

# Why Lewis and Clark Matter: History, Landscape and Regional Identity

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To travel the northern Plains is to fully immerse in the Lewis and Clark expedition. As we are constantly reminded, the men trekked through the area two hundred years ago as representatives of the newly founded U.S. government. The landscape commemorates their expedition with ubiquitous roadside markers, interpretative centers, hotel signs and restaurant logos. Especially now during the bicentennial, we encounter an endless array of celebrations, publications and souvenirs.

In this article I use this now familiar historic expedition to explore how contemporary Americans, and Montanans in particular, use history to articulate modern-day issues and concerns. I analyze some of the ways that people have responded to, represented—and in some cases fought about—the trek in order to understand popular interpretations of history and how they communicate a sense of place and cultural identity. Why, I wonder, do Lewis and Clark matter in 2006 and how have they acquired such prominence? What is the fuss all about? How does an historic event far removed from contemporary life become meaningful?

Unlike other studies that focus on the expedition's national significance and legacies, this project locates Lewis and Clark commemorations in regional discourses of the northern Plains.<sup>1</sup> Using a diverse array of popular material artifacts and readings of literature and landscape features, I look at how different expedition anniversary celebrations reflect changing socio-economic conditions and perceptions of place in Montana. Over the years, Montana's Lewis and Clark enthusiasts have anticipated millions of additional tourists since the expedition spent more time in their state than any other. As Earl Pomeroy notes in *In Search of the Golden West*, his pathfinding work on tourism in the American West, tourists' expectations can become intertwined with a place's own self-images.<sup>2</sup> In this study, I am less interested in interpreting tourists' viewpoints and responses than those of the people who have lived in Montana and identified it as home. I historicize the commemorations to help elucidate contemporary forms of memorializations. I track the dramatic shift from using the historic expedition to celebrate the state as a place of industry and progress through the 150th anniversary in the 1950s to envisioning the state as an "unchanged landscape," as state literature currently

advertises at the 200th anniversary.<sup>3</sup> Over the last fifty years, the expedition transformed from a celebration of human achievement understood in the context of the cultural and economic history of the state to a means of preserving and celebrating wild places and areas seemingly untouched by history and Euro-American cultures. This new anti-modernist approach, I argue, expresses present-day environmental concerns, highlights the failure of so many of the state's economic bases in the twentieth century, and promotes tourism.

Conversely, I look at how government agencies and environmental nonprofit organizations help to frame present-day nature conservation in terms of a site's historic and cultural significance rather than simply championing its intrinsic biological or natural worth. The article also addresses how current commemorations reveal competing perceptions of place and history,



**Figure 1.** Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail sign along highway 91 between Livingston and Bozeman, Montana puts the imprint of history on the landscape, 2004. Photograph by the author.

and unresolved racial tensions between Indians and non-Indians, expressed in part through confrontations along the National Park Service's Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail. And as I pursue these interconnections, I focus especially on the consequences for all social groups of a vision of a static landscape that erases two hundred years of transformation.<sup>4</sup>

As I rolled across the northern plains on my trip out to my new job in Montana from the east coast in the summer of 2004, I was confronted with the "history" of Lewis and Clark all along this final leg of my route. Iconographic images of the two (and sometimes with the famous Sacajawea at their backs) mark the landscape and tied their excursion to my own—as well as thousands or perhaps millions of others sharing the road. Every few miles Lewis and Clark appeared on roadside markers and interpretative centers erected by the National Park Service and other organizations across highway 94 in South Dakota and along Route 90 in Montana (Figure 1). Of the 171 historic markers in Montana, 41—nearly one quarter—relate to Lewis and Clark, exhibiting the strength of the Corps' imprint on the landscape. (Not to mention Lewistown, Lewis Lake, Lewis & Clark National Forest, Lewis and Clark County, Clark Fork, and Clark City to name only a few of the many natural features and places named for the pair.)<sup>5</sup>

On a brief side trip to Livingston, Montana, I passed the Clark's Crossing Restaurant and Lounge and when pulling onto Main Street from 7th Avenue in Bozeman, the Lewis and Clark Motel, whose large 1960s-era neon sign of the duo serve as another form of garish, though endearing, historic marker, greeted me (Figure 2). All the while, a rustic voice from Yellowstone Public Radio reminded me what the Corps was doing two hundred years ago to the day, as the station did every day for the length of their journey.

The Park Service and hotel signs are more similar, I think, than they might seem at first glance. While the one has more obvious educational goals than the other, they both used this particular historic event to identify the region and to entice tourists. At the same time, the signs also suggest which aspects of Montana history are most important and which are less so. While I eagerly stopped for roadside historic markers and am an avid listener to NPR, they all left me wondering how the public decides what is significant about the past and what is not. Why this event and not others? Although men and women have obviously been through the area before and since 1805, why is it through the eyes of the Corps of Discovery that these present-day public sites and a popular community radio station encourage travelers to see and experience the world before them?

To sort out why Lewis and Clark received all this attention on the 200th anniversary of their trip, I started by comparing current interpretations with those of the past. Not only did popular commemorations differ from today's but, in some cases, they were absent altogether. The Corps' celebrated return



**Figure 2.** Lewis and Clark Motel sign illustrates the popular use of history to help create a sense of place in the northern Plains. Photo by the author.

to St. Louis in 1806 soon faded from popular memory in the United States.<sup>6</sup> When I turned to the first edition of the *Contributions of the Historical Society of Montana* from 1876, I found practically nothing on the now-famous expedition. The author mentioned it mostly as a way to dramatically describe how an expedition member, John Colter, was nearly killed by Blackfoot Indians.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, he prefaced this first official history of the state with a rather cynical statement about the richness of Montana's past. "To [the Historical Society of Montana]," he stated, "was confided the trust of accumulating information illustrative of the early history of the region of country embraced in what is now the Territory of Montana. The trust seems, at first, a barren and thankless task. There is not, probably, in the United States a region of equal area about which so little information can be gleaned as that par-

allelogram along their northern border which contains springs of the Columbia and the Missouri.”<sup>8</sup> Up until the publication of its last issue in 1940, *Contributions* devoted no more than a few scattered pages in each volume to the expedition.<sup>9</sup> While currently portrayed by many as the beginning of history in Montana, for state historians through the 1940s, it seems the Corps of Discovery barely registered as an historic event much less a pivotal one.<sup>10</sup>

I scanned Bozeman’s local newspaper, *The Avant Courier*, for the years 1904 to 1906 without much more success. While the paper printed an article in May 1904 about Olin Wheeler’s history of the expedition written for the Northern Pacific Railroad to entice ridership along its routes, the paper did not otherwise acknowledge the event during its Centennial anniversary. Probably astonishing to readers of Stephen Ambrose’s best-selling 1997 book *Undaunted Courage* and viewers of Ken Burns’ 1997 documentary, which celebrate Lewis and Clark as Western pathfinders, a 1905 *Avant Courier* article entitled, “The Real Discoverer of the Northwest,” provides nary a mention of the two.<sup>11</sup> Instead it waxes eloquent about the now-nearly-forgotten Frenchman Pierre Radisson, who left a journal about his travels through the northern Plains in the seventeenth century.

Soon after publication of Rueben Gold Thwaites’s edition of the journals in 1905, which were based on Lewis’s and Clark’s diaries, the expedition gained prominence but commemorators framed the trip in a way that may seem strange to people now.<sup>12</sup> While many celebrated the day-to-day experiences of the explorers, they also used it as an opportunity to highlight modernity and the progress they believed the West had made over the last one hundred years. In 1905, *The Avant Courier* wrote less about the trek than the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, Oregon.<sup>13</sup> The Exposition’s celebration of modern technology and the West’s natural resources were apparently bigger news than the historic expedition.

Despite the honorary title, Lewis and Clark actually took second stage to the exposition’s focus on future horizons, including especially economic development, industrialization, and imperial expansion in the trans-Pacific arena. The exposition’s emblem used the two explorers to suggest great changes to come rather than to celebrate the past. It depicts them in buckskin facing the Pacific Ocean aglow in sunlight with a woman donning the American flag—an effigy of Progress—standing between them. One observer at the time noted, “The whole [emblem] symbolizes confidence, energy, trust, and solemn wonder, and well illustrates the well-known and appropriate sentiment on the stately colonnade at the main entrance of the exposition grounds, ‘Westward the course of empire takes its way.’”<sup>14</sup>

Besides the reference to Lewis and Clark in the “Trail” midway, the fair mostly ignored the expedition and instead copied amusements and educational features common to world’s fairs in this time period, including musi-

cal acts, anthropological displays (mostly considered distasteful by today's standards), and state pavilions and exhibitions. Montana's exhibits, like those of other states, stressed the ideas of innovation and industry by displaying recent technological advances and agricultural products alongside the state's natural resources.<sup>15</sup> (The same exhibits were used at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, perhaps reflecting a lack of identification with the expedition itself.)

One impact of Wheeler's and Thwaites's publications, and perhaps the exposition, was to encourage some Montanans to try to identify Lewis and Clark sites in their state. The greater recognition brought to the pair also inspired the state government to commission the artists Charlie Russell and Edgar Paxson to depict them in murals for the state capitol during the Teens. Most efforts to erect monuments, however, died from lack of interest. A Montana Daughters of the American Revolution-sponsored memorial was erected in the town of Bannock in 1925, though Lewis and Clark were grouped with gold miners and vigilantes. The group also funded a bronze tablet dedicated to Sacajawea across the street from the Sacajawea Hotel in Three Forks—a town adjacent to the famous headwaters of the Missouri River. After the Centennial Exposition, Sacajawea was popularized as a figurehead for the suffrage movement and statues of her sprung up across the country.<sup>16</sup>

Around the time of the 125th anniversary in the Twenties, the Society for Montana Pioneers helped push a bill through the Montana legislature to support a Lewis and Clark monument. Several towns vied for the honors of hosting the sculpture. Yet the \$15,000 needed to augment the state's \$5000 donation could not be raised, so the sculpture remained an artist's sketch.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, the Three Forks Chamber of Commerce unsuccessfully lobbied the United State government for a national Lewis and Clark memorial at the Missouri River headwaters. In its brochure, the organization promoted the Corps' campsite as much as a modern transportation hub for rail lines and highways as a place to contemplate the past.<sup>18</sup>

In 1929, a bill designating Fort Benton as a site for an expedition memorial was also defeated. According to the Lewis and Clark memorial commission at Fort Benton, "the townspeople, who had prepared a site for a memorial were left with just that, a site."<sup>19</sup> Nowadays, of course, open space—or a "site"—is considered the ideal monument to the two, yet at this time in Montana's history commemorators believed art and artifice best represented the men's accomplishments and perhaps their own values and self-perceptions. Likewise, instead of a quiet walk in the woods or canoe trip, citizens of Great Falls celebrated the 125th anniversary in 1930 on the Fourth of July with a pageant, fireworks, and a parade. By marching Lewis and Clark alongside pioneers in covered wagons, miners, and floats "depicting industrial life of the city and the state," the commemorators linked the expedition



to the region's cultural legacies and its economic development.<sup>20</sup>

At the 150th anniversary in 1955, Montanans were still using Lewis and Clark to celebrate the idea of modernity. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company, the largest employer and developer of natural resources in the state, sponsored newspaper ads about the historic trek and donated copper for a memorial plate at Pompey's Pillar, a large rock formation where the expedition camped, thereby tying the historic trek to corporate culture at the time. In the Fifties, Pompey's Pillar was a privately operated public monument because state and federal governments would not fund and support it. The owners built a local access road to the site, though instead of envisioning it as an isolated nature reserve, they hoped to turn it into a western history theme park with a Gay-Nineties saloon, stagecoach rides, a fur-trading post, and an Indian village. Like the other forms of commemoration, this one placed Lewis and Clark within historical narratives about change and development instead of casting them as the antithesis to them, which is more common today.<sup>21</sup>

Three Forks commemorated the 150th anniversary with outdoor reenactments of trip segments at the newly established Headwaters State Park.<sup>22</sup> Yet, advertisements in the souvenir program offer telling clues to not only how these Montanans viewed the travelers but also how they saw themselves. Juxtaposing an image of the two explorers paddling a canoe with a fast moving train, an ad for The Milwaukee Railroad exclaims, "Lewis and Clark opened the Northwest but trains like this one made it great!" It adds, "A business man wishing to undertake a profitable exploration of his own should study the Milwaukee's steel road to market. No arduous effort is needed" (Figure 3). The back cover's Montana Power Company advertisement stresses the same forward-looking and commercial themes. It states, "The waters that carried Lewis and Clark to Montana, today serve our home, [and] industries." It continues, "Yes, the forces against which the men of the famous expedition paddled and pulled their craft 150 years ago have been harnessed to light our homes and turn the wheels of industry in our great state....We believe Lewis and Clark would be pleased if they were to return to Montana today to see what their successors have accomplished in the land of the Shining Mountains."<sup>23</sup>

Before the creation of a national trail commission in 1965, which endorses Lewis and Clark heritage tourism via the highways of the eleven states in which the Corps of Discovery passed, the railroad was the prime promoter of the historic route.<sup>24</sup> Yet rather than encouraging passengers to look back in time as they gazed out the car windows, the railroad companies enticed riders to envision the future. In a speech commemorating the sesquicentennial anniversary of the trek, Robert S. MacFarlane, the president of Northern Pacific Railways at the time, highlighted change, economic development, and

Lewis and Clark opened the Northwest  
but trains like this one made it great!

A hundred and fifty years ago Lewis and Clark blazed a trail up the Missouri to Three Forks, Montana, now a flourishing cattle town on The Milwaukee Road. There the Indian maid, Sacajawea, persuaded her brother, a Shoshone chief, to guide the Lewis and Clark party safely to the Pacific Coast. Opening almost an entire continent, it was one of the dramatic explorations of history.

A business man wishing to undertake a profitable exploration of his own should study the Milwaukee's steel road to market. No arduous effort is needed. Your nearest Milwaukee Road representative is a ready source of information on the facilities and abilities of this modern railroad. A phone call or note from you may open up a new world of shipping information.

**THE MILWAUKEE ROAD**  
Route of the SUPER DOME HIAWATHAS  
CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE, ST. PAUL AND PACIFIC RAILROAD

**Figure 3.** Milwaukee Railroad advertisement that uses Lewis and Clark to stress the themes of modernity and progress at the 150th anniversary around 1955. Three Forks Chamber of Commerce, Sesqui-Centennial Souvenir Program, 1805-1955 (Three Forks, MT, ca. 1955).

exploitation of natural resources along the historic trail. He stated, “As the explorers traversed almost the entire width of the Williston Basin, the principal resources they noted were buffalo and the corn, beans and squash raised by the Indians. Today, newly discovered oil is setting the stage for changing economic patterns. As the oil industry expands, there occurs also growth in related fields—transportation, supply, manufacturing and service industries. Along the rivers of the Northwest new dams are being erected to provide irrigation for huge areas of land with a promise of long term benefits for the future.”<sup>25</sup>

By the 1960s, these new industries had also spurred highway con-

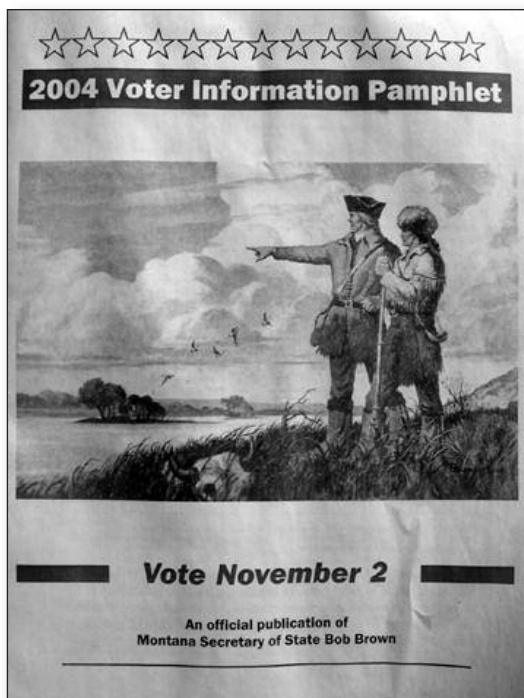


struction to facilitate economic expansion. In 1961, U.S. Route 12's Lolo Pass, an unpaved, approximately 150-mile stretch of gravel road between Lewiston, Idaho and Lolo, Montana that was one of the most difficult crossings on the historic trek, was paved and renamed the Lewis and Clark Highway. Although initiated by the U.S. Forest Service in the 1950s, regional businessmen spurred the road improvement to completion in order to shorten the distance and ease the transport of products and services to and from the west coast. Newspaper clippings from the day heralded the new highway as a means of conquering the wilderness rather than increasing access to it. "Lewis & Clark Highway to Penetrate Wilderness" read one headline and "Modern Superhighway carries 1966 Automobiles over Ancient Route Blazed by Pathfinders" announced another.<sup>26</sup> Instead of focusing on the pair and their personal exploits as many popular images do today, earlier commemorators and even park planners used Lewis and Clark as a vehicle to talk about the progress the region had made since the explorers' visit and the growth promoters anticipated in the future. Historic Lewis and Clark commemorations reflect the sense that many Montanans viewed their state as modern, industrious, and on the go.

How, I wondered, could these historic representations of the trek help explain current interpretations of Montana history and of the state's present-day state of affairs?

I sat down with a Coke on my front porch to contemplate some of the functions of Lewis and Clark today in relation to past images and my Coke, of all things, offered some answers. Written around the lip of the can are the words "Enjoy Montana and Join the Journey." This slogan alone suggests that we experience the trip as members of the Corps, which is quite a contrast to the idea of situating ourselves as distant observers on a fast-moving train as earlier advertisements promoted. It also invites tourism to the state, ties it to the classic American soft drink and all its pleasurable (as well as corporate) associations, relates Montana to adventure travel—and uses history to do it.

The image on the side of the can is the now-classic silhouette and a website address for [visitmt.com](http://visitmt.com), which I left the porch to take a look at. The website, which is sponsored by Travel Montana, a division of the State's Commerce Department, publicizes Montana as a place of "Unspoiled Adventure." Clicking on the Lewis and Clark link, I was told that "Much of the Montana landscape that Lewis and Clark crossed remains unchanged."<sup>27</sup> Unchanged? Since 1804? In keeping with this ahistorical theme, the cover of Montana's 2004 Voter Information Pamphlet portrays Lewis and Clark as lone explorers immersed in a desolate natural landscape with a bison skull at their feet



**Figure 4.** Montana's 2004 *Voter Information Pamphlet* (Helena: Office of the Montana Secretary of State, 2004), representing the state as an "unchanged landscape" since the time of Lewis and Clark.

(Figure 4).<sup>28</sup> It situates Montana back in time with no allusions to modern ways of life in sight. What happened to the industry, the ingenuity, and the commerce that the state promoted fifty years before? Not to mention the dams along the Missouri, the people that have come and gone, and the new housing developments abutting many towns.

Except for some contemporary artists, such as Greg MacGregor and Brent Phelps whose work graphically highlights the urbanization and industrialization along the Corps of Discovery's route, most commemorators try to ignore the changes that have severely altered the landscape, especially over the last fifty years.<sup>29</sup> At the 200th anniversary, the trek is no longer a marker of progress in the northern Plains but an impetus to halt change. In Montana in particular, the Lewis and Clark expedition has become a call to preserve the land, rather than to develop it, to protect and to restore both natural and cultural landscapes that harken back to an idealized era in the region's past. And Lewis and Clark themselves have been re-cast as "pioneering naturalists exploring America's wilderness."<sup>30</sup>

The initial motivations for the creation of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in the 1960s were to mark and improve the route along

the historic trek and to promote tourism and recreation in the states where it passed. The Trail is under the auspices of the National Park Service, which coordinates its efforts with state and local agencies. It also officially certifies Lewis and Clark historic sites along the way, thereby interweaving nature protection with historic preservation. Through its promotion materials, the Park Service also helps to frame people's expectations and view of the Trail, and by extension the West. With a bit of romance and clearly blinded to the urban and industrial West of the twenty-first century, the current Park Service website wistfully notes, "The Trail winds over mountains, along rivers, through plains and high deserts, and extends to the wave-lapped Pacific coast."<sup>31</sup>

One quarter of the 3700-mile Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail runs through Montana.<sup>32</sup> The Park Service posted the first historic marker in the state in 1967 and the official state highway map included the Trail's path for the first time a year later. "Wherever you go along the Trail, everything you see and touch has ties to the past," states the current Montana Tourism and Recreation Initiative brochure in harmony with the National Park Service's outlook. It adds, "The river and its habitat, native plants and animals, artifacts of people who lived here throughout time, even the rocks and minerals, the smell of the air, the lay of the land—every aspect of life here links us to our history."<sup>33</sup> All of the twenty-five sites highlighted in the Montana Lewis & Clark Bicentennial brochure about the Trail are parks, heritage sites and wildlife refuges—places set aside from growth and expansion. The Trail has also motivated communities to establish parks, such as Tower Rock State Park in Cascade County, Montana.<sup>34</sup>

In 2005, you find environmental nonprofits rather than railroads advertising in commemorative publications. In contrast to Northern Pacific's Lewis and Clark propaganda in the 1950s, a 2005 Sierra Club advertisement characterizes the development of the West as a threat not a sign of progress. In keeping with the theme and tenor of the 2005-2006 edition of *Along the Trail with Lewis and Clark Travel Planner and Guide*, the environmental group seeks to stop change not promote it. It decries "development, drilling, clear-cutting, mining and other destructive activities" and encourages commemorators to "protect the remaining pristine landscapes Lewis and Clark explored."<sup>35</sup> Other advertisers include motels, restaurants and small towns that serve heritage and nature tourists, most of whom seek out remnants of the past not signs of modern-day economic development.

One organization that is trying to combine preservation and economic development under the banner of the expedition is Undaunted Stewardship, which is a partnership of Montana State University, Montana Stockgrowers Association and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). Taking its name from Ambrose's well-known Corps history, *Undaunted Courage*, the group's goal is to help sustain Montana's family-based agriculture by mak-

ing available to the public ranches and farms that contain Lewis and Clark historic sites. Some sites are only accessible via the Missouri River. The nine ranches currently in the program are all certified by the university to subscribe to sound wildlife and land management plans.<sup>36</sup> The tourist trade supplements their farm income. The program began in 1999 in response to the federal government's plan to declare the Missouri River a national monument, which pitted public agencies against local landowners who saw themselves as good land stewards and were offended by the intrusion. (As early as 1962 the National Park Service proposed making the section of the Missouri between Fort Benton and Fort Peck dam a Lewis and Clark National Wilderness Waterway, calling it "one of the blankest areas on the map of the western United States." In 1976, Congress named a 150-mile portion of the Upper Missouri a National Wild and Scenic River, though some of the adjoining land is still in private hands.)<sup>37</sup> The Undaunted Stewardship consortium took advantage of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial to draw interest to their public-private partnership, which promotes sustainable land practices, recreation, and historic and landscape preservation.

While listening to the Undaunted Stewardship representatives at the National Park Service's Corps of Discovery II's temporary encampment at the Gallatin Valley fairgrounds in Bozeman in July 2005, a large BLM trailer with the caption "Our Changing Landscape" captured my attention.<sup>38</sup> Coming closer, I read the pronouncement, "Two hundred years ago, Lewis and Clark passed through a very different 'West' than the one we know today." Manning the educational trailer was Mike Dannenberg, who is a Mitigation and Education Specialist for the agency. I asked Dannenberg why BLM had adopted such a different perspective on the trek and contemporary Montana's relationship to it. Dannenberg said that BLM was distressed about the growing density of western forests due to twentieth-century fire prevention programs and was using Lewis and Clark's trek to educate the public about restoring regional ecosystems back, in his words, "to their historic health and appearance."<sup>39</sup> Controlled burns, he argued, would thin woodlands to a more healthy state and help re-establish many creeks now drained by the overabundance of trees. Although the BLM acknowledges vast landscape changes over time, it nevertheless evokes Lewis and Clark's trek as an idyllic period in the region's past and as a model of human interrelations with the environment. Many of these Lewis and Clark-inspired conservation programs declare natural places special because of their human history—not their lack of it. This approach contrasts with other nature protection programs, such as the national park system, which depict sites as separate refuges from human influences even as they promote tourism. While often romantic and nostalgic, the Lewis & Clark initiatives nevertheless acknowledge the historic links between people and the environment, which some environmentalists argue is

the proper philosophy for nature protection.<sup>40</sup>

If, as I argue, popular interpretations and uses of history provide keys to understanding contemporary life, what can the current and pervasive representations of Lewis and Clark tell us about life in Montana in 2006? For one, they might reflect patriotism. After all, the Corps of Discovery's trip through the state marked the first official federal presence in the region since it was incorporated into the United States with the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. In 1976, in observance of the nation's bicentennial, the earlier failed attempts to erect Lewis and Clark statues in the state finally came to fruition when a bronze sculpture to Lewis, Clark and Sacajawea was dedicated at Fort Benton. Many of Montana's Lewis and Clark celebrations coincide with Independence Day, further attesting to this patriotic link. Since 1988 Great Falls has hosted the state's largest annual Lewis and Clark festival over the 4th of July weekend. (The Corps actually celebrated the holiday at a campsite near the falls during the first leg of the journey in 1804.) And a relay footrace along the Trail in Montana proposed in 1989 certainly promoted a patriotic and nationalistic theme by referring to Lewis and Clark as "the first U.S. citizens to see our state." Harold G. Stearns, the director of the Montana U.S. Bicentennial in the 1970s and a well-known journalist and publisher in the state, exclaimed, "The courage, vision, and sheer brilliance of the two captains best exemplifies the greatness of Americans and America, and Montana's earliest proud heritage stems from their example."<sup>41</sup> I am not suggesting that people from other states are not as passionate about Lewis and Clark, only that in Montana the two historic figures could be particularly potent national symbols.

The strong anti-modern theme permeating contemporary celebrations probably reflects the realities of twentieth century economic development in the state, where some of the most promising industries, such as mining and lumbering, did not bring the long-term prosperity imagined in the early part of the century. Passenger trains have been cut back dramatically and no longer provide service to many areas of the state. Perhaps there is less faith in the traditional engines of change. Linking present-day Montana with the region in 1805 reflects a view of the state as a place apart from modern life, the "Last Best Place" as the popular slogan goes, even though it is of course unequivocally attached to it through national politics, international economies, and endemic growth issues.<sup>42</sup>

The desire to see and experience Montana through the eyes of Lewis and Clark might also reflect a strong appreciation for the natural world, one that values open spaces, wildlife habitats, and nature preserves not only for the economic opportunities they offer through tourism but because of a deeper belief in the need to protect some areas from exploitation. In the 1960s,

Lewis and Clark commemorators began to express a sense of loss over the destruction of historic and natural landscapes and began to offer a new critique on the idea of progress. The year 1960 was the first time that the U.S. Census recorded that Montana's population was more than fifty percent urban, indicating a shift in land use and probably perceptions.<sup>43</sup> One observer decried how the famous Great Falls of the Missouri in Montana had "vanished in a maze of hydroelectric dams, wires, and technology. Progress has concealed it from civilized man... These great falls, as much a landmark as Niagara, are gone."<sup>44</sup> Having seen and experienced the West before great changes took place, Lewis and Clark make compelling historic icons for many Americans who distrust urbanization and industrialization, and seek refuge in the natural world.

The great number of recent Lewis and Clark publications that stress the members' encounters with the rough terrain and wildlife, and their scientific observations and collections, such as Paul Schullery's *Lewis and Clark Among the Grizzlies* and Daniel Botkin's *Our Natural History: The Lessons of Lewis and Clark* are possibly further testaments to this veneration of nature. Yet, of course, nostalgia for a world separate from the hectic pace and contrivances of contemporary society is in many ways a product of it. As we know, modernization and economic development often go hand in hand with a desire for nature protection.<sup>46</sup> And though many celebrate them as icons of a past way of life, Lewis and Clark represented these same forces of change in their time period.

Confronting rattlesnakes, shooting elk, and dodging grizzlies are activities that many Montana natives and visitors seek out for themselves. So along with a broader nature ethic, following in the footsteps of Lewis and Clark offers an exciting outdoor adventure. For many, the historic exploration has become a catalyst for personal tours of discovery and challenge. The National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commemoration entices people to "walk with them and see what you discover."<sup>47</sup> New nature guide companies, such as Lewis and Clark Adventures of Missoula, Montana, hope to lure customers by linking river trips to the heroics of the American explorers. Recent guidebooks, such as *Bicycling Along the Lewis and Clark Trail* and *Going Along with Lewis and Clark*, also encourage us to "join the journey."<sup>48</sup>

Retracing the steps of Lewis and Clark has offered modern-day explorers a chance not only to discover American history but also themselves. Dayton Duncan's delightful travelogue, *Out West*, chronicles his private voyages along the historic path in the 1980s. He contemplates his own experiences through those of the Corps'.<sup>49</sup> The expedition's significance moved far beyond the academic to the personal for historian Stephen Ambrose who stated, "The Lewis and Clark experience has brought us together so many times in so many places that we [he and his wife] cannot express what it has



meant to our marriage and our family.”<sup>50</sup> The journals have even been re-invented as a self-help book. The back cover blurb on Jack Uldrich’s *Into the Unknown Landscape: Leadership Lessons from Lewis and Clark’s Daring Westward Expedition* claims that this book “shows leaders how they can apply Lewis and Clark’s remarkable leadership qualities to their own careers and lives.”<sup>51</sup>

Many in Montana counted on the lure of Lewis and Clark to increase tourism. The Trust for Public Lands hoped that “history will translate into dollars” and a Montana businessman’s claim that “being associated with these great men is great marketing,” never really materialized during the bicentennial. While the Sleeping Giant Brewery doubled its sales in 2004 by changing its name to Lewis and Clark, most marketers were disappointed. The tourists and their dollars did not show up in the numbers expected to relieve the state’s depressed economy, but it was not because of a lack of ingenuity and effort on the part of Montana residents. At the Great Falls 2005 Lewis and Clark Fourth of July extravaganza, a whole exhibit hall was devoted to Lewis and Clark games, figurines, t-shirts and hats, art, and books—products that appeared in gas stations and gift shops across the state and eventually in sales bins. The Great Falls Holiday Inn owners renamed their restaurant “The Portage” and gave menu items Corps-inspired names, but neither increased visitors as hoped.<sup>52</sup>

While the National Park Service and Montana Travel sought out tourists through scenic vistas, nature experiences and history lessons, the Masters family took a more literal approach to selling Montana. Once they discovered their farm contained Corps portage and campsites along the Missouri River, they bottled the beach sand and marketed it as an authentic piece of history and place. Despite the uninspired turnout of Lewis and Clark enthusiasts seeking “unchanged landscapes,” some of Montana’s leading economists and activists currently advocate the preservation of open lands less for historic preservation reasons than as the best economic hope for the state’s recovery from the bust of its extractive industries. Open spaces, they argue, are the strongest attractions for people and service industries, which they predict will help revitalize Montana’s poor economy.<sup>53</sup>

Besides land use issues, the celebration of Lewis and Clark brings contemporary racial relations to the foreground. The rise of Civil Right’s movements in the Sixties propelled new interpretations of the excursion via the lens of race relations. Some interpreters have re-invented the exposition in terms of present-day multiculturalism by suggesting the crew, which was made up of an Indian woman, a black slave, a Frenchman, and Anglo Americans, is a great microcosm of American diversity.<sup>54</sup>

Many Indian and white scholars alike have rewritten the saga from a tale of discovery to one of conquest, interpreting the event not as the beginning but as “the beginning of the end” for Native peoples.<sup>55</sup> Others have

tried to bring a greater sense of balance and equity to the early nineteenth-century cultural exchanges. As one group of scholars noted, "The Europeans saw themselves as 'discovering' the Indians, but of course the discovery was mutual."<sup>56</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the historic significance of the expedition is lost on many Native Americans. For example, Darrell Martin, vice president of the Fort Belknap Indian Community Council stated, "Lewis and Clark was only one day in our lives. We couldn't care less."<sup>57</sup> But the expedition's impact on contemporary Indian and white relations is important. One can imagine the indignation that some Native Americans might feel about the posting of the image of two white men across the Montana landscape, especially when an Indian woman led much of the trip and many land boundaries are still under negotiation. Tony Incashola, the head of the Salish Cultural Committee in St. Ignatius, Montana noted that he did not have any desire to participate in the commemoration but then decided to use it as an opportunity to publicize a Native American point of view, which is often missing from the popular discourse.<sup>58</sup> And, like other Montanans, some American Indians' view the anniversary as an economic opportunity. A sign on the Fort Peck reservation announces to out-of-town travelers, "Lewis and Clark slept here. Why don't you?"<sup>59</sup>

At the 2005 Great Falls Lewis & Clark Bicentennial celebrations, George Horse Capture, a retired curator of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Indians, did not want the festivities to only include traditional Indian entertainment and crafts or to only offer interpretations of historic Indian cultures. So, he organized a symposium, "American Indian Nations: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," and invited Indian elders and leaders to discuss topics, such as health care and education, vital to Indian communities today. Unlike most modern-day celebrations, Horse Capture used the bicentennial of, in his words, "Lewis and what's his name" to address issues of relevance to contemporary Indian peoples instead of reflecting longingly back at the past.<sup>60</sup>

Competing interpretations of the Corps of Discovery as either a triumph or an ambush exemplify prevailing conflicts over how to interpret history and whose voices are heard and remembered. Lewis and Clark memorabilia documents the harsh realities of present-day misconceptions and stereotypes about Native Americans in seemingly innocuous forms. For example, the Lewis and Clark Exploration card game produced by the History Channel invites kids to "Join their historic expedition and learn about the discoveries they made on their westward trail. Sioux warriors, grizzly bears, rattlesnakes and more complete a fact-filled adventure for all ages." Teaching children that American Indians are a part of nature and equated with bears and rattlers not only misrepresents history and cultures but also perpetuates

negative stereotypes that have serious consequences for contemporary Native Americans in their everyday lives.

Likewise, some Native Americans in South Dakota viewed the activities of a group of Lewis and Clark re-enactors as no game. In a remarkable example of history repeating itself, about twenty-five mostly Lakota-Sioux Indians from the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations tried to halt the passage of re-enactors who retraced part of the expedition route with historic garb and equipment in the fall of 2004.<sup>61</sup> The standoff replicates a similar encounter between the Sioux and the explorers the first time around. Perhaps thinking times had changed, each group was astounded by the other. The Indians were insulted by the re-enactors' insensitivities to the violence and dislocation that accompanied Euro-American western settlement, not to mention their making Lewis and Clark star actors in the drama. In turn the re-enactors were aghast that the Indians assumed that they meant them any disrespect, much less that the Indians interpreted Lewis and Clark as agents of destruction. The violence that almost erupted over this 200-year old event vividly illustrates how history matters. It also makes you wonder just how far Indian-white relations have come.

Sitting down to a Lewis and Clark lager, I am reminded of how history is a tangible part of people's everyday lives. In this case, people can drink it up and make it part of themselves. A pint of Lewis and Clark lager does much more than quench my thirst. It connects me to my new home of Montana and links me to historic legacies that continue to shape the West. These modern commemorations of and conflicts over Lewis and Clark show how Americans live with vestiges of history and how they reinvent the past to serve modern needs. Montanans' changing social and economic conditions over the course of the twentieth century affected not only the world around them but also their visions of the past and their perceptions of the environment. Once seen as a catalyst for change, the Lewis and Clark expedition has lately become a call to halt "progress." Montanans find their historic legacies not in urban and industrial centers but in natural landscapes. Ironically, they celebrate open spaces less as places apart from human history than as centers of culture and tradition (though sometimes competing ones).

Historians and historical geographers of the American West struggle with popular perpetuations of frontier myths. These celebrations, board games, roadside advertisements, heritage sites, nature preserves, and reenactments offer scholars an opportunity to explore how people link the past to their personal stories and their homes, and to bridge gaps between academic discourse and popular concepts of history and place. Finding meanings not necessarily intended by the commemorations shed light on contemporary culture, on regional identity, and on the place of history in the world beyond the academy.

## Acknowledgements

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## Notes

1. See, for example, Kris Fresonke and Mark Spence, eds., *Lewis & Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) and Rock Hushka, ed., *Lewis & Clark Territory: Contemporary Artists Revisit Place, Race and Memory* (Tacoma: Takoma Art Museum in association with University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2004).
2. Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1957). John Urry makes a similar point about the interweaving of tourists' and non-tourists' roles and ideas in the creation of a sense of place in John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2002).
3. See "Travel Montana," the Montana Department of Commerce website at [lewisandclark.state.mt.us](http://lewisandclark.state.mt.us). Accessed in August 2006. The full quotation is, "Much of the Montana landscape that Lewis and Clark crossed remains unchanged."
4. For issues relating to competing interpretations of place and history see David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and John Urry, *Tourist Gaze*. As these themes relate to the American West, see Hal K. Rothman, *The Devil's Bargain: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998); David M. Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002); David M. Wrobel and Patrick T. Long, eds., *Seeing & Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001); and John D. Dorst, *Looking West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). For the relationships between nature preservation and cultural perceptions of nature, see William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Towards Reinventing Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995) and Donald S. Moore, Jake Kosek and Anand Pandian, eds., *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
5. The historic route is also marked along U.S. Route 2, U.S. Route 12 and other roads across the state. I compared the number of Lewis and Clark markers with all those in the state of Montana listed in Montana Historical Society Press, *Montana Historical Highway Markers* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1999). For a listing of all the geographic references to Lewis and Clark in Montana, see Michael Dougherty and Heidi Pfeil Dougherty, *The Ultimate Montana Atlas and Travel Encyclopedia* (Bozeman, MT: Ultimate Press, 2002.)
6. This statement is reiterated by many Lewis and Clark scholars, including, for example, Thomas P. Slaughter, *Exploring Lewis and Clark: Reflections on Men and Wilderness* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003): xvi.
7. Historical Society of Montana, *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* 1 (1876): 99-104.
8. *Ibid.*, 5.
9. The 1910 edition was the only one that offered extended coverage of the expedition by outlining the trip from pages 271 to 296. All other volumes included only three to ten separate mentions of the event within volumes of approximately 350 pages each. For example, volume four in 1903 mentioned it only on pages 61 and 81; volume six in 1907 mentioned it on pages 42, 83 and 88; volume 9 in 1921 mentioned it on five separate pages; and volume ten in 1940 only on pages 280 and 293. See Historical Society of Mon-

- tana, *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* 1-10 (1876-1940).
10. Books on Montana history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are a bit more thorough, though they did not unanimously represent the trek in epic proportions like later generations do. For example, Michael Leeson's *History of Montana, 1739-1885* published in 1885 describes Lewis and Clark's trek in context of other expeditions in the early nineteenth century without a statement of its larger historic significance. Michael Leeson, *History of Montana, 1739-1885* (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Co., 1885). Sander's *A History of Montana* from 1913 mimics *Contributions* in its limited focus on the event. Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, *A History of Montana 1-3* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1913). Some do quote extensively from the journals, while still others begin their state histories with gold miners in the mid-1800s. See Tom Stout, *Montana: Its Story and Biography* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1921) and Christopher P. Connolly, *The Devil Learns to Vote: The Story of Montana* (New York: Covici-Friede Publishers, 1938), respectively. The point is that there was not a consensus on the importance and relevance of the expedition to Montana's history and identity in these years.
  11. Olin Wheeler's *Trail of Lewis and Clark* is an early example of an expedition history written in terms of retracing the Corps' historic steps. Olin Wheeler, *Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904: A Story of the great exploration across the continent in 1804-06, with a description of the old trail, based upon actual travel over it, and of the changes found a century later* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904). Stephen Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Ken Burns "Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery" (PBS, 1997); "The Real Discoverer of the Northwest," *Avant Courier*, Bozeman, MT (July 8, 1905): 4.
  12. Rueben Gold Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806; Printed from the Original Manuscripts in the Library of the American Philosophical Society...* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1904-1905).
  13. The full name of the exposition is the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair. See Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000) and Robert Rydell, "Visions of Empire: International Expositions in Portland and Seattle, 1905-1909," *Pacific Historical Review* 52 (1): 37-65.
  14. E. Frances Bauer, "The Development of an Empire," *The Music Trade Review, Special Edition: Lewis and Clark Exposition* 41 (Sept. 30, 1905) in box 1, Records of the Lewis and Clark Centennial, Manuscripts Division, Oregon Historical Society as quoted in Rydell, "Visions of Empire": 40.
  15. For a written account and photographs of the displays of the Exposition, see *Brief Account of the Lewis and Clark Exposition from St. Louis, Missouri to the Mouth of the Columbia River, Oregon and Return, 1804-1806* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1905). For a review of Montana's participation, see "Montana at the Lewis and Clark Exposition: Report of W.C. Buskett, Special Representative Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland, Oregon" and "Report of A.N. Winchell, Mineral Exhibit at Portland, Oregon," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* 6 (1907): 88-95.
  16. "Monument to Explorers," *Great Falls Tribune* (Dec 11, 1932); "Honor Indian Girl Who Saved Explorers: Representative Water Asks Government to Raise Monument to Sacajewea Who Guided Lewis and Clark and Preserved Their Lives," *The New York Times* (Feb 14, 1926). (Nothing ever came of this attempt.) Both articles are from the Lewis and Clark memorials vertical file, Montana Historical Society (MHS). For more on the popularization of Sacajawea, see Joanna Brooks, "Sacajawea, Meet Cogewea: A Red Progressive Revision of Frontier Romance," in Fresonke, *Lewis and Clark: 184-188*.
  17. "The History of the Henry Lion Bronze of Lewis and Clark and Sacajawea, and the Fort Benton Lewis and Clark Memorial," Lewis and Clark memorials vertical file, MHS.

18. Montana Senator Burton K. Wheeler sponsored a bill calling for the erection of a national memorial at the site of Three Forks in 1928, though nothing came of it. A copy of the bill is reprinted in *The Lewis and Clark Memorial Committee of the Three Forks Chamber of Commerce, The Three Forks of the Missouri: Logical Site of a National Memorial to Captains Lewis and Clark* (Three Forks, MT, ca. 1928). Lewis and Clark memorials vertical file, MHS.
19. Brochure of the Fort Benton Lewis and Clark Memorial Commission, Lewis and Clark memorials vertical file, MHS.
20. *Lewis and Clark Celebration, 1805-1930: 125th Anniversary Memorial, Great Falls, Mont.* Brochure, 1930. Lewis and Clark memorials vertical file, MHS.
21. The Anaconda ad is in the Lewis and Clark memorials vertical file, MHS. Information about Pompey's Pillar from Michael Kennedy, "Rebirth of a Monumental Landmark," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 6 (July 1956): 61-62. I found no evidence that the site was actually ever developed as a theme park.
22. In 1927, a private landowner, Clark Maudlin, donated nine and a half acres to create a monument there. In 1947, the Three Forks Chamber of Commerce turned to the state of Montana to establish a park with an additional twenty-one acres. The confluence of the river became Headwaters State Park on July 14, 1951. It was initially under the auspices of the Montana Highway Department and then was under the Montana Fish and Game Department (now Montana Fish, Wildlife and Parks). See Lyle K. Williams, "Clark Maudlin: Father of Headwaters State Park," *Three Forks Herald*, undated. The article is in the vertical file of the Bozeman office of Montana Fish, Wildlife and Parks.
23. Three Forks Chamber of Commerce, *Sesqui-Centennial Souvenir Program, 1805-1955* (Three Forks, MT, ca. 1955). Gallatin Valley Historical Society.
24. The establishment of a commemorative highway route was initiated by the Lewis and Clark Memorial Association in 1929. The United States Congress established the Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail in 1965. See Wallace Lewis, "On the Trail: Commemorating the Lewis & Clark Expedition in the Twentieth Century," in Fresonke: 198-213.
25. *The Lewis and Clark Traveler's Rest Buffet Lounge Car*, Northern Pacific Railroad brochure, ca. 1955. Lewis and Clark memorials vertical files MHS. For a fuller version of the address that elaborates on these themes, see also Robert S. MacFarlane, "The Lewis and Clark Country - A Century and a Half Later," in *Lewis & Clark: 1804 - Our National Epic of Exploration - 1806* (Northwest Lewis and Clark Sesqui-Centennial by the Northern Pacific Railway Company, ca. 1955). Lewis and Clark memorials vertical files MHS.
26. First headline is from *Great Falls Tribune* (Sep 15, 1950) and the second headline is from Libby, Montana's *Western News* (Oct 7, 1965). Articles in the Lewis and Clark Highway vertical file MHS. The celebratory view of road construction over Lolo Pass was not unanimous. In the 1930s when the gravel road was laid a contributor to the *Journal of Forestry* lamented, "The Lolo Trail is no more. The bulldozer balls have ripped out the hoof tracks of Chief Joseph's ponies... It is gone, and in its place there is only the print of the automobile tire in the dust." Elers Koch, "The Passing of the Lolo Trail," *Journal of Forestry* 33 (Feb 1935): 78-104, as quoted in Pomeroy: 158.
27. Website: lewisandclark.state.mt.us. Accessed August 2006.
28. 2004 *Voter Information Pamphlet* (Helena: Office of the Montana Secretary of State, 2004).
29. Greg MacGregor's work is discussed in Carol Kino, "If Lewis and Clark Could See It Now," *The New York Times*, January 23, 2005. The Amon Carter Museum of Fort Worth, Texas organized a traveling exhibition of Brent Phelps work in 2004. The show is called "Brent Phelps: Photographing the Lewis and Clark Trail." See [www.cartermuseum.org/Exhibitions/phelps/phelps.html](http://www.cartermuseum.org/Exhibitions/phelps/phelps.html). See also Hushka's exhibition catalog, *Lewis & Clark Territory: Contemporary Artists Revisit Place, Race and Memory*. In contrast, scenic photographs of the Lewis and Clark Trail available at [lewisandclarkpictures.com](http://lewisandclarkpictures.com) (copyright Wayne Mumford, 2003) do a remarkable job of hiding any evidence



- of people or development. The shot of the Great Falls of the Missouri miraculously manages to block out the massive dam and hydroelectric plant that now encompasses the falls.
30. Quotation is from the National Council for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, *Discovering the Legacy of Lewis and Clark*, undated brochure.
  31. The website address is [www.nps.gov/lecl/](http://www.nps.gov/lecl/) Accessed August 2006.
  32. Montana Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Commission, *Lewis & Clark: The Montana Journey*, brochure (Travel Montana, Department of Commerce, 1999).
  33. Montana Tourism and Recreation Initiative (MTRI), "Montana's living treasure: Caring for the lands along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail," ca. 2004. The MTRI is a coalition of state and federal agencies, including the Montana Historical Society, Montana Fish, Wildlife and Parks, the Bureau of Land Management, the USDA Forest Service and others.
  34. Sonja Lee, "L&C site new state park," *Great Falls Tribune* (July 12, 2005).
  35. *Along the Trail with Lewis and Clark Travel Planner and Guide, 2005-2006 Edition* (Helena, MT: Farcountry Press, 2005).
  36. Information about the program is available at [www.undauntedstewardship.com](http://www.undauntedstewardship.com) and an organizational brochure. The website links to the Montana Travel website, which extols the state's "unchanged" landscape.
  37. National Park Service, Midwest Region Office, "Proposed Lewis and Clark National Wilderness Waterway Montana," unpublished report (February 1962). Lewis and Clark memorials vertical file MHS.
  38. Corps of Discovery II is an educational caravan traveling along the Lewis and Clark Trail to inform people about the expedition and the regions' natural and cultural history.
  39. The quotation is from Dannenberg's conversation with the author on July 26, 2005.
  40. See William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground*, 69-90. Some environmentalists vehemently contest this viewpoint. See George Sessions, "Reinventing Nature, The End Of Wilderness?: A Response To William Cronon's Uncommon Ground," *The Trumpeter* (2001). Available on the web at <http://trumpeter.athabascau.ca/content/v13.1/10-sessions.html>. Accessed November 6, 2006.
  41. A race brochure is in the Lewis and Clark memorials vertical file MHS. Harold G. Stearns, "Lewis and Clark Trail: Historic Avenue Across America," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 14 (winter 1964): 53-57.
  42. For historical reviews of Montana's stagnating economies in the second half of the twentieth century, see Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976) and Harry W. Fritz, ed., *The Montana Heritage: An Anthology of Historical Essays* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1992). A 1988 anthology of Montana literature is called *The Last Best Place*. William Kit-tredge and Annik Smith, eds., *The Last Best Place: A Montana Anthology* (Helena: Montana Historical Society via University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1988).
  43. Harry W. Fritz, "The Origins of Twenty-First Century Montana," in Fritz, *The Montana Heritage*: 265.
  44. Ted Yates, "Since Lewis and Clark," *The American West* 2 (Fall 1965): 30.
  45. Paul Schullery, *Lewis and Clark Among the Grizzlies* (Guilford, CT: Falcon, 2002) and Daniel-Butkin, *Our Natural History: The Lessons of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Putnam, 1995).
  46. For analyses of how Americans have turned to nature as an antidote to life in an urban, industrial world, see David Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), John Sears, *Sacred Places: America's Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) and Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness."
  47. See [www.lewisandclark200.org](http://www.lewisandclark200.org). Accessed September 2004. According to the website, the

- bicentennial organization is sponsored by the National Park Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, state tourism offices, Qwest, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and private donations.
48. Michael McCoy, *Bicycling Along the Lewis and Clark Trail* (Guilford, CT: Falcon, 2003) and Barbara Fifer, *Going Along with Lewis and Clark* (Helena, MT: Farcountry Press, 2000).
  49. Dayton Duncan, *Out West: American Journey Along the Lewis and Clark Trail* (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1987).
  50. Stephen Ambrose quoted on the website for the Ken Burn's PBS documentary on Lewis and Clark. See [www.pbs.org/lewisandclark](http://www.pbs.org/lewisandclark). Accessed September 2004.
  51. Jack Ulrich, *Into the Unknown: Leadership Lessons from Lewis and Clark's Daring Westward Expedition* (New York: AMACOM, 2004). The quotation is on the back cover of the book.
  52. Trust for Public Land quotation from its journal "On the Trail of Lewis and Clark," *Land & People* (Spring 2001): 12. Information about Lewis and Clark-inspired tourism in the state is from Jo Dee Black, "Lewis and Clark Sold Here," *Great Falls Tribune* (June 5, 2005). Information about the disappointing tourist numbers is from a conversation with Jamie Cornish, the marketing director of the Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana, August 2005.
  53. The Masters family was described in Black, "Lewis and Clark Sold Here," *Great Falls Tribune* (June 5, 2005). Information about open space advocacy is from my discussions with Bill Yellowtail of the Cook Center for Sustainable Agriculture and the Sonoran Institute economist Ray Rasker. See also Sonoran Institute, *Prosperity in the Twenty-First Century West: The Role of Protected Public Lands* (2005).
  54. Bud Clark, William Clark's great-great-grandson stated, for example, "It was the epitome of how a very diverse group of Americans could come together to create success by combining their talents and pulling together." Quotation from Eric Newhouse, "Lewis & Clark legacy," *Great Falls Tribune* (July 3, 2005): 6A.
  55. William Cronon, George Miles and Jay Gitlin, "Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History," in William Cronon, George Miles and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992): 10.
  56. Gerard Baker quoted in the Living History section of the website for the PBS's "Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery," at [www.pbs.org/lewisandclark/living/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/lewisandclark/living/index.html). Accessed October 2004. See also Newhouse: 6A.
  57. Darrell Martin quoted in Angie Wagner, "Indians Want Their Side Told During Lewis and Clark Bicentennial," *Wicazo Sa Review* 19.1 (2004): 146.
  58. From my telephone conversation with Incashola in October 2004.
  59. Wagner, "Indians Want Their Side Told During Lewis and Clark Bicentennial": 146.
  60. Horse Capture is a member of the Gros Ventre tribe and grew up on the Fort Belknap reservation in Montana. Information about the event and his motivations for organizing are culled from my personal conversations with him. See also Eric Newhouse, "Tribes outline plans for future at symposium," *Great Falls Tribune* (July 2, 2005).
  61. For information on the confrontation, see Anthony Brandt, "Reliving Lewis and Clark Conflicts with Sioux," *National Geographic News* (October 4, 2004); "Indians in Dakota Vow to Stop Lewis and Clark reenactment," Indy Bay press release, September 21, 2004 and "Lewis and Clark Opened the Door to the Holocaust of the West," *UN Observer and International Report*, September 18, 2004 (both are available at [www.indybay.org/news/2004/09/169081.php](http://www.indybay.org/news/2004/09/169081.php)); and "Indians resent Lewis and Clark reenactors," *Bozeman Chronicle* (September 25, 2004). Accessed August 2006. For an archives of articles, see the website: [www.stoplewisandclark.org](http://www.stoplewisandclark.org).