanie Two-Eagles, September 21, 1990, in "SFNHT, Public Correspondence 1991" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁷² Nick Brown to Gaines, in "SFNHT - Public Correspondence - 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁷³ Cimarron Co. Historical Society to Gaines, June 9, 1989, in "SFNHT - Public Correspondence - 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁷⁴ NPS, *Draft CMP/EA, Santa Fe NHT*, April 1989, 32-36.

The choice of where to locate an interpretive facility at the east end of the trail, however, proved to be controversial. In early 1988, one concerned citizen - worried that the agency was thinking of placing its east-end interpretive facility at Harry S Truman NHS in Independence - instead suggested a site along Interstate 70, several miles south of Old Franklin.⁷⁵ The real controversy, however, began on August 31 of that year when Gaines, at a public meeting in Arrow Rock, touted the advantages of locating an interpretive facility in that community.⁷⁶ He did so, in part, because Arrow Rock, a Missouri River town astride the Santa Fe Trail, had existed since the 1830s. Arrow Rock State Historic Site had been established in 1923, and in 1963, the entire town had been designated a national historic landmark (NHL). Gaines's decision to work with the State of Missouri on an Arrow Rock visitor center, moreover, made economic sense, and it was also consistent with NTSA's Section 7(c), which called for "trail interpretation sites [to] be maintained by a State agency."⁷⁷ Old Franklin, by contrast, was unpopulated (it was "full of soybeans," as one NPS observer noted), and it was located within the Missouri River floodplain. As such, constructing a facility there (one with any substantial federal involvement) would have been contrary to floodplain management guidelines.⁷⁸

That decision, however, did not sit well with Denny Davis, the editor of the main newspaper in Fayette County (where Old Franklin was located) because, as he noted, "I feel it is wrong to do this. It doesn't jibe with history. The trail began at Franklin."⁷⁹ Davis, using his newspaper as a platform, launched a vociferous protest against Arrow Rock, with its "slick promotion and marketing machine" and its "B&B intellectuals of the art and summer theatre colony."⁸⁰ Davis passed along his concerns to his congressional delegation. Then, in mid-September 1988, Davis held a "mass meeting" at New Franklin (on the bluff just north of Old Franklin). At that meeting, a nonprofit group called Franklin or Bust, Inc. was formed. NPS officials, in response, suggested the construction of an NPS-sponsored "interpretive shelter or pavilion at Old Franklin."⁸¹ But Davis, his co-leader Gregory Franzwa, and the other group members demanded that the NPS build (and pay for) a visitor center

⁷⁵ Alan Everson to Gaines, March 7, 1988, in "Letters Sent Out - Groups" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989" box, NTIR.

⁷⁶ "Santa Fe Trail Plan Slights Franklin," *Fayette Democrat-Leader*, September 3, 1988.

⁷⁷ Kathy Borgman to H. Denny Davis, September 14, 1988, in "SFNHT - Public Correspondence 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁷⁸ Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 1988. Executive Order 11988, issued on May 24, 1977, notes (in Section 2) that agencies must examine more viable alternatives before building in floodplains.

⁷⁹ H. Denny Davis to Jere Krakow, September 6, 1988, in "Letters Sent Out - NPS" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989" box, NTIR.

⁸⁰ *Fayette Democrat-Leader*, September 3, 1988; John Cook to Sen. John C. Danforth, in "SFT Correspondence 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR. The "marketing machine" to which Davis referred may have been the Friends of Arrow Rock, a group that had been established in 1959 to support the state's efforts at the local historic site.

⁸¹ "Franklin or Bust Seeks New Center," *Wagon Tracks* 3 (November 1988), 1; Marc Simmons, "President's Column," *Wagon Tracks* 3 (February 1989), 2; John Cook to Rep. Frank R. Wolf, in "SFNHT - Public Correspondence 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin File, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

at Old Franklin. As a result, Franzwa and others were frank in their dissatisfaction with the agency's April 1989 draft trail plan, which recommended a state-sponsored interpretive center at Arrow Rock.⁸²

The most contentious event related to this advocacy effort took place in early June 1989, during a well-attended Boonville public meeting related to the recently-issued draft comprehensive plan. At that meeting, which was led by NPS employees John Paige, Jere Krakow, and David Gaines, Franzwa read a statement "crucifying" the agency for positing that Arrow Rock and not Old Franklin was the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail – even though no agency employees had ever made such a statement.⁸³ But perhaps in response to such rhetoric, the NPS in late June 1989 quietly dropped the idea of lending support to an interpretive center at either end of the trail.⁸⁴ That year the State of Missouri was finally able to begin construction on its long-planned visitor center at Arrow Rock. The center was completed and dedicated in September 1991, although exhibits were not installed until 1993 if not later.⁸⁵

Davis and Franzwa, meanwhile, continued their fight against the NPS and for an Old Franklin interpretive center by opting for a legislative solution. The agency opposed those efforts; in a November 1989 briefing statement to its Washington office, regional NPS officials stated that the agency "should oppose any Congressional action designed to get the Service involved with visitor center construction and operation at Franklin."⁸⁶ By 1991, the two trail advocates were still active in their quest; they were working with Missouri's congressional delegation to underwrite a facility that the NPS would build and possibly operate as well.⁸⁷ That year, however, the prospects for an Old Franklin historical center dimmed when a large industrial facility, the Missouri Resources Hi-Tech Energy Center, was proposed nearby. That plan was effectively abandoned in March 1993.⁸⁸ And just

⁸² *Columbia Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1989.

⁸³ Joy Poole to Gaines, appx. June 5, 1989, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; Jere Krakow, interview by the author, January 23, 2014.

⁸⁴ NPS, *Draft CMP/EA, Santa Fe Trail NHT*, April 1989, 32-36; NPS, *Final CMP/EA, Santa Fe Trail NHT*, May 1990, 34-36; *Columbia Missourian*, January 31, 1990.

⁸⁵ Virginia Lee Fisher to Marc Simmons, March 2, 1989, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; *Columbia Daily Tribune*, September 29, 1991; Conoboy to State of Missouri, March 15, 1993, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

⁸⁶ NPS Briefing Statement, November 3, 1989, in "SFNHT – Memoranda, 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR. On a more personal note, another press release noted that "Mr. Davis . . . has written inaccurate articles about NPS planning activity and NPS authorities." Acting RD to Director NPS, November 27, 1989, in "SFT Correspondence 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁸⁷ John Cook to Director NPS, November 22, 1991, in "SFNHT, NPS Memoranda – 1991" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

⁸⁸ *Boonville Daily News*, November 8-9, 1991; *Columbia Daily Tribune*, March 24, 1993; *The Record* (Boonville), March 30, 1993.

four months later, Franklin or Bust's efforts came to an abrupt halt when the Great Flood of 1993 inundated Old Franklin along with much of the rest of the Missouri River's floodplain in that state.⁸⁹

Unrelated to the planning process that resulted in the Arrow Rock visitor center, a larger, Missouri-based trail-related museum came to fruition during this period. In Independence, the long-planned National Frontier Trails Center – located just south of the town square where so many caravans had begun their treks along the Santa Fe, Oregon, and California trails – was housed in a late-19th-century factory complex and was built with \$2 million in state funds. Construction began by January 1989, and the center was formally opened in late March 1990. NPS Regional Director John Cook spoke at the opening gala.⁹⁰ At the western end of the trail, however, events moved at a slower pace. As early as the spring of 1989, State of New Mexico officials had told the NPS that "an expansion of the [Palace of the Governors] museum is planned." That expansion, however, was not completed until May 2009, when the New Mexico History Museum (which included Santa Fe Trail exhibits) opened to the public.⁹¹

Concern Over Additional Routes

Another crucial issue that was discussed during the late 1980s – when the comprehensive plan was being written – dealt with the congressional status of the various Santa Fe Trail routes. The trail bill that was signed into law in May 1987 made reference to the map that had been included in the 1975-1976 BOR's study; that, in turn, was a copy of the map drawn, in 1962-1963, for William Brown's National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings (NSHSB) trail study. Brown's map was of the "bare bones" variety; it showed little more than sinuous single lines along the Mountain Route and the Cimarron Route. Trail historians, however, recognized that those who traveled the trail often took a variety of alternate routes, including a military route south from Fort Leavenworth, a connecting route from Fort Hays to Fort Dodge; the Aubry Route; the Granada-Fort Union Military Road, and a variety of routes that left the Arkansas River in western Kansas and joined the Cimarron Route. The mapping crew that canvassed the trail in the spring of 1988, led by

⁸⁹ *Boonville Daily News*, July 12, 1993; <http://mo.water.usgs.gov/Reports/1993-Flood/>. Denny Davis, however, continued as late as 1995 to address the NPS with a "Franklin or Bust" letterhead.

⁹⁰ As noted in Chapter 3, NPS staff in the Seattle office had consulted about this center back in 1984. The quote is from David Gaines. Gaines site report, October 17, 1988, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR; National Frontier Trails Center newsletter, January 1989, in "SFT Correspondence 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; Barbara Potts to John Cook, February 8, 1990, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

⁹¹ NPS, *Draft CMP/EA, Santa Fe NHT*, April 1989, 36; <http://www.nmhistorymuseum.org/campus.php>.

Gregory Franzwa, delved into the location of these trails. NPS officials, therefore, were not surprised when Franzwa's maps – which appeared in the map supplement to the April 1989 draft comprehensive plan – reflected a more expansive view of what constituted the Santa Fe Trail.

But trail advocates, including members of the trail's advisory council, were well aware that Congress – and thus the NPS – officially recognized only those routes that appeared on Brown's map. In order to remedy this imbalance, advisory council members in early 1990 began to make their wishes known – specifically, that they wanted to add “side and branch” trails to the officially-designated trail.⁹²

In response, an NPS Washington official advised trails staff that because a Santa Fe Trail feasibility study had never been conducted, adding trail segments “probably cannot be done without Congressional action.” The official recommended the completion of a separate study “that can conduct the necessary analysis and planning usually included in feasibility planning.”⁹³ The final CMP, dated May 1990, contained in its map supplement an almost identical set of maps that had been published a year earlier. The plan itself, however, stated that the agency would “recognize and discuss these branches, as well as other interrelated trails, in its interpretive programs along the main trail.” The plan also reiterated the need for a study that would “address the national historic trail designation criteria” as laid out in the NTSA.⁹⁴

Attention related to this issue soon shifted to Congress. In late 1990, Sen. Robert Dole and Rep. Pat Roberts (both R-KS) pushed for the inclusion of the Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Military Road in an Interior Department appropriations bill.⁹⁵ Rep. Roberts resurrected the issue in mid-1992. He first urged the NPS to re-interpret the NTSA to include branch trails without specific Congressional authorization, and second by searching for a study funding source. Gaines, in response, told an advisory council meeting soon afterward that undertaking the \$80,000 study

⁹² David Jolly and Tim Zwink letters, January 30, 1990, in “SFNHT – Advisory Council, 1990” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Cimarron Cut-Off Chapter to Gaines, January 22, 1990, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

⁹³ Chief, Recreation Resources Assistance Division to RD/SWRO, February 20, 1990, in “SFNHT – Memoranda, 1990” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Cook to Rep. Pat Roberts, March 1, 1990, in “SFT Advisory Council 89-90” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

⁹⁴ NPS, *Final CMP/EA, Santa Fe NHT*, May 1990, 15. See also “Briefing Statement, SFNHT Planning, March 5, 1990,” in “SFT Correspondence, 1990” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR. In November 1990, Gaines told the trail's advisory committee that the agency “would be studying major branches for eligibility under NPS criteria.” There is no evidence, however, that this study was ever completed. NPS, “Minutes of the Nov. 15-16 SFNHT Advisory Council Meeting, La Junta, Colorado,” in “SFNHT – Advisory Council, 1990” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

⁹⁵ *Great Bend Tribune*, October 24, 1990; *Wichita Eagle*, October 26, 1990. Roberts had made a similar effort the year before; see the *Wichita Eagle-Beacon*, August 11, 1989.

“remains a very high priority” for the agency.⁹⁶ The issue surfaced yet again in 1993, when various SFTA members formed the Frontier Military Group to study various Kansas military routes, and as late as 1996, SFTA President Ross Marshall made it known that “several members want to add trail routes to the Santa Fe National Historic Trail.” But, for a variety of reasons, a study to ascertain the eligibility of additional Santa Fe Trail routes was not undertaken.⁹⁷ The need for such a study may have been lessened because Gaines had told trail supporters that the agency had no problem with local advocates putting up signage and interpretation along various non-designated routes. And, in more recent years, trails staff have worked with partners on several projects along these additional routes pertaining to interpretive waysides, National Register nominations, and other matters.⁹⁸

Commercial Use of NPS Maps

A final issue that arose from the comprehensive planning process pertained to Gregory Franzwa's role in producing the maps for the CMP's map supplement. As noted in the previous section, Franzwa fulfilled the terms of his contract with the NPS by supplying a draft series of maps by the end of August 1988, and – working with NPS historian Jere Krakow and others – he supplied a revised series of maps in the spring of 1989 that were distributed as part of the draft comprehensive plan. Inasmuch as Franzwa was an independent book publisher, NPS officials fully recognized that, because maps in government reports are not typically copyrighted, he might publish a largely duplicated version of those maps once the CMP had been finalized.

Franzwa, however, departed from established government procedure in two ways. First, he proceeded to publish the maps that he had prepared for the draft (not the final) comprehensive plan; that book of maps, with the title *Maps of the Santa Fe Trail*, was printed by Patrice Press in April 1989 and distributed three months later. (Shortly afterward, Franzwa published *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited*, a driving guide to the trail.⁹⁹) Franzwa's other deviation from government norms is that Manuel Lujan, Jr. – who was currently President Bush's Secretary of the Interior – wrote a brief foreword to the maps volume, and NPS Director James Ridenour wrote a foreword to the driving guide. Doing so violated government regulations,

⁹⁶ Rep. Pat Roberts to Bill Chalfant, June 22, 1992, in “SFNHT Advisory Council – 1992” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Minutes of SFNHT Advisory Council Meeting, Kansas City, Mo., August 27-28, 1992, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

⁹⁷ Gaines to Dorothy Kroh, May 26, 1993, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993” folder, “SFTA Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; Ross Marshall to “Directors and Officers,” in “SFTA 1996” folder, “SFTA Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

⁹⁸ Jere Krakow, interview with the author, Jan. 23, 2014.

⁹⁹ *Tiller and Toiler* [Larned, KS], October 16, 1989.

which prohibited a sitting administration official from contributing to a for-profit publication. Given those regulatory violations, NPS regional official John Cook wrote to the agency's director about a "potential embarrassment regarding Santa Fe Trail publications." That letter was then forwarded to the Interior Secretary's office. In April 1990, an assistant to Lujan wrote to Franzwa, stating that he "regrets that the book of maps was printed" prior to the NPS's acceptance of them, and also that it was "not appropriate" for the Secretary "to provide forewords for private book sales."¹⁰⁰

Franzwa, meanwhile, continued to follow the NPS's mapping contract, and he continued to revise his maps, as needed, for the final (May 1990) comprehensive plan, which (as noted above) was distributed in mid-August.¹⁰¹ Otherwise, however, Franzwa found it challenging to separate his contractual relationships from his personal opinions, and time and again he came across (to NPS officials) as being prickly and opinionated. In September 1990, for example, he wrote Gaines a six-page letter detailing errors in the final plan and demanded that an errata sheet be issued. Gaines, in a point-by-point response, agreed with some points but disagreed on others, and no errata sheet was issued at that time. Shortly afterward, Franzwa – still apparently unhappy with some admittedly "miniscule" errors on a map in the CMP – demanded that the agency reprint the volume; Gaines demurred, citing lack of funds. Still unsatisfied, Franzwa used the *Folio*, his in-house newsletter, to blast the NPS for "the many, many errors in your final 'official' management plan."¹⁰² In January 1993, the NPS included an errata sheet as part of its semi-annual trail newsletter.¹⁰³

Santa Fe Trail – Administrative Issues

Once the Santa Fe Trail's comprehensive plan had been completed, the NPS faced the daunting task of trying to carry out the plan's recommendations and to establishing an ongoing administrative presence. To do so, the agency was forced to be inventive and to establish orderly protocols for trail administration. This was

¹⁰⁰ RD/SWRO to Director NPS, November 2, 1989, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR; Director NPS to Franzwa, draft, n.d. (Dec. 1989?), in "SFT Correspondence 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; Lou Gallegos to Franzwa, April 11, 1990, in "SFNHT – Memoranda, 1990" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

¹⁰¹ Franzwa to Burt Schmitz, August 12, 1990, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]"; John Cook to Rep. Alan Wheat (D-MO), May 12, 1992, in "SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992" folder; both in "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

¹⁰² Gaines to Franzwa, November 9, 1990, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]" folder; Franzwa to Gaines, May 29, 1991, in "SFNHT, Public Correspondence, 1991" folder; Gaines to Peggy Smith, July 14, 1992, in "SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992" folder, all "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; *Folio* [Patrice Press], April-May 1992.

¹⁰³ NPS, *SFNHT Newsletter* 8 (January 1993), p. 9.

because the Southwest Region, under John Cook – unlike several other NPS regions and their directors – had made it known from the outset that the Santa Fe Trail would be administered as if it were a unit of the National Park System.¹⁰⁴ For the next several years, the trails administrators in Santa Fe worked primarily (although not exclusively, as shall be seen below) on issues related to the Santa Fe Trail.

Initial Partnership Agreements and the Interpretive Plan

As one of the first orders of business, trails staff tried to establish a basic working relationship between the NPS and its principal partners. Initial attempts were made to obtain memoranda of understanding (MOU) with the five trail states. New Mexico was a cooperative partner from the start; given the help of Tom Benavides, a state senator from Bernalillo County, the 1990 legislature passed a joint memorial that paved the way for the MOU that Gov. Garrey Carruthers signed in mid-December 1990.¹⁰⁵ The other four state governments signed their respective agreements between May and August 1991. The other major entities with which the trails staff sought partnerships were the U.S. Forest Service (regarding several national grasslands in Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma) and the National Park Foundation (regarding "trademark registration and commercial licensing"). MOUs with the two appropriate Forest Service offices were signed in June and December 1991, while a MOA with the NPF was completed in November of that year.¹⁰⁶ In addition, a considerable amount of attention was devoted to renewing an initial 1989 working agreement between the NPS and the SFTA (see appendix 7). After more than a year's deliberations, the two entities finalized a five-year MOU on April 29, 1991. Shortly thereafter, on August 20, the MOU was supplemented by a cooperative agreement, which allowed the NPS "to provide [SFTA] limited financial assistance for specific projects and programs."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

¹⁰⁵ RD/SWRO to Benavides, March 22, 1990, in "SFT Correspondence, 1990" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; Lyons [KS] *Daily News*, December 26, 1990; *Council Grove Republican*, December 26, 1990. The legislation was known as House Joint Memorial 1 and Senate Joint Memorial 4.

¹⁰⁶ Colorado Historical Society to Colorado Governor's Office, November 29, 1990, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]" folder; Conoboy to Jack Weissling, March 18, 1992, in "SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992" folder; both in "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; "Closed Santa Fe Trail Agreements" [chart], NTIR electronic files; NPS, "Santa Fe National Historic Trail" newsletter, December 1991, p. 1. David Gaines, in a November 1, 2018 email to the author, noted that "Institutionalization of the national historic trails on paper was critical in the early stages when there was not yet a physical toehold via certifications, funds, projects, etc. There could be no toehold without an institutional framework made of paper and good faith agreements."

¹⁰⁷ Joy Poole to Gaines, January 24, 1989, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1989" folder; Gaines and Tim Zwink letters, May 1990, in "Santa Fe Trail Association, 1992-93" folder; both in "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; John E. Cook to Joseph Snell, August 12, 1991, in "SF-NHT 1442CA7029-01-0014" folder, NTIR Agreements Files.

An issue that needed immediate attention was how the trail would be interpreted.¹⁰⁸ In early February 1990, not long before the final comprehensive plan was issued, work began on an interpretive prospectus for the trail. As Gaines noted to a trails supporter, “we’re going to try to produce a product that can provide local groups and landowners with some tangible interpretive concepts (e.g., a range of standardized wayside exhibits that NPS can help provide on a cost-share basis) that they can pursue.”¹⁰⁹ A few months later, the agency assembled a five-person team from both the SWRO and Harpers Ferry Center that traveled to museums along the trail.¹¹⁰ By January 1991, the team had completed a preliminary draft of the document, and six months later a more refined draft was being reviewed.¹¹¹ The final document, dated September 1991, was distributed to staff and partners beginning in mid-November.¹¹²

Due to budget limitations and a lack of staff, the trail office during its early years was able to accomplish few of its interpretive goals. Needs were expressed for an interpretive film,¹¹³ an educational exhibit, one or more passport stamps, and other end products. All that could be accomplished in the near term, however, was the preparation of an interim trail brochure. That black-and-white brochure was prepared in 1991. A 5,000-copy run was completed in time for distribution at the SFTA symposium, at Arrow Rock, Missouri, that September. The Southwest Parks and Monuments Association agreed to finance a 16,000-copy reprint of that brochure, which was completed and partially distributed in late 1992.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ By August 1989, \$30,000 had been set aside for this purpose. Gaines to Doug Faris, August 23, 1989, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹⁰⁹ Faris to WASO, February 9, 1990, in “SFT Correspondence, 1990” folder; Gaines to Joe Snell, February 7, 1990, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]” folder; both in “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

¹¹⁰ The team consisted of Bill Brown and John Conoboy (both SWRO) along with Mitch Zetlin, Michael Paskowski, and Dick Hoffman (all HFC); they were assisted by Harry Myers (Supt. of Ft. Union NM) and Dr. Mike Olsen (a historian and SFTA member). *Council Grove Republican*, May 4, 1990; John Conoboy to [various], June 28, 1990, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

¹¹¹ Conoboy to Paskowski, January 29, 1991, and Donald Hill memo, July 24, 1991; both in “SFNHT, NPS Memoranda – 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹¹² Gaines to Cimarron County Historical Society, November 18, 1991, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence, 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR. John Conoboy, in an October 24, 2018 email to the author, noted that once the prospectus was completed, “we put it on a shelf and never really used it much . . . we really had no idea of how trail interpretive efforts would actually happen.”

¹¹³ The NPS’s correspondence files contain numerous proposals to produce a federally-sponsored Santa Fe Trail film. These letters, dated 1987 to 1990, came from filmmaker Gordon Knox, of SKS Productions in Santa Fe. The NPS, lacking other alternatives, told Knox in January 1990, “we fully support your efforts to make a Santa Fe Trail film,” but no funds were available to underwrite such a venture. RD/SWRO to Knox, “SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

¹¹⁴ Gaines to George C. Stone, May 8, 1991, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; NPS, *SFNHT Planning Newsletter*, December 1991, 2 and January 1993, 4-5; Gaines to Mike Pitel, October 23, 1992, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

Research Activities

Research was another major concern. A research committee within the trail’s advisory council had identified the need to address several research topics, and based on that input, the NPS decided to fund two projects: a contextual study of the trail and a study spotlighting the role of Hispanic traders along the trail. Before the trail’s comprehensive plan had been completed, agency officials had outlined the need for three historical studies. These included 1) a Hispanic Role Study, perhaps listed in response to Edmundo Delgado’s “cultural bias” comments to the draft comprehensive plan, 2) a historic context study, which would identify significant trail-related properties and submit national register forms for them, and 3) a historic resource study, which would summarize major historical events, especially those not covered in other works. Each of these studies moved forward; officials decided, however, to incorporate the goals of the historic resource study into the historic context study, as noted below.¹¹⁵

In 1990, the agency’s regional office contracted with Dr. Susan Calafate Boyle, a Colorado State University history instructor, to undertake the Hispanic role study, and by November 1990, she had produced an interim report entitled *A Socioeconomic Analysis of Hispanics Along the Santa Fe Trail*, with favorable reviews.¹¹⁶ That study surprised some NPS officials, inasmuch as it showed that most trade over the trail extended well south of Santa Fe. Boyle subsequently expanded upon that research, and by early 1993 she had completed a draft manuscript concerning “New Mexican Merchants and the Santa Fe Trail,” which received a mixed reception from NPS reviewers. In 1997, her final study was published as *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* by the University of New Mexico Press.¹¹⁷

Regarding the historic context study, the NPS let a contract in 1991 to the Urbana Group, a consulting company from Urbana, Illinois. The project was led through the SWRO historian’s office (Neil Mangum was the regional historian at the time),

¹¹⁵ Gaines to Faris, August 23, 1989, in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Acting RD/SWRO to Director NPS, November 27, 1989, in “SFT Correspondence 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; Gaines memo, March 21, 1990, in “SFT Correspondence, 1990” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

¹¹⁶ Boyle reported to Neil Mangum and Art Gomez, historians at SWRO, not to Gaines. “Minutes of the Nov. 15-16, 1990 Advisory Council Meeting in La Junta, Colorado,” in “SFNHT – Advisory Council, 1990” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; NPS, *SFNHT Newsletter* for April 1990 (p. 4) and December 1991 (p. 3); Susan Boyle, emails to the author, June 21, 2014 and June 23, 2014.

¹¹⁷ Gaines letter, February 5, 1993, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council, 1993” folder; Art Gomez to Dan Tyler, November 4, 1993, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence, 1993, cont.” folder; “Minutes of the Advisory Council Meeting, Nov. 4-5, 1993,” in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1994” folder; all in “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

while Urbana's primary representative was Alice Edwards.¹¹⁸ New Mexico's SHPO may have played a role in the project as well.¹¹⁹ The proposed products from that contract were a context document, called a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF), and a series of National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nominations (see appendix 8). By April 1992, a draft MPDF had been completed and sent out for review to the appropriate SHPOs, trail historians, and SFTA members, along with a list of 40 properties to be nominated. The reviews were highly critical.¹²⁰ A year later, in February 1993, the contractor completed the draft NRHP nominations. Again, the nominations did not meet expectations, and some nominations had to be rewritten by outside parties. The final MPDF was submitted in July 1993, and by October of that year the various nominations had been completed and submitted to the various SHPOs. The MPDF was eventually accepted, but the nominations received mixed reviews, with only 19 of the 40 submitted nominations being entered onto the NRHP.¹²¹

During this period, the budding Santa Fe trails office started to organize a library. Initial entries in the collection dealt with the Santa Fe Trail, but before long, books – primarily obtained from used book stores – were collected on a variety of western trails, along with more general western history topics. Trails employee John Conoboy, along with Margaret Sears, a long time trails volunteer, was largely responsible for acquiring needed titles, and they continued assembling appropriate volumes for the trails office for a number of years.¹²²

Certification – Initial Steps

Key to the effective administration of the Santa Fe Trail – or any historic trail, for that matter – was a method by which non-federal partners (states, cities, private landowners, etc.) could help preserve, protect, and interpret significant trail resources. The NTSA noted the importance of non-federal partners in both Section 3(a)(3) and Section 7(h)(1), but prior to the congressional authorization of the Santa Fe Trail, only a few certification partnerships had been finalized. (Most of these

¹¹⁸ NPS, *SFNHT newsletter*, December 1991, 3; Edwards to Gaines, August 18, 1992, in “SFNHT Advisory Council – 1992” folder, in “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; John Conoboy email, July 12, 2014.

¹¹⁹ John Conoboy email, July 12, 2014; David Gaines email, August 20, 2014.

¹²⁰ Gaines to Ed Bearss, March 2, 1992, in “SFNHT, NPS Memoranda – 1992” folder; Thomas Merlan to Ramon Powers, November 18, 1993, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993, cont.” folder; both in “Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹²¹ *Independence (Mo.) Examiner*, November 23, 1993; Merlan to Powers, November 18, 1993, and David Clapsaddle to Powers, October 12, 1993, both in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993, cont.” folder, “Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; “Minutes of the Advisory Council Meeting, Nov. 4-5, 1993,” in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1994” folder, “Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; John Conoboy email, July 12, 2014.

¹²² John Conoboy email, July 12, 2014.

were on the Lewis and Clark NHT, in which the trail administrator approved a nomination which was signed by the Interior Secretary; one other, which pertained to the Mormon Pioneer NHT, was similarly signed, ostensibly, by the NPS Director and the Interior Secretary.) Trails personnel in Santa Fe may have used one of these forms as a template.¹²³

Santa Fe Trail administrators, however, chose to break new ground on certification. (As David Gaines later noted, the agency's Southwest Region “has been the first to apply this aspect of the NTSA with any seriousness and the first to fathom its unrealized potential to take traditional NPS philosophy applied to traditional parks and apply it to resources managed by others, especially private landowners.”¹²⁴) As one byproduct of that new attitude, NPS staff – with considerable assistance from advisory council members – designed a partnership certification form that would be signed by only the trail administrator and the property owner. Language in both the draft and final comprehensive plans, therefore, provided some specificity regarding certification requirements. Those documents also provided a suggested certification form with two purposes. First, it provided a platform for property owners to provide the necessary qualifying information, and it also provided space for both the property owner and an agency official to endorse the certification process.¹²⁵

Before the comprehensive planning process was completed, the owners or managers of several properties stepped forward, asking that they be certified trail partners, and by January 1990, trail administrators had identified five or six demonstration certification projects, in all five trail states. The Santa Fe Trail Center (Larned, Kansas) and the National Frontier Trails Center (Independence, Missouri) presented themselves as likely initial candidates.¹²⁶ The NPS, however, chose Autograph Rock, near Boise City, Oklahoma, as its initial certification partnership. The agency may have done so because its staff had previously worked with the property owners (Dan and Carol Sharp) on preserving the historical inscriptions at the site; because Dan Sharp was a member of the trail's advisory council; and because, as independent-minded Oklahoma ranchers, the Sharps represented

¹²³ John Conoboy and Steve Elkinton, “Re-Thinking Historic Trail ‘Certification,’” January 2007, 8, in “Certified Sites, General Info” folder, author's files; Conoboy to the author, email, October 24, 2018

¹²⁴ Gaines to ARD, Planning, October 21, 1993, in “SFNHT – NPS Memorandum 1993” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹²⁵ Mike Olsen, August 21, 1989 letter, in “SFT Advisory Council – Subcommittee on Interpretive Programs” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; NPS, *Draft SFNHT Comprehensive Plan* (April 1989), 45-46, 121-22; NPS, *Final SFNHT Comprehensive Plan* (May 1990), 44-45, 130-31.

¹²⁶ Gaines to Monroe Taliaferro, January 11, 1990, in “SFT Correspondence, 1990” folder; National Frontier Trails Center newsletter, January 1989, in “SFT Correspondence 1989” folder; Gaines to Ruth Olson, April 26, 1991, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence, 1991” folder; all in “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR. As Gaines noted (in “Linear Frontiers,” CRM 16/7 [1993], 11), “Certified sites display the official trail logo, which we use like the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval.”

a specific type of property owner with which the agency wanted to establish an early partnership.¹²⁷ During the late summer of 1990, the Sharps and NPS staff worked out mutually-acceptable language for a certification form, to be valid for the next five years. Once all parties agreed on that language, it became the template for future certification partnerships, not only for the Santa Fe Trail but for other trails that would be administered out of the Santa Fe trails office.¹²⁸ The Autograph Rock certification form was signed at the site on January 24, 1991 (see appendix 9); on hand was NPS Regional Director John Cook, along with a healthy crowd of advisory council members, SFTA members, and other trail advocates.¹²⁹

After the signing of the first trail certification partnership form, others followed in quick succession. Second in line was the Santa Fe Trail Center, near Larned, Kansas, which became certified on April 17, 1991. Less than two weeks later, the Boggsville Historic Site (near Las Animas, Colorado) was certified, and that November, three partnerships were finalized in the Kansas City metropolitan area: Schumacher Park in Kansas City, Missouri; Harmon Park in Prairie City, Kansas; and the National Frontier Trails Center, in Independence, Missouri.¹³⁰

In the meantime, trails staff – recognizing that there were scores of properties along the Santa Fe Trail that were potentially certifiable – went to work on a certification guide, which would help property owners and trail advocates understand the certification concept and recognize what was necessary in order to certify trail-related properties. (As a key part of certification, the NPS went on record as stating that the agency’s financial assistance, when available, would go primarily to certified properties.) By mid-October 1991, a certification guide had been completed in

¹²⁷ Conoboy to Dan Sharp, June 28, 1990, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; David Sandoval letter, April 3, 1991, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR. As David Gaines noted in a November 1, 2018 email to the author, Gaines met the Sharps in March 1988. The couple had recently been evicted from their Colorado ranch because the Army had condemned it as part of a planned tank-maneuver zone; they saw certification as a way to forestall another government take-over of their land.

¹²⁸ Gaines to Dan Sharp, August 29, 1990, and Gaines to Dan and Carol Sharp, September 13, 1990; both in Autograph Rock Site Folder #3, NTIR General Files. Gaines, reflecting on the early certification agreements many years later, stated that “the 5-year term for certification agreements was needed to mollify private landowners/others who might not wish to have an open-ended, perpetual agreement with the ‘government,’ notwithstanding the inclusion of the termination clause. [It] was also to spur both parties to action, to avoid any feelings of being taken for granted or ignored. It insured that we had to check up on the resource/partnership within that span of time and be assured that the NTSA and other standards were being met.” David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

¹²⁹ *Boise City* (Okla.) *News*, January 23, 1991; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, January 24, 1991.

¹³⁰ See the following URL: <http://www.nps.gov/safe/parkmgmt/certified-sites-on-the-santa-fe-nht.htm>; *Great Bend Tribune*, April 18, 1991; *Tiller and Toiler*, May 2, 1991; *Independence Examiner*, November 9, 1991. As noted in a letter from Ruth Olson Peters to David Gaines (“SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993, cont.” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR), early certification partners needed to write annual reports to the NPS about their trail-related activities.

draft form, and by mid-December, the 14-page *Santa Fe National Historic Trail Certification Guide* had been completed and distributed to advisory council members and to potential certification partners.¹³¹

Inasmuch as SWRO personnel, with their Santa Fe Trail efforts, had undertaken groundbreaking work on trail certification, Washington-based trails personnel hoped to use SWRO’s experience to spread the certification idea to other NHTs. A certification task group was thus organized, and a key concept broached by several task force members related to whether new certification agreements required National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) compliance. Most task force members felt that NEPA compliance was essential, but SWRO trails personnel took an opposite view, arguing that because there was no proposed ground disturbance, no federal “action” had taken place, rendering compliance unnecessary. Inasmuch as the task force was not legally binding, Santa Fe-based trails personnel did not implement the task force’s recommendations.¹³²

Proposals for Trail Retracement

A key question surrounding possible trail development was this: should the trail be opened for recreational use, and if so, what were the leading candidates? The NTSA, passed in 1968, was primarily focused on scenic trails and their construction, and when the 1978 amendments were passed that established the NHTs category, the amendment language in Section 3(a)(3) continued to suggest a strong role for public recreation along the trails’ historic route.¹³³ More than a decade later, the Santa Fe Trail’s draft and final comprehensive plans noted that

The National Park Service will encourage state and local governments, private groups, and landowners to help establish, maintain, and manage the various types of trails. Even though it will not be possible to establish a single, continuous trail all along the original route of the Santa Fe Trail, it will be possible to establish shorter trails at various locations.¹³⁴

¹³¹ The certification guide, issued in December 1991, was mistakenly dated February 1991. Gaines to [Advisory Council Landowner Subcommittee], October 15, 1991 letter; Gaines to Advisory Council members, December 19, 1991; both in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997”, NTIR; NPS, *SFNHT Certification Guide*, 6-7.

¹³² John Conoboy email, July 12, 2014; Gaines to ARD, Planning, SWRO, October 21, 1993, in “SF-NHT – NPS Memorandum 1993” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹³³ The initial sentence in Section 3, for example, notes that “National historic trails . . . will be extended trails which follow as closely as possible and practicable the original trails or routes of travel of national historic significance.”

¹³⁴ NPS, *SFNHT Draft Comprehensive Plan* (April 1989), 38; NPS, *SFNHT Final Comprehensive Plan* (May 1990), 37.

During the planning process, various possibilities surfaced for the possible acquisition and use of trail segments. During the summer of 1988, discussions took place between the NPS and Fort Union Ranch regarding a scenic easement across the ranch, the idea being that such an easement would protect Fort Union's viewshed area from incompatible development, while at the same time preparing the way for a hiking trail along the Mountain Route between Fort Union and the Philmont Ranch-Cimarron area. Discussions were also held with the owners of the Mora Ranch, located at Ocate Crossing.¹³⁵ Off-and-on discussions continued between the NPS and Fort Union Ranch until 1992. But after the ranch's scenic easement was appraised, the NPS was unable to secure the asked-for acquisition funds, and the plan was dropped.¹³⁶

During the same period, other trail-retracement possibilities emerged just south of Fort Union. In March 1988 the Conservation Fund (a land-preservation group with offices in Santa Fe) revealed that it was in discussions to purchase the northern part of the Doolittle Ranch, which constituted a 5,780-acre parcel on the north edge of Watrous. That acreage, which was owned by Barbara Doolittle and her son Brian King, included the mid-19th century home of Samuel B. Watrous and was also a junction point of the trail's Mountain and Cimarron routes. Plans called for the ranch to be sold for \$2 million to the Conservation Fund. Some of that land was slated to be transferred (using Land and Water Conservation Fund outlays) to the NPS as a unit of Fort Union NM. The other parts of the ranch, however, would be turned over to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.¹³⁷

NPS officials, after canvassing the property, calculated that acquiring the ranch would necessitate \$3.2 million in development and rehabilitation costs.¹³⁸ Despite those potential expenses, Director James Ridenour expressed his support for the NPS's eventual acquisition of the ranch. The linchpin to the plan's success, however, was a nod from Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr. The secretary mulled over the matter at some length and then approved the deal. But the plan fell through because, during the interim period, the Forked Lightning Ranch near Pecos (see

¹³⁵ Dan Kipp to John Cook, August 5, 1988, and Cook to Kipp, August 15, 1988; both in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1988" folder; Harry Myers to Mora Ranch, March 22, 1990, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence [1990]" folder; all in "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

¹³⁶ Kipp to Cook, June 27, 1991, and Gaines to Kipp, September 12, 1991; both in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1991" folder; all in "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR. Also NPS, "Minutes of the SFNHT Advisory Council Meeting, August 27-28, 1992," in "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

¹³⁷ Ed Williams to Bill de Buys, May 17, 1988, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1988" box, NTIR; USF&WS, *La Junta Valley NWR Concept Plan*, January 1989, loose material in "SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989" box, NTIR.

¹³⁸ NPS, "Briefing Statement, Doolittle Ranch," appx. June 1989, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR; James Ridenour to Conservation Fund, August 17, 1989, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR.

below) was made available to the NPS, and the money from the Conservation Fund was diverted to the recently-donated parcel. Doolittle and King, meanwhile, found another buyer for their land, and they proceeded to complete that transaction.¹³⁹

In the Pecos area, an excellent opportunity arose for the NPS to acquire several miles of the Santa Fe Trail. Since 1965, the agency had administered Pecos National Monument, a small (342-acre) parcel south of town that encompassed a centuries-old American Indian pueblo, a Spanish-era mission complex, and a short Santa Fe Trail segment. Surrounding that parcel was the Forked Lightning Ranch, a 13,000-acre holding that, since 1941, had been owned by Elijah E. "Buddy" Fogelson. In 1949, Fogelson married the Hollywood actress Greer Garson. The couple lived at the ranch for many years and donated more than \$1 million to the NPS for the monument's Fogelson Visitor Center, which was completed in 1984, with an expanded center dedicated in early August 1987.¹⁴⁰ But after Mr. Fogelson died, in December 1987, his widow – who owned the 5,865-acre northern portion of the ranch immediately surrounding the monument, which included more than 4 miles of Santa Fe Trail's historic route – decided to divest her portion of the ranch.

In October 1989, Mrs. Fogelson began negotiations with a Florida developer, Jerry Crassas, who hoped to establish a resort on the property. But by late December, she was reconsidering the sale to Crassas, and by mid-January 1990 she decided against it, opting instead to donate it to the NPS via an intermediary foundation.¹⁴¹ This set the stage for the inclusion of Mrs. Fogelson's portion of the Forked Lightning Ranch into a renamed Pecos National Historical Park. In late June 1990, Congress passed – and President George H.W. Bush signed into law – legislation establishing an expanded park unit which incorporated that ranch property. In November of that year, that unit was expanded with the inclusion of Pigeon's Ranch House, along with portions of the Glorieta Battlefield, an important Civil War battle site west of Pecos that encompassed more than a mile of the Santa Fe Trail.¹⁴² Mrs. Fogelson, in conjunction with the Conservation Fund and the Richard King Mellon Foundation, leased her portion of the Forked Lightning Ranch in January 1991 to the NPS; two years later, the parcel was sold to the NPS.¹⁴³ Although the park unit's expansion

¹³⁹ William deBuys interview, June 26, 2014; John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.nps.gov/peco/historyculture/forked-lightning-ranch.htm>; <http://www.nps.gov/peco/faqs.htm>; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 3, 1987; Jane Mallinson letter, November 15, 1996, in "SFT Advisory Council 1996" folder, "SAFE Admin Files" box, NTIR.

¹⁴¹ *Santa Fe New Mexican*, issues of December 20, 1989; December 28, 1989; December 31, 1989; January 14, 1990; January 17, 1990; Gaines to Bill deBuys, January 4, 1990, in "SF

¹⁴² *Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 9, 1990; NPS, *The National Parks: Index 2001-2003* (Washington, USDI, ca. 2001), 64; William deBuys to Senator Pete Domenici, November 19, 1990, in "SFNHT Advisory Council 1991" folder, "SAFE Admin Files" box, NTIR.

¹⁴³ D. Sloan and Cherry/See Architects, *Historic Structures Report, Trading Post, Forked Lightning Ranch House, Forked Lightning Pump House, Pecos National Historic Park*, July 28, 2002, pp. 3, 25; *Wagon Tracks* 4 (August 1990), 4; William deBuys interview, June 26, 2014. Mrs. Fogelson died in April 1996.

brought five or more Santa Fe Trail miles into public ownership, no efforts have yet taken place to establish a retracement trail in that area.

A more significant opportunity to establish a retracement trail emerged in 1989, when the City of Santa Fe decided to research where the trail was located within the city limits. That July it tendered a \$3,000 contract to Mike Pitel to research the trail's route and locate any remaining traces of it.¹⁴⁴ A month later, Pitel and fellow investigator David Masterman were engaged in research and field work, and by mid-October they had completed a report and map on the topic.¹⁴⁵

Just a year later, in October 1990, the Conservation Fund embarked on an ambitious project, called the New Santa Fe Trail, the goal of which was a recreational and historical trail linking the east side of Santa Fe with Kozlowski's Trading Post, located south of Pecos. Portions of this route, at the time, were in the midst of significant change, inasmuch as the Forked Lightning Ranch – thanks in part to the Conservation Fund's efforts – was in transition from private ownership to the NPS (see above). In addition, the Fund that year had moved to secure two key historical properties along the route: Pigeon's Ranch House and a portion of the Glorieta Battlefield.¹⁴⁶ Given that momentum, the Fund's representative, William deBuys, received initial support for the project from the U.S. Forest Service; the agency's support was critical since it managed significant amounts of land along the proposed route.¹⁴⁷ Soon afterward, the Fund embarked on a feasibility study for the route; that endeavor was financed by both the Forest Service and the NPS, along with various local individuals and foundations.

The feasibility study, completed in January 1992, called for two possible routes between Santa Fe and the Cañoncito area, along with other route possibilities between Cañoncito and the Pecos area.¹⁴⁸ The trail between Santa Fe and Cañoncito foundered when negotiations broke down with the Episcopal Diocese of the Rio Grande, which owned the Bishop Stoney Camp. But due to the heightened interest

¹⁴⁴ *Albuquerque Journal*, July 28, 1989. Pitel, a travel writer and marketing analyst, was also a member of the trail's advisory council.

¹⁴⁵ *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 21, 1989; Gaines to Planning Department, City of Santa Fe, October 18, 1989, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence – 1989" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR. During this same period, Santa Fe's Quail Run resort announced plans to save a 280-foot stretch of the Santa Fe Trail (see *Santa Fe New Mexican*, February 29, 1988), but this action took place before the city's trail survey took place.

¹⁴⁶ *Wagon Tracks* 4 (May 1990), 6; *Wagon Tracks* 4 (August 1990), pp. 2, 4.

¹⁴⁷ deBuys to Dave Jolly, October 12, 1990, and Jolly to deBuys, November 1, 1990, both in "SF-NHT – Public Correspondence [1990]" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR. John Conoboy, in an October 24, 1990 email to the author, stated that the Santa Fe Conservation Trust, led by Dale Ball, also played an active role in the New Santa Fe Trail effort.

¹⁴⁸ The Conservation Fund, *Feasibility Study and Concept Plan, the New Santa Fe Trail* (Arlington, VA), January 1992.

in the NPS's park unit expansion, interest continued on a trail winding east of Cañoncito through Apache Canyon, closely paralleling the Santa Fe Trail's historic route. By April 1993, deBuys was "working to raise the hundreds of thousands of dollars necessary" to establish a four-mile hiking trail between Cañoncito and Glorieta, and by November of that year the Fund had made sufficient progress that "only one additional easement or interest of a private tract already on the market" was needed to complete the four-mile trail corridor.¹⁴⁹ But for a variety of reasons – a high purchase price on the parcel, its location outside of the recently-expanded park unit boundaries, and the fact that there was "no groundswell of interest" in the project, no recreational trail was ever completed. Interest in some quarters remained for years afterward.¹⁵⁰

Outside of New Mexico, scattered retracement possibilities presented themselves. In Colorado, just north of Raton Pass, various parties showed an interest in a hiking trail across the old Wootton Ranch.¹⁵¹ But the ranch's owner, who also served on the trail's advisory council, showed little interest in recreational access to his property. And in central Kansas, the SFTA's Wet-Dry Chapter in early 1992 unveiled a bold, innovative strategy toward retracement. The chapter hoped to get "the entire or a good portion of the [trail] corridor" as "a long-distance retracement opportunity for the public as well as a long-distance conservation corridor on private lands." The plan involved enlisting "the aid of about 50 landowners in the 50-mile stretch, to see if we can provide a window during the year through which organized tours or expeditions can follow the trail."¹⁵² That plan, however, was never implemented. The only successful long-distance retracement trail would take place elsewhere in Kansas (see next section).

Preserving the Trail's Physical Remains

A major issue that arose even before the comprehensive plan was completed dealt with how the trail's historic route should be managed. Specifically, should recreational use be encouraged or discouraged along visible, identifiable ruts or swales? Previous plans offered a mixed message; the Oregon NHT comprehensive plan, for example, stated that "All . . . segments should be accessible and available

¹⁴⁹ *Wagon Tracks* 6 (February 1992), 15; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 22 and April 25, 1993; "Minutes for Advisory Council Meeting, November 4-5, 1993," in "SFNHT Advisory Council 1994" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

¹⁵⁰ NPS, *SFNHT Newsletter* (February 1998), 4; William deBuys interview, June 26, 2014.

¹⁵¹ Gaines to ARD, Planning and Cultural Resources, May 4, 1988, in "SFNHT – NPS Memoranda 1988" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR; Gaines to Stephanie Two-Eagles, in "SF-NHT Public Correspondence, 1991" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" file, NTIR.

¹⁵² Gaines to David Clapsaddle, January 21, 1992, in "SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998" box, NTIR; "Minutes of Advisory Council Meeting, August 27-28, 1992" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997" box, NTIR.

for public use and enjoyment, to the extent that such accessibility does not impact upon historic values,” but it also stated:

Special consideration should be given to the uses permitted along visible ruts. Some ruts are too fragile to withstand any use by hikers, horseback riders or motorists. Others are more durable. The kinds and extent of uses permitted should be determined on a case by case [*sic*] basis, and use should be monitored in the event adjustments are needed.¹⁵³

The Oregon Trail, in fact, offered examples where recent public use had impacted the condition of the ruts, and the Mormon Pioneer Trail had several such sites as well. The Oregon Trail ruts near Guernsey, Wyoming, were perhaps the most striking example of a deeply incised, highly visible trail route, but additional sites included the ruts at Dry Sandy (just west of South Pass, Wyoming); at Massacre Rocks (near American Falls), Idaho; and at Rocky Ridge (along the Mormon Pioneer NHT east of South Pass), Wyoming. Due to the agency’s spotty administrative presence along those trails, however, the degradation at those sites may not have been known to NPS Southwest Region officials.¹⁵⁴

Agency employees in Santa Fe, in fact, were of two minds on whether existing trail ruts should be open to public use. One official felt that wagon teams and horses might be appropriate on the trail route, but another gave firsthand evidence of a pedestrian trail in Santa Fe, directly within historic ruts, that had ushered in erosion and weed growth.¹⁵⁵ The Santa Fe Trail’s final comprehensive plan, therefore, offered much the same message that had been laid out in the Oregon Trail’s plan. On the one hand, high-potential trail segments were chosen, in part, because they “offered the most potential for interpretive or recreational enjoyment.” On the other hand, the plan noted that only 15 percent of the trail was still visible, so it emphasized resource protection, stating that

The physical use of existing trail remnants for recreation or other purposes will normally be discouraged. However, where the resources are durable, limited nonmotorized visitor use of appropriate trail ruts will be permitted. . . . Contemporary parallel trails may be developed so as to maintain existing ruts in their historical context and to help control visitor use. . . . Where no discernable trail ruts exist at the surface level . . . and where subsurface trail remnants will not be affected, visitor use can occur directly on the original

¹⁵³ NPS, *Oregon Trail Comprehensive Management and Use Plan* (August 1981), 79, 81.

¹⁵⁴ Jere Krakow email, March 18, 2014.

¹⁵⁵ Neil Mangum to Gaines, July 17, 1989; Milford Fletcher to Gaines, July 13, 1989; both in “SFNHT – NPS Memoranda, 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

trail alignment.¹⁵⁶

Several months later, trail officials began compiling an interpretive brochure for a Santa Fe Trail site in Oklahoma; reflecting the policies stated in the plan, the proposed brochure text suggested that visitors avoid walking in the trail ruts. But Gregory Franzwa, upon reading the text, felt that “this, to me, is an error in judgment which cannot stand uncorrected,” after which he made an emphatic, elaborate statement rebutting the agency’s position. That letter, broadly distributed, brought forth a spirited debate among NPS officials at both the regional and national levels; most agreed with what had been written in the comprehensive plan, but Peggy Dolinich, who helped administer the Oregon NHT, stated in 1991 that “It is our policy to err on the side of use of the historic trail remnant. . . . We believe that a blanket policy of non-use of the historic trail remnants is not appropriate.”¹⁵⁷

After the fall of 1991, the preservation-versus-use debate receded into the background, only to be resurrected in early 1993. Joe Hartman, the longtime district ranger for Cimarron National Grassland (in southwestern Kansas), had long considered building a recreational trail paralleling the historic route, and in early 1993 he announced that grassland personnel planned to build a 19-mile “Santa Fe Companion Trail,” located between 25 and 100 feet north of the historic trail, in Morton and Stevens counties. NPS officials were in favor of the plan, but a few (namely Franzwa and Stephen Hayward, the latter a trail advisory council member) protested the planned action. Citing similar arguments to what had been uttered two years earlier, they demanded that the trail be built directly atop the historical ruts.¹⁵⁸ Trail construction began that year, and the grassland staff held a grand opening for the companion trail on September 10, 1994.¹⁵⁹

The Kansas City Trail-Alignment Controversy

¹⁵⁶ NPS, *SFNHT Final Comprehensive Plan* (May 1990), 16, 22, 37, 38.

¹⁵⁷ Franzwa to Gaines, February 1, 1991, and Richard Marks to Franzwa, April 4, 1991, both in “SF-NHT, Public Correspondence, 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; Ed Bearss to Regional Historian, SWRO, March 7, 1991, in “SFNHT, NPS Memoranda – 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Tanna Chatten to Franzwa, September 12, 1991, in “Santa Fe Trail Association, 1992-93” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; Trails Program Manager, PNRO to Trails Program Manager, SWRO, July 29, 1991, in “SFNHT, NPS Memoranda – 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹⁵⁸ Hartman, “Progress Report, SFNHT, Cimarron NG,” and Ramon Powers to Gaines, March 26, 1993, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder, both in “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; *Wichita Eagle*, October 5, 1993; Jere Krakow email, March 18, 2014.

¹⁵⁹ Grand opening announcement in “Cimarron National Grassland – File #2” folder, NTIR site files; *Elkhart* (KS) *Tri-State News*, March 11, 1993 and July 18, 1996.

One of the most high-profile, early trail-related disagreements took place in the south Kansas City and Raytown areas of Missouri.¹⁶⁰ In 1988, retired engineer Lou Schumacher started asking questions about the history of the old cabin on his family's property on East 93rd St., between Interstate 435 and Blue Ridge Boulevard. Before long, his curiosity broadened to include an interest in the Santa Fe Trail's route in that area. Based on his research, he posited that the trail in that area went generally in a northeast-southwest direction and followed the ridgetops between water courses.¹⁶¹ (Schumacher's recommended trail route went along the ridge where his property lay. He felt that, in all likelihood, the trail crossed his property, but he was unable to locate any physical trail ruts.) By this time, Gregory Franzwa (as part of an NPS contract, noted above) had already published a draft of his recommended trail locations, but after NPS officials learned about Schumacher's careful, thorough research methods, the routes in this area were shifted to conform to Schumacher's recommendations. Given the broad acceptance of Schumacher's research, members of the local Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) agreed to move one of their trail markers from Benjamin Ranch – on East 87th St. at Fremont Ave., just east of Interstate 435 – approximately ¾ mile south to the new site. In addition, Schumacher and his wife, Sara, offered to donate a 1.5-acre parcel to the City of Kansas City if the city agreed to manage it as a certified trail segment. Both the city and the NPS agreed to those conditions, and on November 7, 1991, the parties entered into a certification partnership at a well-attended public ceremony.¹⁶²

In January 1992, however, local resident Walter Cook called Schumacher's research into question and claimed – after conducting his own research into the matter – that the trail alignment lay to the northwest of Schumacher's recommended route, and that, more specifically, the route ran through Benjamin Ranch. A local DAR representative informed Cook that the DAR marker had existed at the ranch only since the 1960s (it had been moved there from the corner of East 87th St. and Santa Fe Road due to a road-widening project), but Cook stood firm in his

¹⁶⁰ Another, less iconic Kansas City-area disagreement from this period concerned Cave Spring. In 1977, the Cave Spring Interpretive Center was founded, and its backers were certain that the site was thematically connected (as a campsite) to the Santa Fe Trail. But the comprehensive plan (which included input from agency historian Jere Krakow) did not include Cave Spring as a high potential site – a decision that “absolutely stunned” the Cave Spring advocates – and the area did not become certified until August 2015, when the nearby interpretive center was certified as an interpretive facility. *Columbia* (Mo.) *Daily Tribune*, April 13, 1990; John Cook to Alan Wheat, October 5, 1990, in “SFNHT – Memoranda, 1990” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹⁶¹ Gaines to Louis Schumacher, October 12, 1989, in “SFT Correspondence 1989” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

¹⁶² Gaines to Lou Schumacher, February 14, 1991, and Mrs. John Mallinson, Jr. to Howard Benjamin, October 18, 1991; both in “Schumacher's Site Kansas City” folder, NTIR Site Files; John Cook to Rep. Alan Wheat, May 12, 1992, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; “Tracking the Trails,” *Kansas City Star*, November 2, 1991. The parcel on E. 93rd St. was originally certified as “South Kansas City Corridor – Schumacher Site,” although in later years it was renamed “Schumacher Park.”

convictions.¹⁶³ Before long the NPS got involved; John Conoboy asked both Cook and Schumacher “to each provide us a single map showing the trail alignments and [an] analysis giving the evidence of that alignment.” Cook, a colorful character, provided a lengthy response but supplied no map; he concluded, however, that “a well-orchestrated hoax apparently has been perpetrated against the National Park Service.”¹⁶⁴

Before long, the tiff between Schumacher and Cook became a public issue. Local congressional representatives and city councilors demanded explanations for the NPS's decision to side with Schumacher regarding certification,¹⁶⁵ and the press asked various local historians to weigh in on the issue. (Most sided with Schumacher, but two Raytown representatives tended to support Cook, and an Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) member suggested that the trail may have diverged in south Kansas City and that, therefore, both men were correct.¹⁶⁶) Cook, meanwhile, stoked the controversy by calling his route – which went through the Benjamin Ranch horse stables – the “legendary route,” and he accused the NPS of “committing fraud or knowingly making false statements.”¹⁶⁷

After some delay, Cook supplied the necessary map and rationale to the NPS. In response, NPS staff John Conoboy and Jere Krakow visited the area. The agency's conclusion, however, was the same as before; as noted in a March 1993 letter to Walter Cook, “it is our opinion that your proposed routes of the Santa Fe Trail . . . are not supported by the evidence.”¹⁶⁸ This opinion was forwarded to SFTA members and, ultimately, to the local press.¹⁶⁹ Given the opposition of some Raytown advocates, issues related to the controversy continued to surface until the

¹⁶³ *Kansas City Star*, November 2, 1991; Cook to Wheat, May 12, 1992 (see above). Both Lou Austin (in a Dec. 2, 2017 email to John Schumacher) and John Conoboy (in an October 24, 2018 email to the author) have stated that Schumacher and Austin were good friends, but they had a “falling out” due to the trail routing issue.

¹⁶⁴ Conoboy to Walter Cook, March 5, 1992, and Cook to Conoboy, March 12, 1992; both in “SF-NHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” folder, NTIR.

¹⁶⁵ John Cook to Wheat, May 12, 1992, noted above; Gaines to Judith Swope, May 12, 1992, in the same folder.

¹⁶⁶ Barbara Tatham to Gaines, April 16, 1992, and Roberta Bonnewitz to Gaines, April 27, 1992, both in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; *Kansas City Star*, June 8, 1992.

¹⁶⁷ Walter Cook to Gaines, March 30, 1992, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; *Kansas City Star*, June 8, 1992.

¹⁶⁸ Conoboy to Walter Cook, July 15, 1992, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR; Gaines to Walter Cook, March 25, 1993, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR.

¹⁶⁹ Conoboy to Marc Simmons, March 31, 1993, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; *Kansas City Star*, April 18, 1993.

late 1990s, but the NPS's stance remained unchanged.¹⁷⁰

The Trail of Tears NHT: Legislative Triumphs, Administrative Challenges

The Trail of Tears was a tragic event that had resulted in the removal of thousands of Native Americans, primarily during the 1830s, from the southeastern United States to various locations in and around present-day Oklahoma. Historians, and Native American groups as well, have defined the Trail of Tears in different ways; some have felt that the term applies to each of the so-called “Five Civilized Tribes” (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muscogee Creek, and Seminole), while others define it more narrowly as having been applied only to the Cherokee.

The idea of a Trail of Tears National Historic Trail to commemorate this event had not been considered as part of the original (1968) trails act, but in October 1979 it finally emerged as part of a House bill, specific to the Trail of Tears, that was sponsored by Rep. V. Lamar Gudger, a Democrat who represented western North Carolina. A year later Rep. Phillip Burton (D-California), who at the time headed the National Park subcommittee in the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, introduced the National Trails System Act Amendments of 1980; among those amendments was the study of the Trail of Tears (which, following Gudger's language, pertained only to the Cherokee migration) and four other trails as national scenic trails (NSTs). Two weeks later, Burton's bill passed the House, but it got no further before the 96th Congress adjourned. A largely similar bill was introduced the following January, but it got no farther than the previous bill.¹⁷¹

The bill's fortunes improved, however, in 1983. Sen. James McClure (R-Idaho), the chair of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, introduced much the same bill that Burton had sponsored during the previous two congresses. That bill was introduced in late January and passed the Senate in early February; it then sped through the House (perhaps because a similar bill had been approved there twice before), and on March 28, President Reagan signed the bill (called the National Trails System Act Amendments of 1983) into law. As it pertained to Trail of Tears language, the bills in both the 97th and 98th Congress had been amended by Jack Brinkley (D-Georgia) to include specific information about Fort Mitchell,

¹⁷⁰ Walter Cook to Rep. Karen McCarthy, June 21, 1996, and Conoboy to McCarthy, July 29, 1996, both in “SFT Public Correspondence 1996” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; Lou Schumacher to Pauline Fowler, in “1997 + 1998 Santa Fe Trail Association” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

¹⁷¹ 96th Congress, H.R. 5694, introduced October 24, 1979, and H.R. 8087, introduced September 7, 1980; 97th Congress, H.R. 861, introduced January 16, 1981; all in <https://congress.gov>.

Alabama; as a result, the final amendment language called for a study of the “Trail of Tears, including the associated forts and specifically, Fort Mitchell, Alabama, and historic properties, extending from the vicinity of Murphy, North Carolina, through Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, to the vicinity of Tahlequah, Oklahoma.”¹⁷²

Given the trail's location, and the fact that most Cherokee people lived in the southern Appalachians prior to Removal, responsibility for conducting the Trail of Tears feasibility study fell to the NPS's Southeast Regional Office (SERO) in Atlanta, and more specifically to its Rivers and Trails Division. The study was coordinated by Wallace Brittain from that office but assisted by other staff from the Southeast, Southwest, and Midwest regional offices. In the fall of 1984, the agency held 13 public workshops, at sites in all nine states where the proposed trail lay. At those workshops, “all participants expressed support for governmental commemoration of the historic route traveled by the Cherokees during their forced removal. . . .”¹⁷³ At those workshops, staff identified a “planning corridor” that included many of the Cherokees' migration routes. Later, however, the planning team opted to “select [only] one primary overland route to propose for designation rather than proposing designation of all known routes.” (In addition, the plan recommended the main water route as well as “three side or connecting trails;” these trails would start at Fort Butler, North Carolina; New Echota, Georgia; and Ross's Landing, Tennessee; and all would end at Rattlesnake Springs, Tennessee.) The plan, as it evolved, called for the “development of one principal Trail of Tears interpretive facility in each of the nine study area States,” and it also recommended the establishment of an advisory council “to assist the National Park Service in developing a comprehensive management plan for the development and use of the Trail of Tears.” Fort Mitchell, specifically noted in the study legislation, was dropped from the study because it “does not pertain to the Cherokee Indians or their removal” and was therefore “not included within the proposed trail corridor.”¹⁷⁴

The NPS completed a draft Trail of Tears study, dated September 1985, and three months later the agency distributed the study and asked for the public to comment. A second round of public meetings (in Tahlequah, OK and Fort Smith, Arkansas) was held in January 1986.¹⁷⁵ The large majority of written responses to the draft study, received between January and April 1986, reiterated a broad public interest in establishing a Trail of Tears National Historic Trail.¹⁷⁶ In response to those

¹⁷² Public Law 98-11, March 28, 1983 (97 Stat.42).

¹⁷³ NPS, *Final National Trail Study, Trail of Tears*, June 1986, Appendix B.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-6, 3-1, 3-2 and C-1. The proposed interpretive facilities would be located at New Echota, GA; Red Clay Council Ground, TN; Trail of Tears State Park, MO; either Tahlequah or Fort Gibson, OK; Fort Smith or Little Rock, AR; Cherokee or Murphy, NC; Paducah or Hopkinsville, KY; Golconda, IL; and Guntersville, AL.

¹⁷⁵ *Federal Register* 51 (January 6, 1986), 453.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Appendix D, esp. pp. D-81 and D-91.

comments, the agency prepared a final report (dated June 1986) and forwarded it to Congress. Meanwhile, Hopkinsville, Kentucky, residents Walter and Beverly Baker became trail advocates during the winter of 1985-1986, and in particular they championed the idea of an interpretive facility in Hopkinsville, which was located along the trail's main (northern) route. The couple also got in touch with congressional representatives regarding trail authorization.¹⁷⁷

On Feb. 23, 1987, Sen. Wendell Ford (R-KY) introduced a bill (S. 587) calling for a Trail of Tears National Historic Trail. The bill was reported out of the Senate committee on Sept. 25; it passed the Senate on October 1 and passed the House on December 1. Because of minor differences between the House and Senate bills, the Senate agreed to the House version of the bill on December 3. It was then sent to President Reagan, who signed it on December 16. This bill designated three land routes – the main (northern) route, the Taylor Route (Tennessee), and the Hildebrand Route (Missouri) – along with a water route. Unlike what had been outlined in the final NPS study, however, the plan did not include any routes beginning in North Carolina or Georgia.¹⁷⁸

The matter of interpretive facilities was a key element of the 1987 legislation. The NPS's 1986 plan, as noted above, had called for the development of nine Trail of Tears interpretive facilities: one in each state. The bill that Sen. Ford introduced, however, called for the Interior Secretary to consider just one interpretive facility, to be located near Hopkinsville, Kentucky. By October 1, the Senate report on the bill stated that “interpretive facilities would be appropriate at Paducah or Hopkinsville, Kentucky.” But on November 3, when the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands held a hearing on the bill, an amendment was adopted that added Fort Smith (Arkansas), Trail of Tears State Park (Missouri), and Tahlequah (Oklahoma) “as areas that the Secretary of the Interior should carefully consider for the establishment of appropriate interpretive sites. . . .”¹⁷⁹ That language – for a consideration of four sites as potential interpretive centers – was included in the bill that became law on December 16, 1987.

After legislation, the next step was the preparation of a CMP. The planning process, which began in the fall of 1988, was run out of the Southeast Office in Atlanta, but team captain Curt Edlund served as an engineer at the DSC, and other members of the planning team hailed from DSC as well. Initial planning meetings took place

¹⁷⁷ “Baker Recounts Early Efforts for Recognition of Trail of Tears,” TRTE *Trail News* 6 (February 2005), 1, 4; “The Trail of Tears Community Loses Two Friends in 2002,” TRTE *Trail News* 2 (May 2003), 6.

¹⁷⁸ Public Law 100-192, December 16, 1987 (101 Stat. 1309).

¹⁷⁹ 100th Congress, S. 578 (February 23, 1987), in <https://congress.gov/>; *Congressional Record* 133 (October 1, 1987), 26140; *Congressional Record* 133 (December 1, 1987), 33299.

in Tahlequah, Oklahoma and Cherokee, North Carolina, inasmuch as these places served as the headquarters for the Cherokee Nation and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, respectively.¹⁸⁰

One of the first major actions related to the planning process was a mapping and site inventory. Jere Krakow, the DSC historian who had guided the mapping process for the Santa Fe Trail, was enlisted to undertake a similar effort for the Trail of Tears. After speaking with others about the history of the Trail of Tears period, he quickly learned that Dr. Duane King – because of his many years of work with the Cherokee tribe and his long (1976-1991) tenure as the editor of the *Journal of Cherokee Studies* – would be an excellent candidate to work with the NPS on gathering historical information about the trail as well as compiling a trail map.¹⁸¹ In June 1989, therefore, King entered into a contract with the NPS's DSC for this purpose. Between the summer of 1989 and the spring of 1990, King and Krakow undertook three mapping expeditions together, with each making separate field investigations as well; at the same time, King worked on trail-related, site-based historical research. By mid-January 1990, King had turned in a draft report on his findings, and by October of that year, King had completed both the mapping and the site-inventory components of his contract, all of which were enclosed in a set of 3-ring binders.¹⁸²

Meanwhile, other members of the planning team got to work. In November 1989, a planning newsletter was sent to interested parties, asking for their views on the issues to be addressed. A follow-up newsletter, mailed in June 1990, reported the diversity of those views. During this period, NPS staff also held scoping meetings: at various places along the east end of the trail in early 1989, and in April 1990 at various locations in Oklahoma.¹⁸³ Another action during this time was the establishment of a Trail of Tears NHT Advisory Council, the members of which were appointed in December 1989. Duane King served as the council's first chair.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Jere Krakow interview, January 23, 2014; Krakow email, July 11, 2014.

¹⁸¹ Jere Krakow interview, January 23, 2014. Krakow, in his interview, noted that when King began his NPS historical contract, he was employed by Tennessee State Parks, where he managed the state's various Cherokee-related state parks. During the time of the contract, however, King went to work elsewhere: first for the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in central Oregon, then as the Assistant Director of the George Heye National Museum of the American Indian in New York City. Jere Krakow email, July 11, 2014.

¹⁸² [Duane King], “Cherokee Trail of Tears National Historic Trail Site Inventory,” n.d.; Duane H. King, “Report to the National Park Service on the Mapping and Site Inventory of the Cherokee Trail of Tears National Historic Trail,” January 11, 1990 both in NPS files; NPS, *Trail of Tears NHT, Draft Comprehensive Management and Use Plan and Environmental Assessment* (Denver, NPS, August/September 1991), 17, 23, 29, 43; Jere Krakow, “Notes from Krakow Journals 1988-1990,” p. 2, author's collection.

¹⁸³ Krakow, “Notes from Krakow Journals 1988-1990,” *passim*.

¹⁸⁴ NPS, *Draft Trail of Tears Comprehensive Plan*, 6.

Throughout 1990, a DSC planning team headed by historian Jere Krakow, working with SERO staff, led the effort to complete the trail's draft CMP, and by early November, an internal draft had been completed. In the midst of this process, however, DSC officials increasingly recognized that their counterparts from the SERO were "not keen to move things along" and that the office was "tepid toward trails administration."¹⁸⁵ Krakow, for example, found that while the regional office's chief of planning (first Tom Brown, then Robert Newkirk) worked with vigilance on Trail of Tears issues, upper-echelon regional officials (including Regional Director Robert M. Baker) appeared to have a "lukewarm commitment" toward the trail.¹⁸⁶ Perhaps for that reason, the Southeast Region's trails coordinator (Richard Sussman) seemed, in the eyes of DSC officials, to be doing only those tasks necessary to the trail planning effort.¹⁸⁷ Because Oklahoma – at the western end of the Trail of Tears – was part of the agency's Southwest Region, officials in that regional office likewise followed the planning effort and were concerned about the Southeast Region's tepid level of interest.

This lack of enthusiasm, first documented in December 1990, brought forth a conversation on the subject between SWRO Regional Historian William Brown and Regional Director John Cook. By January 1991, it was evident that the two regions had divergent management approaches; Cook, who was an enrolled member of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, was enthusiastic about the trail. But SERO officials, in their comments to the November 1990 draft plan, "advocated for only one land and one water route designated and a 'pullback' from an NPS commitment to do anything for the trail."¹⁸⁸ Soon afterward, Cook and Baker discussed the matter at length at a regional directors' meeting and "cut [a] deal" to transfer Trail of Tears administration over to the SWRO.¹⁸⁹ The change of administration was announced and formalized in early March 1991, but for the remainder of the calendar year, Southeast Region and Southwest Region staff worked cooperatively on implementing a smooth administrative transition. To trail advocates, that move was financially fortuitous, because while the SERO had been cutting its planning funds, the trail transfer to the Southwest Region – thanks to Cook's interest – brought with it a \$30,000 budgetary increase that would be used to

¹⁸⁵ The Southeast Regional Office, at the time, administered one other long-distance trail: the Overmountain Victory NHT, which had been authorized in September 1980. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, this NHT had no line-item funding.

¹⁸⁶ Jere Krakow interview, July 11, 2014; Jere Krakow (DSC), *Personal Journal*, Dec. 5, 1990, Jere Krakow Collection. Among Southeast Region officials, this lack of interest may have extended to other trails as well; the Overmountain Victory NHT had been entrusted to the region since shortly after its 1980 congressional authorization, but by 1990 the trail had still not received specific line-item funding.

¹⁸⁷ As David Gaines noted, in a November 1, 2018 email to the author, "Rich Sussman, a planner, was unable to actively engage with TOTNHT because traditional park needs were a priority."

¹⁸⁸ Jere Krakow interview, January 23, 2014; Krakow email, July 11, 2014; Krakow, *Personal Journal*, Feb. 13, 1991.

¹⁸⁹ In a November 1, 2018 email to the author, Gaines opined that "There may have been a quid pro quo where Cook gave SERO a small park in Arkansas [possibly Arkansas Post National Memorial] but I can't be sure now."

complete the trail's comprehensive plan.¹⁹⁰

In the late summer of 1991, the DSC released the draft plan to the public.¹⁹¹ The plan identified 45 high-potential historic sites, sprinkled across all nine trail states. It also identified six high-potential historic route segments: a 7.5-mile segment in Tennessee, four segments (totaling 136.75 miles) in Missouri, and a 6-mile segment in Arkansas. By this time, the agency – thanks to Duane King's research – had a far better knowledge of the various Cherokee migration routes than it did when the final (1986) trail plan had been issued. Despite the fact that the additional (Benge and Bell detachment) routes had not been evaluated during the 1986 study, the NPS proposed "to study them to determine their feasibility and desirability for inclusion in the National Trails System (NTS). Until the determination is made, the Park Service proposes to interpret the Benge and Bell routes along with the existing designated national historic trail." In order to increase public visibility for the trail, the plan recommended the establishment of an auto tour route.¹⁹²

Regarding interpretation, language in the NPS's draft plan reflected the recommendation, in the Congressional bill, for four trail-related interpretive facilities. The plan's authors responded to those recommendations by broadening the possible locations for such facilities to include 20 sites, at least one of which was located in each of the nine trail states. A key change in the plan, however, was language stating that "the development and management of the interpretive facilities would be the responsibility of various federal, state, local, and tribal entities. The Park Service would not construct or operate such facilities, but it would provide technical assistance and limited financial assistance for resource protection and visitor programs."¹⁹³

Soon after the publication of the draft Trail of Tears CMP, the agency held a 60-day public comment period, from September 9 to November 4, 1991. During mid-September, NPS officials Jere Krakow (DSC) and David Gaines (SWRO) met with tribal officials and the public, both in Cherokee, North Carolina and Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Also in Tahlequah, NPS officials (SWRO Director John Cook, along with Gaines and Krakow) convened the initial meeting of the trail's advisory council (see appendix 5). In attendance at that meeting was Cherokee Nation Chief Wilma

¹⁹⁰ John Conoboy interview, March 12, 2014; NPS, Santa Fe Trail planning newsletter 7 (December 1991), p. 3; Jere Krakow, *Personal Journal*, March 4 and March 8, and April 26, 1991. Gaines (in a November 1, 2018 email to the author) noted another advantage for the transfer – that "the [Southwest] region's extensive American Indian experience and knowledge made TOTNHT a more natural fit."

¹⁹¹ The NPS's *Draft Trail of Tears Comprehensive Plan* was variously dated August 1991 (on the inside back cover) and September 1991 (on the title page).

¹⁹² NPS, *Draft Trail of Tears Comprehensive Plan*, 20, 76-81.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 38.

Mankiller, Eastern Band Chief Jonathan Taylor, and a delegation from the Creek and Chickasaw nations. Krakow observed that these tribal officials, after perusing the draft CMP, “favorably accepted” the document.¹⁹⁴

After these meetings, officials from the agency’s DSC, assisted by those from the SWRO, moved toward finalizing the trail’s CMP. By the following April, when the trail’s advisory committee met for the second time (at a state park near Cartersville, Georgia), Krakow noted that “no major changes to [the] draft CMP” had taken place since the last meeting.¹⁹⁵

Between then and September 1992, when the final CMP was published and distributed, few additional changes were made.¹⁹⁶ The number of high-potential sites, for example, increased from 45 to 46 (the only addition was Tuscumbia Landing, in Alabama), and regarding high-potential route segments, both the number and mileage remained unchanged. An additional change was the placement of a new trail logo on the plan’s cover page. That logo was designed by Donald Vann, a Cherokee artist from Tahlequah, Oklahoma, after which it was reviewed and approved by the Trail of Tears Advisory Council. It is still currently used. Provisions pertaining to the choice of designated routes, the location of the auto tour route, and interpretive facilities remained unchanged from the draft plan.¹⁹⁷

Congressional Trail Proposals

The Masau Trail

Although the Masau Trail today is a footnote in the history of NPS administration in the Southwest, it played a key role in early trail administration. As David Gaines noted in a 1990 letter, “The Branch of Long Distance Trails [is] a direct result of the 1987 establishment of the Santa Fe National Historic Trail and the Masau Trail, [the latter] a vehicular tour route to connect Puebloan sites in New Mexico and

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6; Jere Krakow email, July 11, 2014; Jere Krakow, “Notes from Krakow Journal” for Sept. 12-18, 1991, in author’s electronic files.

¹⁹⁵ Krakow, “Notes from Krakow Journal,” Apr. 8-10, 1992.

¹⁹⁶ As Krakow’s notes suggest, the final CMP was dated September 1992, but the document was not distributed to the public until the late fall of that year.

¹⁹⁷ NPS, [Final] *Comprehensive Management and Use Plan, Trail of Tears National Historic Trail* (Denver, NPS, September 1992), 16-20, 36-37, 41-43, 46, 71-75; Jere Krakow email, July 11, 2014; John Conoboy email, July 12, 2014.

Arizona.”¹⁹⁸

The idea behind this proposal began in 1985 or 1986, when NPS Director William Penn Mott traveled to Albuquerque and met with Sen. Pete Domenici (R-New Mexico). During an Albuquerque visit to the site of the proposed Petroglyph National Monument, a guide (probably Ike Eastvold, founder of Friends of the Albuquerque Petroglyphs) pointed out a petroglyph that appeared to be shaped like a foot. Mott and Domenici were then told that the petroglyph “represents Masau,” a deity which, according to one source, was the “Hopi god of the underworld and the earth’s surface, associated with the protection of travelers.”¹⁹⁹ In response, Mott stated that it would be a great idea to have an auto tour that connected many of the major Pueblo-themed NPS units in the southwest.²⁰⁰ At the time, Congress was also considering ways to protect and interpret the volcanic area called El Malpais, south of Grants. Therefore, once all parties had agreed to legislative language about El Malpais, verbiage about the Masau Trail was added to the bill. In October 1986, Domenici and Rep. Bill Richardson (D-New Mexico) submitted identical bills, one section of which “authorizes the Secretary to designate a vehicular tour route along existing public roads linking prehistoric and historic cultural sites in western New Mexico, to be known as the Masau Trail. Permits the erection of informational devices.”²⁰¹ The trail was atypical in that the proposal went directly from the NPS chief to Congress, thus bypassing the usual preparation of a trail feasibility study.

Those bills never made it beyond the committee stage, but they were re-introduced when the next Congress convened the following January. The bill itself was short on geographical specifics; a news account from January 1987, however, noted that the route linked sites “such as Chaco Canyon National Monument [*sic*] near Farmington and Albuquerque’s West Mesa petroglyphs.” A month later, a public meeting was held showing a route that included Canyon de Chelly NM in Arizona, along with Aztec Ruins NM, Zuni Pueblo, and Chaco Culture National Historical Park in New Mexico. Initial plans called for the construction of a trail-related visitor center along Interstate 40 near Grants. Local communities near these park

¹⁹⁸ Gaines to Nancy Petruccione, May 18, 1990, in “SFNHT Correspondence [1990]” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box, NTIR.

¹⁹⁹ John Conoboy interview, March 12, 2014; *Farmington Daily Times*, August 6, 1988, OH15; John Conoboy, email to the author, November 13, 2018. As noted in a 1988 newspaper article, “The trail is named for the Indian god figure, Masau, who according to legend welcomed the Indian people to Earth from the underworld. Masau was said to have given the Indians instructions for their travels.” The article also quoted Sen. Domenici from a January 1988 speech, in which he stated that “Given a magic water jar to supply them on their migrations, the pueblo people began their journey, following Masau’s huge footprints, each as long as a man’s arm. The journey eventually brought them to what is now New Mexico.” *Farmington Daily Times*, September 28, 1988, B7.

²⁰⁰ John Conoboy interview, March 12, 2014. NPS Trail Coordinator David Gaines, in 1988, stated that the Masau Trail idea “was a tourism development brainstorm of Sen. Pete Domenici.” *Farmington Daily Times*, August 19, 1988, B2.

²⁰¹ 99th Congress, H.R. 5726 and S. 2932, introduced October 16, 1986 (see <https://congress.gov/>).

units – lured by the promise of increased tourist traffic – strongly supported the two congressional bills.²⁰² Meanwhile, Rep. Richardson helped steer the bill through a House committee and, on June 1, secured passage on the House floor. On July 6, the Senate Energy and Natural Resources held a hearing and emerged with a substitute, the primary change being that the new bill included sites in eastern Arizona as well as New Mexico. The new bill passed the Senate on December 17. A day later, House members in a conference committee agreed to the Senate’s language. The bill was then sent to President Reagan, who signed the bill into law on December 31, 1987. Inasmuch as the primary subject of the bill was El Malpais, which was located in the NPS’s Southwest Region, activities surrounding the Masau Trail were similarly directed from that region’s headquarters office.²⁰³

Regional office planners soon began work on a Masau Trail CMP. By July 1988, the agency had announced a series of August scoping meetings, to be held in Winslow, Arizona, as well as in Silver City, Gallup, Santa Fe, and Farmington, New Mexico. At those meetings, which were organized by Trails Coordinator David Gaines, participants were told that the trail would link Chaco Culture National Historical Park along with the following national monuments: El Malpais, El Morro, Aztec Ruins, Gila Cliff Dwellings, Pecos, and Canyon de Chelly. Other sites or segments might be designated later. By this time, the notion of a Grants-area visitor center had been discarded, and new development would be limited to the “erection of trail-route markers, and perhaps some roadside information on exhibits.”²⁰⁴ Public interest in the plan, by this time, had fallen considerably; whereas a February 1987 public meeting had attracted about 150 Farmington-area residents, the August 1988 scoping meeting there had fewer than ten participants.²⁰⁵

Meanwhile, the NPS moved to make the plan responsive to a broad range of interests. In October 1988 it held a planning workshop in Santa Fe, and the following February, Hayduk-King Advertising Inc., working on an NPS contract, submitted a marketing plan for the trail. Six months later, in August 1989, the trail’s draft CMP was completed. The plan offered three action alternatives; the preferred alternative called for a 1,450-mile driving trail, much of which consisted of nine scenic loops.²⁰⁶ Following the plan’s distribution, the agency held six public meetings in mid-November 1989 to solicit comments; these meetings were held

²⁰² 100th Congress, H.R. 403 and S. 56, introduced January 6, 1987; *Farmington (NM) Daily Times*, January 8, 1987, 13; *Farmington Daily Times*, February 15, 1987, A2. In 1987, the Chaco park unit was called Chaco Culture National Historic Park; the name Chaco Canyon National Monument had been discarded in December 1980.

²⁰³ <https://congress.gov/bill/100th-congress/house-bill/403/actions>; P.L. 100-225, Section 2.

²⁰⁴ *Farmington Daily Times*, August 6, 1988, OH15. The list of sites to be connected included Gila Cliff Dwellings NM, even though the resources in that unit were unrelated to Puebloan culture. It did not, however, include Petroglyph NM, inasmuch as that proposed unit was not authorized until June 1990.

²⁰⁵ *Farmington Daily Times*, issues of February 15, 1987, A2, and August 19, 1988, B2.

in Flagstaff and Winslow, Arizona, along with Silver City, Grants, Farmington, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque, New Mexico.²⁰⁷ By the time these meetings were held, moreover, the trail had received its first budget allotment, for \$37,500 (see appendix 6).²⁰⁸ The trail appeared to be well on its way toward implementation.

After the public meetings were held, Congress continued to boost the trail. In late June 1990, the act that established Petroglyph National Monument called for public roads to link the new monument to the Masau Trail.²⁰⁹ In addition, Sen. Domenici had introduced a bill in April 1989 – the Chacoan Outliers Protection Act – that, among its other provisions, would have added highway segments in southwestern Colorado to the Masau Trail route. After receiving a Senate hearing, Domenici’s bill passed the full Senate in June 1990. The text of that bill was then incorporated into a House bill sponsored by Al Swift (D-Washington). That bill passed both houses of Congress, but the 101st Congress adjourned before the bill could become law.²¹⁰

Outside the halls of Congress, however, problems began to appear, primarily because of the trail’s name. In 1986, when the bill had first been considered, a member of Senator Domenici’s staff contacted the chair of the All Indian Pueblo Council (AIPC), who gave the trail his personal blessing. A staff member, in addition, had reportedly contacted the Hopi governor, who is reported to have said that the Hopi would “be proud” to have the trail named for the Hopi deity. But no one, apparently, had spoken to other AIPC members, and also, no one had spoken to Hopi religious leaders, who represented the tribe’s traditional community. Once other Hopi leaders had been apprised of the proposal, they sent a letter to the NPS objecting to the use of the name Masau for the trail, as this god was sacred to many

²⁰⁶ NPS, *The Masau Trail, Draft Comprehensive Management Plan*, August 1989; see the following URL: <https://archive.org/stream/draftmasautrailc00nati#page/n1/mode/2up>. The plan made reference to an NPS unit called the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park, which Congress had authorized on November 1, 1988 (P.L. 100-567), and that bill specifically called for the park unit to be accessed by the Masau Trail. That park idea, however, was contingent on “the Secretary of the Interior [accepting] a leasehold interest in trust lands of the Zuni Indian Reservation” and provided for a two-year window to implement the lease. In a 1990 decision, however, the pueblo overwhelmingly opposed the lease idea. The bill authorizing Petroglyph National Monument, which became law in June 1990, gave the primary stakeholders until 1994 to implement a lease. But the Zuni’s opposition remained unchanged, and the lease provision eventually expired. See the following URL: <http://www.nationalparkstraveler.com/2009/06/zuni-cibola-national-historical-park-park-died-borning>.

²⁰⁷ *Farmington Daily Times*, October 28, 1989, 21.

²⁰⁸ NPS, *Budget Justifications* book, 1992. John Conoboy, in a March 12, 2014 interview, noted that “because the El Malpais NM visitor center was to become a primary visitor center for the Masau Trail, 50% of the [\$75,000] base was given to El Malpais and was incorporated into their base budget. The other 50% continued as a line item for the Masau Trail. That funding went to the trail office in the planning division.”

²⁰⁹ 101st Congress, S. 286, in <https://congress.gov/>.

²¹⁰ 101st Congress, S. 798 and H.R. 2566; both in <https://congress.gov/>. Sen. Domenici, along with Rep. Bill Richardson, continued to submit bills for the Chacoan Outliers Protection Act. The bill finally became law (Public Law 104-11) in May 1995.

in the tribe. (One respondent said that the name was so sacred that traditionalists could not utter it, let alone display it on highway signs.) They also said that the footprint petroglyph did not represent Masau, but instead was a symbol of the bear and badger clans. In addition to the Hopi, officials with the Pueblo of Acoma also expressed their objection to the name.²¹¹

Attempts were then made to find another name for the auto trail. NPS employees John Conoboy and Ed Natay met with a state official, who posited a Cochiti name for the trail. That name, however, was quashed at a subsequent meeting of the AIPC. The council, as a whole, which apparently had not been consulted on the proposal beforehand, suggested instead that the route be named the Pueblo Trail.²¹²

Opposition from both the Hopi religious leaders and from the AIPC effectively slowed the proposal process. Domenici and his staff reacted to AIPC's thumbs-down by taking no further action to rename the trail, and AIPC's decision also halted any further action (by either Congress or the NPS) to complete or implement the CMP.

Other members of New Mexico's congressional delegation, however, did what it could to get the project back on track. In April 1992, Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D-New Mexico) introduced the Colonial New Mexico Commemorative Act, which contained a provision for a renamed Pueblo Trail. That bill passed the Senate but did not become law. Bingaman, undeterred, re-introduced the bill in February 1993, but that bill was similarly unsuccessful.²¹³ By the end of 1993, therefore, the Masau Trail idea was effectively dead. Senator Domenici, however, made no effort to de-authorize the trail (with the \$34,000 line-item budget that had begun in fiscal year (FY) 1991). Funding for the trail, as a result, has continued at that approximate level ever since.²¹⁴

²¹¹ John Conoboy interview, March 12, 2014 and October 24, 2018; David Gaines email, November 1, 2018.

²¹² Conoboy worked with David Gaines in the trails office, while Natay, an employee with Santo Domingo and Navajo ethnicity, and serving at the time as SWRO's Native Liaison. The New Mexico representative was American Indian Coordinator Regis Pecos. John Conoboy interview, March 12, 2014; Conoboy email, July 12, 2014.

²¹³ 102nd Congress, S. 2544 and 103rd Congress, S. 294; both in <https://congress.gov/>.

²¹⁴ NPS, *Budget Justification* books, 1993 to present. John Conoboy, in a March 12, 2014 interview, noted that "Technically, the Masau Trail still exists as a National Park Service program, although it was not implemented. These funds generally were used to help the trail office offset costs involved in trail studies and trail CMP development, inasmuch as the office could not use planning funds that went to DSC for staff salary and travel."

The Route 66 Proposal

U.S. Highway 66, stretching from Chicago to Los Angeles, was one of America's best-known highways during the mid-twentieth century. Dubbed the "mother road" by John Steinbeck in *The Grapes of Wrath*, it gained iconic status in 1946 when the King Cole Trio made a jazz-infused hit of songwriter Bobby Troup's "(Get Your Kicks On) Route 66." The road became even more popular between 1960 and 1964, when it became the subject of a television series starring George Maharis and Martin Milner.²¹⁵

Starting in the early 1950s, Route 66 was slowly, if inexorably, replaced as a primary travel route by toll roads and interstate highways. The last section of the iconic highway was supplanted by a freeway in Williams, Arizona, in October 1984. Less than a year later, in June 1985, the route was officially decommissioned.²¹⁶ Well before the road was bypassed, however, newspaper articles began to romanticize the virtues of the old route, and soon after 1985, various business interests and nostalgia buffs began to band together to both preserve what remained of Route 66 and to capitalize on a widespread interest in mid-century America. (In 1987, for example, the Historic Route 66 Association of Arizona was founded; it was soon followed by similar associations in other states along the route.)²¹⁷ Highway departments played their part, too; four of the eight Route 66 states opted, along certain segments, to keep the former highway as State Highway 66.²¹⁸

This upsurge of interest, in time, resulted in a quest for federal legislation. Sen. Pete Domenici (R-New Mexico) had had fond memories of Route 66 as a youth in Albuquerque. Given his seniority on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, he worked with the NPS (specifically Doug Faris, the SWRO's Chief of Planning) and, as David Gaines has noted, Faris "helped nurture that feeling into a preservation concept." NPS Regional Director John Cook, who was born in Williams, Arizona, was also a strong Route 66 supporter.²¹⁹ In May 1989, Sen. Domenici introduced the Route 66 Study Act, which asked the NPS to 1) evaluate the significance of the route, 2) study options for the highway's preservation and use, and 3) invite representation from the various states as well as the various statewide Route 66 associations. The bill was widely popular; by mid-July at least

²¹⁵ In 1963, Maharis was replaced by Glenn Corbett. See the following URL: <https://variety.com/1993/scene/people-news/glenn-corbett-103588/>.

²¹⁶ *Los Angeles Times*, October 7, 1984, 24; *New York Times*, June 29, 1985, 6.

²¹⁷ *New York Times*, July 8, 1983, C20; Rutgers Center for Urban Policy Research, *Route 66 Economic Impact Study: Technical Report, Volume 1: History, Characteristics, and Economic Contributions* (Rutgers, NJ, the Center, June 2011), 38-40. By 1991, all eight of the Route 66 states had similar associations, and Kansas had two.

²¹⁸ Rutgers, *Route 66 Economic Impact Study*, 34.

²¹⁹ David Gaines email, August 20, 2014; John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

one senator from each of the eight Route 66 states had signed on as a co-sponsor. Later that month it was broadly supported at a committee hearing, and in early August it passed the Senate. Later that year, Rep. Wes Watkins (D-Oklahoma) submitted his own bill, and after a hearing, a bill largely similar to Domenici's passed the House in July 1990. Minor differences between the two bills were quickly resolved, and on September 28, President George H.W. Bush signed the study bill into law.²²⁰

The Coronado National Historic Trail Proposal

A third trail bill introduced during this period concerned the Coronado Trail, which sought to commemorate the 1540 Spanish *entrada* led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. The Coronado expedition headed north from the present-day state of Nayarit, Mexico. By the time Coronado returned in 1542, he had explored much of the present American Southwest, the first European to have done so to any appreciable degree.²²¹

During the late 1980s – apparently as part of a broad surge of legislative interest involving Southwestern sites and trails – the New Mexico congressional delegation moved to commemorate Coronado's expedition by designating a NHT over his route. In September 1987, Sen. Jeff Bingaman introduced the Coronado National Trail Study Act, which called for a study of “the route taken by the Spanish explorer through Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas.”²²² That bill passed the Senate in June 1988, but in the House it was expanded and included in the Omnibus National Parks and Public Lands Act. In September, the new bill passed the House, after which the Coronado language and a few other provisions were incorporated into yet another bill (the title of which dealt with Salinas National Monument). This third bill quickly passed both houses of Congress, and on October 28, President George H.W. Bush signed it into law.²²³

Perhaps because the Coronado language had been packaged in a bill containing other items of NPS interest, that agency was asked to carry out the national trail study. The DSC, in concert with Southwest Region personnel (including trails personnel), undertook the study. Simultaneously, cultural resources personnel from DSC and SWRO (including NPS historian Joseph P. Sanchez, Ph.D.) undertook a special history study in order “to assess the route's eligibility for national trail

designation and present alternatives for commemoration and interpretation.” After that, agency staff prepared a preliminary working draft of the special history study, which was completed by the summer of 1990. The data in the draft history study, in turn, served as a basis for the alternatives that would be set forth in the feasibility study.²²⁴ An internal draft national trail study was released in February 1991, with a public review draft four months later. After a round of public meetings on the subject, in which a broad variety of historians panned the proposal due to its lack of specific data, the final special history study was completed later that year.²²⁵

The special history study provided a downbeat assessment of what was known about the expedition's route. It noted that “no significant new information was produced by this history study. Only a few sites met the [date] criteria defined at the beginning of the study, and the majority of those sites could not be unequivocally attributed to Coronado's expedition. . . . Almost uniformly, the archeological data in the site forms were too vague to identify sites associated with the Coronado expedition.”²²⁶ As a result, the maps in the special history study – and the map that accompanied the draft national trail study – showed a few known points (near Zuni, Bernalillo, and a stretch of the Arkansas River in central Kansas), between which were large, vague “zones of uncertainty.” Because the authors of the history study had concluded that “the historical, ethnographic, and archeological evidence is at present too fragmentary and vague to confidently identify Coronado's route between known sites,” the authors of the national trail study made no attempt to propose a NHT. Instead, they opted for one of four action alternatives: 1) a Coronado Expedition Research Commission, 2) a National Heritage Corridor, 3) increased NPS interpretation and commemoration, and 4) state-coordinated commemoration efforts.²²⁷

After the public review draft was issued in June 1991, NPS officials provided for a 60-day comment period and held a series of public meetings about the study. These meetings – held in Gallup, Amarillo, and elsewhere – apparently showed little interest in any of the proffered alternatives. The agency then proceeded to produce a final national trail study, which was released in March 1992. Given what was known about the expedition's route, the conclusion in the final study reflected those of the draft study. The agency, moreover, posited the same four action alternatives as before, making no preference for one alternative over any other.

²²⁰ Public Law 101-400, in 101st Congress, S. 963 and H.R. 3493; both in <https://congress.gov/>.

²²¹ <http://www.history.com/topics/exploration/francisco-vazquez-de-coronado>.

²²² 100th Congress, S. 1693, introduced September 17, 1987, in <https://congress.gov/>.

²²³ 100th Congress, S. 1693, became law October 28, 1988 (Public Law 100-559), in <https://congress.gov/>

²²⁴ James E. Ivey, Diane Lee Rhodes, and Joseph P. Sanchez, *The Coronado Expedition of 1540-1542, A Special History Report Prepared for the Coronado Trail Study* (NPS, unpub. mss., 1991), 1.

²²⁵ John Conoboy email, July 12, 2014.

²²⁶ Ivey, Rhodes, and Sanchez, *The Coronado Expedition of 1540-1542*, 99.

²²⁷ NPS, *Draft National Trail Study, Coronado Expedition* (Denver, the author, February 1991), v, 37-43.

So far as is known, Congress made no move to implement any of the NPS's proffered alternatives. The idea of a Coronado Expedition National Trail quietly died away, pending future scholarship that may better locate the trail and related sites.

Along the Emigrant Trails, Renewed Administrative Activity, and New Legislation

As noted in Chapter 3, Congress in 1978 had authorized both the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail and the Oregon National Historic Trail. Both trails soon established advisory councils, and during the late summer of 1981 a comprehensive plan was completed for each trail. The two trails were assigned to different offices (Mormon Pioneer to the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, Oregon to the Pacific Northwest Regional Office), but the post-1981 history of the two trails was largely similar. Budget allotments were skimpy at best, staff assigned to the trails spent much of their time on collateral duties, and few of the tasks that had been outlined in the comprehensive plans were accomplished, at least in the short term. The only major difference between the two trails was that portions of the Mormon Pioneer NHT (primarily on federal land) sported auto tour route signs, while no such signs graced the Oregon NHT.

In the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, which was directed by Lorraine Mintzmyer, the Mormon Pioneer NHT was administered, after Mike Beaudry's departure, by a succession of short-term trail appointments between 1986 and 1989: John Brad Baumann, Robert Kasperek, and Jim Riddle (see appendix 4). Given a scant budget, however, the only known trails-related project during this period was a 46-page "Threatened Sites Study," which Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville professor Stanley Kimball completed for the NPS in the fall of 1989.²²⁸

In October 1989, this state of affairs slightly improved when Michael Duwe – a Washington-office employee working in Lakewood, Colorado – was hired by the regional office as an environmental protection specialist. A collateral (half-time) duty of that job was administering the Mormon Pioneer NHT. He worked in the Planning and Compliance Division, headed by Mike Snyder, but his immediate supervisor was Chris Turk, the regional environmental coordinator. Some, or perhaps all, of the funds that supported Duwe's trails work appear to have been allocated by the newly-established Long Distance Trails Office in Washington, DC (see section below) to the Rocky Mountain Regional Office. These funds did

²²⁸ Lorraine Mintzmyer (RD/RMRO) to Reps. Howard C. Neilson and Wayne Owens, February 14, 1990, in "RMR Trails Program" folder, "Comprehensive Plan" drawer, NTIR-SLC files.

not underwrite staff salaries or support the production of "interpretive or other types of developments," but instead were directed toward "NPS trail authorization activities such as contracted studies, printing costs, and travel."²²⁹

Given this financial infusion, Duwe and his colleagues issued a contract for a historic resource study for the trail; he promised to issue the first in a series of trail newsletters, in order to keep trail supporters informed; and he expressed interest in having an interpretive plan completed.²³⁰ These projects, in fact, came to fruition. A 226-page Mormon Pioneer NHT historic resource study, written by Stanley Kimball, was published by the agency in May 1991; Duwe issued the first of three newsletters in the fall of 1991; and the regional office, in conjunction with the agency's Harpers Ferry Center, completed a 52-page interpretive plan for the trail in late April 1992.²³¹

Duwe also helped organize a diverse element of trail supporters. As noted in Chapters 1 and 3, the Mormon Pioneer Trail Foundation had been founded in 1969 and had remained active into the 1970s, and the federally-sponsored Mormon Pioneer NHT advisory council had brought these advocates together for a series of meetings during the early to mid-1980s. In 1991, Duwe helped organize the Mormon Trails Association, and for the next several years he undertook projects with both the MTA (based primarily in Utah) as well as the Iowa Mormon Trail Association. He also met with representatives from the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), the U.S. Forest Service, the State of Utah, and with leaders from a host of small trailside museums and other local groups. As Duwe recalls, he spent "lots of time meeting with people about what the NPS wanted and expected."²³²

Much the same sequence of events took place in the Pacific Northwest Regional Office, from which the Oregon NHT was administered – but as indicated in the previous chapter, the agency's administration of the trail was nominal at best throughout most of the 1980s. In the fall of 1989, however, staff at the regional office (headed by Charles H. Odegaard) decided to hire a full-time trails program manager. Selected for the job was NPS veteran Margaret (Peggy) Dolinich, whose previous posting had been in the Rocky Mountain Regional Office (see appendix

²²⁹ Duwe, "Position Page, Long Distance Trails Management/Coordination, RMRO," June 5, 1992, "in "Activation of CALI/POEX" folder, NTIR-SLC Files; Mintzmyer to Neilson and Owens, February 14, 1990; Michael Duwe interview, January 10, 2014. As Duwe noted, WASO contributed \$63,000 to RMRO trail management in FY 1992; the levels of assistance prior to that year, however, are not known.

²³⁰ Mintzmyer to Neilson and Owens, February 14, 1990.

²³¹ Kimball, *Historic Resource Study, Mormon Pioneer NHT* (Denver, NPS), May 1991; various newsletters in "MOPI Newsletters" folder, NTIR-SLC Files.

²³² Duwe interview, January 10, 2014.

4). In Seattle, Dolinich worked in the partnerships office; her immediate supervisor, however, was Bob Karatko, who headed the Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program.²³³ The funding for this position, as for Mormon Pioneer NHT administration in Denver, was due to a recently-passed Congressional line item that was specifically designated for long-distance trails (see below).

Dolinich, from the start, felt constrained in the breadth of her duties because, as she noted, “NPS managers, at the time, thought of long-distance trails as being the spaces between an interconnected series of NPS units.” (These units included Fort Laramie NHS, in Wyoming, and Scotts Bluff NM, in Nebraska – both of which were also part of the Mormon Pioneer NHT – as well as Fort Vancouver NHS, at the trail’s terminus in southwestern Washington.) “They gave little support to the trail as a distinct administrative entity.”²³⁴

An important part of her job duties, in her first year or two on the job, was marking the route. As noted in Chapter 3, the Oregon Trail’s comprehensive plan had made no provisions for an auto tour route; instead, it opted for marking the actual trail route with a series of posts, to be installed on either private or public land parcels. In response to those recommendations, she worked with members of the OCTA; using both OCTA and NPS funds, she helped install a number of Carsonite posts along the historic trail route. By the time she was on the job, however, an auto tour route had been assigned to the trail corridor. Dolinich, therefore, helped in the planning and installation of the various Oregon NHT auto tour route signs; given the lack of direction on this subject in the comprehensive plan, she obtained assistance from personnel in the agency’s Santa Fe office regarding design and format issues.²³⁵

Dolinich also worked with OCTA members on interpreting the trail. The partnership association, at the time, designed and installed its own interpretive waysides. Dolinich, for her part, provided technical advice (to prevent the installation of so-called “books on a stick” that overwhelmed the reader with descriptive verbiage) and helped fund the waysides as well. To aid OCTA members with future waysides, she teamed up with Tanner Pilley, an exhibit planner under contract to the NPS, in order to compile a wayside exhibit guide.²³⁶

²³³ An NPS letterhead that Peggy used, dated February 1992, was inscribed “Recreation Programs: Rivers, Trails, SCORP, Surplus Property, LWCF, UPARR, Oregon National Historic Trail.” Located in “Trail Certification” folder, NTIR certification files. SCORP is an acronym for Statewide Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Program, while LWCF stands for Land and Water Conservation Fund, and UPARR stands for the Urban Park and Recreation Recovery program.

²³⁴ Peggy Dolinich interview, January 9, 2014.

²³⁵ Dolinich interview, January 9, 2014; Gaines to ARD, Planning, SWR, December 13, 1990, in “SF-NHT – Logo, FHWA/Testing Issue” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1995” box, NTIR.

²³⁶ Peggy Dolinich interview, January 9, 2014.

Additional tasks dealt with various proposed trail-related visitor centers. During the late 1980s, the BLM – which managed thousands of acres of the Oregon Trail corridor east of Baker City, Oregon – acted to establish its own Oregon Trail visitor center. Aubrey Haines’ June 1973 book, *Historic Sites Along the Oregon Trail*, had identified Flagstaff Hill as a key trail location where westbound travelers, after ascending a long hill along the Burnt River, entered Oregon’s first verdant valley and gained their first view of the Blue Mountains; here also, today’s visitors could view some 13 miles of trail ruts.²³⁷ In 1976, the agency had built an Oregon Trail Bicentennial Wayside at the site. During the mid-1980s, as noted above, the BLM had made it known, as a participant in the Oregon Trail Advisory Council, that it hoped to construct a visitor center there. The agency did so, in part, because community leaders in Baker City and the surrounding area wanted to bolster a tourism industry to supplement what was a depressed natural resource-based regional economy.

Specific development plans began in early 1987, when city and county officials met with local citizens to “explore the future of Flagstaff Hill as an important national landmark.” They passed along their interests to state and federal officials, and in August 1987 the county published a preliminary site plan for a Flagstaff Hill National Monument, to be managed by the BLM. The national monument idea, included in a December 1987 congressional bill, did not fare well. (By June 1988, this bill provision had been eliminated.) But in response to a request from Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt to Interior Secretary Donald Hodel, the NPS agreed to prepare an environmental assessment for the proposed BLM visitor center. A draft study, written by an interdisciplinary BLM team, was completed in August 1988, and a final study followed two months later.²³⁸ BLM officials, meanwhile, moved to include funding for the proposed visitor center in the FY 1989 Interior Department appropriations bill. That bill, which became law in September 1988, included a \$1.3 million first-year funding appropriation for the project.²³⁹ Construction of the center began soon afterward, and the BLM’s National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center opened to the public in May 1992, in plenty of time for the upcoming trail sesquicentennial.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ BLM, Vale District Office, *Proposed National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center at Flagstaff Hill, Draft Environmental Assessment*, August 30, 1988, p. 1, in “National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center, Baker City, Oregon” folder, NTIR-SLC files; <http://www.blm.gov/or/oregontrail/center-sights-ruts.php>.

²³⁸ 100th Congress, H.R. 3680 (introduced December 2, 1987), in <https://congress.gov>.

²³⁹ 100th Congress, H.R. 4867 (passed September 27, 1988, Public Law 100-446), in <https://congress.gov>; NPS, *Draft EA, Flagstaff Hill Visitor Center*, p. 2.

²⁴⁰ https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/national_historic_oregon_trail_interpretive_center/#.W25ZtGeWycw. The Dorthy Wooters book, *Trail of a Dream; a History of the National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center at Flagstaff Hill near Baker City, Oregon* chronicles the long effort, from the early planning stages in 1987 through funding and construction and, ultimately, opening day in 1992.

Oregon City, Oregon, was the focus of another Oregon Trail visitor center during this period. As noted in Chapter 3, the Oregon NHT's comprehensive plan had called for the NPS to provide technical (but not financial) assistance to establish visitor centers at the two trail termini: Independence, Missouri and Oregon City, Oregon. As noted previously in this chapter, construction had begun at the state-sponsored National Frontier Trails Center (in Independence, Missouri) in early 1989, and the facility opened to the public in March 1990. At the western end of the trail, however, the state-run Oregon Trail Advisory Council – established in 1984 – recommended a visitor center not only in Oregon City but also in Baker City (see above), plus Pendleton and The Dalles. Federal legislators, however, re-focused efforts on an Oregon City site when Congress, in November 1988, passed a measure calling for an “End of the Oregon Trail Study” – which more specifically asked the Interior Secretary to “determine the feasibility and desirability of protecting and preserving those lands and resources associated with the western terminus of the Oregon Trail in Oregon City, Oregon.”²⁴¹ Dolinich and other regional staff, during the months that followed, did what they could to plan and coordinate an End of the Oregon National Trail Center. The promised federal funds to underwrite the feasibility study, however, were not appropriated. Lacking other alternatives, the City of Oregon City and the Clackamas County Historical Society stated their intention to build a visitor center and museum and offered to dedicate a portion of that facility to the Oregon Trail.²⁴² Later the Oregon Trail Foundation, in conjunction with the State of Oregon, worked with Rep. Denny Smith (R-Oregon) to obtain the needed funding. Those efforts proved successful, and in 1995, the End of the Oregon Trail Interpretive Center, which was owned and operated by the Oregon Trail Foundation, opened to the public.²⁴³

Although the BLM and the NPS worked cooperatively on the planning and design of the BLM's visitor center in the Baker, Oregon, area, BLM officials often expressed a general frustration with the NPS administration of not only the Oregon NHT but the Mormon Pioneer NHT as well. This Interior Department agency, which controlled tens of millions of acres in Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, and Oregon – all of which had substantial trail mileage – had gathered detailed historical information about the Oregon Trail soon after the route was authorized, and during the mid-1980s it compiled long-distance trail management plans for Wyoming

²⁴¹ Public Law 100-699, Sec. 401 (102 Stat. 4628), passed November 19, 1988.

²⁴² NPS [Peggy Dolinich], “Briefing: End of the Oregon Trail Feasibility Study, Public Law 100-699,” n.d. (1990?), in Box #10 (Four Trails Study), NTIR-SLC Files.

²⁴³ <https://roadtrippers.com/us/oregon-city-or/points-of-interest/end-of-the-oregon-trail-interpretive-center>; Gail Yazzolino email, July 16, 2014. Dan Fowler, a former Oregon City mayor, provided Ms. Yazzolino historical background information about the center. Of the other three planned visitor centers, the one in Baker City was completed in 1992 (see above), while another historical museum was completed in The Dalles, in 1997, under different circumstances (see http://gorgediscovery.org/Hulse_article.pdf). The third museum, in Pendleton, was never built.

and perhaps other states as well.²⁴⁴ From time to time the agency expressed its frustrations at its sister agency because of the NPS's seeming inattention to long-distance trails matters. In addition, both BLM and various state-government officials were frustrated because the administration of these two trails was divided between Seattle and Denver.²⁴⁵ In terms of day-to-day trail administration, however, both Mike Duwe and Peggy Dolinich (representing MOPI and OREG, respectively) had cooperative, amicable relationships with their BLM counterparts.

In the midst of this renewed administrative activity, Congress weighed in with a series of proposals that promised to expand the mileage and scope of the NPS's role as it pertained to the various emigrant trails. As noted in the previous chapter, Congress in 1984 had passed a measure calling for the study of both the California and Pony Express trails, and three years later, the NPS – with ample public comment – had completed a feasibility study that recognized the national significance of both trails.

Just a few months after the agency had completed its study, Congress weighed in with a variety of legislative proposals. In May 1988, Sen. Chic Hecht (R-NV) introduced a bill – S. 2400 – to authorize the Pony Express National Historic Trail. Two months later, Republican Rep. Barbara Vucanovich, from Reno, submitted a similar bill, H.R. 5005. Both bills died in committee. A third bill that year, introduced by Norman Shumway (R-CA), called for the authorization of both the California and the Pony Express as national historic trails. That bill, H.R. 5082, made no more headway than others; it did, however, provide a vehicle for subsequent legislative efforts.²⁴⁶ It should be noted that all of the Pony Express bills submitted during this period – both in the late 1980s and up until mid-1991 – were limited to authorizing the route between St. Joseph, Missouri and Sacramento, California.

The following year, shortly after the commencement of the 101st Congress, new proposals were submitted relative to the emigrant trails. On February 8, 1989, Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nevada) introduced a bill (S. 374) to authorize a Pony Express NHT. Later that month, both Rep. Shumway and Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (D-Louisiana) submitted bills – H.R. 1109 and S. 456, respectively – to authorize both the California and Pony Express NHTs. Reid's bill was heard in subcommittee but progressed no further. Johnston's more far-reaching bill also made it through

²⁴⁴ NPS, *Oregon Trail CMP* (August 1981), 9-10; http://www.blm.gov/wo/st/en/info/About_BLM/subsurface.html. See, for example, the BLM's *Oregon/Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trails Management Plan* (Cheyenne, Wyoming State Office), 1986, at the following URL: <http://www.blm.gov/pgdata/etc/medialib/blm/wy/programs/historictrails/86docs.Par.4793.File.dat/86trailsplan.pdf>

²⁴⁵ Robert J. Shelley (DSC) to RDs, June 19, 1985, in “Activation of CALI/POEX” folder,

²⁴⁶ See www.congress.gov, in the 100th Congress, for activity related to S. 2400, H.R. 5005, and H.R. 5082.

a subcommittee hearing. Shumway's bill, the most successful of the three emigrant trail bills, passed both the House subcommittee and the full committee in February 1990, and on March 6, after 40 minutes of debate, the full House passed Shumway's bill, 416-0. In the Senate, committee members opted to move Shumway's House bill rather than Sen. Johnston's similar bill. In May, the Senate committee passed the bill and sent it on to the full Senate; in the process, however, it added five amendments to the House-passed bill, one of which had been introduced by Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyoming). A month later, the Senate passed the bill on a voice vote. In early October, with less than a week remaining in the 101st Congress, House members – working in conjunction with Senate colleagues – agreed to accept three of the Senate's five amendments. But the Senate was never able to vote on the House compromise, and therefore H.R. 1109 did not become law.²⁴⁷ OCTA member Jeanne Watson, who worked with congressional staffers during the final days before adjournment, noted that hurdles to passage included a series of “senatorial privilege” holds, which collectively prevented the bill from reaching the Senate floor in the session's closing days. These holds, or “blocks,” dealt with the location of visitor centers, the condemnation of private leases on federal land, and concerns about a proposed long-distance pipeline.²⁴⁸

Given the near-miss for this legislation in the 101st Congress, OCTA members in 1991 worked with the new Congress to secure passage of the needed authorization bill. Shortly after the session began, Rep. Doug Bereuter, a Republican from Utica, Nebraska, introduced a bill (H.R. 479) to authorize both the California and Pony Express trails as NHTs. (The OCTA newsletter noted that Bereuter's bill had “wording similar to old HR-1109 but without the Wallop amendment.”) By April, two similar bills (both of which would also authorize the same two trails) had been introduced: H.R. 1229, by Rep. John T. Doolittle (R-CA), and S. 801, by Sen. Harry Reid. Both Doolittle's bill and Reid's bill received hearings at the subcommittee level but went no further. Egged on by various OCTA members, however, Bereuter's bill had greater success. The bill passed out of the subcommittee in April and the full committee in early May, and on May 8, H.R. 479 passed the full House, 409-0.

Along the way, however, a key amendment was added to H.R. 479. As noted in the March 1991 OCTA newsletter, “There is growing support in California . . . urging addition of the Sacramento-San Francisco leg of the Pony Express route in the trail legislation.” That sentiment was reflected in an amendment adopted in the House subcommittee, and the House-passed bill reflected that amended language. (This amendment did not authorize the leg west of Sacramento; instead, it provided that the Interior Secretary could administratively authorize this additional mileage if a report was submitted that historically justified the route addition.) In the Senate,

²⁴⁷ See www.congress.gov, in the 101st Congress, for activity related to S. 374, S. 456, and H.R. 1109.

²⁴⁸ *News from the Plains*, December 1990, p. 3.

“concerns about protecting the rights of leaseholders” held up the bill for a while. Subcommittee action, therefore, did not take place until February 1992, and the full committee approved the bill that June. On July 15, the full Senate, without amendments, passed H.R. 479 on a voice vote, and on August 3, President George H.W. Bush signed the bill into law. Both the California Trail and the Pony Express Trail were now part of the NTS.²⁴⁹

Establishing an Administrative Presence for a Nationwide Trails System

By the end of 1986, Congress had authorized fourteen long-distance trails under the terms of the NTSA: eight NSTs and six NHTs.²⁵⁰ Nine of these trails (five NSTs and four NHTs) were administered by the NPS, four trails (three NSTs and one NHT) were administered by the U.S. Forest Service, and one trail (an NHT) was administered by the BLM. For these 14 trails, however, line-item federal funding totaled just \$716,200, of which almost 90 percent (\$641,700) was dispensed to the Appalachian Trail Project Office (ATPO); the remainder went to the Oregon NHT (\$14,500) and the newly-funded Ice Age NST (\$60,000). The other 11 trails remained without line-item funding (see appendix 3). In the NPS's Washington office, there were a number of staff in the Recreation Resources Assistance Division office who were nominally associated with trails. Most of these were former employees of the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (HCRS), which had been merged into the National Park Service in 1981. They had worked on urban and regional recreation trails. Except for a one-time (FY 1986) appropriation for a NTS inventory initiative, Congress during the early to mid-1980s had not allocated dedicated trails funding to the Washington office of any land management agency.²⁵¹

Given the lack of any specific verbiage in the NTSA, there was no central authority, or common consensus, for how the various long-distance trails would be

²⁴⁹ See www.congress.gov, in the 102nd Congress, for activity related to H.R. 479, H.R. 1229, and S. 801; *News from the Plains*, March 1991, 4, and September 1991, 19; Jere Krakow, interview by the author, Jan. 23, 2014. The “Wallop Amendment” was named for U.S. Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-WY).

²⁵⁰ In addition to the 14 long-distance trails that had been authorized, Congress had also voted to study an additional 14 trails that had not been (and would not be) authorized. Officially, this list included 11 NSTs and 3 NHTs, but because 10 of these 14 trails were mandated for study before 1978 (when the NHT category was established), 9 of these 14, in actuality, were historical trails.

²⁵¹ HCRS, which had been active during the Carter administration, disbanded in early 1981 (see chapter 2); many of its functions and staff were delegated to the NPS. Gilbert interview, May 25, 2007, 27; Elkinton email, February 17, 2014; Charles Odegaard to Director NPS, February 17, 1987, in “Admin Hist of NHT System and Office” folder, “Box 25 - #33250,” NTIR-SLC Files. Gilbert notes in his interview (p. 27) that Bob Karotko was “our Washington office coordinator who was Steve Elkinton's predecessor,” but Karotko's duties were sufficiently distinct that Elkinton was correct in stating that no one preceded him in that position.

administered. Since 1971, the National Trails Council (see appendix 2) had held a symposium every two years to discuss trail-related issues; that council, however, dealt mostly with scenic trails, and it was a private-sector organization, though it was supported with some NPS financial assistance.

As noted in Chapter 3, the most sophisticated attempt at attaining a common consensus on federal trails administration took place in 1985 and 1986 when Tom Gilbert – who was the only federal staff person (aside from the ATPO) who worked primarily on long-distance trails issues – posed a series of administrative questions to the NPS’s various regional directors. The recommendations that came in response to those questions – which came forth in an issue paper dated July 1986 – served as an ad hoc administrative guide for Gilbert and other trail administrators, at least for the time being. In March 1989, agency trails administrators in Washington attempted to resolve these questions with more finality by preparing a draft memo for incoming NPS Director James Ridenour; that memo recommended that five of the six major issues (all but the unit-status issue) be fully resolved. According to one trails official, however, Ridenour “was very ambivalent about the NSTs and [NHTs] under NPS care;” his stance was that the agency should be primarily interested in NPS units and that anything peripheral constituted “thinning of the blood.” Moreover, he stood firmly against any trails attaining unit status. Ridenour’s position was underscored in 1991 by the agency’s Office of Policy, which stated that until the units issue was resolved, implementing the rest of the proposed policy package (dating back to 1986) could not proceed.²⁵²

In 1987, a meeting on local trail matters – specifically, of the Ice Age NST’s advisory council – quixotically brought forth a new impetus toward inter-trail coordination. Attending that meeting were both Tom Gilbert (the Midwest Region’s trails coordinator) and Gary Werner (the Ice Age Park and Trail Foundation’s statewide trail coordinator).²⁵³ As Gilbert recalls that meeting, “we were talking to the advisory council about some issue (. . . maybe signing [or] trail standards). . . . And the Ice Age Park and Trail Foundation president and advisory council chairman, John Zillmer, said, ‘Well, other trail partners must be facing these same questions and problems.’”²⁵⁴ To get answers to those questions, Zillmer proposed a conference to bring together the federal managers and association partners of all of the national scenic and historic trails. He committed his organization to host it in Wisconsin. Midwest Regional Director Charles Odegaard, present at the advisory council meeting, embraced the idea and committed his office’s support in making it happen. The work, then, of planning and organizing the conference fell upon Tom Gilbert and Gary Werner.

²⁵² Ridenour to RDs, memo, March 1, 1989, in “Activation of CALI-POEX” folder, in “Box 25 - #33250,” NTIR-SLC; Steve Elkinton to the author, email, July 20, 2017.

²⁵³ In 2008, the Ice Age Park and Trail Foundation changed its name to the Ice Age Trail Alliance. Tom Gilbert, email to the author, November 6, 2018.

²⁵⁴ Tom Gilbert interview, by Ron Brown, May 25, 2007, pp. 26, 27.

In late September 1988, the first National Conference on National Scenic and NHTs was held at a Boys and Girls Club facility (Camp Whitcomb) north of Hartland, Wisconsin. It was a Spartan affair; as Gilbert recalls the event, most of the 75 attendees “stayed in cabins with bunks on old plastic covered mattresses with white and blue stripes.”²⁵⁵ By most accounts the conference was successful, in large part because Louise Marshall of the American Hiking Society, who actively supported the conference’s goals, made a special effort to reach out and embrace the NHTs. Gilbert recalls, however, that “there were frustrations in some sessions that attendees associated with scenic trails did not understand the issues of historic trails, and vice versa.” (One Mormon Pioneer NHT representative felt that historic trails were “short sheeted”).²⁵⁶

One of the conference attendees, Leo Rasmussen, from the Iditarod Trail Committee, reportedly “challenged everyone to get together and form a nationwide coalition.” Perhaps in response, the conference attendees agreed to form a steering committee, which included both scenic and historic trail representatives, and which was tasked (in part) “to carry momentum forward to a second conference at some time in the future.” Indeed, the conference summary noted “a strong consensus that the public and private interests represented at the conference should meet together again or periodically.”²⁵⁷

An important goal that was realized during the period leading up to the September 1988 conference was the launching of a newsletter, *Pathways Across America*, which was devoted exclusively to NSTs and NHTs. In all probability, the idea for this magazine arose from discussions between Bill Spitzer, the nominal NPS trails head at the time, and Butch Henley, the American Hiking Society’s executive director. In the wake of the 1988 conference, both wanted to build communication among the long-distance trails community, so the NPS forged a cooperative agreement with the AHS; the NPS agreed to fund the publication of a quarterly trails newsletter if the AHS would produce and distribute it. The newsletter’s first issue, eight pages long, was dated Fall 1988. *Pathways* is still being published, and it plays a key role in providing news and information about the NTS.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Tom Gilbert interview, p. 28; Tom Ross to Bob Karotko, April 16, 1990, in “Admin Hist of NHT System and Office” folder, “Box 25 - #33250,” NTIR-SLC files. The site is now (2018) called Camp Whitcomb/Mason.

²⁵⁶ Tom Gilbert, email to the author, November 6, 2018; Stan Kimball to Rod MacRae, Dec. 21, 1990, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box.

²⁵⁷ Steve Elkinton email, February 17, 2014; Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, 16; Stan Kimball to Rod MacRae, December 21, 1990, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR; “National Conference on National Scenic and National Historic Trails, a Summary,” from Tom Gilbert, email to the author, November 6, 2018.

²⁵⁸ Steve Elkinton to the author, email, July 20, 2017; Elkinton, email to the author, December 12, 2017; http://sfct.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/econ_all.pdf; Tom Gilbert, email to the author, November 6, 2018.

During this same period, the various NPS-administered trails finally gained a presence in Washington, D.C. As far back as 1984, members of the OCTA had made a formal proposal at an NPS advisory-council meeting to establish a central trail office, and in early 1987, Midwest Regional Director Chuck Odegaard noted that “various proposals have been advanced in the past three years for creating a central office for administering all of NPS’s national scenic and/or NHTs, be it located in Washington or elsewhere.” Prodded by longtime California trails advocate George Cardinet, NPS Director William Penn Mott by this time had signaled his interest in having the agency take the lead on various long-distance trails matters; Odegaard himself, however, did not recommend the establishment of a centralized trails office. Mott and Cardinet may have played a role in the establishment of the Washington-based trails office, although their connection to this action is by no means clear.²⁵⁹

During the summer of 1988, two stalwart, long-time members of the American Hiking Society lobbied Congress on behalf of trails issues: Susan “Butch” Henley was the society’s executive director, while Louise Marshall was the outgoing board president as well as a member of the Pacific Crest Trail Conference.²⁶⁰ The House of Representatives passed its version of the FY 1989 Interior Department appropriations bill on June 29, while the Senate passed its own bill on July 13. In a second-hand anecdote, an NPS employee recalled that the two women met with Senate Appropriations Committee staff after both bills had passed – but before the conference committee met (beginning on August 2) to resolve the differences between the two bills. The two women had implored the staff to add a line item in the NPS budget for “National Trails System Development.” Their effort was successful, and by September 8, the NPS budget in the conference report contained a \$400,000 line item for that purpose. President Reagan signed the bill into law on September 27, 1988 (see appendix 3).²⁶¹ Mott and Cardinet, noted above, may have played a role in this process inasmuch as both men were longtime Californian friends. (Cardinet, a horseman, was active in many trails groups, while Mott had previously served as the head of California State Parks under then-Governor Ronald Reagan.) Another NPS employee who provided “support and encouragement” was Bill Spitzer, the Chief of the Recreation Resources Assistance Division (see below).

In early 1989, the Congressional Research Service elaborated upon the need for a stronger trails presence in Washington. George Siehl, the author of the CRS report,

²⁵⁹ NPS, “Minutes of August 13-15, 1984 Oregon NHT Advisory Committee Meeting,” in “Advisory Council, Oregon NHT” folder, NTIR-SLC files; Odegaard to Director NPS, February 17, 1987, in “Admin Hist of NHT System and Office” folder, “Box 25 - #33250,” NTIR-SLC Files; Steve Elkinton email, February 17, 2014.

²⁶⁰ Steve Elkinton email, February 17, 2014; Werner interview, 21. The Pacific Crest Trail Conference, which operated from 1977 to 1992, was the primary partnership association for the Pacific Crest NST.

²⁶¹ 100th Congress, H.R. 4867 (became law September 27, 1988), in <https://congress.gov/>; Steve Elkinton interview, February 17, 2014; *Pathways Across America*, Summer 2014, 12.

noted that:

The growth of the National Trails System to 16 long-distance components has resulted in some policy and program perplexities. The two categories (i.e., National Scenic and National Historic) and the individual trails themselves have different authorities, which has led to confusion. At the Federal level, the trails are administered by three agencies: the National Park Service, Forest Service, and Bureau of Land Management. There is a need for much improved coordination among these agencies and among the individual trail managers. The development and implementation of clear policy guidance from the NPS Policy Office to trail managers and the Regional Offices responsible for the trails is essential.²⁶²

In response to Congress’s new budget allotment, the NPS responded by advertising for a single position to help coordinate the agency’s long-distance trails effort. In August 1989, Steve Elkinton was selected for the position of Long-Distance Trails Manager, and he began work the following month.²⁶³ An 11-year NPS veteran who had worked (as a landscape architect) at both the DSC office in Falls Church, Virginia, and at Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area in Ohio, he had experience working on Washington-area trails, though not on long-distance trails. His new supervisor was Tom Ross, the Branch Chief for Trails; the two constituted the NTS Branch.²⁶⁴ Ross, in turn, worked for Bill Spitzer, Chief of the Recreation Resources Assistance Division in the Office of Planning and Development, which was headed by Associate Director Denis Galvin.²⁶⁵ Given the sizable (\$400,000) initial funding for “National Trails System Development” noted above, the large majority of that budgetary allotment did not remain in Washington but was directed toward the many long-distance trails that were either unfunded or underfunded. As noted previously in this chapter, portions of that allotment constituted the Mormon Pioneer NHT’s first budget, and the Oregon NHT received a substantial increase to the modest (\$13,600) annual budget that it had previously received.

²⁶² George Siehl, George, Jan., 1989, *Trails Programs in Federal Agencies: A Data Compilation* (Washington, D.C., Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, Jan. 1989), 47.

²⁶³ Elkinton to author, email, July 20, 2017.

²⁶⁴ Elkinton to author, email, Sept. 21, 2017. Elkinton noted that Ross’s responsibilities, at the time, included “national recreation trails, some regional trail atlases that RTCA was producing, and coordinating [various] RTCA trail projects” in addition to the various national scenic and national historic trails.

²⁶⁵ Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, 3, 11; Long-Distance Trails Manager, WASO to Long-Distance Trails Coordinators, October 1, 1991, in “Trails (NHT) Correspondence, John Conoboy Collection” folder, NTIR Files; Steve Elkinton email, July 13, 2014. In his 2014 email, Elkinton noted with some irony that much of the RRAD’s responsibilities during the early- to mid-1980s were a direct result of the elimination of HCRS in 1981 and the transfer of that agency’s programs to the NPS. By 1989, however, neither of the division’s two main programs (the National Trails System and the Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance program) had been administered by the HCRS.

Once on the job, Elkinton undertook a variety of coordinating duties that pertained to both the scenic and historic trails. In 1990, for example, he, Gilbert, and other NPS representatives attended the biennial National Trails Symposium, which was held that year in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Symposia with that name had been held since 1971 (see chapter 2), and at first their purpose had been to hear citizen and volunteer perspectives on the progress and status of the two original NSTs: the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail. By the early 1980s, however, many participants had lost interest in that topic; instead, the symposia gained new momentum by drawing in a larger audience of local trail people who weren't involved in either scenic or historic trails. The newly-organized symposia focused on such diverse topics as U.S. Forest Service trails, trail construction and promotion, fundraising, mapping, recreation research, rail trails, and local trail systems. Then, in 1988, this series of conferences fell under the sponsorship of American Trails – a new entity that was a merger of the former National Trails Council and the American Trails Network. By 1990, the National Trails Symposium (as Elkinton recalls it) was “on a pretty fixed path,” focusing on local and regional trail issues.²⁶⁶

Another of Elkinton's early tasks was organizing a second meeting of the National Conference on National Scenic and NHTs, to follow up on the successful 1988 conference (noted above) in Hartland, Wisconsin. At the September 1990 National Trails Symposium, which was held at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, an interest-group meeting that was focused on the NTS became an ad hoc platform for organizing a second long-distance trails conference. Longtime trail stalwarts such as Jeannette Fitzwilliams (from the American Hiking Society), along with Bill and Jeanne Watson (from OCTA), worked with Elkinton on the criteria for that conference, which was sponsored by OCTA and was held in November 1991 at the Menucha Retreat and Conference Center in Oregon's Columbia Gorge, just east of Corbett.²⁶⁷

Conferees made a key decision there: to establish the “Committee of 17” (so named because there were 17 NSTs and NHTs at that time), which would serve as a core group of advocates to keep in contact on a range of issues related to long-distance trails. The group created a charter, and in the spring of 1992 its leader, Gary Werner, testified before the Appropriations Subcommittee for both the House Interior Committee and the Senate Energy and National Resources Committee (see chapter 5). He made two seemingly far-fetched requests: 1) that for each long-distance trail, the responsible federal agency should assign one full-time staff person, and 2) that an annual average of \$250,000 be allotted for the operation of each

²⁶⁶ Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, 4, 18; Elkinton email, July 13, 2014.

²⁶⁷ Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, pp. 18-19.

trail.²⁶⁸ Congress, in response, ignored both of those requests, but Werner – again representing the Committee of 17 – returned to Congress, and he was eventually successful in raising both the visibility and the financial support for the various long-distance trails.²⁶⁹ The Committee of 17, it should be noted, was an aspirational name, and for the first several years after its 1991 founding, a number of NST and NHT organizations were slow to take part. Only in later years did most of the main trail organizations join in.²⁷⁰

Elkinton initiated another project that helped create a more cohesive trails system: the production of the first *National Trails System Map and Guide*. He worked with the Harpers Ferry Center publication staff on the four-color “unigrid” folder, which was published in the fall of 1991, just in time for the Menucha conference (noted above). The map and guide was widely accepted by the trails community, and in response to the growing number of trails, it has been revised every few years since that time.²⁷¹

Yet another item on Elkinton's agenda was trails-related training. As a specific goal, he hoped to hold an annual training class on trails, so in 1990, the first such class was held at the Mather Training Center, in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, with the theme “Long-Distance Trails -- A Cooperative Effort.” Elkinton recalls that it

was a once in a lifetime experience. I'm probably the one who learned the most . . . we had more speakers than “students.” We covered a wide range of issues from hiker expectations to trail lands protection, from legislation to mapping. It quickly became clear that trails training is complex and multi-

²⁶⁸ On May 27, 1993, nine members of Congress wrote to Rep. Sidney Yates, who served on the Appropriations Committee throughout his career and chaired the Interior Subcommittee. Of the 19 NSTs and NHTs existing at that time, they noted that “aside from some annual support given to the Appalachian Trail and minimal funding for several years for 6 of the other trails, there have been no operating funds specifically appropriated for these congressionally designated trails” and that “only 8 of the 19 trails have either part-time or full-time managers. . . .” in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder, in “SAFE Admin Hist files, 1987-1997” box.

²⁶⁹ Gary Werner interview, May 25, 2007, 15, 19, 20. In that interview, Werner recalled that “At that [1991] conference a group of us, Susan Henley and Reese Lukei from American Hiking Society, and myself, and a couple of others were determined that we were going to come out of that conference with some kind of an organized effort to work together beyond the conference.” Based on that conversation, “we ended up with a charter that we made up for ourselves” [to establish the Committee of 17], and they decided on the two “requests” noted in the main text. Based on the trail-specific figures noted in Appendix 6, Werner's two requests were lofty indeed, because it would be ten years or more before either his staff or budget goals would be attained.

²⁷⁰ Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, 4; Ross Marshall interview, February 11, 2014.

²⁷¹ Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, 3; Elkinton email, February 17, 2014; Elkinton to Gaines, June 3, 1991, in “SFNHT, NPS Memoranda – 1991” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box, NTIR. Subsequent editions of the map and guide have been produced in 1993, 1998, 2004, 2007, and 2010.

faceted and should be better targeted.²⁷²

In response, Elkinton offered a follow-up training, focused on cooperative mechanisms, in 1991. That same year, moreover, he offered a training session at the Menucha conference that provided both association partners, and new federal trail managers, a deeper understanding of the NTSA and its authorities. The next trail-related training courses supported by the Washington office, held during the mid-1990s, would focus on interpretation (see chapter 5).²⁷³

A key question for Elkinton, and other NPS employees at the time, concerned unit status; specifically, whether the various national scenic and NHTs under the agency's purview should be considered units of the National Park System. This question had had a long, and somewhat contradictory, history (see chapter 3). The agency's first designated long-distance trail, the Appalachian NST, was declared an NPS unit when its land acquisition office geared up in the mid-1970s. Later, when the agency gained three new trails (all NHTs), these trails were designated as "affiliated areas," not park units. In 1980 and 1983, the agency gained five new trails (four scenic trails and one historic trail); Natchez Trace and Potomac Heritage, both NSTs, became park units via a Director's memo in 1985, while the other three trails did not carry that designation.

Tom Gilbert, the Midwest Region's trails coordinator and a key player in the development of overall policy for the long-distance trails, worked with his regional director, Charles Odegaard, on this issue, and by the spring of 1984, Odegaard was recommending to Washington officials that all long-distance trails should have unit status, recognizing full well that such an action would have positive budgetary consequences.²⁷⁴ In 1985-86, Gilbert squarely addressed this matter – and the agency's inconsistencies – in a trails-related issue paper. (Gilbert, at the time, was the designated administrator of three long-distance trails, none of which were park units.) After having examined the issue in its historic context, and with frequent references to NTSA language, Gilbert, having perused the General Authorities Act of 1970, concluded that "all national scenic and national historic trails administered by the Service should be administered as 'units' of the National Park System. The legal authorization for the trails and a sense of consistency would seem to demand such a decision."²⁷⁵ Following up on that statement, Midwest Regional Director Charles Odegaard, in a memo to NPS Director William Penn Mott, repeated his

²⁷² Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, and Sept. 21, 2017.

²⁷³ Elkinton interview, Sept. 21, 2017; Tom Gilbert, email to the author, November 6, 2018.

²⁷⁴ RD/MWRO to Associate Director, Planning and Development, WASO, May 1, 1984, in "Admin Hist of NHT System and Office" folder, "Box 25 - #33250," NTIR-SLC Files.

²⁷⁵ [NPS-MWRO], "Issue Paper, National Park Service Administration of National Scenic and National Historic Trails," July 1986, in "Miscellaneous – SF Trail" folder, "SAFE Admin Files, 1963-1989" box, NTIR.

advocacy in favor of unit status.²⁷⁶

Little further action took place on the matter until October 1991, when the agency's Office of Policy convened a broad range of Washington-office managers (but no regional trails coordinators) to discuss the matter. In preparation for that meeting, Elkinton prepared a discussion paper on the topic, and after weighing the issue, he concluded that "National Scenic and National Historic Trails assigned to the National Park Service should be considered units of the National Park System. This would be clearly stated in a future amendment to the NTSA and reflected in agency policy." But after considering the matter, the various agency managers decided to steer a middle course; they concluded that

all NPS-managed national scenic and national historic trails would be considered components of the National Trails System. Some would also be listed as units (like parks), such as the Appalachian Trail, where land ownership, boundaries, management control, and management policies fully apply. NPS will look at the existing NPS-administered trails and determine which are units and which are not – and make adjustments in listings accordingly.²⁷⁷

Personnel outside of the Washington office were by no means wholeheartedly supportive of that decision, and they continued to advocate for full unit status for all trails.²⁷⁸ For the time being, however, the NPS continued to administer a few trails as park units, with the remainder being initially administered as affiliated areas. The "affiliated areas" designation, however, did not remain for long. Instead, national trails of all types – both units and non-units – have been listed in recent years in the *NPS Index* not as affiliated areas but as one of five "related areas" that "are linked in importance and purpose to areas managed by the National Park Service" and which "preserve important segments of the nation's heritage."²⁷⁹ In the agency's recent budget justifications books ("green books"), moreover, all long-distance trails administered by the agency are classified as part of the "National Trails System." These trails, just as park units, are considered "organizations" of the National Park

²⁷⁶ RD/MWRO to Director NPS, February 17, 1987, in "Admin Hist of NHT System and Office" folder, "Box 25 - #33250," NTIR-SLC Files. The General Authorities Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-383) became law on August 18, 1970.

²⁷⁷ Long-Distance Trails Manager, WASO to Long-Distance Trail Coordinators (various, December 19, 1991," in "Trails (NHT) Correspondence, John Conoboy Collection," NTIR files.

²⁷⁸ RD/SWRO to Director NPS, January 31, 1992, in "Trails (NHT) Correspondence, John Conoboy Collection," NTIR files.

²⁷⁹ These five areas include: 1) Authorized Areas, 2) Affiliated Areas, 3) National Heritage Areas, 4) National Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and 5) National Trails System.

System.²⁸⁰



²⁸⁰ NPS, *The National Parks: Index 1916-2016* (Washington, USDI, 2016), 11; U.S. Dept. of the Interior, *National Park Service Budget Justifications and Performance Information, Fiscal Year 2018*, “ONPS Summaries-18.”



Photo Gallery:
Intermountain Region Trails Staff Over the Years



TRAILS STAFF, SANTA FE, EARLY 2002. LEFT TO RIGHT: DAVID GAINES, AARON MAHR, KAISA BARTHULI, JOSINA MARTINEZ, STEVE BURNS, JOHN CONOBOY, SHARON BROWN, HARRY MYERS, ANDREA SHARON, AND MIKE TAYLOR. GAINES AND CONOBOY WERE THE TWO EARLIEST TRAILS EMPLOYEES, BEGINNING IN 1987 AND 1989, RESPECTIVELY.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



CHERRY PAYNE (ABOVE), SEEN IN 1996, WAS THE SANTA FE TRAILS OFFICE'S FIRST INTERPRETIVE SPECIALIST.
© CHERRY PAYNE



JERE KRAKOW (ABOVE) SERVED A 20-YEAR NPS CAREER AS A TRAILS HISTORIAN AND AS THE SUPERINTENDENT OF BOTH THE SALT LAKE CITY AND SANTA FE TRAILS OFFICES.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



SANTA FE TRAILS STAFF (ABOVE), IN THE COURTYARD OF THE OLD SANTA FE TRAIL BUILDING, JUNE 2009. LEFT TO RIGHT: CAROL ORTEGA, OTIS HALFMOON, SHARON BROWN, FRANK NORRIS, SUSAN BOYLE, AARON MAHR, BROOKE SAFFORD, JOSINA MARTINEZ, MIKE TAYLOR, STEVE BURNS, JOHN CANNELLA.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



TRAILS STAFF IN THE OLD SANTA FE TRAIL BUILDING LOBBY, LATE 2011 OR EARLY 2012. LEFT TO RIGHT (STANDING): STEVE BURNS, OTIS HALFMOON, SUSAN BOYLE, BRIAN DEATON, SHARON BROWN, MIKE ELLIOTT, LYNNE MAGER, FRANK NORRIS, JOSINA MARTINEZ, GRETCHEN WARD, CORY DONNELLY, AARON MAHR, KAISA BARTHULLI. (SITTING) CAROL ORTEGA, CAROL CLARK, KIM FINCH, LEE KREUTZER, KRISTIN VAN FLEET, BROOKE SAFFORD.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



SALT LAKE CITY TRAILS STAFF (LEFT), AT THE ENTRANCE TO THEIR OFFICE AT 324 S. STATE ST., JUNE 2009. LEFT TO RIGHT: CHUCK MILLIKEN, LEE KREUTZER, KAY THRELKELD, TERESA BICHARD.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



TRAILS STAFF AT LAS GOLONDRINAS (SANTA FE), OCTOBER 2010. LEFT TO RIGHT (FRONT ROW) CAROL CLARK, STEVE BURNS, LEE KREUTZER. (BACK ROW) SHARON BROWN, MIKE TAYLOR, KAISA BARTHULLI, JOHN CANNELLA, JOSINA MARTINEZ, FRANK NORRIS, CAROL ORTEGA, CHUCK MILLIKEN, BROOKE SAFFORD, BRIAN DEATON, LYNNE MAGER, ANNE MARIE (COOKIE) BALLOU, SUSAN BOYLE, AARON MAHR, OTIS HALFMOON.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



TRAILS STAFF (ABOVE) AT LAS GOLONDRINAS (SANTA FE), OCTOBER 2015. LEFT TO RIGHT (BACK ROW) DEREK NELSON, KELLY SHEA, KRISTIN VAN FLEET, CAROLE WENDLER, KIM FINCH, CAROL CLARK, LYNNE MAGER, STEVE BURNS, CORY DONNELLY. (FRONT ROW) KAISA BARTHULLI, JOHN CANNELLA, JILL JENSEN, ANGELICA SANCHEZ-CLARK, LEE KREUTZER, CAROL ORTEGA, FRANK NORRIS, AARON MAHR, MIKE TAYLOR, MIKE ELLIOTT.
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(LEFT) JOHN MURPHEY AND KAISA BARTHULLI (RIGHT) FORM THE NUMBER "66" ALONG LONGHORN RANCH ROAD, A FORMER SEGMENT OF ROUTE 66 JUST SOUTH OF INTERSTATE 40 AND SEVEN MILES EAST OF MORIARTY. MURPHEY WORKED WITH BARTHULLI ON THE ROUTE 66 CORRIDOR PRESERVATION PROGRAM FROM EARLY 2009 TO EARLY 2011.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



GIS SPECIALIST SARAH RIVERA, WITH A TRAILS DISPLAY AT A CONFERENCE, JULY 2018.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



(ABOVE) NPS STAFF IN BEND, OREGON (END OF THE SOLAR CAR CHALLENGE), JULY 2018. (STANDING) DIANE WEDDINGTON, JEFF DENNY, MATT TURNER (MIDWEST RO), FRANK NORRIS. (CROUCHING) LEE SMITH (MIDWEST RO), TARA BURNETTE (AMERICORPS), CAROL CLARK.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



TRAILS STAFF IN SANTA FE, DECEMBER 2016. (STANDING) AARON MAHR, ANGELICA SANCHEZ-CLARK, BRYAN PETRYL, MIKE TAYLOR, STEVE BURNS, JILL JENSEN, LYNN MAGER, FRANK NORRIS, PATRICIA TRUJILLO, DEREK NELSON, KAISA BARTHOLI. (CROUCHING) KELLY SHEA, KRISTIN VAN FLEET, LEE KREUTZER, CAROLE WENDLER, CAROL CLARK, CORY DONNELLY, JOHN CANNELLA.
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THE OLD SANTA FE TRAIL BUILDING, ON MUSEUM HILL SOUTHEAST OF DOWNTOWN SANTA FE, HAS SERVED AS THE SANTA FE OFFICES FOR TRAILS STAFF SINCE 2002.
© NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



324 SOUTH STATE STREET, AT THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF EAST BROADWAY (300 SOUTH), SERVED AS THE SALT LAKE CITY OFFICES FOR TRAILS STAFF FROM 1995 TO 2018.
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Chapter 5.

Trail Growth and Reorganization, 1991-2000

Administering the Santa Fe Trail

As the year 1991 came to a close, officials in the Southwest Region's Branch of Long Distance Trails could look back on more than four years of experience administering the national historic trails (NHTs). Most of that experience had been gained with the Santa Fe National Historic Trail, which had been the focus of considerable National Park Service (NPS) effort since mid-1987. But since early March 1991, thanks to the efforts of Regional Director John Cook, the office had also been in charge of the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail. (The Branch also kept tabs on the Masau Trail planning study as well, but as noted in Chapter 4, most of the activity related to that planning effort was conducted by regional planning staff. The implementation of that planning effort, moreover, was effectively blocked pending the passage of follow-up legislation.¹)

The branch's office, at that time, was located in the NPS's regional office, on the third floor of the Piñon Building on St. Francis Drive in Santa Fe. It occupied just a small area on that floor because the branch consisted of just two employees: David Gaines, the branch chief, and John Conoboy, an outdoor recreation planner (see appendix 4). A third employee – a secretary or clerk-typist position – was typically assigned to the branch as well, but that position was vacant at the time, its duties being performed on an ad hoc basis by others in the region's Planning Division. Since late 1989, Congress had provided a small, line-item budget for the Santa Fe Trail, and an even smaller amount was attached to the Masau Trail, but despite those allotments, which totaled less than \$150,000 per year for all trails during the early 1990s, the branch often depended on the regional office for financial assistance (see appendix 6).

Between the end of 1991 and the end of the decade, as it turned out, the Santa Fe office would continue to administer the same three trails. In many other ways, however, this period of trails administration would prove to be both turbulent and promising. Budgets and staff would increase, the Santa Fe office would be paired with a newly created trails office farther north, association partnerships would be continued and strengthened, many new projects would be implemented, new trails would be investigated via the feasibility-study process, and a historic road would be authorized.

Santa Fe Trail Projects, 1991-1996

¹ NPS, Long Distance Trails Group Office - Santa Fe, Annual Performance Report, FY 2000, p. 2.

During the early 1990s, most of the budget for trails work conducted out of the agency's Santa Fe office was allotted to the Santa Fe National Historic Trail. (As noted in Appendix 6, the trail's annual budget during this period was between \$74,000 and \$81,000; the Masau Trail, for most years, was allotted \$33,000; and the Trail of Tears NHT received no budget allotment.) Not surprisingly, therefore, trails staff were primarily devoted to matters related to the protection, interpretation, and development of the Santa Fe Trail. As noted in Chapter 4, staff initially worked with the trail's advisory council and the Santa Fe Trail Association (SFTA) to complete the trail's comprehensive management plan (CMP).² Soon afterward – starting in January 1991 – they established the first-ever partnership certification at Autograph Rock, Oklahoma, and by the end of the year, additional partnership agreements had been signed for properties in Kansas, Colorado, and Missouri. In addition, staff renewed the NPS's original (1989) memorandum of understanding with SFTA in April 1991, and four months later, NPS and SFTA officials signed a five-year cooperative agreement, promising to work together on a variety of trail-related matters.³

Gaines and Conoboy, during this period, recognized that in order for the Santa Fe Trail to be effectively administered, they needed to gain a broad variety of trail partners, and to do so, they needed to obtain a broad range of partnership certifications (see appendix 9). In addition, they recognized that in order to preserve, protect, interpret, and develop the trail by following the dictates of the National Trails System Act (NTSA), they needed to engage in a variety of on-the-ground projects that would implement NTSA goals. Because the trail's budget and staff was so limited, however, the two professional staff recognized that they could not effectively undertake all of these goals at once. Gaines, therefore, chose a two-part strategy. As he told the trail's advisory committee in late 1993, the “first year [after completing the CMP – therefore, Fiscal Year (FY) 1991] was spent focusing mostly on efforts on getting our initial sites certified. The second year proceeded basically as the first year. Last year [FY 1993], based on the certifications that were done during the first 2 years, we then started to see the cooperators develop programs for their sites.” This program expansion took place by “undertaking ongoing planning, development, and preservation projects.”⁴

Trying to make the most of its meager budget, Gaines and Conoboy immersed themselves in a variety of Santa Fe Trail projects during late 1992 or in 1993. During that time-period, for example, they conducted interpretive planning sessions at

² John Conoboy, in a March 14, 2014 interview, noted that many Santa Fe NHT advisory-council members were also active in the SFTA, thus simplifying relationships with NPS staff.

³ David M. Gaines to SFTA Board of Directors, June 3, 1994, “SFTA, 1994-95, Member rosters” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box.

⁴ Minutes for November 1993 Advisory Council meeting, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1994” folder; Gaines to Bill Pitts, Nov. 18, 1993, in “SFT Public Correspondence, 1993” folder; both in “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

three Missouri sites – Westport Landing (where a riverboat gambling operation was being proposed), Watts Mill, and the Schumacher Site in south Kansas City. At the Schumacher Site (see chapter 4), they coordinated with the SFTA on an interpretation project – one that resulted in the installation, in 1999-2000, of six wayside exhibits.⁵ Kansas City trail advocates, at this time, were just beginning to collectively recognize that the area’s 19th-century trails were not only historically important, but that they had enormous recreational potential as an alternative to the area’s freeways and other arterial roads. In May 1993, Dorothy and Lee Kroh founded the Kansas City Area Historic Trail Association (KCAHTA), a group that by 1995 had gained status as a Sec. 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Craig Crease (with SFTA) and Ross Marshall (SFTA’s president, and a former Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) president) were substantially involved with the group as well. The group’s avowed purpose was to “map, market and promote preservation of historic trails in the Kansas City area.” The group chose, as one of its first major projects, the compilation of a map of the metro area’s historic trails. This map, entitled “Historic Frontier Trails Map,” was published and distributed in November 1997. The NPS trails staff were involved with this organization from its earliest days, inasmuch as David Gaines and John Conoboy either attended meetings or provided information to the group.⁶

Moving west from the Kansas City area, office staff in 1992-1993 focused on Council Grove, Kansas, where additional interpretive planning was conducted with both city officials and state Department of Transportation (DOT) staff. Just west of Dodge City, they met with county, state, and Boot Hill Museum staff on plans to preserve the so-called Boot Hill trail ruts. On the Cimarron National Grassland in southwestern Kansas, they worked with U.S. Forest Service staff on the companion trail project (see chapter 4), and they assisted with the installation of wayside exhibits both on the Cimarron Grassland and on the nearby Comanche Grassland in southeastern Colorado. Under additional SFTA agreements, trails staff funded a historical study of Lower Cimarron (Wagon Bed) Spring near Ulysses, Kansas, and in eastern Colorado it provided financial assistance toward the preservation of the main historical buildings at Boggsville.⁷

During the same period, major work was undertaken to increase the visibility of the Santa Fe NHT to the traveling public. As was noted in Chapter 4, the Federal Highways Administration (FHWA), in the summer of 1991, finally agreed to the use of the trail logo on highway signs. The FHWA’s approval paved the way for the installation of Santa Fe NHT auto tour route signs. In the summer of 1992, NPS staff worked with the various states’ DOT staff along the trail to obtain cooperative

⁵ SAR, 1999, 5; SAR, 2000, 3-4. Lou Schumacher died in May 1998, but his sons, John Schumacher and Lou Austin, continued to represent the family’s interests.

⁶ <https://www.kcahta.org/our-history-1/>.

⁷ NPS, “Santa Fe National Historic Trail Accomplishments – September 1992 to August 1993,” in “Santa Fe Trail Association, 1992-1993” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box.

agreements; these would provide NPS funding (approximately \$22,500, for Federal Prison Industries sign logos) related to the installation of auto tour route signs.⁸ During August and September 1992, all five states along the route signed these agreements.⁹ In 1993, the first auto tour route signs were installed, and by late 1994 or early 1995, signs had been installed along the length of the auto tour route. The signs were not intended to provide an exact trail location; instead, as one Missouri DOT representative noted, “Our purpose is to give people a general routing of the trails.”¹⁰

Additional efforts were made to produce a full-color trail brochure. As noted in Chapter 4, trails staff had cobbled together an interim, black-and-white trail brochure that was distributed in September 1991 and reprinted in late 1992. In January 1992, Regional Director John Cook decided that “the time is right to begin development of a full color Unigrid brochure.” Thanks to direct pressure from Senator Robert Dole’s office, reluctant Harpers Ferry Center (HFC) officials agreed to work with NPS staff on a Santa Fe Trail brochure, using HFC funds. Design work began soon afterwards. A draft brochure was completed in June 1993 and sent to SFTA officials for review.¹¹ Delays were incurred, however, due to a lack of printing funds. Trails staff, at long last, convinced nine entities – the five NPS units that were located along the trail, plus four trail-related museums or interpretive centers – to pool their resources, and the brochure was completed and distributed in March 1996.¹²

Trails Funding and the Challenge Cost Share Program

⁸ Minutes of SFNHT AC Mtg., KC MO, August 27-28, 1992, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997” box; David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

⁹ Gaines to Missouri DOT, Sept. 22, 1992, and Gaines to Colorado DOT, Nov. 25, 1992, both in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “SAFE Admin Files, 1986-1998” box.

¹⁰ *Lakin (KS) Independent*, Nov. 11, 1993; *Kansas City Star*, Jan. 20, 1994; Cherry Payne note, Oct. 11, 1994, in “SFT Public Correspondence 1994” folder, “SAFE Admin File, 1987-1997” box.

¹¹ John Cook to Harpers Ferry Center, Jan. 10, 1992, and David M. Gaines phone transcription, Jan. 15, 1992, both in “SFNHT, NPS Memoranda – 1992” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; Gaines to Tim Priehs, Southwest Parks & Monuments Assoc., April 7, 1993, Gaines to Mark Gardner, et al., June 4, 1993, and John Conoboy to Dan Bress, Dec. 15, 1993, all in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; *Lakin Independent*, Nov. 11, 1993. John Conoboy, in an October 24, 2018 email, noted that “HFC did not want to do a unigrid for a national trail as the trails were not NPS units. Santa Fe Trail finally was approved after the head of HFC got a phone call from a rather important senator. I am not sure, but it may have been Senator Dole.” David Gaines, in a November 1, 2018 email to the author, confirmed that someone from Dole’s office – perhaps the senator himself – called the “red-faced” manager to ensure HFC’s cooperation in the brochure production.

¹² David M. Gaines to Ross Marshall, “SFTA 1996” folder, in “Admin Hist” 1986-1998” box; Gaines to Ginny Fisher, Arrow Rock, March 25, 1996, in “SFT Public Correspondence 1996” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

All of the projects that the Branch of Long Distance Trails was undertaking during this period, not surprisingly, required the expenditures of federal funds – funds that were perennially in short supply. As noted above, the line-item Santa Fe Trail budget during the 1990-1993 period varied from \$74,000 to \$81,000 – an amount that advisory council co-chair William deBuys deemed sufficient to fund only a “paper trail.”¹³ That amount, however, was sometimes supplemented by dipping in to the modest Masau budget, and in addition, the branch might gain additional funds (perhaps \$20,000) from Regional Director Cook, and up to \$30,000 from the newly-established trails office in Washington, D.C.¹⁴

These were half-measures, however. Given the statement in the 1990 CMP that “the estimated annual operating cost for trail administration was \$225,000,” advisory council co-chair William deBuys in June 1991 urged the council to lobby for more funds. Senator Bob Dole, a powerful Kansas legislator, included a \$205,000 trail appropriation (a \$131,000 supplement) in the Senate’s 1992 Interior Department funding bill. That appropriation, however, was lost during conference committee negotiations.¹⁵ The following year, Dole was again successful in adding funds (\$150,000 this time) to the Senate’s DOI appropriations bill. As before, however, lack of any similar enthusiasm among House members doomed the proposed budget increase.¹⁶ The following year, Dole submitted yet another funding increase. This time, Dole promised a trail advocate that he would “work both sides of the Capitol” to see it signed into law. This time it worked, and the FY 1994 budget included a \$205,000 budget for administering the Santa Fe Trail.¹⁷ Though the budget was still less than what the CMP called for, it provided sufficient congressional funding so that the trail – at long last – could be effectively managed without recourse to ad hoc or temporary funding sources.

Another new funding source that presented itself during this period was the Challenge Cost Share Program (CCSP). During the early 1990s, other land-managing agencies – the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), the Fish and Wildlife

Service, and especially the U.S. Forest Service – had active CCSPs, in which the agencies partnered with non-federal groups to accomplish shared goals. Williams C. “Bill” Walters, who at the time was the NPS’s Assistant Director for National Recreation Programs, was well aware that some parks had individual cost-share arrangements, and he spread the word about the need for such a program. At the time, there was no general authority or appropriations for it, but the House Appropriations Committee staff strongly backed the idea.¹⁸

On the heels of that interest, the NPS gained its first CCSP funds – approximately \$1.883 million – starting in FY 1993 (see appendix 10). Congress continued, moreover, to supply a similar amount for the next several years, much of which was funneled to the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.¹⁹ Agency officials, however, were not particularly enthusiastic about the funds, perhaps because working with partners risked poor program accountability.²⁰ Trails, moreover, initially saw only a smattering of those funds, because agency rules mandated that park units be more favorably ranked than trails in the competition for CCSP funds.²¹

A serendipitous series of events, however, brought additional funds for trails administration. As noted in Chapter 4, those who participated at the Second National Conference on National Scenic and Historic Trails, held in Oregon in November 1991, had called for the formation of a multiple-trail advocacy group, which became known as the Committee of 17. Gary Werner, chosen to head that ad hoc group, testified before Congress in the spring of 1992, asking for more money to fund basic trail administration. Werner was turned down that first year.²² Gradually, however, Werner gained a measure of support from the House Budget Committee staff, because he was able to produce statistics, supplied by the individual trail organizations, showing that thousands of hours of volunteer time, as well as substantial amounts of private funding, were being devoted to the trails. The following year (1993), Werner returned to Congress, and this time his testimony – backed by the support from a number of advocacy groups – was also supported by

¹³ William deBuys to Sen. Pete Domenici, September 1991, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1991” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

¹⁴ Senate Report 102-345 (FY 93 DOI Appropriations Bill), July 29, 1992, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1992” folder, “Admin Hist, 1987-1997” box; “Minutes of SFNHT Advisory Council meeting,” August 27-28, 1992,” in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder, “Admin Hist, 1987-1997” box.

¹⁵ William deBuys to Advisory Council, June 20, 1991, and deBuys to Sen. Pete Domenici, September 1991, both in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1991” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; Gardner News, September 25, 1991, in “News Articles 1991” file, “Admin Hist 1986-1998” box.

¹⁶ 87-97, “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1992” folder; Senate Report 102-345 (FY 93 DOI Appropriations Bill), 7/29/92, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1992” folder, “Admin Hist, 1987-1997” box; “Minutes of SFNHT Advisory Council meeting,” August 27-28, 1992,” in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder, “Admin Hist, 1987-1997” box.

¹⁷ David Gaines to Ramon Powers, February 19, 1993, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder; Bob Dole to W.Y. Chalfant, April 9, 1993, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993, cont.” folder; both in “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

¹⁸ Steve Elkinton to the author, email, April 11, 2014.

¹⁹ NPS, *Budget Justification Books* (Green Books), FY 1995 to FY 2001. As trails staff Tom Gilbert noted in a May 25, 2007 interview with Ronald Brown, “with the early cost share money in ’93-’94, . . . even though there were several trails up and running, my office was getting the lion’s share of the whole Challenge Cost Share pot because we had really well-going programs.”

²⁰ Elkinton to author, email, April 11, 2014.

²¹ John Conoboy, interview with the author, March 14, 2014.

²² Werner, in a May 25, 2007 interview, noted that “In the spring of 1992, I had a mandate from [the Committee of 17] to go to Congress and testify, to make our case. The interesting thing was that we didn’t get any immediate results, we didn’t get any more money in ’92. So we had another meeting . . . at the National Trails Symposium that fall in Missoula, Montana. . . . [and I asked] ‘What do you want to do?’ And George Cardinet, who had a great booming voice, said, ‘We go back, and we go back, and we go back, and we keep going back until we get what we want!’ And the follow-up was that the leadership basically said, ‘We’ve got to stick together. Let’s keep working together. The fact that we didn’t succeed right away, that’s no reason not to keep doing it.’”

a substantial number of legislators.²³ These actions resulted in a substantial increase (\$812,000, or 59 percent) in the funds allotted to specific NPS-administered trails for FY 1994 (see appendix 6). One of several trails to benefit, as noted above, was the Santa Fe Trail. Werner's advocacy also resulted in a separate line-item budget for almost all NPS-administered long-distance trails.²⁴

Soon after that budget increase was augmented, trails budgets were further increased by including CCSP funds. As trails coordinator Steve Elkinton recalls the situation, a House Appropriations Committee staffer approached Werner and said something like, "This increase may not be enough -- compared to the need. Maybe we should set aside some of this new CCSP funding within NPS to help the trails, too." Based on that level of cooperation, Congressional staff and the Partnership for the National Trails System (PFNTS, later shortened to PNTS) representatives decided that one-third of all CCSP funds would be directed to either national scenic trails (NSTs) or NHTs. That earmark commenced in the FY 1994 budget, and as a "set-aside" it remained for more than a decade.²⁵ This funding source proved to be a boon for trail advocates, because relatively small amounts of federal funding, when matched by private interests, often resulted in large-scale projects that benefited the trails.²⁶

These events, most of which took place in Washington, initially had little effect on any trails being managed out of the agency's Southwest Regional Office (SWRO). As early as 1992, regional staff expended CCSP funds for trail purposes, specifically for interpretive projects at three newly-certified sites: Autograph Rock, near Boise City, Oklahoma; Harmon Park, in Prairie Village, Kansas; and Harley Park, in Boonville, Missouri.²⁷ Trails staff, however, did not actively pursue CCSP funds until 1995, and by August 1997, staff noted that these funds had "helped us get about \$190,000 in three years" for projects related to either the Santa Fe or Trail of Tears NHTs.²⁸

²³ In June 1993, 22 U.S. House members, along with 26 U.S. Senate members, signed a letter advocating for an additional \$4.5 million for national scenic and national historic trails. The 1994 budget provided slightly more than half of that funding request. June 3, 1993 and June 12, 1993 letters, in "SFNHT Advisory Council - 1992" folder, SAFE Admin Files, 1987-1997 box.

²⁴ Elkinton to author, email, Sept. 21, 2017, notes that "we limited [the trails that received funding] to those with an approved comprehensive management plan." Before long, however, even "that restriction faded away."

²⁵ John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014; Elkinton to author, email, April 11, 2014; NPS, "Santa Fe National Historic Trail" newsletter, No. 10 (Jan. 1995), 2.

²⁶ Steve Elkinton, interview by Ronald Brown, May 30, 2007.

²⁷ Doug Faris to Steve Adams, Dec. 9, 1992, in "SFNHT, Public Correspondence - 1992" folder, "Admin Hist 1986-1998" box.

²⁸ Cherry Payne to Elena Metzger (Council Grove, KS), Feb. 14, 1995, in "SFT Public Correspondence 1995" folder, "Admin Hist 1987-1997" box; David M. Gaines to Ross Marshall, Aug. 29, 1997, "1997+1998 Santa Fe Trail Association" folder, 1986-1998 box.

The Santa Fe NHT, as noted above, finally got on fairly solid financial footing in FY 1994. Trails staff responded to the budget increase in two ways. One response was to abandon the narrow, "either/or" approach that had characterized office activities since 1991. No longer did the office need to focus on either partnership certifications or on working with partners on trail-related projects; given the additional funds, staff could do both.²⁹

The other response was to hire new staff. In mid-November 1993 – less than two months into the new FY – the Branch of Long Distance Trails welcomed its first interpretive specialist, Cherry Payne; her previous posting had been at Yosemite National Park, as an interpreter in Yosemite Valley.³⁰ Payne, however, was hired not to the permanent staff, but as a two-year term appointment. Her less-than-permanent hiring status reflected the fact that the Santa Fe NHT – along with all other NPS-administered national trails except the Appalachian National Scenic Trail – had not been on firm financial ground prior to the beginning of FY 1994. While the congressional decisions that resulted in the 1994 funding increases appeared, at long last, to commit the NPS to the active oversight of a number of its long-distance trails, finances remained tenuous because not all trail advocates favored a strong federal role in trails administration.³¹

Those mixed messages were apparent with the SFTA, where several leaders, as well as some advisory council members, had made it clear that they were uncomfortable working too closely with a government agency. This was particularly true among those who owned farm and ranch land. Ralph Hathaway, the owner of "Ralph's Ruts" in central Kansas, initially viewed both the federal government and NPS trail representatives with mistrust. Don Berg, who owned Wootton Ranch near the Colorado-New Mexico border, let it be known that he had no interest in allowing recreational use on his land. And Paul Bentrup – the son of Charles Bentrup, the owner of "Charlie's Ruts" in western Kansas – was suspicious of federal involvement because he thought that it would bring about the paving of trails at his ruts and the installation of restrooms on his property. NPS staff, who met often with these men over the years, gradually won over their trust and gained a civil, arm's-length friendship with them.³² These and other trail advocates, however, were dead set against whether the NPS should provide the SFTA any ongoing administrative support. SFTA President Bill Pitts summed up the opposing viewpoints as follows:

²⁹ Minutes for November 1993 Advisory Council meeting; John Cook memo, Sept. 22, 1994; both in "SFNHT Advisory Council 1994" folder, "Admin Hist 1987-1997" box.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; *Santa Fe National Historic Trail* (newsletter), issue 9 (March 1994), 7.

³¹ John Conoboy, in an October 24, 2018 email to the author, notes that Payne, prior to the expiration of her two-year term position (in 1995), was converted to a permanent position.

³² Jere Krakow, interview with the author, Jan. 23, 2014; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014; *Wichita Eagle*, Feb. 24, 1995.

Many of our members believe that fewer visitors mean the Trail will survive longer. As an organization, the SFTA functions with a volunteer staff and no direct assistance from NPS. Despite a growing need for a central office and paid staff, many SFTA members have been adamant about not using federal dollars to establish or run an office.³³

For many of the same reasons, the SFTA was slow to work with other trail organizations on common goals. Although the “Committee of 17” had represented long-distance trail interests since 1991, the SFTA was one of several partnership organizations which did not participate in the Committee’s efforts for the next several years. SFTA finally joined PNTS (the successor to the Committee of 17) in 1997.³⁴

NPS trails chief David Gaines recognized the SFTA’s need for a paid staff. He was, however, acutely aware of the organization’s need to remain independent. In 1992, he proposed the idea of having one paid SFTA staff member, but federal assistance would be for two to five years, “with the view that it will help SFTA become self-supporting without Federal assistance.” Given those same assumptions, the trails office advertised its new interpretive specialist position, which was filled in late 1993 (see above), not as a permanent position. Instead, it was a two-year term position that “would only extend for a few years until the nonprofit organization [SFTA] became self-sustaining.”³⁵

After the mid-1990s, fewer SFTA members voiced their discontent toward the idea of federal assistance to the organization, and by the end of the decade, at least one NPS official felt that SFTA’s relations with the NPS were “warm and collegial.” There were holdouts, however. Longtime firebrand Gregory Franzwa, as late as 1997, demanded that federal officials abandon their role as trail administrators because the SFTA, with its hundreds of members, was (in his opinion) fully able to undertake a broad range of trail administration and operations.³⁶ The matter of a paid staff, moreover, would not be realized until 2004 (see chapter 6).

³³ Bill Pitts, “SFTA Report, appx. March 1995, 87-97, “SFT Advisory Council 1995” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

³⁴ *Wagon Tracks* 11 (May 1997), 2; Ross Marshall, interview with the author, Feb. 11, 2014.

³⁵ Gaines to Pitts, May 27, 1992, in “SFNHT Advisory Council – 1992” folder; Gaines to Ramon Powers, February 19, 1993, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder; both in “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

³⁶ Gregory M. Franzwa, “A Call for Elimination of Federal Funding for the Santa Fe National Historic Trail,” *Folio; the Newsletter of the Patrice Press* 10:2 (May 1997), 1; Stanley Kimball [SIU Edwardsville] to “Old Man” [Gregory Franzwa], June 26, 1997, in “SFT Public Correspondence 1997” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

By the late summer of 1994, as noted above, the Santa Fe NHT had been operating at an increased funding level for almost a year. During that same period, major structural changes were taking place in the NPS. In an attempt to flatten the agency’s hierarchical structure, and to decentralize decision-making away from Washington, the NPS decided to eliminate three of its ten regional offices, shrink its headquarters work force, and adopt a host of other changes. One of the offices slated for elimination was the SWRO in Santa Fe; in its stead, the Southwest and Rocky Mountain regions merged into the newly constituted Intermountain Region (IMR). Plans also called for longtime regional director John E. Cook to transfer away from the Regional Director’s position in Santa Fe.³⁷ Most of the former SWRO staff, who were located in either the Old Santa Fe Trail Building (OSFTB) or the Piñon Building, were assigned to IMR’s newly established Southwest Support Office, which was led by newly appointed Superintendent Jerry Rogers.

As part of those larger-scale changes, the status of the trails office was upgraded, from the Branch of Long Distance Trails (which had been under an Associate Regional Director) to the more independent Long Distance Trails Group Office, which reported directly to the regional director. This new independent field area was led by David Gaines, whose position had been promoted from branch chief to superintendent, effective October 1, 1994.³⁸ Before long, John Cook was appointed the director of the new Intermountain Regional Office in Denver. In that role he continued to treat the trails program as if it had unit status, so he therefore treated the Long Distance Trails Group Office on an equal par with the region’s large and small park units.³⁹ Later, in the fall of 1996, Gaines was asked by regional officials to manage the historic OSFTB, which had a full-time, five-person maintenance staff; the OSFTB housed a full complement of NPS staff, even though trails staff continued to work in the Piñon Building, 1½ miles away.⁴⁰ None of these changes, however, resulted in a higher trails budget, and there continued to be just four trails staff: Gaines, Conoboy, Payne, and an administrative assistant.

³⁷ https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/09/12/park-service-plan-to-decentralize-cleaves-a-canyon-of-disagreement/3749d037-ff8d-47f2-a119-6671fcb20564/?utm_term=.e3d8311c49df. Appointed to take over operations in Santa Fe was Jerry Rogers, who was appointed as the newly established superintendent of the Southwest System Support Office. Rogers, however, did not administer the Long Distance Trails Group. <http://protectnps.org/news/nps-centennial-biographies/jerry-l-rogers/>

³⁸ David Gaines, Note to Files, Dec. 27, 1994, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1994” folder, “Admin Hist. 1987-1997” box; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014. Conoboy, who had been with the trails staff since 1989, had his position shift from an outdoor recreation planner to park ranger, although his duties remained largely as before.

³⁹ Jere Krakow interview, Jan. 4, 2008; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014.

⁴⁰ SAR, 1996, 2. David Gaines, in a November 1, 2018 email to the author, noted that the trails office (in 1996, shortly after the Santa Fe office lost its headquarters status) was paired with OSFTB operations “to insulate the building from being caught up in future central office staff reorganizations and, perhaps, even NPS abandonment.” Specifically, he noted that “a senior NPS official in Denver had, previous to the reorganization, suggested that the [Old Santa Fe Trail] building could be disposed of as surplus federal property.”

Santa Fe Trail Administrative Issues, 1991-1996

During the early to mid-1990s, trails staff wrestled with the idea of “unit status” for the Santa Fe NHT. As noted in Chapter 4, NPS officials in both the Midwest Region and in Washington had discussed the pros and cons of unit status during the 1980s and early 1990s; those who favored it felt that having unit status would make them equal to parks and would offer them greater access to agency funds. But those who opposed the idea (and opted for affiliate status instead) recognized that unit status brought with it (according to trails staff John Conoboy) “a lot of management and administrative baggage . . . , as well as possible problems with non-federal support for trails.”⁴¹ By the early 1990s, three NSTs – Appalachian (1968), Potomac Heritage (1983), and Natchez Trace (1983) – had been given unit status by NPS authorities. But several other NPS-administered NSTs, and all NHTs, did not have that status.

Gaines, who headed the trails office, fully supported the idea of unit status for the Santa Fe NHT.⁴² As he told the trail’s advisory council in 1993, “many trails have not achieved their potential because they were not viewed in the context [of] a traditional national park,” and he sought unit status in order to “have access to the same kinds of funding sources and technical services and support that a traditional park unit has.” Late that year, he stated that NPS Director Roger Kennedy was “getting close to signing off on an NPS unit status policy for the trail.”⁴³ Kennedy, however, did not complete that approval process, and neither the Santa Fe Trail nor any other NHTs have attained unit status.

Trails staff, during the early 1990s, recognized that there was a general need for training in trails-specific interpretation. By this time, Congress had authorized 19 national trails – 8 scenic trails and 11 historic trails – but many of these trails were cared for by federal staff with little experience in trails interpretation, and the two trails-related courses that had been offered previously – in 1990 and 1991 (see chapter 4) had not focused on interpretation. In addition, many non-federal trail advocates sought to learn more about the subject. In order to fulfill that need, John Conoboy, who was trained as an interpreter, worked with the agency’s Mather Training Center staff on developing the workshop curriculum, and the weeklong course was held at the center, in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, in early May 1993. A variety of NPS interpretive experts, as well as outside specialists (such as a professor from the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point), served as course instructors. The success of that course brought forth a follow-up training course in late April 1994, in Salt Lake City, and a third course was held in Lakewood, Colorado in mid-

⁴¹ John Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014.

⁴² John Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014.

⁴³ Minutes for Las Vegas (N.M.) Advisory Council Meeting, Nov. 4-5, 1993, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1994” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

September 1996. Several SFTA members were participants in these workshops.⁴⁴

Based on these training courses, NPS trails staff were well aware of the HFCs’ expertise in exhibit planning and design. Using the center’s services, however, could be both difficult (logistically) and expensive. To circumvent these difficulties, trails staff arranged for interpretive specialist Cherry Payne to be sent there on a detail to learn these skills. Later, after Andrea Sharon began working in Payne’s position, Sharon undertook a similar assignment. As John Conoboy has noted, having this in-house expertise “not only meant we could do the many wayside exhibits we developed with partners, but we had staff who could explain and work more effectively with partners during the planning and design phase.”⁴⁵

Another issue that arose during this period dealt with the commercial use of the trail logo. As noted in Chapter 4, the logo had been finalized in 1989, and in November 1991, Gaines forged a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between the NPS and the National Park Foundation which gave the NPF responsibility for “trademark registration and commercial licensing” of the trail logo. (He did so because “controlled sales could have helped raise needed funds for our underfunded trails while promoting visibility and fostering public interest and support.”) By the summer of 1992, trail officials moved to market the trail logo by selling a so-called Santa Fe Trail blanket through a Santa Fe retail outlet called the Dewey Gallery. (This blanket was designed by Ramona Sakiestewa, a Hopi weaver, and was manufactured by Pendleton Woolen Mills.)⁴⁶ Trails chief David Gaines agreed to give owner Ray Dewey (who owned Dewey Enterprises) permission to use the trail logo on the blanket’s hang tag in return for Ray’s promise to donate ten percent of the profit from the blanket sales for the Santa Fe Trail. The blankets were available both in Santa Fe and at the Last Chance Store, which was the SFTA retail outlet operated by Leo Oliva. Dewey also sold at least one other trail-themed product: a cotton throw blanket with the trail logo in the center.⁴⁷

Recognizing the key role that the National Park Foundation needed to play in any logo licensing agreement, Gaines worked to set up a donation account so that the

⁴⁴ John Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014; Richard Forry (Arrow Rock) to Gaines, Mar. 16, 1993, in “SFT Public Correspondence, 1993” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; Minutes for Las Vegas (N.M.) Advisory Council Meeting, Nov. 4-5, 1993, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1994” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; “List of Recent Santa Fe NHT Accomplishments,” May 11, 1995, in “SFT Advisory Council 1995” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; NPS, “Santa Fe NHT” newsletter, No. 9 (Mar. 1994), 5; No. 10 (Jan. 1995), 3, and No. 12 (June 1997), 2.

⁴⁵ John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

⁴⁶ John Cook to Ray Dewey (Dewey Gallery), August 13, 1992, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “Admin Hist 1986-1998” box; David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018; <http://blankets.com/santa-fe-trail-by-ramona-sakiestewa/>

⁴⁷ John Conoboy to Joanne VanCoevern, email, Mar. 21, 2017.

NPF would be the recipient of the blanket related donations. The foundation, however, preferred an upfront donation in order to set up the account; as a result, Dewey agreed to donate a fairly large sum – between \$3,000 and \$3,400 – to the foundation. The agreement specified that if blanket sales exceeded \$30,000, then additional funds would be added to the account. The combined sales of the Santa Fe blanket and the throw blanket, however, never achieved enough to offset the initial donation. By 1994, Dewey had sold his store, and no further donations were made to the foundation’s donation account.⁴⁸ Throughout the early to mid-1990s, Gaines showed a continuing interest in marketing the Santa Fe Trail logo by attaching it to a variety of products, but none of these plans came to fruition.⁴⁹

During the early to mid-1990s, the Santa Fe Trail also became a participant in the agency’s passport program. This program, begun in mid-1986, increased visitor interest in various National Park Service components in two ways: by having visitors go to designated destinations (usually visitor centers and ranger stations) to receive a stamped cancellation marking, and by issuing official, full-color stamps (akin to postage stamps) that illustrate and commemorate park areas.⁵⁰

By 1988, regional director John Cook proposed to the agency’s director that “special Santa Fe Trail cancellation stamps” be manufactured, then distributed to three points along the trail: Fort Union NM, Bent’s Old Fort NHS, and Fort Larned NHS. He also hoped to see the trail on the following year’s set of passport stamps.⁵¹ Progress was slow, however. In 1995, the SFTA proposed that that organization – not the NPS – “establish a tradition for travelers of the Santa Fe Trail to complete a ‘Santa Fe Trail Passport’ or credential while traveling along the Trail and having done so, present it for verification and receipt of a “certificate of recognition” at the end of their trip.”⁵² That proposal, while not enacted, apparently spurred the NPS to action. By early 1997, an official NPS passport cancellation stamp for the trail was available at the trail office in Santa Fe, and before long it was also available at eleven certified sites along the trail. In addition, customized cancellation stamps were available at the four NPS units along the trail: the three units noted above, plus

⁴⁸ John Conoboy to Joanne VanCoevern, email, Mar. 21, 2017; Ray Dewey (RD Trading, SF) to David Gaines, July 27, 1993, in “SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; Conoboy email to the author, October 24, 2018.

⁴⁹ Doug Faris to Steve Adams (Conservation Fund), Dec. 19, 1992, in “SFNHT, Public Correspondence – 1992” folder, “Admin Hist 1986-1998” box; Gaines to Green Fields (company), NY, May 27, 1993 “SFT Public Correspondence, 1993” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; Gaines to Jan Drennan, April 11, 1994, in “SFT Public Correspondence, 1994” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; Gaines to Dave Webb (Dodge City), Mar. 28, 1996, in “SFTA 1996” folder, “Admin Hist 1986-1998” box.

⁵⁰ <http://www.eparks.com/store/home/9221/Theme-Passport/>

⁵¹ Regional Director, Southwest Region to Director NPS, July 1, 1988, in “NPS Memoranda – 1988” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

⁵² “SFTA, 1994-95, Member Rosters” folder, approximately Sept. 1995, in “Admin Hist 1986-1998” box.

Pecos NHP.⁵³ The Santa Fe Trail has not yet been featured on a full-color passport stamp; nor, ironically, have any other national trails – scenic or historic – been the subject of an illustrated passport stamp.

Among the accomplishments that NPS staff and SFTA members collectively worked on during the mid-1990s was the commemoration of the 175th anniversary of the Santa Fe Trail’s founding. In an amicable collusion of roles, NPS employee Harry C. Myers – who had been Fort Union New Mexico’s superintendent since August 1988 – volunteered in late 1993 “on behalf of the Santa Fe Trail Association” to coordinate anniversary-related events. The SFTA formed a “175th Trail Committee” shortly afterward.⁵⁴ Plans for the commemoration began shortly after the Oregon Trail had concluded its 150th anniversary, so SFTA members to some extent patterned their events from what the Oregon Trail Coordinating Council had orchestrated for that trail. During 1996, which was the 175th anniversary of the trail, SFTA members held a wide variety of special events along the trail. These included a Santa Fe Trail Survey reenactment, which was held in late April in Lenexa, Kansas; a five-day auto tour of the trail, held in July; a radio series about the trail; and a Family History Project for the trail. The commemoration concluded on November 16, 1996 – the 175th anniversary of the day that William Becknell and his compatriots arrived in Santa Fe – with a series of festivities held in and around the Santa Fe Plaza.⁵⁵

Throughout the early to mid-1990s, NPS trails personnel had interacted with two groups of advocates: the trail’s advisory committee and SFTA. The advisory committee was authorized by Congress, and agency trails personnel organized meetings for the council every eighteen months or so: in August 1992 in Kansas City, Missouri.; in November 1993 in Las Vegas, New Mexico.; in May 1995 in Dodge City, Kansas.; and in Nov. 1996 in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Between those meetings, trails chief David Gaines kept up a regular stream of communications with the council’s chair, Dr. Ramon Powers. During this period, SFTA held a symposium, in various places, in September of each odd-numbered year; during the intervening even-numbered year, the association held a smaller Rendezvous, in Larned, Kansas, either in late May or early June. The SFTA’s presidents, during this period, included Bill Pitts between 1991 and 1995, followed by Ross Marshall, between 1995 and 1997 (see appendix 2).

⁵³ Conoboy to Dorothy Carriker, Feb. 2, 1997, in “SFT Public Correspondence 1997” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; NPS, “Santa Fe NHT” newsletter, No. 13 (Feb. 1998), 1.

⁵⁴ NPS, *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials* (Denver, the author, May 1991), 105; Gaines to John Cook, Nov. 3, 1993, in “SFNHT – NPS Memorandum 1993” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

⁵⁵ Gaines to Council Members, Nov. 15, 1996, in “SFT Advisory Council 1996” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; “SFNHT, 175th Anniversary (1996-97)” folder, *passim.*, “Admin Hist 1986-1997” box; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Nov. 15, 1996.

Given the fact that most if not all of the Santa Fe NHT's advisory council members were also members of SFTA, it was inevitable that there would be considerable confusion between the specific roles of the two advocacy organizations. To minimize that confusion, the NPS in June 1994 issued a draft role statement to members of both organizations and sent it out again two years later.⁵⁶ The NPS continued to work with both groups until December 1, 1997, when – in response to language in the NTSA, Section 5(d) – the Santa Fe National Historic Trail Advisory Council concluded its business after its designated ten-year run.⁵⁷

A Budget Increase and Its Ramifications

By the late 1990s, the trails office in Santa Fe was still dominated by work related to the Santa Fe Trail, and its budget reflected that reality. Thanks to legislative pressure exerted by PNTS – a new name for the Committee of 17 – the trail's annual budget shot up from \$205,000 in FY 1996 to \$446,000 just a year later, while budgets for the IMR's other long-distance trails remained essentially static (see appendix 6).⁵⁸ In response, the number of trails staff did not grow. The only staff changes during this period involved the interpretive specialist position, where Andrea Sharon (who transferred from Denali NP in April 1997) was hired to replace Cherry Payne (who left for San Antonio Missions NHP in December 1996). In addition, Frances McCalmont in 1995 replaced Terry Lovato (formerly Terry Urioste) as the trails administrative assistant; McCalmont, in turn, was replaced in March 1999 by Josina Cisneros (see appendix 4).⁵⁹

The SFTA, during this period, was maturing and otherwise changing. Because it had been founded in 1986, former president Marc Simmons celebrated the organization's 10-year anniversary by writing and publishing *The Santa Fe Trail Association; a History of its First Decade, 1986-1996*, which became available in 1997.⁶⁰ Another change, which was a recommendation from the association's Second Century Task Force, was to replace the biennial Rendezvous, held in Larned in the late spring, with an expanded-format annual meeting, which would be held in Larned in late September beginning in 1998. No moves, however, were

⁵⁶ Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014; Gaines to SFTA Board of Directors, June 3, 1994, in "SFTA, 1994-95, Member Rosters" folder, "Admin Hist 1986-1998" box; Gaines to Ross Marshall, Feb. 16, 1996, in "SFTA 1996" folder, "Admin Hist 1986-1998" box.

⁵⁷ Gaines to Advisory Council members, Dec. 4, 1997, in "SFT Advisory Council 1996" folder, in "Admin Hist 1987-1997" box. Michael Olsen wrote a succinct history of the advisory council in *Wagon Tracks*, August 2006, 19.

⁵⁸ Gaines to Ross Marshall, Aug. 29, 1997, in "1997+1998 Santa Fe Trail Association" folder, "Admin Hist 1986-1998" box.

⁵⁹ NPS, "Santa Fe NHT" newsletter), No. 12 (June 1997), 4; John Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014.

⁶⁰ "1997 + 1998 Santa Fe Trail Association" folder, "Admin Hist 1986-1998" box.

made to hire paid staff.⁶¹

Given the substantial Santa Fe NHT budget increases in both 1994 and 1997, plus the ability for trails to access CCSP funds, the NPS and SFTA worked together on an increasing number of planning and interpretive projects.⁶² Many of these were joint projects that were part of a series of subagreements (four total, each covering specific projects) that were added to the August 1991 cooperative agreement. By 1996, when the two entities were considering renewing their five-year agreement, it was mutually agreed that the main agreement would be extended for more than a year – until December 1997 – "to allow [for] the completion of several projects."⁶³ In November 1997, the two parties signed a second extension, good until December 1999. A new five-year NPS-SFTA agreement was finally signed in February 2000.⁶⁴

Projects during this period included site development, bricks-and-mortar work, wayside exhibits, a traveling exhibit package, interpretive planning, research, and signage. Geographically, they spanned the trail from Missouri to New Mexico. A sample of the major projects includes the following:

- At Autograph Rock, Oklahoma, NPS officials and the landowners (Dan and Carol Sharp) had worked out the trail's first partnership certification, which was signed in January 1991. Between 1992 and 1994, NPS staff completed an environmental assessment for proposed site planning, and staff worked with SFTA on an \$8,000 agreement related to site developments. In the spring of 1995, volunteers – supervised by a trails foreman on loan from Voyageurs National Park – constructed a trail that took visitors from the parking area through the site, and during the summer of 1997, a series of interpretive exhibits was installed at the various places along the trail, along with the completion of an informational brochure.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Marshall to Directors and Officers, March 7, 1996, in "SFTA 1996" folder, "Admin Hist 1986-1998" box; Gaines, Nov. 15, 1996, in "SFT Advisory Council 1996" folder, "Admin Hist 1987-1997" box; Gaines to John Cook, Nov. 3, 1993, in "SFNHT – NPS Memorandum 1993" folder, 1987-1997.

⁶² Exemplary of the level of Santa Fe NHT CCSP assistance, for example, was \$42,000 in FY 1996 and \$28,000 in FY 1997. "1997+1998 Santa Fe Trail Association" folder, "Admin Hist 1986-1998" box.

⁶³ "SFTA-NPS Subagreement," April 24, 1995, in "SFT Advisory Council 1995" folder, "Admin Hist 1987-1997" box; Conoboy to Margaret Sears, Oct. 21, 1997, in "1997 + 1998 Santa Fe Trail Association" folder, "Admin Hist 1986-1998" box.

⁶⁴ Max J. Garcia to Margaret Sears, Nov. 24, 1997, in "SFNHT, 1442CA7209-01-0014" folder; Ramon Cintron to Margaret Sears, Jan. 10, 2000, in "SFNHT 14431250A0001" folder; both in "Inactive Files" cabinet, NTIR-SF.

⁶⁵ Conoboy to Dan and Carol Sharp, Dec. 17, 1993, in "SFT Public Correspondence, 1993" folder; Gaines to SFT Advisory Council, Aug. 12, 1994, in "SFNHT Advisory Council 1994" folder; Gaines to SFTA Board, Aug. 15, 1994, in "SFT Public Correspondence, 1994" folder; Minutes of May 1995 Advisory Council Meeting, in "SFT Advisory Council 1995" folder; Gaines to Mr. & Mrs. Dan Sharp, Oct. 20, 1997, in "SFT Public Correspondence 1997" folder; all in "Admin Hist 1987-1997"

- Just across the Missouri River from Old Franklin, Missouri, lies Harley Park, a city park on the west side of Boonville. In 1992 and 1993, the NPS forged an agreement with the City of Boonville to install a series of wayside exhibits – one for the Santa Fe Trail, another for the Lewis and Clark Trail – at a park overlook. After design work, the exhibits were completed in early 1997 and installed later that year.⁶⁶
- In Council Grove, Kansas, the NPS had certified nine different sites in June 1992. On the heels of those partnerships, NPS staff returned to the city, in both August 1993 and April 1994, for a series of interpretive planning sessions. It was decided to have an outdoor exhibit (interpretive wayside) at the site of each certified property. The need for local fundraising, text development, and design work delayed the project for several years, but by 2000, the various waysides had been completed and installed.⁶⁷
- In February 1994, the trails office received an unexpected gift: \$10,000 from the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) and from Hi-Tec Shoes, Inc. NPCA officials contacted Regional Director John Cook and informed him that the organization had won a challenge grant. NPCA officials wanted it used for the Santa Fe NHT, and more specifically for a traveling educational exhibit. Later that year, the trails office contacted U.S. Forest Service officials (who also contributed to the project) and began working with a Portland, Oregon exhibit-design firm, Formations, Inc. Exhibit construction took place during 1995, and it was completed in the spring of 1996, after which it was installed at the Morton County Historical Society Museum in Elkhart, Kansas. The exhibit then traveled to other interpretive facilities along the trail corridor. One museum along the trail, the Baca/Bloom House in Trinidad, used this exhibit as a model for its own Santa Fe Trail interpretation.⁶⁸
- In the Kansas City area, trails staff continued their work at Schumacher Park by providing CCSP funds toward a wayside exhibit (completed by 2000) and by assisting with prairie restoration work at the property.⁶⁹ Several years later, they were able to celebrate a public dedication of two nearby interpretive waysides: at Minor Park and New Santa Fe. All was not positive, however; in June 1998, they learned – too late – that a well-known trail swale at Blue Ridge Christian School (which was then located in the 8500 block of Blue

box; NPS, “Santa Fe NHT” newsletter, No. 11 (Dec. 1995), 6-7; No. 13 (Feb. 1998), 3; David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

⁶⁶ Minutes from Aug. 1992 Advisory Council Meeting, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1993” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; Agreement, signed Sept. 1992, in “Santa Fe Trail Assn, 1992-93” folder, “Admin Hist 1986-1998” box; NPS, “Santa Fe NHT” newsletter, No. 9 (Mar. 1994), 2; No. 11 (Dec. 1995), 2; No. 12 (June 1997), 1; No. 13 (Feb. 1998), 2.

⁶⁷ Conoboy to City of Council Grove, Sept. 9, 1993, in “SFT Public Correspondence, 1993” folder; City of Council Grove to Gaines, June 8, 1994, in “SFT Public Correspondence, 1994” folder, both in “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; NPS, “Santa Fe NHT” newsletter, No. 10 (Jan. 1995), 4; No. 11 (Dec. 1995), 1; No. 13 (Feb. 1998), 2; No. 14 (Feb. 2001), 1.

⁶⁸ John Cook to NPCA, Feb. 3, 1994, in “SFT Public Correspondence, 1994” folder, 87-97; Gaines to Ruth Olson Peters, et al., Feb. 2, 1995, “SFT Public Correspondence 1995” folder, 87-97; List of Recent SFNHT Accomplishments, May 11, 1995, in “SFT Advisory Council 1995” folder, 87-97; NPS, “Santa Fe NHT” newsletter, No. 9 (Mar. 1994), 3; No. 10 (Jan. 1995), 4; No. 11 (Dec. 1995), 6; No. 12 (June 1997), 3; John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

⁶⁹ Gaines to Bill Pitts, July 8, 1993, “Santa Fe Trail Assn, 1992-93” folder, “Admin Hist 1986-1998” box; Gaines to Donald Kurz, Sept. 8, 1995, in “SFT Public Correspondence 1995” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

Ridge Blvd.) had been bulldozed to make way for a soccer field.⁷⁰

- Just west of Dodge City, Kansas, NPS staff followed up their early-1990s planning work (see above) with further Boot Hill Museum work on designing and constructing an improved walking path – complete with several raised boardwalks – to replace the existing social trails. This pathway, which was funded by the ISTE program through the Kansas DOT and constructed by the Fort Larned NHS maintenance staff, was begun in 1996 and completed in 1997. Museum staff, along with local Boy Scouts, helped improve the site by eliminating well-used social trails. NPS assistance at the site also included the design and installation of new interpretive exhibits.⁷¹
- The NPS, during this time, also underwrote a historical research study. Stanley Kimball, a Southern Illinois University Edwardsville professor and an expert on Mormon history, agreed to write a history of first-person accounts related to the Mormon Battalion (from the Mexican-American War period) and its travels on the Santa Fe Trail. By September 1994, Kimball’s work was well underway, and a review draft was ready by January 1995. In 1996, the agency published the 110-page *The Mormon Battalion on the Santa Fe Trail in 1846: A Study of the Mormon Battalion Trail Accounts During the War with Mexico*.⁷²

The trail corridor was subjected to an increasing number of threats during this period, chief among them being the growth of hog processing plants in Kansas. In order to learn more about the problem, and to express the agency’s concern, an NPS representative went to Topeka and met face-to-face with both the state’s Secretary of Health and Environment, and with the State Historic Preservation Office staff, to discuss hog farms. There were other threats too, including “proposed power lines, cell phone towers, interstate re-construction; irrigation caused erosion; [and] gravel pits.” To monitor any proposed trail impacts, NPS staff had typically relied on SFTA members to combat these problems on a local level; in 1998, however, the association identified a liaison person to “work with NPS on coordinating an early warning system to address threats to the trail.”⁷³

Trail of Tears Administration

⁷⁰ Wayside Exhibit Dedication Invitation, Apr. 11, 2000, in “SFT Public Correspondence 1995” folder [sic], “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box; Kansas City Star, June 29, 1998; SFNHT Update, Aug. 12, 1998, in “1997+1998 Santa Fe Trail Association” folder, “Admin Hist 1986-1998” box.

⁷¹ Stephen Hayward letter, Nov. 20, 1995, in “SFT Advisory Council 1995” folder, 87-97; Santa Fe New Mexican, Nov. 12, 1996; SFNHT Update, Aug. 12, 1998, in “1997+1998 Santa Fe Trail Association” folder, 86-98; Norris to Aaron Mahr email, Sept. 7, 2011 (re: Boot Hill Ruts history, prior to exhibit dedication); John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

⁷² Kimball to Advisory Council, 9/22/94, in “SFNHT Advisory Council 1994” folder, 87-97; Gaines to Marc Gardner, 1/26/95, in “SFT Public Correspondence 1995” folder; List of Recent SFNHT Accomplishments, May 11, 1995, in “SFT Advisory Council 1995” folder; all in “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

⁷³ SAR, 1998, 1; SAR, 1999, 5.

Program Activity, 1991-1996

During the early 1990s, as noted in Chapter 4, three key events had taken place as they pertained to the Trail of Tears NHT. First, in early March 1991, the administration of the NHT had transferred from the NPS's Southeast Region (headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia) to the agency's Southwest Region (headquartered in Santa Fe, New Mexico). Second, in mid-September 1991, the trail's advisory council met for the first time, in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Third, the trail's CMP, which had begun in 1988, was completed in draft form in September 1991 and finalized in September 1992.

For the next year after the trail's CMP was completed, the Congress did not provide a line-item budget for the trail. In its stead, Regional Director Cook gave the trail a \$30,000 budget out of his discretionary funding.⁷⁴ Starting in October 1993, however, Congress provided line-item funding; the \$40,000 budget was paltry (less than a sixth of what had been called for in the CMP), and it did not rise beyond \$42,000 for the remainder of the 1990s (see appendix 6). With those funds, the NPS was able to hold two advisory council meetings in 1992 (both of which focused on the CMP), and once-a-year meetings for the remainder of the 1990s (see appendix 5). In addition, the office established a series of foundation agreements with states, tribes, and federal agencies (see below); consummated a series of partnership certifications; provided some assistance to the partnership association (see below); and sponsored staff travel related to projects and other trail-related matters.⁷⁵

Although federally supported trail development, for budgetary reasons, was effectively at a standstill in the wake of the CMP's completion, the NPS encouraged both advisory council members and other trail supporters to establish a companion organization, as the CMP had recommended. As a 1992 newsletter noted, "One of the most urgent and vital needs being addressed by the advisory council is the need for creation of a grassroots Trail of Tears Association. . . . Such an organization can help galvanize interest, help coordinate many local efforts, ensure quality and consistency, and advocate support for the trail."⁷⁶

The seed that led to the founding of that organization was sown in early April 1992, during the trail's advisory meeting in Cartersville, Georgia. Just over a year later, in May 1993, trail advocates founded the Trail of Tears Association (TOTA), with H.

⁷⁴ John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014.

⁷⁵ Conoboy to Dan Bress, Dec. 15, 1993, in "SFNHT – Public Correspondence 1993" folder, "Admin Hist 1987-1997" box; Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014.

⁷⁶ NPS, *Comprehensive Management and Use Plan, TRTE*, Sept. 1992, 49; NPS, "Trail of Tears NHT" newsletter, No. 3 (Sept. 1992), 1.

Riley Bock (from New Madrid, Missouri) as its president. Dawnena Walkingstick-Darnall (from Simpsonville, South Carolina) served as the association's first secretary and treasurer, a paid position (see appendix 5).⁷⁷

A few months later, in September 1993, the NPS and the new organization entered into their first cooperative agreement, and soon afterward, the NPS began providing financial assistance to it. (The initial payment was \$5,600, primarily for office equipment.) The term of the agreement was five years, and for the next several years, the NPS provided \$10,000 per year to supplement TOTA's budget (see appendix 7). A renewed NPS-TOTA agreement (for another five years) was signed on March 1, 1999.⁷⁸

TOTA's staff changed only slightly during the 1990s. Darnall served for almost two years, until April 1995, after which Paul Austin, from Little Rock, Arkansas (in January 1996) succeeded her as TOTA's executive director. Both Bock and Austin remained in their positions for an extended period: Bock until 2001, and Austin until 2008. An NPS newsletter, commenting on TOTA's earliest days, noted the following in 1997:

One of the greatest gifts to the effort to preserve the Trail and promote greater understanding of American Indian removal was that provided by [advisory council] members . . . when several members acted on their own initiative to establish the non-profit . . . Association back in 1993. [It] has really begun to take off, with increasing membership, state chapters developing rapidly, [and] a paid professional support staff courtesy of Paul Austin and the American Indian Center of Arkansas.⁷⁹

Not long after the organization was formed, it began planning for its first annual conference, which was held in North Little Rock, Arkansas, in mid-April 1996. For the remainder of the 1990s, the conference was held each spring, at locations that ranged from Oklahoma to North Carolina.

⁷⁷ *Pathways Across America* 7:2 (Spring 1995), in "SFT Advisory Council 1995" folder, "Admin Hist 1897 1997" box; Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014. TOTA's establishment, and its early years, are chronicled by H. Riley Bock in "Founding of the Trail of Tears Association, Our 10th Anniversary Milestone, in *Trail News* 2 (May 2003), 10-11 at <https://irp-cdn.multiscreensite.com/fb914a72/files/uploaded/2003TrailNewsSpringEdition.pdf>.

⁷⁸ Various entries in "TOT CA-7029-3-0023" folder and "1443CA099001" folder, both in "Inactive Files" cabinet, NTIR.

⁷⁹ NPS, "Trail of Tears NHT" newsletter, No. 6 (July 1997), 2.

A major activity that brought public visibility to the Trail of Tears NHT was the installation of auto tour route signs along the main (northern) route. Between April and October 1994, the trails office – repeating a process it had used previously on the Santa Fe NHT (see chapter 4 and above) – completed Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) with the six departments of transportation (highway departments) along the route.⁸⁰ The completion of these MOU's eased the way for the installation of auto tour route signs, which took place over the next two years. The signs themselves were provided by the North Carolina DOT, using funds from the NPS's SWRO.⁸¹

Just before the first TOTA conference took place, the agency reached out to its Trail of Tears partners and finalized its first partnership certifications (see appendix 9). As noted in Chapter 4, the agency had begun certifying Santa Fe Trail partners in early 1991, and by 1996 it had certified more than 40 properties on that trail. The first Trail of Tears NHT property to be certified was Trail of Tears Commemorative Park, in Hopkinsville, Kentucky. This certification took place on March 7, 1996, and before the year was out, four additional Trail of Tears properties were certified trail partners. Not long afterward, trails staff completed an interim, single-color Trail of Tears brochure. As noted in a trails newsletter, only limited quantities of this brochure were produced, and they were available only at certified interpretive facilities and museums.⁸²

Major Exhibit Development

Despite the fact that the Trail of Tears NHT lacked a substantial budget throughout the 1990s, NPS trails staff were able to take part in two major Trail of Tears-related projects during that period. These projects involved interpretive development at major museums along the trail. The origins of these projects dated back to the trail's final CMP, which named 22 locations along the trail as “sites where interpretive programs may be appropriate.” Among those locations, it further stated that “Well-developed interpretive facilities already exist near both the eastern and western ends of the Trail of Tears. The eastern center is on the Cherokee Indian reservation in North Carolina” [while the] “western facility is the Cherokee Heritage Center in Tahlequah, Oklahoma.”⁸³ Less than a year later, in early May 1993, personnel at the Museum of the Cherokee Indian (in Cherokee, N.C.) held an exhibit planning session and finalized a concept for a \$1.5 million series of exhibits, one theme of

which would focus on “Removal and Related Matters.”⁸⁴

Before long, however, officials at the Museum of the Cherokee Indian decided to collaborate with their western counterparts at the Cherokee Heritage Center (Cherokee National Museum) for a combined development proposal that would entail a substantial expansion of both museums. These plans, moreover, included the pursuit of federal (NPS) funds as well as those from tribal and other non-federal sources. NPS officials, in all likelihood, first heard about the plan in early January 1995, and later that month several trails staff, along with Ranger James Phelps from Fort Smith National Historic Site in Arkansas, traveled to both Cherokee, North Carolina, and Tahlequah, Oklahoma, to speak with museum officials and discuss the developing plans. By late January, trails officials had prepared a briefing statement and forwarded it to Regional Director Cook; that statement noted that both museums planned to allocate 2,000 square feet (out of a total of 12,000 square feet of new space) to “tell the story of the forced removal of the Cherokee people from their traditional homelands by the U.S. Government in 1838-39.” The briefing statement, endorsed by Supt. Gaines and supported by the directors of the two museums, declared that the agency “strongly supports the development of contemporary exhibits and programs at the major centers of Cherokee population. . . . This is among the highest priorities of the Trail program.” Included in the briefing statement was a proposed \$1.7 million NPS assistance package: \$600,000 for the Trail of Tears portion of each museum's expansion plans, plus \$500,000 to underwrite a 20-minute film on the subject.⁸⁵

Given the broad level of support noted in the briefing statement, museum and tribal leaders contacted congressional staff, in hopes of gaining the necessary federal assistance, and they also undertook a private campaign to muster the necessary funds for the majority of the expansion project at each museum. Meanwhile, trails officials worked on the exhibit design. Using the May 1993 exhibit-planning package as a template, NPS officials (including James Phelps from Fort Smith) critiqued the Trail of Tears portion of the document, then met with museum officials in Cherokee, North Carolina in late March 1995 to discuss the project.⁸⁶

In the months that followed, NPS officials worked with both museums to obtain partnership certification. The Museum of the Cherokee Indian became a certified partner on April 17, 1996, while the Cherokee National Museum entered into an NPS certified partnership less than a month later, on May 13. These were the

⁸⁰ NPS, “Closed Trail of Tears Agreements” [chart], January 2002, U Drive, NTIR electronic files.

⁸¹ John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

⁸² “Trail of Tears NHT” newsletter, No. 6 (July 1997), 2.

⁸³ NPS, *Comprehensive Management and Use Plan, Trail of Tears NHT* (Sept. 1992), 37-38.

⁸⁴ Ken Blankenship, et al., “Exhibit Concept for the Museum of the Cherokee Indian,” May 1, 1993, in “Museum of the Cherokee – Exhibit Plan” folder, NTIR Site Files.

⁸⁵ Gaines to Supt., FOSM, memo, Jan. 24, 1995; NPS, “Briefing Statement, Museum Exhibits for the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail,” January 25, 1995; both in “Museum of the Cherokee – Exhibit Plan” folder, NTIR Sites File.

⁸⁶ Alexa Roberts to John Conoboy, memo, Feb. 22, 1995; “Trail of Tears Exhibits Planning Meeting,” Mar. 28-29, 1995; both in “Museum of the Cherokee – Exhibit Plan” folder, NTIR Sites Files.

second and fourth properties, respectively, to become certified Trail of Tears partners.

By late 1996, the NPS had refined the level of assistance that it was proposing to the two museums. It planned to “provide interpretive media planning and production assistance” to each museum, specifically to help tell “the tragic story of the Trail of Tears and American Indian Removal.” The agency was still offering to provide \$600,000 to each museum, but it was no longer promising the \$500,000 for the 20-minute interpretive film.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, parties at both ends of the trail waited for Congress to act, because while each museum expansion project totaled more than \$3,000,000, the \$600,000 in federal appropriations was a key element in each funding package. To that end, representatives from the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee National Historical Society, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, their museum representatives, and Dr. Duane King all met with the NPS Director, and these same representatives either met or corresponded with Congressmen and senators to obtain exhibit funding.⁸⁸

In 1997, federal funds finally came through. Earlier in the year, the NPS provided two small grants – of \$24,000 and \$20,000 – to the Museum of the Cherokee Indian. Later in the year, Congress authorized \$600,000 for exhibit development at each museum. An additional \$120,000 in federal funds was provided to the Tahlequah museum for exhibit planning and design.⁸⁹

By this time, privately raised funding was coming to fruition at the eastern end of the trail. A year earlier, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians had assigned three people to assist with museum development, and with their help, by January 1998 several contractors were “hard at work” at the property.⁹⁰ Work proceeded quickly; by June the \$3,500,000 project was complete, and on June 13, 1998, the expanded

⁸⁷ Becky Debs to Larry Funk, memo, Aug. 26, 1996, in “Museum of the Cherokee – Exhibit Plan” folder, NTIR Sites Files.

⁸⁸ Gaines to Mary Tidwell, Apr. 9, 1999, in “Cherokee Heritage Center” folder, NTIR Sites Files; Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

⁸⁹ Conoboy to Blankenship, memo, Dec. 29, 1997; Ken Blankenship to Andrea Sharon, “MOTCI Exhibit Redesign Project, Funding Sources, 1996-1998” (fax), May 7, 1999; both in “Museum of the Cherokee – Exhibit Plan” folder, NTIR Sites File; Joe Boyd to David Gaines, Dec. 3, 1997, and Gaines to Mary Tidwell, April 9, 1999; both in “Cherokee Heritage Center” folder, NTIR Sites File; Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014.

⁹⁰ Gaines to Joyce Dugan, memo, Oct. 9, 1996; Dugan to Gaines, Oct. 28, 1996; Blankenship to Gaines, January 29, 1998; all in “Museum of the Cherokee – Exhibit Plan” folder, NTIR Sites Files.

museum reopened with a sacred corn-pouring ceremony.⁹¹

At the western end of the trail, the NPS officials requested a three-person advisory committee, which was provided in 1997.⁹² The construction of the new exhibits at the Cherokee National Museum, however, apparently did not begin until late 2000 or early 2001. They were completed several months later, and the multimillion-dollar exhibit – “a collaborative effort of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee National Historical Society, Inc. and the National Park Service” – opened to the public with a ribbon-cutting on May 12, 2001.⁹³

Program Activity, 1996-2000

As noted above, the Trail of Tears gained its first certified partners in 1996, and that same year, TOTA held its first annual convention, in North Little Rock, Arkansas. In addition, the trail’s advisory council held its annual meeting that year; it did so in conjunction with TOTA’s annual meeting. For the next two years, the trail’s advisory council meetings were held just prior to TOTA’s annual convention. In 1997, both the advisory council and the association’s meetings were held in Cherokee, North Carolina, while the following year, the advisory council met in Wagoner, Oklahoma, and the association gathered in nearby Hulbert.

By 1998, NPS officials had become aware that the advisory council was nearing the end of its designate ten-year life; as noted in Chapter 4, Congress had authorized the trail in December 1987, and because the Interior Department had activated the council function several months later, the advisory council was scheduled to terminate on July 7, 1998. Both trails officials and advisory-council members, however, recognized that adequate trail administration (as noted in the CMP) required an annual operating cost of \$250,000.⁹⁴ Because the Trail of Tears NHT had received less than one-fifth of that funding, at best, during the 1988-1998

⁹¹ *Asheville Citizen-Times*, June 13, 1998, B-1, B-3; June 14, 1998, B-1, B-5. During the renovation process related to both museum projects, NPS officials were strong accessibility advocates; John Conoboy had taken a Harpers Ferry training course as a disability coordinator, and David Gaines was proficient with Americans with Disabilities Act regulations as they applied to new and existing construction. Their advocacy resulted in an emphasis on universal design and access for the various Trail of Tears exhibits. Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014.

⁹² Gaines to Joe Boyd, Oct. 9, 1996; Boyd to Gaines, May 13, 1997; Boyd to Gaines, Dec. 3, 1997; all in “Cherokee Heritage Center” folder, NTIR Site Files.

⁹³ NPS Division of Ranger Activities, WASO, “Morning Report,” May 30, 2001, in “Cherokee Heritage Center” folder, NTIR Site Files. The 2000 SAR, p. 11, and the 2001 SAR, p. 15, noted that NPS funds for the Tahlequah museum project, including planning, design, fabrication, and installation, totaled \$790,000.

⁹⁴ NPS, *Comprehensive Management and Use Plan, TRTE*, Sept., 1992, 50.

period, various advisory council members expressed an interest in extending the life of the advisory council until such time as more appropriate funding became available. NPS and Interior Department officials agreed.⁹⁵ As noted in a *Federal Register* notice,

Because the need for the Council is expected to continue until such time as trail plan implementation and administration had broadened and matured to become fully effective and responsive to operational and partnership responsibilities, the National Park Service is administratively re-establishing the Council in the same form as it existed under its expiring statutory authority. In this way, the Council may continue its work without interruption.

On July 15, 1998, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt endorsed the advisory council's extension. As staff member John Conoboy recalls, agreeing to the extension "was not a controversial decision."⁹⁶

The extension of the trail's advisory council spotlighted the fact that the trail's budget – even as late as 1999 – had still not budged beyond \$42,000 per year. As a 1997 trail newsletter noted, these funds were stretched in a number of different ways:

to support the Trail of Tears Association and the Trail advisory council, to provide limited technical and planning help to partners and to certify sites, to defray travel costs and help offset salaries charged to fulltime positions funded by the Santa Fe NHT appropriation, and to cover printing and telephone costs.⁹⁷

Given the trail's difficult finances, advocates went to work in late 1997 and early 1998 to increase the trail's budget. Advisory council members Bobbie Heffington, in Arkansas, and Mary Tidwell, in Oklahoma, spearheaded a broad effort aimed toward Congress – an effort that (according to an NPS newsletter) also included "the Trail of Tears Association, the PNTS, Cherokee tribal support, and growing Congressional commitment to the success of the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail."⁹⁸

⁹⁵ NPS, "Trail of Tears NHT" newsletter, No. 6 (July 1997), 1-2; No. 8 (Feb. 2001), 5.

⁹⁶ *Federal Register* 63 (July 30, 1998), 40732-33; Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014.

⁹⁷ NPS, "Trail of Tears NHT" newsletter, No. 6 (July 1997), 2.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

The effort worked. In late April 1998, NPS Director Robert Stanton attended the annual TOTA meeting in Hulbert, Oklahoma; in a speech to the association members, Director Stanton "committed . . . that he would assure that the Trail of Tears NHT received adequate funding to conduct its activities. He followed up by directing that the trail be the top priority for additional funding requests for FY 2000."⁹⁹ What followed was a near sixfold increase in the trail budget: from \$42,000 in FY 1999 to \$249,000 a year later. Finally – twelve years after the trail was authorized, and seven years after the CMP's completion – the trail had a baseline budget that nearly matched what the CMP had recognized as being sufficient to operate the trail (see appendix 6).¹⁰⁰

Two major actions resulted from the trail's budget increase. First, the trails office was able to hire two new staff members, Aaron Mahr Yáñez and Steve Burns (see appendix 4). Mahr, a historian, had previously been the historian and resource management chief at Palo Alto Battlefield National Historic Park, in southern Texas, while Burns, a planner and landscape architect, transferred to the Santa Fe office from Mount Rainier National Park in Washington state. Mahr and Burns started work as trails employees in June 2000 and August 2000, respectively.¹⁰¹

The other action resulting from the budget increase was the eventual demise of the Trail of Tears Advisory Council. Throughout the 1990s, the council had been an important conduit by which Trail of Tears advocates and NPS staff had kept in touch. As noted, advisory council members had been instrumental in establishing TOTA and, later in the decade, in spearheading a major effort to give the national historic trail a viable, working budget. But the growing vitality of TOTA – with its annual conferences and its semi-annual board meetings – meant that NPS officials had two different avenues to communicate with trail advocates. Shortly after Jere Krakow assumed the trails superintendency, the trails office let it be known that the advisory council would expire, and in October 2002, the last advisory council meeting was held, in Fort Smith, Arkansas (see appendix 5).

Administering the Four Northern Trails

⁹⁹ SAR, 1998, 2. Two years later, at the agency's landmark Discovery 2000 conference in St. Louis, Stanton gave a speech in which he emphasized the importance of the Trail of Tears NHT, which (according to David Gaines) "provid[ed] for an equivalence that had heretofore never been expressed by an NPS Director." Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

¹⁰⁰ NPS, "Trail of Tears NHT" newsletter, No. 8 (Feb. 2001), 6; Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014; Gary Werner, "Congress Provides Significant Increase in Trails Funding," *Pathways Across America* 13:1 (Winter 2000), 1.

¹⁰¹ NPS, "Trail of Tears NHT" newsletter, No. 8 (Feb. 2001), 7.

Program Operations, 1992-1994

As noted in Chapter 4, Congress in August 1992 established two new historical trails along the central trails corridor: the 5,665-mile California NHT and the 1,966-mile Pony Express NHT. The passage of this bill brought forth the obvious question: which agency would administer these trails? Throughout the late 1980s, and on into the early 1990s, there had been a lively interagency debate surrounding this question, a debate that came to a head just before the bill was signed into law. Mike Duwe, who since October 1989 had been working as the NPS's Mormon Pioneer NHT administrator – and had often worked with the BLM staff as part of his job – noted in a June 1992 position paper that “The BLM has made great strides in managing” both the Mormon Pioneer and the Oregon NHTs over the previous seven years, while during part of that time the NPS had been involved at a minimum level. He added that the BLM “desperately wants” to administer the Mormon Pioneer trail, “in addition to the Oregon Trail, and the California and Pony Express trails once they are authorized.” Steve Elkinton, who oversaw trails administration at the Washington level, largely agreed, noting in August 1992 that the “NPS has largely been absent for eight years (1981-1989) administering the Oregon NHT after the comprehensive plan was completed,” and he further noted that “little, if any, support exists by the PNRO and RMRO regional directors to keep the trails in the National Park System. Long-distance trails are considered a secondary (or lower) priority compared to park management.” He also noted, however, that the BLM, eager as it was to administer these four NHTs, had little experience in the administration of long-distance trails outside of Alaska.¹⁰²

Despite the BLM's enthusiasm in administering long-distance trails, Interior Secretary Manuel J. Lujan entrusted NPS with the administration of both the California and the Pony Express trails. The specific regional office that would administer these two trails, however, remained an open question.¹⁰³ These two new trails complemented two existing NHT, the Oregon NHT and the Mormon Pioneer NHT, both of which Congress had established in November 1978. (Both the new and existing trails, for example, were collinear in significant portions of central Wyoming.) At the time of the August 1992 bill passage, Peggy Dolinich of the agency's Pacific Northwest Regional Office (PNRO) was administering the Oregon NHT, while Mike Duwe from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office administered the Mormon Pioneer NHT. The Oregon NHT, at that time, had a token line-item budget of \$15,000 per year, while the Mormon Pioneer NHT had no independent budget.

¹⁰² Steve Elkinton, “BLM Proposal to Take Over Administration of the OREG, MOPI, CALI and POEX NHTs,” May 18, 1992, in “Admin Hist of NHT System and Office” folder; Michael Duwe, “Position Paper, LDT Management / Coordination, RMRO,” June 5, 1992, in “Activation of CALI/POEX” folder, Box 25 - #33250; both in NTIR-SLC Files.

¹⁰³ Michael Duwe, interview by the author, Jan. 10, 2014.

Just a month after President George H.W. Bush, in August 1992, signed the bill authorizing the California and Pony Express NHTs, NPS Director James Ridenour stated that the Rocky Mountain Regional Office would administer these two newly designated trails, primarily because staff in that office had been active, five years earlier, in preparing the feasibility study for those trails. Ridenour's decision was soon relayed to the trails coordinators in Denver, Seattle, and elsewhere.¹⁰⁴ In January of 1993, NPS administrators of various NSTs and NHTs met in Tucson, Arizona, and suggested further changes in trail administration. Specifically, they recommended that “all four NHTs which overlap in Nebraska and Wyoming should be administered from one office somewhere in the NPS Rocky Mountain Region.” Both Ridenour's decision and the recommendation made at the Tucson meeting would have far-reaching consequences on the administration of the northern trails.¹⁰⁵ Neither of these actions, however, had any immediate, practical impacts on trail administration. For the next several years, the agency's focus related to the two newly designated trails would be devoted to the completion of a CMP. And in terms of day-to-day trail administration, Peggy Dolinich (in Seattle) continued to administer the Oregon NHT, while Mike Duwe (in Denver) administered the Mormon Pioneer NHT.¹⁰⁶

Soon after Secretary Lujan entrusted the administration of the California and Pony Express NHTs to the NPS, it became clear that neither of these new trails – unlike the trails that had been designated previously – would have citizen-based advisory councils. The NTSA, up until this point, had required (in Section 5(d)) the establishment of an advisory council for each newly-authorized trail.¹⁰⁷ Newly-elected President Clinton, however, questioned this course of action when, shortly after his inauguration, he announced plans to “reinvent government,” the goal of which was “to make the entire federal government less expensive and more efficient, and to change the culture of our national bureaucracy.” The Clinton administration specifically targeted five departments, one of which was the Interior Department.¹⁰⁸ One aspect of the effort was the elimination of certain advisory committees. Executive Order 12838, which Clinton signed in February 1993, stated that “Each executive department and agency shall terminate not less than one-third of the advisory committees subject to FACA (and not required by statute) that are

¹⁰⁴ Director NPS to four regional directors, memo, Sept. 1992, in “Admin Hist of NHT System and Office” folder, Box 25 - #33250, NTIR-SLC Files; NPS, “Mormon Pioneer NHT Newsletter,” No. 3 (July 1994), 1.

¹⁰⁵ NPS Long Distance Trails Program, *Long Distance Trails Managers Meeting, Tucson, Arizona, January 26-28, 1993, Meeting Report*, in the National Trails System Administrative History Archive, WASO.

¹⁰⁶ Michael Duwe interview, Jan. 10, 2014; Peggy Dolinich, interview by the author, Jan. 21, 2014.

¹⁰⁷ NTSA, Section 5(d) stated that “The Secretary charged with the administration of each respective trail shall, within one year of the date of the addition of any national scenic or national historic trail to the system, . . . establish an advisory council for each such trail, each of which councils shall expire ten years from the date of its establishment.” The NTSA today still has the same verbiage in Section 5(d).

¹⁰⁸ <https://govinfo.library.unt.edu/npr/whoware/history2.html>.

sponsored by the department or agency by no later than the end of FY 1993.”¹⁰⁹ Robert Baker, the Rocky Mountain Region’s director for the NPS, responded to the executive order by recommending that advisory committees for the California and Pony Express trails not be established. He did so because advisory committee meetings could cost \$20,000 each, and also because “there are major, national organizations [OCTA and the National Pony Express Association (NPEA), respectively] that are serving the same functions.”¹¹⁰

A major event that took place along the so-called “northern trails” between August 1992 and September 1993 was the Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial, held 150 years after the trail’s “great migration” year of 1843.¹¹¹ To commemorate that trek, states and cities along the way organized a variety of events. Perhaps the most iconic event, however, was a wagon train, organized by Morris Carter of Mills, Wyoming. The caravan was scheduled to leave Independence, Missouri on May 2, 1993; it would follow the best-known trail route over South Pass, and would arrive in Independence (near Salem), Oregon in early October.¹¹²

During the winter of 1992-1993, Oregon NHT administrator Peggy Dolinich responded to news of the upcoming event by trying to obtain funds so that an NPS wagon could be entered in the train. She initially contacted Tom Ross, a trails official in the agency’s Washington office, as well as Bill Walters, who was the agency’s Assistant Director for National Recreation Programs, Deputy Director for Partnerships. But she was refused in both cases because, as was noted in Chapter 4, “NPS managers gave little support to the trail as a distinct administrative entity. The idea of partnerships and outreach, during the early 1990s, was still new to NPS decision makers.”¹¹³ Two or three months later, however, BLM officials made it known that that agency would be sponsoring a wagon. Perhaps as a result, Bill Walters – who by now was the Deputy Regional Director in the agency’s Seattle office – told Dolinich to secure and equip an 1840s-style wagon by pulling the necessary funds away from a wayside exhibit account. Driving the wagon,

¹⁰⁹ EO 12838, February 10, 1993, Section 1. As noted in <https://www.gsa.gov/portal/content/100916>, “The Federal Advisory Committee Act became law in 1972 [P.L. 92-463, Oct. 6, 1972] and is the legal foundation defining how federal advisory committees operate.”

¹¹⁰ Robt. Baker (RD/RMRO) to Chief, Office of Policy, March 24, 1993 and Sept. 17, 1993, both in “CALI & POEX Advisory Council Info” folder, NPS-SLC Administrative Files.

¹¹¹ The Oregon Trail was opened in stages. First traveled by fur trappers prior to 1820, missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman headed over the route in 1836 on their way to settling in present-day southeastern Washington, and in 1841, about half of the 60-odd members of the Bidwell-Bartleson party traveled to Oregon. The first year of substantial trail travel, however, was 1843, when between 700 and 1,000 emigrants left Missouri for Oregon.

¹¹² http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1993-06-22/features/9306220330_1_oregon-trail-wagon-great-american-desert; https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/travel/1993/05/23/the-oregon-trail/aeb4cf53-05d2-409b-a689-e83234edab0d/?utm_term=.a5f084b09000; http://articles.latimes.com/1993-09-12/local/me-34302_1_wagon-train.

¹¹³ Peggy Dolinich, interview by the author, Jan. 9, 2014; Steve Elkinton, interview by Ronald Brown, May 30, 2007.

however, was another matter. Dolinich, at the time, was pregnant and had a small child; as a result, she stepped aside and asked a colleague, Bryan Bowden, to assume her duties. Bowden responded by both obtaining a reconstructed wagon and by driving the wagon west.¹¹⁴

Beyond her duties related to the sesquicentennial wagon train, Dolinich worked with OCTA members to erect Carsonite posts to sign the historic route. She also worked with association members on several of OCTA’s wayside exhibits. NPS funds were used on both of these projects. As a trained interpreter, she had philosophical differences with OCTA members over the amount of verbiage to be placed on an interpretive wayside. In order to explain the interpretive process, therefore, she worked with Tanner Pilley, a contract exhibit planner, to write a wayside exhibit guide.¹¹⁵ She described most of these activities, however, as being “very low key” and “under the radar” because, at the time, trails were simply not thought to be a very important priority in the agency.¹¹⁶

During the same time period (August 1992 to September 1993) in which Dolinich worked on various Oregon NHT projects, Mike Duwe helped administer the Mormon Pioneer NHT. During this period, Duwe continued to do many of the same partnership activities that had engaged him, on a part-time basis, since October 1989 (see chapter 4). These included 1) working with various states on setting up auto tour routes, 2) meeting trail advocates to let them “know what our standards are,” 3) spending “lots of time meeting with people about what the NPS wanted and expected,” 4) trying to identify actual trail routes (going so far as to search for ruts soon after a snowfall), and 5) working with partners, such as the Iowa School for the Deaf in Council Bluffs, to design and install interpretive waysides.¹¹⁷ Duwe also worked with the agency’s HFC on a trailwide interpretive plan, which was completed in 1992. That plan, in turn, served as the basis for the trail’s wayside exhibit plan, dated March 1995, which provided designs for three different NPS-style interpretive panels, plus specific recommendations regarding where these panels should be installed.¹¹⁸

During the fall of 1993, a decision made by upper-level NPS personnel had a

¹¹⁴ Dolinich interview, Jan. 9, 2014. Bowden, like Dolinich, worked in the region’s Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program office.

¹¹⁵ Dolinich interview, Jan. 9, 2014. OCTA members, at the time, felt that interpretive panels should be “books on a stick” (as Dolinich characterized it), while the waysides she designed typically had far less verbiage.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Michael Duwe interview, Jan. 10, 2014; *News from the Plains* 7 (July 1993), 17.

¹¹⁸ Harpers Ferry Center, *Interpretive Plan, Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*, 1992; HFC and Dearborn Geyman and Co., *Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail Wayside Exhibit Plan*, March 15, 1995; both at NTIR Library, SLC. Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018.

dramatic impact on trails administration along the northern trails corridor. Until then, trails administration had been split: the Oregon NHT was administered out of the PNRO, while the Mormon Pioneer NHT (along with the newly designated Pony Express and California NHTs) were administered from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office. But in a fall 1993 meeting of the agency's regional directors, Chuck Odegaard, the Pacific Northwest office's regional director, offered (as Dolinich recalls it) to do some "horse trading" with Robert Baker, the director from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office. They mutually decided that Big Hole Battlefield (near Wisdom, Montana) and Bear Paw Battlefield (near Chinook, Montana) would move from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office's administration over to the PNRO. In return, the administration of the Oregon NHT was transferred from the Pacific Northwest to the Rocky Mountain Regional Office.¹¹⁹ This administrative transfer was in line with what agency trails officials had recommended earlier that year when they had met in Tucson (see above). This decision, at least temporarily, undercut Dolinich's major job responsibility. At the time, however, PNRO's Chief of Interpretation position was vacant. Dolinich, therefore, assumed that position in an acting capacity, and before long she turned over all of her Oregon NHT duties to Michael Duwe. Before she did so, however, she and Duwe smoothed the transition process by traveling the trails together several times, specifically visiting areas where Oregon Trail projects had been completed or were being proposed.¹²⁰

Between August 1992 and the fall of 1993, therefore, Duwe's responsibilities ballooned from administering one trail to four. Shortly after that, perhaps in early 1994, he shifted his position in the regional office (in Denver) from the Planning and Compliance Division over to Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program (RTCA). In that new job, he recalls that he spent "most or all of his time on long-distance trails," and he worked a good deal with OCTA.¹²¹

At the same time that Duwe began assuming duties over the Oregon NHT as well as the Mormon Pioneer NHT, Congress began putting new funds into trails administration. The Oregon NHT, which had had a line-item budget allotment of just \$15,000 in FYs 1991 through 1993, had its budget increased to \$100,000 the following year. And the Mormon Pioneer NHT, which had been established in 1978 but still had no budget fifteen years later, began receiving a \$75,000 annual

¹¹⁹ Dolinich interview, Jan. 9, 2014. As noted elsewhere, a major effort – undertaken by planners – had begun as it related to a comprehensive management plan. Beyond that effort, some CCSP projects (see below) were undertaken as early as 1994 on the California NHT, and possibly on the Pony Express NHT as well.

¹²⁰ Dolinich interview, Jan. 21, 2014; Ridenour to RDs, draft memo, March 1, 1989, in "Activation of CALI-POEX" folder, in "Box 25 - #33250," NTIR-SLC. Dolinich noted that the interpretive chief's position was available because Charles "Corky" Mayo, the former chief, had moved on to become the NPS's Chief Interpreter in the Washington office. Dolinich later became the region's interpretive chief on a permanent (non-acting) basis. Also see NPS, "Long Distance Trails Office – Salt Lake City, Utah, Annual Report, 1995," p. 1.

¹²¹ Duwe interview, Jan. 10, 2014.

allotment in FY 1994. Neither the California nor the Pony Express NHTs received line-item funding in the 1994 budget (see appendix 6).

Given these new funds for trail administration, Duwe was able to state (in a newsletter) that "we can be reasonably assured of funding for operations (salaries, travel, special projects) on a year-to-year basis, just as parks receive." For the Mormon Pioneer NHT, Duwe hoped to re-sign the trails auto tour route in Iowa, mark many sections of the historic route, issue new maps, encourage trail interest outside of Utah and Iowa, and prepare a series of standard wayside exhibits. Many of these hoped-for projects, in fact, were implemented that year.¹²² But he worked on projects for other trails as well in 1994, most of which were funded through the CCSP. Duwe awarded a total of nineteen projects in 1994; as noted above, most of these dealt with either the Oregon or California NHTs. OCTA, the primary funds recipient, received eleven grants worth a total of \$43,000 that year, most of which were related to trail-segment mapping and the installation of Carsonite trail markers.¹²³ The 19 grant-funded projects included the following: 1) Mapping Nevada segments, 2) Aerial location of California NHT segments, 3) Mapping and marking California NHT alternate routes, 4) Yreka Trail Mapping, 5) Donner Spring (Utah) Waysides, 6) Installing Carsonite Markers in California, 7) Oregon Trail Mapping and Physical Inventory in Idaho, 8) Emigrant Diary Transcriptions, 9) Reconnaissance Survey of Emigrant Camp, California, and 10) Waysides at the Iowa School for the Deaf in Council Bluffs, Iowa.¹²⁴

Two of Duwe's most significant accomplishments during this period involved interpretation and research. Up until this time, both the Oregon and the Mormon Pioneer trails had black-and-white interpretive brochures that were locally produced and were available in only limited quantities. Duwe, however, was able to fund upgrades of both brochures. Working with staff at the agency's HFC, the agency in 1993 produced the first four-color brochure for the Oregon NHT and made it available in quantity at sites up and down the trail in time for the trail's sesquicentennial (see appendix 7). The production of the Mormon Pioneer NHT brochure, however, was a shared effort between Duwe, his successor Jere Krakow, and interpreter Kay Threlkeld (see below); it was completed in 1995.¹²⁵ Duwe also worked to fund a historic resource study for the Pony Express NHT. He began work

¹²² NPS, "Mormon Pioneer NHT Newsletter," No. 3 (July 1994), 1-2; Duwe interview, Jan. 12, 1994. MOP's wayside exhibit plan, as noted above, was completed in March 1995.

¹²³ *Pathways Across America* 7 (Spring 1995), 5, 9.

¹²⁴ Compilation of project files, in "Interpretive Media Projects and Digital Graphics Files" Collection, NTIR SLC Office.

¹²⁵ NPS, "Mormon Pioneer NHT Newsletter," No. 3 (July 1994), 2; Duwe interview, Jan. 10, 2014; Krakow, email to the author, January 24, 2014; SAR, 2006, 11. Krakow, in a January 4, 2008 interview, noted that "We had quite a struggle back in '94 and '95 to finish the text for the [MOPI] brochure because we wanted [LDS officials] to review it. They put much emphasis on inspirational messages that we did not want in the brochure. . . . We succeeded but we had some challenging moments in getting a project like that done."

on this project in late 1992, and chose Dr. Anthony Godfrey, a historian with the La Crosse, Wisconsin-based firm U.S. West Research, Inc. to write the study. Godfrey completed the 285-page history in August 1994.¹²⁶

Establishing the Salt Lake City Office

Sometime during mid-1994, Mike Duwe became aware of an NPS employee with a special interest in long-distance trails. Kay Threlkeld, a resident of Torrington, in east central Wyoming, had worked for several years at nearby Fort Laramie National Historic Site – and because the site was an important element in the history of four NHTs, part of her work there involved these trails. In late 1994, Threlkeld transferred from Fort Laramie to the NPS’s regional office in Denver. Given her expertise in interpretation, she was assigned to work on projects related to the NHTs.¹²⁷

During this same period, as noted above, the NPS went through a major reorganization. The SWRO was eliminated in favor of a new, larger IMR, and (as Jere Krakow recalls), that brought about “a shifting around of regional directors within the NPS.” Robert M. Baker, who had been the Southeast Regional Director (based in Atlanta) since 1981, became the regional director of the newly named IMR (an amalgamation of the former Rocky Mountain and SWROs) starting in the late spring or early summer of 1994.

Since the fall of 1993, as noted above, the agency’s Rocky Mountain Regional Office (located in Denver) had been home to four national trails. But the fact that the regional office was more than 175 miles from the designated route for any of these trails rankled both Baker and the region’s planning chief, Michael Snyder. These officials’ dissatisfaction, moreover, was consistent with the opinions being espoused by Vice President Al Gore’s “downsizing government initiative,” which recommended that federal agencies downsize their regional offices.¹²⁸ Baker therefore decided that there should be a new trails office located away from the regional office. Soon afterward, the agency began to cast about for an alternative site for a trails administrative center. Personnel at Fort Laramie NHS, as noted above, felt that the location’s importance along the emigrant trails was such that the trails

¹²⁶ NPS, “Mormon Pioneer NHT Newsletter,” No. 2 (Dec. 1992), 1; NPS, *Historic Resource Study, Pony Express National Historic Trail* (n.p., the author), August 1994; Duwe interview, Jan. 10, 2014.

¹²⁷ Lee Kreutzer, interview by the author, Feb. 19, 2014; Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014. Sources disagree on whether or not Threlkeld moved to Denver in 1994. According to an interview with Jere Krakow (Jan. 23, 2014), she started working on trails issues in 1994 but continued to live in Wyoming and work at Fort Laramie.

¹²⁸ Krakow interview, 1/23/2014 + 3/4/2014.

should be administered from that location. Baker, the new regional director, felt likewise, and he decided that the trails office should be at Fort Laramie National Historic Site. Before he could act on that decision, however, he was transferred back to Atlanta and the Southeast Regional Office directorship. In January 1995, John E. Cook – the former Southwest Regional Director – took his place as the new IMR director.¹²⁹

Given the change in regional directors, Snyder considered other sites for the trails’ administrative center; these sites included Casper, Wyoming and Salt Lake City, Utah. A final decision was made late in 1994. Backed by Cook, the incoming regional director, planning chief Snyder reasoned that the chosen location needed to be easily accessible by air; it needed an established NPS presence; it needed a base of partner support; and it needed to be geographically close to the route of the four trails. Given those criteria, Cook and Snyder chose Salt Lake City because it was a recognized air hub, because the agency’s Utah State Coordinator (Martin C. “Marty” Ott) had an office there, because it was on the route of three NHTs, and because the Mormon Trails Association (MTA) had an active presence there.¹³⁰

Once the decision had been made, provisions were made to establish an NPS trails office in Salt Lake City. At the time, Ott had an office on the second floor of a downtown business building (a former department store) at 324 S. State Street, adjacent to a BLM office.¹³¹ Given Mike Duwe’s position in the Rocky Mountain Regional Office for the past several years, it was widely expected that he would take over the new Salt Lake City trails office, and Duwe recalls that he received “lots of pressure” to take the Utah job. That position, moreover, involved a near-certain promotion because the ongoing agency reorganization, in all probability, pointed to the trails office being led by a superintendent. (As noted above, the position of David Gaines, the trails chief in Santa Fe, had in October 1994 been upgraded to a superintendent.) Duwe decided, however, to turn down that offer; instead, in October 1994, he accepted a position at Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore,

¹²⁹ Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014 and Mar. 4, 2014; Cherry Payne, manuscript notes, January 1995, in “Museum of the Cherokee – Exhibit Plan”, site file; Gaines memo, Dec. 27, 1994, “SFT Advisory Council 1994” folder, “Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

¹³⁰ Duwe interview, Jan. 10, 2014. As noted in the NPS’s *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials* (May 1, 1991), Ott by this time had previously served as the superintendent at both Capitol Reef NP, UT and Wind Cave NP, SD, and he would later serve as the superintendent at Zion NP, UT and as the state director for the BLM in Montana. His role as the state coordinator may have been a collateral assignment while serving as a superintendent at Golden Spike NHS, Timpanogos Cave NM, or another NPS unit close to Salt Lake City.

¹³¹ Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014; Krakow interview, Jan. 23 and Mar. 4, 2014. Kreutzer, in emails dated February 2, 2018 and August 20, 2018, noted that this building had been erected about 1911 and, beginning in 1923, it had served as Auerbach’s, one of Salt Lake City’s two upscale downtown-area department stores. The store closed in 1979, and a year later it reopened as an office building with a new façade. See the following *Salt Lake Tribune* article, from May 8, 2016: <http://archive.sltrib.com/article.php?id=3764757&citytype=CMSID>.

in Michigan, and left his trails responsibilities behind. Not long after Duwe's decision, Threlkeld prepared to move from Denver to Salt Lake City; she completed her move there in early 1995 and, on a temporary basis, began working for Ott.¹³² As a report later that year noted,

The unified Long Distance Trails Office (LODT) in Salt Lake City became a reality on January 9, 1995 when Interpretive Planner, Kay Threlkeld arrived at 324 S. State Street with a few boxes of supplies and not much else. Her first "office" was a cubicle on the 3rd floor of the Utah Bureau of Land Management building. It had a desk, chair, and the BLM staff graciously installed a phone. The office was open for business.¹³³

Meanwhile, the new regional director, John Cook, was asked to choose someone to administer the new trails office. The vacancy was announced – as a superintendent – in early 1995. Historian Jere Krakow, who had worked at the Denver Service Center (DSC) since 1984, applied for the position. Perhaps because of his extensive trails experience, and perhaps because Duwe – and many trail supporters – had highly recommended him for it, Cook chose Krakow as the new trails superintendent. Cook made the decision in late April 1995, and at the regional director's urging, Krakow quickly moved to Salt Lake City and was on the job starting June 11. Krakow moved into a cramped second floor office next to Threlkeld. Both occupied spaces adjacent to Ott's office.¹³⁴

Krakow began his Salt Lake City superintendency with little if any agency support. He recalls that he had almost no furniture to work with; the only computer he had was the one he had brought from Denver, and he did much of his work on a cast-off drafting table. After several months, however, things began to improve. He was able to obtain payroll support, for example, from nearby Timpanogos Cave National Monument, where Cordell Roy served as the superintendent; to

¹³² Duwe interview, Jan. 10, 2014; Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014; Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014.

¹³³ NPS, "Long Distance Trails Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, Annual Report, 1995," p. 1. Threlkeld, the report noted, had arrived at the building in the midst of "a complete renovation." When the dust settled in late February 1995, Threlkeld moved down to the 2nd floor. Ott, meanwhile, had obtained a new set of furniture as part of the move, so Threlkeld – in a stroke of luck – was able to obtain Ott's cast-off furnishings.

¹³⁴ Jere Krakow interview, by Ron Brown, Jan. 4, 2008; Jere Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; Duwe interview, Jan. 12, 2014; John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018; NPS, "Long Distance Trails Office – Salt Lake City, Utah, Annual Report, 1995," p. 1. Krakow, as noted elsewhere, was thoroughly familiar with both the Santa Fe NHT and the Trail of Tears NHT, and for the past year he had served as the team captain on the so-called Four Trails CMP effort. In addition, he had grown up in Oak, Nebraska, a small town adjacent to the Oregon, California, and Pony Express trails; he had taught a college-level course on the American West; he had traveled down El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro south to Chihuahua City, Chihuahua; and he had been a member of the Oregon-California Trails Association since its founding year of 1982.

assist with purchasing, he was able to utilize staff at the IMR office in Lakewood, Colorado; and for both information technology and graphics support, he worked out an agreement with the nearby BLM State Office. Being unfamiliar with trails administration, Krakow often consulted with the other two full-time agency administrators of NHTs: Tom Gilbert, with the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha, and David Gaines, the Long Distance Trails superintendent in Santa Fe.¹³⁵ Krakow noted that he felt fortunate to work under Cook, because both he and Gaines (as the leaders of trails offices) were accorded the rank of superintendent. In addition, Krakow gratefully recalled that "this superintendent of the trails was accorded the same recognition and rank as the superintendent of major national parks or smaller national parks, national monuments and national historic sites and so on."¹³⁶

Staff at the new office grew slowly. Krakow and Threlkeld were the sole federal administrators of the Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, California, and Pony Express NHTs for almost a year (see appendix 4). Then, on or about March 1996, Cheryl Douglas signed on as an administrative assistant. Douglas remained for a year, until March 1997. Then, a month later, Teresa Bichard joined the staff as an administrative support technician by transferring from Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, based in Page, Arizona. Bichard, along with Krakow and Threlkeld, comprised the trails staff for the remainder of the decade.¹³⁷

The Four Trails Comprehensive Management Plan, and a Pony Express Route Extension

Once Congress, and President Bush, signed into law (in August 1992) the bill authorizing the California and Pony Express NHTs (see chapter 4), the first logical step in setting out an administrative course was putting together a CMP. As noted previously in this chapter, Interior Secretary Lujan asked the NPS to administer this trail, but owing to a lack of planning funds, the CMP effort did not begin until April 1994.¹³⁸

The preparation of the document was entrusted to the DSC. Jere Krakow, who at that time had been serving as historian there for almost ten years, was asked to be the captain of the DSC planning team. The team's task, at first, was to write a combined CMP for the two new trails. Before the year was out, however, agency

¹³⁵ Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014.

¹³⁶ Krakow, Brown interview, Jan. 4, 2008.

¹³⁷ Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014. Kreutzer notes that because of their many years of working together, Krakow and Threlkeld "had a very comfortable, stable working relationship . . . , professionally and personally."

¹³⁸ Mike Duwe to Steve Elkinton, 11/2/92, in "Activation of CALI/POEX" folder, Box 25 - #33250, NTIR-SLC.

staff – perhaps recognizing how outdated the CMPs for the Oregon and Mormon Pioneer NHTs (both dated 1981) had already become – decided that DSC’s CMP effort would include a revision of these two older CMPs as well as being CMPs for the newly-designated California and Pony Express NHTs.¹³⁹

Work to complete what had become a “Four Trails” CMP continued through 1994 and into 1995. In April 1995, however, Krakow was chosen as the new superintendent of the Long Distance Trails office in Salt Lake City, so Dr. William P. (Pat) O’Brien, a historian in the IMR office in Denver, was chosen to be Krakow’s replacement as team captain. Krakow, in his new trails position, continued to closely follow the process; he noted that he “went out with the planning team on several occasions, visiting sites and helping to identify and evaluate high potential sites” and, in other ways, he kept track of the CMP process for the four emigrant trails until it was completed. He, along with Kay Threlkeld, also arranged with the University of Utah’s DIGIT¹⁴⁰ Lab to digitize dozens of USGS quadrangles that OCTA members had provided for agency planning purposes.¹⁴¹ By the fall of 1996, another historian – Dr. Tom Thomas from the DSC – had replaced O’Brien as team captain. Thomas remained on the job for a year or more, but then he was replaced by historian Susan Boyle. Boyle remained in that position until the plan was completed.¹⁴²

While the writing of the four-trails CMP was underway, the agency moved to establish new logos for the California and Pony Express NHTs, and at the same time – as part of a larger effort – it “reshaped” a number of logos for existing trails, scenic as well as historic. Paul Singer, a New York City-based graphic designer, was contracted in 1995-1996 to design a logo for the two newly authorized trails. For many other trails, however, the standardization and clarification of existing logos was needed because, as Elkinton noted,

the collection of logos was a motley mess. There were several different fonts being used. There were different proportions of the rounded triangle. There were some odd colors being used. The way borders were put together varied from trail to trail. Some of the trail logos had been developed through design competitions by people who didn’t really understand the graphic rules (because there weren’t any rules).¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Krakow interview, Jan. 4, 2008; Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; *News from the Plains*, July 1995, 11; *Federal Register* 60 (Aug. 15, 1995), 42180 and (Aug. 16, 1995), 42587.

¹⁴⁰ “DIGIT” is an acronym for Digitally Integrated Geographic Information Technologies.

¹⁴¹ Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018.

¹⁴² *News from the Plains*, issues of October 1996, 3; July 1997, 17; and April 1998, 1; Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014.

¹⁴³ Steve Elkinton, interview by Ronald Brown, May 30, 2007; Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

Singer, therefore, was asked to examine each logo and, as necessary, recommend suggestions that would improve the logos’ appearance and allow them to be more easily recognized. As part of that process, the Oregon NHT logo was substantially changed (from that of a side-facing wagon to a three-quarter view), while the Mormon Pioneer NHT underwent only minor alterations.¹⁴⁴

After a number of delays, primarily due to the extreme complexity of compiling a plan for four different NHTs – two new trails along with two existing trails – the NPS emerged with a draft plan in August 1998. Its official title was daunting, even by bureaucratic standards: the *Draft Comprehensive Management and Use Plan and Final Environmental Impact Statement, California National Historic Trail and Pony Express National Historical Trail and Management and Use Plan Update, Final Environmental Impact Statement, Oregon National Historic Trail and Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*.¹⁴⁵

During the writing of the plan, NPS officials had kept agency officials and private-sector advocates apprised of the progress of the plan, and starting in early 1997, they had shared an early version of the draft CMP with officials from OCTA. After reviewing the document, OCTA officials felt that the plan was “seriously flawed, inadequate, historically inaccurate and totally unacceptable to us.” The initial draft was also opposed by many federal agencies outside of the NPS. Agency officials, in response, frankly “agreed that the [CMP] process wasn’t working.”¹⁴⁶

When the draft plan came out in August 1998, its preferred alternative promised (according to the OCTA newsletter) “an adequately staffed and funded NHTs unit which would then initiate a long list of commendable historic-trail-related studies and projects.” OCTA members worried, however, that interagency rivalries would torpedo the agency’s effort to fulfill these goals.

What angered OCTA members more, however, was that the agency did not nominate a sufficient number of trail miles in its draft plan. The NPS, given the 5,665 miles (on the California NHT) that were included in the final (1987) feasibility study, plus the designated mileage for the other three NHTs, provided a plan that offered to manage the totality of those trails. Many OCTA members, however, hoped that the four-trails CMP could serve as a vehicle for designating additional trail miles. As OCTA member Tom Hunt stated in the organization’s newsletter, “the

¹⁴⁴ Steve Elkinton, interview by Ronald Brown, May 30, 2007; Jere Krakow, interview by the author, edits to January 23, 2014 interview; Krakow to the author, email, Jan. 29, 2015. In addition to the Oregon NHT logo, the other trail logo that underwent a substantial change was that of Ice Age NST.

¹⁴⁵ *Federal Register* 63 (Aug. 12, 1998), 43192.

¹⁴⁶ *News from the Plains*, issues of July 1997, 17, and April 1998, 9.

thing that we know the NPS can do . . . is to use this CMP to certify the geographical extent of the *complete* California Trail complex [Hunt’s emphasis], document it historically, and map it correctly and officially.” And, as it pertained to other NTSA-authorized trails, there was some historical precedent for administratively establishing additional route segments that would be managed as part of a larger, authorized trail.¹⁴⁷ Specific examples of the routes sought by OCTA members included “additional routes and cutoffs” along the Oregon NHT, and the Cherokee Trail as an addition to the California NHT. This process, known in official parlance as a “Secretarial determination in an administrative process,” was advocated by some NPS officials but not by others. To test the legality of adding new trail mileage via the CMP process, the concept was forwarded to the Interior Department’s Office of the Solicitor. In September 1998, Kevin Jones of the Solicitor’s Office issued the first of two opinions, which pertained to the Oregon Trail. It stated, “It is our opinion that additional routes and cutoffs that have historical use and national significance that are directly associated with the Oregon NHT may be added only through [legislatively] amending the original [1978] Oregon Trail Act.” A month later, the same office issued a similar opinion as it pertained to the Cherokee Trail as a possible addition to the California NHT.¹⁴⁸

After the draft plan was distributed, a 60-day public comment period ensued, in which NPS (in late September and early October) held nine public hearings on the plan, attended by approximately 180 people.¹⁴⁹ In response to comments made either at the hearings or otherwise, the agency made various adjustments to the CMP. The final four-trails CMP was issued in August 1999, and it remains the primary plan for all four of these NHTs. Many OCTA members, upon receiving the final plan, were of two minds: they recognized that the completion of the plan represented a major step in preserving, interpreting, and developing these four trails. They were unhappy, however, that they were unable to expand the mileage of these trails beyond what had been specified in the 1978 and 1992 congressional acts. To gain that additional mileage, they recognized, would require a new congressional effort – one that, in the words of OCTA stalwarts Bill and Jeanne

¹⁴⁷ *News from the Plains*, Apr. 1998, 11. As noted in Chapter 1, the Timm’s Hill Trail was a “side trail,” established in March 1990, that was affiliated with the Ice Age NST, while the Anvik Connector, established a month later, was a “connecting trail” affiliated with the Iditarod NHT. As Tom Gilbert noted in a November 13, 2018 email to the author, “Back in those early days . . . the philosophy was to authorize, protect, and interpret a single linear primary/principal route. Other alternative routes were to be Side or Connecting Trails. It was a way to limit Federal jurisdiction on the land and the Federal cost of administration.”

¹⁴⁸ NPS, *Final Comprehensive Management and Use Plan and Final Environmental Impact Statement, California National Historic Trail and Pony Express National Historical Trail and Management and Use Plan Update, Final Environmental Impact Statement, Oregon National Historic Trail and Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail* (Denver, the author, August 1999), 221-225; Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014; Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Public meetings were held in Sacramento, CA; Casper, WY; Salt Lake City, UT; Reno, NV; Boise, ID; Oregon City, OR; Lincoln, NE; Creston, IA; and Independence, MO. NPS, *Final Comprehensive Management and Use Plan*, v, 132.

Watson, “will take several years.”¹⁵⁰

During the same period that the NPS was wrestling with the Four Trails CMP process, a similar (but much quicker) process was taking place with the Pony Express NHT. In the same congressional bill that authorized the California and Pony Express NHTs, trail advocates had inserted a Pony Express NHT study clause that dealt with a possible western extension of the trail in California. This study clause was necessary because prior to the passage of the 1992 bill, trail historians made it known that Sacramento was not always the western terminus of the Pony Express trail. West of that point, the mail that was carried by Pony Express riders was typically carried by river steamer between Sacramento and San Francisco. At times, however, the westbound Pony Express riders arrived in Sacramento too late for the river steamer, and they were thus forced to continue riding from Sacramento west to the Oakland Pier, after which a ferry took the rider across the bay to San Francisco. Prior to the passage of the 1992 legislation, historians did not have sufficient information about the Sacramento-San Francisco leg to justify its inclusion in that bill. Hoping to learn more, however, trail advocates such as George Cardinet, an OCTA member from Concord, California, were able work with legislators and staff to insert the following clause in the 1992 bill:

The Secretary of the Interior . . . shall undertake a study of the land and water route used to carry mail from Sacramento to San Francisco, California, to determine the feasibility and suitability of designation of such route as a component of the Pony Express National Historic Trail designated by section 1 of this Act. Upon completion of the study, if the Secretary determines such route is a feasible and suitable addition to the Pony Express National Historic Trail, the Secretary shall designate the route as a component of the Pony Express National Historic Trail.¹⁵¹

Several years later, staff at the agency’s DSC – specifically historian Tom Thomas and landscape architect Keith Payne – undertook this study. Assisted by numerous non-NPS consultants, they completed a draft study in July 1996 and a final the following February. Their conclusions were unequivocal. Language in the final document noted that:

Based on national significance, resource integrity, and potential for public use, this study finds that the land and water routes of the Sacramento to San Francisco section are legitimate parts of the Pony Express Trail, and it is recommended that

¹⁵⁰ *News from the Plains*, April 1999, 1, 2.

¹⁵¹ Public Law 102-328 (106 Stat. 846), Aug. 3, 1992, Sec. 2; *News from the Plains*, March 1991, 4; Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007.

those routes be authorized as part of the Pony Express Trail.¹⁵²

Shortly after being completed, the study – following the protocol stated in the 1992 act – was forwarded to the Interior Secretary’s office. On June 30, 1997, Secretary Bruce Babbitt issued a *Federal Register* notice stating that:

The National Park Service, on behalf of the Department of the Interior, has completed the [above-mentioned] study and determined that it is both suitable and feasible to add this trail section to the Pony Express National Historic Trail . . . Notice is hereby given that effective upon this date, the above described trail is approved as a component of the National Trails System.¹⁵³

Development and Planning Projects along the Northern Trails, 1994-2000

As noted above, NPS personnel began trails administration duties in Salt Lake City in 1995. Interpretive specialist Kay Threlkeld began work there early that year, and Superintendent Jere Krakow was on the job by the end of May. By this time (FY 1995), all four of the trails administered from this office had line-item budgets; two of them (California and the Pony Express) had been funded for the first time, more than two years after they had been authorized. The trails’ combined base-funded budget, \$243,000, was on par with the \$279,000 budget that Gaines managed in Santa Fe; it was comprised of the Oregon NHT (\$99,000), Mormon Pioneer NHT (\$74,000), California NHT (\$35,000), and Pony Express NHT (\$35,000). The remainder of the decade witnessed incremental increases in the budgets for both the California and the Pony Express NHTs, and by FY 2000, the total amount allotted to the so-called “four northern trails” had risen to \$311,000, which was 28% higher than it had been five years earlier (see appendix 6).

Given this funding level, a major part of the new office’s responsibilities was to engage with trail partners; to seek out projects that helped locate, interpret, and mark those trails; and to provide funding to partners to carry out those projects. As in 1994, many of these projects were funded through the CCSP, and for the remainder of the decade, the office was able to distribute slightly more than \$100,000 in CCSP funds per year to partners. Kay Threlkeld, for many years, was in charge of administering CCSP funds, and she worked with a regional-office

¹⁵² NPS, *Feasibility Study for the Pony Express Trail, Sacramento to San Francisco Section, Pony Express National Historic Trail* (Denver, the author, February 1997), 4.

¹⁵³ *Federal Register* 62 (July 9, 1997), 36840.

contract administrator, Tom Forsythe, on a number of CCSP-related projects.¹⁵⁴ These included 1996 projects for marking the California NHT and preservation efforts at Fort Hall, Idaho, while 1997 projects included mapping efforts for the Applegate Trail, for other segments of the California Trail, and for the Oregon Trail. In order to encourage these efforts, and to provide a single channel for submitting projects under the program, OCTA in 1997 established two CCSP coordinators, hoping to “establish a reservoir of worthwhile, well-planned projects so that as federal funding becomes available OCTA will have several projects ready to submit.” (Most of these projects dealt with the Oregon and California trails, though scattered projects were directed toward sites and segments along the Mormon Pioneer or Pony Express trails.¹⁵⁵) For several years thereafter, an OCTA member was designated to serve as a liaison to the NPS for the CCSP funding program.¹⁵⁶

Progress was also made in establishing auto tour route signs along these trails. As noted previously, efforts had begun back in 1985 to mark the Oregon Trail route. In 1993, the first sections of the California NHT were marked, and in late 1993 the Missouri DOT began marking ATR signs (for several NHTs) in the Kansas City area.¹⁵⁷ After Krakow took over in May 1995, he “worked a great deal with various state highway/DOT departments on auto tour route signs: where they should be located and seeing to their installation.” He found that some DOTs demanded financial assistance as part of any installation agreement, and in those cases he “tried to get the highway officials to enter into CCSP agreements.” Others, however, “wanted just the logo” and installed the signs using their existing budgets. Krakow noted that, among DOTs, only California (Caltrans) refused to cooperate in this regard.¹⁵⁸

Other bread-and-butter work during this period included the design, production, and installation of interpretive waysides at key trail points, along with interpretive plans at various visitor centers and museums, both federal and non-federal. These included a 1995 wayside exhibit plan for the Mormon Pioneer NHT in Iowa (see above), which Threlkeld worked to implement on the ground over the next several years, along with interpretive plans for the National Oregon/California Trail Center (Montpelier, Idaho), the National Historic Trails Interpretive Center (Casper,

¹⁵⁴ Lee Kreutzer interview, February 19, 2014.

¹⁵⁵ According to longtime trails staff Chuck Milliken, who started working in the Salt Lake City office in 2001, OCTA was a “consistently strong and active partnership association,” while the Mormon Trails Association, by contrast, was “never strong or active” outside of a few local areas, and the National Pony Express Association was “primarily interested in the annual re-rides, along with visits to local schools,” and also a “Christmas card ride” engaged in by several NPEA chapters each year. Milliken interview, February 19, 2014.

¹⁵⁶ *News from the Plains*, October 1997, 4, and October 1999, 9.

¹⁵⁷ *Kansas City Star*, January 20, 1994.

¹⁵⁸ Krakow interview, January 23, 2014.

Wyoming), and the Western Historic Trails Center (Council Bluffs, Iowa).¹⁵⁹

As noted previously, the various NHTs have benefited greatly from trail-related anniversary events, most of which have been organized and sustained by private-sector entities. The NPS trails offices – primarily through their cooperative associations – had taken part in the 150th anniversary of the Oregon Trail (1993) as well as the 175th anniversary of the Santa Fe Trail (1996).

Shortly after the establishment of the Salt Lake City trails office, additional opportunities arose to commemorate trail anniversaries. In 1996, Utah celebrated the centennial of its statehood, and that same year a trek began that attempted to duplicate the westward trek, to the Salt Lake Valley, that LDS leader Brigham Young had undertaken a century and a half earlier. The wagon train, which was supervised by a nonprofit company, Mormon Trail Wagon Train 150 Years Inc., crossed Iowa in 1996, and beginning in mid-April 1997, at least 30 wagons began rolling west from Winter Quarters (in the northern suburbs of Omaha, Nebraska) toward Salt Lake City. Just as the 1847 party had done, the 30-plus wagons in the 1997 wagon train arrived at the eastern edge of the Salt Lake Valley on July 22. As one account noted, “some 51,000 people yelled and waved, sang and cried as the Mormon Trail Wagon Train arrived.” Two days later, at the annual Days of ’47 Parade, an estimated 300,000 to 400,000 people cheered on the wagon train as it rolled through downtown Salt Lake City. The NPS did not actively participate in the wagon train. It did, however, work with the Mormon Trail Association on the event, and an OCTA member took part in the 1997 portion of the migration.¹⁶⁰

Two years later, in April 1999, the 150th anniversary of the California Trail was commemorated with a wagon train of its own. The California National Historic Trails Wagon Train, led by Ben Kern of Evansville, Wyoming, left St. Joseph, Missouri on April 26. A part of that train was the so-called government wagon, which was owned by the NPS, co-sponsored by the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S. BLM, and accompanied by NPS trails employee Kay Threlkeld. The entire train, moreover, received sponsorship support from OCTA. Fourteen wagons, along with 50 horseback riders, headed west from St. Joseph, but the size of the party ebbed after it crossed into Nebraska. Several months later, the five remaining wagons that comprised the train – one of which was the government wagon – ended the trek at

¹⁵⁹ Krakow interview, January 23, 2014; Chuck Milliken interview, February 19, 2014; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018.

¹⁶⁰ *News from the Plains*, October 1997, 1, 10-11; Krakow interview, January 23, 2014.

Coloma, California (James Marshall’s 1848 gold discovery site) on September 27.¹⁶¹

Yet another long-distance ride along the trails – one that is commemorated on an annual basis – was the Pony Express Re-Ride. NPEA, a group of dedicated California trail enthusiasts, was organized in 1977, and by 1980 the group had members in all eight of the states where the original Pony Express rode. That year (1980), group members acted in concert to haul a mochila of mail east from Sacramento to Missouri, and the following year, the group organized a similar ride westbound over the same route. By the mid-1990s, therefore, the re-ride – which went through downtown Salt Lake City – was a well-established tradition, and NPEA became a designated partnership organization for the Pony Express NHT. During this period, however, NPS staff appears not to have assisted the re-ride effort, either in Salt Lake City or elsewhere.

Compliance-related issues arose from time to time. By early 1998, Krakow had become well aware that the Black Rock Desert, in northwestern Nevada, contained some easily visible ruts connected to the California NHT. That spring, however, Craig Breedlove – the well-known race car driver – announced that he wanted to race across the playa in that desert in order to regain the world’s land speed record. BLM officials, from the Winnemucca District Office, held a public meeting on the subject later that year. At the public meeting, which was held in Winnemucca, Krakow – recognizing that allowing such racing would foul nearby hot springs, encourage four-wheeling in the trail ruts, and otherwise compromise trail-related resources – stood up and asked the public to recognize the importance of the 140-year-old trail ruts. His speech apparently worked, because Breedlove gave up the fight in mid-June, and the BLM did not issue a permit that would have allowed the speed trials.¹⁶² The ruts, moreover, quickly became such a highly valued resource that they became a well-known element in the 800,000-acre Black Rock Desert-High Rock Canyon National Conservation Area, which President Clinton authorized via a presidential proclamation on December 21, 2000.¹⁶³

As noted above, the Mormon Pioneer NHT – which was more than 15 years old by the mid-1990s – had its western terminus in downtown Salt Lake City. The office’s

¹⁶¹ *News from the Plains*, April 1999, 1, 8; July 1999, 8-9, 14; October 1999, 7; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, Feb. 2, 2018. Threlkeld accompanied the government wagon all the way to Coloma. After the trek, the wagon was removed to City of Rocks National Reserve, in Idaho, where it became a static exhibit.

¹⁶² Krakow interview, January 23, 2014; *News from the Plains*, January 1997, 3; *Reno Gazette-Journal*, June 17, 1998, 57, in <https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/154482420/>; <https://lasvegassun.com/news/1998/apr/07/blm-review-process-starts-for-burning-man-land-spe/>

¹⁶³ Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018; <https://www.blm.gov/programs/national-conservation-lands/nevada/black-rock-desert-high-rock-canyon-emigrant-trails-nca>. The BLM website notes that the NCA boasts “nearly 120 miles of emigrant trails.”

location in central Utah, however, brought administrative challenges from time to time. As Krakow recalled,

By dint of being officed in Salt Lake City, there was a great deal of interaction with the Utah component of [the Mormon Pioneer] trail. This meant that we were at ground zero in terms of the [LDS] church headquarters being in Salt Lake City. Although I didn't interact with high church authorities, I interacted with important figures who had channels to those authorities, and the communication was directed back and forth and provided to me or I to them.¹⁶⁴

Krakow quickly discovered that there was a relatively weak representation from the designated partner organization (MTA) in Salt Lake City, although he received consistent support from MTA's founding president, Garn Hatch. Of greater import in Utah, however, was the Utah Trails Consortium, a successful organization to which Mike Duwe had attended meetings before Krakow assumed his superintendency. Krakow also learned – as had Duwe before him – that one of the association's most active chapters was in Iowa. The trail's most prominent historian was Stanley Kimball, a longtime professor at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville with numerous works about Mormon trail history to his credit. Kimball, as noted above, had a deep interest in the Santa Fe Trail as well as various Mormon-related trails. During the mid-1990s, he was immersed in writing an NPS-sponsored history of the Mormon Trail Battalion (see above), and he continued to remain active in trails-related affairs for the remainder of the decade.¹⁶⁵

New Historic Trail Proposals

During the mid-1990s – during the same general time period that the Santa Fe Trail got its first substantial funding, and when the trails office in Salt Lake City was getting off the ground – several groups were pressing to recognize other routes as being nationally significant.

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Becomes a National Historic Trail

¹⁶⁴ Krakow interview, January 4, 2008.

¹⁶⁵ Krakow interview, January 23, 2014; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014. See the following obituary for Floyd Garn Hatch: <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/840534/Obituary-Garn-Hatch.html>.

The first trail to be considered as an NHT during this period was El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. This historical route headed north from Mexico City, passed through Durango and Chihuahua, and crossed into the U.S. in the Ciudad Juarez/El Paso area. It then continued north to Albuquerque before it terminated at Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan) Pueblo, just north of Santa Fe. Juan de Oñate opened the route in 1598, and for more than 250 years thereafter the route served as New Mexico's lifeline to and from Spanish (and later Mexican) settlements farther south. The route was superseded in 1881 by the Santa Fe Railroad, and in the early twentieth century a highway was built along the same general route.

The old trail, however, was generally ignored for most of the early and mid-twentieth century. Then, in the mid-1980s, Dr. Gabrielle Palmer (a Spanish colonial art historian) formed a non-profit organization called the Camino Real Project, Inc. Soon afterward, she formed cooperative agreements with both the University of New Mexico (UNM) in Albuquerque and the Mexican government to conduct research and compile trail information. Before long, other agencies got involved as well, including the state's Historic Preservation Division, New Mexico State Monuments, and the BLM's New Mexico State Office. This renewed interest in the Camino Real, on both sides of the international border, eventually resulted in an international colloquium, which was first held in June 1995 in Valle de Allende, just east of Parral, Chihuahua.¹⁶⁶ These colloquia continued annually thereafter, alternating between U.S. and Mexican venues (see appendix 5).

Meanwhile, the enthusiasm generated about the Camino Real also resulted in the April 1993 introduction, by New Mexico's two senators, of bills (H.R. 1838 and S. 836) to have El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro studied as a potential national historic trail. The latter bill passed the Senate in late July, it passed the House in early November, and in mid-November it was signed into law (P.L. 103-144) by President Clinton.¹⁶⁷ Soon afterward, the NPS's DSC undertook the task of preparing the overall study document (a feasibility study and environmental assessment), with Lawrence Beal as the job captain.¹⁶⁸ The agency's Spanish Colonial Research Center (SCRC), located on the UNM campus in Albuquerque, New Mexico, agreed to compile a historical place-names dictionary and undertake other necessary trail-related research. Under the direction of the center's director, Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez, SCRC completed its place-names dictionary in 1995, after which the feasibility study / environmental assessment was completed in draft form

¹⁶⁶ NPS, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail Feasibility Study / Environmental Assessment* (Denver, the author, March 1997), Appendices B and C, pp. 77-80.

¹⁶⁷ <https://www.congress.gov>, search for "camino real de tierra adentro" for the 103rd Congress.

¹⁶⁸ During this same period – in 1994 – NPS began preparing a study of the three Spanish-era missions in the El Paso area – all of which were located along the route of the proposed national historic trail – in order to assess their national significance in terms of eligibility as an NPS unit. The study, completed in 1996, concluded that they were not nationally significant in that context. NPS, *Special Resource Study, El Paso Missions, Texas* (Denver, NPS, Oct. 1996), iii.

in October 1996. The final study was completed in March 1997.

The final feasibility study noted that the U.S. portion of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro fully qualified as a national historic trail under guidelines established by NTSA Section 5(b)(11). Soon afterward, the study was transferred on to Congress, and in May 1998, both the House (H.R. 3803, by Silvestre Reyes, D-TX) and Senate (S. 2039, by Jeff Bingaman, D-NM) introduced authorization bills. Bingaman's bill passed the Senate on October 14, but no further progress was made before the 105th Congress adjourned. The following year, Bingaman and Reyes re-introduced bills to authorize this new trail. Both bills did well. xxxReyes's bill (H.R. 2271), introduced in June 1999, passed the House in September 2000. Bingaman's nearly-identical bill (S. 366), introduced in February 1999, passed the Senate that November. After it moved over to the House, Congressional leaders opted to move the Bingaman bill rather than the Reyes bill. Bingaman's bill passed the House in early October 2000, and on October 13, President Clinton signed S. 366 into law as Public Law 106-307.

Authorization of a Route 66 Program

A similar bill that slowly developed throughout the 1990s dealt with Route 66. As noted in Chapter 4, Congress had passed the Route 66 Study Act in September 1990. Among the purposes of the study were to 1) evaluate the significance of the route, and 2) study options for the highway's preservation and use. The NPS's DSC was asked to study the route, and in response Michael Bureman of DSC's Central Team was chosen as team captain. The team plunged into the effort, and in search of public involvement it sent out two newsletters, in the fall of 1992 and the spring of 1993. Then, in the fall of 1993, it held eleven public meetings, which took place in every Route 66 state except Kansas. The agency issued a draft Special Resource Study in October 1994 and again in March 1995. Regarding the answer to the first of the two issues outlined above, the agency – based on the research of Dr. Art Gomez, a SWRO historian – concluded was that the road was unequivocally significant due to its role in the mass emigration of Americans from the east to the southwest, particularly California, during the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁶⁹ Other reasons were noted in the study's summary:

[Route 66] was not the first such road, nor the longest highway, nor the best example of road building. It didn't carry the most people or become famous because of specific historical events along its length. But Route 66, through

¹⁶⁹ NPS, *Route 66, Draft Special Resource Study* (Denver, the author, October 1994), 82-83; NPS, *Route 66, Draft Special Resource Study* (Denver, the author, March 1995), 89; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014, and October 24, 2018.

the popular culture of songs, films, books, and television, became the symbol of mobile, free, fast-moving America.¹⁷⁰

As to various study options for how the highway might be preserved and used, the study was purposely inconclusive. Furthermore, it offered no preferred alternative, and it made no attempt (as the study noted) to be “a specific action plan.” Perhaps this was because the agency had not been previously asked to evaluate a 2,000-mile highway, especially one in which the road's importance was often distinct from its physical entity. Noting that “Route 66 is not a traditional study area,” it identified and briefly evaluated five conceptual alternatives: 1) resource preservation, which was a “traditional, parklike treatment,” which involved a congressional commission purchasing select sites [and] facilities, 2) a national historic trail, which would “focus on important resources along the route and emphasize the links between them,” 3) a no-action alternative, which would allow for current conditions and programs to continue, 4) a commemorative redesignation by Congress, which would sign the road but have no other federal involvement, and 5) heritage highway designation, which would “provide for national recognition of the route and its history and would establish a 10-year limit on federal management.”¹⁷¹ The team issued a final study in July 1995, which was just as inconclusive as the two drafts. It noted that “Congress may select components of different alternatives, develop other proposals, or take no action. Alternatives 1 and 5 might lend themselves to future legislation as a national heritage area.”¹⁷²

Not long after the NPS completed its study, Congress began to weigh in on how Route 66 should be managed, if at all. As before, longtime New Mexico senator Pete Domenici – who had led the legislative effort a decade earlier to secure a Route 66 study bill – took the reins once again. In June 1998, he introduced a bill to “preserve the cultural resources of the Route 66 corridor and to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide assistance.” The bill provided a myriad of ways in which the Interior Secretary was directed to provide assistance to the NPS, to “state and local public and private persons,” as well as to “nonprofit Route 66 preservation entities, Indian tribes, State Historic Preservation Offices, and entities in the States to preserve the corridor by providing technical assistance, participating in cost-sharing programs, and making grants.” (Domenici's bill was thus similar to the “heritage highway designation” outlined in the NPS's special resource study, but with a strong identification-and-preservation component included as well.) Congresswoman Heather Wilson (also from New Mexico) introduced a variation on a Route 66 assistance bill that year, but Domenici's bill enjoyed greater success,

¹⁷⁰ NPS, *Route 66, Draft Special Resource Study* (October 1994), iii.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, October 1994, iii, 2, 38-51.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, March 1995, 20; NPS, *Route 66, [Final] Special Resource Study*, July 1995, first “Alternatives” page.

passing the Senate before being stopped in the House.¹⁷³

Undaunted, the two legislators introduced new legislation at the start of the 106th Congress in January 1999. Thanks to support from many of the Route 66 state associations, as well as from David Knudsen from the Route 66 Federation, both bills enjoyed success.¹⁷⁴ Domenici's bill (S. 292), which was virtually identical to what he had introduced in the previous Congress, passed the Senate just two months later. Wilson's bill (H.R. 66), which largely matched Domenici's, passed the House in June 1999. Less than a month later, Wilson's bill passed the Senate, and on August 10, the Route 66 Corridor Historic Preservation bill was signed by President Clinton and became law (P.L. 106-45). Among its provisions, the law stated that "The Secretary shall designate officials of the National Park Service stationed at locations convenient to the States to perform the functions of the Cultural Resource Programs under this Act," and it further stated that the Interior Secretary would "facilitate the development of guidelines and a program of technical assistance and grants that will set priorities for the preservation of the Route 66 corridor." Given this legislative direction, it appeared that the NPS, at least to some extent, would be involved in the preservation of Route 66 resources through FY 2009 (which was the termination date noted in Section 4 of the act).¹⁷⁵

Progress on Two Additional Trail Proposals

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, authorities in Texas showed an increasing interest in the historical royal roads that passed through Texas and on into present-day Louisiana. One of these roads, called the San Antonio Road, had been surveyed in 1915 and marked between 1915 and the late 1920s (see chapter 1). Historians recognized the existence of additional routes, however. So in response to a 1989 resolution from the Texas legislature, the Texas Department of Highways and Public Transportation (later known as TxDOT) began research to commemorate the significance of this route. The results of the agency's research was a 1991 historical report which showed, indeed, the existence of five historical routes that had not been surveyed 75 years earlier.¹⁷⁶ Shortly afterward, individuals in the San Antonio

¹⁷³ <https://www.congress.gov>, search for "Route 66" for 105th Congress; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014.

¹⁷⁴ David Gaines to author, email, August 20, 2014; Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

¹⁷⁵ <https://www.congress.gov>, search for "Route 66" for 106th Congress.

¹⁷⁶ NPS, *El Camino Real de los Tejas, National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment* (Denver, the author, July 1998), p. 2; Steve Gonzales, email to the author, August 29, 2017. During the 1989 legislative session, Texas Senator James William "Bill" Haley (D-Center) submitted a successful resolution (SCR 135) that "direct[ed] the State Department of Highways and Public Transportation and the Texas Historical Commission to develop a preservation plan for the Old San Antonio Road." <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/legis/BillSearch/BillDetails.cfm?billFileID=12430&from=advancedsearch&startrow=51&number=50&IDlist=&unclickList=>

area as well as William Foster, a powerful attorney who had researched the trail as an avocation, showed an interest in getting a federal trail designated. They, in turn, worked with staff from the Alamo Area Council of Governments, who broached the idea with Congress.¹⁷⁷ In May 1993, two congressional bills were introduced – H.R. 2160, by Charles Wilson (D-Texas), and a similar bill, S. 983, by J. Bennett Johnson (D-Louisiana) and Bob Kreuger (D-Texas). Both bills called for the study and evaluation of "El Camino Real para los Texas" as a national historic trail. The Senate bill (S. 983) moved quickly. In July 1993 it passed the Senate, and in early November the Senate bill passed the House. The bill was then sent to President Clinton, who on November 17 signed the bill. It became Public Law 103-145.¹⁷⁸

In response to the passage of the study bill, the responsibility for completing the study was forwarded on to the NPS's DSC, where Lawrence Beal was selected as the team captain. Beal worked with a variety of team members and consultants. NPS consultants came from the Long Distance Trails Office in Santa Fe, the Spanish Colonial Research Center in Albuquerque, San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, and the Intermountain Support Office in Denver. In order to reach out to the public, the agency prepared a scoping newsletter and distributed it in the fall of 1996. Meanwhile, the Spanish Colonial Research Center supported the effort by producing a *Historical Geographical Dictionary of the Camino Real para los Texas*, written by Bruce A. Erickson, which was completed in draft form in January 1997.¹⁷⁹

Based on the DSC team's effort, the agency produced a draft feasibility study for the trail in April 1998, followed by a 30-day public review period. A final study came out three months later. It stated that the trail was "of national significance and possesses great value in illustrating America's cultural themes." More specifically, it declared that both "El Camino Real de los Tejas [which the Spanish first used in the late 17th century] and the [19th century] Old San Antonio Road are of national significance, individually and collectively, under the terms of the established criteria." Given the distinctiveness of the two roads, the study offered two action alternatives, neither of which was a preferred alternative: one to "Designate [all listed] Routes from Paso de Francia [on the Rio Grande] to Natchitoches," and the other to "Designate Two Separate National Historic Trails" as noted above. A no-action alternative was also identified and described. The document recommended a slight name change, to "El Camino Real de los Tejas," from what had been suggested in the study bill.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Steven Gonzales (ELTEA) to the author, email, August 29, 2017; David Gaines email, November 1, 2018.

¹⁷⁸ NPS, "National Trails System Act, Legislative Documents," p. 18.

¹⁷⁹ David M. Gaines to William C. Foster, August 24, 1995, "SFT Public Correspondence 1995" folder, "Admin Hist 1987-1997" box.

¹⁸⁰ NPS, *El Camino Real de los Tejas, NHT FS/EA* (July 1998), v, 39, 43. The study (p. 77) "recommended that the trail name be 'El Camino Real de los Tejas,' a title that is more grammatically correct than 'El Camino Real para los Texas.' . . . The research for this study has indicated that this is the most common and appropriate name for this route."

No sooner had the NPS completed its report than Congress began to move toward trail authorization. On July 8, 1898 – the same month that the feasibility study had been completed – Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-Louisiana) introduced El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Act of 1998 (S. 2276), and four months later, Rep. Ciro Rodriguez (D-Texas) introduced a companion House bill (H.R. 4724). Landrieu’s bill made immediate progress and passed the Senate in October 1998, but neither bill became law in the 105th Congress. In June 1999, therefore, Rep. Rodriguez submitted a similar bill (H.R. 2409). It made no progress, however, and as the decade ended, the effort to authorize El Camino Real de los Tejas as a national historic trail was not yet realized. One observer stated that the legislation was “perpetually blocked by conservative Texas congressmen afraid of a federal land grab.”¹⁸¹

The other long distance trail that witnessed considerable action during the 1990s, both in the executive and legislative branches, was the Old Spanish Trail. This trail had arguably had its antecedence with a 1776 expedition, led by Franciscan priests Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, that brought Spaniards for the first time into many new areas of present-day New Mexico, Colorado, Utah and Arizona. More than 50 years later, Santa Fe merchant Antonio Armijo led an expedition through some of these same areas; his purpose, however, was trade. He led a mule train loaded with woolen goods (specifically serapes and blankets) from Abiquiú across the desert to southern California; he returned a year later with many horses and mules, having realized a substantial profit. Armijo’s successful round trip opened up an annual trade route that remained viable until the late 1840s.

The move to push for a national historic trail for this Mexican-era trade route began in 1994. In mid-January, a number of Colorado residents held an organizational meeting for the Old Spanish Trail Association in Del Norte, which is located at the southwestern edge of San Luis Valley. That June, OCTA held its first annual conference, also in Del Norte. The following January, the association’s first newsletter, *Spanish Traces*, was published and distributed to members.

In the midst of this initial burst of activity, association members contacted their legislators, hoping to gain authorization for an Old Spanish National Historic Trail. In May 1994, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell and Rep. Scott McInnis (both R-Colorado) submitted bills “to designate the Old Spanish Trail and the Northern Branch of the Old Spanish Trail for potential inclusion into the National Trails System, and for other purposes.” Neither bill made much progress, so the following year, both Campbell and Rep. Joel Hefley (R-Colorado) introduced a bill similar to what had been introduced in 1994. Neither bill received further consideration

¹⁸¹ <https://www.congress.gov>, search for “Camino Tejas” for the 105th and 106th congresses; David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

until late September 1996, which was just a week before Congress adjourned for the year.¹⁸² At that time Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska), in his capacity as the head of the House Resources Committee, introduced a massive bill (H.R. 4236) that absorbed dozens if not scores of lands-related bills. Senator Campbell and Colorado’s House delegation, tipped off to the omnibus nature of Young’s bill, succeeded in getting the Old Spanish Trail study provisions included in H.R. 4236. That bill passed the House just one day after being introduced; it passed the Senate five days later, and on November 12, 1996, President Clinton signed the bill into law as P.L. 104-333.¹⁸³

Not long afterward, the Secretary of the Interior delegated the evaluation of the Old Spanish Trail study proposal to the NPS’s DSC, and Lawrence Beal – who had previously served as the job captain for both of the El Camino Real trail studies – was assigned the same role for the Old Spanish Trail study. Work on the study, based in Denver, took place throughout 1997; at the same time, Dr. Sánchez, from SCRC, was conducting historical research about the trail.¹⁸⁴ By February 1998, the DSC team had prepared a scoping newsletter. But a “significance statement” for the trail, written shortly afterward, concluded that the trail was not nationally significant. A number of historians then weighed in on the trail’s merits, including Dr. Sánchez (see above) and Robert Spude from the NPS’s IMR. Several prominent academic historians offered their opinions as well, chief among them David Weber (from Southern Methodist University), Howard Lamar (Yale University), and Donald C. Cutter (University of New Mexico). These academics likewise agreed the trail was not nationally significant.¹⁸⁵

By July 2000, the team had completed a draft of the feasibility study and environmental assessment. The draft study, consistent with earlier decisions, stated that the trail was not nationally significant. As noted in the summary,

with respect to the National Historic Landmark theme of trade and commerce and its impact on broad patterns of American culture . . . there is currently insufficient information upon which to conclusively base a determination of national significance. With respect to a number of other historic themes and uses that were

¹⁸² <https://www.congress.gov>, search for “Old Spanish” for 103rd and 104th congresses.

¹⁸³ Elizabeth von Till Warren, “The Old Spanish National Historic Trail,” in http://www.oldspanishtrail.org/learn/trail_history.php.

¹⁸⁴ Sánchez worked with a university publisher that year and released his trail-related historical research as *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers; Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850* (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1997).

¹⁸⁵ NPS, *Old Spanish Trail, Draft National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment* (Denver, the author, July 2000), 151; National Park System Advisory Board National Landmarks Committee Report to the Board, May 8-9, 2001 (notes prepared in connection with that meeting), NHL Files, NPS-WASO, courtesy Caridad de la Vega; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014; Aaron Mahr, interview by the author, November 30, 2017.

evaluated, the Old Spanish Trail is found to be of state or local significance.¹⁸⁶

Historians, as they read over the trail's significance statement, were by no means united in their opinions of the trail's significance. As noted in the draft study,

Some historians concluded that the trail was not nationally significant and that further research would not be beneficial; others suggested that a determination based on current information was inconclusive but that further research could help make the determination one way or the other; and still others concluded that the trail was nationally significant.¹⁸⁷

The study's negative conclusion was widely felt. The proposed trail was lacking in significance, and trail supporters were disappointed by the ruling. The NPS's trails office, recognizing where the study's shortcomings lay, decided to make a renewed attempt to get the Old Spanish Trail broadly recognized as a nationally-significant trail. It therefore opted to delay the preparation of the final study for the time being, pending the acquisition of additional data to aid in that determination. Trail partners, moreover, vowed to assist the NPS by providing additional information that would shed light on the significance criterion.¹⁸⁸

Forging a National Trails Coalition

During the late 1980s and the early 1990s (see chapter 4), most of the major elements were in place for an overarching framework related to the federal administration of national trails, as well as advocacy, by outside groups, for trail development. Specifically, a Washington-based staff person (Steve Elkinton) had been hired to represent all NPS-administered NSTs and NHTs. A council had been established to coordinate trail-related activities between federal agencies. Trails advocates from both the public and private sectors had organized two successful conferences for the national scenic and historic trails, and coming out of the second conference had been a loosely-organized group (the "Committee of 17") to advocate for these trails. In order to foster communication between these advocates, a quarterly newsletter had been established, and the NPS had designed and published a map and guide illustrating and describing each of the scenic and historic trails.

¹⁸⁶ SAR, 1997, 5; NPS, *Old Spanish Trail, Draft Feasibility Study*, July 2000, 1, 151; *News from the Plains*, October 2000, 7.

¹⁸⁷ NPS, *Old Spanish Trail, Draft NHT FS/EA*, 23; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014.

¹⁸⁸ SAR, 2000, 14.

Despite these obvious signs of progress, advocates for the various long-distance trails recognized that much remained to be done to further their cause. In the public sector, both funding and staff were woefully inadequate; in early FY 1992, when there were seventeen long-distance trails – twelve of which were administered by the NPS – the Appalachian Trail and the Ice Age Trail (both scenic trails) were the only NPS-administered trails with an annual budget that exceeded \$100,000. Most of the remaining ten trails limped along for a number of years with staff that had trail-related collateral duties and with little or no funding. And as for both the U.S. Forest Service and the BLM, neither agency provided line-item funds allotted specifically for long distance trails.¹⁸⁹ As former trails superintendent Jere Krakow noted, "Thinking back to when trails were first authorized, it was a begging proposition. You had to convince your regional director, with a tin cup in your hand, that you needed some coins to administer the Oregon Trail."¹⁹⁰ Longtime trails advocate Gary Werner, speaking in 2007, recognized the same situation but from a broader perspective:

Aside from the Appalachian Trail, the rest of the trails administered by the Park Service are really seen as "odd ducks" out there that on occasion -- like the Bicentennial of Lewis and Clark -- will get a lot of attention. . . . But mostly they're seen as anomalies. . . . The trails are mostly an afterthought.¹⁹¹

As noted earlier in the chapter, the response of the "Committee of 17" to these budget woes was to petition Congress for more money. Gary Werner, appointed to spearhead the committee's efforts, testified before Congress in the spring of 1992, asking for more money to fund basic trail administration. (In FY 1991, NPS trail-specific funding had been \$972,000; in FY 1992 it was \$1,073,000.) Werner was turned down that first year. Undaunted, however, Werner returned to Washington the following year, and this time his testimony produced results: specifically, his efforts resulted in a substantial increase to various trail budgets, and in FY 1994, trail-specific funding rose to almost \$2.2 million. (This included major increases in the Santa Fe and Oregon NHT budgets, along with initial funding for the Mormon Pioneer and Trail of Tears NHTs.) Werner testified again in early 1994, and his efforts resulted in initial funding to the recently-authorized California and Pony Express NHTs. Werner returned each year to Congress and testified in front of both appropriations and authorization committees dealing with National Trails System (NTS) issues.¹⁹² Each time he came armed with statistics that demonstrated

¹⁸⁹ Gary Werner interview, May 25, 2007.

¹⁹⁰ Jere Krakow interview, Jan. 4, 2008.

¹⁹¹ Gary Werner, interview by Ronald Brown, May 25, 2007.

¹⁹² Gary Werner, in his May 25, 2007 interview, noted that "Since that second conference in 1991 at Menucha, I have prepared and presented testimony, either in written form or in actual hearings, since 1992 every year to the House and Senate Interior appropriate subcommittees for annual funding for the trails."

the large citizen-driven volunteer efforts – contributions of both time and money – that supported the various national trails. Thanks to the Committee of 17's efforts, by FY 1994 most of the fourteen NPS-administered national trails had their own line-item budget.¹⁹³

Throughout this period – between 1991 and 1995 – the organization representing the various national trails grew by fits and starts. In 1991, as suggested by its name, the Committee of 17 – so named because it represented the number of existing national trails – was a loosely-organized coalition; it had no specific governance outside of occasional conferences, and it was financially supported by relatively few of the trail partnership associations. (A number of the trails, during this period, did not have a partnership association, and several of those trail associations, comfortable with their independence, did not initially participate in this new national coalition.)

Meanwhile, the organization itself was changing. In 1993, a third National Conference on National Scenic and National Historic Trails was held. Sponsored by the OCTA, it took place at the Camp Mo-Kan, a Salvation Army facility just south of Independence, Missouri. That conference, held in late October, resulted in the organizing group changing its name, from the Committee of 17 to the Committee for the NTS. (The old name was irrelevant by now, inasmuch as there were now 19 national trails, with more on the horizon.) At the Independence meeting, plans were made for another conference, to be held in April 1995; that meeting took place at the National 4-H Center in Chevy Chase, Maryland, and was sponsored by the American Hiking Society. By now, a pattern had been set; the National Conference on National Scenic and Historic Trails would be held during each odd-numbered year (see appendix 2).

At the Chevy Chase conference, the organization adopted yet another name: the aforementioned PNTS, a name that reflected its more permanent, ongoing structure. The group remained loosely organized, however. That year it developed a series of collective goals and principles, and it also agreed to coordinate future biennial conferences. But it was not until the 1997 conference (held near Orlando, Florida) that it wrote and agreed to the organization's mission, vision statement, and bylaws, and it also established an executive committee that would guide decision making between conferences. A vote to incorporate did not take place until 1999, and PNTS did not gain its tax-exempt 501(c)(3) status until 2001.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ David Gaines to Ross Marshall, August 29, 1997, in "1997 + 1998 Santa Fe Trail Association" folder, "SAFE Admin Files 1986-1998" box; Jere Krakow, interview by Ronald Brown, January 4, 2008.

¹⁹⁴ <http://pnts.org/new/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Autumn-2011-Pathways.pdf>. Steve Elkinton, interview by Ron Brown, May 30, 2007.

As noted above, much of the organization's growth – or lack of growth – dealt with the level of support that the various partnership associations provided to it. As trails coordinator Steve Elkinton noted, PNTS was

very much an ad-hoc coalition for a long time and people liked it that way. Their first allegiance was to their home organization. It was only after the coalition sort of proved itself and proved its effectiveness that they then formalized it. . . . There were two or three groups that dropped out temporarily, mostly based on misperceptions of some of the positions that the Partnership was taking at the time.¹⁹⁵

These groups included the OCTA, during the mid-1990s, and the Lewis and Clark Heritage Foundation, during the late 1990s and early 2000s. Both defections were over "a minor issue," Elkinton recalls, and were eventually resolved.¹⁹⁶ Other partnership groups, moreover, were slow to join PNTS and financially support it. During the early 1990s, the Appalachian Trail Conference (ATC) – seen as a mentor to other trail associations that aspired to be like it – "was not particularly generous," according to Elkinton, in its support of the NTS as a whole. He noted that "they saw their main mission being the Appalachian Trail. And their staff said very clearly they were paid to sustain the Appalachian Trail, not the National Trails System." (Executive Director Dave Startzell, along with the ATC board, reversed that position in 1996 or 1997.)¹⁹⁷ The SFTA was an additional holdout. In April 1997, SFTA President Ross Marshall attended the 6th National Scenic and Historic Trails Symposium, near Orlando, Florida. Having previously served as the OCTA president (1991-1993), Marshall recognized PNTS's value; SFTA, however, was not then a contributing member to the Partnership. That summer, therefore, he recommended to the SFTA board that the association "more formally affiliate itself with the PNTS and become a contributing member of this partnership of long distance trail managers and volunteer groups." That September, the SFTA board – with no votes to spare – opted to join PNTS. By this time, PNTS had the backing of most of the partnership associations; as Marshall noted in April 1998, "at the present time, only a couple of the groups are not yet affiliated with PFNTS and a couple of the National Trails do not have support groups."¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007; also Tom Gilbert interview, May 25, 2007.

¹⁹⁶ Elkinton interview, Sept. 21, 2017; http://lewisandclark.org/about/pdf/officers_historical.pdf.

¹⁹⁷ Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007.

¹⁹⁸ Marshall to SFTA Board, n.d. (Summer 1997); Marshall to SFTA Board, April 4, 1998, both in "1997 + 1998 Santa Fe Trail Association" folder, 1986-1998 box; Marshall, interview with the author, Washington, D.C., February 13, 2014; Marshall, interview with the author, Ogden, Utah, August 7, 2018. Elkinton, taking the long view in a May 30, 2007 interview, noted that "In my era working on these trails, the trail organizations have learned to work together in a way that I don't think anyone could have imagined 15 or 20 years ago, and that grows the trail system in a way that has made it that much stronger."

A major success that emerged from the 1995 Chevy Chase trails conference – which was held just outside of Washington, D.C. – was that a large number of participants left the conference for a day and advocated for trails on Capitol Hill. Werner, who by now was a veteran legislative advocate, recalled that

Most of these people had never done anything like that before. Some of them were literally almost petrified at the thought. But by the end of the day, maybe two thirds of the people ended up on the east side of the Rayburn House Office Building, [and] they were trading stories. People were saying, “Yes, they invited us in. They wanted to hear more about the trail!” You could just feel, like a radiation of heat off of a fire or something, the feeling of empowerment among these people.

Based on that success, PNTS representatives, working in collaboration with their colleagues from the American Hiking Society, quickly institutionalized “Trails Advocacy Week” (more informally called “Hike the Hill”). They have returned each year to Capitol Hill to speak with members of the legislative branch and their staffs about long-distance trails.¹⁹⁹

Between the mid-1990s and the turn of the millennium, PNTS enjoyed increasing popularity in the trails community. Not only did most of the existing trails partnership associations support the group’s efforts, but several new national trails were authorized during this period, and those supporters that were affiliated with those newly-authorized trails looked to PNTS for guidance and support. During this period, the various biennial conferences witnessed an increasing number of attendees. Another sign of health in the trails community was that by 1998, there were so many historical trails – ten administered by the NPS, and one each by the U.S. Forest Service and the BLM – that PNTS held a separate conference to cater to the specific needs of those trails; as Elkinton noted, it provided a forum “for NHT people to get to know each other and develop a vision statement (and they did a good one).” That conference, noted as being “long overdue” by one participant, was held in Kansas City, Missouri from October 29 to November 1. No additional conferences or workshops were held specifically for NHTs until 2006.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Werner interview, May 25, 2007; Jere Krakow interview, Jan. 4, 2008. Members of specific partner associations had been advocating for trails in Washington, D.C. considerably before the mid-1990s. Bill and Jeanne Watson, for example, had been OCTA members since the early 1980s, and as Krakow has noted, “certainly they were keenly interested and participants in the political process well before 1981, so it’s carried over for them in the case of advocacy for the Oregon and California Trails, and more broadly the whole National Trails System.”

²⁰⁰ Ross Marshall, “Historic Trails Workshop,” *Wagon Tracks* 13 (February 1999), 5-6; Steve Elkinton email, Sept. 21, 2017.

Based on Werner’s annual testimony, his ability to work well with Congressional staffers, the success of direct citizen advocacy, and PNTS’s increasing support by the partnership associations, the organization was able to gain critically-needed additional funds for basic operations on both NSTs and NHTs. In FY 1994, as noted above, Congress allotted to the NPS almost \$2.2 million in trail-specific funding. By 1997, however, these funds had grown to \$2.4 million; by 1999 to \$3.6 million; and by FY 2001 to almost \$6.1 million.²⁰¹ The 2001 budget figure, therefore, was more than six times what it had been ten years earlier (see appendix 6). Beyond these line-item figures, additional funds were allotted directly to the Washington-based NPS trails office or to the CCSP, as they had been since 1989 and 1993, respectively.

One issue that resurfaced from time to time during the 1990s pertained to unit status – specifically, whether the various national trails (both scenic and historic) should be designated as units within the National Park System. As noted in previous chapters, three NSTs (Appalachian, designated in 1968, along with Potomac Heritage and Natchez Trace, both designated in 1983) were NPS units, but four other NSTs – plus all of the NHTs – were not considered NPS units. Gary Werner, who represented the Committee of the NTS in early 1993, wrote to NPS Director Roger Kennedy and petitioned to have all of NPS’s long distance trails become units. Werner’s request was not granted, however.²⁰² Three years later, in August 1996, the unit issue flared up again when Ross Marshall, the SFTA president, wrote to Kennedy. Marshall noted that the three trails that were park units had received a 3 percent increase but that the other NPS-administered trails had not. Feeling that the distinction was arbitrary, he asked Kennedy to eliminate the funding disparity. Kennedy did so, and at the end of September he wrote back to Marshall, noting that “funding for all trails in FY 1997 will go up by 3 percent.”²⁰³

As noted in Chapter 4, the NPS had hired its first full-time trails coordinator (Steve Elkinton) in August 1989. For several years thereafter, Congress budgeted \$400,000 for a Washington office that was devoted to “national trail system development.” Given that generous funding package, Elkinton disbursed much of that sum to specific trails, many of which had little or no funding, “as fairly as we could . . . we wanted to make sure that the bulk of these funds was serving the trails and

²⁰¹ In a May 30, 2007 interview, Steve Elkinton noted that “If the Partnership [PNTS] had not been pushing for budget increases, for individual trails and the trails program as a whole, steadily since 1993, the Trails System would not be anywhere near where it is today. They’ve played a key role in nurturing the trails. In government, money drives identity. [Previously, the national trails] didn’t get any respect. Now that they have a decent sized budget and they get healthy increases each year, [and] people respect them.”

²⁰² Werner to Kennedy, June 21, 1993, in “SFNHT, Advisory Council – 1993” folder, “SAFE Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

²⁰³ Marshall to Kennedy, Aug. 31, 1996, in “SFTA 1996” folder, “SAFE Admin Hist 1986-1998” box; Kennedy to Marshall, Sept. 30, 1996, in “SFT Public Correspondence 1996” folder, “SAFE Admin Hist 1987-1997” box.

not WASO bureaucrats.” By FY 1994, however, most of the national trails had an allotted line-item budget, and that action brought with it an immediate reduction in what the Washington trails office received, from \$400,000 to \$217,000.²⁰⁴

Elkinton continued to serve as a one-person office until 1994 or 1995, after which he supervised a series of Student Conservation Association interns for the next several years. Elkinton noted that “they helped gather a lot of data and information and look deeply at systemic things, legislative histories, land trusts, Congressional districts, and all that kind of thing.” Then, in October 2000, Helen Scully joined the staff, having moved into a new trails position after being a National Heritage Areas employee. Initially specializing on the issues of data systems and GIS compatibility – she created the office’s website, for example – Scully later branched out into a multitude of new areas.²⁰⁵

Elkinton helped re-establish a single federal entity that collectively represented all long distance trails. In 1992 or 1993, he and others revived the inactive Federal Interagency Council on Trails, an organization of agency representatives that had been founded in 1969 as the result of a DOI/USDA MOA. In 1981, however, Interior Secretary James Watt had eliminated it (see chapter 2). Elkinton, encouraged by Bill Spitzer, chaired these so-called “trail manager’s meetings” that initially included NPS, BLM and U.S. Forest Service representatives; in later years, representatives from the FHWA, Fish and Wildlife Service, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers also joined. The informal, Washington-based group met monthly during the 1990s and every other month since then. It gained official sanction (via an executive order) in 2001. As Elkinton later noted, “It’s been an invaluable forum for keeping communication lines open.”²⁰⁶



²⁰⁴ U.S. Dept. of the Interior, *Budget Justifications and Performance Information, Fiscal Year 2002, National Park Service* (Washington, the author, 2000), 141; Elkinton to author, email, Sept. 21, 2017.

²⁰⁵ Steve Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, 5-6, 11. For two years after August 1998, Scully worked in the Washington Office of the Conservation and Outdoor Recreation division of the Partnerships and Civic Engagement directorate. Helen Scully to author, email, Sept. 8, 2017.

²⁰⁶ Steve Elkinton email, July 13, 2014; Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007, p. 3; John Conoboy email, October 24, 2018; Executive Order 13195, January 18, 2001.

Amid Staff and Budget Growth, the Superintendency Evolves

As noted in Chapter 5, the National Park Service's (NPS) Long Distance Trails Group Office, in Santa Fe, witnessed a minor staff surge during the spring and summer of 2000 (see appendix 4). Thanks to a substantial increase in the Trail of Tears national historic trails (NHTs) budget, the office was able to hire two new staff: historian Aaron Mahr, who joined the staff in June, and landscape architect Steve Burns, who became a trails employee in August. The two men joined a staff that consisted of Superintendent David Gaines, Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management John Conoboy, Interpretive Specialist Andrea Sharon, and Budget Analyst Josina Cisneros (later Josina Martinez).

Over the next few years (from 2000 to 2009), the budget picture for many of the nation's long-distance trails enjoyed a healthy growth. The trails that were administered by the Santa Fe office were exemplars of that growth: the yearly Santa Fe NHT budget, for example, more than doubled from \$481,000 to more than \$720,000, and the Trails of Tears NHT budget enjoyed commensurate growth from \$249,000 to \$508,000 (see appendix 6).¹

Not surprisingly, one byproduct of the ever-growing trails budget was that the office was able to hire new staff. In April 2001, for example, Harry Myers – until then the superintendent at Fort Union National Monument – would join the staff, and in November 2002, another former superintendent – Judy Cordova from Petroglyph National Monument – would likewise become part of the Long Distance Trails staff. Both were assignments engineered by Michael Snyder, who by now was the Intermountain Region's (IMR) deputy director; they were not independent selections made by the trails office superintendent.²

Increasing budgets to a number of trails allowed the office to hire several others

¹ The NPS's "Green Book" (budget justifications book) lists the line-item Santa Fe NHT budget for the 2008-2010 period as ranging from \$935,000 to \$1,117,000. Those figures, however, include considerable costs related to the Old Santa Fe Trail Building, costs that are unrelated to administering the Santa Fe NHT. Inasmuch as the years both before and after the 2008-2010 period range from \$716,000 to \$741,000, the figure \$720,000 is offered as an average estimated budget figure for that three-year period. John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

² Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014. Cordova's tenure in the trails office proved to be fairly brief – she remained slightly more than a year before retiring – but Myers stayed with the trails program for six years until he retired from the NPS in the spring of 2007. Shortly afterward, he was hired as the Santa Fe Trail Association's second executive director. Conoboy recalls that in addition to these two assigned transfers, regional officials also tried to transfer to the trails office a New Mexico NPS superintendent who had been relieved of his position. That person, however, was instead assigned to the regional office, not to the trails program.

Chapter 6.

Diversifying Trails Administration, 2000-2009

during this period. In July 2001, the office hired Sharon Brown – with the Harpers Ferry Center (HFC) and posted at the Denver Service Center (DSC) – as an interpretive specialist; she worked in the Santa Fe office for the next two years on interpretive and history-related planning projects. In 2003, she volunteered to serve as deployed staff at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site in southwestern Washington state, where she focused on Oregon and California NHT projects and served as a liaison with local chapters of the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) and with the Oregon Historic Trails Advisory Council.³ Meanwhile, the establishment of the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program – with a presence in the Santa Fe trails office – demanded new staff to operate that program. In February 2001, therefore, cultural resource specialist Michael Taylor, a New Mexico State Monuments employee, signed on to head the Route 66 program, and less than a year later, Kaisa Barthuli (until then a staffer with the NPS’s Architectural Conservation Projects, in Santa Fe) signed on as Route 66’s assistant program manager.⁴

Starting in 2005, the Santa Fe office – again, thanks to increased budgets – hired additional staff positions. In February, Steve Burns asked Brooke Taralli, a graduate student in UNM’s Architecture and Urban Planning program, to join the staff as a Student Career Experience Program (SCEP) student. Taralli (later Safford) worked as a SCEP intern (under the Student Career Experience Program) student, on a half-time basis, until she earned her M.A. degree in May 2006; after that, she became a four-year term employee and began working full time as an outdoor recreation planner.⁵ This was followed in 2006 by a similar SCEP hire, Susan Corban. Just a month after Taralli came on board (in 2005), the office hired Peggy Nelson – who had university degrees in both landscape architecture and archeology – as a landscape architect; her previous posting was at Fort Smith NHS in Arkansas.⁶ In December 2005, Otis Halfmoon joined the trails staff as a management assistant. Halfmoon, a full-blooded Nez Perce, had formerly worked for both the Nez Perce and Lewis and Clark NHTs, and had also served as a tribal liaison in the Intermountain Regional Office. His initial work focused primarily on tribal consultation with American Indian nations along the Old Spanish and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHTs. Before long, those skills became formalized when he

³ Jere Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014.

⁴ Kaisa Barthuli, interview by the author, December 12, 2017. Prior to his with New Mexico State Monuments, Taylor had worked for the NPS and also had served as New Mexico’s State Historic Preservation Officer.

⁵ Brooke Safford, interview with the author, June 10, 2014.

⁶ SAR 2005, 5; SAR 2006, 4; Kaisa Barthuli, email to the author, December 12, 2017; Steve Burns, December 13, 2017 interview; John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018. Nelson worked for the trails office for two years before retiring for medical reasons, while Corban remained on the staff until her SCEP tasks were completed in 2007.

became the office’s first Native Liaison.⁷

Meanwhile, in the Salt Lake City trails office, Superintendent Krakow, during the years after 2000, likewise enjoyed a substantial increase in the budget for the four trails which he administered. From 2000 to 2009, for example, all four of these trail budgets tripled in size – if not more – and the total allotted to all four trails more than quadrupled from \$311,000 in fiscal year (FY) 2000 to almost \$1.3 million in FY 2009 (see appendix 6).⁸

Given the dramatic increase in funding, Krakow was able to hire new staff. In the fall of 2001, he hired Chuck Milliken, an interpretive specialist who was “on loan” from the New Jersey Coastal Heritage Trail in Fortescue, New Jersey, for a two-month stint (see appendix 4). Krakow, impressed with his contributions related to a Nebraska interpretive-wayside project, asked Milliken to return to the Salt Lake City office in September 2002 as a permanent employee. Milliken’s primary responsibilities included interpretive media planning and design, producing trails-related interpretive publications, co-managing the Challenge Cost Share Program (CCSP) (see below), and managing the office’s computer network and web site. Chuck’s presence, as a new interpreter, brought changing responsibilities to Kay Threlkeld, as she slowly transitioned from being an interpretive specialist to a new role as GIS database administrator.⁹

Then, in early 2003, Krakow hired Lee Kreutzer, who until then had been serving as the Cultural Resources Program Manager at Capitol Reef National Park in southcentral Utah. An archeologist and cultural resource specialist, she was initially hired as a writer, to work with Milliken on various auto tour route guides (see below). She was also asked to shoulder some compliance-related responsibilities. She later managed research contracts, and worked with trail partners toward the protection of trail resources.¹⁰ By February 2003, therefore, the office had a full-

⁷ Halfmoon, a directed transfer due to hiring irregularities in the Intermountain Office, remained on the staff until his September 2014 retirement. Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; Conoboy interview, Mar. 14, 2014; SAR 2006, 4.

⁸ Krakow noted that budgetary matters were often a source of friction between himself and Mike Snyder, who served as IMRO’s deputy regional director prior to 2005 and as regional director until 2010. Krakow noted that Snyder preferred funds to be spent in parks rather than on trails, and he also wanted to make trails-related funding decisions on his own without the interference of outside groups (such as OCTA, which directly lobbied for trails funding). Snyder, Krakow noted, liked to exercise some control over non-committed portions of the region’s trails budget, particularly when the exit of trails staff resulted in unspent salaries. See Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014.

⁹ Chuck Milliken, interview with the author, February 19, 2014; Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; SAR, 2003, 4.

¹⁰ Lee Kreutzer, interview with the author, February 19, 2014; Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018; SAR 2003, 4, 12.

time staff of five – Krakow, Milliken, Kreutzer, Threlkeld, and Teresa Richard – and would keep that same staffing arrangement for several years thereafter (see appendix 4).¹¹

A personnel action that affected both trails offices was the March 2002 departure of Superintendent David Gaines from the Santa Fe office. Gaines, who had worked for the agency in Santa Fe for more than twenty-five years and with trails for fifteen of those years, transferred to the NPS office in Boston, where he took a planning position working on the Erie Canalway National Heritage Corridor, in New York.¹² Upon Gaines' departure, NPS employee James Wood, a Denver-based geologist who had most recently been working in Montana, was detailed to serve as the acting superintendent.¹³

Shortly after Gaines's departure, NPS officials in Washington, D.C. – recognizing that for the past eight years, the agency had been operating two trails offices in the same region – decided to conduct an operations evaluation of the region's trails administration. Washington official Victor Knox led a study team that also included Mary O'Brian and Duane Holmes.¹⁴ The ensuing report conclusions, which may have been influenced by Mike Snyder's views, recommended that one superintendent should administer all of the IMR's NHTs. Those trails, however, would continue to be operated out of the two existing offices. The Salt Lake City office would administer the four "northern trails" (Oregon, California, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express), while the Santa Fe office would administer the three remaining trails (Santa Fe, Trail of Tears, and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.). Soon after the report was issued, the agency advertised a job posting for a combined-office superintendent. Jere applied for that job and was chosen for it.¹⁵ Beginning in August 2002, as a result, Krakow became the superintendent for trails staff both Salt Lake City and Santa Fe. As a collateral duty, he also managed the Old Santa Fe Trail Building (OSFTB) in Santa Fe, to where trails staff moved in November 2002.¹⁶

¹¹ Milliken's hiring as an interpretive specialist allowed Threlkeld to shift her responsibilities away from interpretation, and by 2003 she was the office's GIS database manager, working primarily on GIS-related projects. Milliken interview, Feb. 19, 2014.

¹² John Conoboy, interview with the author, March 14, 2014; David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

¹³ Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014; Aaron Mahr, interview with the author, November 29, 2019. Josina Martinez, who was serving as the trails-office budget analyst in 2002, stated (in a May 2, 2010 interview) that James Wood served as the acting trails superintendent from June to August 2002.

¹⁴ Jere Krakow to Trails Program Study Team, June 4, 2002, in "RvwCmtee" subfolder, "TrailsGeneral" folder, NTIR S drive.

¹⁵ Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; Lee Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014.

¹⁶ Bill and Jeanne Watson, "Jere Krakow Retires," *Pathways Across America* 19:3 (Winter 2006), 11.

For the next several years, Krakow did his best to serve as a superintendent for two offices that were located 475 airline miles (625 driving miles) from each other. For the time being, he continued to live in Salt Lake City, although he shuttled back and forth between the two offices, spending perhaps one week per month in Santa Fe. To help manage affairs in Santa Fe while he was working in Salt Lake City, Krakow gave signature authority to trails employee John Conoboy, and as noted in the office's annual report, Conoboy "handl[ed] many of the day-to-day management duties for the Santa Fe office." In addition, Krakow assigned the role of "acting superintendent," for short periods, to several Santa Fe staff. Within a year of becoming the combined superintendent, however, Krakow soon realized that a host of duties in Santa Fe – a relatively large staff presence there, plus the task of managing the OSFTB – required more of his time than did his Salt Lake City duties. He also recognized that the Santa Fe office would soon be administering five NHTs (Congress, by this time, had already authorized the Old Spanish NHT and was leaning favorably toward authorizing El Camino Real de los Tejas) as well as the Route 66 program. Krakow and his wife, Jan, therefore, decided to move to Albuquerque, New Mexico, in September 2004. After the move, Krakow continued to administer the two offices much as he had previously, except that he was now taking week-long trips each month from New Mexico to the Salt Lake City office. For those weeks that Krakow was not in Salt Lake City, he gave signature authority to both Chuck Milliken and Lee Kreutzer for matters pertaining to the four northern trails.¹⁷

Krakow continued to serve as the superintendent for both trails offices until he retired from the NPS – after 27 years of service to the agency – in January 2007.¹⁸ John Conoboy, for the time being, was assigned to be the acting superintendent. Soon afterward, the agency began recruiting for a new superintendent, and in mid-April 2007, Aaron Mahr Yáñez was chosen for that position.¹⁹ As part of that position, Mahr also assumed the superintendency of the OSFTB – a position that his predecessors had held since 1996 (see chapter 5) – and before long, he also became the agency's coordinator of all New Mexico park units.²⁰ Mahr has continued to serve in that position ever since; like Krakow before him, Mahr has worked primarily out of his Santa Fe office while making occasional forays to Salt

¹⁷ Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014; SAR, 2003, 4; SAR, 2004, 2.

¹⁸ SAR, 2006, 4; Bill and Jeanne Watson, "Jere Krakow Retires," *Pathways Across America* 19:3 (Winter 2006), 11.

¹⁹ Mahr, by April 2007, had already gained some supervisory experience; during 2003, he had served a 3½-month detail as Acting Superintendent of White Sands National Monument near Alamogordo, New Mexico. SAR, 2003, 4.

²⁰ Ernesto Ortega, who had previously served as the coordinator of New Mexico's NPS units, transferred that role to Mahr when he retired later in 2007. Mahr would continue to assume that position until approximately 2010. Aaron Mahr, interview by the author, August 2, 2018.

Lake City.²¹

Meanwhile, continued increase in annual budgets allowed for additional staff to be hired. Susan Calafate Boyle, a longtime DSC planner and historian who had written a book on the Santa Fe Trail and had participated in various agency planning efforts (she had headed the Four Trails Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) effort and had also participated in the Route 66 study), joined the Santa Fe trails staff in July 2007 (see appendix 4). Sharon Brown, who had been working for the trails office in Vancouver, Washington (see above), transferred back to Santa Fe in October 2007 and began serving as the Chief of Trail Operations. And because of Mahr's promotion to the superintendency, a historian was needed to undertake many of his former duties. In response, Mahr hired Frank Norris, until then a historian at the agency's Alaska Regional Office in Anchorage. Norris began working at the trails office in January 2008.²²

The trails office, during this period, was able to supplement its base budget by tapping into some funds that were consistently available to trails administrators. As noted in Chapter 5, CCSP funds were initially made available to both the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), but by the early 1990s, it was also being used – albeit without much enthusiasm – by the National Park Service, primarily by parks but also by national trails administrators to some extent (see appendix 10). By FY 1994, however, a budgetary provision was in place that allowed one-third of all allotted CCSP funds to be directed toward national trails projects. That provision resulted in a significant uptick in trails-related projects, many of which were awarded to the two IMR trails offices. Salt Lake City staff – particularly in their relations with OCTA members – tended to use CCSP funds during the 1990s far more than their Santa Fe office counterparts. In Salt Lake City, NPS staffer Kay Threlkeld established a close relationship with OCTA members that resulted in considerable amounts of CCSP-based project work, but there was no equal counterpart for any of the trails administered out of the Santa Fe trails office.²³ Exacerbating the imbalance was the fact that CCSP funds granted through the Santa Fe office (as determined by the superintendent) could be directed only to certified sites, while CCSP funds granted through the Salt Lake City office had no

²¹ SAR, 2006, front cover. Mahr, after being selected as the superintendent, did not visit the Salt Lake City office as often as Krakow had done; that, and several policy changes that he instituted, rankled some staffers in that office. Kreutzer interview, February 19, 2014.

²² SAR, 2007, 2; SAR, 2008, 2.

²³ In a November 29, 2018 interview, Aaron Mahr noted that the Washington trails office (specifically Steve Elkinton, assisted by PNTS representative Gary Werner) had worked out an equitable formula for the annual distribution of CCSP funds to specific trails. But John Conoboy, in an October 24, 2018 email, averred that “OCTA had been around for [several] years before SFTA and had a larger, national membership [but] SFTA was primarily folks who lived along the trail. . . . As both SFTA and Trail of Tears Association got their feet on the ground, they and the chapters were able to come up with more projects.”

such restrictions.²⁴

During the early 2000s, this imbalance appears to have continued. But in approximately 2003, a significant increase in CCSP funds began to be directed toward Santa Fe-administered trails. Jere Krakow, working with the Washington trails office, devised a formula that resulted in the distribution of CCSP funds based on the number of trails, and on trail mileage, administered by each office. For the next 6 or 8 years, therefore, the CCSP funds expended on all NHTs followed that formula.²⁵ For the rest of the decade, the Salt Lake City and Santa Fe offices appear to have obtained roughly an equal share of CCSP funds; between the two offices, they typically awarded between 15 and 20 projects each year totaling between \$290,000 and \$360,000 of federal funds. General office management pertaining to CCSP funds, for much of this period, was provided by John Conoboy in the Santa Fe office, along with Chuck Milliken and Kay Threlkeld in the Salt Lake City office.

An entirely new program, available only to park units located along national trails, emerged as the Connect Trails to Parks Program (see appendix 11). This funding program was initiated in 2006 as part of the anticipated National Park System Centennial. A line item for \$837,000 eventually found its way into the NPS budget for FY 2008. These funds were available to:

1. facilities and projects where National Trails System (NTS) components cross or touch NPS units,
2. links to other Federal entities associated with NPS-administered trails, and
3. places where the entire NTS is presented or interpreted.²⁶

The IMR trails office, along with various parks adjacent to the region's NHTs, showed an immediate interest in the new funding source. As a result, six projects were awarded to parks in FY 2008 along NTIR-administered trails: three along the Santa Fe Trail, and one each along the Trail of Tears, El Camino Real de los Tejas, and the combined Oregon and California trails. A year later, additional CTTP projects were awarded to park units along the Santa Fe Trail, the Old Spanish Trail, and to a site along several “northern corridor” trails. The program remains active today.²⁷

²⁴ John Conoboy, email to the author, December 13, 2017; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018.

²⁵ Steve Elkinton, email to the author, December 29, 2017.

²⁶ Steve Elkinton, Connect Trails to Parks: A Three Year Program Report (Washington, DOI, January 2011), 5.

²⁷ SAR, 2008, 18; SAR, 2009, 17.

During this period, workplace locations changed for staff in both the Santa Fe and Salt Lake City offices. In Santa Fe, the Long Distance Trails staff offices in early 2000 were in the Piñon Building, at 1220 St. Francis Dr., where they had been ever since Santa Fe Trail planning had begun back in 1987 (see chapter 4 and appendix 4). But in June 2000, NPS trails staff, along with those in the Santa Fe Support Office, vacated the building and moved south to the Paisano Building, which was located at the southern end of Santa Fe (near Interstate 25) at 2968 Rodeo Park Drive West.²⁸ Due to growth among the Santa Fe Support Office staff, however, trails staff were forced to move again. In November 2002, the Long Distance Trails Office moved from the Paisano Building to the OSFTB.²⁹ For the next few years, the relatively small number of NPS employees in the building allowed most trails employees to be sole occupants of relatively large offices. During the fall of 2008, however, agency officials in Denver decided to terminate the lease on the Paisano Building. As a result, some Santa Fe Support Office staff moved to Denver, while others moved across town to the OSFTB. This move, by Santa Fe Support Office staff, forced trails staff to consolidate their office space, and as a result, most of the dedicated trails offices were occupied by two or more staff. The resulting space configuration – in which trails staff occupied offices in the northwestern corner of the building, along with two second-floor offices – remained until 2018 (see chapter 7).

The Salt Lake City trails employees likewise changed their offices during this period. As noted in Chapter 5, the initial offices during the mid-1990s (those of Jere Krakow and Kay Threlkeld) were located on the third floor of the office building at 324 S. State St. Not long afterward, these offices were moved down one floor, next to the office of the agency's Utah State Coordinator, Marty Ott. The next trails staffer to sign on, administrative assistant Cheryl Douglas, occupied another office on the second floor. By 2001, the Utah State Coordinator (Cordell Roy) had moved to the building's third floor, adjacent to where the state's BLM state office was located. The trails staff, however, had a split arrangement; Threlkeld worked in Room 240, a relatively roomy space, while the remaining staff – Krakow and Richard – worked in Room 250, which was adjacent to Room 240. Milliken, who joined the staff temporarily in 2001 and permanently in 2002, also worked in Room 250, as did Kreutzer, who worked in a storage room (part of Room 250) when she joined the trails staff in early 2003. Non-trails NPS staff worked in another office, Room 218, on the same floor. These included Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program (RTCA) representative Bill Farrand, Colorado River coordinator Norm Henderson, NPS Olympics coordinator Bob Van Belle, safety specialist Galen

²⁸ Shortly after the NPS vacated the Piñon Building, the State of New Mexico began to manage it. On January 13, 2004, it was renamed the Wendell Chino Building to honor a Mescalero Apache leader who had died six years earlier. See https://www.indianz.com/News/2004/01/14/nm_building_nam.asp.

²⁹ Trish Fresquez-Hernandez to IMR Support Office – Santa Fe, email, October 25, 2002.

Warren, and fisheries biologist Melissa Trammell.³⁰

In early 2003, however, the BLM made known that it planned to move its Utah State Office from its existing quarters to offices in the new Gateway shopping mall, located five blocks to the west at the northwest corner of 200 South and 400 West. At the same time, the Salt Lake City Engineering Department, which occupied most of Suite 200, left the building. Krakow, as a result, seized on those opportunities to get all NPS personnel in one suite of offices. He therefore worked with the building management to renovate Suite 200 to the NPS's specifications, and in October 2003 Salt Lake City's various NPS staff – which by that time included trails personnel, RTCA staff, the fisheries biologist, and the Utah State Coordinator – moved into Suite 200. The Salt Lake City trails office remained in this suite until early 2018 (see chapter 7).³¹

As noted in Chapter 5, the trails superintendent in Santa Fe, in addition to his other responsibilities, had (since the fall of 1996) been managing the OSFTB and its support staff. That changed in June 2008, when this task was transferred from the trails office to the IMR. As the 2008 superintendent's report noted, "Significant management responsibilities on the budget analyst, superintendent, and the staff were lifted as a result of this action. This action allowed staff to focus 100% of its time towards trail administration."³² Not long afterward, another of the trails superintendent's collateral duties – that of coordinating the state's NPS units – was transferred from Mahr to another New Mexico NPS superintendent, the newly-appointed Jason Lott at Bandelier National Monument.³³

The many administrative changes with the trails offices during the 2000-2009

³⁰ Milliken interview, February 19, 2014; Kreutzer interview, February 19, 2014; Marcy DeMillion, email to the author, December 13, 2017; Kreutzer, email to the author, August 20, 2018. Western historian Will Bagley's office now occupies Suite 240. RTCA is an acronym for the Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program, in which staff provides technical expertise to outside entities on various conservation and improvement projects.

³¹ Milliken interview, Feb. 19, 2014; Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014; SAR, 2003, 3; SAR, 2005, 4.

All of the SLC staff continued to work out of Suite 200 except Threlkeld who, apparently displeased with the office environment, asked Krakow in late 2005 if she could be duty-stationed back at Fort Laramie NHS, from which she would work remotely on various GIS projects related to the four northern trails. Krakow eventually granted Threlkeld's request. The BLM's move away from its State Street offices severed the agency's agreement to provide the NPS with IT and graphics support services; as a result, Milliken served as the office's collateral IT specialist until his retirement in late 2011.

³² SAR, 2008, 4.

³³ Aaron Mahr, interview by the author, August 2, 2018. Lott was chosen to lead Bandelier in May 2009 (<https://www.lamonitor.com/content/lott-takes-helm-bandelier-national-monument>), and within a year of that appointment, Lott had assumed the superintendency of New Mexico's NPS units.

period were reflected in the shifting acronyms attached to each office. In 2000, the Long Distance Trails Group Office's alpha codes (unit codes) were the same as they had been since the mid-1990s; the Santa Fe facility was LODI, while the Salt Lake City facility was LODT. Those codes remained until FY 2003, when the two offices "moved into a single administrative unit" and became offices of the NTS. By the following year, the two offices were collectively known as NTS- IMR, but it wasn't until 2006 that each office gained its own NPS acronym: NTSF for the Santa Fe office, and NTSL for the Salt Lake City office. These acronyms remained until FY 2008. The superintendent's annual report that year noted – consistent with the need to unify the functions of the two offices – that "The old alpha codes of NTSF and NTSL were abolished and replaced with NTIR." This acronym has prevailed ever since.³⁴

Officewide Administrative Efforts

A primary goal of the trails office has consistently been the creation and completion of projects – signage, interpretation, historic research, site development, etc. – that benefit specific NHTs. These projects, however, cannot be undertaken without broad efforts that are aimed toward all of the trails that the office either administers or co-administers. These efforts have helped streamline the office and make project-specific work more efficient. Most are a continuation of what was undertaken during previous years. They include strategic planning, partnership certification, geographic information systems support, project compliance, and tribal consultation.

Strategic Planning

While the two trails offices ran essentially separate programs during the time in which Krakow served as superintendent, one major coordinated activity was the creation of a strategic plan. On December 15-16, 2003, staff from both offices met at the University of New Mexico and completed the plan. The group revised an initial vision statement, written in early 2001, so that it read "With our partners, we provide leadership for the use, protection, and interpretation of a diverse collection of NHTs and roads, to preserve and commemorate their stories, places, legacies, and values." The group also identified twelve long term goals along with specific objectives, protocols, and tasks for achieving them. Six tasks were outlined to meet those goals: 1) publicity and marketing, 2) standard operating procedures, 3) resource protection and education, 4) certification, 5) trail development, and 6)

³⁴ NPS, *Superintendent's Annual Reports* for the IMRO trails offices, various years, 2000-2009. The quotes are from the 2003 report (pp. 2-3) and the 2008 report (p. 4).

other tasks.) Eighteen months later, in June 2005, the entire trails staff met again – this time in Las Vegas, Nevada – to review the strategic plan and to use it as the basis to formulate a work plan.³⁵

Beginning shortly after Aaron Mahr became the trails superintendent, other efforts were made to assemble the staff from both offices to meet, first via speakerphones, and later using a video system. In addition, staff from the two offices gathered – typically once each year – to discuss problems common to both offices or to assist inter-office communication. In October 2008, for example, a non-NPS convener conducted a Myers-Briggs classroom exercise in Santa Fe as part of a Teamwork Building and Strategic Planning workshop.³⁶

Certification

As noted above, certification was one of the tasks that the staff from both offices had vowed to address in the 2003 strategic plan. The need to address certification had been building for a number of years. Trails staff had become aware that a 1980 opinion issued by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office's solicitor stated that federal administrators, under the Sec. 3(a)(3) criteria, were prohibited from either spending federal funds or providing federal staff assistance at certified sites. This was because language in that National Trails System Act (NTSA) section clearly stated that certified sites would be administered "without expense to the United States." In addition, some partners expressed antipathy at the trails staff's reliance on the existing five-page certification form, with its five-year termination date. Specifically, the text on the form scared off a number of potential partners, and the abundance of legalese caused others to reject certification outright. As a result of those two problem areas, staff in 2002 had agreed to simplify the certification process and to eliminate the five-year requirement. As part of the 2003 strategic plan, staff agreed to produce a "simplified process/form" and to complete a "simplified, non-threatening informational brochure."³⁷

³⁵ Lee Kreutzer and Sharon Brown, "Meeting of staff of Intermountain National Historic Trails Offices (Santa Fe and Salt Lake City), December 15-16, 2003, Albuquerque, NM," and "National Trails, Salt Lake City and Santa Fe, Strategic Planning Session," June 24, 2005; both on the NTIR's S drive, <NTIR Strategic Plan 2012/Strategic Planning/NTIR Strategic Plans 2003 2005>; SAR, 2004, 2; SAR, 2005, 3; Sharon Brown, email to the author, December 13, 2017; John Conoboy, email to the author, December 13, 2017.

³⁶ SAR, 2009, 2.

³⁷ John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018; Conoboy and Steve Elkinton, "Re-thinking Historic Trail 'Certification,'" January 2007, attached to email from Khaleel Saba to author, March 20, 2019.

Trails staff in Santa Fe, as a result, decided to dramatically retool the form, and by mid-2004, John Conoboy had produced a one-page, full-color partnership certification form that was far simpler than earlier iterations. The form emphasized certifying the partnership (based on NTSA's Section 7(h)) rather than certifying the property (based on NTSA's Section 3(a)(3)). It further declared that the partnership would be valid as long as both parties found it of mutual interest, rather than for a set, five-year period. The revamped certification form was readily accepted by the office's partnership community. That same year, trails staff developed and published a new, full-color, four-panel site certification brochure.³⁸ Both the forms and the brochure are still being used. Staff in 2004 also began work on a lengthy certification guide that was intended to further explain certification and provide a rationale for the certification process. It remained in draft form, however, for the time being (see chapter 7).³⁹

Meanwhile, the number of certified partners enjoyed a steady growth (see appendix 9). The total number of certified partnerships among all trails rose from approximately 64 in 2000 to 94 in 2005 and increasing to 120 in late 2008.⁴⁰ This growth, however, was strongly skewed toward the trails that were administered or co-administered from the Santa Fe office. The trail leadership in Santa Fe, during the early 2000s, had made it known to partners that only certified properties could apply for Challenge Cost Share funding, and in a more general sense, there was a broad recognition that gaining new partnerships was a continuing office priority. But in the Salt Lake City office, Superintendent Krakow candidly admitted that he "didn't see much value in certified sites," so he did not encourage his staff to form new certified partnerships. In 2005, as a result, the Santa Fe NHT had 63 certifications and the Trail of Tears NHT had 26. No trails administered by the Salt Lake City office, however, had more than nine certified partnerships, and most of those certifications were in the Kansas City area, where Oregon and California NHT certifications were combined with those from the Santa Fe NHT.⁴¹

Geographic Information Systems Support

The need for geographic information system (GIS) support was first recognized as an office priority in the mid-1990s, during the development of the four-trail CMP

³⁸ SAR, 2004, 31. In January 2007, based on a "white paper" that pertained to all trails (see John Conoboy and Steve Elkinton, "Re-thinking Historic Trail 'Certification,'" this emphasis on certification was recommended for all NPS trail administrators. Later, in 2009, trails staff moved to replace all previous, five-year certification partnerships with new, open-ended partnerships.

³⁹"National Park Service Guide to Certifying Trail Sites and Segments Along National Historic Trails," draft editions of Sept. 2004 and Dec. 2004, in NTIR certification files.

⁴⁰ SAR, 2005, 36; SAR, 2006, 45.

⁴¹ SAR, 2003, 8; Krakow interview, Jan. 23, 2014.

(see chapter 5). This work, a cooperative effort between the agency's DSC GIS Program and the Salt Lake City office, has been referred to as "one of the largest GIS-planning efforts undertaken by the DSC and the NPS up to that time." That effort assisted the effort that resulted in the publication of the final CMP in June 1999. That same year, the local trails office gained invaluable assistance in managing the data generated by that effort when it established a cooperative agreement with the University of Utah's Department of Geography DIGIT Lab. The lab agreed to manage the four-trails database and establish a comprehensive repository of georeferenced data related to those trails.⁴²

Shortly afterward, in the early 2000s, the office established a GPS partnership program with the OCTA. Through this program, a number of mapping-grade GPS receivers were distributed to various chapters in conjunction with field training.⁴³ Kay Threlkeld, who had long worked with OCTA members on field-based projects, showed an immediate interest in the matter. She became a key part of a long-term project, using the so-called "MET manual."⁴⁴ Her work resulted in both perfecting the various routes of the four northern trails, and also of compiling increasingly sophisticated information about the various sites and segments on the trails and adding it to the database. Before long, Threlkeld – by now known as the office's GIS database manager – had accumulated a remarkable compilation of site and segment data. In addition, she had created a massive database of journal quotes relating to the various historical sites – the goal being that anyone using the database could go to a given trail site and read a compilation of first-person, historical accounts related to that site.⁴⁵

In conjunction with those duties, Threlkeld undertook additional duties to ensure the success of the massive data-gathering effort. In both 2005 and 2006, she organized and instructed GIS training for field volunteers, and she worked hand-in-hand with members of the federal government's Interagency Trails Data Standards team in order to ensure that the data being presented was compatible with NPS Enterprise Data Standards.⁴⁶ For the remainder of the decade, Threlkeld continued to undertake many of the same tasks that she had developed and perfected from earlier years. In addition, she developed a GIS plan in order to identify long-term GIS goals, along with the steps deemed necessary to reach these goals.⁴⁷

⁴² NTIR, *Geographic Information System (GIS) Plan* (Santa Fe, the author, Sept. 15, 2010), 4, 6; Bill and Jeanne Watson, "Jere Krakow Retires," *Pathways Across America* 19:3 (Winter 2006), 11.

⁴³ NTIR, GIS Plan, 6.

⁴⁴ "MET" is an acronym for Mapping Emigrant Trails. The first MET Manual was published in 1993, then revised a number of times afterwards.

⁴⁵ SAR, 2003, 12; SAR, 2005, 36.

⁴⁶ SAR, 2005, 36; SAR, 2006, 47.

⁴⁷ SAR, 2007, 5; SAR, 2008, 4-5.

So far as is known, the first familiarization that Santa Fe staff had with geographic information systems was in 1999, when the office worked with Southern Illinois University and the U.S. Geological Survey on a two-year project “to initiate computerized data base (GIS) mapping” of the Santa Fe NHT. On the heels of that project, staff in 2001 began compiling their own GIS database of the Trail of Tears NHT in conjunction with regional office staff in Denver.⁴⁸ Not long afterward – in early 2002 – the office began to “rely heavily” on a new, satellite IMR GIS office, staffed by Douglas Bradley, which was located in the Geography Department at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. That arrangement, however, lasted only until November 2003, when Bradley left his campus-based office.⁴⁹

In 2006, Brooke Taralli – in the Santa Fe office – was asked to be a part-time GIS coordinator as part of her outdoor recreation planning position, and to initiate an independent GIS program for that office. In that role, she oversaw the production and management of GIS data for all five trails that were administered by that office. (This included the scanning of scores if not hundreds of maps related to the three new NHTs that were authorized between 2000 and 2004.) She worked with Santa Fe Trail Association (SFTA) volunteers, and with fellow NPS staff, on incorporating the findings of the 2006-2007 Rediscovery Project (see below), as well as the locations of the trail’s auto tour route signs, into a database format. She was also asked to develop a GIS plan, much as Threlkeld had done, and was asked to ensure that all GIS data being produced out of the Santa Fe office was compliant with Interagency GIS data and metadata standards. And – given the fact that the University of Utah’s DIGIT Lab was now being asked to manage the geo-databases for all nine NHTs being either administered or co-administered by the two IMR offices – both Threlkeld and Taralli worked with DIGIT lab personnel to provide an interchange of data with that university-based facility.⁵⁰

National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and Section 106 Compliance

As noted in Chapter 5, threats to the trails increased sufficiently, particularly during the late 1990s, to warrant the NPS’s attention and concern. The Santa Fe Trail corridor, for example, witnessed the growth of hog farms, hog processing plants, power lines, and cell phone towers; and California Trail ruts, in Nevada, were threatened by four-wheel-drive activity and by race-car driving. Those threats continued after 2000, but the agency and trail partners did their best to mitigate development actions. In one instance, the threat of a pipeline company in crossing over the trail in western Kansas (west of Indian Mound, in Kearny County) brought forth a meeting between the NPS and company representatives; after that meeting,

⁴⁸ SAR, 1999, 6-7; SAR, 2000, 6; SAR, 2001, 16.

⁴⁹ SAR, 2003, 13.

⁵⁰ SAR, 2005, 37; SAR, 2006, 46; SAR, 2007, 19-20; SAR, 2008, 18-19.

the company agreed to excavate its pipeline under the trail route rather than disturbing the intact ruts.⁵¹

In the year 2000, or shortly thereafter, a wave of resource extraction projects took place in several of the states along the various northern-trail routes: Wyoming especially, but Utah and Nevada to a lesser extent. As a result, many development proposals threatened the NHTs corridors including energy developments (from both fossil fuels and wind energy), cell towers, transmission lines, highway improvement, private construction, hog farms (in Iowa), irrigation-related development, and similar activities. (As Krakow has noted, the leadership in Washington at this time was particularly enthusiastic about energy development on public lands.) Most of these proposals, such as a 2001 plan to establish a pipeline through South Pass, were related to oil and gas extraction and transport. Most of those oil- and gas-related proposals were sited on BLM-managed parcels, and many of those proposals pertained to areas that already were extensively developed or were otherwise disturbed.⁵²

In order to deal with this onslaught of development, the trails office asked Lee Kreutzer, the cultural resource specialist who was hired in early 2003, to include compliance work among her job duties. Slowly and incrementally, compliance became a significant element of her workload. She contacted various BLM offices and state historic preservation officers (SHPOs) across the west, asking them to keep the trails office informed of possible threats to the various IMR trails. Within a few years, therefore, she and other agency staff were examining a hundred or more project compliance documents each year that the BLM and other agencies typically prepared. These documents included environmental assessments (EAs), environmental impact statements (EISs), findings of no significant impact (FONSI), resource management plans (RMPs), scoping notices, and assorted consultation letters. In a number of cases, the federal lead agency conferred “cooperating agency” status to the office under the National Environmental Policy Act, which gave Kreutzer and other staff wide latitude to participate in the formulation of environmental impact statements. And for many other projects, federal lead agencies gave the office “consulting party” status under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which allowed staff to identify appropriate mitigation actions for project that had adverse effects. Assisting Kreutzer in her consulting-party work were various OCTA representatives, who provided on-site

⁵¹ SAR, 2001, 5; SAR, 2003, 13.

⁵² Jere Krakow interview, January 4, 2008; SAR, 2003, 14; SAR, 2005, 38; SAR, 2006, 48; SAR, 2007, 20. Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, August 20, 2018. In Kansas, Santa Fe Trail advocates voiced their concerns about wind farms as early as the winter of 2003-2004; see *Wagon Tracks*, Feb. 2004, 1.

investigations and additional information regarding project proposals.⁵³

Kreutzer and other trails staff typically examined the various project proposals and searched for projects that were located closest to the trail corridors and had the greatest potential to impact trails ruts and other key historical resources. Those projects that raised a relatively high level of concern – typically 20% to 30% of the projects they examined – resulted in a letter, telephone call, in-person consultation, requests for more information, or other follow-up action. On a regular basis, Kreutzer and others made field visits to consult with the BLM, oil company representatives, State Historic Preservation Office personnel, and other stakeholders regarding proposed undertakings.⁵⁴ Once out in the field, NPS staff made numerous suggestions on how to mitigate a proposed action. As Krakow noted, he would try to “reroute a pipeline or to change the location of a road instead of going up and over a hill to maybe follow the contours and mask and hide it some, paint those tanks the color of the landscape instead of a big silver tank, [or] shorten them instead of making them the tall tanks.” In most cases, NPS staff found that both energy company representatives and land managers were cooperative, doing what they could to avoid or minimize impacts to trail resources and setting. An NPS report noted that “In one case, the project proponent agreed to use directional drilling to bore a pipeline beneath trail, rather than trenching across it. In another case, [NPS field] participants offered numerous recommendations, with which the proponent has concurred, for avoiding and mitigating impacts.”⁵⁵

The trails office found several projects particularly challenging. In 2005, the Northwest Corporation filed a proposal with the BLM to test the placer mining potential of gold claims at Dickie Springs (near South Pass), Wyoming. Although the immediate proposal was for limited testing, trails officials “expressed grave concerns about the undertaking” because it might lead to more intensive mineral development at the South Pass National Historic Landmark, noted as “one of the most significant and magnificent segments of trail in the West.” The NPS, in response, was invited to tour the site and consult with the BLM and with project proponents, and various NPS offices assisted in developing the project’s environmental assessment. Following extensive consultation among various interested parties, however, the BLM determined that the testing would have no adverse effect on historic South Pass. Testing took place in the late summer of 2006, but its impacts were barely visible from the national historic trail corridor, and no mineral development ensued subsequent to testing. A major by-product of this effort was an NPS-BLM agreement to have historian Will Bagley complete a BLM-

⁵³ Krakow interview, January 4, 2008; Lee Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014 and December 14, 2017; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018 and November 30, 2018; SAR, 2003, 14; SAR, 2004, 33; SAR, 2005, 38; SAR, 2007, 20.

⁵⁴ SAR, 2004, 33; SAR, 2005, 37; SAR, 2006, 47; SAR, 2008, 19.

⁵⁵ Krakow interview, January 4, 2008; SAR, 2005, 38; SAR, 2006, 49.

funded National Register nomination for a South Pass Rural Historic District, a move that (according to one NPS source) “could enhance BLM’s ability to protect historic resources in that area.”⁵⁶

Given the burst of energy development that took place in the first decade of the 21st century, national decision-makers moved to designate a series of energy corridors across the western U.S. that would accommodate oil, gas, and hydrogen pipelines, along with electricity transmission and distribution facilities. The result of those efforts was the congressional passage of the Energy Policy Act (Public Law 109-58), which became law in August 2005. Three agencies – the U.S. Department of Energy, the BLM, and the USDA Forest Service – were asked to collaborate in designating these corridors. In the wake of the passage of that act, Argon Laboratories was given the responsibility to write the EIS that would identify those energy corridors, to be collectively known as the West-wide Energy Corridor. Trails office personnel reacted to the act’s passage by recognizing that these designations could affect several NHTs. They worked with other NPS entities and directly with the contractor to identify sensitive trails-related resources so that future energy corridors would affect the historic trail route to the least extent possible.⁵⁷

Another major document in which the trails office played a hand was the BLM’s Programmatic Wind Energy Environmental Impact Statement. Beginning shortly after 2000, harvesting the wind became an increasingly viable way to generate energy, and by the late summer of 2003, the BLM – which manages more than 240 million acres of federal land, primarily in the western states – was tasked with compiling and completing this document. It completed a draft of the EIS a year later, and the final EIS was completed and distributed in June 2005.⁵⁸ While the BLM was preparing this document, trails staff were quickly becoming aware of wind energy’s environmental impacts. An NPS report, completed in 2004, noted that wind energy was one of several “energy development-related resource threats [that] arise most frequently in Wyoming,” because wind farms “often are identified on or near” the various trail corridors. The following year, the trails office fought against one wind farm in Idaho and another in Wyoming, in both instances “because of their proximity to important and fairly undeveloped segments of national historic trail.” Because of the concerns expressed, the project proponents worked with the BLM to revise the proposed alignment so as to reduce the visual impact of the wind towers.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ SAR, 2005, 38-40; SAR, 2006, 50; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, December 14, 2017. Will Bagley, in a December 14, 2017 email to the author, stated that the mining company was called Fremont Gold Corporation.

⁵⁷ SAR, 2005, 38; SAR, 2006, 49; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018.

⁵⁸ <http://windeis.anl.gov/documents/fpeis/maintext/Vol1/Vol1ExecSum.pdf>.

⁵⁹ SAR, 2004, 33; SAR, 2005, 38; Krakow interview, January 4, 2008.

The high level of compliance activity along the various northern trails stood in relatively strong contrast to what was taking place along the various trails administered from Santa Fe. Kreutzer recalls that “not much compliance work was done in the Santa Fe office” between 2003 and 2008, a notable exception being the strenuous efforts (noted below) to mitigate the impacts of the proposed spaceport project along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT in New Mexico. In the Santa Fe office, Peggy Nelson “handled some compliance” during her relatively brief tenure at the office. Santa Fe staff shared with their Salt Lake City counterparts the job of examining project compliance documents.⁶⁰

Tribal Consultation

During the early 1990s, Native American consultation was undertaken by Edward H. Lee Natay, a Navajo/Santo Domingo Pueblo Native who led the Southwest Region’s Office of American Indian Trust. In later years Native concerns were covered, in a passing fashion, as part of the various feasibility studies that were being prepared at that time: for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (1996-97), El Camino Real de los Tejas (1998), and Old Spanish Trail (2000-01). In addition, the office was in frequent contact with the Cherokee Nation, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and other elements of the Cherokee Tribe regarding the administration of the Trail of Tears NHT. In addition, members of the other so-called “five civilized tribes” were represented on both the trail’s advisory council and on the Trail of Tears Association (TOTA) board of directors.⁶¹ Otherwise, however, the office did not seriously consider tribal concerns until shortly after cultural resource specialist Lee Kreutzer joined the staff. Starting in 2003, various products emanating from the office were sent out for tribal review, including new auto tour route guides and trail-based websites.⁶² Tribal attitudes and opinions were sought out as part of the proposed Long Walk NHT study. For the recently authorized Old Spanish Trail NHT, Otis Halfmoon (who in 2004 served as a tribal liaison in the IMR office) represented tribal interests at meetings that year both in southern Nevada and in the California desert.⁶³

In 2005, the trails office hired Halfmoon as its first full-time voice on tribal matters. Though he officially served as a management assistant, he proved most effective representing Native interests at various meetings, conferences, and trail planning efforts. For example, he attended several of the 21 scoping meetings, held in 2006, for the Old Spanish NHT comprehensive plan. But by 2007, his position had been

⁶⁰ Lee Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014; John Conoboy email, October 24, 2018; SAR, 2004, 33; SAR, 2005, 37.

⁶¹ SAR, 2001, 14-15; John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

⁶² SAR, 2003, 8, 16.

⁶³ SAR, 2004, 18.

changed to that of tribal liaison, and the superintendent’s report that year noted that “tribal consultation is becoming a more integrated part of our work” along all nine trails as well as Route 66. Halfmoon soon wrote portions of an in-house tribal consultation guide – and used his position to both publicize the office’s interest in tribal consultation and to ensure that the office engaged in necessary consultations.⁶⁴

Santa Fe office trails

Santa Fe Trail

As noted in Chapter 4, the Santa Fe NHT was the first long distance trail, administered by the Santa Fe office, to have a substantial annual budget. Starting in FY 1994, the trail had a \$206,000 budget, and three years later, the trail’s budget had ballooned to \$446,000 (see appendix 6). As a result, trail staff throughout the mid- to late 1990s were able to undertake a full panoply of trail-related activities with its partners. These activities – which were typical for any NHT that had a sustainable budget – included, but were not limited to:

- Interpretive wayside development
- Exhibit development
- Education and planning workshops
- Website creation and development
- Historical research projects
- Archeological site surveys
- National Register inventories
- Compliance activities
- Site planning
- Trail retracement activities
- Association support
- Annual meeting participation
- Certification

⁶⁴ SAR, 2006, 22; SAR, 2007, 23; SAR, 2008, 22-23.

These activities, to a large part, continued during the period from 2000 to 2009. Given the myriad of Santa Fe Trail-related projects that took place during that time, the following paragraphs include only a selection of major projects. Those who would seek a more comprehensive list of trail-related activities are urged to investigate the various *Superintendent's Annual Reports* for these years.

One of the most significant Santa Fe Trail projects – one that also had a major impact on the Oregon and California trails as well – took place in the Kansas City metropolitan area. As noted in chapters 4 and 5, the Santa Fe office had been active in the area since the early 1990s; some projects were in the general area surrounding Lou Schumacher's South Kansas City property, but they also included the controversy between Schumacher and Walter Cook over where the historic trail was located. By 2000, the continuing partnership between Schumacher and the NPS had resulted in the installation of several interpretive waysides on Schumacher's former property, which was now city-owned land.

In 1999, however, NPS officials learned about a far more grandiose proposal that related to the NHTs in the Kansas City area. As noted in the annual report for that year,

staff began participation in master plan development for . . . interpretive and development planning for a South Kansas City trail greenway as an integral component of proposed 3 Trails New Urban District involving multiple partners including [a] local school district, corporate and business entities, and private organizations.⁶⁵

This master planning, which had first been envisioned in the early 1990s, continued throughout the decade. By 2001, the project included – in addition to the partners noted in the previous quote – the City of Kansas City and a large shopping complex called Bannister Mall. A report that year noted that “this project is spawning considerable interest in Kansas City among many communities near the trail and is tying the city's greenway planning, planning for the Katy Trail State Park, local redevelopment efforts, and adjacent Missouri Department of Transportation (DOT) plans, thus generating a great deal of interest in the historic trails.” The Santa Fe NPS office, obviously enthusiastic over this turn of events, did what it could to encourage the effort, and in 2001 it obtained CCSP funding for what eventually

⁶⁵ SAR, 1999, 5.

became four interpretive waysides along the developing greenway.⁶⁶

The next several years witnessed a continued buy-in from the project's major partners – particularly from Missouri DOT, which committed more than \$1 million to the project. The trails office assisted where it could, providing \$17,600 of CCSP funds in 2004 and another \$18,000 in 2005 to the project coordinator, 3 Trails West, Inc., on greenway-related construction drawings. Personnel from the NPS's Midwest Archeological Center, in Lincoln, Nebraska, as well as a University of Kansas professor, took part in a \$4,000 contract related to geophysical examination and soils testing at three sites along the proposed greenway, hoping to determine the specific location of the historic trail given the absence of visual clues.⁶⁷

In 2005, construction began on the first greenway segment – the initial part of the Blue Ridge Corridor Plan – along the general route of the Santa Fe, Oregon, and California NHTs. This 2,200-foot segment, located on land belonging to the Hickman Mills C-3 School District, was completed in 2006. Meanwhile, plans (which were pushed forward by Lou Austin, who headed 3-Trails West, Inc.) moved ahead to construct new segments. The first would be located on land adjacent to the Hickman Mills tract; it was donated by Avila University, a Catholic college. Plans called for the construction of that segment to begin by 2007, and completion of additional segments – southwest from there all the way to the Kansas state line – by 2009.⁶⁸

Plans for the greenway, moreover, were no longer being limited to South Kansas City. Instead, expanded plans called for a 41-mile “city greenway that ultimately will parallel the trail routes from an overlook above the Missouri River north of Independence all the way to Gardner, Kansas.” Greenway planning, by now, had become the shared responsibility of the Mid-America Regional Council of Governments and the Kansas City Area Historic Trails Association as well as 3-Trails West, Inc. Kansas City landscape architect Stephen Rhoades played a key role in laying out that trail. Given the continuing momentum associated with this

⁶⁶ SAR, 2001, 4, 7; SAR, 2003, 6-7. These waysides were partnerships with Lafarge Cement Corporation (at Sugar Creek/Wayne City Landing), National Frontiers Trail Center (Independence), Aventis Pharmaceuticals (in Marion Park, in south Kansas City), and Hickman Mills C-3 School District (adjacent to the district's administrative offices),

⁶⁷ SAR, 2004, 22; SAR, 2005, 25, 27, 28; SAR, 2006, 29, 33. The three geophysical testing locations were 1) Minor Park, where clearly-visible trail ruts “provided a good geophysical profile for comparison to results from other locales where ruts are not visible,” 2) at Hickman Mills Elementary School, where a “possible trail trace” was identified, and 3) at Schumacher Park, where “no geophysical indication of trail trace” could be found. According to John Conoboy, in an October 24, 2018 email to the author, the latter two sites were “too disturbed by other activities to clearly delineate the trail location.”

⁶⁸ SAR, 2005 25; SAR, 2006, 29; John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

larger project, the trails office provided an additional \$30,000 in CCSP support for trail planning purposes, and it also budgeted \$5,000 for wayside exhibits at the Sapling Grove Campsite in Overland Park, Kansas, toward the western end of the proposed greenway.⁶⁹

Another major effort was the Santa Fe Trail Rediscovery Project. As noted in Chapter 4, SFTA members had teamed up with NPS representatives during the spring of 1988 to survey the trail and its resources as part of the comprehensive planning effort, and the results of that effort were published in May 1990. Given the substantial amount of knowledge that both SFTA members and NPS staff had gathered since that introductory survey, there was a broad recognition that the trail and its resources needed to be resurveyed. To that end, three SFTA members joined two NPS trails staff⁷⁰ in Kansas City on August 26, 2006 on the so-called “Great Santa Fe Trail Rediscovery Expedition,” and they spent the next two weeks (until September 8) driving west along the trails to Santa Fe. Two months later, between November 3 and 5, they covered the east end of the trail, between its eastern terminus in central Missouri and the Kansas border. The group met various SFTA members along the way, who both shared their expertise and showed the group specific trail-related sites.⁷¹

The group’s trip resulted in the collection of a daunting amount of trail information, much of it previously unknown. The effort resulted in the completion of 279 site survey forms, which documented trail resources, site interpretation, and other information. In addition, the team took thousands of photographs and recorded GPS coordinates for all sites. Based on that information gathering effort, NPS office staff prepared a final report. It also gave various presentations on the project to the SFTA.⁷² The collected data, moreover, was imported into a geo-database and to an interactive mapping site, which allowed the public to view and use the data without specialized GIS software or training.⁷³

Another major trails project, which again had impacts on other trails, was implemented at Gardner Junction, in eastern Kansas. At a spot approximately 2.5 miles west of the present-day town of Gardner, the nineteenth-century emigrants who headed west on the main overland trail in this area had to make a major choice at this junction: either they continued southwest on the Santa Fe Trail or

turned right (northwest) and followed the Oregon and California trails. In order to demarcate that approximate spot, SFTA members worked with the Kansas DOT, the NPS and many other entities to establish an interpretive and information kiosk at Gardner Junction Park, located at the intersection of 183rd St. and U.S. Highway 56. Preliminary project planning began in 2004, and the following year trails staff coordinated a conceptual design. NPS staff took part in a groundbreaking at the site in early 2007, and in September of that year the project was dedicated and opened to the public.⁷⁴

Two additional projects took place at opposite ends of the trail. One began shortly after 2000, when northeastern New Mexico ranchers (and longtime SFTA members) Pete and Faye Gaines let NPS staff know that they would welcome visitation from those interested in seeing both the historic site (Point of Rocks) and an adjacent, visible trail swale on the ranch property. In response, the couple worked with NPS staff and with several other partners to develop wayside exhibits, a site plan, and a shelter design at the entrance to her ranch. The project was completed and opened to the public in 2004. Several years later, Faye Gaines worked with the NPS and with county road officials to install directional signs that connected the ranch to the trail’s auto tour route (U.S. 56), 8 miles away.⁷⁵ The other project, in the Kansas City area, involved the rehabilitation of a parcel with deep, visible trail ruts. At the corner of 85th Street and Manchester Avenue, a residence once stood on the property. The residence burned, however, after which members of the Cave Springs Association – who recognized the value of the property’s trail ruts – purchased the property. In 2005, the association partnered with the NPS to plan for public access and site interpretation; specific goals included a parking area, a walkway, and a wayside exhibit.⁷⁶ This project, however, was not implemented.

During this period, the trail witnessed its first local tour route. As noted in Chapter 4, the trail’s auto tour route sign had been approved in 1991, and shortly thereafter, these signs were installed by the various state DOTs all along the trail’s general route. The auto tour route signs, however, did not allow travelers to drive either to specific trail sites or along specific trail segments. To provide for more detailed visitation, therefore, trails staff introduced the first local tour routes beginning in 2005. It happened in a serendipitous way. The SFTA’s Quivira Chapter received funding to develop and sign a local trail tour route (using their own signs) along county roads in Marion County and adjacent counties.⁷⁷ On the heels of that effort, and with the prospect of similar ones to come, trails staff recognized the need to

⁶⁹ SAR, 2006, 27-29; Conoboy email, October 24, 2018.

⁷⁰ Expedition members included SFTA Executive Director Clive Siegel, SFTA members Craig Crease and Ross Marshall, and NPS staffers John Conoboy and Andrea Sharon.

⁷¹ SAR, 2006, 26.

⁷² SAR, 2009, 10; SAR, 2010, 16. The 855-page report from that effort, entitled *Rediscovery Survey; Final Report*, was completed in September 2009.

⁷³ SAR, 2007, 13; SAR, 2008, 14.

⁷⁴ *Wagon Tracks*, Feb. 2003, 2; SAR, 2004, 23; SAR, 2005, 12, 24-25; SAR, 2006, 10, 27; SAR, 2007, 13. A year later, trails staff produced an interpretive rack card to advertise the site, which was intended for distribution to various tourism and educational outlets in the surrounding area. SAR, 2008, 14.

⁷⁵ *Wagon Tracks*, Nov. 2004, 1; SAR, 2011, 20.

⁷⁶ SAR, 2005, 23; SAR, 2006, 29.

⁷⁷ SAR, 2004, 21; SAR, 2005, 27.

standardize these signs. The Marion County signs, therefore, were replaced with NPS signs. By 2006, plans were in the works to have standardized signs for all trails and for a wide variety of purposes: along freeways, along both trunk roads and backcountry roads, and for pedestrian use.⁷⁸

Several other major wayside exhibits were completed during this period. In Marion County, Kansas, SFTA members worked with the trails office to install an interpretive kiosk at Cottonwood Crossing. Working with SFTA members, who built a shelter, and the county road department, which paved the turnout, trails office staff designed and installed three exhibit panels. The project was begun in 2004 and dedicated in early October 2005 as part of the Santa Fe Trail Symposium which was held in nearby McPherson.⁷⁹ Additional wayside exhibits were designed and installed all along the trail – at places as varied as Santa Fe’s Amelia White Park, at Boggsville, Colorado, and Wayne City Landing (near Independence, Missouri). Finally, plans were developed to install three trail-based interpretive panels at all four of the national park units along the trail: Pecos National Historical Park, New Mexico; Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico; Bent’s Old Fort National Historic Site, Colorado; and Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas.⁸⁰

The office funded two research projects during this period. At Autograph Rock, Oklahoma, NPS funded a multi-year, field-based staff project to document baseline resource condition for the 200 historic rock inscriptions, and also to develop strategies for their preservation. In addition, the office funded the efforts of an Arizona State University professor (and Pawnee tribal member), James Riding In, for a historical study of Indians along the Santa Fe Trail. That study was completed in draft form, after some delays, in 2009.⁸¹

One of the NPS’s more innovative partnerships during this period was with Accessible Arts, Inc., a Kansas City, Kansas-based arts organization. In 2006, the trails office provided funds to this organization in order to help 15 visually impaired teen students hike along the Santa Fe National Historic Trail. The students visited Fort Larned and Bent’s Old Fort national historic sites, after which they continued on to a conference and shared their experience with other blind students through art and dramatic performances presented to other attendees. Then, for the following two years, the program’s sponsors took Kansas School for the Blind students out for an extended “immersion” experience along the Santa Fe or other historic trails. By all accounts, the organization provided the students an award-

⁷⁸ SAR, 2006, 30; Steve Burns, email to author, October 27, 2017.

⁷⁹ SAR, 2004, 23; SAR, 2005, 26.

⁸⁰ SAR, 2004, 22; SAR, 2005, 24; SAR, 2006, 29; SAR, 2008, 14; SAR, 2010, 17.

⁸¹ SAR, 1998, 5; 1999, 5; SAR, 2000, 5; SAR, 2001, 5; SAR, 2003, 9; <https://www.nps.gov/safe/learn/historyculture/trailwide.htm>.

winning, nationally-recognized trails program.⁸²

The development of partnership certifications continued at a healthy rate. At the beginning of the year 2000, there were 51 certified partnerships along the trail, but the decade saw at least one new certification each year, and by the end of 2009, the total number of certifications had risen to 72, the most of any trail administered through the agency’s IMR.

In addition to the interpretive products it provided, the NPS also recognized the need to provide Santa Fe Trail educational materials. To that end, the agency participated, over multiple years, in a Kansas City, Missouri trail-based internet curriculum project. Its traveling exhibit, completed in the spring of 1996 (see chapter 5), remained on display at various sites along the trail.⁸³ Six trail-based teacher-education workshops were held, along the length of the trail, during 2004-2005. In 2006, the agency provided support to the SFTA to conduct an educational day camp for students at Fort Larned National Historic Site.⁸⁴

Throughout this period, relations remained good between the NPS and the SFTA, and the aloofness that had characterized these relations during the 1990s (see chapter 5), gradually died away. In March 2003, NPS staff took part in a two-day planning workshop (in Trinidad, Colorado); it resulted in SFTA’s first strategic plan, which was finalized eight months later. On the heels of the strategic planning effort, the association decided to hire its first executive director, a position that was largely made possible due to increased NPS funding support. Chosen for the position was Clive Siegle, from Dallas, Texas, who began work in October 2004 (see appendix 5).⁸⁵ Siegle remained on the job for three years until October 2007, when he was succeeded by Harry Myers, a retired NPS employee from Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Trail of Tears

In early 2000, the Trail of Tears, along with the Santa Fe Trail, were the only trails administered by the NPS’s Santa Fe office. As noted in Chapter 5, the Trail of Tears’ CMP had been approved in September 1992, but its funding had lagged throughout the 1990s, and it was not until FY 2000 that the trail began receiving a funding level that had been called for in the trail’s CMP. The trail’s budget, as it turned

⁸² SAR, 2006, 28; SAR, 2007, 3; SAR, 2008, 14.

⁸³ SAR, 2000, 6; SAR, 2001, 7.

⁸⁴ SAR, 2004, 22; SAR, 2005, 23; SAR, 2006, 27; *Wagon Tracks* 18 (May 2004), p. 1.

⁸⁵ SAR, 2003, 6-7; SAR, 2004, 20; *Wagon Tracks*, May 2003, 2; May 2004, 2, and Nov. 2004, 1.

out, remained stable for the next several years, but beginning in FY 2004 it began receiving incremental budget increases, and by FY 2009, the trail's line-item budget was \$508,000.

The primary trails staff assigned to Trail of Tears projects were new hires Aaron Mahr and Steve Burns, but others weighed in on trail matters as well. At Fort Smith National Historic Site, in Arkansas, several interpretive projects took place. Six wayside exhibits at a site abutting the Arkansas River were finalized, along with a technologically-sophisticated Trail of Tears exhibit, and audio-visual program, that were installed in the park's visitor center.⁸⁶ Trails staff were also called on to assist with exhibit planning at two other facilities: at Red Clay State Historic Park, in Tennessee, and at the Tennessee River Museum in Savannah, Tennessee. (At Savannah, the revamped museum exhibits were completed in 2004.)⁸⁷ At Blythe Ferry, in southeastern Tennessee, initial requests for exhibit planning resulted in larger site-planning issues, with "possible design and interpretive alternatives" that called for a more longer-term partnership. In response, trails staff held a charrette nearby in March 2002. Congress passed a subsequent improvement package, and on-the-ground improvements followed in 2009 or 2010.⁸⁸

A major question that still lingered over many portions of the Trail of Tears was the need to more accurately locate the trail's historical route. Many had questions about the accuracy of the routes outlined in the September 1992 CMP map supplement. So in order to correct any perceived inaccuracies, the office hired Duane King, the scholar who had worked with Jere Krakow on the trail's route during the 1989-1991 period, to re-assess the location of a variety of Trail of Tears routes. King responded by providing the office a voluminous draft report, dated April 10, 1999, followed by a final report dated August 13, 1999.⁸⁹ Mahr, pursuing the matter further, held a 2000 meeting in Arkansas on the subject with both TOTA and Arkansas Heritage Program representatives, and he worked with a variety of partners over the years in several Trail of Tears states.⁹⁰ And in North Carolina, the office contracted with Cherokee expert Brett Riggs in order to gather information about both the round-up camps and the route locations in that state.⁹¹

⁸⁶ SAR, 1998, 3; SAR, 1999, 13-14; SAR, 2000, 11-12.

⁸⁷ SAR, 1998, 3; SAR, 1999, 14; SAR, 2000, 12; SAR, 2001, 15; SAR, 2004, 25.

⁸⁸ SAR, 1998, 3; SAR, 1999, 12; SAR, 2000, 11; SAR, 2001, 13; Steve Burns, interview with the author, December 13, 2017.

⁸⁹ Duane H. King, "Report on the Cherokee Trail of Tears: Correcting and Updating the 1992 Map Supplement," April 10, 1999 (draft), and "Final Report for 1999," August 13, 1999.

⁹⁰ SAR, 2000, 13; SAR, 2003, 10.

⁹¹ SAR, 1999, 12; SAR, 2000, 12; SAR, 2001, 16; Brett Riggs and Lance Greene, *The Cherokee Trail of Tears in North Carolina; an Inventory of Trail Resources in Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Macon, and Swain Counties*, 2006.

Beyond those projects, trails staff sought out many others. A key baseline project was the writing of a historic context study, technically known as a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF). Funding for that study was approved for FY 2000, and soon afterward, trails staff asked the Department of Arkansas Heritage to coordinate the study (see appendix 8). That state agency, assisted by the NPS, let a contract to Philip Thomason and Associates, from Nashville, Tennessee. Sara Parker, an employee with that firm, was tasked with writing the historic overview. That contractor completed the study, submitted it to SHPO staff in the various states and, later, to National Register officials in Washington. On June 26, 2003, the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) accepted the MPDF onto the National Register.⁹²

As part of the same effort that resulted in the trail's MPDF, contractor Philip Thomason arranged for the preparation of a series of NRHP nominations by means of cost-share partnerships with the University of North Carolina, the University of Alabama, and Middle Tennessee State University. These partnerships resulted in the preparation of 24 nominations (for either sites or segments along the trail) which were located in all but one of the states in which the Trail of Tears NHT is located. The only state not included – Arkansas – submitted additional National Register nominations, generated through the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program. These various submittals resulted in thirteen trail-associated sites being added to the NRHP: four in Arkansas, four in Tennessee, three in Kentucky, and two in Oklahoma.⁹³ Efforts with the University of Kentucky resulted in a National Register nomination for Mantle Rock, an iconic Nature Conservancy-owned site near the Ohio River, and the Department of Arkansas Heritage completed a National Register nomination for the Bayou Two Prairie Segment of the Memphis-to-Little Rock Road, just east of Little Rock.⁹⁴

During the comprehensive planning process (1988-1992), historians recognized that large gaps of basic information needed to be researched in order to provide key information about the 1838-1839 Cherokee migration. The agency, therefore, engaged a series of scholars to help fill in those gaps, several of whom hailed from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Mark Wagner, for example, conducted a historical and archeological investigation into Trail of Tears sites in Union County, and much later he undertook a historical and archival investigation of nine Illinois sites where the Cherokees may have camped, as well as known Mississippi River ferry landings that were used during the winter of 1838-39. Harvey Henson, Jr. undertook a geophysical investigation at an Illinois church cemetery (and Trail of Tears campsite) to investigate the possible presence of Removal-era graves. And

⁹² SAR, 1999, 14; SAR, 2000, 12; SAR, 2001, 16; SAR, 2003, 10; NPS/TOTA, *Trail News* 3 (August 2003), 6.

⁹³ SAR, 2001, 15-16; SAR, 2003, 10; SAR, 2004, 27-28; SAR, 2005, 31.

⁹⁴ SAR, 2004, 27; SAR, 2006, 39.

John Burde, along with research assistant Karen Frailey (both from SIU) produced a substantial bibliography about the Trail of Tears in Illinois.⁹⁵

The NPS worked with research entities in several other states outside of Illinois. In Georgia, the state's Historic Preservation Division joined forces with the Georgia Chapter of the TOTA to document and mark the various removal forts and encampments in that state.⁹⁶ In Arkansas, university professor Dan Littlefield headed a three-person research team that investigated sites related to the Indian Removal period in North Little Rock.⁹⁷ In the Springfield, Missouri area, the state university's Center for Archeological Research conducted a series of field exercises to ground-truth historic GLO maps, and also undertook an archeological investigation of an 1830s-era tavern site along the historic trail route.⁹⁸ In Alabama, a team of historians affiliated with Tusculumbia's Southeastern Anthropological Institute wrote a lengthy report detailing archival and cartographic research on Indian removal routes and related forts in that state.⁹⁹ And in Oklahoma, a team of archivists traveled to Washington, D.C. and spent considerable time, in a multi-year study, combing through voluminous quantities of primary National Archives documents relating to the Cherokee removal.¹⁰⁰

Interpreting the trail was important, too. Thanks to a number of strong partnerships, Trail of Tears-related interpretive projects spouted up in various places along the trail corridor. On the heels of the North Little Rock research effort that had been completed in 2003, the NPS partnered with Arkansas Heritage Programs to install six wayside exhibits in a North Little Rock park alongside the Arkansas River, much as had been done previously at Fort Smith.¹⁰¹ Additional waysides were placed at five other Arkansas venues: 1) Village Creek State Park, near Forrest City; 2) Delta Cultural Center, in Helena; 3) Cadron Settlement, near Conway; 4) Lake Dardanelle State Park, near Russellville; and 5) Pea Ridge National

⁹⁵ SAR, 2003, 10; SAR, 2006, 40; Mark J. Wagner, *Archival and Historical Investigation for the Cherokee Trail of Tears in Union County, Illinois*, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Technical Report 03-2, October 2003; Harvey Henson, Jr., *Geophysical Investigation at Camp Ground Cemetery and Church near Anna, Illinois*, April 2010; <https://www.nps.gov/trte/learn/historyculture/illinois.htm>; SAR, 2008, 16.

⁹⁶ SAR, 2003, 10; Sarah Hill, *Cherokee Removal from Georgia, Final Report* (NPS), December 2005.

⁹⁷ SAR, 2003, 10; Littlefield, et al., *The North Little Rock Site on the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail: Historic Contexts Report*, 2003.

⁹⁸ SAR, 2006, 39; Holly Jones, *Archeology, History, and Geoscience of Trail of Tears Sites in Greene and Christian Counties, Missouri*, May 2008.

⁹⁹ SAR, 2006, 40; Gail King, et al., *Alabama Collection Camps, Forts, Emigrating Depots and Travel Routes Used During the Cherokee Removal of 1838-1839*, March 2009.

¹⁰⁰ Marybelle Chase, *Research Project of the Oklahoma Chapter of the Trail of Tears Association; Research at the National Archives, College Park, Maryland and Washington, D.C. (Research Report No. 1, for 2006-2008)*, August 2008.

¹⁰¹ SAR, 2004, 25.

Military Park, near Bentonville.¹⁰² And at the Chief Vann House State Historic Site in Georgia, NPS staff reviewed and assisted with museum exhibits and a new film.¹⁰³ On a more general level, trails staff reviewed and coordinated the production of a new interpretive publication, *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail*, that was written by well-known historian Elliott West and published by the Western National Parks Association.¹⁰⁴

One interpretive vehicle that was not successful, at least in the short term, was the production of a Trail of Tears film. In 2003, the agency obligated \$300,000 in “fee demo” funds to produce a 20-minute interpretive film publicizing the Trail of Tears and its history. The NPS's HFC, with its filmmaking expertise, served as the project coordinator.¹⁰⁵ In early 2005, a firm called Rich-Heape Films was contracted to produce the film. The production process did not go as planned, however. As noted in a year-end report, “Unfortunately, despite the extensive assistance and guidance trails staff provided the filmmakers, [the trails office] ultimately was unable to accept a winter shooting script or draft treatments from the filmmakers,” and in early 2006 the contract was terminated. During the ensuing months, however, negotiations between the NPS and the Cherokee Nation led to a revised scope of work and also a new contractor: Cherokee CRC, which was a Cherokee-owned enterprise. Work started anew, but it would be several years before the project would come to fruition.¹⁰⁶

A major property in which the trails staff contributed significant assistance was the Chieftains Museum (Major Ridge Home) in Rome, Georgia. In 2004 the trails office staff, in partnership with the property owner, completed a request for proposals to complete a historic structures report and cultural landscape report for the property. Completing the reports was a team effort between the staff of the NPS's Intermountain Region Historic Preservation Program, a private contractor, and cultural resources staff from the NPS Southeast Regional Office, with trails office staff providing additional technical assistance. The combined reports were completed in 2007. Additional projects in which the trails office provided assistance included the analysis of artifacts recovered during archeological work there in 1969-1971, and the use of ground penetrating radar on the museum's grounds to locate historic road locations that had been disturbed by modern trail construction.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² SAR, 2005, 30; SAR, 2006, 35.

¹⁰³ SAR, 2000, 11; SAR, 2001, 15.

¹⁰⁴ SAR, 1999, 14; SAR, 2000, 12; Elliott West, *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail* (WNPA), 2000.

¹⁰⁵ SAR, 2003, 6; SAR, 2004, 26.

¹⁰⁶ SAR, 2005, 28; SAR, 2006, 34.

¹⁰⁷ SAR, 2004, 27; SAR, 2005, 30-31; SAR, 2006, 39; <https://www.nps.gov/trte/learn/historyculture/georgia.htm>.

Other major historic structures related to the Trail of Tears were investigated as well. In Rossville, Georgia, just south of the Tennessee border, the Chief John Ross House once housed the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. The trails office provided financial support to compile historic documentation for this home. The project report was completed in 2007. And John Ridge, who was a son of Major Ridge, lived in an imposing home called Running Waters, located just northeast of Rome, Georgia. Here, too, the trails office assisted with a historic documentation project related to this home. The final report was published in 2008. Both of these projects were begun by Carey Tilley and completed by William J. (Jeff) Bishop.¹⁰⁸

Near Ooltewah, Tennessee (northeast of Chattanooga), the trails office worked with a consortium of Trail of Tears partners in the fall of 2006 to rescue the 178-year-old James Brown House from imminent collapse. The initiative began with a structural evaluation by a Southeast Regional Office historical architect, who raised the alarm about the building's condition. Trails staff then launched a nationwide call for emergency assistance to help stabilize the building; this, in turn, grew into an ambitious partnership dedicated to stabilizing the old house and planning for its long-term preservation. The trails office partnered with the property owner, the Tennessee Preservation Trust, the Heritage Conservation Network, and the NPS's Division of Facility Management Historic Preservation Projects in Denver to conduct a two-week stabilization workshop, which helped save the house from almost certain destruction.¹⁰⁹

Various proposals to place trail signs and markers along the route were implemented. In 2003, various route markers were placed in Missouri, and two years later signs were installed at six partner sites in Tennessee, Illinois, and Kentucky. By 2006, just as with the Santa Fe Trail, office staff had developed a signing initiative which had "model concepts for a family of national historic trail signs" that could be used for a variety of purposes along the trail. That same year, six signs that were in accordance with those "model concepts" were installed along the trail at sites in Arkansas, Georgia, Missouri, and Tennessee.¹¹⁰

The TOTA served as a key partner throughout the 21st century's first decade. When the decade began, the organization had had the same president – H. Riley Bock – since 1993, and the same executive director – Paul Austin – since 1996. The organization, moreover, had been sponsoring annual conferences since 1996 (see appendix 5). The NPS, through its five-year cooperative agreement, provided some financial assistance to support TOTA's organizational, personnel, training,

¹⁰⁸ SAR, 2005, 30-31; <https://www.nps.gov/trte/learn/historyculture/georgia.htm>.

¹⁰⁹ SAR, 2003, 10; SAR, 2006, 36.

¹¹⁰ SAR, 2003, 6; SAR, 2005, 30; SAR, 2006, 37-38.

and other needs.¹¹¹ The Trail of Tears NHT, moreover, still had an active advisory council (see chapter 5), one that had commenced in 1988 and had been renewed ten years later.

Shortly after 2000, Jack Baker, from Oklahoma City, replaced Bock as TOTA's president, and as noted in Chapter 5, the Trail of Tears NHT Advisory Council wound down its operations after a final meeting in Fort Smith, Arkansas in late 2002. After that date (according to one NPS report), TOTA became "our key partner in administering and developing this national historic trail." NPS staff assisted TOTA for two days in June 2002 for the preparation of the association's first strategic plan. In early 2003, agency staff began working on a comprehensive interpretive plan for the trail; they invited TOTA officers and board members to a workshop in Memphis about the plan in April 2003, and by late that year a draft plan had been prepared. The Trail of Tears interpretive plan was finalized in June 2004.¹¹²

Throughout this period, TOTA partnered with the NPS to produce and distribute information about the trail, and also about activities related to TOTA and the trails office. As late as February 2001, the NPS had distributed its own newsletter, which had been produced on an ad hoc basis.¹¹³ In 2002, however, the NPS and TOTA pooled their resources to publish the first issue of *Trail News*. The issue proved so successful that subsequent issues were published twice each year for the rest of the decade. The publication, moreover, is still being published (by TOTA) biannually and is a major organ for publicizing trail-related events and activities.¹¹⁴

Partnership certification continued to be a significant way to reach out to Trail of Tears partners (see appendix 9). By early 2000, only nine certifications had been consummated. In ensuing years, however, contacts with numerous trail partners on interpretation, signing, and preservation-related projects brought forth many certification possibilities. By the end of 2009, the trail had 48 certified properties, five times more than there had been nine years earlier.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ SAR, 2000, 11; SAR, 2007, 14.

¹¹² NPS/TOTA, *Trail News* 1 (August 2002), 1; SAR, 2003, 6; SAR, 2004, 24-25; SAR, 2007, 14. The NPS, working with TOTA representatives, updated that association's strategic plan in 2008; see SAR, 2008, 14.

¹¹³ The agency's newsletter, "Trail of Tears National Historic Trail," had not been published between February 1998 and February 2001.

¹¹⁴ SAR, 2005, 29; <http://www.nationaltota.com/newsletters>.

¹¹⁵ SAR, 2003, 6; SAR, 2006, 35-36; SAR, 2007, 14.

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: Working Between Agencies

As noted in Chapter 5, Congress designated El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro as a national historic trail on October 13, 2000. This trail, which (in the United States) ran 404 miles from El Paso, Texas, to San Juan Pueblo (Ohkay Owingeh), New Mexico, was primarily in private ownership; 222 miles (55% of trail mileage) was privately owned. Of the 24% of trail mileage in federal ownership, more than half of that mileage (57 miles, or 14%) was managed by the BLM, with the rest being managed by either the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (7%) or the U.S. Forest Service (3%). No trail mileage was managed by the National Park Service.¹¹⁶

As noted previously, the NPS's DSC had prepared the feasibility study and environmental statement for this trail, which had been finalized in March 1997. Verbiage in the action alternative of that study dutifully noted that "when designating the route, Congress would also identify a lead federal agency to administer the trail in cooperation with a variety of day-to-day management partners...". And the authorization act itself simply stated that "the Trail shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior."¹¹⁷ But because the NPS had prepared the feasibility study, there was a widespread assumption that that agency would also be the sole trail administrator; this continuity, after all, was a well-established pattern for many previously-authorized trails.

That pattern, however, did not carry over to the administration of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT, because of a "landmark decision" made in early January 2001, in the closing days of the Clinton administration. On January 5, two federal agency officials – Karen Wade, the director of the NPS's IMR, and Michelle J. Chávez, the BLM's state director for New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma – took part in "interagency discussions," and pursuant to those discussions, the two women recommended joint administration of this recently-authorized national historic trail in a January 9 letter to Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt. They stated,

We are confident that joint administration is in the public's best interest and will better assure the preservation and enhancement of this outstanding national resource. This approach acknowledges the history of investment and commitment made by both the BLM and NPS to this extraordinary public asset, while mobilizing the strengths of both agencies on behalf of the

¹¹⁶ NPS, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail Feasibility Study / Environmental Assessment* (Denver, the author, March 1997), 38.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 44; Public Law 106-307 (October 13, 2000), Section 3.

American public.¹¹⁸

Ten days later – and just one day before he left office – Secretary Babbitt gave his stamp of approval to the January 9 letter, stating, "I direct that administrative responsibility for the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail be assigned jointly to the BLM and the National Park Service."¹¹⁹

What brought about this extraordinary series of events? Simply put, this sharing of administration took place because Secretary Babbitt opted to do so. It was, after all, the Interior Secretary's prerogative to choose which agency would administer any recently-authorized trail. This was the first time, however, that trail administration was to be split between two agencies.¹²⁰

Understanding why Babbitt decided on a shared trail administration, however, requires some background. The Interior Department, in August 1977, produced an official policy manual – known as Part 710 – that specifically pertained to national rivers and trails. On the subject of which agency should administer new units, the manual noted that "primary consideration for such assignments will be given to the land administering bureau having jurisdiction over the majority of the land over which rivers and trails in the national system pass."¹²¹ For a number of years, this provision was generally ignored. But during the Clinton Administration, Interior Secretary Babbitt worked to re-orient the BLM's philosophical direction. The Bureau, historically, had managed its lands for extractive uses, such as mining, logging, and grazing. Clinton, however, began to emphasize other values; in September 1996, he established the large BLM-administered Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in Utah, and by the time he left office in January 2001 he had proclaimed fourteen other BLM-administered national monuments. In order to further emphasize the BLM's new role in conserving special areas, Babbitt established the National Landscape Conservation System (NLCS) in June 2000, and one of the components of that multifaceted system was NHTs.

For either or both of the above reasons – either the Part 710 verbiage, or the rise of conservation values within the BLM – officials with that agency felt that they should play a role administering the newly authorized El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT. When the trail's draft feasibility study was issued in October 1996,

¹¹⁸ NPS/BLM, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Final Comprehensive Management Plan/ Environmental Impact Statement* (Denver?, NPS, April 2004), 179-180.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹²⁰ Deborah Salt, interview with the author, April 11, 2014.

¹²¹ *Dept of the Interior, Departmental Manual, August 16, 1977, Part 710: National Rivers and Trails Systems, Part 1.4(C)(2)*, at <https://elips.doi.gov/ELIPS/DocView.aspx?id=1886&dbid=0>.

BLM reportedly responded by stating that 1) because the agency was “the largest single land manager for lands containing the route of El Camino Real,” and 2) because it had “worked actively with the state and others to survey and identify the route on BLM-managed land,” that agency – not the NPS – should be the sole trail administrator. But David Gaines, the trails superintendent in Santa Fe, felt that the NPS alone should administer the trail, part of his reasoning being that – for valid reasons – no other national parks, forests or other public lands had ever been co-administered.¹²² Throughout the 1998-2000 period, when Congress was actively deliberating the bill’s authorization, none of the proposed bills – or the hearings that were held for those bills – suggested any interagency conflict over which agency should administer the trail. But the Secretary’s June 2000 move to establish the NLCS clearly suggested the possibility of an administrative partnership. In addition, there was a growing feeling at the time among upper-echelon Interior Department officials that two agencies, working together, could more effectively manage certain resources than on their own . . . as it was often noted, “using the complementary skills of each agency.” The fact that El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT was located within a jurisdiction of a single BLM office – as well as from a single NPS office – also suggested that co-administration could work.¹²³

This trail was also different from others managed by the Santa Fe office in that no advisory council was recommended. As noted in Chapter 5, NTSA Section 5(d) authorized the establishment of an advisory council for each newly-authorized trail. Executive Order 12838 in February 1993, however, had mandated a reduction in the number of federal advisory councils, so as a result, the newly-authorized California and Pony Express NHTs did not have advisory councils. El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT, to its advantage, had had an annual series of international colloquia focused on the trail since 1995, so to some extent, there may have been less need for an advisory council. Some NPS officials, moreover, had pointed concerns, bordering on skepticism, about the effectiveness of most if not all advisory councils; as a result, IMR official Mike Snyder made the blanket decision to not authorize any advisory councils, either for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT or any succeeding national historic trail.¹²⁴

A final concept that made this trail different from any previous trail was its international aspect. Historically, almost three-fourths (approximately 1100

¹²² John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014; NPS, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail Feasibility Study / Environmental Assessment* (Denver, the author, March 1997), 23; Susan Schlanger, email to the author, December 12, 2017; Steve Elkinton, email to the author, December 12, 2017; David Gaines, email to the author, November 1, 2018.

¹²³ John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014; Deb Salt interview, April 11, 2014. Salt felt that the PNTS may have also helped encourage trail co-administration, because the partnership had recommended that a “regional interagency approach” should be considered and that interagency cooperation might work.

¹²⁴ John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014.

miles) of this trail is located in Mexico, between Mexico City and Ciudad Juarez. Given the trail’s transborder nature, the following language was included in the authorization bill:

The Secretary of the Interior may coordinate with United States and Mexican public and non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, and, in consultation with the Secretary of State, the government of Mexico and its political subdivisions, for the purpose of exchanging trail information and research, fostering trail preservation and educational programs, providing technical assistance, and working to establish an international historic trail with complementary preservation and education programs in each nation.

In the months and years after the trail was authorized, U.S. trail officials responded to the possibilities offered through international cooperation by continuing, as before, to play an active role in the annual international colloquia. These were held in U.S. venues during even-numbered years and in Mexico in alternating years. These colloquia continued until 2006. Occasional additional meetings also allowed international travel, by officials from both countries. But the difficulties of cross-border travel when serving in an official capacity exacerbated over time, and those difficulties retarded greater cooperation on trail-related matters.¹²⁵

Shortly after Congress authorized the trail and assigned co-administrator responsibilities to the NPS’s Santa Fe trails office and to the BLM’s New Mexico State Office, work commenced on preparing the trail’s CMP. Harry Myers, who joined the trails office in April 2001, and Terry Humphrey, from the BLM were assigned as joint team leaders for the project. (Sarah Schlanger later replaced Humphrey as the BLM’s team leader.) Work proceeded quickly. Seven scoping meetings, at locations from El Paso, Texas as far north as Alcalde, New Mexico were held in June 2001, and follow-up meetings – some of which called for American Indian consultation – took place between July and October 2001.¹²⁶

Teams from both agencies assembled the *Draft Comprehensive Management Plan / Environmental Impact Statement*, which was dated August 2002 and was distributed to the public on October 1. The document outlined two alternatives: an action alternative and a no-action alternative. The public review process opened in mid-October and remained open until mid-January 2003, during which the two agencies

¹²⁵ Jere Krakow interview, January 4, 2008.

¹²⁶ *Federal Register* 66 (May 18, 2001), 27682-84; NPS/BLM, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT Draft Comprehensive Management Plan/Final Environmental Impact Statement* (Denver?, NPS, August 2002), 120-121.

held seven public comment meetings in the same cities where scoping meetings had taken place eighteen months earlier. Two additional meetings took place related to American Indian consultation in January and March, 2003. After incorporating public comments, the revised document was submitted to the agencies' Washington offices, and the trail's *Comprehensive Management Plan/Final Environmental Impact Statement* was released in April 2004. An NPS memo noted that "This achievement marks the first time a national historic trail CMP has been completed jointly by two agencies."¹²⁷

In the midst of the CMP's preparation, a new interest group was formed in order to support the newly-established trail. The Camino Real Trail Association, known as CARTA, was formed largely by participants in the community scoping meetings that were held as part of the CMP effort. The organization had its initial meeting in Socorro, New Mexico on March 15, 2003, and it held its first annual conference (also in Socorro) that September. Soon afterward, according to one government report, it "stepped smoothly into its role as a trail partner" when CARTA's officers signed a cooperative agreement with the trails office. As part of that agreement, the trails office provided CARTA its first financial assistance in order to provide for organizational needs and administrative support.¹²⁸

In order to both coordinate trail administration and to start developing plans and activities, BLM and NPS staff held a two-day strategic planning (goal-setting) session in Las Cruces in 2005, facilitated by Sharon Brown of the trails office. Also attending were Gary Werner, the longtime Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) head, and Luis Urias, a heritage specialist from Chihuahua. The group's highest priority goals included 1) developing a database of Camino Real resources, 2) conducting a site inventory, 3) developing trail maps; 4) organizing a committee of federal, state, and local agencies to assist with project coordination, information sharing, and planning; and 5) cultivating CCSP projects related to this trail. On the heels of that workshop, Michael Taylor from the NPS and the BLM's Sarah Schlanger started planning a regional meeting, to be held in early 2006, for land managers, agency decision-makers, and heritage tourism interests. This gathering would serve as the foundation for an interagency committee that would share project information and assist in project coordination and planning. But no such regional meeting was held, and no interagency committee was established.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ NPS/BLM, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT Comprehensive Management Plan/Final Environmental Impact Statement* (Denver?, NPS, April 2004), 125-126; SAR, 2003, 15; SAR, 2004, 12. Officials with the two agencies signed a Record of Decision for the document on August 24, 2004. *Federal Register* 69 (September 30, 2004), 58462-63.

¹²⁸ SAR, 2003, 15; SAR, 2004, 13; *Wagon Tracks*, May 2003, 1.

¹²⁹ SAR, 2005, 16; Sarah Schlanger to author, email, December 12, 2017.

NPS and BLM staff, meanwhile, continued to work on a wide variety of trail-related projects. The first of these projects dealt with visitor development along the trail. In 2005, the NPS awarded CARTA funds to design and produce at least eight wayside exhibits in El Paso, and the same year it provided funds to the Pueblo of Ohkay Owingeh to help plan a local tour route that would both highlight the area's important historic role while still providing both protection to the historic resources and privacy to the pueblo's residents.¹³⁰ At El Rancho de las Golondrinas, a living history museum southwest of Santa Fe, the trails office helped design a wayside exhibit that would describe *parajes* and trail travel, and it also consulted with nearby La Cienega residents about preserving the community's heritage resources. In Albuquerque, staff began working with Martineztown residents to help tell the story of the Camino in that neighborhood. And in Tomé, New Mexico, trails staff installed the first Camino identification signs during a public event in June 2007.¹³¹

Hand in hand with the growing number of partner-driven projects was the number of certified partnerships (see appendix 9). The first certification for this trail – on November 9, 2006 – was the Camino Real Site, a trail-related archeological site near Santa Fe owned by the Archaeological Conservancy. Within weeks, two additional trail sites had been certified. By the end of 2007, five more certified sites had been added, and by the end of 2009, there were a total of 11 partnership certifications connected with El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT.¹³²

Key to protecting both the trail tread, and the numerous historic sites located along the U.S. portion of the route, was their identification and evaluation. In 2005, archeologist Mike Marshall, working on a BLM contract, revisited the many sites and segments that the CMP had identified, and in conjunction with those visits, he assessed the resources, their condition and their suitability for public visitation. Joseph Sánchez, with the NPS's Spanish Colonial Research Center, then researched primary archival information to confirm the identification of sites that had been located in the field.¹³³ Soon afterward, office staff worked with the New Mexico SHPO so that personnel from that office could provide two key products: first, a MPDF, such as had already been done for both the Santa Fe NHT and the Trail of Tears NHT, and second, a series of ten National Register nominations for major historic sites and segments along the route (see appendix 8). Tom Merlan, Mike

¹³⁰ SAR, 2005, 17; SAR, 2006, 17.

¹³¹ SAR, 2005, 17; SAR, 2006, 17-18; SAR, 2007, 9; SAR, 2008, 9.

¹³² SAR, 2007, 9-10.

¹³³ SAR, 2006, 19; Michael P. Marshall, *A Cultural Properties Assessment for the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail System; an Identification of Linked Historic Properties, Evaluation of Properties Condition and Potential Risk Factors, and Provisional Recommendations for Continued Research and Cultural Resource Management* (unpublished mss.), July 15, 2005, in Michael Taylor Collection, NTIR; Angelica Sanchez-Clark to author, email, Nov. 9, 2017, "SPCO ELCA 2005 Project" attachment.

Marshall, and John Roney agreed to take on both assignments. On April 8, 2011, the MPDF – specifically titled the *Camino Real in New Mexico, AD 1598-1881 Multiple Property Submission* – was entered onto the NRHP in April 2011. Most of the separately-completed National Register nominations, in time, were also entered onto the National Register; these included four nominations for historic trail segments along the Jornada del Muerto, a 90-mile waterless stretch of the Camino through an isolated section of desert, east of Truth or Consequences, New Mexico, where trail traces are highly visible.¹³⁴

A significant project with which U.S. authorities worked with their Mexican counterparts was a nomination for the trail to become a world heritage site. Years earlier, the Mexican government had applied to UNESCO to add that country's portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro to the World Heritage Site's "tentative list," and on November 20, 2001, UNESCO had approved that application.¹³⁵ By 2006, the trail on the U.S. side was a legislative reality, and the NPS had completed a comprehensive trail plan; as a result, federal officials on the U.S. side of the border showed a similar interest in nominating the trail in New Mexico and Texas to the "tentative list" as well. That nomination process, however, was never completed because of ownership-related concerns voiced by BLM officials.¹³⁶ Mexican officials, for their part, applied to UNESCO to elevate the route from the tentative list to full nomination as a world heritage serial nomination. At a meeting in Brasilia, Brazil, UNESCO officials discussed this cultural route and its eligibility as a World Heritage Site. After considerable debate, the Mexican portion of Camino Real de Tierra Adentro was approved to be added to the world heritage list on August 1, 2010.¹³⁷

Trail staff had long been aware that some of the most pristine landscapes along El Camino Real in New Mexico were located along the Jornada del Muerto, east of Truth or Consequences. As early as 1990, space-related development was being considered just east of the historic trail route. But as noted in the trail's CMP (2004), "In the late 1990s, public and state lands in the Engle areas were being looked at as a possible location for a spaceport. At the present time, New Mexico

¹³⁴ SAR, 2007, 9; SAR, 2008, 9; <http://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/SearchResults/>; Michael Taylor, interview with the author, November 3, 2017.

¹³⁵ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1351/documents/>, p. 99.

¹³⁶ SAR, 2006, 18; SAR, 2007, 9; Michael Taylor, interview with the author, November 2, 2017.

¹³⁷ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1351>. While the route as a whole (from Mexico City to the U.S. border) is a world heritage "site," the Mexican government manages the nomination (as noted on the World Heritage website) as "59 different locations, including bridges, haciendas, chapels, temples, a hospital and several cities." <https://www.worldheritagesite.org/list/Camino+Real>. The northernmost of these is Valle de Allende, just east of Parral, in the southern part of the state of Chihuahua.

has not been awarded any contracts for this use."¹³⁸

The tenor of development changed abruptly in 2005, when Governor Bill Richardson, along with Richard Branson, head of Virgin Galactic, announced that the company would make New Mexico its world headquarters. Soon afterward, the state legislature enacted a series of laws to pave the way for the new spaceport. BLM and NPS officials, alarmed about the impending developments, made it known that the proposed facility "threatens to impact . . . the most pristine section of the internationally significant Camino Real," and that developments would "pose a significant impact to trail resources as well as to the public's ability to visit, experience, and enjoy the national historic trail." In March 2006, officials from both agencies wrote to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) (the lead federal agency), which was writing an environmental impact statement for the project. These officials requested that the FAA, the State of New Mexico, and other interested parties "work together to reassess alternative sites for the spaceport that could minimize adverse effects on the Camino Real." Even the National Trust for Historic Preservation got involved; it listed the Camino as one of the 11 Most Endangered Places in the U.S., largely due to the impacts of the proposed spaceport.¹³⁹ Their protests were of no avail, however. The FAA pushed ahead with its EIS, completing the draft in July 2008 and the final just four months later.¹⁴⁰ Groundbreaking at the site took place in June 2009; it was officially declared open in mid-October 2011; and in August 2012, Spaceport America was declared substantially complete.¹⁴¹

Salt Lake City Office Operations

As noted above, some staff in the Santa Fe trails office specialized in specific trails during this period: Aaron Mahr and Steve Burns were primarily engaged in Trail of Tears NHT projects, but John Conoboy worked on various trails (though the Santa Fe NHT was his largest concern), and the interpretive specialist also worked on a variety of trails. At the Salt Lake City office, the fact that two, three, or four NHTs often covered the same stretch of ground meant that there was no distinction between staff; all trails personnel worked on projects that pertained to all four trails. Throughout this period, as they had since the mid-1990s, NPS staff worked closely with members of the OCTA on projects related to the preservation, interpretation,

¹³⁸ New Mexico Spaceport Authority, *Spaceport America: History*, 2007; NPS/BLM, *ELCA CMP/FEIS* (April 2004), 95.

¹³⁹ SAR, 2006, 48; SAR, 2007, 8-10, 20.

¹⁴⁰ https://www.faa.gov/about/office_org/headquarters_offices/ast/media/Spaceport%20America-FINAL%20EIS%20Vol%201.pdf.

¹⁴¹ Polland, Jennifer, "See Where The World's First Commercial Space Flights Will Take Off From," *Business Insider*, August 30, 2012.

and development of the four northern trails. In August 2002, the NPS and OCTA signed their first five-year cooperative agreement, and a year later, the NPS helped underwrite the salary of OCTA's first full-time association manager: Travis Boley, from Lexington, Missouri (see appendix 7).¹⁴²

Some of the major projects undertaken by Salt Lake City trails staff during this period included the following:

Auto Tour Route Guides

As noted above, interpretive specialist Chuck Milliken worked in the Salt Lake City office for two months during the fall of 2001, then returned to work on a long-term basis beginning in September 2002. Soon after he began his second stint on the job, he began receiving telephone calls from travelers who had seen the various Auto Tour Route signs and wanted some information to back up those signs. In his previous (New Jersey) job, he had written a series of pamphlets that had been distributed to travelers. Given the lack of trail-related information available, Milliken suggested the auto tour route idea to Krakow and was asked to proceed. He chose western Missouri and eastern Kansas as his first volume, and soon afterward drove out to the area along the major historic routes, taking photographs as he went.¹⁴³

Shortly afterward, in early 2003, Lee Kreutzer joined the staff and was told that “working on a driving guide” would be one of her first tasks. She quickly immersed herself in the area’s history and, based on Milliken’s driving directions and photographs, wrote up a draft narrative. (Initially, these interpretive guides were intended to be sufficiently brief that the information could fit within the confines of a rack card – but after Lee had written some draft material, Krakow and Milliken told her to “do more.”) After the Missouri-Kansas booklet was designed and laid out, it was sent out for partner, professional, and tribal review. The final product – which followed the history of the Oregon, California, and Pony Express trails in those states – was 28 pages long, with slick paper and a 6” x 9” format. By 2004, the guide was essentially complete, and it was electronically posted that year. But funding for a hard-copy publication of the guide – paid for out of the agency’s

¹⁴² *News from the Plains*, October 2002, 1, 5.

¹⁴³ Chuck Milliken, interview by author, February 19, 2014; Lee Kreutzer, interview by author, February 19, 2014.

operating funds – did not take place until September 2005 (see appendix 12).¹⁴⁴

Once the draft for the Missouri-Kansas volume was complete, Kreutzer commenced research on the next volume, which focused on the Mormon Pioneer NHT in Iowa as well as Nauvoo, Illinois. Kreutzer completed the necessary fieldwork and photography in 2004, and by the end of that year, the draft volume was being reviewed. By the end of 2005, the guide had been electronically published as an Acrobat PDF document, but it was not available as a paperback booklet until April 2007.¹⁴⁵

The next volume, which focused on four different NHTs as they crossed Nebraska and northeastern Colorado, was undertaken in 2005. On this volume, as with all later volumes, Milliken served as the primary photographer and prepared figures, maps, and other materials, while Kreutzer wrote the narrative text; Milliken did the design and layout and handled the publication process. By the end of the year, the Nebraska-Colorado volume was under internal review. They hoped to have the volume ready in time for the 2006 OCTA meeting, which was being held in St. Joseph, Missouri. They met that goal; it was designed, published, and distributed by August 2006.¹⁴⁶ Moving west, Milliken and Kreutzer next set their sights on the four NHTs that crossed Wyoming. That guide was undertaken in 2006, and by September of that year, the volume was in the research and writing phase. During the following year the two staff members completed the guide and saw to its publishing and distribution. The final publication date was July 2007.¹⁴⁷ The length of these two volumes – 61 and 77 pages, respectively – was substantially longer than the first two booklets in the series.

The volumes for states farther west were completed in much the same way as the first four booklets. Work on the Idaho volume, next in the series, began in early 2008 and was completed in October of that year. On the heels of that volume, Milliken and Kreutzer began two new volumes, for Utah and Nevada. By the end of the decade, work on both volumes was continuing apace.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ SAR, 2003, 8; SAR, 2004, 9; Milliken interview, February 19, 2014; Kreutzer interview, February 19, 2014. Milliken noted that the printing cost for the initial volume came out of the office’s basic operating funds; most of the succeeding printing costs, however, came from the PMIS (Project Management Information System) funding source.

¹⁴⁵ SAR, 2004, 15; SAR, 2005, 19; SAR, 2006, 12; Milliken interview, February 19, 2014; Kreutzer interview, February 19, 2014.

¹⁴⁶ SAR, 2005, 12, 19; SAR, 2006, 12.

¹⁴⁷ SAR, 2006, 12, 21; SAR, 2007, 5.

¹⁴⁸ SAR, 2008, 5, 10, 12; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2010, 12; SAR, 2011, 8; SAR, 2012, 7.

These booklets were distributed, free of charge, at state welcome centers, historic sites, museums, and chambers of commerce – as Krakow noted, “any place that you can get the information in the hand of the traveler.” Those who used the guides, moreover, welcomed them, because after seeing the various auto tour route signs along the highways, the booklets “put some meat on the bones” to complement the signs. The volumes supplied much-needed historical information, and (again quoting Krakow), they showed a visitor “where you can touch the trail.”¹⁴⁹

The Salt Lake City staff, and most particularly Milliken and Kreutzer, received nearly unanimously positive feedback for their efforts on the various auto tour routes. Perhaps because they were so well vetted prior to publication – with consultation and review by American Indian tribes, state historical societies, federal agency specialists, and OCTA members in each trail state – they proved so popular to the general public that the first four volumes have been reprinted, with none needing more than minor text changes. They were particularly popular among OCTA members.¹⁵⁰ Kreutzer noted that Oregon Trail and California Trail information, if artfully presented, could be “agreeable to all parties,” but similar information about the Pony Express seemed to be “definitionally controversial” and was subject to dispute.¹⁵¹

Brochures, Marking and Field-Based Interpretation

Along the four northern trails, the first full-color NPS brochures (see chapter 5 and appendix 7), had been completed in 1993 and 1995 for the Oregon and Mormon Pioneer NHTs. Funding for similar brochures for the California and Pony Express NHTs was put off until the trails’ CMP was completed in August 1999. In April 2000, OCTA members heard about a trails-office funding request that would pay for a full-color trails brochure for both the California and the Pony Express trails. Given the trails’ funding increase in FY 2001, the office proceeded to develop both brochures. The California brochure, in all likelihood, was completed and distributed in the late summer of 2001. The Pony Express brochure was completed, in draft form, by the end of 2001. Finalizing it, however, did not take place until the fall of 2003.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Krakow interview, January 4, 2008; Milliken interview, February 19, 2014.

¹⁵⁰ Milliken interview, February 19, 2014. The first three volumes were reprinted in September 2010, while the Wyoming volume was reprinted in October 2011. The Nebraska-Colorado volume received a third printing, in October 2015. SAR, 2006, 12; SAR, 2010, 7, 12; SAR, 2011, 8.

¹⁵¹ Kreutzer interview, February 19, 2014.

¹⁵² *News from the Plains*, April 2000, 8; *News from the Plains*, January 2001, 5; SAR, 2003, 8.

Soon after the four northern trails had a full complement of full-color brochures, the need was recognized to upgrade the brochures for the two more long-established trails. Working with the agency’s HFC, Salt Lake City trail officials, in 2005, were able to update, revise, and reprint the Mormon Pioneer NHT brochure. The following year, work began to redesign and update both the map and text for the Oregon NHT brochure. Project work dragged on, however, and the revised brochure was not completed and distributed until 2009.¹⁵³

Trails staff also engaged in numerous projects that resulted in interpretive waysides along the trails. As noted in Chapter 5, Mike Duwe in Denver had begun work on interpretive and trail marking projects – often with OCTA members – starting in 1994, and the following year, that responsibility had shifted over to the new Salt Lake City office, where Kay Threlkeld served as the project coordinator. Each year thereafter, the office worked with OCTA members and other trail partners on perhaps 15 to 20 new projects each year.

This pattern continued, with some variation, after 2000. In FY 2001, a substantial increase in the budget allotment for each of the four northern trails provided additional funds for project work, and the addition of a new interpretive specialist brought about a sharing of responsibility for project management: Threlkeld served as the administrative coordinator, while Chuck Milliken implemented the projects.¹⁵⁴ Interpretive projects were focused on all four trails, they were geographically widespread, and they ran the gamut from museum exhibits to interpretive waysides, trail re-enactments, and educational projects.

A few projects were spread across a number of states. In 2005, for example, the office supported the combined efforts of OCTA and the Ezra Meeker Society of Puyallup, Washington, so that a number of costumed trail advocates could take Meeker’s original wagon on a centennial trip along the Oregon Trail from Puyallup east to St. Joseph, Missouri. (Ezra Meeker, who had headed west by wagon in 1852, made a celebrated eastbound retracement of that trip in 1906, at age 76, in order to raise awareness of the trail’s importance in the country’s history.) The round trip began in July 2006, concluded about a month later and included a stopover at the OCTA convention in St. Joseph; it also included numerous programs at stops along the way and with selected opportunities to dedicate historical markers.¹⁵⁵ In addition, Accessible Arts – the Kansas City organization that took visually impaired students along the Santa Fe Trail (see above) – headed out onto the northern trails as well; in both 2005 and 2006, the organization obtained Challenge Cost Share

¹⁵³ SAR, 2005, 19; SAR, 2006, 11; SAR, 2007, 6; SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 5.

¹⁵⁴ Milliken interview, February 19, 2014.

¹⁵⁵ *News from the Plains*, Spring 2006, 9; Summer 2006, 13; SAR 2005, 9; SAR, 2006, 8.

funds to underwrite a two-week trip for 15 students along the California, Oregon, and Mormon Pioneer NHTs.¹⁵⁶

Funds to support the trail partnership associations were also invested in projects up and down the trails. In 2005 and 2006, National Pony Express Association (NPEA) educational projects reached scouting, boys and girls clubs, school programs, and other groups in all eight of the Pony Express states, and NPS support to OCTA supported a variety of education, research, and interpretive projects.¹⁵⁷ Additional support to the Pony Express trail began in 2007, when the NPS and NPEA began working together to plan the trail's 150th anniversary. Those joint efforts paid off in 2010 with a kick-off event in Washington, D.C. along with special events held in places all along the trail.¹⁵⁸ In 2006-2007, trails office staff worked with the OCTA board on a long-term strategic plan for the association, and beginning in 2007, NPS trails personnel worked with the agency's HFC and with both OCTA and NPEA to complete a long range interpretive plan for the four northern trails. That effort, which included a stakeholders workshop, the solicitation of tribal comments, and several meetings with association boards of directors, was completed in 2010.¹⁵⁹

Toward the eastern end of the northern trail network, the major project that took place in Kansas was focused on Alcove Springs, a key site that included Naomi Pike Falls, rock carvings associated with the 1846 Donner-Reed party, and a marker associated with the death and burial of Sarah Keyes, the first member of that party to perish. Here, trails office staff worked with OCTA's Kanza Chapter, the Alcove Spring Preservation Association, and with local pharmacist (and OCTA member) Duane Iles. In 2002, the partners obtained CCSP funds to improve visitor facilities at the 300-acre park, and during the next four years a site identification panel was installed along with at least seven new interpretive waysides.¹⁶⁰

In Nebraska, the trails office supported several major interpretive efforts. In Nebraska City, one of the overland trails' "jumping-off places" along the Missouri River, the staff worked with the Old Freighters Museum, because the building not only interpreted the significance of freighting and emigration on the overland trails, but the iconic firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell had had an office in the building. Between 2003 and 2005, trails staff completed the development, design,

¹⁵⁶ SAR, 2005, 11; SAR, 2006, 10. Accessible Arts was based at the Kansas State School for the Blind; the school's "Discovery Trails" program was run by Eleanor Craig, a nun from the Sisters of Loretto.

¹⁵⁷ SAR, 2005, 21; SAR, 2006, 24; SAR, 2007, 4; SAR, 2008, 4-5.

¹⁵⁸ SAR, 2007, 12; SAR, 2008, 13; SAR, 2009, 9; SAR, 2010, 1, 14.

¹⁵⁹ *News from the Plains*, Spring 2006, 1; SAR, 2007, 5, 12; SAR, 2008, 6, 13; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2010, 1, 6.

¹⁶⁰ Milliken interview, February 19, 2014; SAR, 2003, 8; SAR, 2005, 9; SAR, 2006, 9; SAR, 2007, 6.

and production of a series of both interior and exterior exhibits.¹⁶¹ During the same period, trails staff worked with the Nebraska Mormon Trail Association to design and produce twelve interpretive wayside exhibits for placement throughout the state, and in 2006 the exhibits were dedicated in a ceremony at the Great Platte River Road Archway Monument, near Kearney. That same year, trails staff began planning a project at the archway itself – both a series of historical landscape settings to help visitors understand the interpretive story, and also new trail orientation panels at the site.¹⁶²

Wyoming witnessed two major interpretive projects. In the eastern portion of the state, the NPS partnered with the Mormon Trail Heritage Foundation (located in Cheyenne) to design, develop, and install eight new interpretive waysides along a 150-mile stretch of trail between Lewellen, Nebraska (northwest of Ogallala) and Guernsey, Wyoming. The project was funded in 2003 and completed five years later.¹⁶³ West of the continental divide, office staff worked with a government agency – the BLM's Pinedale Field Office – to develop both orientation exhibits and interpretive waysides along the Lander Road. (The U.S. Army had built this road during the late 1850s to shorten the distance between South Pass, Wyoming and Fort Hall, Idaho.) This interpretive project, begun in 2004, was originally intended to produce exhibits and waysides all along the route. As it evolved, however, at least some of the project focused on the installation of wayside interpretation and museum exhibits in Star Valley, near Bedford, just east of the Wyoming-Idaho border.¹⁶⁴

In Utah, the office partnered with the Utah Division of the NPEA on a project at a popular Salt Lake City state park, called This is the Place Heritage Park. In July 1998, an Arvid Fairbanks Pony Express-themed statue, "Changing Horses," had been installed in the park. Four years later, as a project related to that year's Winter Olympics, a replica Pony Express cabin was placed in the park.¹⁶⁵ To better accommodate the public use of the much-visited cabin, the NPEA in 2004 worked out an agreement with the trails office to add a nearby horse corral, provide

¹⁶¹ Milliken interview, Feb. 19, 2014; SAR, 2003, 8; SAR, 2004, 7; SAR, 2005, 10; SAR, 2006, 11.

¹⁶² SAR, 2003, 8; SAR, 2004, 15; SAR, 2006, 21; SAR, 2007, 6; SAR, 2008, 6; Chuck Milliken, email to the author, January 11, 2018.

¹⁶³ SAR, 2003, 8; SAR, 2004, 14; SAR, 2005, 19; SAR, 2006, 19-20; SAR, 2007, 10; SAR, 2008, 11; Wyoming State Parks and Cultural Resources, *Update* [newsletter] 3:2 (July 2009), 11; see http://wyospcr.state.wy.us/intranet/SPCR_newsletter_7-2009.pdf.

¹⁶⁴ SAR, 2004, 8; SAR, 2005, 10; SAR, 2007, 6; SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 6; Milliken email, January 11, 2018.

¹⁶⁵ This cabin was originally constructed in Midway, Utah, then brought to the Salt Lake City park shortly after the 2002 Winter Olympics (which was held in Salt Lake City that February). Patrick Hearty and Dr. Joseph Hatch, *The Pony Express in Utah* (Arcadia, 2015), 88. Ownership of this park, in recent years, moved from the state to the private sector. Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018.

landscaping in the area, improve the cabin, install a wheelchair-accessible loop trail, and install an orientation panel along with eight freestanding interpretive exhibits. Work on the project was completed in 2006.¹⁶⁶

A far larger project took place in the state's western desert where the NPEA, along with the BLM's Salt Lake Field Office, partnered with the trails office to plan, design, and install eleven interpretive exhibits at various station sites along the historical Pony Express route. By 2004, when the project was conceived, the route was already well marked: the Civilian Conservation Corps had erected a series of large stone obelisks across the desert between 1935 and 1940;¹⁶⁷ and during the 1970s, BLM staff had installed various markers and waysides in many of those same locations. The obelisk locations, however, often did not accurately correspond to the historical station sites, and the BLM's interpretation had badly deteriorated. To overcome these deficiencies, cooperative project work began in 2005, and by 2008 the project was completed.¹⁶⁸

Another large-scale, cooperative effort in Utah began in 2006, the goal being to interpret the Hastings Cutoff (where the 1846 Donner-Reed party traveled) west of Salt Lake City. Partnering with the NPS's trails office were OCTA's Crossroads Chapter and BLM's Salt Lake Field Office, followed soon afterward by the Utah State Historical Society and the Utah DOT. The project entailed the development of a local auto tour route, along with the installation of ten new interpretive panels at key points along the route: Hastings Pass and Donner Springs in Utah; the Bonneville Salt Flats, just east of the Utah-Nevada line, and Bidwell Pass, just west of the state line. The project was completed in the fall of 2011.¹⁶⁹

In southeastern Idaho, the trails office established a partnership with the Caribou County Historical Society to interpret the Oregon and California trails in Soda Springs and the nearby Bear River valley. (Soda Springs was of interest to Mormons as well, inasmuch as Brigham Young had a summer home there during the 1870s.) Beginning in 2003, the trail partners collaborated and agreed on a package of what eventually became fourteen interpretive waysides. Work continued for the next

¹⁶⁶ SAR, 2004, 19; SAR, 2005, 22; SAR, 2006, 26. A heavy equipment operator later damaged and buried the park's wayside exhibit, but by 2014 the exhibit had been replaced (see chapter 7). Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, February 2, 2018.

¹⁶⁷ Patrick Hearty and Dr. Joseph Hatch, *The Pony Express Stations in Utah* (Salt Lake City, the authors, 2012), 45, 51. The CCC markers had two plaques: 1) a circular plaque showing a Pony rider, designed by A.P. Proctor and cast in 1935, and 2) a rectangular plaque cast between 1934 and 1940 and sponsored by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association, occasionally assisted by the Oregon Trail Memorial Association.

¹⁶⁸ SAR, 2004, 19; SAR, 2005, 22; SAR, 2006, 25; SAR, 2007, 6-7; SAR, 2008, 13.

¹⁶⁹ SAR, 2006, 10; SAR, 2007, 7; SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 6; SAR, 2010, 7; SAR, 2011, 7.

several years and was completed in 2008.¹⁷⁰

In Nevada, the trails office initially worked with a BLM planning team that was helping to develop the Elko-based California Trail Interpretive Center. This center had sprung to life in December 2000, thanks to federal legislation that passed in response to local, citizen-driven efforts.¹⁷¹ On the heels of that legislation, a master plan study was launched, and trails staff during 2004 and 2005 helped the planning team review plans and designs for the center, which began construction in early 2007 and opened in 2012. The trails staff, in 2005, also worked with BLM's Elko District to edit, design, and produce a series of 34 wayside interpretive exhibits along the California NHT in eastern Nevada.¹⁷² Shortly after the trails staff took part in those projects, it got involved in a Pony Express project in central Nevada. The White Buffalo Nation (a small nonprofit organization based in Crescent Valley, Nevada) worked with the NPS on an interpretive kiosk. (The BLM's Battle Mountain Field Office and the state's NPEA chapter assisted as well.) The kiosk was located along State Highway 278 near Tyrone Gap, between the Sulphur Springs and Roberts Creek Pony Express stations. Another Pony Express exhibit in eastern Nevada – undertaken by Keith Anderson of Ely, Nevada – was located at the intersection of the historic trail and U.S. Highway 93, between the Schell Creek and Egan Canon stations. The innovative project featured a large pony-and-rider silhouette, a short interpretive trail, and various wayside exhibits.¹⁷³

Trails staff worked on scattered small projects in Oregon.¹⁷⁴ In California, work commenced on a project to provide eight new interpretive waysides along the Carson Route of the California NHT. The office partnered with OCTA's California-Nevada Chapter – and more specifically with local resident Frank Tortorich – on the project. It began in 2005 and was finally completed in 2013.¹⁷⁵ Another project – which also stretched out far longer than originally anticipated – dealt with auto tour route signing in the state. In 2007, trails staff prepared and submitted a transportation enhancement grant application to CalTrans (the state's transportation department) that provided for the placement of Auto Tour Route signs for the Pony Express and California NHTs along some 5,000 miles of the state's highways. The application was approved and awarded, but

¹⁷⁰ Milliken interview, Feb. 19, 2014; Milliken email, January 11, 2018; SAR 2003, 8; SAR, 2004, 7; SAR, 2005, 10; SAR, 2006, 9; SAR, 2007, 6; SAR, 2008, 6.

¹⁷¹ *News from the Plains*, July 2001, 8; July 2002, 9. The California Trail Interpretive Act (P.L. 106-577), which authorized this center, was signed into law by President Clinton on December 28, 2000.

¹⁷² <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-106publ577/content-detail.html>; SAR, 2004, 8; SAR, 2005, 10; *News from the Plains*, Winter 2007, 1.

¹⁷³ SAR, 2006, 26; SAR, 2007, 6; SAR, 2008, 13; SAR, 2009, 9; SAR, 2010, 15; SAR, 2011, 16; Milliken email, January 11, 2018; Lee Kreutzer email, October 2, 2018.

¹⁷⁴ SAR, 2005, 12; SAR, 2007, 6; SAR, 2008, 6.

¹⁷⁵ Milliken intv., Feb. 19, 2014; Kim Finch intv., Feb. 20, 2014; SAR, 2005, 10; SAR, 2011, 7; SAR, 2012, 6.

the implementation of the road-sign agreement dragged on for years due to bureaucratic delays involving the transfer of funds from the federal to the state governments and back again.¹⁷⁶

Research

In terms of sheer volume, certainly the most significant research done with the trails office's assistance has been undertaken by the Salt Lake City-based historian Will Bagley. In May 2000, Bagley entered into a cooperative agreement to write what was projected to be an 800-page, three-volume historic resources study for the Oregon and California trails (see appendix 8). In response, Bagley plunged into the study – which would later be known as the *Overland West: the Story of the Oregon and California Trails* series – and, by the end of 2003, he was reportedly finishing up with almost half of the chapters that had originally been proposed. The following year, he finished a draft of the first volume, which was already being praised as a “monumental achievement” and a “remarkably all-inclusive overview.” After a rigorous outside review process, that volume – which was titled *So Rugged and Mountainous: Blazing the Trails to Oregon and California, 1812–1848*, was ready in 2006 for posting on an NPS website. The print volume, however, was not published (by the University of Oklahoma) until 2010.¹⁷⁷

Soon after he completed a draft of the first volume, Bagley moved onto a new project related to South Pass, Wyoming. More than forty years earlier, the Interior Department had declared South Pass a national historic landmark (NHL).¹⁷⁸ Impending energy development brought increased attention to the area, and a quick investigation revealed that the existing nomination lacked boundaries and thus needed to be redone.¹⁷⁹ Given the support of both the BLM and the NPS, therefore, he wrote a National Register nomination for a South Pass Rural Historic District, plus several additional individual nominations, between 2004 and 2007. That effort brought not only Bagley, but also a number of OCTA volunteers, out into the field in 2006. At the BLM's behest, Bagley also undertook a second project phase, to define and justify the NHL's boundaries; that phase, however, was later canceled.¹⁸⁰ His South Pass work propelled him to produce a commercially-available volume on the subject. That book, *South Pass: Gateway to a Continent*, was published in 2014.

¹⁷⁶ SAR, 2007, 6; SAR, 2008, 6; Aaron Mahr, interview with the author, November 29, 2018.

¹⁷⁷ AR, 2003, 10; SAR, 2004, 9; SAR, 2005, 12-13; SAR, 2006, 14; Will Bagley, interview by the author, December 13, 2017.

¹⁷⁸ <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/find/statelists/wy/WY.pdf>.

¹⁷⁹ A private mining company proposed to test the placer mining potential of gold claims on BLM-managed lands in and around South Pass. SAR, 2005, 38-39.

¹⁸⁰ SAR, 2004, 10; SAR, 2005, 13; SAR, 2006, 13; SAR, 2007, 6.

Meanwhile, based on the comments by outside peer reviewers to his *So Rugged and Mountainous* volume, Bagley decided to reorganize the remaining volumes in his *Overland West* series, and by the end of 2004, he had decided to expand the series from three volumes to four. In addition, his thorough trail research – based at first on sources available in Merrill Mattes's extensive bibliography – had made it apparent that hundreds of previously unknown primary sources needed to be made available to other trail historians.¹⁸¹

Given that daunting workload, Bagley first proceeded to complete the second volume of the *Overland West* series. That book, *With Golden Visions Bright Before Them: Trails to the Mining West, 1849–1852*, was published in 2012. Not long afterward, he finalized his expansive bibliography. That compilation, called *Across the Plains, Mountains, and Deserts: a Bibliography of the Oregon-California Trail, 1812-1912*, was made available (in electronic form) by the NPS in early 2014.¹⁸² The remaining two volumes in the *Overland West* series – one concerning the 1853-1860 period, the other the 1861-1870 period – have yet to be published, although significant portions of the text have been completed in draft form.¹⁸³

The office sponsored other research efforts, too. Back in 1986, OCTA had established a committee to create a computerized database of original emigrant writings pertaining to the overland trails experience. That database, originally called the Census of Overland Emigrant Documents (COED), was later renamed Paper Trails. In 2003, the NPS made an agreement with OCTA to expand that database of emigrant names and related information, and three years later – after more than 6,000 hours of effort by association volunteers – the project was complete. As one report noted, “the resulting product is a comprehensive, internet-accessible and searchable database of emigrants who traveled the California and Oregon Trails.”¹⁸⁴

During the same period, photographer Jim Henderson spent several years on an NPS-supported project intended to document faded and deteriorating emigrant inscriptions along the California and Oregon trails. He photographed the inscriptions at night, using polarized light to discern many nearly-invisible inscriptions. After he had visited these sites, he entered the information from the

¹⁸¹ SAR, 2004, 9; SAR, 2005, 13; SAR, 2006, 14; Merrill Mattes, *Platte River Road Narratives: A Descriptive Bibliography of Travel Over the Great Central Overland Route to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Montana, and Other Western States and Territories, 1812-1866* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 1988.

¹⁸² <https://www.nps.gov/cali/learn/historyculture/upload/nps-hrs-biblio-master-february2014-willbagley-2.pdf>.

¹⁸³ SAR, 2006, 14; <http://www.oupresblog.com/subjects/history-of-the-american-west/new-series-overland-west-the-story-of-the-oregon-and-california-trails/>.

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.paper-trail.org/about.asp>; SAR, 2006, 14.

inscriptions into an Access database that could be searched by emigrant name, location, and type of inscription (whether it was incised, on tar, etc.).¹⁸⁵

The office sponsored several archeological field investigations. In 2009, it supported Central Wyoming College students, from a field school directed by Todd Guenther, along the four-trail Sweetwater River trail corridor. The office also sponsored several geophysical investigations of trail-related historic sites by Steve DeVore, with the NPS's Midwest Archeological Center in Lincoln, Nebraska.¹⁸⁶ Sponsored archival work included a multi-year effort to preserve and catalog the Howard R. Driggs collection at Southern Utah University in Cedar City. (Dr. Driggs, the one-time president of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association (OTMA), collected many first-person accounts of Oregon Trail and Pony Express participants, and he spent a number of years gathering information about, and promoting, the preservation of the western trails.) The office supported historical research, too, and provided general, non-financial support to historian Joseph Nardone in his continuing investigations into the Pony Express route and its stations.¹⁸⁷

A major internally-driven research effort was the establishment and expansion of the office's library. According to trails employee Chuck Milliken, Kay Threlkeld did a "remarkable job" of building and maintaining the library's books, journals, and other materials.¹⁸⁸

The Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program

As noted in Chapter 5, Congress passed a bill in August 1999 that called for the preservation of certain resources along the historic Route 66 Corridor. That bill stated that NPS staff, "stationed at locations convenient to the States" along the route, would "facilitate the development of guidelines and a program of technical assistance and grants that will set priorities for the preservation of the Route 66 corridor."¹⁸⁹ Left unanswered, however, were such key questions as which city (or cities) would house program staff, how the staffing process would proceed, what the program's general duties would be, and many more.

To help provide general guidance, the NPS held a Route 66 Corridor Act planning

¹⁸⁵ SAR, 2004, 11; SAR, 2005, 14; http://www.idahocta.org/Registration_Booklet_2008.pdf.

¹⁸⁶ SAR, 2003, 10; SAR, 2008, 4-5; Lee Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014.

¹⁸⁷ SAR, 2005, 14; SAR, 2006, 15; Lee Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014.

¹⁸⁸ Milliken interview, Feb. 19, 2014; SAR, 2004, 4, 11.

¹⁸⁹ Public Law 106-45, Sections 2(a) and 2(b).

meeting in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on February 24-25, 2000. Attendees came from up and down the Route 66 corridor. They included representatives from Route 66 state associations in all eight states, most of the Route 66 SHPOs, and scattered federal agencies, cities, and tribal units. Six NPS representatives attended; most were from Santa Fe, but only one came from the trails office. Their purpose in coming was to collect ideas and recommendation pertaining to several key questions related to the recently-passed legislation: 1) What should the program accomplish during its ten-year life? 2) What were the route's "most important resources"? 3) What kinds of resources should be preserved – or not preserved? 4) How should the funds be allocated – and should the program spend its grant funds on a few large projects or a larger number of small projects? These and similar questions were discussed and compiled during the two-day meeting. None of these questions would be acted upon, however, until Congress provided the program a budget allotment.¹⁹⁰

In late 2000, NPS officials received word that the Route 66 program would receive \$500,000 in one-year statutory aid funding for FY 2001, so soon afterward, they announced their intention to hire a historical architect to serve as program manager. Michael Taylor, a Santa Fe-area resident who had been working for New Mexico State Monuments, was chosen for the job and began work in February 2001. And because of the commonalities between the historic highway and the various NHTs, officials decided that he would work in the agency's Long Distance Trails office in Santa Fe.

Soon after assuming the position, Taylor joined DSC planner (and Route 66 study veteran) Susan Boyle on a Route 66 familiarization trip. Soon afterward, he undertook the numerous steps necessary to commence "participating in cost-sharing programs, and making grants" as called for in the 1999 congressional act.¹⁹¹ He therefore developed criteria and eligibility for funds disbursement, and sent out a wide number of requests for proposals (RFPs) to program partners. By early July, Taylor had received 17 project proposals, and by mid-July the program announced that it would be granting funds to 15 of those applicants, from all eight Route 66 states, totaling \$405,500. These grants went to such diverse projects as historic building surveys, National Register nominations, historic roadbed documentation, brochure development, model sign ordinance development, "bricks and mortar" preservation work, and historic sign restoration.¹⁹²

NPS officials recognized that the program's funding levels were not base-funded,

¹⁹⁰ ROSI electronic correspondence files (S:/ROSI/Correspondence/2001), NTIR Collection.

¹⁹¹ Michael Taylor, interview by the author, September 20, 2017; P.L. 106-45, Section 2(c)(1).

¹⁹² SAR, 2001, 18-19.

so in mid-2001 they sent a briefing paper to the state's congressional delegation, hoping to establish a recurring operating base. Recognizing that the legislation had called for a maximum expenditure of \$10 million during the ten-year life of the program, they requested an annual allotment of \$1,187,500. (This amount was later reduced to \$750,000.) Even the lower funding amount would allow the program to expend \$500,000 annually for cost-share funding and grants, and also allow the program to staff an architectural historian/preservation planner, an interpretive specialist, and a secretary as well as a historical architect.¹⁹³ Congress, however, showed no interest in these higher funding amounts, and in FY 2002, the program received just \$300,000 – a 40 percent drop from the previous year. The program's annual budget, moreover, remained at the \$300,000 level for many years thereafter (see appendix 6).

Despite that sobering financial news, agency officials gave Taylor the go-ahead to hire an assistant program manager, and by January 2002, Kaisa Barthuli was on the job. (Barthuli, who worked in the agency's Architectural Conservation Projects, in Santa Fe, was well known to trails staff because of her highly-regarded work interpreting the historical inscriptions at Autograph Rock, Oklahoma, along the Santa Fe NHT.) Soon after Barthuli joined the staff, program officials invited a broad range of people interested in Route 66 to a two-day "working meeting" in Albuquerque. Given the fact that the program had been in operation for a full year, Taylor and Barthuli hoped to gain a working consensus on the future direction of the Route 66 program. The meeting, by all accounts, was deemed highly successful, and many of the ideas brought forth at the meeting helped steer the program in the future.¹⁹⁴

In the years that followed, the program's grant program matured. In order to ensure that grant funds were being awarded to the most deserving applicants, Taylor developed an increasingly sophisticated method of proposal evaluation, and he also took pains to ensure that all applicants were able to provide cost-share matches that equaled or exceeded the amount of federal funds requested. Given a reduced budget, however, the program provided fewer funds than it had previously. In 2002, the program dispensed approximately \$150,000 in cost-share grants, and for the remainder of the decade, the annual level of disbursed funds typically ranged from \$80,000 to \$160,000 (see appendix 13). The number of successful grantees per year, during this period, typically ranged from five to ten.¹⁹⁵ By this time, the annual cycle

¹⁹³ ROSI electronic correspondence files (S:/ROSI/Correspondence/2001), NTIR Collection.

¹⁹⁴ Michael Taylor, interview by the author, September 20, 2017; ROSI electronic correspondence files (S:/ROSI/Correspondence/2001), NTIR Collection.

¹⁹⁵ Michael Taylor interview, September 20, 2017; NPS, "Cost-Share Grant Project Statistics by Fiscal Year, Fiscal Years 2001-2016," in S:/ROSI/Grant Administration/Grant Statistics. The extremes in these categories were 3 projects (in 2009) and 13 projects (in 2003); and from \$66,737 (again, in 2009) up to \$163,516 (in 2007).

for the grant program had become fairly routine. The process typically begun in January, when the application and guidelines were announced on the NPS's Route 66 website. Applicants had until late March to submit applications. In mid-April, a review panel evaluated each application and, based on the funds available, selected the most appropriate applicants. Follow-up discussions between the applicants and NPS staff then ensued to work out project specifics, and the grants were typically signed and implemented in July or August.

In order to tell partners about the program and the many projects underway along Route 66, the program staff compiled a series of newsletters, called *Route 66 Corridor Preservation News*. The first issue was distributed in November 2002. They continued to appear each year until 2005, and then, less regularly, until 2010.¹⁹⁶ Since that time, news about the Route 66 program has been continuously available on the agency's website.

One of the major ideas that came out of the January 2002 "working meeting" in Albuquerque was an advisory council. Both staff and partners showed an interest in the council, which would consist of members that represented agencies or organizations that had an established preservation interest in Route 66. The process to create the council, however, took longer than expected. In 2003, the council's charter was being reviewed by the solicitor's office, and the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program Advisory Council was formally established in the spring of 2004.¹⁹⁷ Eighteen months later, all fifteen members of the advisory council had been duly appointed and were ready to serve (see appendix 5). In January 2006 the advisory council met for the first time, in Albuquerque; at that meeting it elected John Murphey, from the New Mexico State Historic Preservation Office, as chairman. Follow-up advisory board meetings took place in November 2006, in Oklahoma City; in November 2007, in Pasadena, California; and in November 2008, in St. Louis. No further meetings took place because the initial ten-year life of the Route 66 program was scheduled to terminate in August 2009.¹⁹⁸

Once the corridor preservation program got underway, NPS staff became aware that some states along the route had already taken numerous steps to identify and evaluate the highway route and its resources. As early as 1989, a MPDF had been written for Route 66 in Arizona (see appendix 14); this effort would set the stage for further statewide efforts that the NPS would sponsor in the coming years. In addition, several states had embarked on a series of building surveys, which itemized and evaluated the built environment associated with the heyday

¹⁹⁶ SAR, 2004, 40; SAR, 2005, 35.

¹⁹⁷ SAR, 2003, 16; *Federal Register* 69 (May 18, 2004), 28143-44.

¹⁹⁸ SAR, 2006, 54; SAR, 2008, 20; Michael Taylor, interview with the author, November 3, 2017.

of Route 66 (see appendix 15); by the time the NPS's program was in operation, initial building surveys had already been completed in New Mexico (1992), Illinois (1995), and Arizona (1996). Finally, states such as Illinois (1995) and Oklahoma (2001-2002) had already forged ahead with Route 66 roadbed surveys, which had examined the highway's alignment over the years and had made condition assessments of the road surface.

The heritage aspects of the Route 66 program came to the fore in 2003, when NPS staff awarded a contract to Michael Cassity, with Thomason and Associates, to write a "national historic context" for the route as it relates to the greater federal highway system. Essentially a contextual history of the highway – similar to a major portion of a MPDF– it included an assessment of the national economic, social and political forces that shaped the highway over its 59-year history. That research was completed in December 2004.¹⁹⁹ Somewhat later, consultant Phil Thomason – from Nashville, Tennessee – and the NPS's Route 66 program staff helped provide information that filled out other portions of the MPDF. The final document was submitted in August 2011, and it was listed on the National Register on April 4, 2012.²⁰⁰

Soon after the historical context was completed, work commenced on the preparation of National Register nominations related to the historic road. This task was entrusted to Thomason, the consultant noted above. It was initially hoped to have 50 new nominations for highway-related properties completed within two years.²⁰¹ Thomason, who headed the consulting company, undertook most of the job himself; he spent considerable time at sites in Illinois, Missouri, and as far west as California as well. (New Mexico was largely bypassed, inasmuch as historian David Kammer had already written a number of Route 66 nominations in that state.) Thomason completed 28 nominations in 2005, and another 12 the following year. Most of the nominations under that contract, moreover, were eventually listed on the NRHP.²⁰²

Based on the 50 National Register property nominations that were being contemplated, the Route 66 staff hoped to publicize these nominations by developing a web-based travel itinerary for Route 66. The idea was conceived in 2004, and it was recognized that the website would be launched soon after the

¹⁹⁹ SAR, 2003, 17; SAR, 2004, 41; http://www.michaelcassity.org/uploads/1/2/7/7/12777320/cassity_rte66_corridor_study_2004.pdf.

²⁰⁰ Kaisa Barthuli, interview with the author, December 12, 2017; <http://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/preserve/survey/highway/National%20MPDF%20Rt%2066.pdf>.

²⁰¹ SAR, 2003, 17; SAR, 2004, 41.

²⁰² SAR, 2005, 45; SAR, 2006, 53; Michael Taylor, interview by the author, November 6, 2017; Kaisa Barthuli, interview by the author, November 6, 2017.

National Register nominations were completed. The information for the travel itinerary was submitted to Washington in 2007.²⁰³ Two years later, a series of sponsors launched the Route 66 Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary, and in 2010, another 50 sites were added to the itinerary.²⁰⁴

In 2007, an assessment began of the economic impacts of historic preservation and tourism on Route 66. This was a partnership between the NPS, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Rutgers University (in New Jersey). The following year saw additional partnerships, both from the World Monuments Fund and American Express (through the company's Sustainable Tourism Initiative). The project was completed in March 2012.²⁰⁵

A major initiative was started in 2007 with various universities that housed major collections of Route 66 material. The trails office partnered with ten archival institutions – at least one from each Route 66 state – to spearhead the Route 66 Archive and Research Collaboration (ARC). The mission of this group was to collect, preserve, and make accessible historical research materials – among both institutions along Route 66 and more distant repositories as well – to facilitate education, preservation, and interpretation of the historic highway corridor. To accomplish those goals, representatives from the group met once each year at various cities along the highway, typically in conjunction with meetings of one of the Route 66 state associations (see appendix 5).²⁰⁶

During the 110th Congress, which met in 2007 and 2008, a major question looming over the Route 66 program was whether the program would continue past its original ten-year lifespan – and if so, what form the program would take place after the first ten years had been completed. The answer was in the hands of Congress, and by all accounts, Congress wanted continuity. In May 2008, Rep. Heather Wilson (R-New Mexico) submitted a bill (H.R. 6046) to extend, for ten years, the provisions of the 1999 Route 66 authorization act, and four months later, Sen. Pete Domenici (R-New Mexico) submitted much the same bill (S. 3010) in the Senate. Neither bill saw action that year. During the intervening period between the 110th and 111th congresses, however, Democratic legislative leaders assembled the constituents of a massive public lands measure and sought an opportunity to add those measures onto an existing bill. The vehicle chosen for the massive amendment was H.R. 146, which had initially been a one-page bill that called for

²⁰³ SAR, 2004, 40; SAR, 2005, 46; SAR, 2007, 21; SAR, 2008, 20;

²⁰⁴ SAR, 2009, 20; SAR, 2010, 29. Website sponsors included the World Monuments Fund, American Express, NPS Heritage Education Services, and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers.

²⁰⁵ SAR, 2007, 21; SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2009, 20; SAR, 2010, 29; SAR, 2011, 32; SAR, 2012, 33.

²⁰⁶ SAR, 2007, 21; SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2009, 20; SAR, 2010, 29.

amending the American Battlefield Protection Act of 1996. After that bill passed the House (on March 3) and was introduced in the Senate, a far larger bill (which included, as Section 7304, the provision in Wilson’s and Domenici’s 2008 bills) passed the Senate on March 19. That larger bill passed the House on March 25, and on March 30, President Obama signed the Omnibus Public Land Management Act of 2009 into law. With the passage of that bill, the Route 66 program was authorized to continue operating until 2019.²⁰⁷

New Historic Trail Proposals

Old Spanish Trail

As noted in Chapter 5, Congress had passed an Old Spanish Trail study bill in late 1996, and beginning in 1997, staff in the NPS’s DSC began working on a feasibility study and environmental assessment for the trail. The draft of that study was issued in July 2000, with the study noting that “there is currently insufficient information upon which to conclusively base a determination of national significance. With respect to a number of other historic themes and uses that were evaluated, the Old Spanish Trail is found to be of state or local significance.” The NPS responded by asking the trails office – and specifically newly-hired trails historian Aaron Mahr, assisted by John Conoboy – to write a new significance statement. To many trail advocates, Mahr was perceived to be an ideal candidate for the task, primarily because he had gone to graduate school in New Mexico and thus recognized the importance of southwestern themes in the country’s history.

To improve upon the previous significance statement, he worked closely with Old Spanish Trail Association members and added new cultural components as well as the trail’s impact on Native populations. So when Mahr – representing the office – returned to the NPS Advisory Board’s Landmarks Committee, he was not turned down; instead, however, he was advised to “canvass the academy” to ascertain its opinion of the revised significance statement. Mahr, in response, selected several new academics to weigh his revised statement. Those historians reacted more positively than others had a year earlier. Specifically, all but one of those scholars – David Weber, a well-known and highly respected historian – concurred that the trail was indeed nationally significant.²⁰⁸

Soon after receiving those letters, the National Park System Advisory Board’s

²⁰⁷ SAR, 2009, 20; www.congress.gov, “All Legislation/Route 66.”

²⁰⁸ John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014; Aaron Mahr interview, November 30, 2017.

Landmarks Committee met again – on May 8 in Mount Vernon, Virginia – and the Old Spanish Trail was considered for a third time.²⁰⁹ Mahr gave a brief presentation on behalf of the trails office. After some discussion, several Landmarks Committee members stated that they would support the trail as being nationally significant, but – perhaps recognizing that Weber was still against the proposal – called for additional academic input. Committee member Richard Guy Wilson, agreeing with those members, “moved to recommend the National Historic Trail with the request that elaboration of scholarly input be added upon reaching the Secretary of the Interior.” The motion passed unanimously, with one abstention.²¹⁰

Given the Landmark’s Committee approval, the trail’s national significance was affirmed less than two weeks later, at the meeting of the full National Park System Advisory Board, and in July 2001, the NPS’s DSC issued its final *National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Statement*, which also declared the trail to be nationally significant.²¹¹

Action then moved on to Congress. The first Old Spanish authorization bill was introduced by Sen. Pete Domenici, on May 2, 2001 – which was a week before the Landmarks Committee had even had the opportunity to debate the trail’s national significance. The following year witnessed the introduction of three more Old Spanish Trail bills: H.R. 3691, introduced on February 12, 2002 by Rep. Heather Wilson (R-New Mexico); S. 1946, introduced two days later by Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colorado); and HR 4111, introduced in April 2002 by Rep. Scott McInnis (R-Colorado). None of the House bills made any particular progress, but Campbell’s bill – the Old Spanish Trail Recognition Act of 2002 – received a subcommittee hearing in March, a full committee hearing in July, and it passed the Senate (by unanimous consent) on August 1. It then moved over to the House, where it passed the full Resource committee in late September and was passed by the full House in mid-November. The bill was then sent to President George W. Bush, who signed it into law (P.L. 107-325) on December 4, 2002.²¹²

As soon as the bill was passed, questions were raised regarding which agency

²⁰⁹ <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2001-03-09/html/01-5935.htm>.

²¹⁰ National Park System Advisory Board National Landmarks Committee Report to the Board, May 8-9, 2001 (notes prepared in connection with that meeting), NHL Files, NPS-WASO, courtesy Caridad de la Vega

²¹¹ <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2001-03-09/html/01-5935.htm>; NPS, *Old Spanish Trail, National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment* (Denver, the author, July 2001), 23; SAR, 2001, 20.

²¹² www.congress.gov, “Old Spanish Trail”. During the fall of 2002, an Old Spanish Trail authorization bill (H.R. 37) was combined with a four-trails bill and a Lewis and Clark NHT extension bill, but that bill did not become law.

would administer the trail. The NPS, for its part, had written both the draft and final Old Spanish Trail feasibility studies. Perhaps as a consequence, the July 2000 draft study – following advice outlined in the NTSA, Section 5(b) – had stated that “If the Old Spanish Trail were to be designated as a National Historic Trail, the National Park Service would be the proposed federal administering agency.” But six months after the completion of the draft study, Interior Secretary Babbitt had decreed that administrative responsibility for the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail would “be assigned jointly to the BLM and the National Park Service.” As a result of Babbitt’s action, the final Old Spanish Trail feasibility study (in July 2001) stated that “the established practice of assigning agency trail administration is currently under review. . . . This approach to trail administration is currently in the planning stages.”²¹³

Deborah Salt, who became the BLM’s National Trails Program Lead starting in April 2003, recognized that President George W. Bush’s Interior Secretary, Gale Norton, needed to consider a number of factors before deciding on which agency would administer the Old Spanish NHT. According to Salt,

the virtues of interagency cooperation, in 2003, remained strong within the Interior Department; as [Salt] noted, there was still a feeling that the BLM and the NPS offered “complementary skills.” The Old Spanish NHT, however, was similar to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT in that it had far more land managed by the BLM than by any other federal agency. There was a widespread recognition at this time that the BLM and the NPS had differing agency missions but that BLM, with the advent of the National Landscape Conservation System, was still prepared to step up to the responsibilities of trail administration. Both NPS and the Old Spanish Trail Association, at the time, were interested in NPS administration, but both also recognized BLM’s level of management responsibility.²¹⁴

Perhaps because of the strength of these “virtues of interagency cooperation,” the directors of the NPS and BLM recommended to Interior Secretary Norton that the Old Spanish Trail be jointly administered by the NPS and BLM. Norton, in turn, implemented that recommendation on June 21, 2003; the decision was announced in Durango, Colorado, at the Old Spanish Trail Association’s annual meeting. Soon afterward, NPS trails personnel began coordinating information and efforts with

²¹³ NPS, *Old Spanish Trail, Draft Feasibility Study* (July 2000), 32; NPS/BLM, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Final CMP/EIS* (April 2004), 179-180; NPS, *Old Spanish Trail, Feasibility Study* (July 2001), 34.

²¹⁴ Deborah Salt interview, April 11, 2014.

BLM personnel, and also with officers from the Old Spanish Trail Association.²¹⁵

The first major step to effectively administer the Old Spanish Trail – one mandated by the NTSA – was the preparation of a CMP. The trails office received FY 2004 funds for that purpose, so in December 2003, staff from the two administering agencies, along with Old Spanish Trail Association representatives, met for a start-up meeting in Salt Lake City.²¹⁶ After that, the two agencies identified a four-person core planning team;²¹⁷ they spent the next several months developing and finalizing a “pre-plan” which would guide the compilation of the CMP. This document was signed in August 2004. By this time, the planning team had recognized the need for tribal involvement in the planning process, and as a result, they asked Otis Halfmoon, a tribal liaison from the NPS’s IMR office, to join the planning team.²¹⁸

Soon afterward, the planning team recognized that the trail needed both an “ethnographic study of select tribal groups” and a study aimed at identifying the socioeconomic impacts of the trail’s CMP once it was completed. Later, however, priorities changed; the two agencies opted to underwrite two ethnographic studies of trailside populations – one for American Indians, the other for Hispanic groups – but decided that any necessary socioeconomic data would be subsumed within the EIS that was being prepared as part of the CMP. (The socioeconomic data was prepared by the URS consulting firm; that same firm was asked to play a leading role in overseeing other contracted portions of the draft EIS.) The two ethnographic studies, both undertaken by University of Arizona staff, were completed in 2008.²¹⁹

Planning team members, in January 2006, announced a notice of intent to begin the CMP process. This notice set in motion the upcoming public scoping phase of the plan, which took place between January and May 2006, when the planning team held a total of 21 scoping meetings in all six trail states. Approximately 200 members of the public attended these meetings. Once the 120-day scoping period was over, the team compiled a scoping report, published a newsletter outlining the

²¹⁵ SAR, 2003, 3, 15-16; https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/archive/news/archive/03_News_Releases/030621.htm.

²¹⁶ SAR, 2004, 3, 16. According to an NPS report, government agency staff came “from Washington, state, regional, and local trails offices.”

²¹⁷ The team consisted of Aaron Mahr and Sharon Brown from the NPS, along with Sarah Schlanger and Terry Humphrey from the BLM. Brown, at that time, was stationed in Vancouver, Washington, while Mahr, Schlanger and Humphrey were based in Santa Fe.

²¹⁸ SAR, 2004, 16-18.

²¹⁹ SAR, 2007, 11; Sharon Brown, email to the author, August 8, 2018; Richard W. Stoffle, *et al.*, *American Indians and the Old Spanish Trail* (Tucson, University of Arizona Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology), December 19, 2008; Richard W. Stoffle, *et al.*, *Ethnohistoric and Ethnographic Assessment of Contemporary Communities along the Old Spanish Trail* (Tucson, University of Arizona Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology), December 19, 2008.

results of the scoping process, and began drafting plan alternatives.²²⁰ Finalizing alternatives – which involved coordination between officials with the BLM and NPS, with nominal assistance from the U.S. Forest Service – followed immediately thereafter.²²¹ To encourage interest in the trail, agency staff worked with the San Juan Mountains Association to hold a 2008 conference focused on the trail in Durango, Colorado.²²² As the decade ended, however, there were no signs that the CMP was close to being completed.

In the midst of the planning process, the NPS trails office established a working program for the Old Spanish NHT and began to undertake trail projects. In 2006, the NPS established its first five-year cooperative agreement with the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), and that agreement led to development and completion of several significant projects. First-year projects included the printing of thousands of trail pamphlets (for distribution at visitor centers and other sites popular with travelers) and bookmarks (for distribution to libraries and elementary school classrooms). Through a cost-share agreement, trail advocates in late March and early April 2006 gathered (in Phoenix) for a much-needed mapping workshop, thus allowing for a more accurate mapping of several trail sections. In addition, federal funds helped make OSTA's web page fully functional, and web-site improvements soon followed. Shortly afterward, the NPS provided funds to the Center of Southwest Studies at Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado, to develop a traveling museum exhibition about the trail.²²³

By the end of the decade, officials with the NPS and BLM had been working together for several years to administer two different NHTs. The two agencies had been co-administering El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT since January 2001 and the Old Spanish Trail since June 2003. Those affiliated with both agencies recognized that the NPS and BLM operated in substantially different ways. Jere Krakow, from the NPS, noted that “Those [joint trails] are very challenging . . . so in coordinating with another agency for administration, it brings up all the cultures that those agencies have and some of the preconceived notions and challenges.” Sarah Schlanger, from the BLM, largely agreed; she noted that “the NPS/BLM partnership is sort of like teaming up an ox with a mule--both have strengths, but they are not interchangeable and they need a lot of good coaching to work well together. Willing, but not always able!”²²⁴

²²⁰ *Federal Register* 71 (January 18, 2006), 2956-57; SAR, 2005, 20-21; SAR, 2006, 3, 22-23, SAR, 2007, 11.

²²¹ SAR, 2007, 11; SAR, 2008, 2.

²²² SAR, 2008, 11.

²²³ SAR, 2006, 23; SAR, 2008, 12.

²²⁴ Krakow interview, Jan. 4, 2008; Schlanger, email to the author, December 13, 2017.

El Camino Real de los Tejas

A proposal regarding El Camino Real de los Tejas was similar to that for the Old Spanish Trail in that the study bills for both trails had passed Congress during the 1990s (the former in 1993, the latter in 1996), but neither trail was authorized until after 2000. As noted in Chapter 5, bills to authorize El Camino Real de los Tejas had been introduced in both 1998 and 1999. Neither had become law, however. Rep. Ciro Rodriguez (D-Texas), a prime sponsor of earlier legislation, re-introduced an authorization bill in April 2001; that bill sailed through the House subcommittee in June, passed the House Resources Committee in July, and the full House in September. The Senate showed no interest, however, and no further action took place during the 107th Congress. Undaunted, Rodriguez tried again with bills in the 108th Congress, submitted in both November 2003 and April 2004. Neither got beyond the committee stage, perhaps because of opposition from the House Resources Committee chair, Richard Pombo (R-California). On the Senate side, however, Kay Bailey Hutchison's bill (S. 2052) had greater success. Introduced in February 2004, it was reported out of the Senate Resources Committee in August and it passed the full Senate in mid-September.²²⁵ Hutchison knew that getting the bill through the House would be tricky. But as Steve Elkinton noted,

She wanted it passed in the House [but] knew it would never get past the House Resources Committee. . . . So she got her friend Tom DeLay, who was then majority whip, to just bring it up for a roll call vote in the House. . . . It never went to the House Committee for a hearing. . . . It just came up for a general vote and because it was from Texas and because he asked for it, everybody voted for it.²²⁶

The bill passed the full House on September 28, it was sent on to President George W. Bush, and on October 18, 2004, it was signed into law as Public Law 108-342.²²⁷

A few months later, in mid-March 2005, Rep. Roy Blake, Jr. introduced a follow-up bill in the Texas state legislature (H.B. 3269) appointing the Texas Historical Commission (THC) as the lead agency in Texas with responsibility for coordinating all public and private actions on the trail within the state. The bill sped through the legislature; it passed both the state house and the state senate in May 2005, and on June 18, Governor Rick Perry signed it into law. Shortly afterward, the NPS

²²⁵ Congress.gov, “El Camino Real de los Tejas”; SAR, 2001, 21.

²²⁶ Steve Elkinton, interview by Ron Brown, May 30, 2007.

²²⁷ Congress.gov, “El Camino Real de los Tejas”; SAR, 2004, 42.

signed a five-year cooperative agreement with THC.²²⁸ Inasmuch as the trail had no operating budget during FY 2005, NPS activity along the trail was minimal. A key event, however, took place in March of that year, when Supt. Krakow accompanied Senator Hutchison on a three-day trip across Texas – from the Louisiana border to Eagle Pass, on the Rio Grande – visiting trail-related historic sites and meeting with community leaders. Just a month later, Krakow and Hutchison crossed paths again at a conference in Milam County, Texas (along the trail route), in which an array of leaders spoke about funding opportunities and resources relating to tourism in Texas. On the heels of those meetings, Senator Hutchison included an earmark in the NPS budget which ensured a substantial funding amount for the trail’s upcoming CMP.²²⁹

Work on the trail’s CMP began in July 2006, when planning team lead John Conoboy, along with support staff, completed a two-week orientation trip along the 2,600-mile-long trail, visiting communities, trail resources, and stakeholders in both Texas and Louisiana. Key meetings included those with the director and other staff of the Texas Historical Commission, the state’s designated planning partner.²³⁰ Also in 2006, the trails office worked with the agency’s HFC to award a contract for a short (16-minute) DVD about the trail, called *On the Road to Partnerships*. Similar to the film *All’s Set on the Santa Fe Trail*, which was completed in 1989 as part of that trail’s planning effort (see chapter 4), this film had the two purposes: to promote the newly-designated trail and to encourage participation in the upcoming planning process. The film was completed by early 2007, in time for the public scoping meetings.²³¹

The scoping process began by 2006, and in early 2007 trails staff produced and distributed a scoping newsletter. The scoping period began in late March and lasted for more than 60 days, to May 31. NPS meeting participants included Aaron Mahr, John Conoboy, Sharon Brown, and Brooke Taralli, along with THC representatives Janie Headrick and Terry Colley.²³² During that period, eight public meetings took place along the trail, from Laredo, Texas to Natchitoches, Louisiana. More than 200 people attended these meetings. Later that year, trails staff produced a scoping report (which summarized the major issues discussed at the meetings) and posted it on the trail’s website.²³³ Meanwhile, team leads changed; Sharon Brown joined

²²⁸ <http://www.capitol.state.tx.us/BillLookup/BillStages.aspx?LegSess=79R&Bill=HB3269>; SAR, 2005, 15; SAR, 2007, 7.

²²⁹ SAR, 2005, 15; Krakow interview, January 4, 2008.

²³⁰ SAR, 2006, 3, 15; John Conoboy, email to the author, December 13, 2017.

²³¹ SAR, 2006, 16; SAR, 2007, 8; John Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014.

²³² NPS, *Scoping Report, El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Comprehensive Management Plan/Environmental Assessment*, at the following URL: <https://www.nps.gov/elte/learn/management/upload/ELTE%20Scoping%20Report%20062707.pdf>.

²³³ NPS, *El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Comprehensive Management Plan/Environmental Assessment* (Denver, the author, September 2011), 141-42; SAR, 2007, 8.

the planning team in October 2007; three months later, upon John Conoboy’s retirement, Brown served as team captain until Susan Boyle assumed the position in September 2008.²³⁴

The activity surrounding the scoping period had an added benefit: the founding of a new organization to promote and protect the trail. In 2006, a task force helped form a new nonprofit, El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Association. The new group held several meetings before July 18, 2007, when it met and gained 501(c)(3) status. At that meeting, the association elected its first president, Andrew Sansom from Austin). Later that year, it entered into a cooperative agreement with the NPS, and it hired its first executive director, Mary Waters, who worked out of an office on the Texas State University-San Marcos campus. Two years later, in early September 2009, Waters was succeeded by Steven Gonzales. The association issued its first newsletter (*El Correo*) in 2010, not long before its offices moved (in October 2011) to nearby Austin. Gonzales still serves as the association’s executive director (see appendix 5).²³⁵

In 2008, project work on the trail began, the initial projects being through a CESU (Cooperative Ecosystem Study Unit) agreement between the NPS and Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches. NPS-sponsored projects included:

- Assistance with developing the trail’s geographic information system as well as route verification. This project, undertaken by Jeff Williams and Dr. I-Kuai Hung at Stephen F. Austin State University, had begun in 2007 and was completed in 2010.
- funding a website presentation (for the “Texas Beyond History” website) related to archeological work recently completed at Mission Dolores State Historic Site in San Augustine. Work on this project, through the auspices of Stephen F. Austin State University, was begun in 2008 and completed a year later.
- compilation of a report, entitled *Historic and Archeological Resource Inventory from the Sabine River to Natchitoches, Louisiana*, which was undertaken by George Avery and completed in 2009.
- The Association for the Preservation of Historic Natchitoches applied for, and received, a CCSP award to investigate the role of the trail as an

²³⁴ Sharon Brown, email to the author, December 13, 2017; Conoboy email, December 13, 2017; Susan Boyle, interview with the author, December 19, 2017.

²³⁵ SAR, 2007, 7; SAR, 2008, 7-8; Aaron Mahr, interview with the author, Nov. 29, 2018. In 2017, the partnership organization became informally known as El Camino Tejas, and its acronym changed from ELTEA to ELCAT.

underground railroad route – specifically the route west from Natchitoches, Louisiana to Nacogdoches, Texas. The project was awarded in 2008, and Rolonda Teal wrote the report, entitled *Underground Railroad Route Along El Camino Real de las Tejas* [sic], in July 2010.

- conducting several heritage education workshops along the trail, both in Louisiana and Texas. Carolyn Spears, from the Old Stone Fort in Nacogdoches, Texas, conducted these workshops in 2008, 2009, and 2010. National Park Foundation funding allowed additional workshops to be held in 2012.
- an examination and overview of a 35-mile retracement trail that would connect Mission Espada (part of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park) with Floresville; this, the first Connect Trails to Parks project for this trail, was completed in 2012.
- the funding of a three-phase Camino Real de los Tejas oral history project (initially called Data Recovery from Elderly Informants from the Sabine River to the Angelina River and later called Voices from the Texas Pineywoods), by George Avery and Connie Hodges at the university. This project was completed in December 2014.²³⁶

Other NPS-sponsored projects provided specific information intended to supplement the trail's CMP. For example,

- in 2008, Mariah Wade – from the University of Texas at Austin – was awarded a contract to write an ethnographic overview for the trail. That manuscript, entitled *Ethnohistory of El Camino Real de los Tejas*, was completed in 2011.
- in 2009, in conjunction with the Texas Historical Commission, research began on a MPDF, along with the completion of ten NRHP nominations (see appendix 8). Both the MPDF and the National Register forms were written by Lena L. Sweeten McDonald and Tony Scott with the Houston-based consulting firm, HRA Gray and Pape. The MPDF was completed in October 2011 and the NRHP forms a month later.²³⁷

Meanwhile, preparation proceeded on the CMP itself. Soon after the NPS had

²³⁶ SAR, 2008, 8; SAR, 2009, 6-7; SAR, 2010, 9; SAR, 2011, 11; SAR, 2012, 9; SAR, 2013, 6; SAR, 2014, 6; http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/texas_pineywoods_el_camino_real_oral_history_project/1/; perusal of ELTE contract folders, NTIR Collection.

²³⁷ SAR, 2008, 8; SAR, 2009, 7; SAR, 2010, 10; SAR, 2011, 11; SAR, 2012, 9; Michael Taylor to the author, email, November 21, 2017; http://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/preserve/national_register/draft_nominations/TX%20and%20LA,%20Camino%20Real%20de%20los%20Tejas%20MPDF.pdf.

begun working on the plan, trail advocates in Victoria, Texas complained to the agency about the area's lack of inclusion on the trail. (The area, historically, had had several Spanish missions, but the feasibility study had failed to recognize any historically-significant routes to or from the area.) As a result, those advocates hoped that one or more routes connecting the Victoria area to the newly-established trail network could be added during the CMP process. In response, NPS officials agreed to meet with local residents about the matter, and asked them to supply historical documentation justifying their inclusion. No such information came forth; local residents did, however, attempt to have new routes added through political means. In response, the trail superintendent, Aaron Mahr, asked the Interior Department's Office of the Solicitor to make a ruling in the matter. In response, an attorney advisor in that office concluded that "Congressional action will be necessary to add additional route to ELTE as designated in the feasibility study."²³⁸

By September 2009, Susan Boyle of the trails staff had completed a draft version of the plan for agency review, and in July 2010, the trails office released the trail's *Draft Comprehensive Management Plan / Environmental Assessment* to the public. The document went out for public review in September. Additional sections were later added pertaining to high-potential sites and segments as well as tribal consultation, and a final CMP was published in September 2011.²³⁹

Trail of Tears Expansion Study

As noted in Chapter 4, the Trail of Tears NHT was authorized in December 1987 after a congressional study bill had been passed, four years earlier, mandating a feasibility study of the forced Cherokee migration during 1838-1839. The language in the study bill made no specific suggestions regarding the number of migration routes between the southern Appalachians and Indian Territory (Oklahoma) that should be studied. The participants in the NPS's June 1986 feasibility study, however, selected just two major routes (the "land route" [Northern Route] and the "water route") along with three connecting or side trails, all of which converged on Rattlesnake Springs, Tennessee. (These three trails originated at Ross's Landing, Tennessee; New Echota, Georgia; and Fort Butler, in present-day Murphy, North Carolina.)²⁴⁰ Little or no thought was devoted to nominating other routes, including the Taylor or Hildebrand routes. As noted in the study,

²³⁸ SAR, 2011, 10; Aaron Mahr, interview with the author, Dec. 15, 2017; Susan Boyle, interview with the author, December 19, 2017; NPS, *El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Comprehensive Management Plan / Environmental Assessment* (Denver?, the author, September 2011), 153-54.

²³⁹ SAR, 2009, 6; SAR, 2010, 9; SAR, 2011, 10.

²⁴⁰ NPS, *Final National Trail Study, Trail of Tears* (NPS, June 1986), 3-1 to 3-3, 4-7, 4-13, and 4-25.

Knowledgeable sources can be cited which provide information on numerous routes deviating from the proposed route in this study. . . . It was determined in this study that documentation of all routes would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. Further designation of numerous routes would be impractical and confusing to visitors wishing to retrace the Trail of Tears and visit various interpretive facilities along the route. Although it is not proposed that numerous routes be designated and signed, their existence and purpose should be explained in future efforts to interpret the Trail of Tears.²⁴¹

As a result of the NPS's feasibility study, the trail that Congress authorized in December 1987 included just one primary land route and one water route. Regarding the three side or connecting routes, the final bill included just one of these (the Taylor Route, which began at Ross's Landing and joined the Northern Route more than 60 miles to the northwest), but it also included the Hildebrand Route, an alternate route located in central Missouri.

After the trail was authorized, additional knowledge was gained about the routes that were not included in the authorized bill. Duane King, who was assisted by Jere Krakow, researched the location of all of the various 1838-1839 detachment routes, and the map supplements for both the draft CMP (issued in September 1991) and the final CMP (issued in September 1992) included sections on "Benge's Route" and "Bell's Route" as well as for the various designated routes. The NPS, moreover, contracted with King on additional research for all of these routes during the late 1990s (see above); that research resulted in a final report dated August 13, 1999. And during this same period, Brett Riggs from the University of North Carolina commenced several years of research that resulted in more accurate knowledge of the various Cherokee "round-up" routes in North Carolina.

During the waning years of the Trail of Tears NHT's advisory council, between 2000 and 2002, various members began to call for the inclusion of additional routes to be included as part of the national historic trail. As John Conoboy recalled the situation,

Bill Woodiel, [an advisory council member] from Mountain Home, Arkansas, was a strong advocate who thought the enabling legislation included these routes already. The trail office took the issue to the regional solicitor's office and received an opinion that the trails could not be administratively added to the NHT and such addition would require

legislation. The solicitor did find that the additional routes could be added to the trail as connecting and side trails, but that would require the approval of landowners along the routes.²⁴²

Although the trail's advisory council disbanded in late 2002, these trails advocates – who continued to be active in the TOTA – recognized that federal legislation would be required to add more routes to the Trail of Tears NHT. They initially contacted Rep. Marion Berry, a Democrat from DeWitt, Arkansas, who in October 2003 submitted a bill (H.R. 3342) that would "provide for the inclusion of new trail segments" to the Trail of Tears NHT. That bill made little progress, but in June 2005, Rep. Zach Wamp (R-TN), who represented the Chattanooga area, introduced a bill (H.R. 3085) that proved more successful, thanks to strong support from the Cherokee Nation, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and the TOTA. In July 2006, Wamp's bill sailed through the Resources Committee and passed the full House on a lopsided vote of 356 to 5. It then moved on to the Senate, where in late September it passed by unanimous consent. After resolving minor differences between the Senate and House versions, it moved on to President Bush, who signed the bill into law (P.L. 109-378) on December 1, 2006.²⁴³

The bill that Bush signed was specific in its intent. It called upon the Interior Secretary to complete a study "regarding the feasibility and suitability of designating" 1) the Benge and Bell routes, 2) "the land components of the designated water routes in Alabama, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Tennessee," 3) "the routes from the collection forts in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee to the emigration depots," and 4) "the related campgrounds" located along all of the above routes. Speed, moreover, was of the essence; the bill called for the study to be completed within six months after the bill was enacted.²⁴⁴

Around the time of the bill signing, Krakow and other trails personnel decided that the follow-up feasibility study would be written by trails staff, and not by DSC personnel (as had been done for previous studies). This decision was made because trails staff realized that few DSC employees understood what NHTs were or how they were managed. Writing an "in-house" document was also less expensive.²⁴⁵ Supt. Krakow, however, had already announced his upcoming retirement. As a result, John Conoboy – who had been chosen as the acting superintendent – led the effort to compile the necessary information for the feasibility study and

²⁴¹ Ibid., 3-3.

²⁴² Conoboy interview, March 14, 2014.

²⁴³ Congress.gov, "all legislation / Trail of Tears"; SAR, 2005, 28; SAR, 2006, 33.

²⁴⁴ P.L. 109-378.

²⁴⁵ John Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

environmental assessment.²⁴⁶ Other key team members included Lee Kreutzer (from the Salt Lake City office), who was tabbed to be the writer-editor, and Aaron Mahr, who would serve as the historian. The team got to work right away, and over the next few months, much of the study was organized and written. But the selection of Mahr as the office's new superintendent changed work assignments to some degree. A series of twelve public meetings on the study took place in mid-July 2007, with a total of 424 participants. After a frenzy of writing and compiling, the team completed a draft study in September.²⁴⁷

The study analyzed a series of new routes, including 1) various round-up camps, forts, and routes, 2) additional water route segments and land components of the water route, 3) the Bell Detachment Route, 4) the Benge Detachment Route, and 5) Disbandment/Dispersal Routes. The study offered three "new alternatives." Of these, the "Environmentally Preferred Alternative" (new alternative B) stated that "all the routes in this study [except a single route in North Carolina, which required further study] would be added to the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail."²⁴⁸

After the draft was done, it was opened for public comment – primarily via the agency's planning website – from September 17 through October 18. After reviewing the comments, the team finalized the document in November 2007.²⁴⁹

The document, soon afterward, was forwarded on to Congress. In February 2008, Rep. Wamp introduced a bill, the Trail of Tears Documentation Act (H.R. 5335) that would have implemented the recommendations of the NPS study. The bill that year passed the House in late September but died in the Senate. The following January, Wamp re-introduced the same bill in the first days of the 111th Congress. That bill made no progress, but within a few weeks the language in that bill had been incorporated into an omnibus public lands package. That bill passed Congress and was signed into law (as Public Law 111-11) on March 30, 2009; the Trail of Tears NHT's expansion provision was Section 5206 of that bill, which added several new routes to the NHT totaling approximately 2,845 miles of trail.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ John Conoboy, in a March 14, 2014 interview, noted that NPS personnel in Denver felt that this expansion study required an EIS – because similar studies for national scenic trails, plus the 1999 "four trails" study, had also required an EIS. Due to Rep. Wamp's efforts, however, the study that was completed in August 2007 was an environmental assessment (as well as a feasibility study), not an EIS.

²⁴⁷ Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014; SAR, 2007, 14.

²⁴⁸ NPS, *Trail of Tears National Historic Trail Additional Routes, National Historic Trail Feasibility Study* (Denver, the author, November 2007), 2, 10-19, 29,

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2-3; SAR, 2008, 15.

²⁵⁰ Congress.gov, "all legislation / Trail of Tears"; P.L. 111-11, Sec. 5206; SAR, 2009, 11.

The Long Walk Study

The tragic Long Walk episode took place during the 1860s when the U.S. Army invaded the homeland of the Navajo, in the Canyon de Chelly region of Arizona, and forcefully removed the Navajo to the Bosque Redondo area of eastern New Mexico. In a similar move, Army troops uprooted the Mescalero Apache from their homes in the Sacramento Mountains and forced them as well to Bosque Redondo. Both Indian groups returned to their homelands four years later.

In 2001, Congress became interested in commemorating the Long Walk. April of that year, Rep. Tom Udall (D-NM) introduced a bill (H.R. 1384) to study the route of the "Navajo Long Walk" as a national historic trail. By September of that year, the bill had cleared the House Resources Committee, but with one key modification; it now recognized the historical role of not only the Navajo but also of the Mescalero Apache. The study bill passed the House on a voice vote in early October and was forwarded on to the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, where it passed in June 2002. The bill passed the Senate in early August, and three weeks later, on August 21, President George W. Bush signed the bill into law as P.L. 107-214.²⁵¹

Responsibility for writing the ensuing feasibility study was delegated to the National Trails Office in Santa Fe. In May 2003, the availability of planning funds allowed project work to begin. Entrusted to lead the project were Harry Myers and Sharon Brown of the NPS, along with Bruce Snyder of Parsons Engineering, Inc., who led the effort to complete the associated environmental impact statement. A number of auxiliary team members from the Navajo Nation and the Mescalero Apache Tribe also contributed to the report.

Soon after project work began, and extending into 2004, the agency issued two newsletters about the study process and held 32 public meetings to assess public interest in the study; these meetings were held in cities and towns along the Long Walk route, as well as on the Mescalero Apache Reservation and in the Navajo Nation. At these well-attended meetings, the "particularly sensitive nature of this trail" was underscored; as one NPS summary noted, "participants offered eloquent testimony on the feasibility of establishing a Long Walk National Historic Trail, and spoke emotionally about what happened to Navajo and Apache people during the events of the Long Walk some 140 years ago."²⁵²

²⁵¹ Congress.gov, "all legislation / long walk"; SAR, 2001, 21.

²⁵² NPS, *Draft Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study / Environmental Impact Statement* (Denver?, NPS, January 2008), iv., 151; SAR, 2003, 15; SAR, 2004, 3, 28-29.

Key to the development of the trail proposal was the preparation of a significance statement that would be presented to the Landmarks Committee of the National Park System Advisory Board. Before doing so, however, NPS staff wanted to hear the points of view of several American Indians. As noted in an NPS document,

In November 2004, our staff conducted a conference in Window Rock, Arizona, to gather information regarding the Navajo view of the national significance of the events of the Long Walk. Eight invited speakers, all members of the Navajo Nation, presented views from a variety of perspectives, addressing archeological, ethnographic, historical, psychological, and present-day considerations. In December, a similar but smaller gathering convened in Mescalero, New Mexico, to hear the Mescalero Apache view of national significance.²⁵³

Based on the comments that were expressed at those meetings, NPS staff prepared a briefing paper for the Landmarks Committee. Then, in October 2005, both study team members and preservation officials from the Navajo and Mescalero Apache tribes traveled to Washington, D.C. and presented those findings to that committee. The committee agreed, unanimously, with the NPS's contention that the Long Walk was of national significance. Three months later, on January 13, 2006, the full Advisory Board concurred with that ruling.²⁵⁴ Agency staff, after undertaking considerable historical research, were able to identify the specific routes used by both the Navajo and the Mescalero Apache; staff in Santa Fe submitted a preliminary draft of the feasibility study to their counterparts in the DSC, and the agency fully expected to release the draft study to the public in the early spring of 2006.²⁵⁵

But officials with the Navajo Nation, unhappy at the prospect of a national historic trail associated with one of the most difficult chapters in their history, threw a roadblock into the planning process. On January 27, 2006 – just two weeks after the Advisory Board concurred with the trail's national significance – the Navajo Nation Tribal Council voted 31 to 22 to oppose the proposed designation of a Navajo Long Walk National Historic Trail. As an NPS report noted,

Some who voted against the designation cited spiritual reasons, and said they prefer to leave the past behind and move toward the future. Some said they fear that the trail designation might later somehow be used against the

²⁵³ SAR, 2005, 31-32.

²⁵⁴ SAR, 2005, 32; SAR, 2006, 41.

²⁵⁵ SAR, 2005, 32.

Navajo people in court. [But] others want events surrounding the Long Walk to be documented and recognized by the public, and felt that the trail designation would honor the hardships suffered by their ancestors and the endurance and strength of the Navajo people.²⁵⁶

Despite the Navajo Nation Tribal Council's decision, the NPS continued with its planning effort – which was led by Sharon Brown after Harry Myers's 2007 retirement. The agency continued to prepare the draft feasibility study until it was released to the public in January 2008. That study provided for four alternatives – none of them preferred – of which Alternative C called for one national historic trail to be designated, emphasizing the removal experiences common to both tribes.²⁵⁷

Between April 17 and July 1, 2009, the agency had a public comment period for the draft study. Agency staff, during that period, held open houses in seven communities along the historic route (between May 20 and June 19) so that the public could review and comment on the draft study; four of those open houses took place on either the Navajo or Mescalero Apache reservations. Based on the public comments received, the NPS in October 2009 completed an *Abbreviated Final Feasibility Study / Environmental Impact Statement*. That document identified Alternative C (see above) as the environmentally-preferred alternative.²⁵⁸ In August 2011, the agency issued a Record of Decision stating that it had adopted Alternative A, the no action alternative.²⁵⁹ Since that time, no significant action has taken place on the Long Walk proposal; perhaps because the Navajo Nation has continued to oppose NHT designation, Congress has not attempted to establish a Long Walk National Historical Trail.

The Four Trails Proposal

As noted in Chapter 5, the NPS in June 1999 completed a massive CMP for four NHTs. These included the first CMP for the California and Pony Express NHTs, which Congress had authorized in 1992, and a revised CMP for the Oregon

²⁵⁶ SAR, 2006, 42. Perhaps based on the Navajo Nation's negative vote, the Mescalero Apache Tribe's leaders made no vote to either approve or refute the idea of a Long Walk National Historic Trail. NPS, Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study, New Mexico and Arizona, Record of Decision (Denver, the author, August 3, 2011), 4.

²⁵⁷ NPS, Draft Long Walk Study (January 2008), i.

²⁵⁸ SAR, 2007, 16; SAR, 2008, 16; SAR, 2009, 1, 13; SAR, 2010, 5; "Trail to commemorate 'Long Walk' divides tribes," *dailyadvance.com* (Elizabeth City, N.C.), June 13, 2009; NPS, Long Walk National Historic Trail, *Abbreviated Final Feasibility Study / Environmental Impact Statement* (Denver?, NPS, October 2009), i.

²⁵⁹ NPS, Long Walk National Historic Trail Feasibility Study, Record of Decision (August 3, 2011), 2.

and Mormon Pioneer NHTs. Congress had authorized these two latter trails in November 1978. Their initial CMPs had been completed in the late summer of 1981, but they needed to be substantially revised.

During the preparation of the August 1999 CMP, as noted in Chapter 5, trail advocates (from the OCTA) as well as various NPS staff members had pressed to administratively add a number of historical trail routes to the plan. These were routes that had not been included in either the 1978 or the 1992 legislation. Just after the draft CMP was issued, however, the question on whether these new routes could be included as part of the planning process was evaluated by the Department of the Interior's Office of the Solicitor. In decisions handed down in September and October 1998, the Solicitor's Office ruled that trail segments that had not been specifically included in congressional legislation could not be added through an administrative process. This ruling, not surprisingly, was a major setback to many OCTA members, who felt that many additional historical trail routes should be added to these existing NHTs in the NTS.

Soon after the Solicitor's ruling, OCTA members worked with the NPS to ensure that the routes affected by the decision would be identified and recognized in the CMP. To that end, therefore, the final CMP included a "recommendations for further study" section stating that ten Oregon Trail segments "should be considered for further study and possible inclusion" as part of the Oregon NHT. And regarding the California NHT, the CMP stated that "the Long Distance Trails Office and trail advocacy groups should explore the need to further study" 44 identified routes "before initiating efforts leading to official recognition."²⁶⁰

Many OCTA advocates, however, felt that only by working with Congress could additional segments be added to the existing NHTs. By the spring of 2000, therefore, the organization's board of directors had voted to ask Congress to conduct a one-time-only update to the original (1977-1978 and 1987) feasibility studies based on the segments that had been listed in the CMP's "recommendations for further study" section.²⁶¹ To that end, OCTA advocates initially worked with Rep. Douglas Bereuter, a Republican from eastern Nebraska. In July 2000 – less than two years after the Solicitor's rebuke – Bereuter submitted a bill "to update the feasibility and suitability studies of 4 NHTs and provide for possible additions to such trails." The bill called for a slight expansion of the 54 trails that the CMP had recommended. Bereuter's bill called for the study of 64 trail segments: ten to the Oregon NHT, one to the Pony Express NHT, 40 to the California NHT, six to the Mormon Pioneer NHT, plus seven segments of "shared components of the

California NHT and Oregon NHT." What made Bereuter's bill extraordinary is that it empowered the Interior Secretary – not Congress – to designate eligible trail segments. The text noted that "Upon completion of the study, if the Secretary determines such routes and cutoffs are a feasible and suitable addition to" a given national historic trail by designating them as "primary routes," the Secretary "shall designate the routes and cutoffs as components of" that NHT.²⁶²

Bereuter's bill made little progress during the 2000 legislative session, but the following January, similar bills were submitted that had considerably more success. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) introduced a bill that, in March 2002, was subject to a committee hearing. Bereuter's re-submitted bill passed the House in June 2001, and despite growing opposition from the energy industry, it passed the Senate as well in September 2002. This was shortly before Congress adjourned, however, and because the Senate and House bills were somewhat different, insufficient time remained to reconcile the differences between the two bills. The bill, therefore, died with the adjournment of the 107th Congress.²⁶³

Throughout the period in which Congress was initially considering a legislative package that called for the study of additional routes, the NPS's Salt Lake City trails office was gathering substantial information about those trails that would prove to be invaluable in evaluating their historical significance. In June 2000, trails superintendent Jere Krakow had been apprised that FY 2001 would bring a substantial increase to the trails budget. Anticipating these funds, therefore, Krakow issued a request for proposals (RFP) to inventory and assess approximately 30 additional routes. (This number, as noted above, was slightly more than half of the routes that the CMP had recommended, and was slightly less than half of the trails that would be included in the Bereuter bill in the 106th Congress.) By August 2000, Krakow had evaluated the proposals he had received and awarded a contract to Evans-Hatch and Associates, a husband-and-wife consulting firm (Gail Evans and Michael Hatch) in Astoria, Oregon. Soon afterward, the firm began its field investigations, and it began submitting the project deliverables in a timely fashion. Based on the company's field and research findings, the NPS in September 2002 asked Evans-Hatch to investigate additional routes (for a total of 94 routes), and by October 2003 the company had sent drafts of all required materials except for those dealing with the Central Overland Route. The firm finalized the report (which included the Central Overland Route) by October 2004, and after interagency

²⁶⁰ NPS, *Four Trails CMP*, June 1999, 71.

²⁶¹ *News from the Plains*, April 2000, 8.

²⁶² *News from the Plains*, July 2000, 6; October 2000, 5; and January 2001, 5; www.congress.gov, "California Trails" for 106th Congress (H.R. 5014).

²⁶³ www.congress.gov, "California Trail" for 107th Congress (H.R. 37 and S. 213); *News from the Plains*, April 2002, 9; January 2003, 3, 6.

review with BLM staff, the NPS issued a revised final report in March 2005.²⁶⁴

Meanwhile, OCTA advocates continued to work with congressional representatives to secure legislation that called for additional trails. In early 2003, Rep. Bereuter and Senator Hatch, introduced the Pioneer National Historic Trails Studies Act, which differed from the 2001-2002 legislation in one key aspect; the current bill did not contain language that allowed the Interior Secretary, at the conclusion of the feasibility-study process, to “designate the routes and cutoffs as components of” that NHT. Based on the progress of the trails bill in the previous congress, trails advocates were optimistic that a similar bill would succeed in the 108th Congress. Hatch’s bill, in fact, passed the Senate in June 2003. Once it moved over to the House, however, the bill hit a roadblock because Rep. Richard Pombo (R-California), the House Resources Committee chair, was staunchly opposed to all trails-related bills. (As noted in the OCTA newsletter, Pombo “claimed that these studies . . . were too expensive” – and in the closing days of the 108th Congress, he went so far as to prematurely close the Resources Committee staff office, a move that effectively blocked the consideration of any remaining trails legislation.²⁶⁵ Pombo’s presence as Resources Committee Chair in the 109th Congress (2005-2006) resulted in a predictable, if inconclusive, chain of events; Senator Hatch, once again, was able to get a trails bill (S. 54) through the Senate, but no similar action took place in the House.²⁶⁶

By early 2007, at the beginning of the 110th Congress, prospects for a trails bill were brighter, primarily because Richard Pombo, who had thwarted trails advocates in the two previous congresses, had been defeated in his November 2006 re-election bid. Early in the 2007 session, Hatch introduced yet another trails bill (S. 580), while Oregon Representative Richard Blumenauer (D-Oregon) submitted a similar bill (H.R. 1336). Blumenauer’s bill went nowhere; Hatch’s bill made some progress but failed to pass the Senate. Meanwhile, leaders in both houses had “each bundled many trail bills” that included four-trails legislation, such as Sen. Bingaman’s S. 2180 and S. 3213, introduced in October 2007 and June 2008, respectively. Those bills, however, were unable to pass Congress.²⁶⁷

When the 111th Congress began, Hatch introduced a four trails bill, S. 217. That bill

²⁶⁴ Lee Kreutzer, “Timeline for Historic Resource Inventory and Assessment for the Oregon, California, and Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trails,” March 2005, in Kreutzer files, SLC; *News from the Plains*, January 2001, 5; SAR, 2003, 10; SAR, 2004, 10; SAR, 2005, 14; Lee Kreutzer to the author, email, December 4, 2017.

²⁶⁵ *News from the Plains*, October 2003, 9; Fall 2004, 8; Winter 2005, 1.

²⁶⁶ www.congress.gov, “all legislation / California Trail” for 109th Congress.

²⁶⁷ *News from the Plains*, Fall 2007, 15, and Winter 2008, 9; www.congress.gov, “all legislation / California Trail” for 110th Congress.

failed to gain traction. Before long, however, the fate of Hatch’s bill was tied into that of a House bill – Rep. Rush Holt’s bill (H.R. 146) – which had been introduced in early January to amend the American Battlefield Protection Act of 1996. That bill passed the House and, as late as March 5, was still concerned exclusively with battlefield-protection measures. But by March 19, Holt’s bill had acquired a massive new amendment in which parks, trails, wilderness and other measures had been added – and one of those trails measures included the four-trails legislation from Hatch’s S. 217. The expanded bill passed the Senate on March 19, the House on March 25, and was signed into law by President Obama on March 30. Finally, more than ten years after the Interior Department solicitor had denied the ability for the executive branch to add new trails, and the almost ten years after the four trails comprehensive plan had been completed, Congress had passed a bill authorizing the study of new trail segments. That provision, which was Section 5302 of Public Law 111-11, was identical in scope to what had been outlined in Rep. Bereuter’s July 2000 bill. Specifically, it called for the study of 64 specifically-named trail segments: ten to the Oregon NHT, one to the Pony Express NHT, 40 to the California NHT, six to the Mormon Pioneer NHT, and seven segments of “shared California and Oregon Trail Routes.”²⁶⁸

Chisholm and Great Western Cattle Trail Proposal

After the Civil War, an industrializing United States had an increasing need for beef, and packing plants both in the Midwest and farther east – all located along the growing railroad network – were ready to process any incoming beef supplies. Texas, at that time, had a copious supply of range cattle, but given the lack of long-distance railroads, there was no easy way to take that beef to the packing plants. In 1867, however, cattle merchandiser Joseph G. McCoy established a stockyard at Abilene, Kansas and sent couriers southward, inviting Texas ranchers to drive their cattle herds north to market. That action started a legendary, 18-year boom period in which cattle herds were driven from Texas to various points in Kansas and Nebraska over either the Chisholm Trail or the Western Trail. Cattle driving effectively ceased during the 1880s, but ever since, cattle driving – and the enduring image of the American cowboy spawned by those drives – has been a major, resonant theme defining the American west.²⁶⁹

In the 1968 NTSA (P.L. 90-543), Section 5(c) called for various trails to be studied for possible inclusion as national trails. Clause 3 within that section called for a study of the “Old Cattle Trails of the Southwest from the vicinity of San Antonio,

²⁶⁸ Congress.gov, “all legislation / California Trail” for the 111th Congress, S. 217 and H. 146; P.L. 111-11, Sec. 5302.

²⁶⁹ <https://parkplanning.nps.gov/document.cfm?parkID=456&projectID=30803&documentID=48044>.

Texas, approximately eight hundred miles through Oklahoma via Baxter Springs and Chetopa, Kansas, to Fort Scott, Kansas, including the Chisholm Trail, from the vicinity of San Antonio or Cuero, Texas, approximately eight hundred miles north through Oklahoma to Abilene, Kansas.” Several years later, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) followed up with a study of three trails for addition to the NTS: the Shawnee Trail (from Belton, Texas to Baxter Springs, Kansas), the Chisholm Trail (from San Antonio, Texas to Abilene, Kansas), and the Western Trail (from San Antonio, Texas, to Dodge City, Kansas). The BOR’s study, completed in April 1975, concluded that these three trails did not meet the qualifying criteria for inclusion in the NTS.

For the next 15 years, neither the Interior Department nor Congress made any further attempt to study or evaluate the historic cattle trails. But in May 1991, Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kansas) introduced The Old West Trails Act of 1991 (S. 1115), which would have established 1) The Chisholm Cattle Drive Trail, beginning in Texas and running through Oklahoma and ending, respectively, in Abilene, Newton, Wichita, and Caldwell, Kansas, 2) The Ellsworth Cattle Drive Trail, beginning in Texas and running through Oklahoma; Kingman, Kansas; Ellingwood [sic], Kansas; and ending in Ellsworth, Kansas; 3) The Dodge City or Western Cattle Drive Trail, beginning in Texas and running through Oklahoma; Dodge City, Kansas; and ending in Nebraska; and 4) the Smoky Hill/David Butterfield Overland Dispatch Stage Trail, beginning in Atchison and Leavenworth, Kansas and ending in Denver, Colorado. The bill did not pass.

In June 2005, Rep. Tom Cole (R-Oklahoma) introduced the Chisholm and Great Western Cattle Trails Act of 2005 (H.R. 2964) which would have designated 1) the Chisholm Trail, from the vicinity of Brownsville, Texas northward to Abilene, Kansas, and also the segments running to alternative Kansas destinations that were commonly used, along with 2) the Great Western Trail, from the vicinity of San Antonio, Texas, northward through Oklahoma and Kansas to Dodge City. The bill did not pass. In June 2007, Rep. Cole re-introduced his bill as H.R. 2849. Four months later, Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas) introduced S. 2255, which similarly called for studies of the Chisholm Trail and the Great Western Trail. Neither bill passed during the 110th Congress. However, S. 2255 was reported by the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee in September 2008.

By the beginning of the 111th Congress, both the Senate and the House had included the provisions of the cattle trails study bill in similar versions of a longer bill, entitled the Omnibus Public Lands Management Act of 2009. The House bill (H.R. 146) was introduced on January 6, 2009, while the Senate bill (S. 22) was introduced one day later. H.R. 146 passed the House on March 3, while S. 22 passed the Senate on March 15. A conference committee resolved the differences between the two bills on March 25, and President Obama signed H.R. 146 on March 30, 2009. Section 5303 of the bill, which became Public Law 111-11, called

for the Secretary of the Interior to conduct the study of these two trails.²⁷⁰

Butterfield Overland Trail Proposal

In September 1857, the Overland Mail Company – which was led by a group of partners headed by John W. Butterfield – won a contract from the U.S. Post Office Department to operate a stage and mail service from two points along the Mississippi River (St. Louis and Memphis) to San Francisco over the southern or “Ox-Bow Route.” Service over the route began a year later. The line was soon hailed as a major element in binding areas east of the Mississippi with California and the western territories because it provided regular, 25-day service to and from the Pacific Coast over terrain that was almost entirely within the states and territories of the United States. The line ran for slightly more than two years until it was shut down just before the outbreak of the Civil War. Since that time, the Butterfield name has been an icon of the west and a symbol of frontier stagecoach service.²⁷¹

Congress first began to consider the Butterfield Overland Trail as a NHT in July 2006, when Rep. John Boozman (R-Arkansas) introduced the Butterfield Overland Trail Study Act (H.R. 5980), which called for a “resource study” of the trail. No action was taken on this bill during the 109th Congress, but in March 2007 – toward the beginning of the 110th Congress – Boozman resubmitted the bill, by then known as H.R. 1266. The National Parks Subcommittee held a hearing on the bill that July. In October, this and eight similar bills were incorporated into a new bill, sponsored by subcommittee chair Raul Grijalva (D-Arizona), which was called America’s Historical and Natural Legacy Study Act (H.R. 3998). This bill, which called for a “special resource study” of the trail, was reported by the full Natural Resources Committee on December 4, and it passed the House on the same day. In the Senate, hearings in the Energy and Natural Resources Committee’s Subcommittee on Parks were held in April 2008, and a month later, the committee chairman reported the bill “with an amendment in the nature of a substitute.” This amendment reduced the number of park-related proposals from nine to three – and the Butterfield provision was one of the three that survived the cut. The Senate committee favorably reported on the modified bill in June, but no further action took place on H.R. 3998 in the 110th Congress.

On January 7, 2009, at the beginning of the 111th Congress, the head of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee resubmitted a bill (S. 22), called the

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ <https://parkplanning.nps.gov/document.cfm?parkID=456&projectID=33568&documentID=58151>.

Omnibus Public Land Management Act; it had similar if not identical Butterfield provisions to that which had been discussed in the previous Congress, but the overall bill was far longer, more comprehensive than what had existed previously. That bill passed the Senate just eight days later and was sent on to the House. On March 11, the full House voted on the bill, but under the rules that day a two-thirds vote was required. By just a few votes, the bill's supporters were unable to muster a sufficient number of votes to send the bill to the president. By this time, however, the House had already passed a similar bill – H.R. 146 – that also contained a Butterfield provision. On March 19, the Senate (with a few added amendments) passed a bill similar to its House counterpart, and on March 25 the House agreed to the Senate amendments. When President Obama signed the bill on March 30, it became Public Law 111-11. The Butterfield-related provisions were included in Section 7209 of that bill.²⁷²

Changes in National Trails Administration

As has been noted in previous chapters, the NPS and other agencies slowly, and incrementally, built a trails-related office based in Washington, D.C. to provide a legislative liaison and some administrative oversight. At the same time, trail association representatives worked with governmental officials to establish a coordinating organization that would provide an information exchange and a base for legislative advocacy. Between the mid-1980s and the early 2000s, those networks consisted of:

- A biennial series of conferences, begun in 1988, on national scenic and NHTs.
- The commencement of a newsletter (Pathways, in late 1988) that provided quarterly information to the long distance trails community.
- The NPS's decision, in 1989, to hire a staff person (Steve Elkinton) to be the agency's first Long Distance Trails Manager, whose duty it was to coordinate the agency's long distance trails effort.
- The establishment (in 1991) of the Committee of 17 – an organization which, by 1995, was being called the PNTS.
- The growing recognition, first expressed by Gary Werner at a congressional hearing in early 1992, that the hundreds of thousands of hours expended by trail volunteers – tabulated each year by partnership associations – played a major role in trail funding.²⁷³

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ PNTS, "Contributions Sustaining the National Scenic and Historic Trails Made by Partner Trail

- The re-establishment (in 1992 or 1993) of the long-dormant Federal Interagency Council on Trails, which coordinated Washington-level activities of the various federal agencies that either administered trails or managed significant portions of national trails mileage.
- The gradual growth, during the early- to mid-1990s, in the number of trails organizations that supported the Committee of 17 (later PNTS).
- The gathering (beginning in 1995) of an annual "Hike the Hill" advocacy event in Washington, D.C.
- The gradual dividing of interests, during the mid- to late 1990s, between supporters of the National Trails Symposia (founded in 1971) and the Conferences on National Scenic and National Historic Trail (founded in 1988)
- The hiring, in October 2000, of a second trails employee, Helen Scully.

After 2000, the institutional foundation that had been established through each of the above actions continued to work satisfactorily. As a result, relatively few changes took place during the ensuing decade pertaining to trails administration at the national level. Several significant events, however, took place that shed particular light on the trails or resulted in gradual improvements in trails administration.

One major event in the trails community was the bicentennial of the 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition. The Lewis and Clark NHT, in 1978, had been established as one of the first four NHTs, but it received no line-item funding until FY 1990. As noted in Chapter 5, however, this trail by 1993 was receiving most of the Challenge Cost Share funding that was being allotted to NPS trails. That same year, private citizens incorporated the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, later known as the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, at Lewis and Clark College in Portland, and by 1996 the council was holding annual meetings. The Council was later superseded by the Missouri Historical Society, which developed a traveling exhibition for the Bicentennial, and by state commissions – from Pennsylvania to the Pacific coast – which hosted scores if not hundreds of bicentennial events.²⁷⁴

This huge outpouring of support demanded action at the federal level. In about 1997, NPS trails staff worked with partners in Madison, Wisconsin to organize the Washington area coordinating committee for the Bicentennial, and Interior

Organizations" (flier), February 2014; Gary Werner, interview by Ronald Brown, May 25, 2007.

²⁷⁴ <http://www.lewisandclark.org/library/pdf/Finding-Aid-AR-017.pdf>; https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/lewis_and_clark_bicentennial/#.WigN7U1IKmU.

Department staff in 1998 founded an interagency working group related to the bicentennial.²⁷⁵

The bicentennial period itself had several major impacts on the trails community. First, the Lewis and Clark NHT gained considerable additional staff and budget; in 2000, the trail had three full-time employees (FTEs) and a budget of less than \$1.2 million, while in 2006, the trail's staff had zoomed up to 28 FTEs, with a budget of almost \$1.8 million.²⁷⁶ In addition to its base budget, the trail also benefited substantially from the CCSP; starting in 2001, a separate line-item budget item was created just for Lewis and Clark NHT CCSP expenditures. That budget began at almost \$3.0 million, rose to more than \$4.9 million each year from 2002 to 2005, and finished in 2006 with an allotment in excess of \$2.4 million. This additional money, and the national attention paid to the bicentennial throughout this period, greatly benefited not only the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, but it also raised the visibility – in the eyes of both government and the American public – of all NHTs.²⁷⁷

On a less dramatic level, the first decade of the new millennium brought forth the creation of a series of Federal Trail Data Standards – tools that were highly useful in the increasingly-important field of geographic information systems. Up until this time, both private firms and government agencies (according to Steve Elkinton) “just made up whatever they needed in the way of a dashed line or a dotted line or a center line, or some other line or zone. There were no standards.” But in 2000, the Interagency Trail Data Standards (ITDS) team was formed; that team, in turn, coordinated its work with a much larger Federal Geographic Data Committee. The ITDS ensured that the various trail offices adopted data standards that would help the differing trail data systems to communicate with each other. By 2007, this standardization process was nearly complete.²⁷⁸

A key action that took place among nationwide trails organizations was the decision to have separate annual workshops for scenic-trails advocates and historic-trails advocates. As noted in previous chapters, the first National Conference on National Scenic and NHTs had been held in 1988, and since the early 1990s, these conferences had been held on a regular basis in odd-numbered years. In October 1998, historic-trail advocates (see chapter 5) had convened a historic trail workshop in Kansas City, Missouri, but that had not been immediately succeeded by a similar

²⁷⁵ Steve Elkinton, interview by Ronald Brown, May 30, 2007.

²⁷⁶ In 2000, Lewis and Clark NHT's staff level (of 3) was below that of the Appalachian NST, Ice Age NST, and Santa Fe NHT, but by 2006, Lewis and Clark's staff level (of 28) was more than three times more than that of the long distance trail with the second-highest staffing level (Appalachian NST, with 9).

²⁷⁷ U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Budget Justifications and Annual Performance Plan – National Park Service, Fiscal Year 2002 (Washington, GPO), various years, 2000 to 2008; Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007.

²⁷⁸ Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007; Elkinton, email to author, Feb. 17, 2014.

conference, and there had been no equivalent event for scenic-trail advocates.

At either the 2001 or 2003 conference, however, a renewed call for specialization was again heard. As Steve Elkinton recalled the situation,

we tried an experiment one afternoon . . . to have a caucus just on scenic trails and just on historic trails, because there [were] some legislative issues and some other issues that pertained to one and not the other. And people found those kind of cool. So at the [2005] Las Vegas conference the caucuses were beefed up a little bit and made a part of the program. Each had such a fruitful conversation they both said, “Next year, which is an off-year for us, we aren't going to have a big conference. We each want to have our own targeted workshop just on scenic trails issues, just on historic trails issues.”²⁷⁹

As a result of that decision, association members opted to hold a historic trails meeting in Kansas City in early May and a scenic trails meeting in Nashville in mid-October. Both conferences, ironically, focused on resource protection, although each approached the topic from a separate perspective. Of the historic trails meeting, Elkinton recalls that it “turned out to be a huge success. They planned for about 25 people and 80 came. It was a very rich program.”²⁸⁰ Since that time, both historic-trail advocates and scenic-trail advocates have continued to hold workshops in even-numbered years; historic-trail workshops have typically been held in the spring, while scenic-trail workshops have usually taken place in the fall (see appendix 2).

As the first decade of the new millennium came to a close, Congress passed legislation that had strong impacts on the NTS, both to scenic and historic trails. The Omnibus Public Land Management Act, signed into law in March 2009, finally dealt with the vexing issue of willing seller legislation. Beginning in 1983, Congress routinely added the following “willing seller” clause (or similar phraseology) to all new national trails legislation: “No lands or interests therein outside the exterior boundaries of any federally administered area may be acquired by the United States for the [named] National Historic Trail except with the consent of the owner thereof.” National trails authorized prior to 1983, however, included no such language. But because of a 1983 federal law (P.L. 98-11), those who administered any national trails were prohibited from spending federal funds on land acquisition.²⁸¹ As has been noted elsewhere, the administrators of NHTs in the

²⁷⁹ Steve Elkinton, interview with Ronald Brown, May 30, 2007.

²⁸⁰ Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007; Elkinton, email to author, February 27, 2014.

²⁸¹ Elkinton interview, May 30, 2007; Gary Werner interview, by Ronald Brown, May 25, 2007

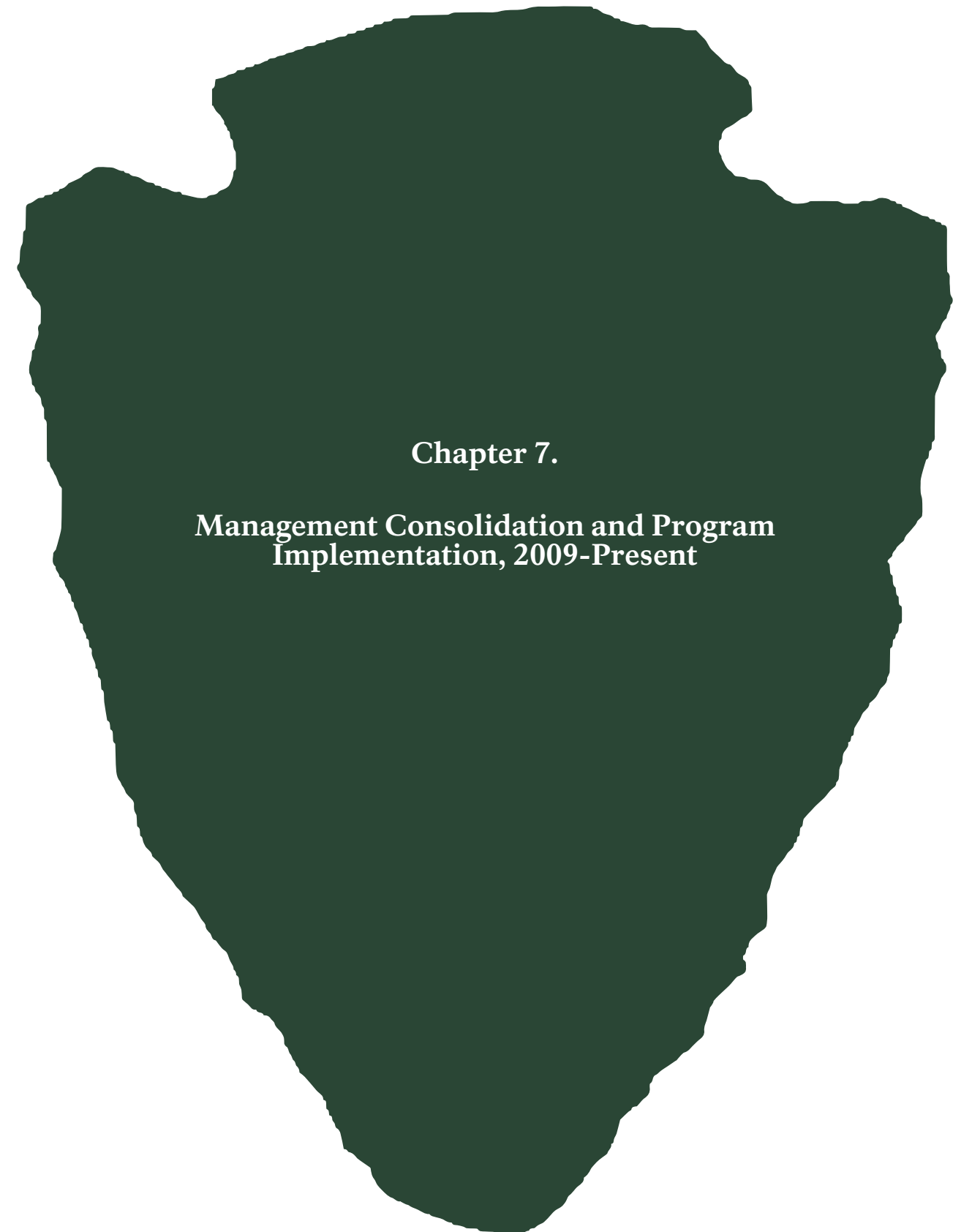
agency's IMR had never shown an interest in acquiring land of any kind – either for visitor centers or for any other purposes – so, as a result, this inconsistency had no particular impact on trail administration. Other trail authorities, however, were well aware of the inconsistency in the legislation and thus saw it as a problem that needed to be overcome.²⁸²

In order to overcome that longstanding prohibition, federal trails authorities pushed for the passage of a bill that authorized blanket “willing seller” language (as noted above) that would apply to all scenic and historic trails. A bill authorizing such language was first put forth during the mid- to late 1990s, and since that time it was considered in each subsequent Congress, with numerous hearings about the bill. For various reasons, however, the bill did not pass Congress and become law until 2009. Because those who administered national scenic trails (NSTs) had an interest in purchasing land, and those who administered NHTs did not purchase land, this bill had little if any impact on the operation of NHTs. The managers of NHTs, therefore, followed the progress of these “willing seller” bills with tangential interest.²⁸³



²⁸² Jere Krakow, interview by Ronald Brown, January 4, 2008; Steve Elkinton, email to the author, August 14, 2018.

²⁸³ Gary Werner, interview by Ronald Brown, May 25, 2007.



As noted in Chapter 6, the years from 2000 to 2009 had witnessed a remarkable amount of growth within the trails offices located in both Santa Fe and Salt Lake City. The number of trails being administered rose by half (from 6 to 9), the number of staff more than doubled, and the total trails budget rose more than threefold. Starting in 2009, however, several of these trends began to change. During the most recent nine-year period, the number of trails being administered has not risen, and since fiscal year (FY) 2010 the trails' budget has not appreciably risen.

As noted above, the two trails offices had fifteen total staff toward the end of 2008. In addition to the superintendent, the Santa Fe office had a chief of trail operations, a landscape architect, a historian, a historian/planner, an interpreter, a cultural resource specialist, a budget analyst, a Native American liaison, an outdoor recreation planner, and the Route 66 program specialist. The Salt Lake City office staff, at the time, consisted of a cultural resource specialist, an interpreter, a Geographic information system (GIS) specialist, and a budget analyst. Mahr, the superintendent, recognized that the geographically distinct nature of the two-office setup – each office administering its own set of trails – and the tendency for certain staff to focus on specific trails resulted in a substantial duplication of effort, and he also recognized that the agency had an increasing reliance on advanced technology (for mailing, videoconferencing, GIS, and remote training possibilities). As a result, he decided to abandon the previous parochialism in favor of an arrangement in which staff, to a much larger extent, would exercise their responsibilities over all nine trails that the office either administered or co-administered.¹ At the same time, Mahr decided to formalize a series of teams, most of which would consist of personnel from both offices. Starting in early 2009, the office would consist of teams focused on the following areas:

- Interpretation, led by the chief of trail operations,
- Design and Development (D&D), led by the landscape architect,
- Cultural Resources, led by a cultural resource specialist,
- Administration, led by a budget analyst,
- Resource Information Management, led by a historian, and
- Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, led by the program manager

In addition, there would be series of one-person teams such as management (the

¹ As noted in the 2008 *Superintendent's Annual Report* (p. 4), "NTIR organization codes and alpha codes were combined into one to facilitate management oversight and accounting. The old alpha codes of NTSF and NTSL were abolished and replaced with NTIR. The account 1580 was abolished and joined with 7700 (see chapter 6)."

superintendent), American Indian concerns (the tribal liaison), and the Salt Lake City-based GIS specialist. With some modifications, these teams have kept their same names and subject-matter concerns to the present day.²

Staff and Budget Growth

Under the new team arrangement, several new staff were added during the next several months (see appendix 4). Three came on board in January 2009. John Cannella was hired as the Santa Fe office's first GIS specialist; prior to his selection, he had served in a similar position in the agency's Flagstaff Area National Monuments office, in Arizona.³ In addition, the office hired John Murphey to work with Kaisa Barthuli as the Route 66 program's assistant program manager. Murphey had previously been working at the New Mexico State Historic Preservation Office, and he had also chaired the Route 66 Federal Advisory Council. Finally, Carol Ortega – who had long been working as a budget analyst for the Intermountain Region (IMR) in the Old Santa Fe Trail Building (OSFTB) – began working as an agreements specialist with the trails office on a half-time basis. In October 2009, Carol Clark – formerly from Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve in Jacksonville, Florida – was hired as an interpretive specialist to replace Andrea Sharon, who had retired the previous December. And that same month Anne Marie (Cookie) Ballou moved from her position at Big Bend National Park to become a new interpretive specialist in the Salt Lake City office. Kay Threlkeld, who had been splitting her time between the Fort Laramie area and Salt Lake City for the past several years, opted to retire from the agency in early 2010.⁴

As noted elsewhere (see appendix 6), both 2009 and 2010 had brought budget increases to the overall trails budget; the 2010 base budget of \$3.65 million was more than 15 percent higher than the 2008 budget had been. Perhaps as a consequence, the office was able to hire new staff. In June 2010, Brian Deaton arrived in Santa Fe as a Student Career Experience Program (SCEP) GIS technician from the University of New Mexico (UNM), and the following June, two additional SCEP students – both landscape architects – joined the Santa Fe staff; they were

² In October 2014, in conjunction with the hiring of Angelica Sanchez-Clark and the establishment of a new office in Albuquerque (see below), a new History Team was created, led by the NTIR historian; since that time, the Resources Information Team has been solely concerned with GIS-related matters. Then, in January 2018, after Steve Burns's retirement, trails management decided to merge the Interpretation Team and the Design and Development Team into the Visitor Use Experience and Engagement (VUEE) Team.

³ John Cannella, email to the author, August 7, 2018. This Flagstaff office helped administer three national monuments: Walnut Canyon, Wupatki, and Sunset Crater Volcano.

⁴ Chuck Milliken, interview by the author, February 19, 2014; Lee Kreutzer, interview by the author, February 19, 2014 and August 9, 2018.

Coreen Kolisko, from Colorado State University, and Kristin Van Fleet, a recent University of Arizona master's-level graduate. Meanwhile, three new permanent employees were added to the staff, all in Santa Fe. The first, Lynne Mager, joined the staff in October 2010; she was an interpretive specialist who had most recently worked at Colorado National Monument. Two months later, archeologist Michael Elliott joined the staff as a cultural resource specialist. And in January 2011, Gretchen Ward – formerly from the agency's Denver Service Center (DSC) – became the staff's first full-time planner.

Thereafter, the office's budget entered a more cost-conscious phase. In FY 2012, the budget dropped by more than 11 percent, to \$3.25 million – and in more recent years, the budget remained essentially flatlined, to an almost identical figure of \$3.22 million in 2016. (Given the fact that the Consumer Price Index rose 5.3 percent during that four-year time span, the purchasing power of the trail's budget therefore dropped by a similar amount.⁵) These recent years of basically flat-lined budgets were mirrored by the budgets of the agency's other national historic and scenic trails – and, in fact, by the entire agency budget.

Throughout the period after 2010, personnel salaries and benefits comprised between 45 and 60 percent of the office's annual budget; given the need to control those costs, most of the newly-hired permanent trails staff replaced those who either transferred elsewhere or retired. In the Salt Lake City office, for example, David Mayfield began work in May 2011 as an administrative assistant to replace the recently-retired Teresa Bichard; he initially worked on a contract basis, but within a year he was working for the agency as a STEP (Student Temporary Employment Program) employee (see appendix 4). In July 2011, Kimberly Finch – from Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming – debuted as an interpretive specialist who would soon be replacing Chuck Milliken, due to retire later that year. In the Santa Fe office, Robert G. (Bob) Sandlin – most recently at White Sands National Monument – became the office's new administrative officer in January 2013, replacing the recently-retired Josina Martinez. And in December 2013, Derek Nelson – who had been working most recently at Cape Cod National Seashore – was hired as the Salt Lake City office's new GIS specialist, filling a void in that specialty that had existed ever since Kay Threlkeld had retired in early 2010.

In October 2014, the trails office embarked on a new venture when it hired Angelica Sanchez-Clark – a longtime historian at the agency's Spanish Colonial Research Center, located on the UNM campus – as a new trails employee. That hiring decision resulted in the establishment of a third trails-office location to complement those in Santa Fe and Salt Lake City. That new office, on the UNM

campus, consisted of two third-floor rooms in Hokona Hall. Closely related to that hiring decision was the signing, in late April 2015, of a master Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between National Trails Regions 6, 7, and 8 (NTIR) and UNM. By so doing, officials at both institutions agreed to work together on student-led trails projects from a variety of university departments and with a variety of National Park Service (NPS) staff. The signing of this MOU, more specifically, has brought forth projects that, thus far, have resulted in the hiring of more than a dozen UNM students on projects related to historic preservation, Spanish language translation, historical research, architectural survey, and other subject areas. Since that time, students working on NPS trails projects have been free to use a room set aside of that purpose, and Sanchez-Clark has provided coordination and assistants for their projects.

Additional staff have been hired in recent years. In January 2015, the retirement of Sharon Brown as the Chief of Trail Operations – after almost fourteen years with the trails office – resulted in the elevation of the GIS coordinator, John Cannella, to the position of Acting Chief of Trail Operations. (In late August 2015, he became the trails office's Deputy Superintendent.) Meanwhile, Brown's retirement also left a void in her role as the de facto interpretive chief. That void remained until March 2015, when Carole Wendler arrived from Death Valley National Park to Santa Fe to become the office's first Chief of Interpretation. In August 2015, Kelly Shea – most recently from Bandelier National Monument – was hired as an administrative officer to replace the recently-retired Bob Sandlin, and eight months later, Patricia Trujillo – also from Bandelier – began work as an administrative assistant. Derek Nelson transferred from the Salt Lake City office to the Santa Fe office in June 2016, and in October 2017, Jeffrey Denny transferred from Redwood National and State Parks to become a new, Santa Fe-based interpretive specialist. Eight months later, Brian Deaton – who had previously worked in the trails office from 2010 to 2013 – returned as the new GIS coordinator after working during the intervening period for the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) in that agency's Farmington, New Mexico office.

New hires in the Salt Lake City office included Alicia Correa, a contract employee who replaced David Mayfield as an administrative assistant in September 2014, and Angie Millgate, who replaced Correa in that same capacity beginning in May 2015.⁶ Jill Jensen, most recently with the Western Area Power Administration in Phoenix, started work in Salt Lake City as a cultural resource specialist, specializing in compliance issues, in June 2015. Almost a year later, in May 2016, Bryan Petrtyl signed on as the Salt Lake City-based interpretive specialist to replace the recently-

⁵ <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/inflation/historical-inflation-rates/>

⁶ For several months after Mayfield left the office began work, administrative duties – purchasing, payroll, information requests, postal duties – were to a large extent entrusted to the office's interpretive specialist, Kim Finch. By early 2014, however, these duties were redistributed between Finch and several other NPS staff. Finch, interview by the author, February 20, 2014.

transferred Kim Finch, and in August 2016, Sarah Rivera – a University of Utah student majoring in both geography and GIS – joined the Salt Lake City office as a cartographic technician through the Pathways program. Given Derek Nelson’s departure from his NPS position in July 2017, Rivera served for awhile as NTIR’s sole GIS employee. In December 2017, she received degrees from both programs, after which she was converted to permanent, full-time employment. The Salt Lake City office, which formerly housed a number of non-trails agency positions (see chapters 5 and 6), has seen a general reduction in those positions in recent years.⁷

In addition to the line-item budgets that Congress allotted each year, the trails office has been fortunate to have access to various sources of non-line-item base funds throughout this period. As noted in chapters 5 and 6, one reliable source of funds was the Challenge Cost Share Program (CCSP), a source that had been available to the trails community since the early 1990s. This source of funding, however, suffered a key setback when the Interior Department’s Inspector General, in 2009, issued a report that strongly criticized the slipshod way that CCSP funds were being spent. It noted “that bureaus are not requiring, enforcing, or monitoring partners’ matching contributions” and that “overall, we found that for every federal dollar spent, only 12 cents in matching contributions could be substantiated.” It therefore stated that the “Department should immediately take steps to address the Program’s shortcomings.” (The NPS, in this report, fared better than either the BLM or the Fish and Wildlife Service, but only marginally.)⁸ On the heels of that report, Congress no longer demanded that one-third of these funds be directed to long distance trails. Despite that purported change in policy, however, the various national scenic trails (NSTs) and national historic trails (NHTs) continued to receive a substantial percentage of CCSP funding in later years, because department administrators continued to honor the set-aside percentages that Congress had established prior to 2009. The CCSP program, therefore, continued to distribute substantial project-based funds to the trails offices for several more years: from approximately \$193,000 in FY 2010 up to approximately \$376,000 – an all-time high – in FY 2012 (see appendix 10). In 2012, however, the program was re-engineered so that it was administered by a non-NPS entity, with award amounts and lead times that effectively prevented the trails office from competing for these funds. The office did, however, continue to receive funds for several years thereafter for projects that

⁷ During the 2002-2003 period, for example, SLC staff included Utah State Coordinator Cordell Roy, RTCA representative Bill Farrand, Colorado River coordinator Norm Henderson, NPS Olympics coordinator Bob Van Belle, a safety specialist, and fisheries biologist Melissa Trammell. Roy’s position, however, is now administered through Timpanogos Cave National Monument; both Henderson’s and Trammell’s positions were moved to Denver, and the positions of Olympics coordinator and safety specialist were eliminated. At present, the only two non-trails positions in the office are those of RTCA representatives Betsy Byrne and Brandon Stocksdale.

⁸ Elkinton to Norris, email, September 21, 2017; U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Inspector General, *Evaluation of Department of the Interior Challenge Cost Share Programs* (Report No. WR-EV-MOA-0004-2008), September 2009, introductory letter, courtesy of Helen Scully, WASO Trails Office.

had initially been granted either in 2012 or in prior years.⁹

The trails office also benefited substantially from the Connect Trails to Parks Program (CTTP). As noted in Chapter 6, this funding program had been conceived in 2006 to fund projects where National Trails System (NTS) components intersected with NPS units, with other federal entities, or “where the entire NTS is presented or interpreted.”¹⁰ Funded projects in the IMR trails office began in FY 2008 (see appendix 11). Over the next several years CTTP program funded a smattering of projects along the Santa Fe Trail (where there are four NPS units, located in New Mexico, Colorado, and Kansas) and along El Camino Real de los Tejas (where NTIR collaborated with San Antonio Missions National Historical Park in Texas). Additional CTTP projects were implemented on the Trail of Tears (where a project took place at Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee), and on the Old Spanish Trail (where a project was implemented at Arches National Park).¹¹

Beginning in 2013, the program expanded to include new parks and new projects, and since then, it has allotted between \$100,000 and \$350,000 each year to NTIR trails. During the past several years, most of the IMR trails have benefited to some extent, although the lion’s share of these funds have been directed to four NHTs: El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, El Camino Real de los Tejas, the Santa Fe Trail, and the Trail of Tears.¹²

In the last few years, the NPS has authorized the expenditure of additional funds as part of several significant anniversary events: the sesquicentennial of the Pony Express (2010), the National Park Service Centennial (2016), and the 50th Anniversary of the National Trails System Act (NTSA) (2018). These efforts are explained later in this chapter.

Throughout most of this period, both the Salt Lake City and Santa Fe offices remained in the same work spaces they had been in since October 2003 and November 2002, respectively. The only change was an internal move, for some Santa Fe employees, in October 2008 (see chapter 6).

⁹ Elkinton to Norris, email, September 21, 2017; Aaron Mahr, interview with the author, August 2, 2018.

¹⁰ Steve Elkinton, *Connect Trails to Parks: A Three Year Program Report* (Washington, DOI, January 2011), 5.

¹¹ SAR, 2010 (p. 24), SAR 2011 (p. 11 and pp. 17-19), and SAR 2012 (p. 10 and pp. 18-19).

¹² SAR, 2013 (p. 26), SAR 2014 (pp. 25-26), SAR 2015 (pp. 26-27), and SAR 2016, 6.

In the first half of 2018, however, staff at both of these offices moved into new quarters. In early March, due to the expiration of the General Services Administration contract on its State Street facility, Salt Lake City employees left the offices where they had spent up to fourteen years.¹³ They moved slightly north, and almost two blocks west, to a ninth-floor office (Suite 950) at 50 W. Broadway, near South West Temple St. At the same time, the Santa Fe staff were getting ready for their own move. During FY 2018, funds at long last had become available for a major renovation of the OSFTB. This renovation, which included the replacement of both the roof and the exterior stucco, along with earthquake retrofitting, required employees to vacate the premises for an extended period. As a result, all OSFTB employees moved out in early June 2018 and began working in temporary quarters on the third floor of the Montoya Federal Building (above the downtown post office) at 120 S. Federal Place in Santa Fe. Plans call for employees to return to the OSFTB once the construction work has been completed.¹⁴

Officewide Administrative Efforts

The primary thrust in the trails office has always been the creation and completion of projects – signage, interpretation, historic research, site development, etc. – that benefit specific NHTs. These projects, however, cannot be undertaken without efforts that are aimed toward all of the trails that the office either administers or co-administers. These efforts have helped streamline the office and make project-specific work more efficient. Most are a continuation of what had been undertaken since the 1990s. They include strategic planning, partnership association support, partnership certification, GIS support, compliance, and tribal consultation.

Strategic Planning

As noted in Chapter 6, the trails office had completed its first strategic plan in November 2003 and revised it in June 2005, both meetings taking place shortly after the Santa Fe and Salt Lake City offices had merged under a single superintendent. In order to craft a new plan, efforts began in 2011. To further the effort, staff from both offices gathered the following January at Pecos National Historical Park for a two-day workshop. Trails officials noted that it was

the first plan to clearly articulate NTIR’s protection, development, and

¹³ John Cannella, email to the author, August 7, 2018.

¹⁴ http://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/local_news/depression-era-adobe-office-building-to-undergo-renovations/article_43d3cf53-e98f-51d0-ad95-58757bb615a4.html.

promotion goals, which are to help the public experience and appreciate the nine historic trails and Route 66; identify and protect original trail and road remnants; add new and diverse partners; collaborate effectively with the trails community; and achieve organizational transparency, accountability, and communication.¹⁵

The plan identified five objective-driven goals that tiered off of the organization’s mission to “collaborate with partners to provide leadership and coordination in the planning, protection, development, and interpretation of our NHTs and Route 66 for public use and benefit.” The five-year plan was completed in January 2013.¹⁶

Efforts to revise and update the strategic plan began in 2015. In October of that year, staff from all three trails offices gathered at El Rancho de las Golondrinas and took part in a two-day strategic planning workshop. The ideas promulgated at the workshop served as the basis for a new strategic plan, one that agency officials approved in June 2016 and distributed to various trail partners later that year.¹⁷

Trails staff, recognizing the important role that partnership associations played in trails administration, also participated in several efforts to develop strategic plans for those associations. In 2008, Sharon Brown worked with the Santa Fe Trail Association (SFTA) board of directors to review and update their strategic plan; this effort was repeated in 2012. Brown also facilitated strategic planning efforts for the Trail of Tears Association (TOTA) (2009); Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) (2010); El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Association (CARTA) (2012, with Sarah Schlanger); El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT Association (2012), and Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA) (2012). Gretchen Ward served as the facilitator for a National Pony Express Association (NPEA) strategic plan (2014) and for a review and update of OCTA’s plan (2015).¹⁸

Partnership Association Support

As noted in previous chapters (also see appendix 5), most of the trails that NTIR administers or co-administers have long had active partnership associations. The first such association was the NPEA, founded in 1977 to support the growing interest in an annual equestrian re-ride over the trail. The association did not,

¹⁵ SAR, 2012, Summary.

¹⁶ SAR, 2013, Summary.

¹⁷ NPS, Strategic Plan 2016-2021, National Trails Intermountain Region, June 2016,” signed July 12, 2016.

¹⁸ SAR, 2008, 14; SAR, 2009, 11; SAR, 2012, 11; SAR, 2014, 17; Sharon Brown, email to the author, November 12, 2018.

however, become an NPS partner until after the 1992 Congressional passage of the act authorizing the Pony Express NHT.

A few years later, in August 1982, the OCTA was founded at the behest of Gregory Franzwa. Following shortly thereafter was the Santa Fe Trail Council (SFTC), in September 1986, which was renamed the SFTA a year later. There was little consistency in the timing of these organizations' formation; some, such as the NPEA and the SFTC, were established before Congress designated these trails as NHTs – and in these cases, the members of these trail associations were an important advocacy group in getting these trails authorized. But other trail associations were not founded until several years after Congress had authorized the trail in question. The OCTA exhibited characteristics of both patterns; its founding took place several years after the Oregon NHT was authorized, but the organization was active for a decade before Congress authorized the California NHT.

This idiosyncratic pattern has continued in recent years. The Mormon Trail Association (1991) and the TOTA (1993) were established well after Congress authorized these trails, but the Old Spanish Trail was founded in 1994, eight years before the Old Spanish NHT was authorized. More recent trail associations – CARTA and ELTEA (now ELCAT) – were founded after the trails that they support were authorized.

As these various associations became established, each of them consummated cooperative agreements with the NPS. The first two to do so were the SFTA in 1991, and the TOTA in 1993. Most of the follow-up agreements – with OCTA, CARTA, NPEA, OSTA, and ELTEA – took place during the 2002-2007 period. Since that time, most of the trails that NTIR administers have had active cooperative agreements with their partnership associations, and most of these associations have received annual financial assistance from the NPS as part of their cooperative agreements. The amount of this assistance has typically been commensurate with the annual congressionally-designated funding levels for each trail: associations with relatively large memberships such as the OCTA, the SFTA, and the TOTA have received financial assistance in recent years of between \$100,000 and \$180,000 annually, while the remaining trail partnership associations have received between \$60,000 and \$100,000 per year.¹⁹ As specified in the annual task agreements between the association and the NPS, these payments were directed for specific purposes. (The 2016 agreement between the NPS and the SFTA, for example, asked the SFTA to provide office space, travel support, a quarterly newsletter, a board of directors meeting, an annual membership meeting, a website, a speakers program,

¹⁹ SAR, 2008, 4; NTIR S drive, “Business Plan Internships 2017” folder, “Figures” subfolder.

and other listed goals.²⁰) And, for most associations, these agreements also provided compensation for the partnership association's executive director. In general, the largest associations are able to generate the most independent income; as a result, the OCTA receives only about three-fifths of its annual income from the NPS. The NPEA, by contrast, receives about four-fifths of its income from the NPS, while the agency provides the Austin-based El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT Association more than nine-tenths of its income.²¹

Certain trails, and partnership associations, do not follow the generalities noted above. The Mormon Pioneer NHT, for example, has not had an active partnership association for many years; as a result, this trail does not have a cooperative agreement with a partnership group, and the agency makes no payments to that group.²² The Pony Express NHT, to cite another example, has long maintained a cooperative agreement between the NPS and the NPEA, but the NPEA has never had a paid executive director. And for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT, the NPS in 2016 distanced its relationship with its partnership association (CARTA), as noted below. As a result, the organization since 2016 has continued as an active trail association, but the NPS no longer maintains a cooperative agreement with CARTA, nor does it provide annual financial assistance to that organization.

Certification

The role of certification in protecting and developing trail resources was specified in the NTSA itself, and certification was first implemented for a present-day IMR trail in 1984, when Montrose Landing, Iowa, became a certified site along the Mormon Pioneer NHT. The next certification for the region's nine present trails, however, did not take place until early 1991 along the Santa Fe Trail. For the next 15 years, substantial efforts toward certification were made in the Santa Fe office, but fewer certifications took place along trails administered by the Salt Lake City office (see chapter 6). By the end of 2008, therefore, the IMR trails staff had certified a total of 120 historic sites, historic trail segments, or interpretive facilities, the great majority of these partnerships having been undertaken by staff based in the Santa Fe office (see appendix 9).

²⁰ NPS, “Task Agreement Number P16AC01196 Under Cooperative Agreement P13AC00933 Between the United States Department of the Interior National Park Service and Santa Fe Trail Association,” July 18, 2016, on the NTIR S drive, “Business Plan Internships 2017” folder, “Agreements/Sample Agreements” subfolders.

²¹ Aaron Mahr, interview with the author, December 14, 2018.

²² Since the mid-1990s, if not earlier, the Iowa Mormon Trails Association has been active in that state, and to a lesser degree the Mormon Trails Association has had a presence in Utah. No group, however, has represented the broad, general interests of the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail.

Aaron Mahr, the new superintendent, made it known that partnership certification – and the ensuring relationship that resulted – would be a key part of administering all nine IMR trails. As a result, he asked the trails historian to coordinate certification-related actions and to encourage the overall certification effort. By April 2009, he had helped complete a certification guide (“Guide to Partnership Certification along NHTs”) that fully explained partnership certification to potential partners, and a year later he revised the two-page brochure that had first been produced in 2004. Given the fact that all of the trail office’s pre-2004 certifications had a so-called “sunset clause” which called for them to expire after a set period of time (typically five years) – and were thus technically void – the historian contacted the existing certified partners during 2009 and 2010. He asked the partners to sign a new, one-page certification forms that were valid as long as both parties indicated a willingness to continue the partnership.

Most certification-related efforts, however, were related to encouraging new certifications and working with potential partners to explain the program’s tenets and advantages. To that end, two NHTs received their first partnership certifications: the Treviño-Urbe Rancho in San Ygnacio, Texas became the first certified partner along El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT in September 2011, and the Fort Uncompahgre Interpretive Center in Delta, Colorado became the first certified partner along the Old Spanish NHT in July 2017. In addition, renewed efforts were made by Salt Lake City staff to obtain certification for sites, segments, and interpretive centers as part of ongoing partnership efforts. Given those efforts, the number of certified partnerships for each of the four northern trails has more than doubled since 2008, and substantial growth has taken place with the IMR’s remaining trails as well. As a result, the total number of certified partners on one or more of the region’s nine trails has more than doubled, from 120 in 2008 up to 245 in early 2018.

Geographic Information Systems Support

In 2008, the two trails offices provided GIS support in significantly different ways (see chapter 6). In the Salt Lake City office, Kay Threlkeld was serving as a GIS database manager; working from Fort Laramie NHS as well as from Salt Lake City, most of her efforts were focused on the Oregon and California trails, specifically working with volunteers to collect and transmit field-collected GPS data for the trails database. In the Santa Fe office, Brooke Safford – a term employee who was hired as an outdoor recreation planner – was serving as a nominal GIS specialist, with much of her efforts since 2007 being directed toward the Santa Fe Trail’s Rediscovery Project, as well as developing geo-databases for the five trails that had traditionally been administered, or co-administered, from Santa Fe. In addition to the combined efforts of these two women, the office continued to work with the University of Utah’s Department of Geography (DIGIT Lab), as part of a

cooperative agreement, as it had since June 1999 (see chapter 6). The DIGIT Lab helped manage the geodatabase for the nine NHTs. It also served as an additional repository for trail-related geo-referenced data and provided technical advice and assistance as needed.²³

This focus changed considerably in January 2009 with the hiring of John Cannella, in Santa Fe, as the office’s first GIS specialist; his sole duties were related to GISs. Given Cannella’s expertise, office staff soon recognized that GIS capabilities were essential far beyond mapmaking functions; in addition, Cannella showed how GIS could be used to evaluate and respond to development threats, assist with interpretation, and conduct and produce feasibility studies and management plans.

In order to develop the office’s effectiveness pertaining to GIS, Cannella played a major role in writing a GIS plan – a task that Safford had commenced in 2007. The plan was completed and approved in September 2009.²⁴ Recognizing that IMR GIS products needed to be compliant with federal standards, he became familiar with Federal Geographic Data Committee standards and used compliant metadata that met that standard. He initiated the development of standard map and metadata templates for GIS products, in order to simplify future applications. He developed an Intranet page to provide staff access to centralized data and map files. He digitized hundreds of miles of trails, mapped on USGS quadrangles, that field investigators had provided to him. He helped develop a large array of cartographic products that were a necessary adjunct to the three major congressionally-driven feasibility studies that the office was overseeing. He quizzed other staff on how GIS could be used most effectively in their existing and proposed projects, and – reaching beyond the office environment – he began to work with other GIS professionals in the regional office, in other government agencies and in the private sector. In 2011, he helped establish the NTS GIS Network that, among other activities, hosted a regular, monthly forum where federal GIS trail professionals could discuss mutual problem areas and learn new applications.²⁵

Cannella, at first, worked with Kay Threlkeld, the Salt Lake City-based database manager. In June 2010, soon after Threlkeld retired, he hired a cartographic technician in the Santa Fe office: Brian Deaton, a UNM Geography Department graduate student. Deaton began as a SCEP student. A year later, he became a STEP student, and he continued in that capacity until he transferred from the office in

²³ SAR, 2008, 5, 18. The cooperative agreement specified that the NPS pay the University of Utah for the DIGIT Lab’s services; in 2008, this payment was \$50,000.

²⁴ SAR, 2007, 20; SAR, 2008, 18-19; SAR, 2009, 18; SAR, 2010, 25; NTIR, *Geographic Information System (GIS) Plan*, September 29, 2009.

²⁵ SAR, 2009, 17-18; SAR, 2010, 25-26; SAR, 2011, 28-29; SAR, 2012, 30; SAR, 2013, 29.

early 2013 (see appendix 4).²⁶

Cannella also organized a series of mapping workshops, which were intended to gather various partnership-association members so that they could suggest possible deficiencies in the existing congressionally-designated routes. The first workshop, for selected members of each of the partnership associations, was held in Albuquerque in late October 2010.²⁷ Segueing from that conference was an additional series of mapping conferences focused on individual trails. For example, there was a growing concern that the designated Santa Fe NHT route (which, as noted in Chapter 4, was first outlined in the late 1980s) did not reflect the actual historical route. In response, Cannella organized a series of three workshops, attended by knowledgeable SFTA members, that were intended to make the designated route more accurate.²⁸ He held a similar Old Spanish NHT mapping workshop in Santa Fe in late August 2013; that meeting followed up from a previous one held in Phoenix in the early spring of 2006.²⁹ And for the OCTA, the NPS held a joint mapping workshop in Salt Lake City in late October and early November 2012. OCTA, on its own, also sponsored at least one mapping workshop (in Carson City, Nevada in May 2014) and perhaps others as well.³⁰

By early 2013, Cannella's position had been upgraded to that of GIS coordinator. Not long afterward, a new GIS specialist – Derek J. Nelson – was hired; he started working in the Salt Lake City office in December 2013. Then, in the early spring of 2014, Cannella hired Vincent Ornelas, a student at Albuquerque's Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, as a volunteer for GIS project work.³¹ Nelson's workload increased in January 2015, when Cannella became the trail office's acting Deputy Superintendent; that higher workload remained in August of that year when Cannella's new position was made permanent, and Nelson became the acting lead GIS specialist (see appendix 4). Nelson remained in Salt Lake City until June 2016, when he transferred to the Santa Fe office; shortly afterward, Sarah Rivera – a Pathways student enrolled in both an undergraduate and graduate program at the University of Utah – began work as a cartographic technician. Nelson left the trails office in July 2017, after which Rivera remained in her position until she graduated from both University of Utah programs in December of that year. Shortly afterward, in February 2018, Rivera became a permanent, full-time NPS employee, serving as a GIS specialist.

²⁶ SAR, 2010, 25.

²⁷ Norris to Cannella, email, August 10, 2010.

²⁸ SAR, 2013, 29; SAR, 2014, 30; SAR, 2016, 26. The three workshops were held in Larned, Kansas; Independence, Missouri; and Cimarron, New Mexico.

²⁹ SAR, 2013, 12, 29.

³⁰ SAR, 2013, 29; SAR, 2014, 30; John Cannella, email to the author, August 7, 2018.

³¹ SAR, 2014, 30.

In recent years, GIS staff have continued to undertake many of the same tasks as before, with a number of new, additional duties. For example, they worked with the office's D&D Team to design and display an array of sign planning tools. And in California, they worked with the OCTA, the NPEA, and Caltrans to develop a sign planning viewer that, once implemented, will be applied on roads in 23 California counties. Another project in which office worked with the NPEA was one related to the organization's iconic Annual Re-Ride; specifically, GIS staff provided a transponder (called a SPOT GPS device) to the various riders, then created an interactive map that allowed the general public to ascertain where the rider and mail was located at any given time. Additional interactive maps were produced which showed the location of Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) markers in the Kansas City metropolitan area; Negro Motorist "Green Book" hotel and restaurant locations along Route 66; various story maps; as well as additional maps related to other trail-specific studies and displays.³² While some of these projects were completed by NPS staff, others have been ably completed by students. Beginning in 2015, as part of a larger MOU between the trails office and the UNM, several students from UNM's Geography and Environmental Sciences Department have served as GIS-related interns (see appendix 4). Individuals taking part in this program have included Akashia Allen (2015), Alexia Costanza (2016, with the Latino Heritage Internship Program), and Courtney Brock (2016-2018).

NEPA and Section 106 Compliance

Compliance – that is, the ability to bureaucratically respond to development-related threats – has been part of IMR trails administration since the late 1990s and a mainstay of the office since the early- to mid-2000s. The topic has remained an active, vibrant part of the office's role and function in recent years. As noted in Chapter 6, a large number of development actions took place in the Great Basin and northern Rocky Mountains during the first several years of the 21st century, and to counter the potential impacts of those actions on the various NHTs, Supt. Jere Krakow had asked his cultural resource specialist, Lee Kreutzer, to serve as a compliance specialist. No equivalent person in the Santa Fe office concurrently served in that role; Santa Fe staff did, however, share with their Salt Lake City counterparts the job of examining project compliance documents. When Michael Taylor, in late 2008, transferred from the Route 66 program and became the Santa Fe office's first cultural resource specialist, compliance-related duties were incorporated into that newly-created position. The office's visibility in compliance matters was further strengthened in late 2010 when cultural resource specialist Michael Elliott became a trails employee, inasmuch as compliance duties comprised his entire job description (see appendix 4).³³

³² SAR, 2014, 30; SAR, 2015, 32; SAR, 2016, 26; Sarah Rivera, interview with the author, August 3, 2018.

³³ Lee Kreutzer interview, Feb. 19, 2014.

The office's compliance specialists, asked to weigh the impacts of impending developments on various provisions in either the National Historic Preservation Act (1966) or the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) (1969), recognized that both private and public entities planned a daunting number of proposed developments each year. A major part of their job was simply to skim through an onslaught of documents to see which proposals had the potential to impact the national trail corridors – and if so, the degree of that impact. In any given year, the trails staff were typically asked to peruse a hundred or more project compliance documents (environmental assessments (EAs), environmental impact statements (EISs), scoping notices, resource management plans (RMPs), notices of intent, or consultation letters), but relatively few of them posed a real threat to any NHT corridors. In 2011, for example, the staff (to use compliance parlance) reviewed 563 “undertakings,” but more than half of them (294 of them, to be precise) were more than five miles away from an NHT corridor. Of the remaining 269 undertakings, 215 of them had no effect, and 28 others had “no adverse effects” to trail segments, trail sites, or trail settings. Only 26 of these 2011 “undertakings” were judged to have adverse effects to trail resources. A year later, by contrast, the compliance staff reviewed only 219 undertakings, but 32 of them were judged to have adverse effects to trail segments.³⁴

After 2009, there was a wide variety of potential developments requiring possible compliance actions. Oil and gas developments, which had been particularly active during previous years, were at an ebb due to low fossil-fuel prices. But proposals for other energy developments – particularly wind, solar, and geothermal energy projects, plus the concomitant need for long-distance transmission line corridors – were on the upswing, along with plans for long-distance pipelines, cell towers, and highway improvements.³⁵

As suggested by the numbers above, staff wrestled with a relative few proposals that had the potential to adversely impact one or more trail corridors. Some of the more contentious and well-publicized proposals included the following, and the agency responded to some of these by participating either as a cooperating agency or as a consulting party:

- Spaceport America (see chapter 6), just east of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT in southern New Mexico. (cooperating agency)
- Keystone XL Pipeline, which was proposed to cross El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT at Douglass (Nacogdoches Co.) in east Texas.
- Gateway West Transmission Line, a proposed route between Casper,

Wyoming and the Boise, Idaho area, which promised to impact both the Oregon and California trails in Wyoming and Idaho. (cooperating agency)

- Boardman to Hemingway Transmission Line, a proposed route in Idaho and Oregon, with threatened impacts to the Oregon NHT.
- Sigurd-Red Butte 2 Transmission Line, a proposed Utah-based line with potential impacts to the Old Spanish NHT. (cooperating agency)
- Silurian Valley Windfarm and the Hidden Hills Solar Energy Generating Station, both in the California Desert, with potential impacts to the Old Spanish NHT
- Mount Hope Molybdenum Mine project near Ely, Nevada, which (in the words of one NPS employee) would “take down an entire mountain but leave the [Pony Express] trail trace itself intact.” (cooperating agency, consulting party)
- SunZia Transmission Line, in New Mexico and Arizona, with threatened impacts to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT. (cooperating agency)
- TransWest Transmission Line, from Cheyenne, Wyoming to Las Vegas, Nevada, with threatened impacts to Old Spanish NHT. (cooperating agency)³⁶

Each year, as suggested above, various solar energy facilities were proposed, primarily in Nevada and California. In addition, the BLM in 2011 issued a Solar Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement, which covers over 20 million acres in six western states that the agency is proposing to be suitable for solar energy development. This was similar to the agency's Wind Energy Environmental Impact Statement (see chapter 6), which was produced in 2004 and 2005.³⁷

Compliance was also needed in response to a number of proposed long-distance races. In conjunction with the sesquicentennial of the Pony Express, for example, promoters proposed the Red Bull Motocross Race, a proposed 2010 motorcycle rally that would cover the length of the trail. Also proposed was the Pony Express Bicycle Challenge, an open race between cyclists and horseback riders. (Both events were ultimately canceled; after Red Bull officials consulted with BLM and NPS staff, the company decided instead to sponsor a long-distance run by athlete Karl Meltzer, who completed the 1,946-mile route in 40 days.)³⁸

In October 2014, cultural resource specialist Michael Elliott vacated his NPS position, leaving compliance-related duties to Lee Kreutzer (for the Salt Lake City

³⁴ SAR, 2011, 30; SAR, 2012, 31.

³⁵ SAR, 2008, 19; SAR, 2009, 18-19; SAR, 2010, 27.

³⁶ SAR, 2009, 19; SAR, 2010, 27; SAR, 2011, 31; SAR, 2012, 31; SAR, 2013, 31.

³⁷ SAR, 2011, 30; SAR, 2012, 31.

³⁸ SAR, 2009, 19; SAR, 2010, 26.

office) and Michael Taylor (for the Santa Fe office). Eight months later, however, the agency hired a new cultural resource specialist, Jill Jensen, who brought a wealth of compliance-related experience to the Salt Lake City office. She assumed Taylor's compliance responsibilities on the southern trails. Since that time, Kreutzer and Jensen have spearheaded the office's compliance effort.

In more recent years, the compliance staff has continued to respond to hundreds of proposed development actions each year. The variety of proposed actions has remained diverse, consisting of pipelines, transmission lines, wind energy developments, new and expanded mines, new freeway interchanges, oil and gas developments, land exchanges, and geophysical exploration. The number of specific requests, however, has ebbed and flowed, primarily based on the prevailing price of fossil fuel products on the open market.³⁹ Major new development proposals during recent years have included the following:

- Lake Powell Pipeline Project, a 140-mile proposal between Page, Arizona and St. George, Utah, which would impact the Old Spanish NHT. (cooperating agency)
- Energy Gateway South, a transmission line from near Medicine Bow, Wyoming, through Colorado to Mona (near Nephi), Utah, which would impact the Old Spanish NHT. (cooperating agency)
- Plains and Eastern Clean Line transmission line project from the Guymon, Oklahoma area to near Memphis, Tennessee, which would impact the Trail of Tears NHT. (cooperating agency)
- Two large pipeline projects that could affect the Santa Fe NHT in Colorado: the Front Range Gas Pipeline (from the Greeley area to near Amarillo, Texas) and the Arkansas Valley Conduit, a water pipeline between the Pueblo and Lamar areas.
- Riley Ridge to Natrona Pipeline, between Big Piney and Casper, Wyoming, with potential impacts to all four of the northern-corridor NHTs. (cooperating agency, consulting party)
- Several mineral development projects in Nevada, including the Long Canyon Mine, in eastern Elko County (California NHT, cooperating agency); the Gold Bar Mine in southwestern Eureka County (Pony Express NHT, consulting party); and Bald Mountain Mine, in northwestern White Pine County. (Pony Express NHT, consulting party)

Tribal Consultation

³⁹ SAR, 2015, 33.

As noted in Chapter 6, Otis Halfmoon joined the IMR trails staff in 2005, and two years later he was designated as the office's tribal liaison. After writing a draft, in-house tribal consultation guide, he then identified all of the tribes that were associated with the office's nine NHTs as well as the Route 66 corridor. (His list included 166 tribes.) Subsequently, he reached out and spoke to officials with representative number of those tribes in order to encourage tribal involvement with the NPS as it pertained to the various NHTs.⁴⁰

A major contribution that followed was a multi-year outreach initiative to the tribes, which was implemented by scheduling a number of listening sessions. At these meetings, invited tribal members were encouraged to discuss issues, ideas, and opportunities relating to the various long distance trails. The first such listening session took place in Oklahoma City in early August 2009. The primary focus of that meeting was the Santa Fe Trail (although the Trail of Tears was discussed as well), and those participating included representatives of eight federally recognized tribes along that trail: the Otoe-Missouria, Pawnee, Fort Sill Apache, Comanche, Osage, Kaw, Southern Cheyenne, and Mescalero Apache. Just a month later, in early September, a second listening session took place in Las Vegas, Nevada to talk about tribal ties to the Old Spanish Trail. Gathered there were representatives of thirteen federally recognized tribes, all of which had historical ties to the trail. They included the Jicarilla Apache, Navajo, Colorado River Indian Tribes, Northern Ute, Southern Ute, Ute Mountain Ute, Paiute Tribe of Utah, Moapa Band of Paiute, Las Vegas Paiute, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla, San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, Chemehuevi, and Taos Pueblo.⁴¹

At about the same time that these two tribal listening sessions took place, members of the OCTA – who were convened at their annual conference that August in Loveland, Colorado – informed IMR trails officials of their interest in helping to organize two listening sessions for tribes that were historically associated with the Oregon, California, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express NHTs. OCTA members followed through on their pledge, and in November 2009, listening sessions were held in both Lawrence, Kansas and Reno, Nevada. At these meetings, Native American representatives shared their concerns and discussed their relationships with these four historical trails. In attendance were representatives of the following federally recognized tribes: Pawnee, Ponca of Nebraska, Kiowa, Paiute, Pyramid Lake Paiute, Duckwater Shoshone, Burns Paiute, Pit River, Walker River Paiute, Nez Perce, Duck Valley Shoshone/Paiute, Mechoopda Maidu, Washoe Tribe of Nevada, Battle Mountain, Crow, Northern Ute, Susanville Rancheria, Umatilla

⁴⁰ SAR, 2007, 23; SAR, 2008, 22-23.

⁴¹ SAR, 2009, 21-22. As noted on the tribes' website (http://www.crit-nsn.gov/crit_contents/about/), the Colorado River Indian Tribes is comprised of members of four distinct tribes: Chemehuevi, Hopi, Mohave, and Navajo.

Confederated Tribes, and Berry Creek Rancheria.⁴²

The agency held several additional listening sessions after the two November 2009 meetings. Halfmoon worked with members of the El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT Association to organize a listening session along that trail. That three-day meeting, held in Austin, Texas, began in late August 2010. Participating in that meeting were members of the Alabama/Coushatta Tribe of Texas, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, and the Mescalero Apache of New Mexico (Lipan Apache). The following May, the agency held a tribal listening session at the Pueblo of Pojoaque in New Mexico, in which concerns were expressed about the impacts of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro on their culture. Attending tribes included the northern New Mexico pueblos of Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Santa Ana, Nambe, and Picuris.

By the time of the Pojoaque meeting, representatives of a wide variety of tribes with interests along these NHTs had had the opportunity to express their concerns and to learn more about the trails community.⁴³ Some tribal representatives, however, had been unable to attend the previously-scheduled meeting that had been related to a specific trail. To accommodate their concerns, therefore, NPS staff agreed to hold additional listening sessions. A follow-up session dealing with the Santa Fe NHT was held in early November 2010 in Oklahoma City; for the Old Spanish NHT, a meeting was held at Las Vegas, Nevada, also in November 2010; and for El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT, a listening session was held at Lawton, Oklahoma in December 2010. These meetings attracted representatives, respectively, from three, six, and five tribal entities.⁴⁴

After the May 2011 meeting, five additional tribal listening sessions took place. These included 1) a first-ever session for the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, held at the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque in March 2012; 2) a follow-up session for the Oregon, California, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express trails, which was held at Ft. Hall, Idaho in March 2013, 3) a follow-up session for El Camino Real de los Tejas, which was held at Binger, Oklahoma in August 2013, 4) a session held at Alcove Springs, Kansas, with the Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma, in late September 2014, and 5) a listening session for the Trail of Tears (part of week-long design charrette) that was held at Tellico Plains, Tennessee in

⁴² SAR, 2009, 22; SAR, 2010, 31.

⁴³ One or more meetings were held along eight of the nine NHTs that NTIR either administered or co-administered. The only trail for which listening sessions were not held was the Trail of Tears, where Cherokee Nation members and leaders had been making their concerns known to NPS officials for years, where the trails office had a Memorandum of Understanding with the Cherokee Nation, and where tribal representatives were designated members of the trail's primary partnership group, the Trail of Tears Association. Aaron Mahr, interview with the author, August 2, 2018.

⁴⁴ SAR, 2010, 31; SAR, 2011, 34.

mid-July 2015.⁴⁵ These listening sessions were occasionally contentious, and tribal representatives often expressed their displeasure at the historical impact that these trails had had on tribal people. On the positive side, however, most attendees found the listening sessions to be time valuably spent, they appreciated the agency's effort at reaching out, and in many cases the meetings laid the foundation for future cooperation.

Meanwhile, Halfmoon tried to address a multitude of other tribal-related concerns. Outreach continued to be a major part of his portfolio, so he arranged meetings with such diverse audiences as the American Indian Alaska Native Tourism Association (AIANTA), the Rio Grande Heritage Alliance (in New Mexico), and various tribal groups affiliated with the Cane River Creole National Historical Park in Natchitoches, Louisiana. He also met with members of a number of individual tribes (including the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, the Southern Ute Tribe of Colorado, the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma, the Summit Lake Paiute Tribe, Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, and Santo Domingo Pueblo) to discuss possibilities for future work projects. He worked with three tribes – the Jicarilla Apache Tribe of New Mexico the Lakota Sioux Nation, and Santo Domingo Pueblo – to gather oral histories of tribal members. He, along with historian Frank Norris, reviewed a draft of Dr. James Riding In's four-part history of Indians along the Santa Fe Trail, a contract that had been let several years earlier (see chapter 6). During the planning process for various congressionally-mandated study efforts (the four trails study, the cattle trails study, and the Butterfield Overland Trail), he ensured that affected tribes along those routes were informed about those projects and that they had the opportunity to express their concerns. Finally, he consulted with tribal members on any number of existing trails-related projects:

- Pueblo of Cochiti on La Bajada Escarpment (ELCA)
- Jicarilla Apache of New Mexico on the Cimarron Project (SAFE)
- Shoshone-Bannock Tribes regarding Old Fort Hall (OREG/CALI)
- Hopi Tribe concerning the Twin Arrows (Arizona) trading post (ROSI)
- The Koosharem Band of Southern Paiute on several wayside exhibits near Richfield, Utah (OLSP)
- The Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe, Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, and Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde on various wayside exhibits along Interstate 5 in Oregon (CALI)
- Acoma and Laguna Tribes on various historic preservation initiatives (ROSI), and
- Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico, pertaining to archeological analysis at Isleta

⁴⁵ SAR, 2012, 35; SAR, 2013, 35.

Mission (ELCA).⁴⁶

Halfmoon retired from the trails office in September 2014. Before his departure, however, he worked with other Native American NPS employees to establish a group – called the Council of Indigenous Relevancy, Communication, Leadership, & Excellence (CIRCLE) – that would advise the Washington directorate about Native issues and advocate for a greater Native voice within the agency. That council has continued to the present day.⁴⁷

Officewide Initiatives

Before 2007, the two main trails offices⁴⁸ operated largely independently of each other, with the Salt Lake City office administering the four northern trails and the Santa Fe office either administering or co-administering the remaining five trails. This distinction, plus a dynamic element in the Santa Fe office caused by three new trails being added between 2000 and 2005, made it difficult to embark on specific initiatives to streamline the operations of the entire IMR trails office. After Aaron Mahr became superintendent (mid-2007) and the team structure was instituted (early 2009), staff members began to formulate fairly long-term plans that would be applied to the operation of both offices.

Cultural Resource Team members recognized that a major element of its ongoing responsibilities would be the preparation of nominations to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). As has been noted elsewhere, the so-called “national register” is a widely-recognized database by which historic properties are identified, recognized, and protected. Michael Taylor, the head of the cultural resource team at the time, had overseen the writing (by Michael Cassity) of a national historic context study (part of what would become a Multiple Property Nomination Form) for Route 66, and he had also managed Phil Thomason’s contract to write national register nominations for the highway. Given that track record, Taylor mapped out a long-term strategy. He quickly recognized that for several trails under NTIR’s purview – such as the Santa Fe Trail, Trail of Tears, and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro – multiple property documentation forms (MPDFs) and a targeted set of national register nominations had already been completed (see chapters 5 and 6). Several of those efforts, however, needed to be revised and expanded.

⁴⁶ See the SARs for the following years: 2010 (p. 31), 2011 (p. 34), 2012 (p. 35), 2013 (p. 35), 2014 (p. 32), and 2015 (p. 34)

⁴⁷ SAR, 2013, 35; <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1244/ergs.htm>.

⁴⁸ Between 2003 and 2007, NTIR interpretive specialist Sharon Brown worked outside of both offices; she lived in Vancouver, Washington (see chapter 6), but was a staff member attached to the Santa Fe office.

In 2009, therefore, Taylor embarked on a plan to provide additional national register information for several NTIR trails. His eventual goal was to obtain, for each trail, both a viable MPDF and a detailed set of national register nominations for trailside sites and segments. In 2009, as noted in Chapter 6, he contracted with a Houston-based consulting firm, HRA Gray and Pape, to write an MPDF and ten national register nominations for El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT. These documents were completed in October 2011 (see appendix 8). For the Old Spanish NHT, the NPS let a contract to two people affiliated with the OSTA: Reba Grandrud and Mark Henderson. These consultants turned in a draft MPDF and six national register nominations in 2012. A third contract, for the Santa Fe Trail, was issued in 2009. Urbana Associates had undertaken this task for the trail during 1991-93, but to provide an expanded MPDF and additional NRHP nominations, the NPS contracted with the KSHS, who agreed to write the MPDF plus the nomination forms for Kansas. (To supplement the Society’s efforts, the NPS issued contracts to the State Historic Preservation Office for New Mexico national register nominations, and to the National Trust for Historic Preservation for nominations in Colorado.) Work on all of these Santa Fe Trail contracts was successfully completed by 2013.

In 2012 began a second round of contracts. In order to gain information about the Mormon Pioneer NHT, Lee Kreutzer contracted with Brigham Young University’s Office of Public Archaeology, and a year later, work on an expanded Trail of Tears study began when the agency entered into an agreement with the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University. Drafts of these two MPDFs were completed in 2016 and 2015, respectively. As a result of this overall effort, six of the nine trails that the office either administers or co-administers now have either draft or final MPDFs, and most of those trails also have recently-completed national register nomination forms (see appendix 8).

Another major initiative, undertaken by NTIR’s D&D Team staff, was the creation, publication, and distribution of a standardized set of signs. As noted in previous chapters, NPS trails staff (from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office) had installed the first signage during the mid-1980s, along the Mormon Pioneer NHT in Iowa (see chapter 3). Auto tour route (ATR) signs, moreover, had become part of the planning process as early as 1987, and the first such signs had been installed – in Kansas along the Santa Fe NHT – in late 1991 and early 1992 (see chapter 4). As the years passed, new NHTs were authorized, and demands for highway signage quickly followed. D&D staff responded to signage-related demands by installing trail signs along freeways and local roads as well as two-lane highways. The need also arose for signs identifying original (historic) routes, route crossing signs, and signs along pedestrian or bicycle paths, and the development of local tour routes – along the Santa Fe Trail in both Colfax, County, New Mexico and Marion County, Kansas – brought further complexity to trail signage (see chapter 6).

Given the growth of sign types, the need for standardization became apparent, and as noted in Chapter 6, D&D staff in 2006 expended considerable effort on a signing initiative that had “model concepts for a family of national historic trail signs” along both the Santa Fe and Trail of Tears NHTs. In 2009, the staff completed the development of sign standards for the nine NHTs under NTIR’s authority. Once developed in draft form, these sign standards were forwarded to the various partner associations and other partners, and concurrence on their application was identified. Thereafter, all newly-created signs were a product of that standardization.⁴⁹ Once implemented, those signs were applied in additional ways, and by 2011, the D&D staff unveiled a “standard family of highway signs,” which included signs for ATRs, local tour routes, route crossing intersections, signs “to original route”, and along the original route itself, signs identifying a historic site, and site entrance signs. This effort continued into 2012, when it developed standards for pedestrian trails in both rural and urban areas. To complement the new effort at standardization, these staff members in 2011 changed how they responded to partner-based signing requests; instead of adding new signs on an ad hoc basis, they instead took a more comprehensive view and created a sign plan that specified which signs were needed and where they should be installed. Once the sign plan was approved, and funds became available, installation usually followed.⁵⁰

Office staff, recognizing the vague nature of some elements of the NTSA, moved to establish staff committees that would resolve perceived incongruities. In 2012, several staff members closely examined the value and application of “auto tour route” signs. As noted elsewhere, ATR signs had first been installed in the 1980s, and such signs were scattered along the Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, and Santa Fe trails as well as the Trail of Tears and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. They served a key purpose, particularly in the early years of trail administration, by informing the traveling public about the presence of a nearby historical trail. But more recently NHTs – those authorized after 2000 had no ATRs. In 2012, trails staff compiled a report questioning the need for ATR signs; it gave trail management various options, all the way from removing these signs to making technological improvements (such as adding QR codes) to existing signs.⁵¹ In the wake of a subsequent mid-month staff meeting on the subject, a middle course was chosen, with a recommendation that existing signs should either age in place or to be removed on a piecemeal, incremental basis unless local authorities acted otherwise.

In early 2015, staff began to tackle the long-simmering problem of route realignments.⁵² For each trail, the “official” (designated) route was established via a series of maps contained in that trail’s comprehensive management plan (CMP).

⁴⁹ SAR, 2009, 20.

⁵⁰ SAR, 2011, 12, 20, 22; SAR, 2012, 10, 21.

⁵¹ Norris to Carol Clark, NTIR, March 7, 2012; Norris to Aaron Mahr, NTIR, March 22, 2012.

⁵² Coreen Donnelly to John Cannella, et al., email, March 12, 2015.

The maps for each trail were up-to-the-minute affairs, arrived at by extensive consultation with historians and with association partners. For several of these CMPs, however, more than 20 years had passed since their publication dates, and for all nine of the office’s trails, trail advocates were discovering new information that called into question the accuracy of the designated trail route. Trails staff, therefore, association members together for mapping workshops for the Santa Fe, Old Spanish, Oregon and California NHTs (see above). Outside of those concentrated efforts, however, staff needed some broad-based mechanism that provided a way to change these routes. To accomplish this, the various team heads compiled a series of step-by-step procedures for changing the designated routes, and they also devised a standard form that could be used to both provide a rationale for each route change and an administrative record that tracked the process. These steps were completed by August 2015, and in early February 2016, team heads approved the first of a number of realignment requests.⁵³

A more difficult process was involved in arriving at some consistency with the notion of high-potential sites and segments. The NTSA made several specific references to both “high potential historic sites” and “high potential route segments,” but the definition it provided was open to wide interpretation.⁵⁴ As a result, the authors of the various trail CMPs had applied this term in substantially different ways, so that the Santa Fe NHT (for example) had 194 high-potential historic sites and 30 high-potential route segments, while the Trail of Tears NHT – with almost twice the mileage of the Santa Fe Trail – had just 46 high-potential historic sites and just 6 high-potential route segments. (The 2007 study which more than doubled the length of the Trail of Tears NHT, moreover, added no new high-potential sites or segments to the authorized trail.) Clearly what was needed was a broad effort to establish a consistent definition for these two terms, and to then reappraise the main historic resources of each trail in light of these new definitions. To address that problem, the office established a high-potential sites and segments task force in January 2017, after which it met several times over the following fifteen months. The group presented its results at the April 2018 all-hands meeting.⁵⁵ That presentation, and an accompanying series of field exercises, yielded major progress on establishing (through a scoring chart) working definitions for these two terms. Additional efforts will be needed to reassess each trail’s historic resources in light of those newly-emerging definitions.

Anniversary events brought forth additional opportunities for office-wide initiatives. The agency’s partners, for example, recognized the importance of the Pony Express sesquicentennial (it had operated in 1860 and 1861), so beginning in 2008, trails staff began providing technical guidance and direction to the NPEA. It

⁵³ Frank Norris to Aaron Mahr, et al., email, April 29, 2015 and February 2, 2016.

⁵⁴ See NTSA, Sec. 5(e)(1); Sec. 5(f)(3); Sec. 5(g) and Sec. 12.

⁵⁵ Mahr to Carole Wendler, et al., January 17, 2017; John Cannella to NTIR, April 6, 2018.

also assisted NPEA with the development and design of 150th-anniversary program brochures. The following year, the agency launched the development of various public relations and interpretive media related to the upcoming commemoration, and it provided technical assistance for a kickoff celebration and educational event that was held in Washington, D.C. in April 2010.⁵⁶ The trails office also provided seed money which allowed the NPEA to hold anniversary events that summer in all eight of the states along the Pony Express trail. Finally, it developed and produced a large format illustrated commemorative map of the Pony Express trail route, which depicted all of the 170-odd Pony Express stations along the route. The commemoration, in turn, resulted in a 2012 documentary film, called *Spirit of the Pony Express* (by C.J. Longhammer and Knowledge Tree Films), to which the trails office provided technical and financial (CCSP) assistance.⁵⁷

In 2016, the NPS commemorated its centennial. In order to prepare for the widely-anticipated event, top agency officials – in concert with the National Park System Advisory Board, the National Park Foundation, and a host of other partners – had compiled in August 2011 a significant document entitled *A Call to Action: Preparing for a Second Century of Stewardship and Engagement*. The plan laid out an ambitious list of 39 specific actions, under four broad themes, intended to guide agency officials, both during the centennial period and in the years to follow.⁵⁸ Given that broad sense of direction, the various NPS units formulated specific plans and activities that would fulfill those actions, and the NTIR office did likewise. Working with its varied trail partners – both its partnership associations and a coterie of independent partners – it organized a series of events that included the centennial as an overall theme. Staff commenced event planning in the fall of 2015, and the events themselves were held at various times between the spring and fall of the agency’s centennial year. Each of the nine trails had an “official” event related to it, though other events also were included as part of the overall commemoration. For the Santa Fe NHT, for example, the June 9 dedication of the Powder Mill pedestrian bridge over Interstate 435 in Kansas City was the centennial’s signature event, but additional centennial events took place in New Mexico, as part of both Las Vegas Heritage Week and Santa Fe Community Days.⁵⁹

Not long afterward, several federal agencies commenced efforts to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the NTSA, which had become law in October 1968 (see

⁵⁶ Specifically, NPEA held a kick-off event at the Smithsonian Institution’s National Postal Museum; it conducted a demonstration of a mail exchange by pony riders adjacent to the U.S. Capitol; and it hand delivered letters to congressional representatives from each of the districts in eight Pony Express states. SAR, 2010, 14.

⁵⁷ SAR, 2008, 13; SAR, 2009, 9; SAR, 2010, 14; SAR, 2011, 16; SAR, 2012, 16.

⁵⁸ <https://www.nps.gov/calltoaction/>

⁵⁹ SAR, 2016, 9, 15, 18. The Powder Mill bridge was an important part of the 41-mile Kansas City retracement trail, which followed the historical route of the Oregon and California trails as well as the Santa Fe Trail.

chapter 1). This was an anniversary for which the PNTS had been preparing for more than ten years.⁶⁰ To prepare for the upcoming anniversary, trails staff hired an SCA intern, Diane Weddington, in September 2017. That fall, trails staff began working with partnership associations and other non-federal entities to organize events that would include, as a theme, the NTSA’s semi-centennial. The first such event, related to the Trail of Tears NHT, took place in mid-April 2018; it was a 50th-anniversary symposium at Western Carolina University in Cullowhee, North Carolina. Just days later, an additional Trail of Tears symposium was held, in eastern Tennessee, along with trail segment dedications along El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT (in eastern Texas) and the Santa Fe NHT (in eastern Kansas). Throughout the summer and fall, more than a score of additional events, related to all nine trails, have been scheduled; they culminated with events in Albuquerque, New Mexico (for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro), Barstow, California (for the Old Spanish Trail), and Decatur, Alabama (for the Trail of Tears). Weddington oversaw the program through to its successful conclusion before her internship came to a close in late October 2018.

An additional officewide initiative pertained to the passport program. As noted in Chapter 5, the first NPS passport stamps had been distributed to IMR trail sites in 1997, and shortly afterward, customized passport stamps for Santa Fe Trail sites were manufactured and made available to trail travelers. Passport stamps soon spread to the Trail of Tears and other trails, and due to a continuing public interest, interpreters among the trails staff (in 2011) produced a passport-program handout, which first applied to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT, and was later adapted for use on the other NTIR trails. Interpretive staff also sent out new passport stamps or replaced those stamps that were worn or expired. Creating and replacing these stamps, for all nine of the office’s trails, has remained an ongoing interpretive function in recent years.⁶¹

The trails’ websites and social media has grown gradually and incrementally in recent years. Each of the trails’ websites has become more sophisticated and complex in recent years. In addition, staff decided to create a website for the trails office as a whole. After gaining approval by the Washington office, the website was completed in 2014, with links to the various trail websites as well as the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program.⁶²

The various partner organizations have also established a solid website presence

⁶⁰ Between 2007 and 2009, Jere Krakow chaired a PNTS committee on that subject. Jere Krakow, interview by Ronald Brown, January 4, 2008; Steve Elkinton, email to the author, August 14, 2018.

⁶¹ SAR, 2011, 12; SAR, 2012, 7, 14, 16, 23; SAR, 2013, 7, 10, 13, 16, 17, 23; SAR, 2014, 6, 10, 22; SAR, 2015, 6, 9, 23.

⁶² Sharon Brown, email to the author, November 12, 2018.

that has served both the longtime membership and the casual web page visitor. The only abrupt change witnessed in this arena took place in 2015, when the NPEA assumed management of its own web page rather than relying on a volunteer (Tom Crews), who had been ably operating the association's web presence since 1993.⁶³ Regarding social media, the office completed its first "social media strategy" in September 2012. Three years later, the California, Oregon, Mormon Pioneer and Pony Express NHTs gained Facebook and Instagram pages.⁶⁴ But it was not until 2016 and 2017, with the hiring of interpretive specialists Bryan Petryl (in Salt Lake City) and Jeff Denny (in Santa Fe), that social media began to assume a relatively strong role in trail interpretation.

On several of the region's trails, NPS staff improved its way of communicating with the various association boards of directors. Up until this time, staff had had a consistent presence at each of the association's board meetings; these meetings typically took place as part of the annual conventions in the late summer or early fall, plus an additional board meeting each spring. Attendance at these meetings served as a way to both inform board members of trails-office activities, and also to solicit ideas from the partnership associations about trail administration. In order to augment the communications process, trails staff decided to prepare a brief newsletter (typically two to four pages long) specifically for association board members; these newsletters were distributed at the board meetings. The first such newsletter was prepared for the SFTA at its mid-September 2010 Rendezvous and annual meeting. A similar newsletter was produced for the TOTA meeting that was held just one week later, with one for the OCTA produced in time for the spring 2011 meeting.⁶⁵ Updated newsletters, typically produced twice each year, have been produced for these respective trails and distributed during these partner-association meetings ever since.

Trails Administration

California NHT

The California NHT is a multi-pronged trail system that spans the distance between the Missouri River (in Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska) and the Pacific Coast states of California and Oregon. In addition to these five states, California NHT

⁶³ *Pony Express Gazette* 29 (April 2018), 20. See the URL <https://nationalponyexpress.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Pony-Express-Gazette-2018.pdf>.

⁶⁴ SAR, 2015, 14, 17; Brooke G. Safford, "NTIR Social Media Strategy," September 25, 2012, on NTIR S drive.

⁶⁵ SAR, 2010, 17-18; <https://www.nps.gov/oreg/learn/news/newsletters.htm>.

segments are also found in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, and Nevada. Along much of its route, the California Trail is coterminous with the Oregon Trail, the Mormon Pioneer Trail, and/or the Pony Express Trail. For that reason, many of the discussions below describe projects on more than one NHT. Other projects, however, are exclusive to the California NHT.

One of the most significant California Trail projects in recent years took place at Alcove Springs Park, south of Marysville, Kansas. This activity took place largely due to the initiative of OCTA member Duane Iles, who was also active with the three-person Alcove Spring Preservation Association. Iles, in early 2013, approached the NPS in order to obtain trail and interpretive improvements at the 715-acre park, a popular Oregon and California trail camping spot near Independence Crossing, where wagon trains crossed the Big Blue River. That June, trails employees Kristin Van Fleet and Kim Finch led a workshop; it was part of a week-long charrette related to a development concept plan (DCP) intended to guide physical and interpretive development at the park. Others, meanwhile, wrote a National Register nomination for the area.⁶⁶ Before long the National Park Foundation began to assist as well, with an Active Trails Grant for the park. Local park supporters contributed funds, and they also organized volunteer trail building days, announced educational hikes and tours, sponsored a trail run/walk day, and invited local Pawnee tribal members to the site for a war dance. Even the Topeka Symphony Orchestra came; in September 2015, it held an Orchestra on the Oregon Trail event, one that has continued on an annual basis since that time. The NPS, as promised, contributed a park brochure with a map, plus a series of interpretive exhibits.⁶⁷

A more recent large-scale project, also in Kansas, took place at the site of Pappans Ferry, along the Kansas River adjacent to downtown Topeka. Partnering with the city, county, the Topeka Riverfront Authority and Railroad Heritage, Inc., trails staff in late August 2016 held a four-day, heavily-attended charrette near the historic crossing site to collectively plan how area development should proceed. The project, which attracted significant media coverage, resulted in a June 2018 plan detailing planning, design, and interpretive concepts.⁶⁸

The trails office's most well-publicized California NHT project – one that also pertained to the Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express trails – was the

⁶⁶ SAR, 2013, 14, 16; Kim Finch, interview by the author, February 20, 2014; Kristin Van Fleet, email to the author, August 10, 2018. Ed Henry and Don Musil were the preservation association's other two members. Trails staff at the workshop included Steve Burns, Kristin Van Fleet, Kim Finch, and Supt. Aaron Mahr.

⁶⁷ SAR, 2014, 15; SAR, 2015, 15; SAR, 2016, 16.

⁶⁸ SAR, 2016, 15; Cory Donnelly, interview with the author, August 1, 2018.

design, publication, and distribution of the various state-by-state ATR guides. As noted in Chapter 6, an interpreter (Chuck Milliken) and a cultural resource specialist (Lee Kreutzer) – both of whom worked in the agency’s Salt Lake City office – started writing these guides in 2003. After Kreutzer completed a volume on Iowa, the two staffers worked their way west from Missouri and Kansas. Over the next several years, they wrote volumes on Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, and Idaho (see appendix 12). All but the Iowa volume included information about the California NHT.

The next ATR guide, about the trails in Utah, was begun in 2008, but due to the trails’ diversity and complexity in the Beehive State, what emerged from the production effort was the largest volume to date: 122 pages. The volume, which included discussions about the California, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express NHTs, was completed in September 2010. Planning for the Nevada volume (which discussed segments of the California and Pony Express NHTs) also began in 2008. Agency staff finalized and distributed that volume in April 2012.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the popularity of the existing volumes was so high that revisions and reprintings became necessary for all of the volumes that focused on states east of Idaho. These updated volumes were issued in the summer and fall of 2010.⁷⁰ Work on the final volume – which will discuss routes in California for both the California and Pony Express NHTs – has not yet begun.

The other well-known interpretive product related to these four trails – the standard map and guide for each trail – has changed relatively little in recent years. As noted in Chapter 6, the first so-called “unigrid” brochure for the California NHT was produced – in full color – in the late summer of 2001 (see appendix 7). In more recent years, staff revised the brochure so that it would be Section 508 compliant.⁷¹

Trails staff have undertaken and completed a number of significant cultural resource projects in recent years that have pertained to the California NHT, most of which have also had impacts on the Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express trails. These include projects related to history, historic preservation, archeology, and ethnography. In 2008, for example, the office developed a CESU project with the Organization of American Historians for a study, based on both archival sources and oral traditions, illustrating the experience of African Americans on

⁶⁹ SAR, 2008, 5, 10, 12; SAR, 2009, 5, 8, 9; SAR, 2010, 7, 12, 15; SAR, 2011, 8, 16; SAR, 2012, 7, 16.

⁷⁰ SAR, 2010, 7, 12; SAR, 2011, 8, 14, 16.

⁷¹ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2013, 11, 16, 17. “Section 508” refers to a clause in the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (P.L. 93-112). As noted on the website Section508.gov, Congress in 1998 amended P.L. 93-112 to require Federal agencies to make their electronic and information technology accessible to people with disabilities.

the California, Oregon, and Mormon Pioneer trails. Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, a history professor at Cal State Sacramento, was chosen to complete the study. Working with Lee Kreutzer, Dr. Moore in 2011 completed a draft of the study, called *Sweet Freedom’s Plains: African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841-1869*, and a final study was approved in January 2012. Four years later, Dr. Moore’s study was published commercially by the University of Oklahoma Press.⁷²

Another major project approved in 2008 was a cooperative agreement with Central Wyoming College (CWC), based in Riverton, to conduct several seasons of archeological fieldwork in the middle Sweetwater River drainage, along the route of the California and three other NHTs. In 2009, working in tandem with staff from the BLM’s Lander Field Office, several weeks of fieldwork took place. The experience was successfully repeated in 2010 and 2011. During those three archeological field schools, approximately ten CWC students mapped, and provided additional documentation related to, 58 known nineteenth-century wagon trail swales, river fords, and possible emigrant graves associated with these four NHTs. Important trail-related finds included emigrant campsites, graves, and inscriptions; the possible remains of the Warm Springs Pony Express station; and ruts and/or artifact scatters at St. Mary’s Station, 3rd Crossing, 7th Crossing, and 8th Crossing of the Sweetwater River.⁷³

As a follow-up to Will Bagley’s historical trail overviews (see chapter 6), the office moved ahead with preparing a series of MPDFs. Given the overlapping nature of the various trails, office staff opted to proceed on a state-by-state basis. In Kansas, the trails office contracted with the state’s state historic preservation office (SHPO) and its staff to prepare fifteen NRHP nominations for sites along the Oregon and California trails. The work yielded mixed results, however; by the end of 2014, only five of these properties had been listed on the National Register, and a sixth was determined to be eligible for the register, but two were dismissed as not being trail related, and the remaining seven were not forwarded for consideration due to landowner concerns.⁷⁴

In 2015, the office developed an agreement with the Oglala Lakota to develop a film documenting the impact of the California, Oregon, and Mormon Pioneer trails on the tribe’s culture. To do so, the NPS partnered with the Oglala Lakota College in Kyle, South Dakota, and Humboldt State University in Arcata, California to record and transcribe a series of oral history interviews with tribal elders on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation. The interviews were completed in 2015, after which the various

⁷² SAR, 2008, 4-5; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2010, 6; SAR, 2011, 6, 14, 16; SAR, 2012, 7, 14; Lee Kreutzer, interview by the author, February 19, 2014.

⁷³ SAR, 2008, 5; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2010, 6, 8, 9; SAR, 2011, 8.

⁷⁴ SAR, 2013, 14; SAR, 2014, 13; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, August 9, 2018.

partners worked together with director David Scheerer to complete a seven-minute film entitled *Oglala Lakota, Early Encounters with the Westward Migration*, which was completed and distributed in 2018.⁷⁵

Trails staff made their own contributions by having several articles about the California Trail and other overland trails published in the peer-reviewed *Overland Journal*. In 2014, as noted previously, Susan Boyle wrote an article on pack transportation along various trails in the western United States. A year later, Lee Kreutzer worked with Fruit Heights, Utah resident Dixon Ford to publish an article on the traditional use and training of oxen, which were the workhorses of the overland trails.⁷⁶ In 2016, Kreutzer published an essay on Chimney Rock, the iconic western Nebraska landmark noted by so many overland trail travelers, and in 2017, Kreutzer teamed with Frank Norris to write an article on the impact of the transcontinental railroad's construction on the overland trails. Kreutzer's skill as an author was reflected in the fact that her co-written articles on both oxen and the transcontinental railroad garnered the Merrill Mattes Award for Excellence in Writing from the *Overland Journal's* editorial board.

In recent years, the trails office has worked with partners to establish dozens of waysides and other interpretive media along the California Trail as well as the other emigrant trails. Those that were implemented in the Kansas City metropolitan area have been described in the Santa Fe Trail section, below. Outside of the Kansas City area, the more significant of these projects are described below. They are listed from east to west.

In central Nebraska, the office had worked with the Great Platte River Road Archway Monument staff in 2003-2006 on an interpretive project (see chapter 6), that pertained to several emigrant trails. Work on a series of six trail vignettes at the site's "Cultural Learning Trail" continued until 2011, when they were dedicated at a September 15 event.⁷⁷ And at Scotts Bluff National Monument, in western Nebraska, the trails office in 2015 and 2016 worked with park staff, OCTA and other entities on both a remodel of various visitor center exhibits and on a series of wayside exhibits along the park road.⁷⁸

In eastern Wyoming, some of the most dramatic ruts along the entire emigrant trail system are located near Guernsey, in Platte County. In 2015, the Wyoming Military

⁷⁵ SAR, 2015, 13; SAR, 2016, 12, 16, 17; Carole Wendler, email to the author, November 20, 2018.

⁷⁶ SAR, 2014, 15; SAR, 2015, 11, 14; SAR, 2016, 12, 16. These various articles, from 2014 to 2017, appeared in volumes 32 through 35 of OCTA's *Overland Journal*.

⁷⁷ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 6; SAR, 2010, 7; SAR, 2011, 8, 14.

⁷⁸ SAR, 2015, 11, 13-14, 17.

Department – which manages Camp Guernsey – invited the NPS to partner on a series of wayside exhibits on the camp property. After trails staff visited the site, they decided to design and fabricate nine waysides. This project will likely be completed in 2019 or 2020.⁷⁹

Farther west, in Sublette County, Wyoming, the NPS worked with a variety of partners on a compliance-driven mitigation project at the New Fork River Crossing of the California Trail, west of Boulder along the historic Lander Road. In 2008, the State of Wyoming and the BLM's Pinedale Field Office first expressed an interest in park and interpretive development there. (The site was owned by Sublette County but was managed by the Museum of the Mountain Man, located in Pinedale and directed by Clint Gilchrist.) Site and interpretive planning, in large part decided by a charrette, began in 2011. Before long, trails staff opted to improve the site with a 1.5-mile access trail, nine interpretive panels, directional signage and dozens of pedestrian signs along with a self-guiding tour brochure. Construction commenced in 2013, and a host of partners dedicated the site improvements at a June 2014 ceremony.⁸⁰

A few miles west of the New Fork River site, the Lander Trail Foundation (led by Jermy White) began working in 2008 with trails staff on interpretive media related to the Lander Road. Attention initially focused on an area surrounding Bedford, but by 2011 the chosen site had shifted to nearby Afton, which was closer to the historical trail. A year later, four waysides were installed in the vicinity. A follow-up project, funded by the Lander Trail Foundation and assisted by other partners, resulted in an additional interpretive wayside – installed in 2014 – in the Afton area, more specifically at the Salt River Crossing.⁸¹

In Utah, office staff undertook a wide variety of interpretive projects along the overland trails. At Salt Lake City's This is the Place Heritage Park, the office supplemented work it had first undertaken in 2004-2006 when it added replacement waysides, first in 2011 and again in 2014.⁸² Between Salt Lake City and the Nevada state line, NPS office staff engaged in projects along the California NHT. As noted in Chapter 6, the agency had worked with the BLM to install, between 2006 and 2011, a series of signs along the California Trail's Hastings Cutoff and at specific historical sites along that route. Following that, in September 2013, interpretive waysides were installed at a new site along the Hastings Cutoff:

⁷⁹ SAR, 2015, 15, 17; Bryan Petrtyl, email to the author, August 7, 2018.

⁸⁰ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2011, 8; SAR, 2012, 6; SAR, 2013, 15-16; SAR, 2014, 14; Kim Finch, interview by the author, February 20, 2014.

⁸¹ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 6; SAR, 2010, 7; SAR, 2011, 8; SAR, 2012, 6; SAR, 2013, 15; SAR, 2014, 13; Chuck Milliken, email to the author, August 9, 2018.

⁸² SAR, 2011, 16; SAR, 2014, 17.

Horseshoe Springs, west of Grantsville.⁸³

A major project begun in 2012, important for all three NHTs in Utah, was a smartphone mobile application that would be based on the state's ATR interpretive guide. The goal was to allow visitors to both locate, and understand the significance of, each of the 120-plus sites on the guide's various driving tours through audio, video, and photo files. Initially it was decided that OnCell would be the platform for this mobile app, but in 2015, the contracting company switched to the Toursphere platform and staff created 37 new pages. The app was complete by April of that year, after which staff worked to publicize it by posting it to the NPS's website and producing a widely-distributed rack card.⁸⁴

In Idaho, a recent successful project resulted from a partnership with the NPS at City of Rocks National Reserve (near Malta) to replace various wayside exhibits. The project also allowed the agency to learn more about a known California Trail segment by conducting a geophysical survey of it. Less successful was a partnership, with the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, to install various interpretive waysides on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, just north of Pocatello.⁸⁵

In the Sierra Nevada of California, the trails office engaged with OCTA, and more specifically with longtime member Frank Tortorich, on an interpretive project along the Carson Pass route, which focused on legendary trailblazer John A. "Snowshoe" Thompson. The project, as noted in Chapter 6, had begun in 2005. It was completed in 2013.⁸⁶ In Oregon, the trails office supported several projects related to the Applegate Trail. In Creswell, just south of Eugene, trails staff worked with the local historical museum to develop and produce a trail-related brochure and museum exhibits.⁸⁷ Farther south, near Grants Pass, office staff worked with the Oregon Department of Transportation (DOT), Oregon State Parks, and several local American Indian tribes to install six historical exhibits at the Manzanita Rest Area along Interstate 5. And near Ashland, the office worked with Jackson County Parks and several other partners on the design and installation of three Applegate Trail-related wayside exhibits at Emigrant Lake County Park.⁸⁸

⁸³ SAR, 2013, 15.

⁸⁴ SAR 2012, 7; SAR 2013, 11, 15, 17; SAR 2014, 11, 14, 17; SAR, 2015, 11, 15, 17; Bryan Petryl, email to the author, August 6, 2018.

⁸⁵ SAR, 2011, 6; SAR, 2012, 6; SAR, 2013, 14; SAR, 2014, 13; SAR, 2015, 13-14; SAR, 2016, 15.

⁸⁶ SAR, 2016, 17.

⁸⁷ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 6.

⁸⁸ SAR, 2014, 14; SAR, 2015, 14; SAR, 2016, 15.

The relationship between the NPS's trails office and OCTA, its partnership association for the California Trail, has remained strong in recent years. Beginning in 2008, NPS staff began working with OCTA on a Four Trails Long Range Interpretive Plan. To do so, it held a stakeholder workshop at that year's OCTA convention, in Nampa, Idaho. Cooperation related to that plan continued throughout 2009 and on into the next year as well. The final plan was completed in August 2010 and distributed online soon afterward.⁸⁹

The trails office has made it a continuing priority to support the educational mission of the various NHTs. As a result, the California Trail, along with the Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express trails, have been spotlighted repeatedly in recent years. This mission has typically taken the form of films, teacher internship programs, educational workshops, lesson-plan development, and the sponsorship of summer day camps.

In 2006, for example, OCTA members and the organization's executive director, Travis Boley, became enthusiastic about the idea of having a group of 24 school-aged children immerse themselves in mid-19th century lifeways and re-create the overland trail experience. Thanks to a private donation, the plan was put into place. In late June 2008, the children and their adult leaders left Casper, Wyoming and, for the next two weeks, they headed west across Wyoming, along the California, Oregon, and Mormon Pioneer NHTs. Filming later moved to Oregon, along the Oregon NHT, where the group finished its trek. A major result of that experience was an hour-long film, *In Pursuit of a Dream*, that was directed by Bob Noll and both written and produced by Candy Moulton. It was first shown to the public in early 2011. The NPS played no direct role in the film's production, but once completed, the agency sponsored an educators' retreat to develop lesson plans and curriculum based on the film.⁹⁰ Other NPS-sponsored education projects included a series of workshops, up and down the California Trail, which were focused on the popular 1850s gold-rush song, "Sweet Betsy from Pike."⁹¹

As noted in Chapter 6, the NPS had assisted Accessible Arts, Inc., a Kansas City-based organization supporting outdoor activities for the visually impaired, on trail-related activities in 2005 and 2006. Four years later, the agency revived its partnership as eighteen students spent time along the California and Oregon trails, using audible GPS units for assistance. The trails office also, beginning in 2009, assisted Accessible Arts in a three-year teacher internship with its Discovery Trails

⁸⁹ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2010, 6; SAR, 2014, 17.

⁹⁰ <https://truewestmagazine.com/filming-the-oregon-trail/>; <http://www.inpursuitofadream.org/>.

⁹¹ SAR, 2010, 6; SAR, 2012, 16.

Program, a series of 23 day camps scattered across the Kansas City metro area.⁹² In western Nebraska, a consortium of schools, museums, NPS units, and state agencies organized several summer day camps for students along the emigrant trails, and during the summer of 2011, trails staff assisted the camp leaders by providing brochures and ATR guides.⁹³

In recent years, the trails office has undertaken dozens of signage projects along the California and other emigrant trails, from Missouri west to California and Oregon. The following projects highlight either the larger projects in each state or projects that were particularly notable.

In Missouri, widespread support from a variety of trail partners translated into a number of signage projects on the relatively short mileage of the California and Oregon NHTs in that state. Major projects that resulted in the installation of “original route” signs included Sugar Creek and Independence (69 signs), Raytown (24 signs), and Kansas City (54 signs). Most of these projects took place between 2013 and 2015.⁹⁴ Additional sign projects focused on a pedestrian path within Shumacher Park in southern Kansas City, and for trailside historic sites such as the Rice-Tremonti Home in Raytown and the Wieduwilt (85th and Manchester) Swales in Kansas City.⁹⁵

In Kansas, California Trail signage in recent years has focused on Doniphan County, located just west of St. Joseph, Missouri. Funded by OCTA’s Gateway Chapter and in cooperation with county authorities, office staff in 2013 completed a California NHT sign plan for original route signs to be placed along 14 miles of the historic St. Joe Road. Then, two years later, the office teamed up with NPEA and prepared another sign plan for roads in the eastern portion of the county: five miles of the Pony Express NHT, and another two miles along the shared California/Pony Express trail. Kansas road authorities have since installed both sets of signs.⁹⁶

Considerable signing has taken place in Utah in recent years. Most of that signing has been directed toward the Pony Express NHT (see below), but in 2015, the NPS worked on a sign plan with OCTA, which had agreed to fund signage for 37 miles of the California NHT’s Hastings Cutoff in the western part of the state.⁹⁷

⁹² SAR, 2010, 6; SAR, 2011, 7, 14; <http://campsforkids.org/camp/accessible-arts-discovery-trails-program/>.

⁹³ SAR, 2011, 7, 14; Chuck Milliken, email to the author, August 9, 2018.

⁹⁴ SAR, 2013, 16; SAR, 2014, 15-16; SAR, 2015, 16.

⁹⁵ SAR, 2013, 16-17; SAR, 2014, 16.

⁹⁶ SAR, 2013, 16; SAR, 2015, 16, 18; Kristin Van Fleet, email to the author, August 10, 2018.

⁹⁷ SAR, 2012, 16, SAR, 2013, 17; SAR, 2014, 17; SAR, 2015, 16.

In Idaho, shortly after the state’s ATR guide was published in 2008, trails staff began working with Idaho Transportation Department staff on a cooperative agreement related to signage. Specifically, staff worked with the Caribou Historical Society (located in Soda Springs) to lay out signage for ATRs and local tour routes on selected roads in southeastern Idaho. This signage was installed in 2011.⁹⁸ Additional trail-related signage took place in and around certain national park or national forest units, both of which were also located in southeastern Idaho. In 2013 and 2014, original route signs were installed across four miles of City of Rocks National Reserve, along with additional signage on roads in the adjacent Sawtooth National Forest.⁹⁹

California Trail signage along Nevada’s highways is relatively recent, because it was not until 2009 that the trails office negotiated an agreement with the state’s DOT to produce and install ATR signs.¹⁰⁰ An implementation plan connected with that agreement provided locations where 194 signs could be placed. Many of these signs were focused on the Pony Express NHT (see below), but some of that mileage, west of Silver Springs, included portions of the California NHT as well. Also, thanks to funding from OCTA, an additional 38 miles of directional signage was placed along the California Trail Backcountry Byway, located in northeastern Elko County between U.S. Highway 93 and the Utah state line.¹⁰¹

California, which has seven different California NHT routes that surmount either the Sierra Nevada or the southern Cascades, has more than 1,100 miles of California NHT route, plus another 250-plus miles of Pony Express NHT route.¹⁰² As noted in Chapter 6, the office in 2007 had applied to Caltrans for a transportation enhancement grant (funded by the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA)) that would have allowed for the placement of ATR signs along highways in all 23 counties in which authorized trails were located. The grant application process, however, dragged on for years – and after 2009, California was the only state (among 25) with which the trails office had not established a working road sign agreement.¹⁰³ Caltrans, at long last, signed a project memorandum of agreement (MOA) with the NPS in late 2014, but several additional years have been needed to establish a methodology for project funding and planning.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, project plans in California forged ahead in areas separate from the state highway system. The first NHT road signs in California, therefore, were thirteen original route signs

⁹⁸ SAR, 2010, 6; SAR, 2011, 8; Chuck Milliken, email to the author, August 9, 2018. Tony Varilone was the IDOT staffer (in Soda Springs) that worked with NPS staff on this signage project.

⁹⁹ SAR, 2013, 16; SAR, 2014, 15-16.

¹⁰⁰ SAR, 2009, 4.

¹⁰¹ SAR, 2010, 14; SAR, 2011, 8, 16, SAR, 2014, 15.

¹⁰² Brian Deaton, email to the author, July 26, 2018 and July 27, 2018.

¹⁰³ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 5.

¹⁰⁴ SAR, 2012, 7; SAR, 2015, 16, 18; SAR, 2016, 16-17.

installed in 2015 on county roads in El Dorado County, more specifically along a short segment of the California and Pony Express trails southwest of Placerville.¹⁰⁵

El Camino Real de los Tejas

As noted in Chapter 6, Congress authorized El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT in October 2004, and work on the trail's CMP began in 2006. A partnership organization was formalized in 2007, it hired its first director in 2009, and it published its first newsletter in 2010. The draft CMP was completed in July 2010 and a final of that document was published in September 2011. Perhaps due to consistent legislative support from U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas), the trail gained its first line-item budget (\$49,000) in FY 2006, less than a year after the trail was authorized.¹⁰⁶

Two years later, the trail's budget more than tripled to \$176,000 (see appendix 6), and project work began. As noted in Chapter 6, nine projects were authorized that year, ranging from interpretation and education to GIS and cultural resource management. Most of these projects required several years of partner involvement.

Meanwhile, NPS trails staff proceeded to authorize new projects with a variety of partners. Staff worked with partners on a diverse array of projects seeking to better interpret the trail, educate the public about the trail's importance, and enhance the public's understanding of the trail's remarkable cultural resources.

Two major actions have been perhaps emblematic of progress along the trail in recent years. One was a land purchase of a small parcel containing a trail segment. In Sabine County, only about ten miles from where the trail crosses over the Sabine River into Louisiana, trail supporters learned that this undeveloped, 3.5-acre parcel possessed some remarkable swales that dated back to the trail's period of significance. In 2013, moreover, they learned that the parcel was up for sale. The partnership association (then called ELTEA) announced its intention to purchase the property with a crowdsourcing campaign. Facing a late-October deadline, several dozen donors came forward, and association successfully received slightly more than the required \$16,500 purchase price. ELTEA officially took control

of the parcel on June 3, 2014.¹⁰⁷ That same year, NPS staff contracted with GTI Environmental, LLC (Sergio A. Iruegas and Melinda Tate Iruegas) to write a National Register nomination for the parcel, and also to undertake a historic research report and archeological survey of the site. Those reports, completed in 2015, paved the way for a site DCP, which guided planning and interpretive development at the site. In 2016, the DCP was completed and was then forwarded on to ELTEA for its use.¹⁰⁸

Another major event, held in 2016, emphasized the international aspect of NTIR's trail administration by bringing together key NPS trails personnel, association staff from two binational trails, and officials from Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) in Mexico. As noted in Chapter 6, two NHTs – El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and El Camino Real de los Tejas – historically had major components in Mexico (both wended their way north from Mexico City), and the enabling legislation for both trails called for international cooperation to administer the trail. Starting in 1995, the major platform for manifesting this cooperation had been the series of international symposia – focused on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro – that alternated between locations in the United States and Mexico. Those symposia had stopped in 2006, however, and for the next several years, only occasional international exchanges took place. In 2008 or 2009, for example, INAH officials toured the US portion of the El Camino de Tierra Adentro as context background for a World Heritage nomination; as noted in Chapter 6, the nomination for the Mexican portion of the route would ultimately be approved in 2010. And in December 2011, Aaron Mahr and Michael Taylor from the trails office visited Mexico City, Querétaro, Zacatecas, and Durango to visit various El Camino sites and meet with INAH staff. Officials from both sides of the border, during this period, recognized that more needed to be done to increase international cooperation as it pertained to this trail.

Discussions suggesting a binational meeting began in October 2014, but they remained tentative until mid-April 2015, when several NPS staff attended a community outreach event (“El Camino Real de los Tejas in Northern Mexico and South Texas,”), which was held at Laredo's Villa Antigua Border Heritage Museum. That event attracted participants from not only Laredo and others in nearby Texas, but additional attendees included INAH staff from the states of Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas. Encouraging discussions between the INAH staff, NPS representatives at the meeting, and partnership-association representatives underscored a broad interest in a binational workshop, which would be held in

¹⁰⁵ SAR, 2015, 16, 18; Kristin Van Fleet, email to the author, August 28, 2018.

¹⁰⁶ Jere Krakow interview, January 4, 2008.

¹⁰⁷ <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/news/houston-texas/texas/article/Time-running-out-for-ancient-King-s-Highway-4905504.php> [Oct. 17, 2013]; Steven Gonzales emails, Sept. 13, 2013; October 22, 2013; and June 5, 2014, in author's email compilation.

¹⁰⁸ SAR, 2014, 6; SAR, 2015, 6; SAR, 2016, 11; *Cultural Lifeways and Small Finds Remembered Along El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail During the 18th- 19th- and 20th Centuries at Lobanillo Swales in Sabine County, Texas* (San Antonio, Texas), May 2015.

Laredo.¹⁰⁹ That workshop, called “Los Dos Caminos: Bridging Borders Across the Centuries,” took place in late June 2016. At the workshop, 40 invited participants – from both countries – met to share ideas, experiences, and develop work plans for the preservation, development, and interpretation of these two trails. The products of that workshop included the creation of several work plans, and those work plans – dubbed priorities – became a key element of a cooperatively-produced bilingual report entitled *Los Dos Caminos: Bridging Borders Across the Centuries, Workshop for the Preservation and Promotion of the Caminos Reales, Mexico-United States*.¹¹⁰

Some of the largest trail-related projects in recent years have sought to provide additional information about the trail’s remarkable cultural resources. As noted in Chapter 6, projects begun in 2008 included the compilation of a MPDF, along with ten National Register nominations; a historical and archeological study of the trail in eastern Texas; an ethnographic overview; an oral history project; and a study of the trail’s role as an underground railroad route. That same year, the NPS contracted Timothy K. Perttula and Robert Cast to complete a survey-based archeological study intended to identify 17th to 19th century Caddo sites along the trail in east Texas. That report was completed in 2010. That same year, trails staff partnered with the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department on a historic research study began that focused on the three TP&WD properties along the trail: McKinney Falls, Mission Tejas, and Fort Boggy state parks. This study was followed by an archeological component at each site. Work on these projects was completed in 2012.¹¹¹ During this same period, archeologists Chester Walker and Tim Perttula used NPS sponsorship to research an 18th-century Caddo site in Nacogdoches County. And yet another east Texas study begun in 2010 was undertaken by Nacogdoches’s Nine Flags Museum; it entailed an archeological reconnaissance and test excavations in locations throughout the county.¹¹² More recently, the NPS partnered with Stephen F. Austin University on preparing a cultural landscape study. A final manuscript, however, has not yet been completed. In addition, the office contracted with GTI Environmental, LLC to complete a literature search of

¹⁰⁹ SAR, 2015, 6; Troy Ainsworth email, December 12, 2014 and April 29, 2015; Aaron Mahr email, December 15, 2014, all in author’s email compilation. The initial discussions for an international conference began at a national trails workshop began in Salt Lake City, when CARTA and ELTEA representatives expressed an interest in a joint meeting. Mahr, in response, suggested meeting with Mexican officials as well, either in Mexico or, as a fallback, a U.S. city along the Mexican border.

¹¹⁰ SAR, 2016, 10-11. Angelica Sanchez-Clark, interview by the author, August 3, 2018.

¹¹¹ SAR, 2010, 10; SAR, 2012, 9. The Perttula-Cast study, *Defining and Publicizing the Caddo Presence along El Camino Real de los Tejas in East Texas: A Research Strategy to Identify 17th-early 19th Century Caddo Sites*, was completed in January 2010. The state park study, by Robert S. Weddle, was called *Archival and Archeological Research: Camino Real de los Tejas and Texas State Parks*. It was completed in August 2012.

¹¹² SAR, 2010, 10; SAR, 2011, 11; SAR, 2012, 9. The Walker-Perttula report, completed in early 2011, was called Archaeogeophysical and Archeological Investigations at a Historic Caddo Site Along El Camino Real de los Tejas: the J.T. King Site (41NA15) in Nacogdoches County, Texas. The Nine Flags Museum report, written by Morris K. Jackson, et al., was titled *Trade and Cultural Interaction along El Camino Real de los Tejas during the Spanish Colonial and Republic Periods in Nacogdoches County, Texas* and completed in 2012.

historic buildings and structures associated with the trail in Texas. That report was completed in August 2016.¹¹³

The trails office also worked with a variety of partners on projects designed to provide improved trail interpretation. A key project began in 2010 to support Chris Talbot – an associate professor in Stephen F. Austin University’s School of Art – in his quest to photograph major trail sites. Those photographs led to a movable museum display entitled *A Photographic Journey along El Camino Real de los Tejas*, which was shown at a number of Texas venues for the next several years. The NPS assisted by arranging new venues, providing hard copies of the exhibit brochure, and producing press releases and invitations.¹¹⁴ The office also supported the development of a demonstration garden at the Stone Fort Museum in Nacogdoches, a spot that would be, according to one enthusiast, “a living laboratory and research tool on domestic and native vegetation associated with the trail.” The NPS also assisted with a wayside exhibit to help interpret the garden.¹¹⁵ In order to publicize the trail and its resources, the trails office initially provided assistance to the trail’s partnership association in its preparation of a brochure and map. That project was completed in September 2012. Soon afterward, trails staff began working with the agency’s Harpers Ferry Center (HFC) office on a full-color official map and guide. That brochure was completed in 2014. A rack card, suitable for use at welcome centers, was produced and distributed a year later.¹¹⁶ In order to provide trail-related educational materials, the trails staff, with assistance from the National Park Foundation, produced a series of lesson plans and audio-visual materials called “Breaking New Paths: Engaging Youth on El Camino Real de los Tejas.”¹¹⁷

Starting in 2011, trails staff began working with a variety of partners on a remarkable San Antonio-based planning project. Congress had authorized San Antonio Missions National Historical Park in 1978 to preserve four major missions located along the San Antonio River. Mission Espada, 8 miles downriver from central San Antonio, was the southernmost of these missions. Historians had long known that Rancho de las Cabras, a ranch that was administered by Mission Espada during the Spanish period, was a significant component of the mission complex. During the 1990s, therefore, the NPS assumed control of the ruined remains of the rancho (25 miles south of Mission Espada) from the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department. Perhaps because of the site’s archeological sensitivities, the agency

¹¹³ SAR, 2012, 9; SAR, 2013, 6; SAR, 2014, 6; SAR, 2016, 11. GTI’s report was titled *El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail Historic Buildings Literature Search*.

¹¹⁴ SAR, 2010, 10; SAR, 2011, 11; SAR, 2012, 9.

¹¹⁵ SAR, 2010, 9; SAR, 2012, 9; SAR, 2013, 7; “SFA Stone Fort Museum receives funding for demonstration garden, workshops,” October 4, 2010, at <http://www.sfasu.edu/4834.asp>.

¹¹⁶ SAR, 2012, 9; SAR, 2013, 6; SAR, 2014, 6; SAR, 2015, 6.

¹¹⁷ SAR, 2013, 6.

allowed access to the ruins at Rancho de las Cabras only one day each month. The congressional establishment, in 2004, of El Camino Real de los Tejas – a route which passed both Mission Espada and Rancho de las Cabras – suggested an interest in ways to provide a publicly-accessible connection between the mission and rancho. Then, in June 2008, construction work began on the Mission Reach Ecosystem Restoration and Recreation project. When completed, project would add fifteen miles of hiking, biking, and paddling trails to the San Antonio River corridor and would connect the four missions to the San Antonio Riverwalk. In 2011, therefore, the park management decided to work with trails office staff, along with the NPS's Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program (RTCA) and the San Antonio River Authority, on a feasibility study that would identify various non-motorized routes connecting the mission and rancho. The result of that cooperative effort was a 2013 document titled *A Vision of Opportunities: Mission Espada to Rancho de Las Cabras, Identifying Spanish Colonial Routes and Recreational Connections between Historical and Community Resources*.¹¹⁸

Providing trail signage, both along thoroughfares and pedestrian paths as well as at key historic sites, has been accomplished many times in recent years and has played a major role in providing public visibility to the trail. Sign planning began in 2011. Since then, the NPS has provided signage for a number of Texas counties, including Brazos, Comal, Hays, Milam, Robertson, Sabine, San Augustine, Victoria, and Zapata, as well as Natchitoches and Sabine parishes in Louisiana. The trails office has also engaged in more limited signage activities: pedestrian and site identification signs along a 2-mile retracement trail in Floresville, similar signs within the Medina River Greenway in San Antonio, and signage at various state parks, state historic sites, and certified trail sites. Most of these signage projects were the result of cooperation between a multiplicity of partners, including the Texas DOT, the Texas Historical Commission (THC), county authorities, the partnership association, and a museum or tourist commission.¹¹⁹

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

As noted in Chapter 6, Congress had authorized El Camino Real as a NHT in October 2000, and three months later, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt declared that the trail would be co-administered by the National Park Service and the BLMt. Not long afterward, in March 2003, a partnership association, informally named CARTA, had been established and began holding regular meetings. Regular

¹¹⁸ SAR, 2012, 10; SAR, 2013, 7; http://www.sanantonioriver.org/proj_facts/facts.php; Scott Ball, "Rancho de las Cabras: a Forgotten World Heritage Gem," October 16, 2015, at <https://therivardreport.com/rancho-de-las-cabras-a-forgotten-world-heritage-gem/>; https://www.sara-tx.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/NPS_Feasibility_Study-web.pdf.

¹¹⁹ SAR, 2011, 11; SAR, 2012, 10; SAR, 2013, 7-8; SAR, 2014, 7; SAR, 2015, 6-7.

meetings also took place of the International Colloquia on El Camino Real. Meanwhile, work began on the trail's CMP; that cooperative effort was completed in April 2004. The completion of the CMP gave the green light to a variety of projects ranging from resource identification and National Register nominations to waysides and other interpretive projects.

Recent years have witnessed a continuation and expansion of projects thematically related to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Projects both large and small have taken place all along the 404-mile trail corridor in the United States, and international cooperation with authorities in Mexico has continued. (Regarding the trail's international aspect, a major capstone of that cooperation was a 2016 conference, which is more fully described in the next section, dealing with both El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT.)

Two of the largest recent projects have taken place at La Bajada Hill, a historically-significant escarpment 17 miles southwest of Santa Fe, and at Martineztown, a long-established neighborhood in Albuquerque. In 2010, the office entered into two agreements with the UNM. The first, with the Office of Contract Archeology, focused on an archeological survey at La Bajada, in order to identify the various road alignments associated with the escarpment. The other, with UNM's School of Architecture and Planning, was a cultural landscape report, which was intended to document, analyze, and evaluate the cultural landscape associated with the historic trail segments. Field work for both reports took place in 2011, and draft reports quickly followed. Final reports were completed in 2012.¹²⁰

Following the recommendations from these two reports, the office launched four follow-up projects. They included 1) part 2 of the cultural landscape report, 2) an interpretive plan, 3) historic roadbed stabilization, and 4) a metal detecting survey. The U.S. Forest Service (which manages portions of the escarpment) funded two of these projects and partnered with the NPS on another, and UNM joined in as a partner along with various private and nonprofit entities. All four of these projects would be completed in 2016 if not before.¹²¹

Another major project took place in Albuquerque's Martineztown neighborhood. In October 2011, several trails staff, working with the Citizens Information Committee of Martineztown, held a workshop there as part of an effort to write an

¹²⁰ SAR, 2010, 11; SAR, 2011, 12; SAR, 2012, 11. Preceding those projects, in 2008, a University of New Mexico class had held a HAER (Historic American Engineer Record) field session to record La Bajada's landscape. SAR, 2008, 20.

¹²¹ SAR, 2014, 9; SAR, 2015, 8; SAR, 2016, 9; Michael Taylor, interview with the author, August 3, 2018.

interpretive plan. That plan was completed in 2012 and submitted to the committee. Two years later, staff reviewed the plan, specifically as it pertained to landscape and interpretation recommendations for Martineztown Park. Several interpretive waysides were finalized, with Spanish translations. In 2016, these waysides, along with appropriate site identification signing, were completed and unveiled at a public ceremony held on September 27 of that year.¹²²

In the Santa Fe area, office staff was engaged in several projects. In Agua Fria village, NPS staff has worked with the city, the county, and other entities to provide both signage and interpretation on several segments of the paved multi-use Santa Fe River Trail that have opened to the public in recent years. A public dedication of a one-mile-long section of trail (toward the western end of Agua Fria Road) was held on October 19, 2012. Additional partnerships in Agua Fria included the design and construction of a large hallway display of the trail at El Camino Real Academy, and the ongoing compilation of a poster-sized historical map of the area's resources in conjunction with longtime residents William Mee and Hilario Romero.¹²³

A few miles north of Agua Fria, heading toward Buckman Road, the office helped develop a large project that involved local, state, and federal agencies. In 2014, officials with Santa Fe County's Open Space and Trails Program – hoping to develop new ways to provide trail access to both Santa Fe National Forest and BLM parcels – successfully obtained funding from the Federal Lands Access Program (FLAP) to establish a 14.7-mile retracement trail. Given that funding, the FHWA, through its Central Federal Lands Highway Division, worked with county officials on developing an environmental assessment for the proposed trail construction effort. The NPS was brought into the project because that agency, along with the BLM, were the federal administrators for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT. Staff from the trail office's D&D Team, therefore, helped underwrite “original route” signs and pedestrian signs along the route. It also assisted with the design of shelters and parking lots. The environmental assessment, begun during the winter of 2015-2016 and finalized in November 2016, called for a trail to be constructed from a point near the west end of Agua Fria Road north to BLM's Diablo Canyon Trailhead. A portion of this trail would be paved, while other sections would be composed of a crusher-fines surface followed by a narrow natural surface. The trail was completed, and opened to the public, at a June 2, 2018 ceremony held at the Dead Dog Trailhead along Buckman Road.¹²⁴

¹²² SAR, 2011, 13; SAR, 2012, 11; SAR, 2014, 8; SAR, 2015, 8; SAR, 2016, 9

¹²³ SAR, 2014, 9; SAR, 2016, 10; Coreen Donnelly, email to the author, August 3, 2018.

¹²⁴ SAR, 2014, 10; SAR, 2015, 9; SAR, 2016, 9; FHWA, USFS, and BLM, “Environmental Assessment, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail, Buckman Road Segment Retracement Trail Project,” November 16, 2016, <https://www.santafecountynm.gov/media/files/ElCaminoEAWAppendicesSIGNED.pdf>; <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1453/buckman-trail-opens-in-santa-fe-june-2nd.htm>.

The same year that Santa Fe County officials obtained FLAP funding to ease public access to nearby Forest Service and BLM land, Bernalillo County officials were also successful in their quest for funding – from the same federal source – to improve access in the vicinity of Valle de Oro National Wildlife Refuge, sandwiched between 2nd Street S.W. and the Rio Grande in Albuquerque's South Valley. Most of the \$4 million funding package for improved access to the two-year-old refuge was targeted to improve sidewalks, vegetation, and other amenities along 2nd Street. Meanwhile, because land on the refuge may have included the trail's historic route, funding was also earmarked for a mile-long pedestrian retracement trail that would angle its way across the refuge. Accordingly, NPS staff held a design charrette at the refuge in 2015 for purposes of site planning, interpretation, and education, both at the refuge's visitor center as well as along the proposed retracement trail. In early 2018, road improvements began on 2nd Street, and thanks to assistance from volunteers, the retracement trail within the refuge was constructed in September of that year.¹²⁵

At Bosque del Apache National Wildlife Refuge, south of San Antonio, New Mexico, office staff worked with Fish and Wildlife Service officials on an interpretive plan. Work began in 2013, and soon afterward, the two agencies decided to proceed with wayside exhibits at the Point of Lands overlook, on State Highway 1 at the southern end of the refuge. The plan was completed, and the signs installed, in 2015.¹²⁶ Farther south, along the Jornada del Muerto, several interpretive projects developed in the general vicinity of the New Mexico Spaceport. As noted in Chapter 6, the NPS and others had fought the spaceport's construction, primarily because of its impact on the pristine surrounding trail landscape. Although state and federal officials decided to override those protests and build the spaceport, NPS staff continued to plan for two significant Jornada visitor destinations and a retracement-trail opportunity. At Yost Draw, just a few miles from the spaceport's terminal hangar facility, they planned an exhibit kiosk with six bilingual wayside exhibits and a 1.5-mile interpretive trail that crossed a 3.8-mile-long, pristine trail section. Farther south, another interpretive site was developed at Point of Rocks. Work at the two sites began in 2008, and they opened to the public in June 2010, with a dedication four months later.¹²⁷

Several cultural resource management projects have been completed in recent years. In Santa Fe, at the 17th-century San Miguel Chapel along Old Santa Fe Trail, the office in 2010 partnered with Cornerstones Community Partnerships on an archeological excavation for a drainage system replacement.¹²⁸ Just southwest of

¹²⁵ SAR, 2014, 8; SAR, 2015, 9; <https://www.fws.gov/nwrs/threecolumn.aspx?id=2147611500>.

¹²⁶ SAR, 2013, 9; SAR, 2014, 8; SAR, 2015, 8.

¹²⁷ SAR, 2006, 18; SAR, 2008, 9; https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/el_camino_real_de_tierra_adentro/Yost_Draw.html; SAR, 2010, 12; SAR, 2011, 13.

¹²⁸ SAR, 2010, 12; SAR, 2011, 12; SAR, 2012, 11.

Santa Fe, at El Rancho de las Golondrinas, the trails office worked with Rancho staff on an archeological site management plan for the *torreon* (an 18th-century defensive tower) located on the museum grounds, and they also assisted with test excavations at the site.¹²⁹ Just south of Albuquerque, trails staff worked with Isleta Pueblo to fund an analysis of artifacts from the 17th-century mission that still stands at the site, and to interpret the excavated materials from that mission.¹³⁰ Finally, the trails office worked with the state historic preservation office to fund two new National Register nominations for New Mexico sites along the trail: the Gutierrez-Hubbell House in the South Valley of Bernalillo County, and San Miguel Catholic Church in downtown Socorro (Socorro County).¹³¹

As noted in Chapter 6, the New Mexico SHPO – in a project funded by the NPS – had written a MPDF for the trail, which was completed and approved in April 2011 (see appendix 8). That document referred to a number of key trail-related sites, and some of those sites had been nominated at that time to the NRHP. In order to expand the number of known historic properties, the trails office launched into a multi-year historic research effort. In 2013, it partnered with the New Mexico SHPO to conduct a literature search of known historic properties along the trail, and to compile an inventory of those properties. What emerged from that inventory was a list of 170 buildings or structures, located within a half-mile radius of the trail, that dated to the trail’s period of historic significance. Soon afterward, office staff took advantage of the new MOU between the NPS and the UNM by engaging the School of Architecture and Planning’s Historic Preservation and Regionalism Program in a long-term project. The trails office hoped to engage students from that program to survey the inventoried buildings and structures along the trail corridor and to conduct condition assessments.¹³² Working under Prof. Francisco Uviña, the first student who was hired for this purpose, in the fall of 2015, was Rocio Linares, followed in more recent years by Numair Latif, Vanessa Funston, and Cynthia Jacobs. Jacobs remained on the job for two years (until the summer of 2018), when she was succeeded by Ramon Dorado (see appendix 4). Work thus far has taken place in the Los Griegos and Atrisco neighborhoods of Albuquerque, in Bernalillo, and in Agua Fria village, near Santa Fe.

In 2010, the office staff supported its partner association in an unusual experiment intended to shed light on the historical location of the trail route. In many areas in central and southern New Mexico, the trail is difficult to discern visually; it cannot be readily traced by those walking in the trail corridor, and the available aerial photography – taken from thousands of feet above the ground – provides insufficient detail to discern a historical route. In response, the NPS worked with

¹²⁹ SAR, 2010, 11; SAR, 2011, 12.

¹³⁰ SAR, 2014, 8; SAR, 2015, 8.

¹³¹ SAR, 2015, 8; SAR, 2016, 10.

¹³² SAR, 2013, 10; SAR, 2016, 10.

Tom Harper – an electronics engineer who was also CARTA’s president – on a “pilot study on the efficacy and utility of low-altitude aerial photography using model airplanes [drones] to document segments of EI Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.”¹³³ The work proved fruitful. Meanwhile, the trails staff undertook a project in El Paso, more specifically at the site where Juan de Oñate, in 1598, is thought to have crossed over the Rio Grande into the present-day United States. As early as 2012, staff worked with partners both in El Paso and the agency’s regional office to submit a series of cultural resource reports at the site of Harts Mill and Old Fort Bliss. That effort was sidetracked, but a renewed effort initiated in 2016 was funded the following year by the Southwest Border Resource Protection Program (SWBRPP). The partnership – which now includes city, county, and state agencies, along with the International Boundary and Water Commission – remains active. It has been renewed for another year by the SWBRPP, and the subject matter has been extended to include various historic sites in Ciudad Juarez.¹³⁴

In order to help tell the public about the trail and its resources, the NPS has used a variety of interpretive methods, with a reliance on new technologies. In 2010, for example, the agency partnered with a Las Vegas (Nevada) filmmaker to sponsor a workshop that would result in a documentary trail film. The following year, the National Park Foundation – as part of its “America’s Best Idea” program – funded video podcasts from filmmakers based in both Las Vegas and Albuquerque. *Take a Journey Along El Camino Real*, completed in May 2012, was a 6½-minute podcast at many sites along the trail, while *The Children of Spanish Colonial Times*, completed in July 2012, was a 4½-minute podcast based on footage shot at El Rancho de los Golondrinas, near Santa Fe. Both podcasts soon became available at a variety of websites. Not long afterward, the office partnered with Cottonwood Valley Charter School in Socorro, New Mexico – and with Sheri Armijo, a Spanish teacher there who had written a play for the school’s 6th grade class – on the 8-minute podcast *A Child’s Story of Socorro*. This podcast portrayed the interaction between Juan de Oñate’s 1598 colonization party and the local Piro people.¹³⁵ Starting in 2012, the office began working with the National Conference of SHPOs and the Keeper of the National Register – both based in Washington, D.C. – to implement a “Discover Our Shared Heritage” National Register travel itinerary for the trail. The web-based travel itinerary highlighted the trail itself, as well as seventeen National Register sites located along the trail. Part of a larger initiative that encompassed many other NPS units and programs, it was completed in 2014 and was soon afterward placed on the trail’s website.¹³⁶ Since that time, several other video productions have been shot featuring sites along this trail, but none have been completed and available for public use.¹³⁷ Trails staff have also helped interpret the trail by offering

¹³³ SAR, 2010, 11; CARTA, “Aerial Photography of EI Camino Real de Tierra Adentro on Sevilleta National Wildlife Refuge,” circa January 2012.

¹³⁴ SAR, 2012, 11; SAR, 2016, 10.

¹³⁵ SAR, 2010, 12; SAR, 2011, 13; SAR, 2012, 12-13.

¹³⁶ SAR, 2012, 11; SAR, 2014, 8.

¹³⁷ SAR, 2013, 9; SAR, 2014, 9.

training at various visitor facilities: in 2012, staff assisted with docent training at the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art in Santa Fe, and in 2015, they helped teach an interpretation workshop for docents at El Rancho de las Golondrinas.¹³⁸

The quality of printed trail material available to the public has improved considerably in recent years. For several years, the only standard trail brochure was a preliminary version with three folds. In April 2009, trails staff produced the first of two three-fold color brochures; this was an unusual move for a NHT, where larger-format brochures were the norm. Meanwhile, the office worked with a contractor to prepare the first full-color map and guide brochure (“unigrid”) for the trail, which was completed in September 2010. Soon afterward, the office reached out to the agency’s Spanish Colonial Research Center (in Albuquerque) to produce a Spanish translation of the map and guide. That black-and-white brochure was completed in 2014 and was soon afterward placed on the trail’s website. Also in 2014, staff designed and produced a rack card for the trail, to be used at various welcome centers.¹³⁹ Three wayside projects have come to fruition in recent years, all in the Santa Fe area. Starting in 2010, trails staff worked with the Pueblo of Pojoaque to install three new wayside exhibits at the Poeh Cultural Center, north of town; in 2012, waysides were designed and installed at the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art, near the NPS’s Santa Fe offices; and in 2013, a new partnership began with El Rancho de las Golondrinas, southwest of Santa Fe, to install two wayside exhibits adjacent to the torreón archeological site.¹⁴⁰

As with other trails administered by the office, signage has been a major element of partnership building. At first, relatively few signs were placed at locations along or near the trail; the earliest were located primarily in Albuquerque, Las Cruces, and El Paso. But in 2011-2012, the creation of a standard family of highway signs, along with two new D&D staff, provided the capacity for many new signs. Some of these projects were for relatively large areas: in 2011 and 2012, for example, a sign plan was designed and implemented for El Paso County, while additional sizable projects took place in Socorro, in Agua Fria village, and along the nearby Santa Fe River Greenway. In other instances, however, staff provided partners with directional or site identification signs at specific historic sites or museums.¹⁴¹

The ongoing relationship between the trails office and the partnership association (Camino Real Trail Association, or CARTA), varied considerably during this period. For a number of years, contacts between the two bodies remained cordial and

¹³⁸ SAR, 2012, 11; SAR, 2015, 9.

¹³⁹ SAR, 2010, 11; SAR, 2013, 9; SAR, 2014, 9.

¹⁴⁰ SAR, 2010, 12; SAR, 2011, 13; SAR, 2012, 11, 12; SAR, 2013, 9-10.

¹⁴¹ SAR, 2010, 10; SAR, 2011, 12; SAR, 2012, 13; SAR, 2013, 10; SAR, 2014, 10; SAR, 2015, 10; SAR, 2016, 10.

productive; the NPS supported several projects that had been proposed by CARTA members or officers, and in 2012, staff worked with the association on its strategic plan.¹⁴² Relations continued to be strong into 2016; that year, the association either assisted or was the beneficiary of more than a dozen trails-office projects. The appointment in late 2015 of two new board members, however, caused a slow deterioration of this longstanding partnership. That deterioration was exacerbated in late June 2016 when those two board members unilaterally – and without the knowledge of other CARTA board members – tried to reorganize CARTA and have the NPS suspend it as an organization. In response, NPS Superintendent Aaron Mahr stated that he had no authority to tinker with CARTA’s internal affairs; he was, however, concerned about the organization’s ability to fulfill the terms and objectives of its annual task agreement with the NPS. Peg Hardman, who was then serving as CARTA’s interim president, recognized that given the “conflict and division” within CARTA’s board, the task agreement – which was scheduled to expire in September 2016 – would not be renewed. Not long afterward, the longstanding cooperative agreement between the two parties also expired. Since that time, CARTA has continued to operate as an advocacy organization for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT. However, it no longer maintains a formal partnership relationship with the NPS’s trails office.¹⁴³

Mormon Pioneer NHT

The Mormon Pioneer NHT, for most of its route, is a single-path trail system that spans the distance between Nauvoo, Illinois, on the east bank of the Mississippi River, and Salt Lake City, Utah. Between those two endpoints, the trail crosses Iowa, Nebraska, and Wyoming. East of the Missouri River, the NHT route stands alone, but to the west – across Nebraska, Wyoming, and Utah – the Mormon Pioneer NHT shares the great majority of its mileage with the Oregon, California, and Pony Express NHTs. For that reason, many of the NPS’s projects along the western portion of the route are only briefly alluded to in this section; more detailed project descriptions are noted in the California NHT discussion, above.

Most of the various ATR guides, for example, include mileage devoted not only to the Mormon Pioneer NHT but also to the California NHT. These guides have therefore been discussed previously. The only exception is the volume *The Mormon Pioneer Trail Across Iowa in 1846*, which Lee Kreutzer and Chuck Milliken prepared beginning in 2004 and published in April 2007 (see chapter 6). The Iowa volume was revised in December 2010 (see appendix 12).

¹⁴² SAR, 2012, 11.

¹⁴³ Peg Hardman, email to CARTA Board of Directors and Members, July 11, 2016.

The other well-known interpretive product related to these four trails – the standard map and guide for each trail – has changed relatively little in recent years. As noted in Chapter 3, the first so-called “unigrid” brochure for the Mormon Pioneer NHT appeared in 1985, and a full-color version of this brochure was completed in 1995 (see appendix 7). In recent years, staff revised the brochure so that it would be Section 508 compliant.¹⁴⁴

Trails staff have undertaken and completed a number of significant cultural resource projects in recent years that have pertained to the Mormon Pioneer NHT. These include projects related to history, historic preservation, archeology, and ethnography. These include the completion of Shirley Ann Wilson Moore’s monograph, *Sweet Freedom’s Plains: African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841-1869* (2012); archeological field work in 2009-2011 along the Middle Sweetwater River; the film *Oglala Lakota, Early Encounters with the Westward Migration* (2018); and various staff-written historical articles that were published in OCTA’s *Overland Journal* (2014-2017). Each of these studies is more fully discussed in the California NHT section, above.

A major National Register-related effort, to write an MPDF for the Mormon Pioneer NHT, has been completed in draft form. The project, a partnership with Brigham Young University and the Utah SHPO, was begun in 2012. Two National Register nominations associated with that effort – both for historic campsites on the Little Mountain segment just east of Salt Lake City – have been completed, but they were not submitted for listing to the Keeper of the National Register in Washington, D.C.¹⁴⁵

In recent years, the trails office has worked with partners to establish dozens of waysides and other interpretive media along the Mormon Pioneer NHT as well as the other emigrant trails. In Iowa, for example, many interpretive waysides – some designed by the NPS, others by partner organizations – were installed during the 1980s or 1990s (see chapters 3, 4, and 5). Given the advanced age of these waysides, the NPS in 2012 worked with the Iowa Mormon Pioneer Association on a plan that would replace many of these waysides and bring them up to date.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2013, 11, 16, 17. “Section 508” refers to a clause in the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (P.L. 93-112). As noted on the website Section508.gov, Congress in 1998 amended P.L. 93-112 to require Federal agencies to make their electronic and information technology accessible to people with disabilities.

¹⁴⁵ SAR, 2012, 14; SAR, 2013, 11; SAR, 2015, 11; SAR, 2016, 12; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, August 9, 2018.

¹⁴⁶ SAR, 2012, 14.

In central Nebraska, a project that affected the Mormon Pioneer NHT as well as other emigrant trails was implemented at the Great Platte River Road Archway Monument. Other multi-trail projects took place at Scotts Bluff National Monument, in western Nebraska; at Camp Guernsey in eastern Wyoming; and the Utah-wide mobile smartphone app. Each of these projects is more fully discussed in the California NHT section, above. Specific interpretation focused on the Mormon Pioneer NHT, however, took place in Salt Lake City’s This is the Place Heritage Park. Here, office staff supplemented work that had been first undertaken in 2004-2006 when it added replacement waysides, first in 2011 and again in 2014.¹⁴⁷

The trails office has made it a continuing priority to support the educational mission of the Mormon Pioneer NHT as well as the other emigrant trails. This mission has typically taken the form of teacher internship programs, educational workshops, lesson-plan development, and the sponsorship of summer day camps. This included support for a film, called *In Pursuit of a Dream* (2011), a portion of which was re-created along the Mormon Pioneer NHT in central Wyoming. This project is more fully discussed in the California NHT section, above.

Old Spanish Trail

As noted in Chapter 6, two themes in 2009 dominated administrative efforts related to the Old Spanish NHT, which Congress had authorized in December 2002. The first was the completion of a CMP, while the second was a continuation of trail-related project work that had begun back in 2006.

Work on the CMP, by representatives of both the NPS and the BLM, had begun in late 2003, and public scoping took place between January and May 2006, which included 21 scoping meetings that were held in all six trail states. Soon afterward a scoping report was prepared, along with the drafting of plan alternatives. By 2009, the BLM had decided that, in order to satisfy the NEPA stipulations in the CMP, an EIS (not just an EA) would be required. The consulting firm URS, moreover, had been chosen to oversee the contracted portions of the draft EIS, a project that was successfully completed in 2010.¹⁴⁸

By the close of 2010, trails staff – primarily Susan Boyle, who served as both a historian and planner – had begun writing the CMP. In June 2014 a draft CMP, which included a revised draft of the EIS, had been completed and was ready for

¹⁴⁷ SAR, 2011, 16; SAR, 2014, 17.

¹⁴⁸ SAR, 2009, 9; SAR, 2010, 13.

internal review. The draft study – done in partnership with colleagues from the BLM, with assistance from the U.S. Forest Service – included detailed trail maps, a chapter suggesting alternative trail administration strategies, and a list of high potential historic sites and high potential trail segments. The investigation into trail mapping, however, had brought forth a number of outstanding trail-alignment issues. As a result, various OSTA members arrived in Santa Fe in late August 2013 and attended an NPS mapping workshop – similar to what had been held in Phoenix in the spring of 2006 – to resolve those alignment issues.¹⁴⁹

Once BLM officials received and read the draft study, concerns were raised about the plan’s consideration of environmental compliance, and they also had concerns about the trail route, the trail protection corridor, and the treatment of high potential sites and segments. In addition, officials of that agency openly questioned the need for calling the document a “management plan” when, in fact, neither agency had full management control over the trail. (As noted in various study documents, the NPS manages 6.44% of all designated trail mileage, while the BLM manages 29.27% of the trail.) Based on these concerns, BLM’s Utah State Director Juan Palma and the NPS’s IMR Director Sue Masica met in Denver on June 19, 2014 along with staff from both agencies. Based on the discussions and decisions made at that meeting, a resulting white paper – dated July 17, 2014 – proposed that the two agencies replace the CMP – which had included an extensive environmental impact statement – with a shorter, streamlined document called a comprehensive administrative strategy (CAS). Given those proposed changes, which the NPS accepted, BLM officials urged their NPS counterparts to proceed and complete the newly-reframed document.¹⁵⁰ After receiving those recommendations, Boyle and her colleagues completed a draft CAS in 2015. They then worked with a consulting company (RECON Environmental) to edit the draft volume, and in 2016 staff began preparing a final version of the document. The final CAS was completed and published in December 2017.¹⁵¹

Throughout the period that the CMP (later CAS) was being written, the agency was engaged in projects to protect, interpret, and develop the Old Spanish Trail and its resources. As noted in Chapter 6, these projects had begun in 2006. By 2009, officials with both the BLM and the NPS recognized that the trail’s major cultural resources needed to be identified and described. The two agencies, as a result, entered into an agreement with the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division to write a MPDF and to complete six National Register nominations for key sites along

¹⁴⁹ SAR, 2010, 13; SAR, 2011, 15; SAR, 2012, 15; SAR, 2013, 12.

¹⁵⁰ SAR, 2014, 5, 11; Michael Elliott, email to the author, August 7, 2018.

¹⁵¹ SAR, 2015, 5; SAR, 2016, 8; BLM and NPS, Old Spanish National Historic Trail Comprehensive Administrative Strategy, December 2017 (see the following URL: <https://parkplanning.nps.gov/documentsList.cfm?projectID=12591>). Due to Boyle’s retirement, much of the NPS effort to finalize the CAS was undertaken by planner Michael Elliott.

the trail (see appendix 8).¹⁵²

In recent years, the NPS has sponsored other cultural resource management projects up and down the trail. In 2009, for example, it collaborated with the Southern Ute Tribe of Colorado and funded the American Indian Slavery research project. The result of that effort was a 2011 study, written by Estevan Rael-Gálvez and assisted by Stanley Hordes, called “Captive Communities: Utes and New Mexicans Captured Between Myth, Memory and Narrative.”¹⁵³ Just north of Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve was the recently-discovered Bunker archeological site, and agency staff supported U.S. Forest Service-sponsored efforts to undertake metal detecting and dendrochronological analysis of site artifacts.¹⁵⁴ The agency also sponsored an oral history project with the Jicarilla Apache tribe in northwestern New Mexico, and it worked with the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and the Abiquiú Parish Council to prepare a protection plan for the Santa Rosa de Lima church ruins, located just east of Abiquiú, New Mexico. Finally, trail staff contributed much-needed historic research about pack-mule transportation along the trail and the contributions made by the *arrieros* (mule skinnners).¹⁵⁵

To provide interpretation about the trail, the BLM, assisted by NPS staff, began work in 2011 on the Old Spanish Trail’s official map and guide. That guide was completed and printed in May 2012, and before long, copies had been distributed to various trail sites. Trails staff in 2011 also helped to produce a brochure for its partnership association, and in 2013 the agency produced a rack card for use at welcome centers. In addition, it created an ADA-compatible version of the official map and guide, and it started a Facebook page for the trail. A Spanish-language version of the map and guide was published and distributed in 2014.¹⁵⁶

Beginning in 2013, several video productions focused on the Old Spanish NHT. That year, footage of the trail was filmed as part of a larger production that also showed New Mexico national park units, other NHTs, and state monuments; the video would be shown at visitor centers and welcome centers throughout the state. That same year, work began on a mobile web tour focused on two route segments: from Santa Fe to the Four Corners area, and from Page, Arizona west (through southern Utah) to Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona. To that end, trails

¹⁵² SAR, 2009, 9; SAR, 2010, 13; SAR, 2011, 15; SAR, 2012, 15.

¹⁵³ <http://oldspanishtrail.org/assets/PDFs/CaptiveCommunitiesExhibitionfortheUteMuseum.pdf>; Susan Boyle, email to the author, August 14, 2018.

¹⁵⁴ SAR, 2010, 13; SAR, 2011, 15; SAR, 2012, 15.

¹⁵⁵ SAR, 2008, 11; SAR, 2012, 15; SAR, 2013, 12; SAR, 2014, 11-12. Susan Calafate Boyle’s pack-mule article, called “The Art of the *Arrieros*: Pack Transportation in Western North America,” was published in *Overland Journal*, vol. 32 (2), Summer 2014, pp. 51-68.

¹⁵⁶ SAR, 2010, 13; SAR, 2011, 15; SAR, 2012, 15; SAR, 2013, 13; SAR, 2014, 11.

staff and volunteers shot much of the film footage and prepared a draft script. They completed the mobile tour later that year. Two years later, office staff created a mobile app for the trail that included 30 tour stops (complete with photos, video, maps, audio files, text, and links) in both northern New Mexico and southern Utah.¹⁵⁷

Work on trail education projects began in 2011 when trails staff assisted their counterparts from two national forests. The following year, the NPS partnered with the Forest Service and OSTA on a seven-week, National Park Foundation-funded educational project for high-school students called *La Vereda Vieja: Exploring an Old Trail with a New Generation*. Later, trails staff assisted the OSTA chapter in New Mexico by supplying chapter members with trail education kits.¹⁵⁸ Trails staff did not begin work on their first Old Spanish interpretive wayside until 2014; since then, wayside exhibits have been designed and installed at the Koosharem Reservoir, Utah (working with the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe) and at Aztec Ruins National Monument, New Mexico (working with NPS staff at that park unit).¹⁵⁹

Signage activities along the Old Spanish Trail began in 2015 with three projects, all for relatively limited areas near Grand Junction, Colorado and in the vicinity of both Abiquiú and Tesuque, New Mexico. The following year, staff began taking part in a series of county-wide recreation and development strategy projects, all of which were spearheaded by the BLM's Utah State Office and which included a significant role for trail-related signage. These development strategy projects have continued to the present day.¹⁶⁰ Along the Chama River in the Abiquiú area, trails interns undertook an exploratory cooperative project with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers; the proposed DCP related to that project has not yet gone beyond its preliminary stages.¹⁶¹

Oregon NHT

The Oregon NHT, for most of its route, is a single-route trail system that spans the distance between Independence, Missouri, along the Missouri River, with Oregon's Willamette Valley. Between those two endpoints, the trail crosses Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Idaho. West of southcentral Idaho, the NHT route stands alone, but

¹⁵⁷ SAR, 2013, 13; SAR, 2014, 11; SAR, 2015, 12; Carol Clark, email to the author, August 8, 2018.

¹⁵⁸ SAR, 2011, 15; SAR, 2012, 15; SAR, 2013, 12-13.

¹⁵⁹ SAR, 2014, 12; SAR, 2015, 12; SAR, 2016, 13.

¹⁶⁰ SAR, 2015, 12; SAR, 2016, 13.

¹⁶¹ SAR, 2016, 14; Coreen Donnelly, email to the author, August 3, 2018.

to the east – across Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and eastern Idaho – the Oregon NHT shares the great majority of its mileage with the California, Mormon Pioneer, and Pony Express NHTs. For that reason, many of the NPS's projects along the eastern portion of the route are only briefly alluded to in this section; more detailed project descriptions are noted in the California NHT discussion, above.

Major projects that have taken place along the Oregon NHT in recent years include developments in Kansas, at both Pappans Ferry (in Topeka) and at the rural Alcove Springs Park. Both of these developments are described in the California NHT section, above. A key project solely related to the Oregon Trail, however, focused on Canyon Creek in Elmore County, Idaho. This project involved the efforts of several trails staff, plus a broad variety of partners from both the public and private sectors. In mid-2014, BLM officials informed their NPS counterparts of their interest in providing improved interpretation along the Oregon Trail between Glenn's Ferry (historically known as the Three Island Crossing) and Boise, and more specifically at the Canyon Creek stage station site. That October, in response, trails staff visited the site along with several other Idaho OCTA members. Not long afterward the trails historian, working cooperatively with OCTA leader Jerry Eichhorst, prepared a historical narrative about Canyon Creek and vicinity, primarily during the overland trails period (between 1840 and 1882). Given that information, other trails-office staff created a wayside exhibit and site plan at the stage station and a story map for the main Oregon Trail Back Country Byway in Idaho.¹⁶²

Most of the various ATR guides, for example, include mileage devoted to not only the Oregon NHT but also to the California NHT. They have therefore been discussed previously. The only exception is a yet-to-be-completed volume about Oregon and Washington. In 2013, trails employees Chuck Milliken and Lee Kreutzer began fieldwork for this guide. Working cooperatively with U.S. Forest Service and BLM staff, they continued work on the volume in 2014.¹⁶³ Work on the project was shelved for a while, but recent indications suggest that the Oregon/Washington ATR guide may be completed in 2020 (see appendix 12).¹⁶⁴

The other well-known interpretive product related to the Oregon NHT – the standard map and guide – has changed relatively little in recent years. As noted in Chapter 3, the first so-called “unigrid” brochure for the Oregon NHT appeared in 1987, and a full-color version of this brochure became available to the public in 1993 (see appendix 7). In recent years, staff revised the brochure so that it would be

¹⁶² SAR, 2015, 13; SAR, 2016, 16.

¹⁶³ SAR, 2013, 15; SAR, 2014, 13.

¹⁶⁴ Aaron Mahr, oral presentation to OCTA Board of Directors, August 6, 2018.

Section 508 compliant.¹⁶⁵

Trails staff have undertaken and completed a number of significant cultural resource projects in recent years that have pertained to the Oregon NHT as well as the other emigrant trails. These include projects related to history, historic preservation, archeology, and ethnography. These include the completion of Shirley Ann Wilson Moore's monograph, *Sweet Freedom's Plains: African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841-1869* (2012); archeological field work in 2009-2011 along the Middle Sweetwater River; the film *Oglala Lakota, Early Encounters with the Westward Migration* (2018); and various staff-written historical articles that were published in OCTA's *Overland Journal* (2014-2017). Each of these studies is more fully discussed in the California NHT section, above.

As a follow-up to Will Bagley's historical trail overviews (see chapter 6), the office moved ahead and began preparing a series of MPDFs. And given the overlapping nature of the various trails, office staff opted to proceed on a state-by-state basis. In 2011, the office began working with the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office to develop an Oregon Trail MPDF for that state. Written by contract historian Stephen Dow Beckham, the draft study was submitted in 2013, along with four draft National Register nominations. (These were for the White Swan and Flagstaff Hill trail segments near Baker; the Blue Mountains Crossing trail segment near La Grande; and the Wells Spring Segment on the US Navy Weapons Testing Range, near Boardman). A final report, and final NHRP nominations, were submitted in 2014, but neither the MPDF nor the nominations have yet been accepted by the SHPO.¹⁶⁶

Other cultural resource management projects have taken place along the Oregon NHT in recent years, but they are noted in the California NHT section, above. These include work with the Kansas SHPO to obtain various NHRP nominations in that state along the Oregon and California NHTs; support for the film *Oglala Lakota, Early Encounters with the Westward Migration*; and a series of articles written by trails staff that have been published in OCTA's *Overland Journal* between 2014 and 2017.

In recent years, the trails office has worked with partners to establish dozens

¹⁶⁵ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2013, 11, 16, 17. "Section 508" refers to a clause in the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (P.L. 93-112). As noted on the website Section508.gov, Congress in 1998 amended P.L. 93-112 to require federal agencies to make their electronic and information technology accessible to people with disabilities.

¹⁶⁶ SAR, 2011, 6; SAR, 2012, 6; SAR, 2013, 14; SAR, 2014, 13; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, August 9, 2018.

of waysides and other interpretive media along the Oregon NHT and the other emigrant trails. Those that were implemented in the Kansas City metropolitan area have been described in the section, below, that pertains to the Santa Fe Trail. Outside of the Kansas City area, the more significant of these projects are described below, and are generally arranged from east to west.

In central Nebraska, a project that affected the Oregon NHT and other emigrant trails was implemented at the Great Platte River Road Archway Monument. Other multi-trail projects took place at Scotts Bluff National Monument, in western Nebraska, and at Camp Guernsey in eastern Wyoming. Each of these projects is more fully discussed in the California NHT section, above.

In Idaho, as noted above, the trails office teamed with the BLM and various in-state partners on a successful project at Canyon Creek, along the Oregon Trail between Three Island Crossing and the Boise area. Less successful was a partnership, with the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, to install various interpretive waysides on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, just north of Pocatello.¹⁶⁷ That project, and the cooperative efforts related to the Four Trails Long Range Interpretive Plan, are discussed at greater length in the California NHT section, above.

One iconic educational project noted previously (see the California NHT section, above) provided publicity for the Oregon Trail to many who had only a nodding acquaintance with the historic trails experience. In 2006, OCTA members and the organization's executive director, Travis Boley, hit upon the idea of having a group of 24 school-aged children immerse themselves in mid-19th century lifeways and re-create the overland trail experience. Thanks to a private donation, the plan became reality. In late June 2008, the children and their adult leaders left Casper, Wyoming and, for the next two weeks, they headed west across Wyoming. They later moved on to Oregon, where they finished their trek in Eagle Creek, near Portland. Emerging from that experience was an hour-long film, *In Pursuit of a Dream*, that was directed by Bob Noll and was written and produced by Candy Moulton. It was first shown to the public in early 2011. The NPS played no role in the film's production, but once completed, the agency sponsored an educators' retreat to develop lesson plans and curriculum based on the film.

Other education programs were based in specific states and metropolitan areas. As noted elsewhere (see chapter 6 and the California NHT section above), the NPS had assisted Accessible Arts, Inc., a Kansas City-based organization supporting outdoor activities for the visually impaired, on trail-related activities in 2005 and

¹⁶⁷ SAR, 2011, 6; SAR, 2012, 6; SAR, 2013, 14; SAR, 2014, 13; SAR, 2015, 13-14; SAR, 2016, 15.

2006. Four years later, the agency revived its partnership as eighteen students spent time along the Oregon Trail, using audible GPS units for assistance. The trails office also, beginning in 2009, assisted Accessible Arts in a three-year teacher internship with its Discovery Trails Program, a series of 23 day camps scattered across the Kansas City metro area.

In western Nebraska, a consortium of schools, museums, NPS units, and state agencies organized several summer day camps for students along the emigrant trails, and during the summer of 2011, trails staff assisted the camp leaders by providing brochures and ATR guides.¹⁶⁸ Farther west, the trails staff assisted their counterparts at Hagerman Fossil Beds National Monument (near Twin Falls, Idaho) in the development of a trails component to its interpretive program, and it also provided financial assistance to the staff at Whitman Mission National Historic Site (near Walla Walla, Washington) so that the unit could host a state-sponsored training course on American Indian sovereignty.¹⁶⁹

In recent years, the trails office has undertaken dozens of signage projects along the Oregon NHT as well as other emigrant trails. Among those projects, the following projects highlight either the larger projects in each state or projects that were particularly notable. As noted in the California NHT section, many trail signs have been installed recently in the Kansas City area. Also noted in that section is signage installed in southeastern Idaho (Soda Springs and City of Rocks). In addition, original route signs were installed in 2014 along the road through Hagerman Fossil Beds National Monument, near the Snake River.¹⁷⁰

Several signage projects have taken place recently in Oregon. All of them took place in Malheur County, in the east-central and southeastern portions of the state. The county, which is the second largest in Oregon in area, has a relatively short segment of the Oregon NHT, near Vale. In 2014, in a partnership with both OCTA (which funded the project) and the BLM, staff in the trails office completed a sign plan for original route signs along 14 miles of BLM land in the county; that same year, the staff wrote a second sign plan for directional and site-identification signs in the same general area. The following year, both sign plans were implemented when 33 signs were installed in the immediate area.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ SAR, 2011, 7, 14; Chuck Milliken, email to the author, August 9, 2018.

¹⁶⁹ SAR, 2011, 6.

¹⁷⁰ SAR, 2013, 16; SAR, 2014, 15-16.

¹⁷¹ SAR, 2014, 16; SAR, 2015, 16.

Pony Express NHT

The Pony Express NHT, for most of its route, is a single-route trail system that spans the distance between St. Joseph, Missouri, on the east bank of the Missouri River, and San Francisco, California. Between those two endpoints, the trail crosses Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada. Along much of its route, the Pony Express NHT shares the same route as various emigrant trails; as a result, more detailed descriptions pertaining to projects that include the Pony Express as well as other trails are noted in the California NHT section, above. There are, however, substantial portions of the Pony Express NHT in Kansas, Utah, and Nevada where the route stands alone.

One of the more substantial Pony Express NHT projects in recent years has focused on Kingsbury Grade, a physically challenging historic route in western Nevada between Genoa, to the east, and the California state line at South Lake Tahoe. Beginning in 2016, trails office staff worked with Douglas County, the NPS's RTCA staff, and various outdoors organizations to develop a recreational trail that would be located on or near the historic Pony Express route. At present, the proposed trail plan is being readied for presentation to elected bodies and the local recreation community.¹⁷²

Each of the ATR guides that includes Pony Express NHT mileage also includes mileage devoted to the California NHT. They have therefore been discussed previously. Work on the final volume – which will discuss routes in California for both the California and Pony Express NHTs – has not yet begun (see appendix 12)

The other well-known interpretive product related to the Pony Express NHT – the standard map and guide – has changed relatively little in recent years. As noted in previous chapters, the first so-called “unigridd” brochure for the Pony Express was a full-color map and guide that was completed in 2003 (see appendix 7). In recent years, staff revised the brochure so that it would be Section 508 compliant.¹⁷³

The various partner organizations, over the years, have established a solid website presence that has served both the longtime membership and the casual web page

¹⁷² SAR, 2016, 17; Kristin Van Fleet, email to the author, August 10, 2018.

¹⁷³ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2013, 11, 16, 17. “Section 508” refers to a clause in the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (P.L. 93-112). As noted on the website Section508.gov, Congress in 1998 amended P.L. 93-112 to require Federal agencies to make their electronic and information technology accessible to people with disabilities.

visitor. The only significant change to these web pages in recent years took place in 2015. With the NPS's technical assistance, the NPEA assumed management that year of its own web page rather than relying on a volunteer (Tom Crews), who had been ably operating the association's website since 1993.¹⁷⁴

Trails staff have undertaken and completed a number of significant cultural resource projects in recent years that have pertained to the Pony Express as well as the emigrant trails. These include projects related to history, historic preservation, archeology, and ethnography. A 2009-2011 archeology project along the Middle Sweetwater River, in which students excavated the possible remains of the Warm Springs (Wyoming) Pony Express station, is noted in the California NHT section, above.¹⁷⁵ Aside from that project, major progress has been made in recent years regarding the history and archeology of various Pony Express stations. In 2013, a two-year partnership project began with the agency's Midwest Archeological Center and the University of Nebraska, both to conduct archeological research at two Nebraska Pony Express stations and also to locate, document, and map trail ruts associated with three Nebraska stage stations. Then, beginning in May 2015, NTIR staff spent portions of two field seasons researching, then visiting nearly every one of the 176 Pony Express station sites, after which they were described and photographed.¹⁷⁶

In recent years, the trails office has worked with partners to establish dozens of waysides and other interpretive media along the Pony Express and the emigrant trails located along its route. In Kansas, for example, trails staff partnered with the NPEA to design a wayside exhibit at Guittard Station, east of Maryville; in May 2012, it was installed adjacent to a large, red stone that had marked the approximate station site decades earlier.¹⁷⁷ Pony Express-related cultural resource management projects at the Great Platte River Road Archway Monument, at Scotts Bluff National Monument, and at Camp Guernsey have been discussed in the California NHT section, above.

In Utah, the office undertook a wide variety of interpretive projects along the overland trails. Toward the southwestern end of the Salt Lake City metropolitan area, the City of Eagle Mountain expressed an interest in preserving and interpreting the Pony Express route. Beginning in 2009, therefore, it worked with the state's School and Institutional Trust Lands Administration (SITLA) to establish a pedestrian and equestrian pathway that paralleled Utah State Highway 73. It also

¹⁷⁴ *Pony Express Gazette* 29 (April 2018), 20. See the URL <https://nationalponyexpress.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Pony-Express-Gazette-2018.pdf>.

¹⁷⁵ SAR, 2008, 5; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2010, 6, 8, 9; SAR, 2011, 8.

¹⁷⁶ SAR, 2013, 14; 2014, 13, 17; SAR, 2015, 17; SAR, 2016, 17.

¹⁷⁷ SAR, 2010, 15; SAR, 2011, 16; SAR, 2012, 16.

forged an agreement with the NPS's trails office to obtain highway signage, plus wayside exhibits along that pathway. What emerged from the agreement was a package of 15 highway signs, 25 pedestrian signs, and eight wayside exhibits, all of which were completed and installed in 2014.¹⁷⁸

Between the Salt Lake City area and the Nevada state line, NPS office staff engaged in several projects along the Pony Express trail. Between 2004 and 2008, the trails office and the BLM joined in a partnership that produced eleven interpretive waysides at various Pony Express stations. In addition to these waysides, the office completed four wayside exhibits in 2010 (at the Faust, Simpson Spring, and Boyd stations). Four years later, the NPEA funded the design and installation of another two wayside exhibits.¹⁷⁹ The Pony Express trail's route through Utah was also a key element in the smartphone mobile application that applied to all NHTs in the state. More detailed discussion of that project is found in the California NHT section, above.

In Nevada, work continued until 2011 on the design and construction of a Pony Express-themed highway kiosk that had been suggested by the White Buffalo Nation, from Crescent Valley (see chapter 6). Before that project was complete, however, staff worked with the NPEA on a new project, where the historical route (on or near Nevada State Highway 893) crossed over U.S. Highway 93, just west of the Schellbourne Ranch. The project got off the ground in 2009 and was completed in the spring of 2012. Improvements consisted of a pedestrian trail, gate, and footbridge; three new wayside exhibits; repairs to a kiosk that had been installed a few years earlier; and the installation of a large metal silhouette of a Pony Express horse and rider.¹⁸⁰

The relationship between the NPS's trails office and the NPEA, its partnership association, has remained strong in recent years. As part of that ongoing partnership, the NPEA played a key role, working with trails staff, on the Four Trails Long Range Interpretive Plan. NPS staff held a presentation about the plan at the NPEA's 2008 annual meeting, which took place in Carson City, Nevada. Coordination continued throughout 2009 and on into the next year as well. The final plan was completed in August 2010 and distributed online soon afterward. As an additional byproduct of the NPEA's partnership with the NPS, the government agency supported the partnership organization's development of a strategic plan in late 2013 and completed it in September 2014.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ SAR, 2009, 10; SAR, 2010, 15; SAR, 2011, 16; SAR, 2012, 16; SAR, 2013, 17; SAR, 2014, 17; Finch interview, February 20, 2014; Bryan Petrtyl, email to the author, August 15, 2018.

¹⁷⁹ SAR, 2010, 15; SAR, 2013, 17; SAR, 2014, 17.

¹⁸⁰ SAR, 2009, 10; SAR, 2010, 15; SAR, 2011, 16; SAR, 2012, 16.

¹⁸¹ SAR, 2008, 6; SAR, 2009, 5; SAR, 2010, 6; SAR, 2014, 17.

The trails office has made it a continuing priority in recent years to support the educational mission of the Pony Express NHT as well as of the various emigrant trails. This objective has typically taken the form of teacher internship programs, educational workshops, lesson-plan development, and the sponsorship of summer day camps. As part of that mission, the NPS in 2012 began partnering with the NPEA on a long-term project in which NPEA members presented Pony Express history and lore to school audiences in various states along the trail.¹⁸²

In recent years, the trails office has undertaken dozens of signage projects along the Pony Express as well as the various emigrant trails, from Missouri west to California. Among those projects, the following projects highlight either the larger projects in each state or projects that were particularly notable.

Signage in Kansas in recent years has focused on Doniphan County, located just west of St. Joseph, Missouri. In 2016, the office teamed up with NPEA and prepared a sign plan for roads in the eastern portion of the county: five miles of the Pony Express NHT, and another two miles along the shared California/Pony Express trail. Kansas road authorities have since installed both sets of signs.¹⁸³

Considerable signing has taken place in Utah in recent years. In 2012 and 2013, the office staff partnered with the state's BLM office to order and install 300 Carsonite posts. These were used to mark the Pony Express NHT across western Utah. Shortly afterward, the office worked with NPEA, which funded 22 original route signs that were installed across more than 18 miles of the Pony Express Trail in Tooele County.¹⁸⁴

Signage along Nevada's highways is relatively recent, because it was not until 2009 that the trails office negotiated an agreement with the state's DOT to produce and install ATR signs.¹⁸⁵ An implementation plan connected with that agreement provided locations where 194 signs could be placed. The next two years (until 2011) witnessed the design and installation of both ATR and local tour route signs for the Pony Express NHT, all the way from the Utah line (on the Goshute Indian Reservation) to the California line (near South Lake Tahoe). Some of that mileage, west of Silver Springs, included California Trail segments as well.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² SAR, 2010, 6; SAR, 2012, 16.

¹⁸³ SAR, 2013, 16; SAR, 2015, 16, 18; Kristin Van Fleet, email to the author, August 10, 2018.

¹⁸⁴ SAR, 2012, 16, SAR, 2013, 17; SAR, 2014, 17; SAR, 2015, 16.

¹⁸⁵ SAR, 2009, 4.

¹⁸⁶ SAR, 2010, 14; SAR, 2011, 8, 16, SAR, 2014, 15.

California has more than 250-plus miles of the Pony Express NHT route.¹⁸⁷ As noted in Chapter 6 and in the California NHT section of this chapter (above), office staff and Caltrans officials were not able to hammer out a project MOA until late 2014. Just a year later, the first NHT road signs in California were installed; they were thirteen original route signs installed on county roads in El Dorado County, more specifically along a short segment of the California and Pony Express trails southwest of Placerville.¹⁸⁸

Santa Fe Trail

As noted elsewhere (see chapter 6 and appendix 5), Congress had provided the NPS a sizable and growing budget during the 2000-2009 period, so as a result, trails office staff had been able to undertake a large variety of projects. These ranged from Kansas City metro-area trail planning to undertaking the so-called "Rediscovery" project. Significant projects were completed at Gardner Junction, Kansas and Point of Rocks, New Mexico, along with a number of wayside exhibits, research projects, and educational endeavors. Since 2006, the annual budget for this trail has consistently averaged between \$700,000 and \$750,000 per year.¹⁸⁹ This budget allowed the agency to continue funding a wide variety of Santa Fe Trail projects, as described below.

One of the most significant trail-related research endeavors during this period was a revised, enhanced overview and evaluation of trail resources. As noted in Chapter 4, a consulting company called Urbana Associates, during the early 1990s, had written a trailwide MPDF and nominated a series of trail sites to the NRHP. During the intervening 15 years, however, both staff and partners had learned far more about the trail and its resources, so in 2009, the trails office partnered with the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS) to amend the existing MPDF and to nominate additional new sites, in Kansas, to the National Register (see appendix 8). That same year, the office entered into a cooperative agreement with the New Mexico State Historic Preservation Division in order to prepare National Register nominations in that state.¹⁹⁰ Project work in both of these offices was soon underway, and by 2011, KSHS staff had submitted an amended MPDF, 30 draft Kansas NHRP nominations had been prepared and submitted, and final versions of seven New Mexico NHRP nominations had been submitted.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Brian Deaton, email to the author, July 26, 2018 and July 27, 2018.

¹⁸⁸ SAR, 2015, 16, 18; Kristin Van Fleet, email to the author, August 28, 2018.

¹⁸⁹ The line-item budget for 2008 to 2010, as listed in the agency's annual *Budget Justifications* book, ranged from \$935,000 to more than \$1.1 million. This figure, however, included considerable funds associated with Old Santa Fe Trail Building operations.

¹⁹⁰ SAR, 2009, 10.

¹⁹¹ SAR, 2010, 16; SAR, 2011, 17.

That same year, the trails office, along with U.S. Forest Service and the Colorado Historical Fund, financed a similar project for properties along the trail in southeastern Colorado, but with expanded results: the cooperative agreement, with the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Denver, called for not only twelve National Register nominations to be completed, but also for both visual resource management studies and for an archaeological and architectural survey of cultural resources on both public and private lands. In 2012, the trails office expanded its interest in National Register nominations even further when it began working with the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office to identify and nominate “selected significant cultural properties” associated with both the Santa Fe Trail and the Trail of Tears in that state. After further negotiations with SHPO staff, work was instead directed entirely at the Trail of Tears (see section below). In April 2013, work on the trailwide MPDF was completed, along with National Register work in both Kansas and New Mexico. Similar efforts in Colorado continued until 2016.¹⁹²

Outside of the above statewide efforts, the trails office played a hand in the nomination of several other Santa Fe Trail sites. In 2008-09, trails staff assisted Rich Lawson, an Arrow Rock (Missouri) landowner, on the Arrow Rock Ferry Landing nomination. That property, after some additional efforts, was placed on the National Register in May 2013.¹⁹³ And in 2014, the office worked with the New Mexico SHPO to fund a National Register nomination for a series of trail segments located just west of San Jose del Vado, between Santa Fe and Las Vegas.¹⁹⁴

On the heels of the MPDF and the various statewide National Register nominations, the office sought additional information about trail resources – this time concerning additional buildings and structures, previously unknown, that may have had a thematic tie to the trail. In 2014, it partnered with the Kansas State Historic Preservation Office on a literature review of extant records pertaining to historic buildings located in any of the five states where the Santa Fe Trail was located. That review, completed in 2015, revealed that there were at least 168 standing buildings that were historically associated with the trail. (This total was based on both database analysis and selected fieldwork in Kansas, along with inquiries to the SHPOs in the other trail states.) Based on the information gleaned from the review, the Kansas SHPO staff in 2016 began work on preparing the field component to the project, which entailed surveying the various buildings in Kansas and providing a condition assessment for each one. That same year, staff worked with New Mexico-based volunteers to compile research on Santa Fe Trail buildings in that state. Together, staff and volunteers identified more than 230

¹⁹² SAR, 2011, 17; SAR, 2012, 18; SAR, 2013, 18; SAR, 2014, 18; SAR, 2015, 19; SAR, 2016, 19.

¹⁹³ SAR, 2008, 14; Jesse Brown, “Arrow Rock Ferry Landing placed on the historic register,” *Marshall (MO) Democrat-News*, February 28, 2014, at the following URL: <https://www.marshallnews.com/story/2057391.html>.

¹⁹⁴ SAR, 2014, 18.

historic buildings and structures as being associated with the Santa Fe NHT in New Mexico.¹⁹⁵

The office has sponsored a number of other research and preservation efforts in recent years. In 2010, staff worked with Joy Poole, a Santa Fe-based researcher affiliated with SFTA, to transcribe, annotate, and present four unpublished first-person Santa Fe Trail accounts. (One of these primary sources was written during the mid-1820s by J. Rowland Willard, a physician who traveled from St. Charles, Missouri to Santa Fe before continuing south to Chihuahua, Mexico over El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.)¹⁹⁶ Then, in 2011, the office funded a study by Dr. Michael Olsen, a longtime history professor, illuminating the trail’s role as a westward migration route during both the 1849 California gold rush and the 1859 Pike’s Peak (Colorado) gold rush. Both of these studies were well received and were later posted to the NPS’s Santa Fe Trail NHT website.¹⁹⁷ And in Tiptonville (near Watrous), New Mexico, the trails office in 2011 coordinated with the staff at nearby Fort Union National Monument and entered into an agreement with Cornerstones Community Partnerships to produce emergency preservation and stabilization plans for select historic adobe buildings in the old townsite.¹⁹⁸

Meanwhile, other trails staff, in 2009, began a multi-year development effort in and around Cimarron, New Mexico. Staff initially worked with the Village of Cimarron, the SFTA, and Santa Fe Scenic Byways on a DCP for the “new town,” adjacent to U.S. 64. By 2011, the first phase of the DCP – which included wayside exhibits in the town’s commemorative park and historical exhibits on large panels just south of the highway – was completed and was opened to the public with a well-publicized dedication and ribbon-cutting ceremony.¹⁹⁹ The success of that project, in turn, led to other trail-related projects. In 2010 and 2011, NPS staff worked with the New Mexico DOT to plan and install road signs and directional signs. These were located in Cimarron itself and along State Highway 21, which runs from Cimarron south to the Philmont Boy Scout Ranch and on to Rayado.²⁰⁰ Soon afterward, Boy Scout ranch personnel roughed out a four-mile retracement trail just east of Highway 21, and in response, NPS staff developed and ordered pedestrian signs to be placed along that trail.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ SAR, 2014, 18; SAR, 2015, 19; SAR, 2016, 20.

¹⁹⁶ SAR, 2010, 12, 17; SAR, 2012, 21. <http://www.oupres.com/ECommerce/Book/Detail/2037/over%20the%20santa%20fe%20trail%20to%20mexico>.

¹⁹⁷ SAR, 2013, 20.

¹⁹⁸ SAR, 2009, 10; SAR, 2011, 17; SAR, 2012, 18; SAR, 2013, 18.

¹⁹⁹ SAR, 2009, 10; SAR, 2010, 14, 16; SAR, 2011, 20.

²⁰⁰ SAR, 2010, 17; SAR, 2011, 20; SAR, 2012, 21.

²⁰¹ SAR, 2013, 20. The sign unveiling took place at a public ceremony on May 29, 2013.

A number of major interpretive projects have been completed along the trail in recent years. In western Kansas, at the well-known Dodge City (Boot Hill) Ruts site, the NPS in 2009 recognized that the site needed work and that the existing exhibits needed to be replaced. The agency therefore partnered with the SFTA and nearby Boot Hill Museum to undertake the needed improvements. Over the next year, museum staff repaired the boardwalk, while NPS trails staff both replaced the destination sign, as well as designing and constructing new exhibits. The rehabilitated site was unveiled to the public at a September 2011 ceremony which was held in conjunction with the SFTA's annual meeting being held in nearby Dodge City. Not long afterward, three of these exhibits were redesigned; once fabricated, they were installed at the site in July 2013.²⁰²

Another major project – the product of effort by a broad variety of trails staff – took place at Bent's New Fort, located just west of Lamar, Colorado. This trading fort, less well known than the earlier fort that William Bent had built near La Junta, was active from 1853 to 1860. In recent years, the site had been largely out of the public eye, perhaps because it was on private land and because little evidence marked the site. Starting in 2010, however, the NPS took part in a broad effort to rehabilitate and improve the site. It did so in conjunction with similar efforts by the Semmens family (who owned the property), SFTA, Bent's Old Fort NHS, the SFTA, the archeology firm Cuartelejo HP Associates Inc., Northern Arizona University, and the Southeast Colorado Heritage Task Force (SECORHT). Soon afterward, the archeological firm conducted two site studies; NPS staff designed five wayside exhibits; a local Boy Scout troop helped lay out an interpretive trail; and an adjacent parking lot was designed and built. The various wayside exhibits were installed, and the overall project was completed, in September 2013.²⁰³

Extensive efforts have been made in recent years to increase the Santa Fe Trail's visibility at the four NPS units along the trail: Pecos National Historic Park, New Mexico; Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico; Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, Colorado; and Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas. In 2008, the trails office successfully applied for funding that would provide three different trail-related wayside exhibits at each of these parks. This so-called "kiosk" project was completed in stages. The exhibits at Fort Larned were installed in August 2011; those at Bent's Old Fort in May 2012; those at Fort Union in August 2012; and the final three exhibits (at Pecos) several years later. Other examples of inter-unit coordination took place in 2009, when Bent's Old Fort staff produced an interpretive poster that highlighted all four of these NPS units and their relation to the Santa Fe Trail; and in 2012, when the trails office worked with Fort Union staff to develop and install six new wayside exhibits at various pull-offs along the eight-

²⁰² SAR, 2010, 16; SAR, 2011, 17; SAR, 2013, 18.

²⁰³ SAR, 2010, 17; SAR, 2011, 17; SAR, 2012, 19; SAR, 2013, 19.

mile spur road between Interstate 25 and the monument entrance.²⁰⁴ More recently, trails personnel worked with the Fort Larned staff, the Fort Larned Old Guard, and an Emporia State University history student to produce a bilingual tour guide of trail sites in the Fort Larned area that will be available to smart phone users.²⁰⁵

In the Kansas City area, the NPS had been an active participant in the effort – starting in the early 1990s – to raise awareness of historic trails (Chapter 5) with the Kansas City Area Historic Trails Association (KCAHTA). And it had likewise played a role in the effort, begun in 1999-2000, to plan for a "Three Trails Greenway" (see chapter 6), that might reach across much of the metropolitan area and commemorate the Oregon and California trails as well as the Santa Fe Trail. Most of that effort, during the 1990s, had been limited to southern Kansas City. Gradually, however, momentum grew among a broad range of civic authorities to pursue a long-distance (41-mile) bicycle/pedestrian trail that would connect Sugar Creek, Missouri (on the Missouri River bluffs north of Independence) with Gardner Junction, Kansas, west of Gardner. The trails office became even more involved with this effort in July 2016, when it entered into a cooperative agreement with an areawide planning authority (council of governments) called the Mid-America Regional Council, or MARC.²⁰⁶

Meanwhile, the trails office worked with KCAHTA, partnership associations, and individual local governments to establish interpretive waysides adjacent to trail resources throughout the Kansas City area. In 2008, for example, three wayside exhibits were installed in Sapling Grove Park in Overland Park, Kansas, and a year later, a four-year project began with the City of Independence that resulted in the design and installation of five wayside exhibits at McCoy Park.²⁰⁷ In 2012, four wayside exhibits were established at Strang Park in Overland Park. That same year, Westport Landing – the city's mooring area during the mid-19th century – gained nine new wayside exhibits. A year later, two new wayside exhibits were installed at Nine Mile Point, where surveyors George C. Sibley and Joseph Brown, during the mid-1820s, crossed west as they left Missouri heading westward toward Santa Fe.²⁰⁸ In 2013, new Kansas City waysides were established at both Minor Park and New Santa Fe Cemetery, and two years later, the office initiated a task agreement with KCAHTA for new wayside exhibits along the Westport Route in Kansas.²⁰⁹ In 2016, waysides were added at two Kansas City parks (Penn Valley and Territorial Road)

²⁰⁴ SAR, 2008, 14; SAR, 2009, 10; SAR, 2011, 19; SAR, 2012, 19; Carol Clark, email to the author, August 8, 2018. NPS staff dedicated the various wayside exhibits along the spur road leading to Fort Union National Monument on Founders' Day (August 25), 2012.

²⁰⁵ SAR, 2016, 19.

²⁰⁶ SAR, 2016, 16, 19.

²⁰⁷ SAR, 2008, 14; SAR, 2009, 6; SAR, 2010, 7; SAR, 2011, 8; SAR, 2012, 6.

²⁰⁸ SAR, 2011, 7; SAR, 2012, 19-20; SAR, 2013, 18.

²⁰⁹ SAR, 2013, 18-19; SAR, 2014, 19; SAR, 2015, 20.

and at Independence's Salem Park, and four new waysides – all ADA-accessible – were installed at McCoy Park.²¹⁰ At the new Three Trails Transit Center, on Blue Ridge Parkway near Bannister Road, interpretation was a key part of the facility's design, and trails staff worked with the contractor throughout the design and construction process.²¹¹

In recent years, trails staff have worked with partners to create sets of wayside exhibits in locations all along the trail. In Santa Fe, the city worked with trails staff to establish five new wayside exhibits at Fort Marcy, an 1846 military site overlooking the downtown area. The project, begun before 2007, was shelved for awhile but gained new life in 2011; it was unveiled at a 2013 ceremony attended by the city's mayor, David Coss, and other local officials. The project included a site bulletin, which highlighted the fort's history, and a sign plan, which outlined various directional and identification signs related to the site.²¹² Another New Mexico wayside project took place on the grounds of the National Rifle Association's Whittington Center, near Raton, where Mountain Route trail ruts were still visible. NPS staff worked with their on-site partners to install two wayside exhibits, to complete a sign plan for the five-mile road between the center and U.S. Highway 64, and to install both directional and identification signs in accordance with the sign plan.²¹³

Other major interpretive projects took place in Kansas. In 2010, the NPS collaborated with the Kaw Nation of Oklahoma (Kanza Tribal Organization) and other partners to design and install two wayside exhibits that showed how the trail changed Kaw lifeways and culture. These waysides were installed at the Santa Fe Trail Center near Larned and the Kaw Mission State Historic Site in Council Grove. The dedication of the first wayside, at the trail center in September 2012, was heavily attended by SFTA members who were gathered there for their biennial Rendezvous.²¹⁴ Also in 2012, trails staff moved – at long last – to replace a series of ten decaying interpretive waysides in Council Grove that had been installed in the late 1990s (see chapter 5). Working with state and local authorities, the waysides were replaced the following year. Meanwhile, members of the office's D&D team completed a sign plan for the town and the surrounding area, and by 2014 a set of

84 identification and directional signs had been fabricated and installed.²¹⁵ And in the southwestern corner of the state, trails staff worked with their counterparts at Cimarron National Grassland, beginning in 2015, to revise the existing interpretive media that had been established along the retracement trail in the early 1990s (see chapters 4 and 5).²¹⁶ Four additional Kansas wayside projects have been implemented in recent years: at McPherson and in the vicinity of Cimarron, Dodge City, and Galva.²¹⁷

Although trails staff have been successful in establishing waysides at many new trail sites in recent years, they are acutely aware that various electronic media also have significant potential to provide trail information, particularly to younger generations. As a result, the interpretive staff has sought out opportunities to make trail information available on various electronic platforms. One major opportunity began in 2012, when the office received funds to design and build a mobile web tour – otherwise known as a media tour, mobile tour, or mobile app. The goal of this tour (or app) was to improve the visitor experience for anyone that had a cell phone, smartphone, or tablet. The project's initial tour stops were in and around Dodge City, Kansas, but by the summer of 2014, 200 tour stops had been developed, which offered information ranging from text and GPS to audio, video, photo files, and links to additional information. By September 2015, the app was being tested at the Three Trails Conference in Santa Fe. Soon afterward, the office distributed thousands of rack cards to let the general public know about the new interpretive tool, and it also trained NPS staff at the various trailside park units to use the app so that park visitors could benefit from it.²¹⁸ In addition, the staff made many incremental improvements to the agency's Santa Fe Trail web page. In 2013 it launched a Facebook page for the trail, and an Instagram page was maintained during the annual Pony Express re-ride. Several years later, in early 2018, office staff decided to broaden its social-media reach, and current staff actively supports social media pages for all trails on Twitter and Instagram as well as Facebook.²¹⁹

In addition to the videos that were produced as part of the mobile web tour, various independent videos have been produced in recent years. In 2011-2012, the Southern Plains Network – one of 32 inventory and monitoring networks that the

²¹⁰ SAR, 2015, 15; 2016, 16, 18-19.

²¹¹ SAR, 2015, 19; SAR, 2016, 15, 18. 16/15; Kristin Van Fleet, email to the author, August 10, 2018. In 2016, NTIR staff attended a PNTS workshop, and at that workshop the staff presented a session on the history of the office's interpretive efforts in the greater Kansas City area.

²¹² SAR, 2011, 17; SAR, 2012, 18, 21; SAR, 2013, 20-21; Conoboy, email to the author, October 24, 2018.

²¹³ SAR, 2013, 18, 21; SAR, 2014, 20.

²¹⁴ SAR, 2010, 17; SAR, 2011, 19; SAR, 2012, 18.

²¹⁵ SAR, 2012, 20; SAR, 2013, 18, 21; SAR, 2014, 20. The initial set of Council Grove interpretive waysides, from the late 1990s, had been one of the trails office's first major interpretive projects, but by 2012, many of the waysides had fallen victim to the elements and were nearly illegible.

²¹⁶ SAR, 2015, 20; SAR, 2016, 18. NPS staff also worked on projects at neighboring Kiowa National Grassland, in New Mexico, and Comanche National Grassland, in Colorado; see SAR, 2012, pp. 18 and 21.

²¹⁷ These include Kansas waysides at the McPherson History Museum; at Cimarron Crossing Park, near Cimarron; at Coronado Cross Park, near Dodge City; and Running Turkey Creek, near Galva. SAR, 2013, 18; SAR, 2014, 18-19.

²¹⁸ SAR, 2012, 20; SAR, 2013, 20; SAR, 2014, 18; SAR, 2015, 19, 21; SAR, 2016, 18.

²¹⁹ SAR, 2008, 14; SAR, 2013, 20; Jeff Denny, interview by the author, July 31, 2018.

agency has helped underwrite since the 1990s – produced videos for all four of the park units along the Santa Fe Trail. Also in 2012, the Southeast Colorado Regional Heritage Taskforce, or SECORHT, produced a video focusing on both Bent’s Old Fort NHS and the historic Boggsville townsite. The following year brought forth a film about New Mexico’s national parks, NHTs, and state monuments. Seven of these videos were later placed on the trails office’s YouTube website, and closed captioning was added to them to assist hearing-impaired viewers.²²⁰

Agency staff also made major strides in reaching out to youthful trail enthusiasts. The office’s Junior Ranger program began from an unexpected source: a 13-year-old volunteer at Fort Union National Monument who created the first draft of a Junior Ranger booklet. Given that contribution from a park-based trail advocate, trails staff worked with their Fort Union counterparts to improve it. At that point, a Student Conservation Association employee at Capulin Volcano National Monument completed the booklet and established a trail-based Junior Ranger program at five NPS units. The program provided badges to successful Junior Rangers along with a training guide.²²¹

Another effort reaching out to youthful park visitors has been the Junior Wagon Master program. As initially envisioned in 2010, four Junior Wagon Master activity booklets would be completed, each for specific age groups. These would then be distributed to the four parks along the trail: Pecos NHP, Fort Union New Mexico, Bent’s Old Fort NHS, and Fort Larned NHS. Young visitors would be encouraged to complete the activity booklets, and those who did so would receive a Junior Wagon Master patch.²²²

The Junior Wagon Master program has developed largely according to the plan outlined above. Partners completed rough drafts of all four booklets in 2012, a final design for two booklets was completed by NTIR, and during the next two years the two booklets were published. They were then distributed, not only to the four Santa Fe Trail parks but to twenty partner sites as well. A training guide was created and distributed along with the booklets and patches.²²³

One special trail program of interest to school-aged children was a musical presentation that was performed at the Three Trails Conference held in Santa Fe in

²²⁰ SAR, 2012, 21; SAR, 2013, 19; SAR, 2014, 19; SAR, 2015, 20.

²²¹ Carol Clark, email to the author, August 8, 2018; SAR, 2012, 20; SAR, 2013, 20; SAR, 2014, 18; SAR, 2016, 18. The NPS units participating in the Junior Ranger program include Capulin Volcano NM, Fort Union NM, Bents Old Fort NHS, Pecos NHP, and Fort Smith NHS.

²²² SAR, 2010, 17; SAR, 2011, 19.

²²³ Carol Clark, email to the author, August 8, 2018.

September 2015. Dolores Valdez de Pong – a longtime teacher at Santa Fe’s Carlos Gilbert Elementary School – was largely responsible for the play; she composed the music, served as the playwright, and served as its primary seamstress and prop maker, although trails staff and other partners provided assistance. Fourth- and fifth-grade students from the school served as cast members. The musical was videotaped, and a short time later it was translated into Spanish. Both the English and Spanish versions were placed on NPS as well as partnership-association websites.²²⁴

Compared with other trails that the region’s trails office helps administer, the Santa Fe Trail has long been perceived as a “mature” trail, and a key part of that relative “maturity” has been the substantial amount of research focused on the trail. In 1971, for example, Jack Rittenhouse had compiled a trail bibliography that boasted over 700 entries; by 1986, Rittenhouse stated that “a truly fine collection of the literature about the Santa Fe Trail could encompass perhaps a thousand items;” and in 2006, Harry Myers stated that since 1971, “there have been approximately 500 new books and articles published on the Trail,” not including the numerous contributions included in *Wagon Tracks*, the SFTA’s newsletter.²²⁵ Research on the trail since then has continued to be extensive and lively.

The SFTA plays an active role in encouraging trail research with its Scholarly Research Fund, which financially assists those interested in pursuing trail history. The NPS’s trails office also helps stimulate trail research, with Joy Poole’s diary transcriptions and Mike Olsen’s gold rush trail study (both noted above) being prime examples. Trails staff have made some contributions, too; historian Susan Boyle, for example, has both written and spoken to trail audiences in recent years about transportation methods – specifically pack transport – along the Santa Fe Trail as well as other western trails.²²⁶ Another NPS historian, Frank Norris, worked with GIS specialist Brian Deaton in 2011 to compile “Travel the Trail: Map Timeline 1821-1880,” which was a series of 22 historical maps that showed how the trail changed geographically during its 59-year history. This project was reprised that same year in a *Journal of the West* article.²²⁷ Norris later teamed up with UNM

²²⁴ SAR, 2014, 19; SAR, 2015, 9, 12, 19; SAR, 2016, 10, 13, 19; <https://sites.google.com/site/mrspongs1stgrade2011/about-me>

²²⁵ Jack D. Rittenhouse, *The Santa Fe Trail;: A Historical Bibliography* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press), 1971; Ritterhouse, “The literature of the Santa Fe Trail: an introduction and guide for the new traveler,” in *Santa Fe Trail, New Perspectives* (Denver, Colorado Historical Society, 1992), 110; Harry C. Myers, “Since Rittenhouse: Santa Fe Trail Bibliography,” *Wagon Tracks* 20:4 (August 2006), 20.

²²⁶ SAR, 2008, 14; SAR, 2014, 20. Boyle’s article on the subject, “The Art of the *Arrieros*: Pack Transportation in Western North America,” was published in the OCTA publication *Overland Journal*, vol. 32 (Summer 2014), pp. 51-68.

²²⁷ <https://www.nps.gov/safe/learn/historyculture/map-timeline-intro.htm>; Norris, “A Geographical History of the Santa Fe Trail,” *Journal of the West* 50 (June 2011), 91-100.

geography student (and NPS intern) Akashia Allen on a series of interactive maps entitled “Populated Places on the Santa Fe Trail,” which cartographically showed the dramatic growth of trailside forts, roadhouses, and towns over the years. And beginning in late 2016, UNM history student Guy McClellan researched and compiled two interactive maps related to the trail’s place names.²²⁸

Providing signs to Santa Fe Trail partners, in recent years, has been some of the most visible and rewarding activities in which trails staff have been engaged. As noted above, the office’s D&D staff in 2011 developed not only a “standard family” of highway signs, but they also first began to produce sign plans prior to providing signs to partners. These sign plans, often compiled with the assistance of SFTA partners, varied considerably in their scope and complexity; that first year, for example, one sign plan was developed for a single New Mexico historical museum along the Cimarron Route, while another sign plan encompassed the totality of the Mountain Route in Colorado. The number of signs in each plan could therefore range from fewer than ten to more than 250. Trails staff, to date, have completed a dozen or more sign plans for the trail, ranging all the way from Santa Fe, New Mexico to Saline County, Missouri. Most of the signs that were manufactured and installed in accordance with these plans were paid for with NPS funds, but others – such as those in Colorado – were underwritten by the Santa Fe Trail National Scenic Byway Alliance, and counties paid for still others.²²⁹

In eastern Kansas, trails staff have for several years worked with local stakeholders on a 50-mile hiking trail that is intended to connect Burlingame with Council Grove. Both towns are key points on the Santa Fe Trail. During the 1950s and 1960s, completing the “Santa Fe Trail Hike” had been a popular event for Kansas Boy Scout troops.²³⁰ In the years that followed, interest in the route had dropped off. In 2016, however, the NPS teamed up with local officials and the SFTA to rekindle interest in the route. The hiring by the NPS of two UNM landscape architecture students – Brian Griffith and Philip Taccetta – provided the impetus to develop a plan for the route’s re-establishment. A first draft of the DCP, entitled *Burlingame to*

²²⁸ SAR, 2016, 19; <https://www.nps.gov/safe/learn/historyculture/place-names.htm>.

²²⁹ SAR, 2011, 20; SAR, 2012, 21; SAR, 2013, 21; SAR, 2014, 20; SAR, 2015, 21. Rodney Slater, President Clinton’s transportation secretary, designated the Santa Fe Trail National Scenic Trail in 1998. This entity, over the years, has developed signage, published brochures, created exhibits and in other ways has sought to spur economic development along the trail corridor. SAR, 2008, 14; SAR, 2010, 17; SAR, 2011, 19; SAR, 2012, 21; SAR, 2013, 21; SAR, 2014, 20.

²³⁰ In 1956, the Boy Scouts of America began bestowing a “50-miler award” to scouts who could “cover the trail or canoe or boat route of not less than 50 consecutive miles, take a minimum of five consecutive days to complete the trip without the aid of motors,” and complete an approved service project. The BSA’s Jayhawk Area Council may have established this hike as a way for Kansas scouts to qualify for that award. Using primary highways, the distance between Burlingame and Council Grove is approximately 43 miles; the BSA’s designated route, however, was sufficiently long that scouts completing their route qualified for the 50-miler award. <https://www.scouting.org/programs/boy-scouts/advancement-and-awards/merit-badges/fifty/>

Council Grove, Kansas, Retracement Trail Concepts, was completed in March 2018. It was then refined and revised by NTIR staff, and finalized in June 2019.²³¹

Trail of Tears

As noted in Chapter 6, the years between 2000 and 2009 had witnessed exponential growth in NPS activities related to the Trail of Tears NHT. Two staff members, a historian and a landscape architect, were largely assigned to Trail of Tears projects, so as a result, they gained a broad familiarity with the trail and with many partners that supported the trail. The trail’s budget, during this period, grew considerably. A related initiative was the Trail of Tears expansion study, which office staff began shortly after a bill authorizing a congressional study was signed into law in December 2006. This effort consumed considerable staff time until it was finalized in November 2007. The study then went to Congress, and in March 2009, President Obama authorized more than 2,800 additional trail miles when he signed the expansion bill into law.

The trails office, in recent years, has been immersed in several major projects and a large number of smaller efforts. Two of the largest, most visible projects involved the identification and construction of replacement trails. In northern Kentucky, the Mantle Rock Preserve – which was owned by The Nature Conservancy – began working with the trails office on a site-development project in 2007. Over the next several years, the NPS assisted the owners in carving out a loop trail that included approximately one mile of retracement trail along the historical Northern (main) Trail of Tears route. The project also included ten wayside exhibits along with both highway and site signing. The site was dedicated in September 2010 in conjunction with the TOTA conference which was being held in nearby Metropolis, Illinois.²³²

Another significant retracement-trail project took place at David Crockett State Park, just outside of Lawrenceburg in south-central Tennessee. In early 2013, NPS staff worked with state park officials and park volunteers to locate and develop a 2.5 mile section of the Bell Route that wound through the western margin of the park. Trails staff also designed four or five new wayside exhibits that were later installed along the trail. Officials dedicated the newly-opened trail segment in early November 2013. Just 150 miles to the east, in the Chattanooga area, trails staff cooperated with other NPS officials that year to open a pedestrian replacement trail (which had been part of the Bell Route, plus the Drane Detachment Route) in the Moccasin Bend National Archeological District, a unit of Chickamauga and

²³¹ SAR, 2016, 19; <http://www.jayhawkcouncil.org/Camping/Trail-Hikes/SantaFeTrail/>; Cory Donnelly, email to the author, August 19, 2019.

²³² SAR, 2007, 15; SAR, 2010, 19.

Chattanooga National Military Park.²³³

An even larger project involved the discovery, description, and evaluation of historic structures that may have been associated with the trail, all the way from North Carolina and Georgia to Oklahoma. Based on information compiled in the trail's September 1992 *Comprehensive Management Plan*, the agency had been able to identify only 46 historic sites and six historic trail segments that were known to be associated with the Trail of Tears during its period of significance.²³⁴ Recognizing that far more needed to be learned about structures along the various Trail of Tears routes – along routes that had been designated in both 1987 and 2009 – the trails office in 2012 entered into an agreement with Middle Tennessee State University and its Center for Historic Preservation to research, locate, document, and provide condition assessments for significant historic buildings and structures associated with the trail.²³⁵ Before long, the results of MTSU's effort began to bear fruit. By the end of 2013, MTSU staff – primarily Amy Kostine, supervised by Dr. Carroll Van West – had inventoried 172 contributing buildings to the list, and three years later, that number had increased to more than 230. Beyond compiling the building inventory, however, MTSU staff did far more. They completed a total of four historic structures reports (HSRs), and they also submitted two NRHP nominations.²³⁶ They also revised the trail's MPDF – a document that Sara Parker, who worked for Philip Thomason of Nashville, had first written in 2000-2003 (see chapter 6) – and they also wrote preservation booklets for both historic log cabins and historic masonry buildings. By 2016, all of these products had been completed and were available to trail researchers.²³⁷

Many other entities, however, have played a role in researching and preserving Trail of Tears resources in recent years. Several projects, for example, resulted in trail-related nominations to the NRHP. In 2012, the trails office partnered with the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office and its National Register coordinator, Tiffany Patterson, to prepare a MPDF for the state along with six NRHP nominations. That same year, an agreement with the Oklahoma SHPO resulted in

²³³ SAR, 2013, 24; SAR, 2014, 23; NPS, *TRTE Additional Routes, National Historic Trail Feasibility Study Amendment and Environmental Assessment* (November 2007), 16.

²³⁴ NPS, *Comprehensive Management and Use Plan, Trail of Tears National Historical Trail* (Denver, NPS, September 1992), 21-23.

²³⁵ SAR, 2012, 22. MTSU is located in Murfreesboro, Tennessee. CHP's leader, Dr. Carroll Van West, also serves as Tennessee's state historian.

²³⁶ The MTSU staff completed HSRs for the Bridges Tavern and Wayside Store in Illinois, the Crider Corn Crib and the Newsom-Dunning House in Kentucky, and the Snelson-Brinker Cabin in Missouri, plus inventory/assessment reports for the Rockdale Plantation in Georgia and Brown's Ferry Tavern in Tennessee. MTSU staff also submitted NRHP nomination forms for the Hill Cemetery in Kentucky and the Old Jefferson Road in Tennessee. Michael Taylor, interview by the author, August 2, 2018.

²³⁷ SAR, 2013, 22; SAR, 2014, 21; SAR, 2015, 22; SAR, 2016, 22.

NRHP nominations for four trail-themed properties (see appendix 8). By 2014, all of these nominations had been submitted to the NPS. Then, in 2015, the NPS entered into a cooperative agreement with Southern Illinois University to prepare three national register nominations in that state, all of which were submitted that year.²³⁸ Staff at SIU was active in other areas as well; in 2009-2010, archeologist Harvey Henson used various remote sensing technologies to investigate the location of possible Cherokee graves at Camp Ground Cemetery, northeast of Anna; and beginning in 2012, archeologist Mark Wagner prepared a site survey along the trail corridor in southern Illinois in search of potential camps, springs, and transaction sites that would have been important to the Cherokee during their westbound trek.²³⁹ Toward the eastern end of the trail, partners completed two significant historical studies: in Alabama, Gail King and her associates completed (in 2009) a major work entitled *North Alabama's Tuscumbia, Courtland, and Decatur Railroad and Its Role During Cherokee Emigration/Removal Beginning in 1837*, and Dr. Brett Riggs wrote a notable work in 2013-2014 on the history and geography of a route in eastern Tennessee, "*Like a Distempered Dream: An Evaluation of Cherokee Deportation Routes through Monroe and McMinn Counties, Tennessee.*"²⁴⁰

Two major archival projects have taken place in recent years. One was a multi-year project, begun in 2006 (see chapter 6), in which members of TOTA's Oklahoma Chapter ventured to Washington, D.C. and combed through voluminous quantities of primary National Archives documents relating to the Cherokee removal. The five-person team spent a week each summer at this task for five consecutive years, and they produced not only thousands of copies of correspondence and other primary materials, but also three reports (dated 2008, 2009, and 2010) that described the records that the team investigated and the some of the highlights of the team's research. These records were deposited at the Sequoyah Research Center at the University of Arkansas' Little Rock (UALR) campus. Given the importance of UALR's collection, the trails office also funded a project intended to index the Cherokee Removal records that had been collected at that repository.²⁴¹

In 2013, trail partners in central Tennessee began working with trails office staff in order to assess the history and preservation potential of two large rock bridge abutments that were located astride the Cumberland River in downtown Nashville, Tennessee. A historic bridge expert was consulted, and soon afterward, the NPS partnered with the Tennessee DOT on compiling a historic structure report for the

²³⁸ SAR, 2012, 18, 22; SAR, 2013, 22; SAR, 2014, 21; SAR, 2015, 22. Wagner submitted NRHP nominations for 1) Hamburg Hill Segment of the Golconda-Hamburg Landing Road, 2) Bridges Tavern/Wayside Store, and 3) Campground Cemetery.

²³⁹ SAR, 2010, 18; SAR, 2013, 22.

²⁴⁰ SAR, 2010, 18; SAR, 2014, 21.

²⁴¹ SAR, 2008, 16; SAR, 2009, 11; SAR, 2010, 18. After 2010, the Oklahoma Chapter team returned to the National Archives, using private funding sources, for continued archival research.

bridge. By 2016, the HSR had been completed, and trails staff would soon design and install two interpretive waysides focused on these two abutments.²⁴²

Two other cultural resource projects took place at this time, both in eastern Tennessee. One of these took place along the Unicoi Turnpike in Monroe County, and more specifically at Fort Armistead, an important, relatively untouched military site that had long been of interest to Cherokee National Forest officials. In March 2013, U.S. Forest Service personnel inadvertently dug trenches across portions of a mile-long section of the turnpike in that area. In response, USFS and NPS officials organized a tribal listening session with the Eastern Band of Cherokee and with Chickasaw tribal elders; NPS trails staff began work on a design charrette focused on the fort area; and proposals were advanced to establish a retracement trail along the turnpike route, all the way from Unicoi Gap (on the North Carolina-Tennessee border) to Tellico Plains.²⁴³

Another focus of attention was the Charleston area, along the Hiwassee River in Tennessee's Bradley County. During the summer of 1838, the nearby Fort Cass area had witnessed the gathering of the majority of the Cherokee Nation, because U.S. Army officials had ordered Cherokee citizens of North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee to be encamped in this area before the Cherokee departed to Indian Territory. Many questions, however, remained about where specifically the various Cherokee detachments had been situated, and what, archeologically, may have been left behind. In order to answer those questions, trails officials held a design charrette and then created a DCP to guide the area's signage and interpretation. Meanwhile, staff worked with Brett Riggs, from Western Carolina University, in which remote sensing was employed to assist archeological work focused on locating the various detachment camps. Riggs continued his efforts for the next several years; in addition, he compiled a research report on the Fort Cass area, outlining its Removal-era history and using contemporary documents to provide details about the various detachments during their forced 1838 encampment.²⁴⁴

In order to provide an exchange of information between partners, and in order to enhance learning opportunities, office staff organized several two-day cultural resource preservation workshops. These were typically attended by state historic preservation office staff, academics, and preservation consultants as well as TOTA members. In early July 2013, workshops were held in Cleveland, Tennessee and Fayetteville, Arkansas. Another workshop, with a similar theme, was held in mid-

²⁴² SAR, 2013, 22; SAR, 2014, 21; SAR, 2015, 23; SAR, 2016, 21.

²⁴³ SAR, 2015, 24; SAR, 2016, 22; <http://www.timesfreepress.com/news/local/story/2016/sep/27/fallout-trail-tears-damage-escalates/388776/>.

²⁴⁴ SAR, 2015, 22, 25; SAR, 2016, 22.

May 2016 in Dalton, Georgia.²⁴⁵

A major interpretive product was completed in 2010 when the trails office, working with both the Cherokee Nation and the agency's HFC, released a 26½-minute film called *Trail of Tears*. As noted in Chapter 6, the project had begun in 2003 but had terminated three years later, only to be revived under a new production arrangement. The film's English-language DVD was widely distributed and was later placed online.²⁴⁶

Another innovative Trail of Tears interpretive project pertained to brochures. As noted in Chapter 5, the first trail brochure (which was blue and black) was produced in 1996 (see appendix 7). A full four-color map and guide did not appear until September 2012.²⁴⁷ Before the color trailwide brochure was completed, however, work began on the first of a series of state-specific trail brochures. As noted in one report, the agency "initiated a Tennessee TRTE brochure" in 2011 "that will follow NPS design standards. . . . This is the first in a 'family' of state brochures." The trails office began its Georgia brochure in 2012. Both of these state-specific brochures were completed in 2013. The third such brochure, for North Carolina, was begun in 2015 and completed the following year. For all of these publications, the trails office worked with key partners: universities, association members, the Cherokee Nation, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.²⁴⁸

Most interpretive efforts in recent years have been focused on the planning and installation of waysides, with a particular emphasis on sites along routes that Congress had added to the designated trail in 2009. New waysides appeared at both ends of the trail. In Georgia, the NPS partnered with various Cherokee tribal entities and the TOTA on two wayside exhibits that were installed at the Cedartown removal camp. Shortly afterward, waysides were designed at the sites of three traditional Cherokee communities (Chattooga Town, Dirt Town, and Island Town), thanks to cooperative assistance from the University of West Georgia and the Chattooga County Historical Society. And two additional waysides were installed in the small town of Cave Spring, in another partnership with the University of West Georgia and other partners. Perhaps the most innovative place for Trail of Tears interpretation was a HFC-sponsored display located within Hartsfield-Jackson

²⁴⁵ SAR, 2013, 22; SAR, 2016, 21-22.

²⁴⁶ SAR, 2010, 18; SAR, 2013, 23; SAR, 2015, 23; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7LSkfmCj8Jg>.

²⁴⁷ SAR, 2010, 18; SAR, 2011, 22; SAR, 2012, 23. For their efforts on this publication, trails staff in September 2013 received the National Association of Interpretation first place site publication award. Also that year, the office completed an ADA-compliant large-format version of the map and guide; see SAR, 2013, 23.

²⁴⁸ SAR, 2011, 22; SAR, 2012, 23; SAR, 2013, 23; SAR, 2014, 22; SAR, 2015, 23; SAR, 2016, 21.

Atlanta International Airport.²⁴⁹

Other waysides were located closer to the western end of the trail. In Missouri, trails staff worked with Procter and Gamble, Missouri State Parks, and TOTA to design and install interpretive waysides along the Bengé and Northern routes, specifically at the Jackson (Cape Girardeau County) courthouse; Trail of Tears State Park; Bollinger Mill State Park; and Belmont, a former Mississippi River town.²⁵⁰ In Oklahoma, trails staff worked on several projects. At the Sequoyah National Wildlife Refuge, near Vian, cooperation with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service staff resulted in the design and placement of several waysides along the newly-designated water route. In Stilwell, located near a key disbandment depot for the recently-arrived detachments, cooperation with TOTA members helped establish three wayside exhibits. And in Webbers Falls, trails staff organized and facilitated an itinerary planning workshop, the goal of which was to plan how the Trail of Tears experience would be interpreted in the local area. On the heels of that workshop, the NPS developed three wayside exhibits in cooperation with the TOTA.²⁵¹

Several interpretive waysides were designed and installed on the Trail of Tears routes that Congress had established in 1987. Along the main (northern) route, wayside exhibits were established at Berry's Ferry, on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River, with the assistance of the Cherokee Nation and of Nature Conservancy officials in that state. Several miles to the west, in Illinois, landowner Joe Crabb worked with NPS and U.S. Forest Service officials to establish a loop trail at the Crabb-Abbott Farm near Grantsburg (see below), and several waysides were established along that trail. Other Illinois projects included a new wayside exhibit at a rest area along Interstate 57 located just north of where it crossed the Trail of Tears route. To the west, near Anna, waysides were established on the property of Camp Ground Church, where several Cherokee may have been buried in the adjacent cemetery. On Hamburg Hill, just east of the Mississippi River floodplain, the NPS worked with the U.S. Forest Service to design and install several waysides. And in Waynesville, Missouri, the NPS worked with the city and the Cherokee Nation before issuing a contract to design and install seven interpretive waysides in Laughlin Park.²⁵²

Trails staff worked with partners to establish other waysides that were located on the Trail of Tears Water Route. In Decatur, Alabama, on the Tennessee River, office staff cooperated with city officials to fund a downtown (Rhodes Ferry Park) interpretive trail, with contractor-developed waysides. Along the Mississippi River,

the New Madrid (Missouri) Historical Museum worked with NPS officials to install wayside exhibits at that facility, and farther downriver, agency staff worked with TOTA members to establish an exhibit in Tom Lee Park, on the waterfront in downtown Memphis, Tennessee.²⁵³

Trails staff, in recent years, have held several interpretive workshops for TOTA members and other trail partners. In 2014, two workshops entitled "Marking the Trail with Interpretive Media" gave participants an incisive overview of the profession of interpretation. Attendees received an interpretation and education toolkit. Partners, armed with this knowledge and these tools, were offered the flexibility to plan and develop a wide range of interpretive products. The following year, NPS staff held a two-day communications workshop in Brentwood, Tennessee, specifically for invited TOTA partners. Information at the workshop focused on how successful nonprofits communicate, both internally and externally.²⁵⁴

Members of the trails office's D&D Team have instituted several major projects in recent years. In 2010, the team completed a DCP for the Crabb-Abbott Farm, owned by Joe Crabb and located near Grantsburg, Illinois. Crabb had roughed out a loop trail on his property, a key portion of which retraced the main (northern) Trail of Tears route, and the DCP provided for a range of signs to be placed on his property.²⁵⁵ Soon afterward, the team organized a design charrette in order to plan for the future of Tuscumbia Landing, in Sheffield, Alabama, along the Tennessee River. The charrette was held in July 2011, after which a DCP was prepared and then forwarded for review to various county governments, historical societies, and tribal nations. It was completed and released to the public in July 2014. Meanwhile, public interest in other areas along the old, 45-mile-long Tuscumbia, Courtland, and Decatur Railroad – which several detachments used during the Trail of Tears migration – resulted in the staff preparing a separate DCP for the towns of Tuscumbia, Courtland, and Decatur, along with a retracement trail connecting those areas. That document helped with preparatory work at Rhodes Landing Park, in Decatur (see above). In March 2016, the trails staff completed the DCP for the retracement-trail route; that same year, waysides were designed for the park in Decatur.²⁵⁶ A more recent charrette focused on Hamburg Hill in Union County, Illinois, its goal being to plan for interpretation and signage along two Trail of Tears routes between Jonesboro and the Mississippi River. The charrette, co-sponsored by staff from the NPS trails office and the Shawnee National Forest (USFS), was

²⁴⁹ SAR, 2011, 22; SAR, 2013, 22-23; SAR, 2015, 24; SAR, 2016, 21.

²⁵⁰ SAR, 2012, 22; SAR, 2015, 24.

²⁵¹ SAR, 2010, 18; SAR, 2012, 22-23; SAR, 2016, 21.

²⁵² SAR, 2011, 11; 2012, 22; SAR, 2014, 22; SAR, 2015, 23; SAR, 2016, 21.

²⁵³ SAR, 2010, 18; SAR, 2011, 21; SAR, 2012, 23; SAR, 2014, 21; SAR, 2016, 21-22.

²⁵⁴ SAR, 2014, 22; SAR, 2015, 22.

²⁵⁵ SAR, 2010, 19.

²⁵⁶ SAR, 2010, 18; SAR, 2011, 21; SAR, 2014, 23; SAR, 2016, 22.

held in Jonesboro in February and March 2016.²⁵⁷ A DCP related to that charrette is currently being prepared.

The team has also been responsible, in recent years, for the placement of a substantial number of signs along the various Trail of Tears routes. Prior to 2011, most signage efforts (see the “Officewide Initiatives” section above) took place in coordination with the TOTA, and – primarily due to a lack of staff capacity – relatively few signs were installed each year. In 2011, however, team members introduced a “standard family of highway signs,” and ever since, the team has produced a welter of sign plans incorporating these standardized signs.²⁵⁸

These sign plans, compiled with a wide variety of partners, have varied considerably in their scope and complexity. In 2011, for example, the TOTA’s Kentucky Chapter worked with the trails staff on a plan to provide “original route” signage – 80 signs in all – across two Benne Route counties, and the association’s Alabama Chapter partnered with the NPS to provide 104 signs along the Benne Route between Fort Payne and Guntersville. The following year, moreover, offered additional large sign plans: for two Hildebrand-Route counties in Missouri (with 139 signs) and two Bell-Route counties in Tennessee (with 86 signs). Some of these larger projects garnered publicity via press releases, dedications, and ribbon cuttings, events that were typically attended by local officials and congressional staffers. The majority of sign plans, however, were more modest and low-key: for signage along five to ten miles of original route, for a small town, for directional and identification signs at a state park, or for an entrance sign to a historical property. Between 2011 and 2015, inclusive, staff on the D&D Team completed between 35 and 40 of these sign plans.²⁵⁹

Throughout this period the NPS and its partner association, the TOTA, worked together on scores of projects. The association, which celebrated its 25th anniversary in 2018, has enjoyed stable leadership, with just one president (Jack Baker from Oklahoma City, Oklahoma). In the executive director’s position, Jerra Quinton who held the job starting in 2008, was succeeded in 2014 by Troy Wayne Poteete, who still retains that position.

Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program

²⁵⁷ SAR, 2015, 23, 25; SAR, 2016, 21-22; <https://www.nps.gov/trte/learn/news/upload/Newsletter-April-2016-508.pdf>.

²⁵⁸ SAR, 2010, 19; SAR, 2011, 22; SAR, 2012, 23.

²⁵⁹ SAR, 2011, 22; SAR, 2012, 23-24; SAR, 2013, 23-24; SAR, 2014, 23; SAR, 2015, 24.

As noted in chapters 5 and 6, the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program came into being as a result of congressional legislation passed in August 1999. Shortly afterward, program administration was assigned to the Santa Fe NPS office. Michael Taylor was hired to oversee the program in February 2001, and less than a year later, Kaisa Barthuli signed on as the assistant program manager.

Taylor continued running the program until the summer of 2008, when he transferred to a cultural resource specialist position in the trails office, and Barthuli assumed the leadership of the Route 66 program. Shortly afterward, in January 2009, John Murphey was hired as a cultural resource specialist to assist Barthuli in the Route 66 program. Murphey remained in that position until the close of calendar year 2010. Since that time, Barthuli has served as the only full-time employee (FTE) for the Route 66 program, although since 2013, contractor Jason Stuart and several interns have provided temporary program assistance (see appendix 4). Throughout the past decade, the program’s annual line-item budget (see appendix 6) has remained remarkably consistent, varying from \$271,000 (in 2013) to \$296,000 (in 2008 to 2010).²⁶⁰

As noted in Chapter 6, the most important single activity related to the Route 66 program has been the administration of the annual Cost Share Grant Program. In the initial years since the program’s inception – specifically, between 2002 and 2008 – the program had been able to provide grants to between five and ten applicants per year, typically allotting between \$80,000 and \$160,000 in cost-share grant funds. During the most recent decade, the number of annual grantees has remained largely unchanged, although the total grant awards have slightly decreased (see appendix 13). These grant funds were expended on a diversity of projects, in all eight Route 66 states, aimed toward historic preservation, planning, research, oral history, interpretation, education, and training.²⁶¹

In recent years, the Route 66 program has continued its long-term goal of obtaining a variety of detailed, standardized information about the highway and its historic and architectural resources. Shortly after the program began (see chapter 6), the agency had issued a contract for a historic context study of the highway. That study was finished in 2004, and a full MPDF for the highway was approved in 2012.²⁶² Meanwhile, MPDFs had also been completed for individual states as early as the late 1980s (see appendix 14). By 2006, all but two of the statewide MPDFs had been completed. The Route 66 program responded by sponsoring the compilation

²⁶⁰ SAR, 2009, 20; SAR, 2015, 36.

²⁶¹ SAR, 2008, 21; SAR, 2009, 20-21; SAR, 2010, 29-30; SAR, 2011, 32-33; SAR, 2012, 33; SAR, 2013, 33-34; SAR, 2014, 33-34; SAR, 2015, 36-37; NTIR, Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, “Executive Summary,” May 26, 2017, in ROSI Collection.

²⁶² SAR, 2011, 32; SAR, 2012, 33.

of MPDFs for the last two states: Missouri and California. These documents were completed and approved in July 2009 and January 2012, respectively.²⁶³ Meanwhile, Arizona – which had compiled its MPDF back in 1989, launched a “highway survey” (building survey) of its Route 66-related historic properties beginning in 2010 (see appendix 15). That study was completed in 2012. Two years later, the trails staff partnered with the California Preservation Foundation on its own survey of the state’s desert region; that study was completed in 2016.²⁶⁴

State-by-state roadbed surveys – which ascertained the highway’s changing road alignments, and also shed light on the National Register eligibility of road segments and road conditions – were another type of standardized study that has been undertaken in recent years. The first such Route 66 surveys, as noted in Chapter 6, had been undertaken in Illinois in 1995 and in Oklahoma in 2001-2002, and by the end of 2002 additional studies had taken place in Kansas and Texas. Then, in 2008, the NPS and the Illinois SHPO finalized a new cooperative agreement to inventory and evaluate the state’s Route 66 road segments. That study was completed in 2013. Meanwhile California (via the California Preservation Foundation), Arizona (through the state’s DOT), and New Mexico commenced their own roadbed surveys in 2012, 2013, and 2016, respectively. The California study was completed in 2014, but the equivalent studies for Arizona and New Mexico were not completed until 2017 and 2018, respectively.²⁶⁵

Research about Route 66 has been a key ongoing theme in recent years. As noted in Chapter 6, a major research effort had begun in 2007 when Rutgers University, supported by the World Monuments Fund and American Express, had assessed the economic impacts of tourism on Route 66. That study was completed in 2012.²⁶⁶ Since that time, most Route 66 research supported through this program has investigated the role that diverse peoples have played in the highway’s history.

Given the fact that the legislation that established the program calls on the office to work with American Indian tribes (as well as other entities) to “protect the most important or representative resources of the Route 66 corridor,” program staff have long worked with tribes on mutually-beneficial projects.²⁶⁷ In 2005, a program intern named Carolyn Waddell completed a report that 1) identified all tribes with historical or contemporary influence along the route, 2) identified all

²⁶³ SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2010, 29; SAR, 2011, 32; SAR, 2012, 33.

²⁶⁴ SAR, 2010, 29; SAR, 2011, 32; SAR, 2012, 33; SAR, 2014, 33; SAR, 2015, 36; SAR, 2016, 28.

²⁶⁵ SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2011, 32; SAR, 2012, 33; SAR, 2013, 33; SAR, 2014, 33; SAR, 2015, 36; SAR, 2016, 28; Kaisa Barthuli, email to the author, August 6, 2018. As of this writing, Missouri is the only Route 66 state without a roadbed survey.

²⁶⁶ SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2009, 20; SAR, 2010, 29; SAR, 2011, 32; SAR, 2012, 33.

²⁶⁷ Public Law 106-45, Sec. 2(e).

tribally-related buildings along the route, 3) compiled a bibliography of sources detailing American Indian experiences along the route, and 4) identified which of those sources had been written by American Indians themselves. During this same period, Route 66 NPS staff worked with the Hopi (at the Twin Arrows Trading Post, east of Flagstaff) as well as the Navajo on compliance-related projects, and it also reached out to the Hualapai (on rehabilitating the Osterman filling station in Peach Springs, Arizona) and to the Santo Domingo Tribe (in New Mexico) for bricks-and-mortar assistance on the pueblo’s historic trading post.²⁶⁸

In 2008, staff from the Route 66 program, the New Mexico DOT, and the FHWA engaged in discussions over the fate of a historic (1927-era) Route 66 bridge in the vicinity of Algodones, near Bernalillo. The DOT’s study concluded that there was no feasible alternative to demolishing the bridge, so in order to mitigate the loss, the DOT and FHWA “determined that a historic, ethnographic study of the Native American Route 66 experience in New Mexico” should be completed. As a result, cultural anthropologist Shawn Kelley, along with Kristen Reynolds, wrote *Route 66 and Native Americans in New Mexico*, that was published in 2010. In 2012, the program sponsored a well-attended listening session, which was held at the Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque.²⁶⁹ Then, during the program’s 2014 grant cycle, the AIANTA submitted an application “to develop a publication and a destination website that will provide education about American Indian experiences of Route 66.” That April, the NPS awarded the organization a \$25,000 cost-share grant to pursue that subject. AIANTA, in turn, hired Cherokee author Lisa Hicks Snell to write the publication, and in May 2016, a press release announced the completion of a 64-page guidebook entitled *American Indians and Route 66*.²⁷⁰

The role of other minorities along Route 66 has also been spotlighted in recent years. In 2013, research began that spotlighted African American travel along the route, and more specifically the role of historical travel guides such as the *Negro Motorist Green Book* in exhibiting the difficulties of pre-1964 travel between Chicago and California. Articles were published on the subject in 2015 and again in 2017. In addition, the Route 66 program sponsored a multimedia presentation, by Candacy Taylor, which spotlighted the “green book.”²⁷¹ The *Chronicles of Oklahoma* published a 2015 article detailing the nearly 30-year transition period in which

²⁶⁸ Waddell, “Documenting the American Indian Experience of Route 66,” 2005; Kaisa Barthuli, interview with the author, July 31, 2018; Barthuli, email to the author, August 6, 2018.

²⁶⁹ New Mexico DOT, *Route 66 and Native Americans in New Mexico*, i-ii.

²⁷⁰ AIANTA, “American Indians Give Travelers New Perspective on Route 66 after 90 Years” (press release), May 5, 2016.

²⁷¹ SAR, 2013, 33; SAR, 2014, 33; SAR, 2015, 36. The resultant articles were “Courageous Motorists: African American Pioneers on Route 66,” in the Summer 2015 issue of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, and “Racial Dynamism in Los Angeles, 1900–1964; The Role of the *Green Book*,” in the Fall 2017 issue of *Southern California Quarterly*.

interstate highways supplanted Route 66 segments.²⁷² Finally, several projects – thanks to funding from the Latino Heritage Internship Program – were developed that explored the Hispanic legacy of Route 66, primarily in New Mexico. Lena Guidi undertook research on the topic during the summers of 2015 and 2016, producing a research report (see appendix 4), and Gianna May Sanchez delved further – and produced a video on the subject – during the summer of 2017.²⁷³

As noted in Chapter 6, the Route 66 program in 2007 had organized a group of ten archival institutions, known as the Archives and Research Collaboration, or ARC. This group of librarians and archivists – more recently renamed Research 66 – has continued to meet annually at various institutions along Route 66 in order to strategize and to share goals, methods, and accomplishments. The group produced a strategic plan in 2010, and subsequent products of their efforts have included a website and rack card.²⁷⁴

As noted above, the Route 66 program’s annual cost share grant program provided funds for a variety of projects related to historic preservation, planning, research, oral history, interpretation, education, and training. Outside of the annual grants, however, the Route 66 was able to assist on a number of projects. In 2008, for example, office staff assisted with preservation plans related to the Rock Café in Oklahoma and the Twin Arrows trading post site in Arizona, and a few years later, staff served as a Section 106 consulting party on projects affecting bridges along Route 66 in Oklahoma and Missouri.²⁷⁵

The office has worked with partners on interpretive projects, too. In 2008, as noted in Chapter 6, office staff collaborated with the World Monuments Fund, the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, and other partners on the Route 66 Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary, which identified and spotlighted National Register sites along the highway. This web-based platform was launched in 2009 and updated in later years, and it has been available to the public ever since.²⁷⁶ In addition, NPS staff has assisted in the production of various videos and workshops focused on the highway.²⁷⁷

²⁷² SAR, 2013, 33. The article was entitled “The Twilight of Route 66: Transitioning from Highway to Freeway, 1956-84.”

²⁷³ SAR, 2015, 36; SAR, 2016, 28.

²⁷⁴ SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2009, 20; SAR, 2010, 29; SAR, 2011, 32; SAR, 2012, 33; SAR, 2013, 33; SAR, 2014, 33; SAR, 2015, 36; SAR, 2016, 28. The group’s website was launched in 2014. Barthuli, email to the author, August 6, 2018.

²⁷⁵ SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2011, 32.

²⁷⁶ SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2009, 20; SAR, 2010, 29.

²⁷⁷ SAR, 2008, 20; SAR, 2013, 33; SAR, 2014, 33.

Throughout this period, both supporters and park staff were well aware that the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program was established on a temporary basis. As noted in Chapter 6, the program was renewed in 2009 for another ten years, but many people involved with the program reiterated such questions as “Is the program still relevant?” “Is it fulfilling its congressionally designated goals?” “Should it be continued?” “And if so, what form should it take?” Many recognized that the program’s existing ten-year lifespan was less than desirable. But given the fact that no other U.S. highways operated under any similar program, there was no convenient federal organization that could serve as a replacement model.

To consider alternatives to the existing arrangement, the World Monuments Fund – which had co-sponsored both the Rutgers University economic impacts study and the Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary – began cooperating with the NPS on a strategic roundtable for Route 66. This roundtable, called “Route 66: the Road Ahead,” included what one document called “an ongoing visioning process for developing a national framework for collaboration.” That two-day roundtable took place in Anaheim, California in late November 2013. Soon afterward, in August 2014, NPS staff helped organize seven public stakeholder meetings in various towns along the route; out of those meetings came a recognition that ongoing research on the economic impacts of historic preservation and heritage tourism along the route needed to be supported.²⁷⁸ Emerging from the roundtable and the public meetings was The Road Ahead Initiative; in November 2014, a steering committee formed to lead it held its first meeting. (The steering committee remained until 2017, when a board of directors replaced it.) As a political strategy, members of the steering committee collectively decided that the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, after its 2019 expiration, should be designated as the country’s twentieth NHT. To that end, initiative members worked with Illinois Congressman Darin LaHood, whose district included Route 66, to introduce (in early February 2017) the Route 66 NHT Designation Act (H.R. 801). In mid-April 2018, that bill was reported by the Natural Resources Committee, and on June 5, the bill passed the House of Representatives on a voice vote. As of this writing, this bill is awaiting action by the United States Senate.²⁷⁹

New Historic Trail Proposals

Additional Routes Study for the Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, California, and Pony Express NHTs

²⁷⁸ SAR, 2013, 33; SAR, 2014, 33; SAR, 2015, 36; SAR, 2016, 28.

²⁷⁹ www.congress.gov, “Current Legislation” for H.R. 801.

As noted in Chapter 5, an Interior Department solicitor had ruled in September and October 1998 that the NPS could not administratively establish additional trail routes to the existing Oregon and California NHTs, respectively. And as described in Chapter 6, members of the OCTA and the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) responded to the ruling by lobbying Congress to authorize a study of numerous additional routes to the Oregon, California, Pony Express and Mormon Pioneer NHTs. That effort, in March 2009, met success with the passage of the Omnibus Public Land Management Act, which, (in part) directed the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a feasibility study for 64 additional segments for one or more of those four trails. By doing so, it would amend the NPS's original (1977-1978 and 1987) feasibility studies for those trails with the goal of producing a combined feasibility study and environmental assessment (FS/EA) for congressional review. Later in 2009, the NPS's IMR trails office was assigned responsibility for undertaking the study process.²⁸⁰

Given the massive study that Congress had assigned to the trails office, staff responded by drafting an initial plan to identify study needs, costs, and scheduling. The office's GIS staff began inventorying existing map data for study routes in order to determine data needs, and other staff perused what was known about the description and significance of the routes in question. After considering these data needs, staff concluded that preliminary field documentation and historical research for most of the subject routes was already on hand, thanks in large part to preliminary work contracted several years ago by Evans and Hatch Inc., and also thanks to ongoing mapping efforts by both NPS GIS personnel and OCTA volunteers. But for 28 routes where map data was lacking, the trails staff proposed that the NPS sign an agreement with OCTA to more adequately map those study segments. The trails office, guided by Susan Boyle, consummated that agreement, and former trails superintendent Jere Krakow, a longtime OCTA member, was designated to manage that study. OCTA completed its contract work in 2011.²⁸¹ A year later trails staffer Lee Kreutzer, assisted by volunteer Kay Threlkeld, began incorporating the product of OCTA's efforts into a massive report that combined route descriptions, historical summaries, and other pertinent data for each proposed route segment. This document, after a broad review, was completed in draft form in December 2012, but it was periodically revised several times over the next few years as more segment-related information came to light.²⁸²

Trails staff recognized that major portions of the planned environmental assessment – specifically the affected environment and environmental consequences sections

²⁸⁰ SAR, 2009, 4, 9, 12.

²⁸¹ SAR, 2009, 8, 10, 12; SAR, 2011, 5.

²⁸² SAR, 2012, 5; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, August 9, 2018. A final of this so-called “big document” was submitted in August 2016, although minor modifications were made in subsequent months.

– needed to be completed. As a result, Susan Boyle from the trails staff prepared a Request for Proposals (RFP) for a contract to obtain that data. AECOM, Inc. was selected to complete these sections. The contracting firm began its work in 2011 and finalized it two years later.²⁸³

By early 2011, the trails office was ready to begin the public scoping process. It prepared a planning newsletter, it reached out to 81 federally-recognized tribes, and it consulted with a myriad of sister land management agencies and various state historic preservation offices. Then, between mid-April and mid-June 2011, office staff held 16 public scoping meetings in 13 states, from Des Moines, Iowa to Vancouver, Washington and Sacramento, California. The staff then used the public comments that were gathered in those meetings to compile a public scoping report, which was finalized in September 2011.²⁸⁴

After the scoping process was completed, staff prepared a set of draft alternatives, and by 2013 these alternatives had been finalized.²⁸⁵ What remained to be done, however, was the establishment of specific criteria that would evaluate the significance, feasibility, and suitability of each proposed route. This evaluation process, to a large extent, had been glossed over in the preparation of previous trail feasibility studies, but the large number of proposed trails in this study, plus the staff's inability to apply previously-known criteria to these trails, required trails staff to create more nuanced, specific criteria and to rigorously apply those criteria to each proposed trail. To do so, trails staff twice held week-long workshops to discuss and debate the application of these criteria. This process was not finalized until 2015.²⁸⁶

Staff began writing the combined feasibility study and EA in 2014, and a year later, a draft of the document – which included a section listing both preferred and environmentally preferred alternatives – had been completed.²⁸⁷ Staff then prepared a significance statement for the proposed action and submitted it for review to the National Park System Advisory Board. On May 9, 2016, trails staff presented the proposal to the advisory board's Landmarks Committee. The committee approved the proposal, and several weeks later (on June 2), the full NPS Advisory Board seconded the committee's action.²⁸⁸

²⁸³ SAR, 2010, 5; SAR, 2011, 5; SAR, 2012, 5; SAR, 2013, 5.

²⁸⁴ SAR, 2011, 5.

²⁸⁵ SAR, 2012, 5; SAR, 2013, 5.

²⁸⁶ SAR, 2012, 5; SAR, 2013, 5; SAR, 2014, 5; SAR, 2015, 5; Lee Kreutzer, email to the author, August 9, 2018. Workshops were held in December 2012 to evaluate the segments for eligibility requirements and in January 2014 to evaluate for suitability and desirability requirements.

²⁸⁷ SAR, 2014, 5; SAR, 2015, 5.

²⁸⁸ SAR, 2015, 5; SAR, 2016, 8; <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/news/spring2016mtg.html>.

Meanwhile, trails staff continued to revise and improve the draft study. On January 27, 2016, the study was favorably reviewed by a team from the agency's Washington office that reviewed the document according to Director's Order 45 criteria.²⁸⁹ The draft study was then circulated for internal review. In September 2017, however, agency planners advised trails staff that due to changes in planning guidelines, the study would be subject to a "categorical exclusion." Following that decision, staff made considerable changes to the document, and what emerged from the process was a document considerably reduced in size from its previous incarnation, and one that offered only one (preferred) alternative.²⁹⁰ Once the internal review process was completed, the study was submitted to the regional director. At the present time, the study is being reviewed by agency officials. If and when agency and departmental officials approve the study, it will then be transmitted to Congress for possible consideration in future legislation.

Chisholm and Great Western Cattle Trails Study

As noted in Chapter 6, President Obama signed into law P.L. 111-11, the Omnibus Public Land Management Act of 2009 on March 30, 2009. Section 5303 of that bill called on the Secretary of the Interior to study two cattle trails – the Chisholm Trail and the Great Western Trail – as potential NHTs. Later that year, these studies were assigned to NPS's IMR trails office. During the summer of 2009, trails staff conducted preliminary historical research about the cattle trails and held two informal meetings with potential partners for the two proposed cattle trails.²⁹¹

A key task, early in the study process, was a determination of the specific location of these cattle trails, and – just as important – a determination of which cattle trail routes were of national significance and should thus be considered as potential NHTs. (Historian Wayne Gard stated that "Many a Texan, on hearing the [Chisholm] trail mentioned, recalls that it went right through his grandfather's ranch. These hazy recollections, added together, would put the trail in almost all of the 254 counties in Texas.") Thanks to information provided by Robert Klemme (Enid, Oklahoma), Gary and Margaret Kraisinger (Halstead, Kansas), Jim Gates (Anthony, Kansas), and others, trails staff knew where most of the route of both trails was known.

The NPS, however, was less certain of the Chisholm Trail route in north Texas (between Bolivar and the Oklahoma border), and it was not at all certain in

²⁸⁹ SAR, 2015, 5; SAR, 2016, 8.

²⁹⁰ SAR, 2016, 8.

²⁹¹ SAR, 2009, 11-12.

determining which trails in southern Texas qualified as NHTs. Regarding the Chisholm Trail in north Texas, avocational historian Tom Weger (from Saint Jo, Texas) investigated historical records in the Montague County archives and elsewhere to piece together the historical route. And to discern the qualifying trails in south Texas, the trails office in 2010 contracted with Dr. Armando Alonzo, a history professor at Texas A&M University. Alonzo sleuthed through courthouse records in a number of counties in south Texas, after which he produced, in December 2012, a final narrative (*Report on the Roads of the Chisholm Trail in Texas*) and trails map separating nationally significant trails from those that were of regional or local significance. Based on his findings, trails staff produced a map showing the geographical extent of nationally significant trails.²⁹²

In 2010, considerable action pertaining to the cattle trails planning process took place. Trails staff produced a *Trail Study News* publication, and soon afterward the public scoping process began. That June, the office conducted 12 public meetings in locations from San Antonio, Texas north to Ogallala, Nebraska. Hundreds of public comments were received at those meetings, or in response to them. Once the public comment period had concluded, trails staff prepared a scoping report summarizing the public comment process and a condensed summary of the public's reaction to the agency's cattle trail proposals. Soon afterward, the office prepared a bid package for an environmental assessment (affected environment and environmental consequences) of the areas under study. In June 2011, the Louis Berger Group won the contract to prepare this information; the firm satisfactorily completed its work the following year.²⁹³

In order to ensure that these two trails met all of the requirements of the NTSA, the trails historian compiled a "significance statement" and submitted it for review to the National Park System Advisory Board. On May 16, 2012, trails staff presented the proposal to the advisory board's Landmarks Committee. The committee approved the proposal, and a week later, on May 23, the full National Park System Advisory Board seconded the committee's action.²⁹⁴

Given the positive public feedback gained from the public scoping process, the National Park System Advisory Board's approval, and the completion of the environmental assessment, trails staff proceeded to complete the cattle trails feasibility study package, and by the end of 2012, the draft was being circulated for internal review. In 2013-2014, it was reviewed by the agency's regional-office planning division and by the Washington office. Based on approvals from those offices, the draft Chisholm and Great Western NHT FS/EA was released to the

²⁹² SAR, 2010, 5; SAR, 2011, 5.

²⁹³ SAR, 2010, 5; SAR, 2011, 5; SAR, 2012, 5.

²⁹⁴ SAR, 2012, 5; <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/news/spring2012mtg.htm>.

public for its review and comment in late 2014. After a public comment period that lasted from January 5 to March 20, 2015, trails staff compiled and analyzed the various public comments and, based on the input received, made a number of changes to the draft document.²⁹⁵

Based on the experience with previous feasibility studies, the next step in the study process would have been to produce a final, revised FS/EA. Based on a change in the agency's planning procedures, however, the office instead prepared a relatively brief document – a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) – which identified the changes made during the public comment process but did not repeat the substantial verbiage that had been included in the draft FS/EA. A draft FONSI was completed in 2015, and a final version was signed by Regional Director Sue Masica on September 13, 2016. The document was then forwarded to the agency's Washington office for approval.²⁹⁶ On May 17, 2019, after gaining approval from appropriate Interior Department officials, the document was transmitted to Congress, where it is presently being considered for authorization by the respective committees in the Senate and House of Representatives.

Butterfield Overland Trail Study

As noted in Chapter 6, President Obama signed into law P.L. 111-11, the Omnibus Public Land Management Act on March 30, 2009. Section 7209 of that bill called on the Interior Secretary to conduct a special resource study of the Butterfield Overland Trail (more specifically the “Ox-Bow Route.”). This study additionally called for the Secretary to study “a range of alternatives for protecting and interpreting the resources of the route, including alternatives for potential addition of the Trail to the National Trails System.” Soon afterward, this study was assigned to the IMR's trails office. One of the agency's first subsequent actions was to partner with Fayetteville, Arkansas historian Kirby Sanders to gather available station and route information. That contract was awarded in September 2010, and Sanders worked with NPS staff on that project until it was successfully completed in July 2011.²⁹⁷

Meanwhile, trails staff worked to prepare documents for an outside contractor to bid on the environmental assessment for the trail, specifically the “affected

²⁹⁵ SAR, 2012, 5; SAR, 2013, 5; SAR, 2014, 5; SAR, 2015, 5.

²⁹⁶ SAR, 2015, 5; SAR, 2016, 8.

²⁹⁷ SAR, 2009, 11-12; SAR, 2010, 5; SAR, 2011, 5. Sanders's study is called *The Butterfield Overland Mail Ox-Bow Route, 1858-1861*. Prior to his contract work with the NPS, Sanders had written *Driver's Guide to the Butterfield Overland Mail Route: Missouri, Arkansas & Oklahoma*, which was published by Heritage Trail Partners in 2008.

environment” and “environmental consequences” sections. In July 2011, the NPS awarded the contract to AECOM, Inc. This contract was successfully completed in 2013.²⁹⁸

In 2012, trails staff conducted the public scoping process. They prepared and distributed a planning newsletter at the beginning of the scoping period, and between February and April of that year, they held thirteen public meetings in trailside locations ranging from Springfield, Missouri to San Jose and Sacramento, California. On the heels of the scoping meetings, in September 2012, staff produced a scoping report that encapsulated the methodology and results from those meetings.²⁹⁹ Shortly afterward, trails staff completed a significance statement and sent it to the various members of the National Park System Advisory Board's Landmarks Committee. On April 9, 2013, trails staff made a successful proposal to that committee, and on October 15, 2013, the full NPS Advisory Board seconded the committee's action.³⁰⁰

Given the positive public feedback gained from the public scoping process, the National Park System Advisory Board's approval, and the completion of the environmental assessment, trails staff were able to proceed with completing the Butterfield special resource study package, and by the end of 2014, the draft was being circulated for internal review. During the following year, it was reviewed by the agency's regional-office planning division and by the Washington office. The draft study was completed in December 2016, and the final study was completed in May 2017. But based on changes in the NPS's planning process, both the regional and Washington offices recommended that all elements of the environmental assessment be removed and that the study be finalized as a “categorical exclusion.”³⁰¹ After staff implemented those provisions, the regional director approved the final study in early July 2017, and during the ensuing months, officials at both the agency and departmental levels also approved the study. On May 29, 2018, based on approvals from those offices, the Butterfield Overland Trail Special Resource Study was forwarded to Congress. As of this writing, the appropriate congressional subcommittees are considering this study as the basis for a NHT.³⁰²

Coordinating the National Trails System

²⁹⁸ SAR, 2011, 5; SAR, 2012, 5; SAR, 2013, 5.

²⁹⁹ SAR, 2012, 5; <https://parkplanning.nps.gov/document.cfm?documentID=49880>.

³⁰⁰ SAR, 2013, 5; <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/news/spring2013mtg.htm>.

³⁰¹ SAR, 2014, 5; SAR, 2015, 5; SAR, 2016, 8.

³⁰² Ryan Hambleton (Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks) to Lisa Murkowski, May 29, 2018.

When Congress passed the Omnibus Public Land Management Act in March 2009, three NSTs (Arizona, New England, and Pacific Northwest) and one NHT (the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route NHT) were added to the NTS. None of these designations directly affected operations in the NTIR. As noted in Chapter 6, however, the bill did dramatically increase the mileage for the Trail of Tears NHT. After the bill's passage, NTIR either administered or co-administered nine of the 19 NHTs. Given the fact that all other trail offices – in the NPS or in other land management agencies – administered just one or two NHTs, NTIR in recent years has often been consulted on questions pertaining to all NHTs.

One subject where the IMR's influence was felt was the issuance of a standardized NPS directive that pertained to all of the agency's national trails. Many felt that such a directive was sorely needed. As Steve Elkinton, NTS program leader in the agency's Washington office, noted in a 2007 interview,

One other [action] that has not been accomplished so far . . . is governing policy. In the Park Service for national trails, it doesn't exist. The Park Service has a policy structure with directives (. . . Directors' Orders . . .) and handbooks or reference manuals. Almost every other activity that the Park Service is involved in . . . [has a] governing policy through the Management Policies Handbook, and Directors' Orders. There has been no such guidance for the National Trails System activity. . . .

Various versions of it have existed since 1991. My goal is to see if we can get it embedded in the system. . . . One of the issues that it brings up (and this underlies the data standards, the use of logos on the trails, and a lot of the other practices, especially on an interagency basis) is consistency. The haunting question is, "Is the National Trails System a collection of random efforts, or is it, in fact, a system that has some degree of reliable consistency that the public can count on?" . . . The issue of policy -- at least within the National Park Service -- is to foster consistency so that people given the responsibility of managing and administering these trails can do so in a way that isn't unique or alone or radically different from what other people are doing, but they're learning from the experience of others.³⁰³

Elkinton worked with numerous others in the trails community to complete a director's order that pertained to the NTS, and on May 24, 2013, NPS Director Jonathan B. Jarvis approved Director's Order 45. Meanwhile, Washington trails staff worked on the accompanying reference manual (Reference Manual 45), which

³⁰³ Steve Elkinton, interview by Ronald Brown, May 30, 2007.

provided additional nationally-applicable guidance pertaining to the national trails. That manual was signed, and placed online, in February 2019.³⁰⁴

A key question addressed in the director's order pertained to unit status. As noted in chapters 3 and 5, three components of the NTS – Appalachian NST, Natchez Trace NST, and Potomac Heritage NST – were designated as NPS units. But all of the other NPS-administered trails, including all of the NHTs, had no such designation. Many in the trails community argued that all NPS-administered trails should be given unit status, both for budgetary reasons and because by doing so they would be considered on a par with national monuments, national historic parks, and other NPS units. Others in the NPS, however, argued against such a designation, both for reasons of organizational flexibility and because numerous trail partners were wary of dealing with the bureaucracy that unit status demanded.

Many in the trails community were concerned that DO-45, once finalized, would force all components of the NTS to become NPS units. But no such decision took place. Section 3.1 of the final document noted that

Several components of the National Trails System which are administered by the Service have been designated as units of the national park system. These trails are therefore managed as national park areas and are subject to all the policies contained herein, as well as to any other requirements specified in the National Trails System Act.

Other scenic, historic, connecting/side, and recreational trails designated under the National Trails System Act are in or adjacent to park units. Some of these may also be administered by the Service, though not as units of the national park system. In all cases, the Service will cooperate with other land managers, nonprofit organizations, and user groups to facilitate appropriate trail use in accordance with the laws and policies applicable to such trails, and to the extent that trail management and use would not cause unacceptable impacts.³⁰⁵

The other major change that has taken place at the Washington level in recent years has concerned trails personnel. In February 2014, NTS program leader Steve Elkinton retired after almost 25 years at the helm. Immediately after his departure,

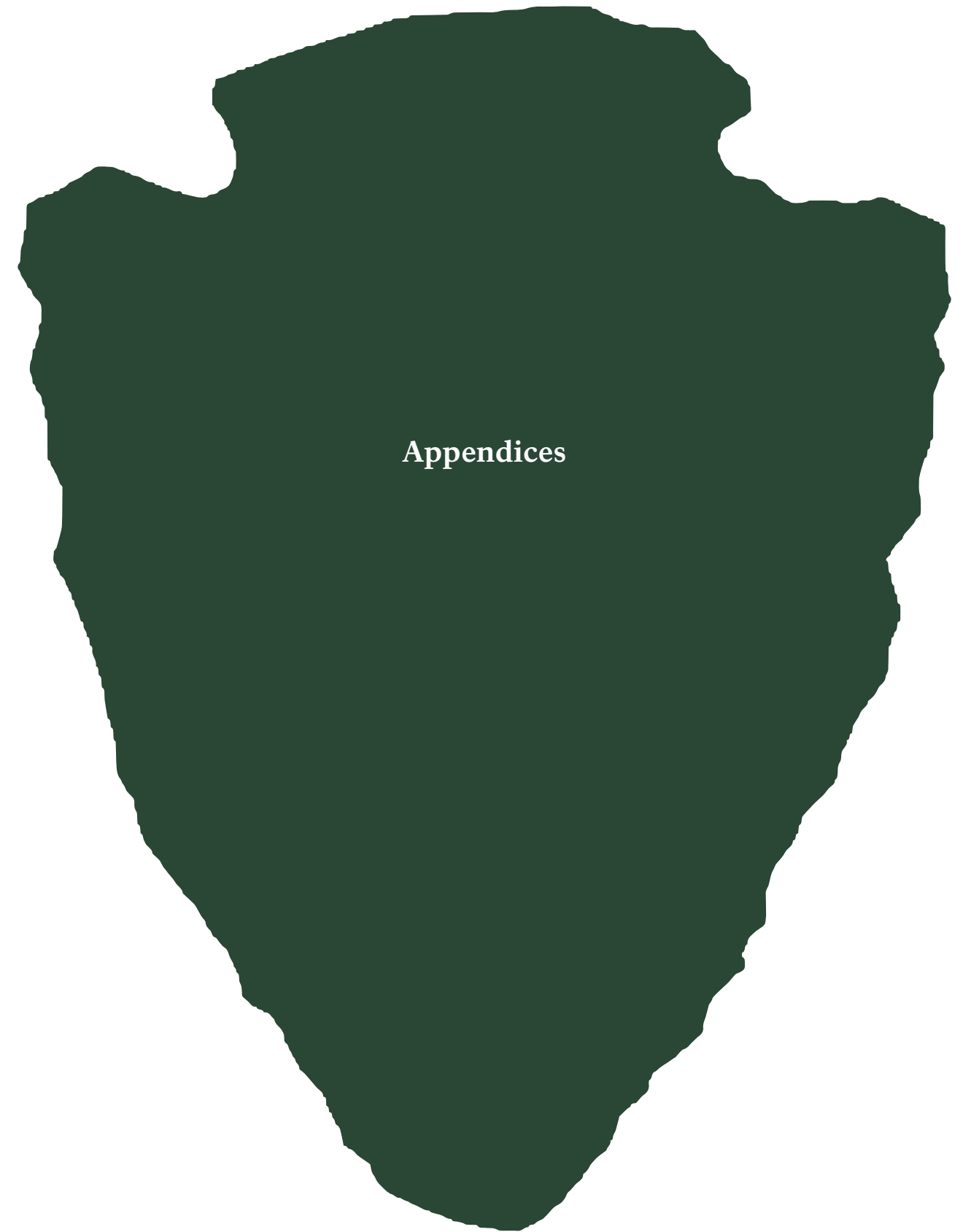
³⁰⁴ https://www.nps.gov/policy/DOrders/DO_45.pdf; Aaron Mahr, interview by the author, August 2, 2018.

³⁰⁵ https://www.nps.gov/policy/DOrders/DO_45.pdf.

Rita Hennessy – who was thoroughly familiar with the NTS after her long tenure at the Appalachian Trail Park Office in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia – was hired for the job on a four-month detail, after which Stephan Nofield, who was Bob Ratcliffe’s assistant, served in that role in an interim position. In March 2015, Hennessy assumed the job on a permanent basis.³⁰⁶ Helen Scully, who had served in the office since 2000, continued as a program specialist until her retirement in September 2018. Bob Ratcliffe has continued to supervise trails system personnel in his role as the division chief of Conservation and Outdoor Recreation.



³⁰⁶ Aaron Mahr, interview with the author, August 2, 2018; Rita Hennessy, email to the author, August 10, 2018; Steve Elkinton, email to the author, August 14, 2018.



Appendix 1. The National Trails System

National Scenic Trails:

Trail Name	Date Authorized	Mileage	Administered by
Appalachian*	1968 (Oct. 2)	2,158	NPS
Pacific Crest	1968 (Oct. 2)	2,638	USFS
Continental Divide	1978 (Nov. 10)	3,100	USFS
North Country	1980 (Mar. 5)	3,200	NPS
Ice Age	1980 (Oct. 3)	1,200	NPS
Florida	1983 (Mar. 28)	1,300	USFS
Potomac Heritage*	1983 (Mar. 28)	700	NPS
Natchez Trace*	1983 (Mar. 28)	95	NPS
Arizona	2009 (Mar. 30)	1,200	USFS
New England	2009 (Mar. 30)	190	NPS
Pacific Northwest	2009 (Mar. 30)	1,200	USFS

National Historic Trails:

Trail Name	Date Authorized	Mileage	Administered by
Iditarod	1978 (Nov. 10)	2,350	BLM
Lewis and Clark	1978 (Nov. 10)	3,700	NPS
Mormon Pioneer	1978 (Nov. 10)	1,300	NPS
Oregon	1978 (Nov. 10)	2,170	NPS
Overmountain Victory	1980 (Sept. 8)	275	NPS
Nez Perce (Nee-me-poo)	1986 (Oct. 6)	1,170	USFS
Santa Fe	1987 (May 8)	1,203	NPS
Trail of Tears	1987 (Dec. 16) + 2009 (Mar. 40)	5,045	NPS
Juan Bautista de Anza	1990 (Aug. 15)	1,200	NPS
California	1992 (Aug. 3)	5,600	NPS
Pony Express	1992 (Aug. 3)	2,000	NPS
Selma to Montgomery	1996 (Nov. 12)	54	NPS
El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro	2000 (Oct. 13)	404	BLM, NPS

National Historic Trails Continued:

Trail Name	Date Authorized	Mileage	Administered by
Ala Kahakai	2000 (Nov. 14)	175	NPS
Old Spanish	2002 (Dec. 4)	2,700	BLM, NPS
El Camino Real de los Tejas	2004 (Oct. 18)	2,600	NPS
Capt. John Smith Chesapeake	2006 (Dec. 19)	3,000	NPS
Star-Spangled Banner	2008 (May 8)	290	NPS
Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route	2009 (Mar. 30)	2,020	NPS

Notes:

* - indicates national scenic trails that are National Park System units.

Administrative entities: BLM= Bureau of Land Management, NPS= National Park Service, USFS= Department of Agriculture, U.S. Forest Service

Appendix 2. National Trail Organizations

National Trails Symposia

These symposia began in 1971. The National Trails Council, founded in Woodstock, Ill., was established to organize trail-related symposia and thus foster interest in national trails. In September 1988, the NTC merged with the American Trails Network to create American Trails, and since then American Trails (www.americantrails.org) has sponsored these symposia. The National Trails Council issued a newsletter entitled the National Trails Council Newsletter beginning in 1972, and in 1976 it was renamed Trail Tracks. This newsletter, under the aegis of American Trails after 1988, continued to be issued until the fall of 2005. It was then succeeded by the American Trails Magazine, which is still published three times per year. An electronic version of the Trail Tracks newsletter has been published (about ten times per year) since August 2007.

1971 (June 2-6) = Washington, D.C.

1973 (June 14-17) = Colorado Springs, Colo.

1975 (Nov. 9-12) = Lake Barkley State Park, Kentucky

1977 (Sept. 7-10) = Lake Junaluska, N.C.

1979 (Sept. 4-7) = Duluth, Minn.

1981 (June 28-July 1) = Davis, Calif.

1983 or 1984 = (probably in Russellville, Ark.)

1986 (May 31-June 4) = Vancouver, B.C.

1988 (Sept. 11-14) = Unicoi State Park, Helen, Ga.

1990 (Sept. 9-12) = Cedar Rapids, Iowa

1992 (Sept. 19-22) = Missoula, Mont.

1994 (Sept. 28-Oct. 1) = Anchorage, AK

1996 (Mar. 7-13) = Bethesda, Md.

1998 (Nov. 13-17) = Tucson, Ariz.

2000 (Sept. 21-24) = Redding, Calif.

2002 (Nov. 10-13) = Orlando, Fla.

2004 (Oct. 21-24) = Austin, Tex.

2006 (Oct. 19-22) = Quad Cities, Iowa-Ill.

2008 (Nov. 15-18) = Little Rock, Ark.

2010 (Nov. 14-18) = Chattanooga, Tenn.

2013 (Apr. 14-17) = Fountain Hills (Scottsdale), Ariz.

2015 (May 17-20) = Portland, Oreg.

2017 (May 7-10) = Dayton, Ohio

2019 (Apr. 28-May 1) = Syracuse, N.Y.

National Historic Trail Workshops:

1998 (Oct. 29-Nov. 1) – Kansas City, Mo

2006 (May 5-7) – Kansas City, Mo.

2008 (May 6-8) – Phoenix, Ariz.

2010 (May 12-14) – San Antonio, Tex.

2012 (May 14-18) – Socorro, N.M.

2014 (Oct. 27-30) – Salt Lake City, Utah

2016 (June 6-10) – Independence, Mo.

National Scenic Trail Workshops:

2006 (Oct. 11-12) – Nashville, Tenn.

2008 (Nov. 13-14) – Little Rock, Ark.

2010 (Oct. 19-22) – Reisterstown, Md.

2012 (Nov. 5-8) – Shepherdstown, WV

2014 (May 5-9) – Tahoe City, Calif.

2016 (Nov. 14-18) – Pensacola, Fla.

Appendix 3. NPS Trails Budget Chart (ONPS), 1978 to 1990

Fiscal Year	ATPO (1968)	Ice Age (1980)	OREG (1978)	SAFE (1987)	Masau (1987)	Total NTIR Trails	Admin Office, WASO	Total NPS	Funded Trails
1978	48.0		auth.					48.0	1
1979	170.5							170.5	1
1980	174.4	auth.						174.4	1
1981	631.7							631.7	1
1982	617.0							617.0	1
1983	647.2		15.4			15.4		662.6	2
1984	659.7		15.1			15.1		674.8	2
1985	649.0		14.9			14.9		663.9	2
1986	612.0		14.0			14.0		626.0	2
1987	641.7	60.0	14.5	auth.	auth.	14.5		716.2	3
1988	647.9	112.2	13.6			13.6		773.3	3
1989	653.4	174.0	13.6			13.6	400.0	1241.0	3
1990	675.0	*180.0	14.0	74.0	75.0	163.0	395.0	1413.0	*7

Abbreviations:

ATPO = Appalachian Trail [NST] Project Office, WASO.

Ice Age = Ice Age NST, MWRO (Omaha, NE)

OREG = Oregon NHT, PNRO (Seattle, WA)

SAFE = Santa Fe NHT, SWRO (Santa Fe, NM)

Masau = Masau Trail, SWRO (Santa Fe, NM)

Admin Office = National Trail System Development, WASO

auth. – shows year of Congressional authorization.

* – In FY 1990, \$180,000 was authorized for three trails (Ice Age NST, Lewis and Clark NHT, and North Country NHT). The trails office moved during the 1990 fiscal year from Omaha, NE to Madison, WI.

Note: The numbers in all but the first and last columns are “actual,” “enacted,” or “final” budgets, in thousands of dollars. The figures above do not include funds allotted through non-ONPS sources. The Masau Trail (which was authorized under Public Law 100-255 in 1987) was considered an operating trail unit for budget purposes. Of the above trails, only the Appalachian Trail was considered an NPS unit. Source: NPS, Budget Justifications volume (“green book”), annual, obtained from Larry Poe, WASO Budget Office, February 10, 2014.

Appendix 4. NPS Trails Staff Associated with NTIR and its Antecedents

NPS personnel (in RMRO) who worked on the Mormon Pioneer NHT:

Mike Beaudry, 1981-1985

(John) Brad Baumann, 1986-1987

Robert Kasperek, 1987-1988

Jim Riddle, 1988-1990

Michael Duwe, 1989-1994 (1994: also administered California, Oregon, and Pony Express NHTs)

NPS personnel (primarily in PNRO) who worked on the Oregon NHT:

Stan Young, 1980-1981

John Latschar (DSC), 1980-1981

Reed Jarvis, 1983-1985

Peggy Dolinich, 1989-1994

Bryan Bowden, 1993 (interim role)

IMRO trail superintendents:

David M. Gaines, Santa Fe, 1987-2002 (1987-1988 = Santa Fe Trail team planning lead;

1988-1990 = Chief, Branch of Trails Programs; 1990-1994 = Chief, Branch of Long Distance Trails; 1994-2002 = Supt., Long Distance Trails Group Office, Santa Fe)

James Wood, 2002 (Acting Supt., Long Distance Trails Group Office, Santa Fe)

Jere Krakow, 1995-2002 (Supt., Long Distance Trails Office, Salt Lake City)

Jere Krakow, 2002-2007 (Supt., Long Distance Trails Office, Salt Lake City & Santa Fe)

John Conoboy, 2007 (Acting Supt., Long Distance Trails Office)

Aaron Mahr, 2007-present (Supt., National Trails Intermountain Region)

LODI/NTIR Staff, Santa Fe:

Frances McCalmont, Trails Assistant, 1987-1989, 1995-1999

John Conoboy, Park Ranger and Chief, Interpretation and Res. Mgmt., 1989 to 2008

Terrie Quintana, Secretary, 1990

Anita Hackett, Clerk-Typist, 1990-1991

Terry L. Lovato, Secretary, 1992-1995

Cherry Payne, Interpretive Specialist / Park Ranger, 1993-1996

Andrea Sharon, Interpretive Specialist, 1997 to 2009

Josina Martinez (formerly Josina Cisneros), Trails Assistant / Program Assistant / Budget

Analyst / Administrative Officer, 1999-2013

Aaron Mahr, Historian, 2000-2007

Steve Burns, Landscape Architect, 2000-2018

Michael Taylor, ROSI Program Manager (2001-08) & Cultural Resource Specialist (2008-19)

Harry Myers, Outdoor Recreation Planner, 2001-2007

Sharon Brown, 2001-2015 (2001-2003 = Interpretive Specialist, Santa Fe; 2003-07 = Interpretive Specialist, Vancouver, Wash; 2007-2015 = Chief of Trail Operations, Santa Fe)

Kaisa Barthuli, 2002 to present (2002-2008 = Assistant Program Manager, ROSI; 2008-

2010 = Acting Program Manager, ROSI; 2010-present = Program Manager, ROSI)

Judy Cordova, Outdoor Recreation Planner, 2002-2003

Brooke Safford (formerly Brooke Taralli), Outdoor Recreation Planner, 2005-2015

Peggy Nelson, Landscape Architect, 2005-2007

Otis Halfmoon, Native American Liaison, 2005-2014

Susan Calafate Boyle, Historian and Planner, 2007-2015

Frank Norris, Historian, 2008-2019

John Murphey, Assistant Program Manager, ROSI, 2009-2010

John Cannella, 2009 to present (2009-2013 = GIS specialist; 2013-2015 = GIS coordinator;

2015-present = Deputy Supt./Program Manager)

Carol Ortega, Budget Analyst, 2009-2015

Carol S. Clark, Interpretive Specialist, 2009-present

Brian Deaton, 2010-2013, GIS Specialist, initially as a SCEP, then STEP

Lynne Mager, Interpretive Specialist, 2010-2016

Michael Elliott, Cultural Resource Specialist, 2010-2014; Planner, 2015-2018

Gretchen Ward, Outdoor Recreation Planner, 2011-2015

Coreen (Cory) Donnelly (formerly Coreen Kolisko), Landscape Architect, 2011 to present

(initially as a SCEP and term)

Kristin Van Fleet, Landscape Architect, 2011-present (initially as a SCEP and term)

Robert G. Sandlin, Administrative Officer, 2013-2015

Angelica Sanchez-Clark, Historian, Albuquerque (UNM) – 2014-present

Carole Wendler, Chief of Interpretation, 2015-present

Kelly Shea, Administrative Officer, 2015-2018

Patricia Trujillo, Administrative Assistant, 2016-present

Derek J. Nelson, GIS Coordinator (in Santa Fe), 2016-2017

Jeff Denny, Interpretive Specialist, 2017-2019

Brian Deaton, GIS Coordinator, 2018-present

Holly Fetzer, Administrative Officer, 2019-present

Emily Troil, Interpretive Specialist (digital media), 2019-present

UNM Interns and Volunteers:

Susan Corban, landscape architect (SCEP), 2006-2007
 Patrick Johnston, landscape architect (SCEP), 2008-2009
 Giovanna Orosco, landscape architect (SCEP), 2008-2009
 Lena Guidi, LHIP intern (ROSI), 2015-2016
 Rocio Linares, UNM Intern (Cultural Resources), 2015-2016
 Akashia Lee Allen, UNM Intern (GIS), 2015-2016
 Alexia Costanza, LHIP intern (GIS), 2016
 Brian Griffith, UNM landscape architect intern, 2016-2017
 Philip Taccetta, UNM landscape architect intern, 2016
 Cynthia Jacobs, UNM (cultural resources), 2016-2018
 Numair Latif, UNM (cultural resources), 2016
 Vanessa Funston, UNM (cultural resources), 2016-2017
 Courtney Brock, UNM (GIS), 2016-2017
 Gianna May Sanchez, LHIP intern (ROSI), 2017
 Maria Nemelka, UNM intern, Spanish-Portuguese, 2017-2019
 Mariko Harper, UNM intern, communications, 2018
 Kaveh Khayam Mowahed, UNM history intern, 2018

Other Term/Seasonal Hires Based in the Santa Fe Office:

Jason Stuart, special-needs hire and contractor (ROSI), 2013-2016
 Vincent Ornelos, GIS intern, Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute, 2014
 Greg Litten (REDW), Critical Needs Hire/Interpretation, 2016
 Shaina Niehan (REDW), Critical Needs Hire/Interpretation, 2016
 Noel Schlager, SCA Intern, 2016
 Emmanda (Emma) Wilson, Interpretation intern, 2016-2017

Elena Hoffnagle, Business Plan Intern, 2017
 Katherine Donato, Business Plan Intern, 2017
 Caleb Williss, education intern, 2017
 Diane Weddington, SCA intern, 2017-2018
 Madison Vandersee, SCA intern, 2018-2019
 Gina Hernandez (CHAM), interpretation, 2018
 Monica Brown (Administrative Officer detail), 2019
 Emily Hoerner, SCA intern, 2019-present

LODT/NTIR Staff, Salt Lake City:

Kay Threlkeld, Interpretation/GIS, 1995-2010 (1995-2008 = SLC, 2008-2010 = FOLA)
 Cheryl Douglas, Administrative Assistant, 1996-1997
 Teresa Bichard, 1997-2010 (admin support tech, budget tech, budget analyst, admin officer)
 Chuck Milliken, Interpretive Specialist, 2001, 2002-2011
 Lee Kreutzer, cultural resource specialist, 2003-present
 Anne Marie (Cookie) Ballou, Interpretive specialist, 2009-2011
 David Mayfield, admin assistant and IT specialist (contractor + STEP), 2011-2013
 Kimberly Finch, Interpretive Specialist, 2011-2016
 Derek J. Nelson, GIS Specialist and Acting GIS coordinator (Salt Lake City), 2013-2016
 Alicia Correa, administrative assistant (contractor), 2014-2015
 Angie Millgate, administrative assistant, 2015-2018
 Jill Jensen, cultural resource specialist, 2015-present
 Bryan Petrtyl, Interpretive Specialist, 2016-present
 Sarah Rivera, cartographic technician and GIS specialist, 2016-present (initially Pathways)

Santa Fe (LODI) Office Locations:

Piñon Building (1220 St. Francis Dr.) – 1987-2000 (1987-95 = 3rd floor; 1995-2000 = 2nd floor), Paisano Building (2968 Rodeo Park Dr. W.) – 2000-2002, Old Santa Fe Trail Building (1100 Old Santa Fe Trail) – 2002-2018, Joseph M. Montoya Federal Building, (120 S. Federal Pl.) – 2018-present

Salt Lake City (LODT) Office Locations:

324 S. State St., 1995-2018 (1995 = 3rd floor; 1995-2003 = Suites 240 and 250; 2003-2018 = Suite 200), 50 W. Broadway (2018-present = Suite 950)

Appendix 5. NTIR Trail Partnership Associations

These organizations are listed below in the chronological order that Congress authorized these trails. The order is as follows:

- 1) Mormon Trails Association
- 2) Oregon-California Trails Assn.
- 3) Santa Fe Trail Association
- 4) Trail of Tears Association
- 5) National Pony Express Assn.
- 6) El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association (CARTA)
- 7) Old Spanish Trail Association
- 8) El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT Trail Association
- 9) Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program

1. Mormon Trails Association

The Mormon Pioneer Trail Association (MPTA) was apparently founded during the 1970s, but by the late 1980s it was inactive. The Mormon Trails Association (MTA) was founded in 1991. In recent years, the MTA has been most active on the statewide level, particularly in Iowa; it has had no national officers, nor held any annual meetings beyond the statewide level. Neither the MPTA nor the MTA (on an interstate level) have issued newsletters. The Mormon Pioneer NHT was authorized in November 1978. The NPS published three issues of the Mormon Pioneer NHT Newsletter – dated Fall 1991, December 1992, and July 1994.

Mormon Pioneer NHT Advisory Council:

C. Booth Wallentine, Salt Lake City, Utah, was the chair of this advisory council and presided at each of the meetings listed below.

Jan. 19, 1981 – Salt Lake City, Utah

June 18-19, 1981 – Lakewood, Colo.

Aug. 13, 1982 – Salt Lake City, Utah

Apr. 28-29, 1983 – Nauvoo, Ill.

May 3-4, 1984 – Casper, Wyo.

2. Oregon-California Trails Association

Association Staff (based in Independence, Mo.):

The organization, informally known as OCTA, was founded on August 12, 1982. The first issue of the *Overland Journal* (quarterly journal) was published in Winter (i.e., early) 1983, and *News from the Plains* (newsletter) appears to have been initially produced in January 1987. The Oregon NHT bill was enacted in November 1978, and the California NHT bill was enacted in August 1992.

Greg Franzwa, Exec. Dir. – 1986-1987
 Jeanne Miller, Exec. Dir. – 1995-1997
 Kathy Conway, Off. Mgr. – 1997-present
 Travis Boley, Assn. Mgr. – 2003-pres.

Presidents:

1982-85 = Greg Franzwa, Gerald, Mo.
 1985-87 = Thomas Hunt, Palo Alto, CA
 1987-89 = Richard Ackerman, Salem OR
 1989-91 = Wm. C. Watson, Summit, N.J.
 1991-93 = Ross Marshall, Merriam, KS
 1993-95 = David Bigler, Sandy, Utah
 1995-97 = Jacqueline Lewin, St. Joseph, Mo.
 1997-99 = Roger Blair, Pendleton, Oreg.
 1999-2001 = Dave Welch, Steilacoom, Wash.
 2001-03 = Randall Wagner, Cheyenne, Wyo.
 2003-05 = Richard Pingrey, Selah, Wash.
 2005-07 = Vern Gorzitze, Salt Lake, UT
 2007-09 = Glenn Harrison, Albany, OR
 2009-11 = Bill Martin, Georgetown, Tex.
 2011-13 = Duane Iles, Holton, Kans.
 2013-15 = John Krizek, Prescott, Ariz.
 2015-17 = John Winner, Placerville, CA
 2017-pres. = Pat Traffas, Overland Park, Kans.

Annual Meetings:

1983 (Aug. 17-20) = Independence, Mo.
 1984 (Aug. 15-20) = Oregon City, Oreg.
 1985 (Aug. 14-18) = Scottsbluff, Nebr.
 1986 (Aug. 20-24) = Carson City, Nev.
 1987 (Aug. 12-16) = Casper, Wyo.
 1988 (Aug. 9-14) = St. Joseph, Mo.
 1989 (Aug. 8-13) = Boise, Idaho
 1990 (Aug. 8-12) = Omaha, Nebr.
 1991 (Aug. 14-18) = Sacramento, Calif.
 1992 (Aug. 12-16) = Rock Springs, Wyo.
 1993 (Aug. 10-14) = Baker City, Oreg.
 1994 (Aug. 9-13) = Salt Lake City, Utah
 1995 (Aug. 8-12) = Grand Island, Nebr.
 1996 (Aug. 14-18) = Elko, Nev.
 1997 (Aug. 12-16) = Pocatello, Idaho
 1998 (Aug. 11-15) = Pendleton, Oreg.
 1999 (Aug. 10-14) = Chico, Calif.
 2000 (Aug. 8-12) = Kansas City,
 2001 (Aug. 14-18) = Casper, Wyo.
 2002 (Aug. 13-17) = Reno, Nev.
 2003 (Aug. 12-16) = Manhattan, Kans.
 2004 (Aug. 10-14) = Vancouver, Wash.

2005 (Aug. 16-20) = Salt Lake City, Utah
 2006 (Aug. 8-12) = St. Joseph, Mo.
 2007 (Aug. 8-12) = Scottsbluff, NE
 2008 (Aug. 5-9) = Nampa, Idaho
 2009 (Aug. 18-22) = Loveland, Colo.
 2010 (Aug. 10-14) = Elko, Nev.
 2011 (Aug. 8-13) = Rock Springs, Wyo.
 2012 (Aug. 6-11) = Lawrence, Kans.
 2013 (July 22-26) = Oregon City, Oreg.
 2014 (Aug. 5-9) = Kearney, Nebr.
 2015 (Sept. 21-25) = Lake Tahoe, Nev.
 2016 (Aug. 1-5) = Fort Hall, Idaho
 2017 (Aug. 8-12) = Council Bluffs, Iowa
 2018 (Aug. 6-10) = Ogden, Utah
 2019 (Sept. 3-7) = Santa Fe, N.M.

Oregon NHT Advisory Council:

Both of the council meetings noted below were held in conjunction with OCTA's annual meeting. The council chairs were Reed Jarvis or Daniel J. Tobin, both with the NPS's PNWRO in Seattle. NOTE: there was no advisory council for the California NHT.

Aug. 18-19, 1983 – Independence, MO

Aug. 13-15, 1984 – Oregon City, OR

3. Santa Fe Trail Association

The organization, sometimes called SFTA, was founded in September 1986, and was known for its first year as the Santa Fe Trail Council. The first issue of Wagon Tracks was published in November 1986. In addition, the NPS published an occasional newsletter, Santa Fe Trail News, with issues as late as February 2002. The Santa Fe NHT bill was enacted in May 1987.

Presidents:

1986-89 = Marc Simmons, Cerrillos, NM
 1989-91 = Joe Snell, Topeka, Kans.
 1991-95 = Bill Pitts, Oklahoma City, OK
 1995-97 = Ross Marshall, Merriam, KS
 1997-2001 = Mgt. Sears, Santa Fe, NM
 2001-05 = Hal Jackson, Placitas, NM
 2005-06 = George Bayless, Santa Fe, NM
 2006-2010 = Joanne VanCoevern, Salina, Kans.
 2010-2013 = Roger Slusher, Lexington, Mo.
 2013-2015 = LaDonna Hutton, Rocky Ford, Colo.
 2015-pres. = Larry Justice, Derby, KS

Executive Directors:

Oct. 2004-Oct. 2007 = Clive Siegle, Dallas, Tex.
 Oct. 2007-Aug. 2010 = Harry Myers, Santa Fe, N.M.
 Sept. 2010-present = Joanne VanCoevern, Salina, Kans.

Symposia (odd years exc. 1986) and Rendezvous/Annual Meeting (even years):

1986 (Sept. 12-13) – Trinidad, Colo.
 1987 (Sept. 24-27) – Hutchinson, Kans.
 1988 (June 2-4) – Larned, Kans.
 1989 (Sept. 27-30) – Santa Fe and Las Vegas, N.M.
 1990 (May 26-June 2) – Larned, Kans.
 1991 (Sept. 26-30) – Arrow Rock, Mo.
 1992 (May 28-30) – Larned, Kans.

1993 (Sept. 23-26) – La Junta and Las Animas, Colo.
 1994 (June 3-4) – Larned, Kans.
 1995 (Sept. 21-24) – Larned and Great Bend, Kans.
 1996 (May 30-June 1) – Larned, Kans.
 1997 (Sept. 24-28) – Elkhart, KS; Boise City, OK; and Clayton, NM
 1998 (Sept. 24-27) – Larned, Kans.
 1999 (Sept. 23-26) – Council Grove, KS
 2000 (Sept. 21-23) – Larned, Kans.
 2001 (Sept. 27-30) – Las Vegas, N.M.
 2002 (Sept. 19-21) – Larned, Kans.
 2003 (Sept. 24-28) – Independence-Kansas City, Mo.
 2004 (Sept. 16-19) – Larned, Kans.
 2005 (Sept. 29-Oct. 2) – McPherson, KS
 2006 (Oct. 27-29) – Larned, Kans.
 2007 (Sept. 27-30) – Trinidad, Colo.
 2008 (Sept. 18-20) – Larned, Kans.
 2009 (Sept. 24-27) – Arrow Rock, Mo.
 2010 (Sept. 14-16) – Larned, Kans.
 2011 (Sept. 22-25) – Dodge City, Kans.
 2012 (Sept. 20-22) – Larned, Kans.
 2013 (Sept. 26-29) – Ulysses, Kans.
 2014 (Sept. 18-20) – Larned, Kans.
 2015 (Sept. 17-20) – Santa Fe, N.M.
 2016 (Sept. 22-24) – Larned, Kans.
 2017 (Sept. 27-30) – Olathe, Kans.
 2018 (Sept. 20-22) – Larned, Kans.
 2019 (Sept. 25-28) – St. Louis, Mo.

Santa Fe NHT Advisory Council:

This advisory council was established on Dec. 1, 1987 and terminated on Dec. 1, 1997. The council was initially co-chaired by Wm. deBuys (Conservation Fund, Santa Fe, N.M.) and David Sandoval (University of Southern Colorado, Pueblo). Beginning with the August 1992 meeting, the chair was Ramon Powers (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka), who served for the council's remaining years.

June 21-22, 1989 – Santa Fe, NM

Nov. 6-7, 1989 – Council Grove, KS

Nov. 15-16, 1990 – La Junta, CO

Aug. 27-28, 1992 – Kansas City, MO

Nov. 4-5, 1993 – Las Vegas, NM

May 11-12, 1995 – Dodge City, KS

Nov. 14-15, 1996 – Santa Fe, NM

4. Trail of Tears Association

The association, informally known as TOTA, was founded in May 1993. Between November 1989 and February 2001, the NPS wrote a newsletter variously called Trail of Tears Newsletter or Trails of Tears National Historic Trail, but in August 2002 the association began publishing Trail News, with assistance from NPS staff. The bill to authorize the Trail of Tears NHT was enacted in December 1987.

Presidents:

1993-2001 = H. Riley Bock (New Madrid, Mo.)

2001-present = Jack Baker (Okla. City, Okla.)

Executive Directors:

May 1993 – April 1995 = Dawnena Walkingstick Darnall (Sec./Treas.), Simpsonville, S.C.

January 1996 – March 2008 = Paul Austin, Little Rock, Ark.

May 2008 – May 2014 = Jerra (Quinton) Baker, Little Rock, Ark. & Bremerton, Wash.

May 2014 – present = Troy Wayne Poteete, Webbers Falls, Oklahoma

Conferences:

1996 (Apr. 17-18) = N. Little Rock, Ark.
 1997 (appx. May 23), Cherokee, N.C.
 1998 (Apr. 28-30) = Hulbert, Okla.
 1999 (appx. May 18) = Sweetwater, TN
 2000 (Apr. 27-29) = Cartersville, Ga.
 2001 (Apr. 25-26) = Cape Girardeau, Mo
 2002 (Oct. 16-18) = Fort Smith, Ark.
 2003 (Oct. 6-9) = Cherokee, N.C.
 2004 (Oct. 25-28) = Catoosa, Okla.
 2005 (Oct 31-Nov 3) = Chattanooga, TN
 2006 (Oct. 9-12) = Springfield, Mo.
 2007 (Nov. 5-8) = Rome, Ga.
 2008 (Sept. 22-25) = Little Rock, Ark.
 2009 (Oct. 5-8) = Guntersville, Ala.
 2010 (Sept. 20-23) = Metropolis, Ill.
 2011 (Oct. 3-6) = Cherokee, N.C.
 2012 (Oct. 22-25) = Norman, Okla.
 2013 (Oct. 7-10) = Hopkinsville, Ky.
 2014 (Oct. 6-9) = Memphis, Tenn.
 2015 (Oct. 5-8) = Cape Girardeau, Mo.
 2016 (Oct. 3-6) = Dalton, Ga.
 2017 (Oct. 16-18) = Fort Smith, Ark.
 2018 (Oct. 26-29) = Decatur, Ala.
 2019 (Oct. 11-13) = Paducah, Ky.

Trail of Tears NHT Advisory Council:

This council was authorized in July 1988. The chairs were Dr. Duane King, Los Angeles, Calif. (1991-1997) and Bobbie Heffington, Little Rock, Ark. (1997-2002). Jere Krakow (NPS) made the decision to “sunset” this council in early Nov. 2002; it became inactive in early 2003.

Sept. 17-18, 1991 – Tahlequah, Okla.

Apr. 9-10, 1992 – Red Top Mountain State Park, Cartersville, Ga.

Oct. 8-9, 1992 – Cape Girardeau, Mo.

May 27-28, 1993 – Nashville, Tenn.

Mar. 3-4, 1994 – Florence, Ala.

Mar. 30-31, 1995 – Chattanooga, Tenn.

Apr. 16, 1996 – North Little Rock, Ark.

May 23, 1997 – Cherokee, N.C.

Apr. 28, 1998 – Wagoner, Okla.

May 18, 1999 – Sweetwater, Tenn.

Apr. 26, 2000 – White, Ga.

Dec. 15, 2000 – Memphis, Tenn.

Oct. 23, 2001 – Little Rock, Ark.

June 10-11, 2002 – Memphis, Tenn.

Oct. 15, 2002 – Fort Smith, Ark.

5. National Pony Express Association

This association, known by its acronym NPEA, was founded in 1977, and the organization’s principal activity – the annual Pony Express Re-ride – has been held continuously since the late 1970s. (Since the early 1980s, horses and riders have gone between St. Joseph, Missouri and Sacramento, California; they have gone eastbound in odd years and westbound in even years.) The Pony Express NHT bill was enacted in August 1992. There was no advisory council for the Pony Express NHT.

Presidents:

Malcolm (Mac) McFarland, 1978-1980
 George (Chips) Franklin, 1980-1983
 Bill Arant, 1983-1985
 Pat Hearty, 1985-1987
 Ken Martin, 1987-1990
 Clark Maxfield, 1990-1992
 Wendel Overfield, 1992-1995
 Wayne Howard, 1995-1998
 Dale Ryan, 1998-2001
 George Lange, 2001-2004
 Dave Sanner, 2004-2007
 Les Bennington, 2007-2010
 Jim Swigart, 2010-2013
 Lyle Ladner, 2013-2016
 Dean Atkin, 2016-present

National Directors' Meetings (held in September):

1980 = Salt Lake City, Utah
 1981 = North Platte, Nebraska
 1982 = Sparks, Nevada
 1983 = Casper, Wyoming
 1984 = Casper, Wyoming
 1985 = Casper, Wyoming
 1986 = Sandy, Utah
 1987 = Stateline, Nevada
 1988 = North Platte, Nebraska
 1989 = Marysville, Kansas
 1990 = Gillette, Wyoming
 1991 = Placerville, California

1992 = St. Joseph, Missouri
 1993 = Carson City, Nevada
 1994 = North Platte, Nebraska
 1995 = Seneca, Kansas
 1996 = Tooele, Utah
 1997 = Julesburg, Colorado
 1998 = Folsom, California
 1999 = St. Joseph, Missouri
 2000 = Carson City, Nevada
 2001 = Gering/Scottsbluff, Nebraska
 2002 = Casper, Wyoming
 2003 = Julesburg, Colorado
 2004 = Marysville, Kansas
 2005 = Henefer, Utah
 2006 = Sacramento, California
 2007 = St. Joseph, Missouri
 2008 = Carson City, Nevada
 2009 = Kearney, Nebraska
 2010 = Casper, Wyoming
 2011 = Julesburg, Colorado
 2012 = Seneca, Kansas
 2013 = Tooele, Utah
 2014 = Sacramento, California
 2015 = St. Joseph, Missouri
 2016 = Fallon, Nevada
 2017 = Ogallala, Nebraska
 2018 = Torrington, Wyo.
 2019 = Julesburg, Colo

6. El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association

This organization, often called CARTA, had its initial meeting in Socorro, NM on March 15, 2003, and its quarterly newsletter *Chronicles of the Trail* was initially published in January-March 2005. The bill to authorize El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro was enacted in October 2000. There was no advisory council for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT. In July 2016, NTIR noted that it would not renew the NPS-CARTA task agreement and that NPS funding would therefore expire in September 2016; CARTA, however, would continue.

Presidents:

George Torok, El Paso, Tex. – 2003-05
 Pat Beckett, Las Cruces, N.M. – 2005-09
 Will Ticknor, Las Cruces, NM – 2009-10
 Patrice “Tisa” Gabriel, Santa Fe – 2010
 Tom Harper, Socorro, N.M. – 2010-12
 Sim Middleton, Las Cruces – 2012-14(?)
 Jacobo de la Serna, Espanola – 2015-16
 Peggy Hardman, Socorro – 2016
 David Reynolds, Albuquerque – 2016-17
 Troy Ainsworth, Los Lunas – 2017-pres.

Executive Directors:

Jean Fulton, Mesilla, N.M. – 2008-11
 Raffi Andonian, Las Cruces, N.M. – 2011-2012
 Troy Ainsworth, Los Lunas, N.M. – 2012-2016
 [vacant since 2016]

International Colloquia on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

1995 (June 7-9) = Valle de Allende, Chih.
 1996 (Oct. 24-26) = Santa Fe, N.M.
 1997 (Oct. 6-12) = Durango, Dgo.
 1998 (July 9-11) = Alcalde/Española, NM
 1999 (Oct. 26-28) = Zacatecas, Zac.
 2000 (Sept. 6-10) = El Paso, TX/Las Cruces, NM/Ciudad Juárez, Chih.
 2001 (Nov. 7-9) = Aguascalientes, Ags.
 2002 (Oct. 10-12) = Albuquerque, N.M.
 2004 (Nov. 17-19) = Guanajuato, Gto.
 2006 (Apr. 27-30) = Socorro, N.M.

Annual Meetings (called Symposia in 2007 and from 2010-present):

2004 (early Oct.) = El Camino Real
 Heritage Center, Socorro, N.M.
 2005 (Oct 1) = Las Golondrinas, N.M.
 2006 (Sept. 9) = Albuquerque, N.M.
 2007 (Sept. 15-16) = El Paso, Tex.
 2008 (Sept. 27) = Los Lunas, N.M.
 2009 (Sept. 18-20) = Las Cruces, N.M.
 2010 (Oct. 16) = Santa Fe, N.M.
 2011 (Sept. 23-25) = Bernalillo, N.M. [scheduled, not held]
 2012 (Oct. 27) = Los Lunas, N.M.
 2013 (Sept. 27-29) = Los Caminos Reales de América Int’l Symposium, El Paso
 2014 (Oct. 11) = El Paso, Tex.
 2015 (Oct. 17) = La Cienega, N.M.
 2016 (Oct. 15) = Sevilleta N.W.R., N.M.
 2017 (Oct. 28) = Truth or Consequences, N.M.

2018 (Sept. 29) = El Paso, Tex.

7. Old Spanish Trail Association

This organization, sometimes known by the acronym OSTA, was founded in June 1994, and the first issue of its newsletter Spanish Traces was dated January 1995. The Old Spanish NHT bill was enacted in August 2002. There was no advisory council for the Old Spanish NHT.

Presidents:

Ron Kessler, Monte Vista, Colo., Jan. 1994-May 1998
 Charles Querfeld, Longmont, Colo., May 1998-June 2000
 Harold Steiner, Las Vegas, Nev., June-Nov. 2000
 Willard Lewis, Santa Fe, N.M., Nov. 2000-June 2001
 Elizabeth Warren, Jean, Nev., June 2001-June 2003
 Steve Heath, Cedar City, Utah, June 2003-June 2004
 Reba Grandrud, Phoenix, Ariz., June 2004-June 2007
 Douglas Knudson, South Fork, Colo., June 2007-June 2009
 Reba Grandrud, Phoenix, Ariz., June 2009-June 2013
 Ashley Hall, Las Vegas, Nev., June 2013-October 2017
 Vicki Felmlee, October 2017 – present

Managers

Donald Davidson, Washington, D.C., Jan. 2008-Mar. 2009
 Don Mimms, Pueblo, Colo., Apr. 2009- Dec. 2010
 Dennis Ditmanson, Las Vegas, Nev., Jan. 2011-Aug. 2015
 John Hiscock, Kanab, Utah, Aug. 2015- Sept. 2018
 Lynn Brittner, Albuquerque, N.M., Sept. 2018-present

Conferences:

1994 (Jan. 15) = Del Norte, Colo.
 1995 (May 20-21) = Monte Vista/Del Norte, Colo.
 1996 (June 8-9) = Grand Junction, Colo.
 1997 (June 21-22) = Saguache, Colo.
 1998 (June 2-3) = Santa Fe, N.M.
 1999 (June 5-7) = Las Vegas, Nev.
 2000 (June 10-11) = Taos, N.M.
 2001 (June 9-10) = Redlands, Calif.
 2002 (June 8-9) = Cedar City, Utah
 2003 (June 21-22) = Durango, Colo.
 2004 (June 5-6) = Page, Ariz.
 2005 (June 18-20) = Las Vegas, Nev.
 2006 (June 9-11) = Green River, Utah
 2007 (June 7-10) = Barstow, Calif.
 2008 (June 6-8) = Ohkay Owingeh, N.M.
 2009 (June 5-7) = Ignacio, Colo.
 2010 (Apr. 29-May 2) = Fredonia, Ariz./Kanab, Utah
 2011 (June 2-5) = Pomona, Calif.
 2012 (June 14-17) = Richfield, Utah
 2013 (May 31-June 2) = Cortez, Colo.
 2014 (Oct. 16-19) = Las Vegas, Nev.
 2015 (Sept. 17-20) = Santa Fe, N.M.
 2016 (July 29-30) = Grand Junction, CO
 2017 (Oct. 5-8) = Barstow, Calif.
 2018 (Oct. 22-26) = Vancouver, Wash. (part of PNTS conference)

8. El Camino Real de Los Tejas NHT Association

The association, sometimes known as “El Camino Tejas” or “the Camino Association,” was founded on July 18, 2007 and was headquartered in San Marcos until 2011, when it moved to Austin. Its newsletter (El Correo) was initially published in January 2010. The bill authorizing El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT was enacted in October 2004. There was no advisory council for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT.

Presidents:

Andrew Sansom, San Marcos – 2007-10

Duke Lyons, San Augustine – 2011

Lucile Estell, Rockdale – 2011-2013

Carl Mica, Austin – 2013-2015

Christopher Talbot, San Marcos – 2015- 2017

Henry Mayo, College Station, 2017-2018

Tom Byrd, Houston, 2018-present

Executive Directors:

Mary Waters, San Marcos, 2007-2009

Steven Gonzales, Austin – 2009-present

Annual Meetings:

2007 (Oct. 31) = San Antonio, Tex.

2008 (Oct. 24) = Bastrop, Tex.

2009 (Oct. 16) = Castroville, Tex.

2010 (Oct. 21) = Rockdale/Apache Pass

2011 (Oct. 21) = Bastrop, Tex.

2012 (Oct. 19) = Robeline/Los Adaes, La

2013 (Oct. 18) = Bryan, Tex.

2014 (Oct. 16-18) = San Antonio, Tex.

2015 (Oct. 16-17) = Laredo, Tex.

2016 (Oct. 21) = Nacogdoches, Tex.

2017 (Oct. 21) = Goliad, Tex.

2018 (Oct. 12-14) = San Antonio, Tex.

9. Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program

Partnership associations related to the Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program take place at both the corridor-wide and statewide levels. On a corridor-wide level, the National Historic Route 66 Federation has helped sponsor the annual International Route 66 Mother Road Festival (see below). Congress authorized the program in August 1999 and intended it to sunset after ten years, but in March 2009, Congress re-authorized the program for an additional ten years (until August 2019).

International Route 66 (Mother Road) Festivals

1997 (Oct. 11) = Landergin, TX

[1998 – no festival]

1999 (Oct. 3) = Amarillo, Tex.

2000 (May 7) = Kingman, Ariz.

2001 (July 21) = Albuquerque, N.M.

2002 (Sept. 26) = Springfield, Ill.

2003 (Sept. 26) = Springfield, Ill.

2004 (June 11) = Tulsa, Okla.

2005 (Sept. 15) = San Bernardino, Calif.

2006 (June 22-25) = Albuquerque, N.M.

2007 (May 24-25) = Clinton, Okla.

2008 (June 18-22) = Litchfield, Ill.

2009 (Sept. 11-13) = Flagstaff, Ariz.
 2010 (June 17-20) = Baxter Springs, KS
 2011 (June 9-12) = Amarillo, Tex.
 2012 (Sept. 21-23) = Springfield, Ill.
 2013 (Aug. 1-3) = Joplin, Mo.
 2014 (Aug. 14-17) = Kingman, Ariz.
 2016 (Nov. 10-13) = Los Angeles, Calif.
 2018 (July 12-15) = Shamrock, Tex.

Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program Federal Advisory Council:

This council was established via a Federal Register notice in May 2004, but the NPS did not announce its establishment until November 2005. Ten years after Congress passed the authorizing legislation for this program, the advisory council “sunsetted” in August 2009.

Feb. 9-10, 2006 – Albuquerque, N.M.
 Nov. 8-9, 2006 – Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Nov. 1-2, 2007 – Pasadena, Calif.
 Nov. 6-7, 2008 – St. Louis, Mo.

*Route 66 Archive and Research Collaboration (ARC),
 renamed Research 66 in 2016 – meets each spring*

2007 – Albuquerque, N.M.
 2008 – Albuquerque, N.M.
 2009 – Los Angeles, Calif.
 2010 – Santa Fe, N.M.
 2011 – Tulsa, Okla.
 2012 – Albuquerque, N.M.
 2013 – Flagstaff, Ariz.
 2014 – Burbank, Calif.
 2015 – Springfield, Ill.
 2016 – Albuquerque, N.M.
 2017 – Canyon, Tex.
 2018 – Albuquerque, N.M.
 2019 – Baxter Springs, Kans.

Appendix 6. Budget and Staff Information, NTIR Trails, 1986-2017

Year	Cali (1992)	ELTE (2004)	ELCA (2000)	MOPI (1978)	OLSP (2002)	OREG (1978)	POEX (1992)	SAFE (1987)	TRTE (1987)	Total NTIR Trails	Total NPS Trails	Total NTIR FTE	Masau Trail (\$/FTE)	Route 66 CPP (\$/FTE)
1986						14.0				14.0	626.0	0		
1987						14.5		auth.	auth.	14.5	713.1	0		
1988						13.6				13.6	773.7	0		
1989						13.6		0		13.6	840.6	1	0 / 0	
1990						14		74		88	943	2	75K / 1	
1991						15		78		93	972	2	33K / 2	
1992	auth.					15	auth	81		96	1073	2	34K / 1	
1993				0		15		81	0	96	1380	2	34K / 1	
1994	0			75		100	0	206	40	421	2192	2	34K / 1	
1995	35			74		99	35	205	40	488	2043	3	34K / 0	
1996	35					99	35	205	41	489	1928	12	34K / 1	
1997	36			74		102	36	446	42	736	2432	11	33K / 1	
1998	61			78		103	61	460	42	805	3068	12	33K / 0	
1999	61			78		107	61	468	42	817	3578	11	34K / 0	auth.
2000	61		auth	78		111	61	481	249	1041	4274	12	34K / 0	0/0
2001	201			128		213	181	581	248	1552	6095	15	34K / 0	499K/0
2002	201			128	auth	215	181	590	248	1563	6592	17	34K/0	300K/0
2003	199		0	126	0	214	179	592	245	1555	6522	19	34K/0	297K/0
2004	246	auth.	70	125	70	213	177	631	296	1828	6961	18	34K/0	293K/0
2005	253	0	111	128	72	253	182	674	333	2006	7633	19	34K/0	301K/0
2006	278	49	140	128	101	286	182	722	361	2247	8266	20	35K/0	301K/0
2007	278	49	140	128	101	295	182	741	361	2275	8491	19	35K/0	301K/0
2008	323	176	271	205	227	378	229	† 935	424	3168	11823	17	34K/0	296K/0
2009	353	201	291	245	247	440	254	†1070	508	3609	13213	17	34K/0	296K/0
2010	353	201	291	245	247	440	254	†1117	508	3656	14010	20	34K/0	296K/0
2011	352	201	290	245	247	433	253	726	500	3247	10597	20	34K/0	295K/0
2012	346	198	285	241	243	425	249	716	491	3194	10423	21	34K/0	289K/0
2013	324	187	268	227	229	399	234	673	460	3001	9793	20	32K/0	271K/0
2014	343	196	282	239	241	421	247	708	485	3162	10319	21	34K/0	286K/0
2015	344	197	283	240	242	424	248	711	486	3175	10422	20	34K/0	287K/0
2016	343	196	284	242	241	427	248	755	485	3221	10948	19	34K/0	289K/0
2017	349	198	288	245	243	433	251	715	491	3213	11193	19	34K/0	290K/0

Note: The numbers in the first 11 columns (after “year”) are “actual,” “enacted,” or “final” budgets, in thousands of dollars.

“Total NPS Trails” figures after 1992 include “National Trail System Development” costs.

FTE = full-time equivalents (full-time staff positions).

“auth.” shows years of Congressional authorization, if 1986 or later; all authorization dates are shown under the trail acronym.

The figures above do not include funds allotted through the Challenge Cost Share Program, the Connect Trails to Parks Program, or other non-ONPS sources. The Masau Trail (which Congress authorized in 1987 but never established) was considered a line-item trail for budget purposes (and listed in the park-unit section) from 1990 to 1992; since 1993, it has been listed in the “Other Field Organizations and Affiliated Areas” section.

† The line-item Santa Fe NHT budget for the 2008-2010 period, as noted in the NPS Budget Justifications volumes, include considerable costs related to the Old Santa Fe Trail Building, costs that are unrelated to administering the Santa Fe NHT. Given that the SAFE budget during the years both before and after this period range from \$716,000 to \$741,000, it is estimated that the actual SAFE budget for 2008-2010 averaged between \$720,000 and \$750,000 annually.

Sources: NPS, Budget Justifications volume (“green book”), annual. For the years 2000 through 2019, these are located on the “Inside NPS” website <http://data2.itc.nps.gov/budget2/gbchoose.htm>. Data from prior “green book” volumes are courtesy of Eric Holliday, IMR Budget Technician, IMRO, Denver.

Appendix 7. Key Dates for NTIR Trails and Partnership Associations

Trail	Sig-nificance Period	Study / Enacted Date	Feas Std. Draft, Final	1st Year with a budget	Logo/ Certif. Date	CMP Draft, Final	Unigrid (b&w, color)	Advisory Council Dates	Assn Es-tab. Date	Coop Agr Assoc / 1st Proj Work	Exec Director Estab.
OREG	1841-1848	10/1968, 11/1978	4/1977 (BOR)	1983m, 1994f	1985/96, 8/1993	8/1981, 8/1999	1987b, 1993c	8/1983-8/1984	8/12/1982 (OCTA)	8/2002, 1990	1986, '95, 8/2003
MOPI	1846-1847	10/1968, 11/1978	9/76-6/78 (HCRS)	1994m, 2001f	1983/96, 11/1984	9/1981, 8/1999	1985b, 1995c	1/1981-5/1984	1991 (MTA)	---, 1983	---
SAFE	1821-1880	10/1968, 5/1987	7/1976 (BOR)	1990m, 1994f	1989, 1/1991	4/1989, 5/1990	1991b, 1996c	6/1989-11/1996	9/1986 (SFTC)	8/20/1991, 1990	10/2004
TRTE	1838-1839	3/1983, 12/1987	9/1985, 6/1986	1994m, 2000f	1992, 3/1996	9/1991, 9/1992	1996b, 2012c	9/1991-10/2002	5/1993 (TOTA)	9/1993, 1994	5/1993
CALI	1841-1869	8/1984, 8/1992	2/1987, 9/1987	1995m, 2001f	1996, 5/2000	8/1998, 8/1999	2001c	---	8/12/1982 (OCTA)	8/2002, 1994	1986, '95, 8/2003
POEX	1860	8/1984, 8/1992	2/1987, 9/1987	1995m, 2001f	1996, 10/2001	8/1998, 8/1999	2003c	---	1977 (NEPA)	2004, 1992	---
ELCA	1598-1882	11/1993, 10/2000	10/1996, 3/1997	2004m, 2005f	2002, 11/2006	8/2002, 4/2004	2006/p, 2010c	---	3/15/2003 (CARTA)	mid-2003, 2005	2008
OLSP	1829-2848	11/1996, 12/2002	7/2000, 7/2000	2004m, 2006f	2010, 7/2017	7/2017, 12/2012	2012c	---	6/1994 (OSTA)	2006, 2006	1/2008
ELTE	1680-1845	11/1993, 10/2004	4/1998, 7/1998	2006m, 2008f	2010, 9/2011	7/2010, 9/2011	2014c	---	7/18/2007 (ELTEA)	2007, 2008	9/2009
TRTE (addl.)	(1838-1839)	12/2006, 3/2009	9/2007, 11/2007	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Long Walk	1862-1868	8/2002, not done	1/2008, 10/2009	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
ROSI	1926-1985	9/1990, 8/1999	10/1994, 5/1995	2001	[none/ none]	---	---	2/2006-11/2008	n.a	n.a., 2001	n.a.

Explanations for Column Titles:

Trail: OREG = Oregon NHT
 MOPI = Mormon Pioneer NHT
 SAFE = Santa Fe Trail NHT
 TRTE = Trail of Tears NHT
 CALI = California NHT
 POEX = Pony Express NHT
 ELCA = ElCamino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT
 OLSP = Old Spanish NHT
 ELTE = El Camino Real de los Tejas NHT
 TRTE (addl.) = Trail of Tears additional routes legislation
 ROSI = Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program
 Long Walk = Feasibility Study Cong.
 Study Date = Date that the trail’s study bill passed Congress and was signed by the president
 Feas. Std. Draft = Date in which the draft, and final, trail feasibility studies were completed. These were written by the NPS, except for the OREG and SAFE studies (by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation) and MOPI studies (by both the BOR and the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service)
 Trail Enacted Date = Date that the trail’s authorization bill passed Congress and was signed by the president
 1st Year with a Budget = initial year of trail funding, as noted by a line item in the annual NPS Budget Justifications book. Many trails initially received marginal (m) funding – typically less than a \$50,000 – before they received their first full (f)

funding.
 Logo/Certif. Date = top line shows when each trail received its logo (OREG and MOPI received revised logos at a later date), while the second line shows when each trail received its first partnership certification. CMP Draft Final = Date in which the draft, and final, trail comprehensive management plans were completed. Old Spanish NHT has a comprehensive administrative strategy (CAS) rather than a CMP. All of these were written by the NPS, except for the ELCA CMP and the OLSP CMP, which were jointly written by staff from the NPS and BLM.
 Unigrid (b&w, color) = Each trail has a basic explanatory pamphlet, or “Unigrid.” Several trails had a black-and-white (b) version before receiving a color (c) version. ELCA had a 3-panel pamphlet, in both 2006 and 2010, before receiving a regular Unigrid.
 Advisory Council Dates = four NHTs, plus ROSI, had advisory councils. The chart shows the first and last meeting date for each advisory council.
 Assn Estab. Date = date in which each cooperating association was founded. The names of these associations are:
 OCTA = Oregon- California Trail Assn
 MTA = Mormon Trail Assn.,
 SFTC = Santa Fe Trail Council (which was succeeded, a year later, by the Santa Fe Trail Assn.),
 TOTA = Trail of Tears Assn.,
 NPEA = National Pony Express Assn.,
 CARTA = Camino Real Trail Assn.,
 OSTA = Old Spanish Trail Assn.,
 ELTEA = El Camino Real de los Tejas Assn.

Coop Agr Assoc / 1st Project Work = top line shows when the partnership association established its first working partnership with the NPS trails office, while the second line shows when trail-related projects (signage, interpretation, research, etc.) began.
 Exec Director Estab. = date in which each cooperating association had an executive director (also known as an association manager). OCTA had two short-term executive directors – from 1986 to 1987 and again from 1995 to 1997 – before the OCTA board created the position of association manager in 2003.

Appendix 8. Historic Resource Studies (HRSs) and Multiple Property

Trail Name	Date Authorized	Study Type	Date Awarded	Author(s) / Affiliation	Date Completed	NRHP Nominations Prepared
OREG/CALI	Nov. 1978/ Aug. 1992	HRS (3 volumes)	2000	Will Bagley / Prairie Dog Press	2006/2010, 2012	---
OREG/CALI	Nov. 1978/ Aug. 1992	MPDF-OR	2011	Stephen Dow Beckham	2013 (draft)	3
MOPI	Nov. 1978	HRS	1990	Stanley Kimball / SIU Edwardsville	May 1991	---
MOPI	Nov. 1978	MPDF	2012	Richard Talbot and Deb Harris / BYU Office of Public Archaeology + NTIR	May 2016 (draft)	2
POEX	Aug. 1992	HRS	1992	Anthony Godfrey / U.S. West Research	Aug. 1994	---
SAFE	May 1987	MPDF #1	1991	Alice Edwards / Urbana Group	July 1993	40
SAFE	May 1987	MPDF #2	2009	Kansas State Historical Society staff (NRHP = SHPO in NM and NTHP in CO) – includes state-by-state synopses	April 2013	KS=30 NM=7 CO=13
TRTE	Dec. 1987	MPDF #1	2000	Sara Parker / Philip Thomason and Associates	June 2003	24
TRTE	Dec. 1987	MPDF #2	2013	Middle Tennessee State University / Carroll Van West	2016	---
TRTE	Dec. 1987	MPDF-MO	2013	Tiffany Patterson / Missouri SHPO	Oct. 2014	6
ELCA	Oct. 2000	MPDF	2007	Tom Merlan, Mike Marshall, and John Roney / NM SHPO	April 2011	10
OLSP	Dec. 2002	MPDF	2009	Reba Grandrud and Mark Henderson / Old Spanish Trail Association	2012 (draft)	6
ELTE	Oct. 2004	MPDF	2009	Lena McDonald and Tony Scott / HRA Gray and Pape	October 2011	10

Documentation Forms (MPDFs) for NTIR’s National Historic Trails

Appendix 9. Partnership Certifications in NTIR - Chronology

Trail Name	Authorization Date	Date of First Certification	Number of Partnership Certifications at the Close of Calendar Year:					
			1995	2000	2005	2010	2013	2018
MOPI*	Nov. 1978	Nov. 1984	1	1	3	4	4	10
OREG*	Nov. 1978	Aug. 1993	1	4	9	18	18	26
SAFE	May 1987	Jan. 1991	34	51	63	72	74	83
TRTE	Dec. 1987	Mar. 1996	0	9	26	54	65	76
CALI*	Aug. 1992	May 2000	0	3	8	17	17	29
POEX*	Aug. 1992	Oct. 2001	0	0	1	1	4	8
ELCA	Oct. 2000	Nov. 2006	n/a	0	0	11	24	26
OLSP	Dec. 2002	Sept. 2017	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	4
ELTE	Oct. 2004	Sept. 2011	n/a	n/a	0	0	14	32
Subtotal, Northern Trails			2	8	21	40	43	73
Subtotal, Southern Trails			34	60	89	137	177	221
Total- no duplicates betw. NT & ST			36	64	94	143	186	248

Note - Trails with an asterisk (*) indicate one of the four northern trails.

Appendix 10. Challenge Cost Share Program Funds for IMR's National Trails Office, 1995-2015

Fiscal Year	ELCA	ELTE	OLSP	SAFE	TRTE	Santa Fe Office- Total	Four Trails (SLC Office) Total	Grand Total
1995				9=39,990		9=39,990	5=107,000	14=146,990
1996				4=42,000		4=42,000	unknown	4+=42,000+
1997				9=28,000		9=28,000	?=120,600	9+=148,600
1998				unknown		unknown	9=105,000	9+=105,000+
1999				3=12,800	1=6,000	4=18,800	unknown	4+=18,800+
2000				2=42,600	2=93,000	4=135,600	9=110,000	13=245,600
2001				3=40,600	1=30,000	4=70,600	6=115,000	10=185,600
2002				unknown	unknown	unknown	4=115,000	4+=115,000+
2003				4=30,300	5=48,700	9=79,000	9=163,084	18=242,084
2004	2= 4,500			5=37,000	4=17,300	11=58,800	7=94,100	18=152,900
2005	1=25,000	2=11,450	1= 1,000	8=75,750	6=59,500	18=172,700	9=181,600	27=354,300
2006	1=13,290			4=55,900	7=100,410	12=169,600	9=177,484	21=347,084
2007			4=90,860	1=15,000	2=41,040	7=146,900	8=151,500	15=298,400
2008	1= 7,500	1= 4,800		3=58,313	3=68,228	8=138,841	9=158,060	17=296,901
2009	3=64,458		1=30,000	4=35,600	1=10,625	9=140,683	8=155,618	17=296,301
2010	3=58,082	3=40,333		4=53,944	1=9,025	11=161,384	5=31,810	16=193,194
2011	1= 8,149		1=21,405	2=26,398	3=58,702	7=114,654	10=156,351	17=271,005
2012	3=81,557	2=29,400		5=95,735	1=19,466	11=226,158	8=150,287	19=376,445
2013	1=19,125	2=20,207		3=50,876	1=24,710	7=114,918	5=56,370	12=171,288
2014							1=30,000	1=30,000
2015		2=44,295		1=24,710	1= 24,710	4=93,715		4=93,715

Numbers in the chart indicate 1) number of projects for that trail, and 2) total amount of federal funds expended.

Source: *NTIR, Superintendent's Annual Reports (or Annual Narrative Reports)* for various years, 1995-2015.

Appendix 11. Connect Trails to Parks Funds for IMR's National Trails Office, 2008-2017

Fiscal Year	ELCA	ELTE	OLSP	SAFE	TRTE	SLC Office Total	"All Trails"	Grand Total
2008		150,000		37,500				187,500
2009		40,000	unknown	unknown		unknown		unknown
2010					unknown			unknown
2011		unknown		unknown				unknown
2012		unknown		unknown				unknown
2013	52,407			7,722			51,480	111,609
2014	99,500	117,009		24,336	99,975			340,820
2015		69,500		24,184		16,532		110,216
2016	99,777			70,623	99,507			269,907
2017				12,092	99,507	63,165		174,764
Total	251,684	376,509+	unknown	176,457+	298,989+	79,697+	51,480	1,234,816+

Numbers in the chart indicate total amount of federal funds expended.

Source: *NTIR, Superintendent's Annual Reports (or Annual Narrative Reports)* for various years, 2008-2017.

Appendix 12. Auto Tour Route NHT Interpretive Guides – Creation, Production, and Revision

Title of Volume	Beginning Date	Publication Date	Revision Date(s)
<i>Western Missouri Through Northeastern Kansas</i>	2003	Sept. 2005	Sept. 2010
<i>Nebraska and Northeastern Colorado</i>	2005	August 2006	Sept. 2010, Oct. 2015, Dec. 2016
<i>The Mormon Pioneer Trail Across Iowa in 1846</i>	2004	April 2007	Dec. 2010
<i>Across Wyoming</i>	2006	July 2007	Oct. 2011, Dec. 2016
<i>Along the Snake River Plain Through Idaho (The Tangle of Trails Through Idaho)</i>	2008	Oct. 2008	
<i>Utah - Crossroads of the West</i>	2008	Sept. 2010	
<i>Across Nevada on the Humboldt Route and the Central Route of the Pony Express</i>	2008	Apr. 2012	Oct. 2015
<i>Oregon and Washington (in process)</i>	2013	2020 (proposed date)	
<i>California (proposed)</i>	---	---	

Appendix 13. Route 66 Cost-Share Grant Project Statistics

a. *by Fiscal Year, 2001 - 2018*

Fiscal Year	# of Eligible Applicants	Amount Requested	# of Funded Projects	NPS Funded Amount	Applicant Cost- Share Match
2001	17	\$506,200	15	\$405,500	\$202,171
2002	26	\$696,087	10	\$151,227	\$242,733
2003	21	\$430,911	13	\$121,075	\$437,354
2004	28	\$685,799	10	\$84,394	\$119,062
2005	19	\$303,189	8	\$101,124	\$154,074
2006	13	\$365,436	7	\$117,102	\$380,372
2007	24	\$633,945	10	\$163,516	\$221,246
2008	13	\$207,655	7	\$82,875	\$237,896
2009	7	\$141,239	3	\$66,737	\$172,790
2010	9	\$177,569	5	\$83,227	\$265,938
2011	21	\$383,361	10	\$133,919	\$160,491
2012	14	\$201,237	10	\$103,487	\$103,487
2013	10	\$204,225	6	\$81,224	\$98,768
2014	15	\$287,252	5	\$77,013	\$137,183
2015	11	\$234,476	4	\$97,380	\$125,714
2016	10	\$163,363	8	\$103,730	\$105,010
2017	11	\$188,187	8	\$104,987	\$186,332
2018	15	\$253,077	7	\$87,491	\$95,338
Totals:	283	\$6,063,209	146	\$2,166,008	\$3,445,959

b. by State, Fiscal Years 2001-2018

State	# of Eligible Applicants	# of Funded Projects	NPS Funded Amount	Applicant Cost-Share Match
Arizona	36	22	\$249,979	\$337,565
California	24	7	\$149,812	\$169,088
Illinois	47	28	\$348,019	\$484,766
Kansas	9	7	\$98,113	\$227,668
Missouri	44	23	\$398,159	\$483,152
New Mexico	55	26	\$342,889	\$344,255
Oklahoma	52	24	\$418,589	\$1,148,162
Texas	13	7	\$138,019	\$228,974
<i>(affects all eight states)</i>	2	2	\$22,429	\$22,429
Totals:	283	146	\$2,166,008	\$3,455,959

Appendix 14. Route 66 Multiple Property Documentation Forms (MPDFs) and Allied Documents

Scope of Study	Title of Document	Author(s) and Affiliation	NRHP Listing Date	Assoc'd NRHP Nominations*
<i>[entire route]</i>	<i>Route 66 Corridor National Historic Context Study</i>	Michael Cassity, Thomason and Associates	Dec. 15, 2004	---
<i>[entire route]</i>	<i>Historic Properties Associated with U.S. Highway 66, from Chicago to Santa Monica, 1926 to 1985 (MPDF)</i>	Michael Cassity, Phil Thomason (Thomason and Associates), and NTIR Staff	April 4, 2012	40
Arizona	<i>Historic U.S. Route 66 in Arizona (MPDF)</i>	Teri A. Cleeland, Kaibab National Forest	May 19, 1989	34
California	<i>U.S. Highway 66 in California (MPDF)</i>	Carol Roland, Heather Goodson, Chad Moffett, and Christina Slattery; Mead & Hunt, Inc.	January 3, 2012	16
Illinois	<i>Historic and Architectural Resources of Route 66 Through Illinois (MPDF)</i>	Dorothy R.L. Seratt and Terri Ryburn-Lamont, Route 66 Association of Illinois	Sept. 30, 1997	19
Kansas	<i>Historic Resource of Route 66 in Kansas (MPDF)</i>	Elizabeth Rosin, Historic Preservation Services, LLC	July 14, 2003	5
Missouri	<i>Route 66 in Missouri (MPDF)</i>	Ruth Keenoy and Terri Foley, Foley & Keenoy	July 27, 2009	12
New Mexico	<i>Historic and Architectural Resources of Route 66 Through New Mexico (MPDF)</i>	David J. Kramer, contract historian	Nov. 22, 1993	44
New Mexico	<i>Description and Historic Context for Pre-1937 [Route 66] Highway Alignments</i>	David J. Kramer, contract historian	March, 2003	---
Oklahoma	<i>Route 66 and Associated Historic Resources in Oklahoma (MPDF)</i>	Maryjo Meacham, Brenda Peck, Lisa Bradley and Susan Roth, Design Research Center, University of Oklahoma	Dec. 19, 1994	66
Texas	<i>Route 66 in Texas MPS MPDF [multiple property submission]</i>	Monica Penick and Gregory Smith, Texas Historical Commission	Aug. 8, 2006	9

* - Some, but not all, of the associated National Register of Historic Places nominations were part of the contracts that resulted in the statewide MPDFs.

Appendix 15. Route 66 Building Surveys and Roadbed Surveys

Scope of Study	<i>Building Surveys - Title</i>	Date	<i>Roadbed Surveys - Title</i>	Date
Arizona	Don W. Ryden, <i>Historic resources Survey of Commercial Properties along Historic Route 66 between Parks and Hackberry, Arizona</i> (1996); Motley Design Group, <i>An Historic Resource Survey of Route 66 in Arizona</i> (2012)	1996, 2012	David E. Purcell, Jeffrey P. Charest, Olivia M. Charest, and R. Sean Evans, <i>Route 66 Geodatabase Project Report</i>	2017
California	Mead and Hunt, <i>Route 66 Associated Property Types and Roadbed Inventory U.S. Highway 66 in California</i> (from the California/Arizona border to the eastern boundary of the City of Pasadena)	2016	Mead and Hunt, <i>Desert Roadbed Survey Methodology and Results</i> (from the California/Arizona border to the eastern boundary of the City of Pasadena)	2013
Illinois	Barton Aschman and Archaeological Research, Inc., <i>Historic Route 66 in Illinois</i> (1995); Heritage Research, Ltd., <i>Route 66 in Illinois: 2012/12013 Update and Expansion of the Original 1994/1995 Survey</i> (2013)	1995, 2013	Barton Aschman and Archaeological Research, Inc., <i>Historic Route 66 in Illinois</i> (1995); Illinois Historic Pres. Agency, <i>Route 66: Finding Illinois' Original Roadbed Segments from Chicago to Illinois</i> (2008)	2008
Kansas	Historic Preservation Services, LLC, <i>A Cultural Resource Survey of Route 66 through Kansas</i>	2002	Historic Preservation Services, LLC, <i>A Cultural Resource Survey of Route 66 through Kansas</i>	2002
Missouri	Becky L. Snider and Debbie Sheals, <i>Route 66 in Missouri: Survey and National Register Project</i>	2002	[not undertaken]	
New Mexico	David Kammer, <i>The Historic and Architectural Resources of Route 66 through New Mexico</i> (1992); David Kammer, <i>Route 66 through New Mexico: Re-survey Report</i> (2003)	1992, 2003	Christopher Brown, <i>New Mexico Route 66 Alignment GIS Project</i>	2018
Oklahoma	Michael Cassidy, <i>Route 66 in Oklahoma: a Survey of Historic Resources along Route 66</i>	2002	Oklahoma Route 66 Association, <i>Oklahoma Route 66 Roadbed Documentation Project (1926-1970): A Survey of Roadbed and Integral Structures</i>	2001, 2002
Texas	Monica Penick, <i>Route 66 through Texas: Survey Materials</i>	2002	Monica Penick, <i>Route 66 through Texas: Survey Materials</i>	2002

