Volume I - Foundation Document for

Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing

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Acknowledgements and Honoring

On January 14, Tribal elders from each of the country's regions blessed the [Lewis and Clark] Bicentennial in a sacred ceremony in the traveling exhibition's Tent of Many Voices. This blessing was an amazing and historical gift, considering that to many Indians the Lewis and Clark Expedition does not symbolize new discoveries and courage as much as the coming of the white man to Indian lands and subsequent loss of human life; loss of land, water, and wildlife; and loss of cultural ways. But 200 years later, the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial is acknowledging and blessing the value of a diversity of "many voices." The blessing ceremony seemed to affirm that we are now on the same journey, a journey not only to honor our history and its accomplishments, but also to forgive its failings and to understand it from various perspectives. This understanding can only make the United States and Tribal Sovereign Nations stronger.

—Moody, 2003 (p. 3)

Blessing

Great Spirit
Grandfathers of the Four Quarters
Mother Earth

I call out to humble myself before you
I ask for your help in blessing this event here today
I ask that all these beautiful people come with open minds
and open hearts

I pray they hear and are able to take part
in the sharing of the stories told
I ask that we can, together, learn from the lessons from our history
I ask that we can all see ourselves humble, good people
So that we can learn to respect
So that we can learn to share
So that we can learn to love

So that we can learn the lessons Oh Great Spirit,
that you would want us to

In this humble way I give you a gift from the West
and ask for special blessings upon this tent
And ask that it become a special messenger of
all that we ask for.
I offer -
Water from Grandmother Ocean
Sweet cedar from our mountains

From the Opening of the Corps of Discovery II
Tent of Many Voices, January 14, 2003
Richard Basch, Clatsop-Nehalem Tribes.

Gerard Baker at the Podium. Press Conference with the Department of the Interior Secretary, Gayle Norton, in Washington, D. C., March 7, 2003.

We begin our Honoring of Tribal Legacies by acknowledging all who have come before us—our Ancestors whose spirits reside in the lands of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (hereafter referred to as the Trail) and the animal and plant peoples who have served as our first teachers. They have connected us with the Creator since time immemorial, before, during, and after Lewis and Clark journeyed through our homelands, and serve as our guides into the future.

We pay special homage to all who were involved in planning for and carrying out the commemoration of the 2003–2006 Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. This event was pivotal in changing the way the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition was told. We see evidence of this in the blessings that were provided by representatives of various Tribal Nations, including Lawrence Dunmore III (Saponi), Armand Minthorn (Umatilla), Alan Kitto (Santee Sioux), and Richard Basch (Clatsop-Nehalem). In addition, Tribal members were prominent in telling their own stories of who they are as peoples, in expressing their perspectives on the Lewis and Clark expedition and its consequences, and in sharing visions of where they want to go in the future.

In the spirit of strengthening government-to-government relationships between Sovereign Nations, we want to acknowledge the leaders of Tribal Nations, the U.S. President, and the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Congressional Caucuses who worked together to ensure that the voices of Tribal members, whose traditional homelands were crossed by members of the Corps of Discovery, were represented in this commemoration.

Of particular significance, we want to recognize the visionary leadership provided by the 14 American Indian members who were part of the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Board of Directors—Lawrence Wetsit (Assiniboine), Jeanne Eder (Dakota), Allen V. Pinkham, Sr. (Nez Perce), Gerard Baker (Mandan-Hidatsa), George Horse Capture (Gros Ventre/A'ainin), Amy Mossett (Mandan/Hidatsa), Richard Bad Moccasin (Lakota), Roberta Conner (Cayuse/Umatilla/Nez Perce), D. Bambi Krauss (Tlingit), Chris Howell (Pawnee), Daphne Richards Cook (Oglala), Brenda Hall Dvorak (Mandan/Hidatsa/Arikara), Greg Pitcher (Shawnee), and George Heavy Runner (Blackfeet). These leaders successfully advocated for a "commemoration" of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial that demonstrated respect for varied perspectives on the Corps of Discovery. The respect accorded these leaders and the collaborative spirit represented by the non-Native members of the National Council warrants commendation. Additionally, we recognize the National Council's leadership in signing a Memorandum of Understanding with 22 federal agencies and departments who agreed to work jointly in the commemoration and in carrying out the priority of promoting Tribal participation in the Bicentennial.

Working in concert with the National Council was the Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), a group representing 40 Tribal Nations from across 11 states. Their dedication and work was essential in bringing visibility to issues of critical concern to Tribal Nations along the Trail, including sacred site protection, language preservation and restoration, and natural resource protection.

We acknowledge the contributions of the National Park Service (NPS), the federal agency that coordinated the massive undertaking of bringing together entities from Tribal, national, state, regional, and local communities to contribute to the commemoration. The historic contributions of NPS personnel, including Gerard Baker (Mandan-Hidatsa) as then Superintendent of the Lewis

and Clark National Historic Trail and Otis Halfmoon (Nez Perce), Richard Basch (Clatsop-Nehalem), and Darrell Martin (Gros Ventre/Assiniboine) as American Indian Liaisons for the Trail, were instrumental in bringing forward the voices of over 400 American Indian people through the *Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future*. Carol L. McBryant, Chief of Logistics and Chiefs of Interpretation/Field Operations, Pat Jones and Kevin Crissler, and the Interpretive Rangers who welcomed all speakers to the *Corps of Discovery II* and the Tent of Many Voices deserve our heartfelt thanks and appreciation. In addition, we thank Steve Adams, Superintendent of the Trail who brought the Bicentennial full circle, Betty Boyko, Deputy Superintendent, and Mark Weekley, the current Superintendent of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. The bold, courageous, and constant commitment of the National Park Service over the last ten years led directly to Honoring Tribal Legacies and this Epic Journey of Healing, in particular Jill Hamilton-Anderson (Education Specialist), Richard Basch (continuing as American Indian Liaison), and Carol McBryant (Former Chief of Interpretation/Education at the Trail headquarters).

The work of hundreds of "good people" along the Trail during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial was successful because they were bridge-builders. (A full listing of these people can be found in the publication, *Enough good people: Reflections on Tribal Involvement and Inter-Cultural Collaboration 2003–2006*. http://www.lc-triballegacy.org). They built bridges among Tribes and among myriad Native and non-Native individuals and organizations to carry out the expressed priority of the National Council to promote Tribal participation and to bring attention to Native perspectives related to the Trail. These "good people" understood there was a need for healing–through relationship-building, taking care of the gifts bestowed by the Creator, respecting and restoring Indigenous place names, listening to each other, and reflecting on lessons of the past and present so that we can see their connections to our futures.

The synergy of many people contributed to Tribal involvement and inter-cultural collaboration in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. Some were:

- Tribal chairmen, council members, elders, organizations, museums, colleges and universities, veteran honor guards, and warrior societies

- Non-Tribal elders
- Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commissions and Committees from 17 states
- Visitor center personnel from 14 states
- State and county historical societies and museums, interpretive centers, offices of tourism, economic development, parks and recreation, transportation, and waste disposal services
- Higher education institutions—public and private
- City and county governments, schools, local organizing groups, theaters, art museums, chambers of commerce, media
- Businesses, foundations
- Many other private, non-profit, and local organizations

They were diverse in their skills and experience:

- Educators, curriculum designers, librarians, school administrators, school board members, policymakers, cultural and linguistic specialists
- Artists, historians, photographers, authors, poets, event coordinators, interpreters, planners, builders, trail stewards
- Tourism coordinators, economists, playwrights, dancers, singers, drummers, carvers, sculptors
- Veterans, Army officers, National Guard members, law enforcement and emergency medical personnel, cartographers, wildlife and fisheries biologists, foresters, Tribal preservation officers, conservation officers, architects, horsemen, land managers, engineers
- Storytellers, performers, radio programmers, curators, videographers

We acknowledge the essential role that these bridge-builders played in instilling hope for the future. In the words of Gerard Baker (2003), "that future is in the next generation and those not yet born. The elders along the Trail say we are all proud of who we are, that we must show that pride in what we do, that we must learn from the past to have a successful future, and that we

must never, never lose our identity as American Indians," (p. 17). With an eye toward the future, we commend the numerous recipients of Challenge Cost Share grants who brought long-lasting infrastructure to their communities, in the form of visitors centers, museums, interpretive way-stations, recreational opportunities, cultural programs, and more, as well as those who invested in writing books, revitalizing oral literature, creating websites and other media that have provided a wealth of resources for *Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing*.

Particular commendations go to those who saw new possibilities for the future as they worked to sustain the momentum of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial for the teachers and classrooms of America—Tribal leaders and personnel of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail; the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation; the Lewis and Clark Trust, the official Friends group of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail; the Lewis and Clark National Historical Park; Lewis and Clark Interpretive Centers at Great Falls, Montana, and Washburn, North Dakota; the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; the National Archives; Jefferson National Expansion Memorial; Thomas Jefferson's Monticello; the Newberry Library; state historical societies and respective museums; the National Museum of the American Indian (Smithsonian Institution); the Library of Congress; the National Endowment for the Humanities; Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site in Illinois; the Lower Brule Reservation in South Dakota; the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in North Dakota; the interpreters at Fort Mandan in North Dakota; colleagues at Sitting Bull College and Fort Berthold Community College in North Dakota; Missouri's American Indian Cultural Center at Van Meter State Park; the National Frontier Trails in Missouri; the University of Montana Regional Learning Project; the Nez Perce National Historical Park in Idaho; the Idaho State Historical Society and Museum; Tamástslikt Cultural Institute in Oregon; the Columbia Gorge Discovery Center in Oregon; The Confluence Project in Oregon and Washington states; the Oregon Folklife Network; and, the University of Oregon—Education Studies, the Special Collections of the UO Libraries, and the Wired Humanities Projects. The Tribal Nations will continue to be stewards of these sincere efforts, as they partner with many friends and colleagues along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

As members of the Honoring Tribal Legacies team, we are honored to carry forward the work of bridge-building established during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. We have come together as curriculum designers, educators, weavers, storytellers, poets, authors, photographers, librarians, historians, videographers, and trail stewards, with the National Park Service Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail personnel to contribute to Honoring Tribal Legacies. We invite YOU to join this Epic Journey of Healing as we continue to build on the plan of action of those who have come before us—Native and non-Native people together—to build hope, health, and wellbeing for the next seven generations. In the words of the U.S. Department of Interior, "many voices—one journey—join us!"

(Standing right to left): Trail Superintendent Gerard Baker, Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton, and Tribal President Darrel Martin (Gros Ventre). Courtesy of the National Park Service.

Sources

The hundreds of people who contributed to the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial 2003–2006 are too numerous to list here. There is a diverse array of publications identifying participants, such as government documents, state reports, books, and journal and magazine articles. Many contributors are identified throughout Volumes I and II and the featured teachings (curriculum units) of *Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing*. We also recommend the following selected publications as key sources to assist in understanding the range of contributors who built the foundation for the current project:

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Vision

Aurora Borealis over Great Plains, November 2, 2004. Courtesy of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service.

CHiXapkaid
Tuwaduq Cultural & Research Institute

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The purpose . . . is to offer America and our children an opportunity to learn who they are, an opportunity to learn about the Lewis & Clark Trail and the people of the Lewis & Clark Trail. And when I say that, I mean that the people who were there when Lewis & Clark went through or whose territory Lewis & Clark went through. We try to look at . . . [it] in at least four different elements: what life was like before Lewis & Clark, what happened during the Lewis & Clark journey, what happened during the last two hundred years, and finally, and I think one of the most important aspects, is what we are going to do in the future. I grew up in a tradition of the Mandans and Hidatsas on my reservation in North Dakota listening to the elders, listening to the people tell their stories. We offer this opportunity today for you to listen and to learn.

Gerard Baker (Mandan and Hidatsa)

Overview

This introduction to *Volume I - Foundation Document for Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing* embraces the spirit and vision of what has been accomplished to arrive at this point in history where appreciation, respect, and love of learning are interwoven to create a stronger, compassionate, and more resilient America. We need to revisit the history of the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–06) to honor the past, present, and future voices of Tribal communities. Observations of the Bicentennial Commemoration involved millions of taxpayer dollars, donations, and Tribal resources invested in exhibitions, commemorative activities, research publications, and the recording of a vast collection of oral histories from representatives of more than 40 Tribes along the National Park Service's (NPS) Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (hereafter referred to as the Trail). It takes time for this outpouring of interest and productivity to have a significant impact upon our society.

The rationale for Honoring Tribal Legacies is that what was so very potent and vital in the past still rings true in the present and, more importantly, to our collective futures as a nation. This

rationale is reinforced by honoring what has already been accomplished by the Tribes, National Park Service, and other stakeholders. Context is further embellished by the renewed interest in Tribal Ancestral place names along the Trail.

Honoring Tribal Legacies will not address the all too real colonization and genocide that Tribal communities experienced as a result of the Manifest Destiny policies of an expanding nation obsessed with staking out and claiming territory at all costs (Miller, 2008). It is not about the untold multitude of Native children suffering from the intergenerational effects of historical trauma brought about by colonization and genocide. It is not about enduring the highest suicide rates, abject poverty, lowest educational attainment, teenage pregnancy, or substance abuse. Those realities haunt us every day. Honoring Tribal Legacies is about embodying the reality that Tribal communities still exist despite the widespread long-term campaign to undermine their place in society. That Native people are still relevant today means we should enjoy the power of positive thinking and know that we have teachings in Honoring Tribal Legacies to promote learning among all children in America's classrooms.

In his bestseller, *The Brain that Changes Itself: Stories of Personal Triumph from the Frontiers of Brain Science,* Norman Doidge (2007) reminds us that the act of refocusing is essential to healing. So when we Honor Tribal Legacies it is to refocus and tell a story not of tragedy but more so of the triumph, to look away from a deficient way of perceiving toward a more asset-oriented perception, and that death, dying, and despair are counter balanced by life, living, and joy. Such possibilities present us with many choices. It even expands the two futures expressed by Peter Diamandis and Steven Kotler (2012) in *Abundance: The Future is Better than You Think*, where the choice might be either to revert to a luddite mode of living or to accept an amped up version of merging with technology to experience ultra-enhancement both physically and cognitively.

Honoring Tribal Legacies may defy and transcend both time and space by embracing Ancestral teachings to guide our futures. A dynamic way of being is ever evolving yet steadfastly grounded and rooted in the existence of our Ancestors. As a result, it cultivates a personal responsibility to care for those who will come after us. Why deny ourselves such a reality?

A Time to Honor Our Ancestors

Worldwide, every culture honors its Ancestors through ritual at some time during the year. Flowers, candles, greenery, and symbols of beauty are always used in one form or another. Such heartfelt offerings are a natural expression of the gratitude we feel for what we have received from those who have passed on. . . . We recognize that the gifts we are thankful for today have deep roots in the past. . . . Indigenous peoples worldwide believe that these spirits literally stand behind us to support us. . . . They believe these spirits are invested in seeing that the current generation and those to come can fulfill their dreams, or life purpose.

Angeles Arrien

Living in Gratitude: A Journey That Will Change Your Life (2011, p. 102)

Tribal education dates back to a time when all children were identified and honored as being gifted and talented. Every child had skills and abilities that would contribute to the health and vitality of their communities. All Children would know who they are, where they came from, and the historical significance of their people. The people knew that if such bonds were severed the children would wander aimlessly and suffer needlessly. Honoring Tribal Legacies is about healing for the sake of goodness, a goodness extended to the young people of this world who need heroes and true stories of inspiration to aspire, to dream, and to strive to contribute meaningfully to the health and vitality of their communities each and every day. It is a bold and courageous act of kindness and consideration that oozes strength and integrity. The ultimate reward, benefit and outcome will be more laughter, learning, and loyalty all across this great country. Is that possible? Absolutely, it is possible, given the wonderful, high-quality teachings produced by our featured curriculum designers.

Curriculum Designers, Topics, and Grade Levels

The purpose of Volume I is to serve as a *Foundation Document* for Honoring Tribal Legacies. This purpose was brought to life by eight featured curriculum designers who are listed below, along with the titles of their teachings and grade levels:

- Dr. Rose E. Honey, *Discovering Our Relationship with Water,* Early Childhood
- Dr. Ella Inglebret, *Honoring Tribal Legacies in Telling the Lewis and Clark Story,* Elementary/Intermediate
- Shana Brown (Yakama), *A Thousand Celilos: Tribal Place Names and History Along the Lewis and Clark Trail,* Intermediate
- Carol Anne Buswell, *Exploring Your Community,* Intermediate
- Dr. Shane Doyle (Apsáalooke) and Dr. Megkian Doyle, *Apsáalooke Basawua Iichia Shoope Aalahputtua Koowiikooluk (Living Within the Four Base Tipi Poles of the Apsáalooke Homeland)*, Secondary
- Julie Cajune (Salish), *Sx^{w}iwis (The Journey),* Secondary
- Dr. Carmelita Lamb (Hispanic / Lipan Band of Apache), *Tribal Legacies of Pathfinding,* Secondary

The featured curriculum designers worked closely with each other, with the editors, and with representatives from the National Park Service's Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail to develop techniques and strategies to design teachings Honoring Tribal Legacies. Their interactions were motivated by the desire to provide guidelines for additional teachers and curriculum designers to approach the creation of lessons for their classrooms in new ways, following the featured curriculum designs. The collection of chapters in Volume I and Volume II might also serve as reading material for graduate students who are preparing to become pre K-12 teachers or who are becoming scholars (and possibly professors) of education studies. We present portraits of the teachings in the next section. This is followed by chapter summaries for Volume I, with many of the chapters being highly influenced by the work of the curriculum designers.

Portraits of the Teachings (Curriculum Units)

We continue our introduction to Volume I of Honoring Tribal Legacies by providing a brief portrait of each of the seven teachings produced by the featured curriculum designers. The Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA, 2009) envisioned that K-12 curriculum focused on inclusion of Tribal perspectives would grow out of the 2003-2006 Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. These seven teachings represent our humble efforts to build on momentum gained in bringing Native voices to the forefront of educational efforts during the Bicentennial commemoration. These teachings illustrate our group's application of the guidelines, concepts, and structures presented in this volume, *Volume I – Foundation Document for Honoring Tribal Legacies* (CHiXapkaid, Inglebret, & Wood, 2014a) and *Volume II – Guide to Designing Curriculum Honoring Tribal Legacies* (CHiXapkaid, Inglebret, & Wood, 2014b). We follow in the footsteps of *Enough Good People* (COTA, 2009), which built bridges across cultures in telling the story of Tribal Nations across time, in telling the story of the Bicentennial, and in telling the story of our nation in a more balanced and accurate way.

Photo courtesy of Dr. Rose Honey.

Discovering Our Relationship with Water (Designer: Dr. Rose E. Honey with help from various people—Early Childhood). Water is fundamental not only to our survival, but it is essential to our personal health, the food we eat, the industries with which we engage, the traveling that we do, and almost every activity in which we participate. The relationship that we have with our water will determine our lifestyles and possibly our survival into the future. Through six weeklong episodes, students will be guided to discover and build their own relationship with water by learning to connect to the water in their community and

understanding how water is related to everything we do:

- Connections – Water in our Community
- Balance – Sinking and Floating
- Transformation – Gas, Liquid, and Solid
- Cycles – The Movement of Water
- Reciprocity – Happy and Healthy Water
- Relationships – Plants, Animals, and Water

The curriculum utilizes maps and information from Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery's search for a waterway to the Pacific Ocean. While students learn about the beliefs and practices related to water held by Tribal peoples along the Trail, they participate in activities that connect scientific concepts with resources that offer different perspectives on relationships with water. Teaching children to appreciate and build a personal relationship with water in a way that Honors Tribal Legacies provides an understanding that water is a sacred and living entity. Looking at water in this way will allow children to recognize that we need to take care of our water, just as water is always taking care of us. Engagement in these teachings will inspire and initiate a journey of play and inquiry that is designed to promote understandings, discoveries, and relationships related not only to water, but also to the world around us.

Photo courtesy of Dr. Ella Inglebret.

Honoring Tribal Legacies in Telling the Lewis and Clark Story (Designer: Dr. Ella Inglebret—Elementary/Intermediate). The commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial held from 2003–2006 changed the way the story of the Lewis and Clark journey was being told. Tribal and non-Tribal peoples came together in partnership to plan for and participate in the Bicentennial. As a result, Tribal peoples from along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail spoke with pride

about their traditional cultures, histories, impressions of Lewis and Clark passed down through the oral tradition, their cultures today, and their plans for the future. Tribal peoples added their perspectives to the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition and its impacts.

This six-week teaching (curriculum unit) takes students on a journey through five thematic episodes centered on materials that grew out of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial:

- "Perspective: Changing the Way the Story is Told" introduces the concept of perspective and provides students with opportunities to compare and contrast perspectives communicated through symbols and written texts associated with the Lewis and Clark expedition.
- "Place: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail" involves students in exploring various ways in which the Trail, as a place, can be experienced.
- "Multiliteracies: A New Way of Thinking about the Story" introduces students to diverse forms of literacy and involves them in applying a multiliteracies framework to materials associated with the Lewis and Clark story.
- "Place-Based Multiliteracies: Experiencing the Story in Multiple Ways" brings students together in small research teams to examine the Lewis and Clark story through a variety of text forms made available in learning centers. In addition, a field trip to a nearby Tribal museum, center, or park is arranged.
- "Culminating Project: Becoming Part of the Story" provides student teams with the opportunity to design a new symbol for the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail that is inclusive of both Tribal and non-Tribal perspectives. As a final step, student teams compose an informational text and a persuasive letter that advocate for the adoption of their new symbol.

Photo courtesy of Shana Brown.

A Thousand Celilos: Tribal Place Names and History along the Lewis and Clark Trail (Designer: Shana Brown—Intermediate). Outwardly, one would presume that this is a social studies curriculum, and it is. This five-week teaching (curriculum unit), however, uses the local Tribal history and legends as a vehicle to teach targeted reading and research skills. The unit elevates local Tribal literature, experience, and oral history to mentor text status, worthy of the rigor that the Common Core requires. One cannot merely dismiss the literature with a patronizing pat on the head as the "nice little folklore of a once proud people." The literary and informational merits of the selections stand on their own.

In Episode One, students discover the history of Celilo and its place names. They listen to—and teach others—the Ichiskiin pronunciations of these place names. They understand and explain the importance of connecting past to present to future. Episode Two delves into narrative nonfiction and students practice the skill of comparing traditions, jobs, practices, and views of people living in the 1950s to today as well as Indian and non-Indian values. This episode is important early on, because it also tackles issues as complex as "what to call a Native American" and "why Indian costumes might be offensive to many Tribal people." Episode Three continues by examining how to tackle complex text and, most importantly, how to infer bias with the differing points of view of Tribal people and Lewis and Clark's description of the landscape and Celilo Falls, what they called "The Great Mart." Group research into community places begins. Students develop their own essential questions about their communities. Synthesis of research and drawing conclusions are the goals of Episode Four, with each student research team analyzing and evaluating their resources. Finally, Episode Five allows student research teams the time required to determine how they display their findings and answers to their essential questions. Teachers determine how best to exhibit the students' discoveries: a school-wide "museum exhibit," a classroom gallery walk, or small group presentations.

Photo courtesy of Carol Anne Buswell.

Exploring Your Community (Designer: Carol Anne Buswell—Intermediate). Developed by utilizing the resources of the National Park Service's Tribal Legacy Project, the National Archives, the National Museum of the American Indian, and the Library of Congress, this teaching (curriculum unit) provides specific tools and activities for intermediate grade students, as well as their teachers, parents and/or caregivers to help them discover the sacred beauty, strength, and diversity of their own communities. It can be used effectively for most other age groups as well.

In this curriculum, Native American methods of gathering and distributing information, as well as the more typical methods used by Lewis and Clark, serve as models for learning the first, most basic differences between primary and secondary sources and their uses. Learning these principles and methods is reinforced by creating, caring for, storing, and using primary and secondary sources about the student and his/her own community. It can be presented as a complete, 10-episode unit over a two-week period or broken up and introduced sequentially as individual lessons over a longer period of time. Areas of focus for the 10 episodes are:

- Episode One – Starting with You!
- Episode Two – Recording Your Own Community Experience
- Episode Three – Creating a Classroom Library and Archives
- Episode Four – Listening to Oral Histories, Creating Relevant Questions, Recording Answers
- Episode Five – Dealing with Conflicting Ideas
- Episode Six – Looking at Primary Sources from a Variety of Creators
- Episode Seven – Comparing Existing Secondary Sources
- Episode Eight – Looking at Artifacts and Related Materials
- Episode Nine – Is My Research Balanced?
- Episode Ten – Creating Secondary Sources of Your Own

Photos courtesy of the Doyle family.

Apsáalooke Bawawua Iichia Shoope Aalahputtua Koowiikooluk (Living within the Four Base Tipi Poles of the Apsáalooke Homeland) (Designers: Dr. Shane Doyle and Dr. Megkian Doyle—Secondary). This teaching (curriculum unit) is comprised of seven learning episodes varying in length from one to five 50-minute lessons. They span the history of the Apsáalooke (Crow) people and examine ideas, values, and historical and contemporary perspectives that are directly tied to students' daily lives and experiences. They are interdisciplinary, covering such topics as history, art, music, archaeology, ethnography, literature, and oration. Each lesson is designed to reach James Bank's (2014) social action level, the highest level of multicultural integration, so that students have the opportunity to apply their understanding to real world situations in ways that have significant and lasting impact. The lessons rely heavily upon classroom discussion and interaction, seeking to establish a collaborative environment that gives students voice and agency in addition to an opportunity to acquire a sense of dedication to and within a learning community. The educational journey into the homeland of the Apsáalooke people is divided into four segments, to represent the four directions and a full circle of understanding.

- "Medicine Wheel Country" focuses on the ancient cultural history of the Northern Great Plains explored through analysis of maps and other multi-media that provide information and context for Tribal oral histories and significant archaeological discoveries in the region.
- "Awaxaawakússawishe – Mountain of the Future" utilizes multimedia to access Tribal oral histories, which are also supported by archaeological data, to retrace how the Apsáalooke people came to occupy their homeland hundreds of years ago and how the identity of the Apsáalooke Tribe is inseparable from their homeland.
- "Apsáalooke Life, 1805–2014" picks up the story in 1805, the year before William Clark's Corps of Discovery group enters into the heart of "Crow Country."

The past 200 years have brought untold upheavals to the land and people of the Yellowstone region, yet the Apsáalooke people continue to survive and move their nation into the future. The sources of familial strength and communal perseverance of the Apsáalooke people are highlighted and placed into a historical context that also considers the long-term impact of historic trauma.

- "Apsáalooke People in 2014 and Beyond" uses the lens of modern "Crow" people to examine and appreciate the special legacy that all modern Montanans have inherited. Students come to understand that no matter what skin color or what cultural background we carry, everyone who loves and lives in Big Sky Country understands that the enduring spirit of the land is what heals and propels us into the future.

Photos courtesy of Julie Cajune.

Sxʷiwis (*The Journey*) (Designer: Julie Cajune—Secondary). This teaching is about a journey, the journey of the Lewis and Clark expedition. It is also about a journey of a young country evolving through history. Underlying both of these is the journey of the Salish people through time. Four episodic themes of study explore this multi-layered journey.

"The Salish World" examines the cultural geography of Salish homelands through written text, film, photographs, place names, and maps. Students get a glimpse into an intimate and old Tribal world where land was home. Details of relationship and dependence between the Salish and their territory chronicle that land was their church, store, hospital, and refuge–land was everything. Many of the place names and related stories are part of the Salish Creation story, what are commonly referred to today as "Coyote Stories." Students are reminded that it is the Salish and Pend d'Oreille tradition of taking these stories out after the first snowfall and then putting them

away with the first thunder. In following this cultural protocol for winter storytelling, the Salish and Pend d'Oreille people and their history are honored. Place names are recognized as part of the Salish people's collective memory that has been lovingly saved by Salish community members and shared generously and graciously for the generations to come.

"Our World" invites students to explore personal relationships with place through essays, poems, personal memoir, and field trips to a specific site. Individual and Tribal narratives of affection and attachment to place are utilized as anchor texts and inspiration for personal reflection. "Two Worlds Meet" analyzes accounts of the Lewis and Clark expedition entering Salish homelands through film and primary source materials. Cultural protocols of Salish hospitality are explored through the Salish response to the expedition. This example is utilized as a springboard for students to examine cultural protocols of hospitality within their family, school, and country. "Selling the Salish World" looks at intent and consequences of events 200 years ago and into the present. Diverse perspectives of this history are juxtaposed for student analysis. Concluding activities involve contemporary Tribal thoughts and feelings about the Lewis and Clark expedition and the continuing legacy of American Indians.

Photo courtesy of Dr. Carmelita Lamb.

Tribal Legacies of Pathfinding (Designer: Dr. Carmelita Lamb—Secondary). The Tribal Legacies of Pathfinding teaching (curriculum unit) is designed to bring the richness of the American Indian experience to the Corps of Discovery mainstream story that has been widely recounted over the generations. Critical pieces of information and support were shared by American Indian people with Lewis and Clark, which enabled them to successfully traverse the North American continent in 1804–1806. In terms of actual resources, the Tribes along the Trail furnished information regarding the terrain to be crossed, guides that were knowledgeable on many levels (geography, language,

Tribal associations), medicines derived from native plants, alternate sources of food that were plant-based when hunting was unsuccessful, multiple means of transportation (horses, canoes), and extended shelter from the harsh environmental elements. Without the contributions of these vital resources from the Tribes they encountered along the journey, the explorers would have faced extreme hardship and possible failure in their mission to reach the Pacific Ocean. American Indian traditions and contributions to the Lewis and Clark journey are explored through four teachings focused on:

- Cartography
- Geological Formations along the Trail
- Ethnobotany
- Human Adaptive Physiology

As a culminating project, students integrate what they have learned from these four areas into one of the following: (a) a final digital piece using a presentation application of choice (EdCanvas, Prezi, Symbaloo), (b) a three-dimensional project, or (c) a digital or analog journal incorporating multi-media, such as songs, art, prose, interview, and film.

The curricula we have just summarized will be found on the Honoring Tribal Legacies website (HonoringTribalLegacies.com), which will serve as a virtual Handbook. We anticipate curricula here to highlight how we are consciously connecting the essays in Volume I as well as the essays in Volume II (CHiXapkaid, Inglebret, & Wood, 2014b) with the teachings advanced by the featured curriculum designers.

The chapters in this volume, *Volume I – Foundation Document*, which we summarize below, are meant to: (a) remind us that we are Honoring Tribal Legacies as an outgrowth of work accomplished by the National Park Service, (b) examine the larger socio-cultural aspect of recognizing the importance of teaching about the histories that represent the full diversity of American society, (c) address the issue that Ancestral place names identify and signify an ancient and complex relationship between the natural landscape and the oral traditions of the Indigenous peoples, and (d) when it is all said and done, our histories will be populated with robust teachings

about true partnerships and collaborations that characterize sustainable relationships. We wrap up this blanket of thoughts with a final section that allows yet another opportunity to say it is essential to experience a more balanced kind of scholarship to be more aware of contributions that we all have made and will continue to make to this great nation.

Volume I Chapter Summaries

Chapter 1, *Spirit and Vision: Honoring What Has Been Accomplished*, further sets the context for Honoring Tribal Legacies. In the early part of this new century, considerable effort on many sides resulted in a remarkable transformation. What emerged was a true partnership and collaboration between a federal agency and Tribal communities to Honor Tribal Legacies in the Bicentennial Commemoration of Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery. The collective consciousness of the Tribes and their resulting presentations in the venue that would be called the "Tent of Many Voices" offer compelling lessons to be learned. Moreover, there were resources produced prior to, during, and after the Bicentennial Commemoration that are vital to acknowledge and extend. Here we also recognize the ongoing leadership of the National Park Service in supporting the design of new curricula for Honoring Tribal Legacies along the Trail. This constitutes a plan of action already in progress and represents another highly notable contribution to the Indigenous curriculum design movement.

We will greatly accelerate this necessary process through the creation of Volume I, Volume II, and the website, HonoringTribalLegacies.com, which will guide educators and other stakeholders in the design of additional curriculum. The need to understand what we are going to do in the future is implicitly embedded within the shared futures of the Tribes, the Trail, and all of us. By addressing Trail and Tribal themes, we will be opening up an intellectual dialogue with a potential for disseminating balanced perspectives and a greater appreciation for a more complex and diverse story encompassing our American history. The Bicentennial Commemoration and current efforts go a long way toward incorporating voices and perspectives of Tribal communities, whose presence represents an integral part of the socio-cultural fabric of America.

Tribal voices shed light on the human impact of U.S. expansion, which was rife with conflicts and sorrows, but also on the nature of evolving cross-cultural interaction, as well as the positive contributions of Native Americans. As a result, there may well be a need for readers to re-assess either their lack of knowledge or their preconceived notions about the Tribes as well as Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery to really appreciate the Corps of Discovery II. Such a re-assessment is encouraged as it allows for new and sometimes deep understandings to emerge and strike a path on a journey fueled by a commitment to community discourse. Public pedagogy has usually been missing when it comes to Honoring Tribal Legacies within America's classrooms.

Chapter 2, *Honoring Native Memory: Potent and Vital in the Past, Present, and Future,* addresses the need to design curriculum to balance the portrayal of American history. An effort is made to recognize the importance of teaching about the many voices and perspectives that have characterized American society. It asks us to acquire critical historical inquiry and analysis skills in order to answer questions such as:

- Why does the U.S. need a Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail? What was the rationale behind a commemoration?
- Why are Tribal Voices important?
- How do we promote systemic change and broad stakeholder ownership of a more inclusive and diverse approach to history?
- In what manner should students, teachers, school districts, and governments (Tribal, state, and national) influence curriculum planning and design?

Pertinent to our curriculum design efforts are sentiments conveyed in Trofanenko's (2008) article entitled, "More than a Single Best Narrative: Collective History and the Transformation of Historical Consciousness." This chapter transitions to sharing insights about influences that can either present obstacles or, preferably, promote the planning, design, and adoption of curriculum for Honoring Tribal Legacies. It offers many suggestions about sources and methodologies for infusing history with more Indigenous voices and perspectives.

Chapter 3, *Exploring the Deep Meaning of Place Names along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, addresses the issue that Ancestral place names identify and signify an ancient and complex relationship between the natural landscape and the oral traditions of the Indigenous peoples. Lewis and Clark's method of assigning names to natural features was representative of processes that had been established during the age of empire building. Today, modern National Park Service culture is more open to Honoring Tribal Legacies along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. NPS-Tribal collaboration shines more brightly as participants work to map ancient Indigenous place names along the Trail. Discovering the original Ancestral Tribal place names and hearing the stories that explain and accompany those names is an empowering learning experience, because it allows the student to "peel back" a layer of time and modern culture and to reveal in their mind's eye the living landscape as Indigenous peoples knew it. This contemporary model of educational collaboration decolonizes the traditional narrative of the Lewis and Clark Trail and offers students a more complete and authentic perspective from which to recognize and appreciate both the Trail and the American West, more generally.

Chapter 4, "*With Utmost Good Faith*": *Cultivating Sustainable Relationships between Tribes and Other Stakeholders,* explores myriad influences that can enhance or detract from efforts Honoring Tribal Legacies. Therefore, it is necessary to shed light on the politics and organizational processes that guide individuals and entities to learn from one another to elevate the condition of students from every community. Native histories are populated with robust teachings best conveyed in true partnerships and collaborations that characterize sustainable relationships where learning outcomes of Native communities are met at the same normative levels of other student populations that have better educational attainment and achievement measures.

In the final section, *Coming Full Circle*, we explore and continually embrace the good work that has transpired and are reminded how important it is to reflect on what Honoring Tribal Legacies means to our great nation. It is an opportunity to recognize, validate, appreciate, and learn from the teachings of Indigenous people all along the Trail and throughout our global community. The National Park Service, in cooperation and collaboration with Tribes along the Trail, have shown us

how this was possible while Honoring Tribal Legacies during the Bicentennial Commemoration. Thankfully, we continue to gain from the wisdom of that experience as it continues to evolve and flourish.

Steve Youngeagle (Cheyenne/Chippewa), Falls of Ohio Signature Event, Louisville, Kentucky. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

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CHAPTER 1

Spirit and Vision: Honoring What Has Been Accomplished

Photo Courtesy of Glacier National Park, Montana, and the National Park Service.

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"Telling America's whole story,
with all its imperfections and beauty,
is a gift to ourselves and to future generations."

– Commissioner Carolyn Finney, National Parks Second Century Commission Report, 2012, p.17

Introduction

Honoring Tribal Legacies is as much a journey of healing for non-Native people as it is for Native people. Healing begins when we face the past and embrace all of our histories. The choices we make at present will determine a more inclusive, potent, and vital future. As the Vision statement of the Honoring Tribal Legacies project states in the previous reading, sometimes there is a need to reassess our lack of knowledge and our preconceived notions to be able to come to terms with our history and to heal. In this chapter we will speak of the National Park Service (NPS) and convey its original intent as an agency and how it has evolved as an agency. To do so, the NPS origins need first to be understood within the expansionist movement of the United States and how this had a significant impact on Tribes. Accomplishing this will require a brief and yet broad review of what was going on in the U.S. prior to and at the time of the establishment of the National Park Service, including what was happening to the Tribal inhabitants. In doing so, we hope the reader may better grasp the social, economic, and political environment that gave rise to the making of national parks.

We then share a brief history of the NPS Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail's journey through the years of the Bicentennial Commemoration to understand: (a) why Tribal involvement was a transformational moment for many, and (b) why this work with Honoring Tribal Legacies is an important endeavor to the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (hereafter, Trail). Here it is of interest to look at the roots of the Trail and learn how it evolved from telling a Eurocentric view of a great American exploration to including the histories, stories, views, and successes of the many Tribes whose homelands Lewis and Clark traversed during their exploration west of the Mississippi River. At this point we share our own personal reflections so that our lived experiences

can illuminate the historic story of Honoring Tribal Legacies. We will conclude with some efforts by the Trail and the NPS today to honor Tribes that may encourage others to do so with respect and a good heart.

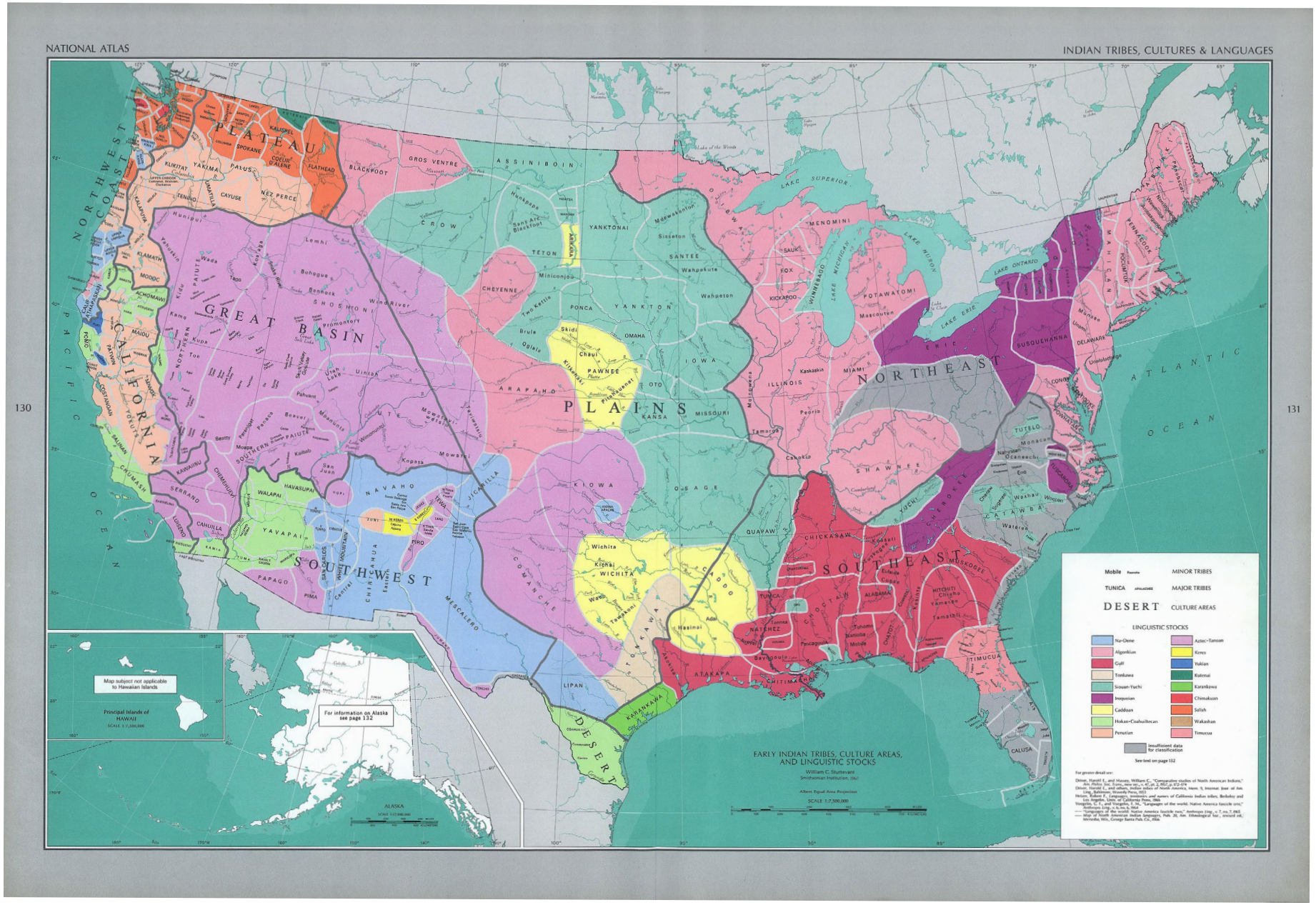
The National Park System was establishing itself in a firestorm of economic, social, and geopolitical complexities plaguing the United States of America in the late 1800s. The idea of a national system of parks was to give its citizens a place to escape from the pace of the country's tremendous growth and development. More recently, it has become an agency that attempts to preserve America's stories. Our national parks are more important today than ever before for re-connecting humans to the earth and grounding all of us to our Ancestors. Not only do national parks offer us this opportunity, but town, county, state, and Tribal parks and museums, as well as non-profit education centers, do too. When we connect with the energy in parks, we connect with all of our Ancestors who can assist us to face our futures with pride, dignity, and respect.

A Glimpse at U.S. Expansionism

Willam Darton's map represents the United States of America according to the peace treaties of 1783, before territorial expansion west of the Mississippi River. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The nineteenth century brought with it extraordinary changes to a new nation on the North American continent. The United States government was busy laying claim to lands beyond what it had already commandeered in the East from the Native residents of the continent and continued unabashedly grabbing territories west of the Mississippi River. Between 1803 and 1898 the U.S. more than tripled its geographical size. The deal with France for lands of the Louisiana territories in 1803, known in current history books as the "Louisiana Purchase," added 828,000 square miles. The delineation of the Oregon territories with Great Britain in 1846, the annexation of Texas in 1845, and the Mexican Cession in 1848 expanded the U.S. by another 30,000 square miles. These vast amounts of land, now a part of this new nation, gave U.S. citizens as well as corporations, an opportunity to "make a go" at a life with more elbow room; and, for some, it was an opportunity to multiply their fortunes. The government believed it had a divine right to expand across the continent and become the "Great Nation of Futurity," as stated in John L. O'Sullivan's article of the same name, published in *The United States Democratic Review* in 1839.[1]

The population of the United States also began to swell, filling in this expanded territory. Fifty years following the Lewis and Clark expedition, the "resident" population (those counted by the U.S. Census) grew by eighteen million people. The next 50 years would bring an increase of 53 million, over 14 million of whom were immigrants entering the United States between 1860 and 1900. The economy was racing to keep up. Human ingenuity was determined to make things bigger, stronger, faster, and more convenient. It was the age of the machine, factories, the telegraph, the light bulb, the phonograph, the locomotive, and of movement from the country to the city; the car and the airplane were not far behind. The industrialists in the East wanted to expand their businesses westward and take full advantage of the bounty of natural resources found in the "new frontier."[2]


NATIONAL ATLAS
INDIAN TRIBES, CULTURES & LANGUAGES
130
131
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTHWEST COAST
PLATEAU
GREAT BASIN
CALIFORNIA
SOUTHWEST
PLAINS
NORTHEAST
SOUTHEAST
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Lower Chehalis
Quinault
Quileute
Hoh
Queets
Quaitso
Makah
Nootsack
Lummi
Samish
Skagit
Snohomish
Clallam
Songish
Saanich
Lkungen
Sooke
Nitinat
Pentlatch
Comox
Sechelt
Squamish
Halkomelem
Cowichan
Nanaimo
Nicola
Thompson
Lillooet
Shuswap
Okanagon
Columbia
Kutenai
Flathead
Pend d'Oreille
Kalispel
Spokane
Coeur d'Alene
Nez Perce
Palus
Yakima
Klikitat
Umatilla
Cayuse
Blackfoot
Gros Ventre
Assiniboin
Crow
Hunkpapa
Sans Arc
Blackfoot
Yanktonai
Sisseton
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Wahpeton
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Kansa
Missouri
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Pitahauerat
Hunigui
Lemhi
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Bannock
Shoshoni
Wind River
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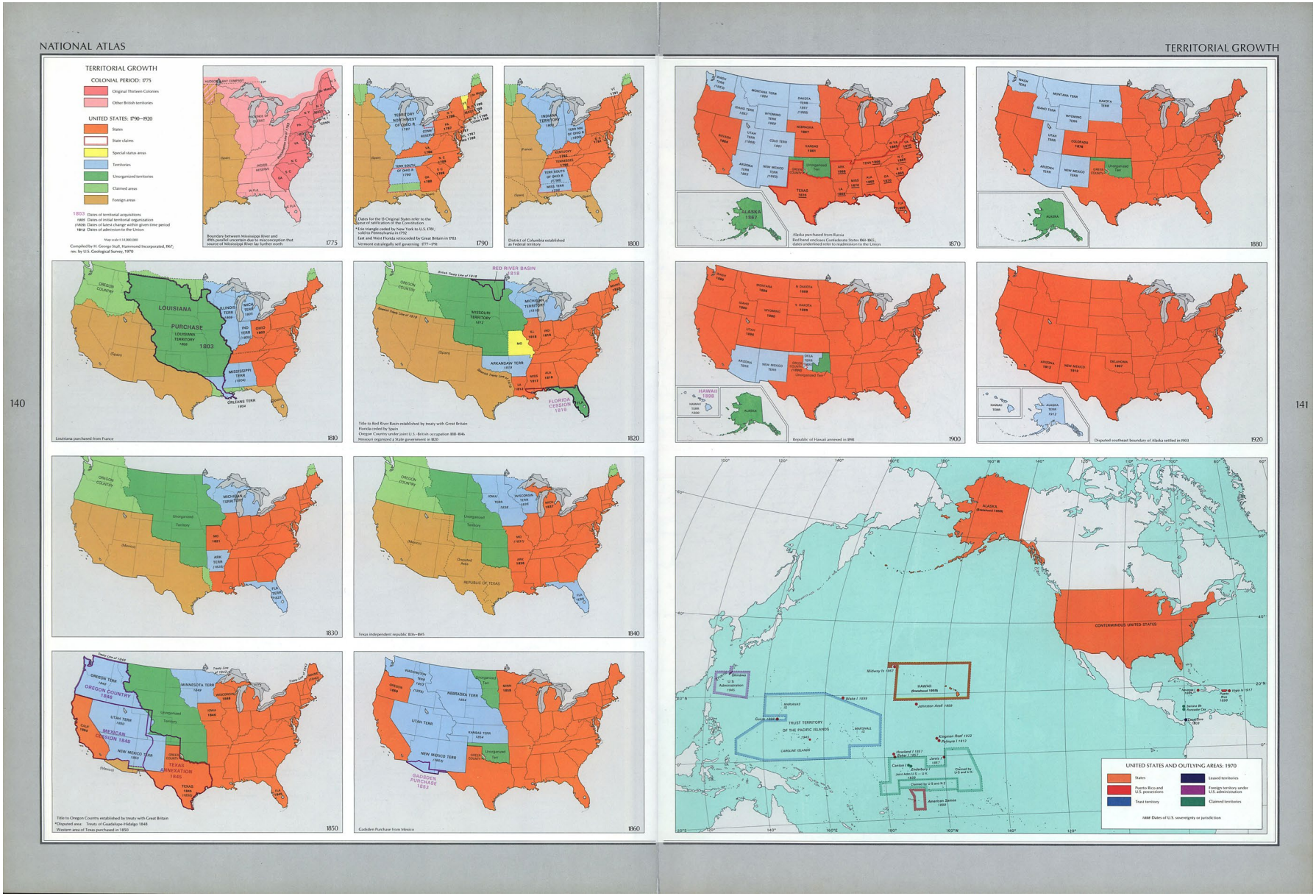
Pahvant
Timpanogos
Weber
Parusi
Beaver
Moanunts
Ute
Mowachi
Tabeguache
Kapota
Wiminuche
Grand R.
Northern Paiute
Southern Paiute

U.S. Territorial Acquisitions, published as part of the *National Atlas*, illustrates the rate at which the United States took possession of land and expanded to the western shore. Courtesy of United States Geological Survey.



U.S. Territorial Growth by H. George Stoll, Hammond Inc.; revised by U.S. Geological Survey, 1970. Published as part of the *National Atlas*.

The policies and the operation of various federal land agencies, such as the Federal Surveying Office and the U.S. General Land Office, distributed land haphazardly, with no real enforcement measures in a system riddled with fraud. This letter, from the obviously frustrated Sub Indian Agent, Robert Shortess, during the pre-treaty era is exemplary of this state of affairs:

To Anson Dart [3]
Superintendent
Indian Affairs
Ogn Territory

Astoria May 17th 1851

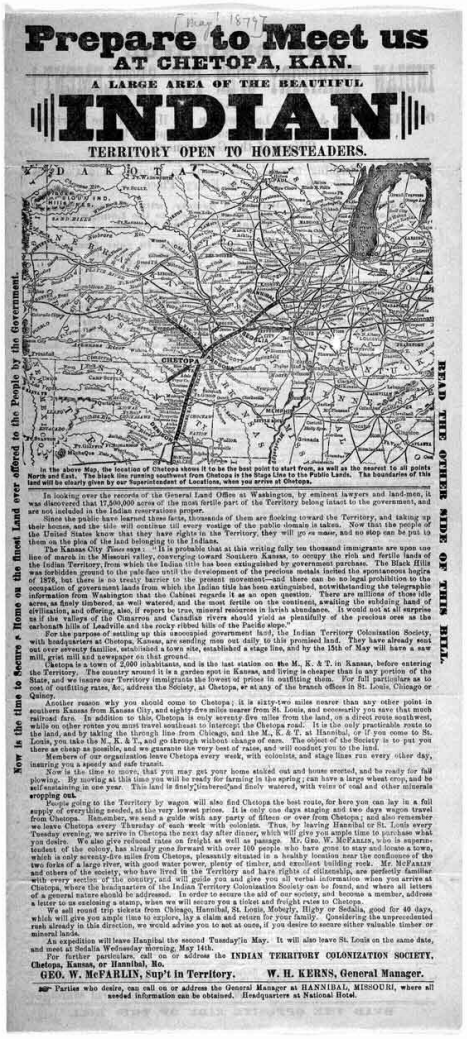
Dear Sir:

With Surprise and mortification I have learned (unofficially) that the Board of Commissioners is dissolved and we are to have no meeting of the Indians at this place for treaty purposes. Consequently, I am placed in the disagreeable condition of being considered as having made statements not founded on facts, and encouraged false hopes in the natives of this sub agency. In view of this and various other reasons, I respectfully decline any longer acting as sub agent, or being in any manner connected with the Indian department in Oregon.

Please inform me when and where it will be convenient to settle up my accounts as sub agent.

Your humble servant
R. Shortess
Actg Sub Agt Ind Affrs

The U.S. government redistributed over 500 million acres of Native homelands. Approximately 80 million of this acreage went to settlers. The other vast amount was mined, logged, fished, hunted, or preserved as a public "pleasuring ground." Otherwise it was used for the new country's growing intercontinental industry—international trade—which was spawned by the new railroad access that improved distribution and access to resources. A seemingly limitless supply of resources was diminishing quickly.



Left: The Indian Territory Colonization Society arranged transportation for potential settlers via railroad from various cities to Kansas and Missouri. The society then took them out on multi-day "expeditions" to look at and claim land. Right: A common advertisement by the railroad to use it as a way for settlers to reach land to be homesteaded. Courtesy of Homestead National Monument, National Park Service.

The future for Native people, whose survival depended on this land and whose cultures and beliefs were shaped by this land, looked bleak. Settlers encroached upon their lands and resources with harrowing speed. Many Tribes were forcibly removed from or contained to a small portion of their homelands to make room for settlers and U.S. government interests, which included the preservation of "wildness." When this occurred it was not simply that Tribes lost access to their land, but they were separated from their deep connection to it; there is a sacred connection that Tribes have with the land, as the land and their culture are one and the same.[4]

Located in what is now known as northeast Wyoming, this National Monument has been sacred to Tribes of the Plains, including Arapaho, Cheyenne, Crow, Lakota, and Kiowa from time immemorial. Some Tribes call it Mato Tipila, meaning Bear Lodge. Others call it Bear's Tipi, Home of the Bear, Tree Rock, and Great Gray Horn. The name Devils Tower was given to it in 1875, on an expedition led by Colonel Dodge. It is believed his interpreter misinterpreted the name to mean Bad God's Tower, later shortened to Devils Tower. Courtesy of Devils Tower National Monument, National Park Service.

The removal of Tribes from Tribal homelands was followed by the forced assimilation of Western values on Native people. One way this was accomplished was by separating children from their families and raising them in off-reservation boarding schools usually far away from their homes.

Off-reservation boarding schools were built in a flurry between 1880 and 1902, with 25 being opened across the country during this time. Nearly 30,000 young Native children were educated away from their families. This represented approximately 10% of the Native population of the U.S. at the time. Above, students attend the Genoa Indian School in a photo taken in 1910.[5] This school, like many of its kind, had a "mixed legacy;" young Indian children were forcibly taken away from their families and Tribes, but also obtained educations that helped them adapt to a new culture and future. Courtesy of Genoa Industrial Indian School Museum, Genoa, Nebraska.

IMAGINE [6]

Imagine a lonely seven year old Lakota boy hundreds of miles away from home he left two years ago, trying desperately to remember his grandmother's smile and his grandfather's wisdom. . . .

Imagine the confusion, the excitement, the horror of twenty different Nations blended together in one small school on the prairie. . . .

Imagine a new language, a new way of life. . . . some ways good, some ways not. . . . The sounds of five hundred children working, learning, playing, drilling. . . .

Imagine the broken hearts and the broken spirits that will take years to mend. . . . Some will never heal.

Imagine not knowing when you see Grandfather again, you will not know his words . . . his stories, passed down for generations, will be lost to you. . . . You will only understand his tears and he, yours. . . . Close your eyes and listen. . . . It all happened here.

Jerry W. Carlson,

Genoa U.S. Indian School Foundation

(Please see reference page for a list of sites to learn more about U.S. Indian Policies, treaties, forced removals, etc.)

Genoa U.S. Indian School

Genoa, Nebraska, 6/2007

This is a glimpse of the United States of America and its relationship with Tribal people while it was still in its infancy. It is a complex history, full of emotion, tragedy, corruption, broken promises, triumph, determination and resilience—all of it ours. The National Park Service is charged with telling the stories of American history and being stewards of the natural, historical, and cultural resources that we, as a people, value about who we are and what is important to us. It is the American people, through a democratic system that provides the power to voice how the

national park system will look in the future, who determines which stories should be passed on to future generations. It is through learning from our past that we can move forward. National parks have the capacity to become places of learning and healing. We honor Tribes when parks embrace the importance of teaching the histories that more accurately represent the richer, more varied tapestry that is American society. Let us take a look at how this system began.

The creation of a national park is an expression of faith in the future. It is a pact between generations, a promise from the past to the future.

"Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century,"
National Park System Advisory Board Report, 2001, p. 1

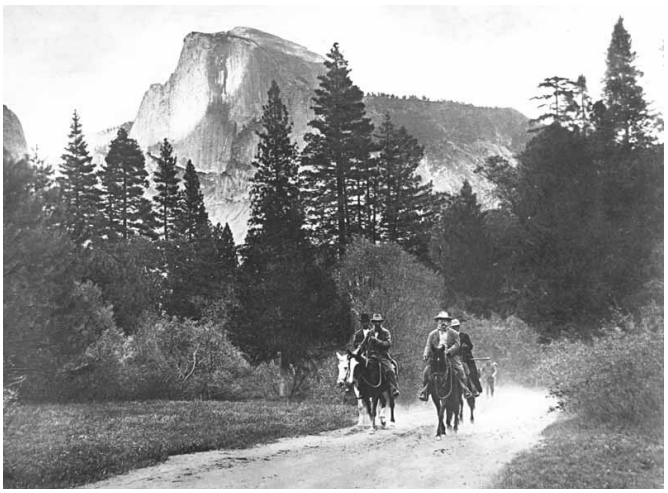
Acadia National Park, the homeland of the Wabanaki, People of the Dawnland, and the first grand national park of the east. Courtesy of Acadia National Park, National Park Service.

Making of National Parks

The national parks system got its start at the instigation of the most prominent voices of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era: the painters, artists, philanthropists, outdoor enthusiasts, industrialists, politicians, opportunists, and the privileged. An element of cultural anxiety characterized that period, as America wanted to prove that it, as a nation, had uniqueness unrivaled by anything in Europe. Setting aside large tracts of land with unparalleled beauty seemed just the way to do this. However, with preservation came dispossession, as the government, including the National Park Service, displaced the Native inhabitants of such places. Early preservationists believed "wildness" protection could only be achieved by preventing the human use of the resources.[7] This belief has since been challenged, as studies of Indigenous cultures the world over have begun to understand that when humans are included in an ecosystem, an interdependency and balance can be achieved between the land and its resources.

> ***Growth and change have been the rule in the national park system from the beginning, and understanding something of that history provides an enlightening perspective on the present and informs our sense of what is possible for the future.***
>
> National Parks Second Century Commission Report, 2012, p. 22

Shaping the System. The next several pages include excerpts from a National Park Service publication entitled, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Mackintosh, 1991).[8] This is a history of the agency written by the agency's historian at the time and tells how these voices influenced its origins.



John Muir, noted writer and poet of the nineteenth century, toured with President Theodore Roosevelt in Yosemite Park in 1903, urging for further protections. Muir's persuasive works led to the consolidation of state and federal lands and a return of Yosemite to the federal government in 1906, when it became Yosemite National Park. Courtesy of Yosemite Research Library, National Park Service.

"Indians herding buffaloes," George Catlin (1796–1872), an American painter, hoped his paintings would inspire the protection of the wildlife, land, and Native peoples of the Great Plains. Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery.

The national park idea—the concept of large-scale natural preservation for public enjoyment—has been credited to the artist George Catlin, best known for his paintings of American Indians. On a trip to the Dakota region in 1832, he worried about the destructive effects of America's westward expansion on Indian civilization, wildlife, and wilderness. They might be preserved, he wrote, "by some great protecting policy of government . . . in a magnificent park . . . a nation's park, containing man and beast, in all the wild[ness] and freshness of their nature's beauty!" (p. 12).

Catlin's vision of perpetuating Indigenous cultures in parks did not occur. In fact, most parks moved out these Native inhabitants, with few exceptions, as parks were seen as places to be gazed upon and not used for sustenance. This was consistent with the U.S. government's policies of the time regarding Indians, which systematically dispossessed Indians of their homelands and put these lands to new uses. One of these uses was the creation of "public pleasuring grounds."

The national park idea really got set into motion when there was proof of the uniqueness of a particular place or area. Writers such as John Muir and Henry David Thoreau, newspaper men Samuel Bowles and Albert D. Richardson, photographer William Henry Jackson, and painters

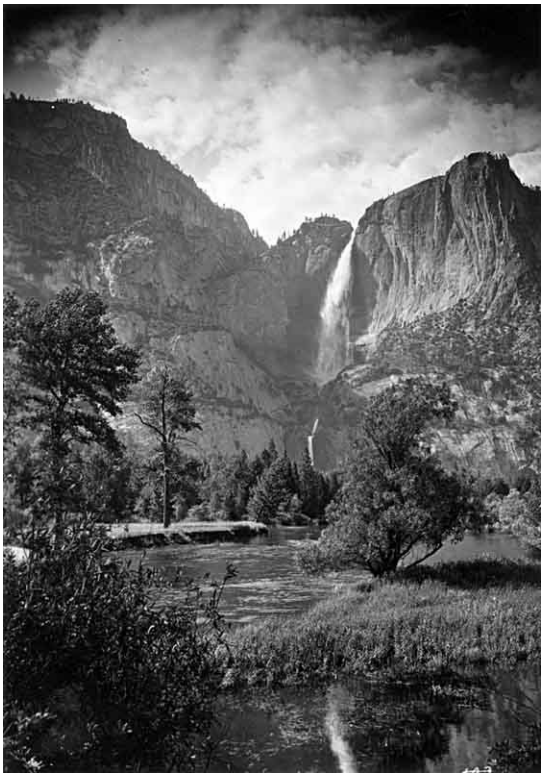
such as Thomas Cole, Frederick Edwin Church, Albert Bierstadt, and Thomas Moran wrote and painted visual images of the romantic nature of key landscapes. The words of the writers and the visuals from the painters and photographers gave these areas credibility to those citizens in the East who had not seen them. Influential people began to understand why places of grandeur should be preserved in perpetuity for public enjoyment and not as something to exploit.

Albert Bierstadt (January 7, 1830–February 18, 1902) was a German-American painter best known for his luxurious depiction of sweeping landscapes of the American West. He was part of both the Hudson School and Rocky Mountain School movements which created works of art with precision and romanticism. This Yosemite Valley, Glacier Point Trail (above), was the type of art that convinced lawmakers that preservation was important. Courtesy of Yale University Gallery of Art.

One such place was Yosemite Valley, where the national park idea came to partial fruition in 1864. In response to the desires of wealthy men of California, Senator John Conness of California sponsored legislation to transfer the federally owned valley and nearby Mariposa Big Tree Grove to the state so they might "be used and preserved for the benefit of mankind." The act of Congress, signed by President Abraham Lincoln on June 30, granted California the lands on condition that they would "be held for public use, resort, and recreation . . . inalienable for all time" (p. 12). In 1906, Yosemite entered the national system and became Yosemite National Park.

Mr. Lafayette H. Bunnell, considered the first Causasian to "discover" the valley, had significant influence in re-naming it. Yosemite is an Indian word and the name of one of the Tribes occupying the valley, however it was not the name given to the valley by its Tribal inhabitants. The valley was known as Ahwahnee, or "gaping large mouth." Why the valley was called Yosemite and not Ahwahnee is the result of a vote the Mariposa Battalion had after Mr. Bunnell suggested Yosemite as the name. The vote was unanimous. Listen to the irony as he explains his choice:[9]

> As I did not take a fancy to any of the names proposed, I remarked that "an American name would be the most appropriate;" that "I could not see any necessity for going to a foreign country for a name for American scenery—the grandest that had ever yet been looked upon. That it would be better to give it an Indian name than to import a strange and inexpressive one; that the name of the Tribe who had occupied it, would be more appropriate than any I had heard suggested." I then proposed "that we give the valley the name of Yo-sem-i-ty, as it was suggestive, euphonious, and certainly American; that by so doing, the name of the Tribe of Indians which we met leaving their homes in this valley, perhaps never to return, would be perpetuated. (Bunnell, 1892, p. 61)



Left:Yosemite's beautiful Merced River now is protected from further encroachments under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. Courtesy of Yosemite National Park, National Park Service.

Right: Susie and Sadie McGowen visit their homeland, Yosemite National Park. Courtesy of Yosemite National Park, National Park Service.

Tribal place names were changed innumerable times in the U.S. history of settlement. Those not changed quickly lost their significance to non-Native settlers as Native people were displaced and their stories and connections to the land were lost on the newcomers. Chapter 3, *Exploring the Deep Meaning of Place Names along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail*, explores this concept in more depth.

Transferring lands to a state for their preservation was a novel approach, and Yosemite was not the only place in the late 1800s deemed worthy by the U.S. government to be protected from development by private U.S. citizens or corporations. Another was not yet within a state, but within a territory. In order for it to be secured, the federal government decided to act:

> The geological wonders of the Yellowstone region, in the Montana and Wyoming territories, remained little known [to the people of the East] until 1869–71, when successive expeditions led by David E. Folsom, Henry D. Washburn, and Ferdinand V. Hayden traversed the area and publicized their remarkable findings. Several members of these parties suggested reserving Yellowstone for public use rather than allowing it to fall under private control. The park idea received influential support from agents of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, whose projected main line through Montana stood to benefit from a major tourist destination in the vicinity.
>
> Yosemite was cited as a precedent, but differences in the two situations required different solutions. The primary access to Yellowstone was through Montana, and Montanans were among the leading park advocates. Most of Yellowstone lay in Wyoming, however, and neither Montana nor Wyoming was yet a state. So the park legislation, introduced in December 1871 by Senate Public Lands Committee Chairman Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas was written to leave Yellowstone in federal custody. With Yellowstone's establishment, the precedent was set for other natural reserves under federal jurisdiction. (Mackintosh, 1991, pp. 12–13)

Essentially then, the first official national park as a federal entity was established by default!

> The Yellowstone bill encountered some opposition from members of Congress who questioned the propriety of such a large reservation. "The geysers will remain, no matter where the ownership of the land may be, and I do not know why settlers should be excluded from a tract of land forty miles square . . . in the Rocky Mountains or any other place," complained Sen. Cornelius Cole of California. But most were persuaded otherwise. The bill passed Congress, and on March 1, 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant signed it into law. (Mackintosh, 1991, p. 13)

The Yellowstone Act withdrew more than two million acres from settlement, occupancy, or sale; this included the Native inhabitants and the homeland of the Sheepeaters, a band of the Shoshone. The administration felt it necessary to ensure visitors that the park was safe from trespassers, including Indians. Many other Tribes such as the Bannock, Crow, Kiowa, and perhaps as many as 26 Tribes who have an Ancestral connection to the Yellowstone Plateau and consider it a sacred land were impacted by the establishment of the park.

In the age of land grabs, land sales, and the forcible removal of Native inhabitants from land, what would have been the future for areas such as Yellowstone and Yosemite without this newly envisioned federal land protection to be “dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people”? Would Senator Cole’s opinion have prevailed?

> The Yellowstone Act placed the park "under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior," who was charged to "provide for the preservation, from injury or spoliation, of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition." The Secretary was also to prevent the "wanton destruction" and commercial taking of fish and game—problems addressed more firmly by the Lacey Act of 1894, which prohibited hunting outright and set penalties for offenders. (Mackintosh, 1991, p. 13)

It was with paintings such as this that artist Thomas Moran (1837–1926) was able to convince lawmakers in the East to care for the preservation of land in the West. Courtesy of Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service.

National parks, preserved largely for their aesthetic qualities, demonstrated a greater willingness to forego economic gain. Congress thus maintained direct control over the establishment of parks and frequently had to be assured that the lands in question were worthless for other purposes [meaning the resources could not make a profit if harvested or mined, or were too inaccessible to be developed feasibly]. Park bills were usually enacted only after long and vigorous campaigns by their supporters. Such campaigns were not driven solely by preservationist ideals: as with Yellowstone, western railroads regularly lobbied for the early parks and built grand rustic hotels in them to boost their passenger business. (Mackintosh, 1991, p. 14)

The railroads were very influential in bringing the first visitors from the East to the large new parks of the West. Here, tourists arrive at Gardiner, Montana, Yellowstone National Park's North Entrance. Courtesy of Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service.

Early tourists were un-aware of the environmental impact of their actions. Courtesy of Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service.

This new endeavor by the federal government created management challenges as these places were far from the control of politicians in the East:

> The Secretary of the Interior was supposed to preserve and protect the parks, but early depredations by poachers and vandals at Yellowstone revealed the difficulties to be faced in managing these remote areas. In 1883 Congress authorized him to call on the Secretary of War for assistance, and three years later he did so, obtaining a cavalry detail to enforce Yellowstone's regulations and army engineers to develop park roads and buildings. Although the military presence was extended to Sequoia, General Grant, and Yosemite in 1891, the later parks received civilian superintendents and rangers. (p. 15)

Poaching in the large remote expanses of the first western national parks was so much of a problem that the military was brought in to restore order. Here, cavalrymen show the remains of buffalo that had been poached. Courtesy of Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service.

There became a need for a new federal agency to oversee these newly acquired federal parks with rules and regulations and staff. On August 25, 1916 (Founder's Day), President Woodrow Wilson signed a bill creating the National Park Service (NPS).

> The National Park Service Act made the new bureau responsible for the 35 national parks and monuments then under Interior, Hot Springs Reservation, and "such other national parks and reservations of like character as may be hereafter created by Congress." (p. 21)

In managing these areas the NPS was directed by law to:

> ***. . . conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.***
>
> — National Park Service Organic Act, August 25, 1916; 16 U.S.C. 1.

A new federal agency was born, intending to preserve in perpetuity vast natural places of immeasurable beauty for present and future Americans to enjoy. Early on, there was no great game plan for what the National Park Service would or could become:

> From the beginning, the National Park Service has professed to acquire only the most outstanding lands and resources, with "national significance" as the primary criterion. "In studying new park projects, you should seek to find scenery of supreme and distinctive quality or some natural feature so extraordinary or unique as to be of national interest and importance," declared the policy letter Horace Albright wrote for Secretary Lane's signature in 1918. "The national park system as now constituted should not be lowered in standard, dignity, and prestige by the inclusion of areas which express in less than the highest terms the particular class or kind of exhibit which they represent." (Mackintosh, 1991, p. 104)

[We] have no blueprints and no architect, only the ideals and principles for which the Park Service was created—to preserve, intact, the heritage we were bequeathed.

— Horace M. Albright, "Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years, September 1917," p. 211

When Horace Albright, the Assistant Director of the newly established National Park Service, an agent of the U.S. government, referred to "the heritage we were bequeathed," one might gather that these lands were left to the government by way of final wills and testaments, which was not the case. The statement is both ethnocentric and prophetic. Whether he was cognizant of it or not, Mr. Albright was speaking of the park service preserving a natural heritage for the dominant culture, preserving land that was not bequeathed but rather taken through a process of dispossession and repossession. He could not have predicted the irony of it—the ideals and principles of the park service becoming the mechanism to preserve not only natural heritage, but cultural heritage, and not only for the dominant culture, but evolving to protect areas and stories important to a myriad of Americans.

Reorganization. The Great Depression saw a considerable expansion of the holdings under the care of the NPS:

> The reorganization of August 10, 1933, was arguably the most significant event in the evolution of the National Park System's. Not only did the National Park Service receive the War Department's parks and monuments, it achieved another longtime objective by getting the national monuments then held by the Forest Service. It also took over the National Capital Parks, then managed by a separate office in Washington. There was now a single system of federal parklands, truly national in scope, embracing historic as well as natural places. The Service's major involvement with historic sites held limitless potential for the System's further growth.
>
> Unlike the War Department, the NPS was not constrained to focus on military history but could seek areas representing all aspects of America's past. Management of the

parks in the nation's capital would give the NPS high visibility with members of Congress and visitors from around the nation and invite expansion of the system into other urban regions. Although the big western wilderness parks would still dominate, the bureau and its responsibilities would henceforth be far more diverse. (Mackintosh, 1991, pp. 28–29)

Historical Areas. Trusteeship over natural history and military history grew to embrace additional historic sites:

Humans have shaped and in turn been shaped by the mighty Missouri River. Numerous village sites fall within the Missouri National Recreational River boundaries. Early cultures developed along the river, most notably the Woodland Culture, dating back up to 2,500 years. The Ioway, Arikara, and Mandan followed. By the time Euro-Americans arrived, the land was populated by the Omaha, Ponca, Yankton Nakota, and Teton (Brule') Lakota. The Santee Dakota were relocated to this area from Minnesota. Changes to the river brought about by human activity over the past two centuries have dramatically altered the lives of countless people. Courtesy Missouri National Recreational River, National Park Service.

With the 1933 reorganization, historic preservation became a major responsibility of the National Park Service. Two years later Congress confirmed the Service's role as the leading federal agency in this field in the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935—the most significant general preservation enactment since the 1906 Antiquities Act.[10] The Historic Sites Act stemmed from desires within the NPS for stronger legal authority for its accelerated historical programs and from desires beyond the NPS for greater federal assistance to historic properties. It began by declaring "a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States." (Mackintosh, 1991, p. 51)

Preservation of historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance in the 1930s included mainly the history and built environment of the majority culture. Often times, for Native people, the national significance for "the people of

the United States" was at the expense of their sources of inspiration, culture, beliefs, and survival. For example, the preservation of a fort may signify to some Americans that order and defense was paramount to settling the west, but to Native people it may mean conquest and unjust laws and policies, forced removal, and more. Although the mission of the National Park Service in many ways is in concert with Native values regarding resource preservation and stewardship, the way these resources have come into federal custody has not always been in sync with those values. Furthermore, the interpretation of these sites did and does not always "commemorate or illustrate the history of the United States" in ways that include multiple perspectives.[11]

Mount Rushmore, a memorial to four U.S. Presidents designated in 1925 is meant to commemorate our national history. It is located near present day Rapid City, South Dakota and in the homeland of the Oceti Sakowin (Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota tribes). Courtesy of Mount Rushmore National Memorial, National Park Service.

Change and understanding have come slowly, however, and the National Park Service is evolving. Historic preservation must be an important value for every culture if there is to be any tangible record for future generations. Interpretation professionals, too, are working hard to invite Tribes to share their stories and become a vital part of the conversation on how to communicate these stories with the general public at parks and on line so that history is seen through many lenses. Honoring Tribal Legacies provides the spirit and vision for change, to become more inclusive in the telling of history. America is a multicultural Mecca whose legacies should be honored and cherished; let us create a society that embraces them all.

[T]he spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage; . . . the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people.

— Preamble to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966; 16 U.S.C 470 sec. 1.

Natural Areas. Greater understandings of complex ecological and biological systems will influence which natural areas are preserved for the future and how the current ones are managed. In its first decades, the national park system managed natural resources very differently than it does today. Large predators were killed. Non-native fish were introduced for visitors' satisfaction. Fire was suppressed. Bears were fed and put on display. These practices led to species decline and uncontrollable wildfires.

Major changes in how the NPS managed natural resources came on the heels of a report in 1963, by renowned scientist A. Starker Leopold, which in its most basic interpretation recommended letting natural processes remain natural.

> As a primary goal, we would recommend that the biotic associations within each park be maintained, or where necessary recreated, as nearly as possible in the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man, the Leopold Report declared. A national park should represent a vignette of primitive America.[12]

Sometimes the National Park Service introduces species to "recreate" the biota of a park or region in order to restore the ecological balance due to past management decisions or overall impact from human use of the environment in and outside of a park. In 1987, there were 18 black-footed ferrets left in the world. A successful captive breeding program reintroduced these small nocturnal weasels to Badlands National Park in 1994. These ferrets are enjoying a comeback in population. Used with permission, Tom Wandel, Indelible Images.

The NPS revisited this 1963 report in 2012 and stated:

> In contemporary and future resource management, the functional qualities of biodiversity, evolutionary potential, and system resilience matter as much as observable features of iconic species and grand land- and seascapes. Iconic species (from wolves to whales) and grand land- and seascapes (from coral reefs to mountains) depend on the much more difficult to observe but essential characteristics and processes of healthy ecosystems, from decomposition by microorganisms to fixation and flow of nitrogen. Similarly, cultural resources extend beyond iconic buildings, historic sites, and landscapes to include indigenous values, sense of place, historical meaning, diverse forms of cultural knowledge, and the recent past.[13]

Many American Indian tribes, including the Hualapai, the Havasupai, the Hopi, the Kaibab Band of Paiute, the Navajo Nation, the Pueblo of Zuni, the San Juan Southern Paiute, the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, and the White Mountain. Apache have close and sacred cultural ties to the Grand Canyon. Some of these tribes consider Grand Canyon to be their place of origin or emergence and homeland. Courtesy of Grand Canyon National Park, National Park Service.

Native ways of approaching resource protection can benefit Western science, both ecological and social, as the most recent Leopold Report suggests. Traditional knowledge, or ways of knowing, includes ecological, societal, and spiritual knowledge of place. This knowledge is passed down from Native elders, from one generation to the next. It is part of an Indigenous world view and includes the values of stewardship for the earth, understanding the interconnectedness of people as living entities co-existing with other living entities, and the preservation of the stories that define a people and contribute to survival as a culture. National parks staff are learning more every day about how traditional knowledge can be an asset to collaborative preservation practices.[14]

Contemporary understanding of environmental history and diverse American cultures has enriched our appreciation for the interaction between human and natural systems. The NPS should embrace continued traditional and sustainable use of natural and cultural resources by indigenous communities and Tribes, within the broader goal of preserving ecological integrity and cultural authenticity.

— "Re-visiting Leopold: Resource Stewardship in the National Parks,"
A Report of the National Park System Advisory Board Science Committee, August 25, 2012, p. 12.

Adding a National Park to the System.[15] Guidelines for evaluating additions to the national park system have been developed and refined over the years as greater understandings of what is nationally significant emerge. Preserving places based on the national significance of Native people has been limited in the national park system. Native people have not had the representation and advocates that are needed to ensure that their contributions to our collective history are honored. However, there are opportunities for every national park to embrace its Native history; after all, this continent was fully occupied by sophisticated Tribal societies prior to European settlement.

Early on in National Park Service history, parks with Native significance often were created to preserve the ancient remains of an Indigenous culture. The peoples who had occupied these lands were interpreted as a culture of the past. Many times parks did not recognize or try to interpret the very real living cultures just outside the park's boundary who have sacred ties to their Ancestors inside the park. This is changing. More and more parks acknowledge the significance of the

contemporary Native presence as essential to understanding a place through the time continuum—in its past, present, and future. When parks incorporate Native perspectives and collaborate with Tribes to preserve Native memories, this honors the legacies of Tribes. It also recognizes that Native people are still here, have always been here, and will continue to have a significant place in the future of our society.

Mesa Verde, Spanish for green table, offers a spectacular look into the lives of the Ancestral Pueblo people who made it their home for over 700 years, from A.D. 600 to 1300. Today the park protects nearly 5,000 known archeological sites, including 600 cliff dwellings. There are 26 tribes that have a special relationship with Mesa Verde: The 19 Pueblos of New Mexico: Taos, Picuris, Sandia, Isleta, Ohkay Owingeh, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, Jemez, Cochiti, Pojoaque, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Laguna, Acoma, and Zuni; Hopi Tribe in Arizona; Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in Texas; Navajo Nation in Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico; Ute Mountain Ute Tribe in Colorado; Southern Ute in Colorado; Northern Ute in Utah; and, Jicarilla Apache Nation in New Mexico. Courtesy of Mesa Verde National Park, National Park Service.

The Lakota people called this place "mako sica," or "land bad." Extreme temperatures, lack of water, and the exposed rugged terrain led to this name. In the early 1900's, French-Canadian fur trappers called it "les mauvais terres pour traverse," or "bad lands to travel through." Used with permission, Tom Wandel, Indelible Images.

Cultural history transcends park boundaries. Large-scale stewardship means that collaborations, partnerships, and networks are and will continue to be critical to preserve and protect resources. . . . [C]ultural resources extend beyond iconic buildings, historic sites, and landscapes to include indigenous values, sense of place, historical meaning, diverse forms of cultural knowledge, and recent past.

— "Re-visiting Leopold: Resource Stewardship in the National Parks," A Report of the National Park System Advisory Board Science Committee, August 25, 2012, p. 9

The National Park Service is unique in the federal system of agencies in that it is constantly evolving to keep up with the pace of societal change. Over time, what is important to the American people in the way of places, stories, and resources will change. How they are managed also changes. Parks' staffs are consistently challenged to look beyond the original purpose of a park to find any untold stories that are significant to our shared history. For instance, for many years Civil War sites that were intended to tell the story of a particular battle or campaign did not share the stories of freed slaves who fought in the war or the role of other ethnic groups, such as Latinos, American Indians, or women in that event. Difficult and shameful histories were suppressed. Many of these stories and roles are now commemorated with sites such as Manzanar National Historic Site, Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail, Trail of Tears National Historic Trail, Harriet Tubman National Monument and the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom, and Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. Tragic occurrences in our history are offered places of national healing with the existence of National Memorials. Some include the Oklahoma City National Memorial, Flight 93 National Memorial, the Vietnam and Korean War Memorials, and the many important memorials to those who sacrificed their lives in war and conflicts so we may enjoy the freedoms we have as Americans. Then there are contributions by Americans who stood up for diversity and equality and worker's rights, such as the César E. Chávez National Monument, Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site, Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site, and Women's Rights National Historical Park.

National parks are beginning to represent more American narratives. It is imperative that this progression continues.

The areas that now make up the national park system, and those that will be added in years to come, are cumulative expressions of a single national heritage. The National Park Service must manage park resources and values in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.

— "NPS Management Policies, 2006," p. 7

The National Park Service will continue to change. There will be new stories as well as revised stories, and places that exemplify who we are as a people, what we value, how we cope, and what is important to us. We are a diverse nation with a complex society located on a unique and ancient, yet changing landscape. If we are to learn about ourselves as a nation and grow as a nation, we must remember our triumphs and our struggles. We must save what feeds us, makes us smile, and that which makes us cry. We must pass on to our children the lessons we learn.

We are responding to societal change. That is not going away, we are not going back to the way things were before. The world is moving ahead and we need to move ahead with the world the way people think and learn and seek knowledge, the way they spend their recreational time, it's all changing. So it is not the flavor of the month, this is the flavor of the century. It's important for us to respond to it and to engage in the kind of learning that is going on today. If we don't change with it we are going to be left behind. We are not relevant anymore. We don't help society move forward, we just sort of become stagnant.

— Julia Washburn, Associate Director, National Park Service,
"Interpretation, Education, and Volunteers; How to Play the Game Webinar Series:
Self-directed, Informal Learning Session," July 15 and 17, 2014.

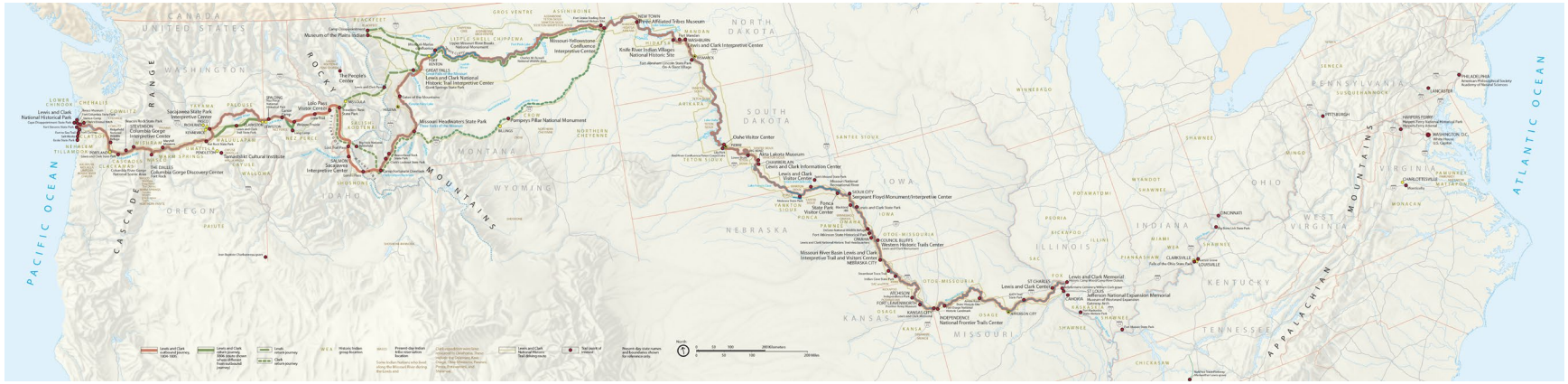
The National Park Service is challenged with preserving the places that best represent us in our ever-changing world. The NPS cannot and is not alone in this endeavor to preserve what is unique about America. We all have a role as citizens to engage in this national dialogue:

> Our nation is best armed to address the future with a public knowledgeable about its history, its resources, and the responsibilities of citizenship. The national park system encompasses an unparalleled range of educational assets, including distinctive land- and water-based ecosystems and cultural landscapes, historic sites and structures, artifacts, and primary source documents. Representing many topics and perspectives, parks inform us not only about their individual stories, but also about our condition as a nation and a species. Educators say this learning is unique and powerful. But a sustained commitment is needed to strengthen

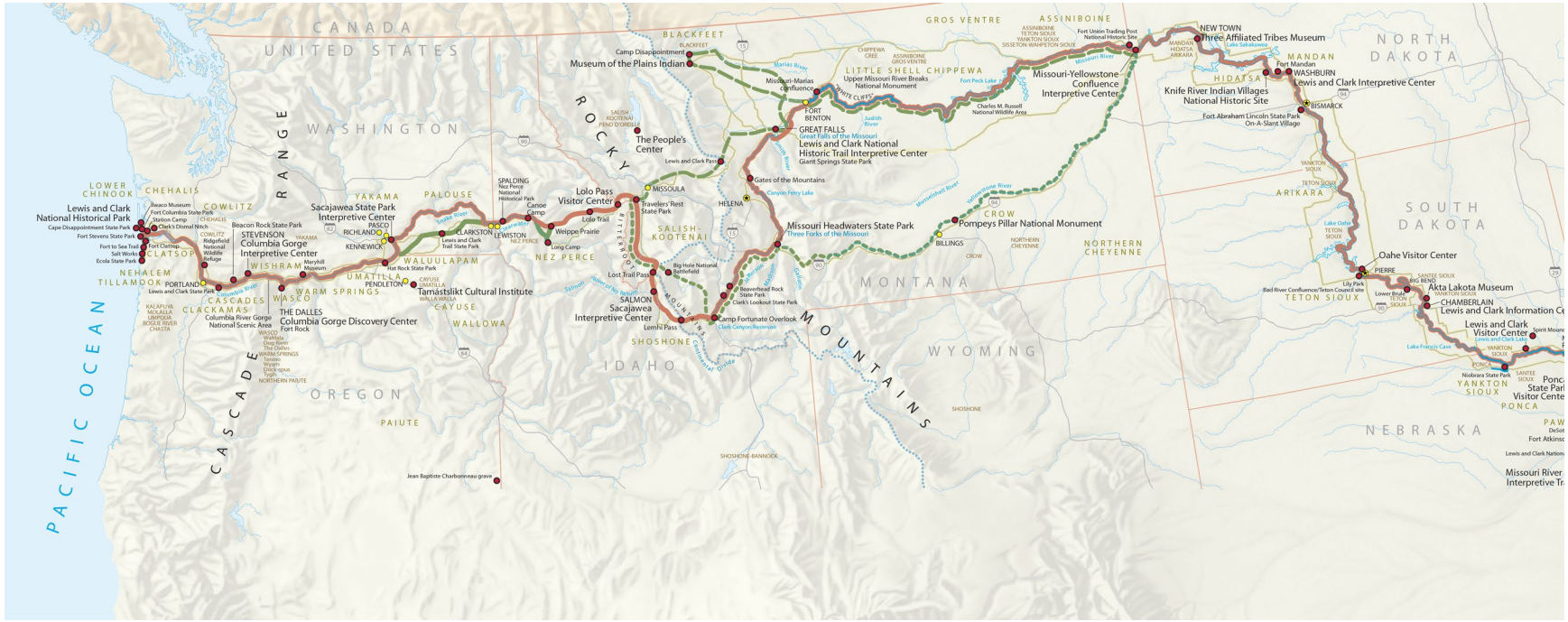
> the educational role of the Park Service, including the creation of new partnerships with the formal education community. The Park Service should pursue the same goal as all of our educational institutions: to build a citizenry committed to the nation's principles and purposes, and empowered with the knowledge and skill needed to carry them forward in the world. In recent years our country and the Park Service have recognized that important stories have long been missing from the chronicle embedded in our parks.[16]

Since its origin in 1916, the National Park Service has grown to include over 400 park units. Once located exclusively in remote western places, now two-thirds of parks commemorate history, and many are in urban locations. The NPS has a portfolio of programs that support the endeavors of others to preserve significant places and culture outside of national parks. Programs such as National Heritage Areas, National Historic Landmarks, Heritage Education Services, the Land and Water Conservation Fund, and Rivers and Trails Conservation Association provide expertise through technical assistance and some support tax incentives to government agencies (state, county, local, Tribal) and nonprofit partners to preserve significant local assets.[17]

In 2016 the National Park Service will recognize its Centennial as a national stewardship agency and it looks forward to its second century. There is much to look forward to as it seeks to achieve relevancy, not for, but with more and more Americans. We have at least one park unit in every state of the union. The NPS aims for each visitor to find something meaningful to them in these parks and become stewards of America's special places and stories. The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is one of these special places and one that encourages the uncovering of more and more narratives.[18] The Honoring Tribal Legacies project endeavors to do this by encouraging Trail partners and affiliates, state departments of education, and educational institutions to embrace a more balanced approach to the Lewis and Clark story.



Lewis and Clark traveled over 3,700 miles through Native homelands on a quest to find a navigable water way to improve commerce and trade with the Far East. They were told by President Thomas Jefferson to document the plants, wildlife, weather, and people they encountered along the way and report everything back to him. This is the map of their route. Courtesy of the National Park Service.



Close up.

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and the Bicentennial Commemoration

The story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition has been told and passed on to generations of Americans for over 200 years. Many believed it was an important enough story to be preserved forever—the story of this intrepid journey, where they trod, and who they met, how they survived [and] . . . what they were trying to accomplish—to be captured in some way in its entirety. Could a park in a single location represent the whole of this expedition and represent the cultural diversity, the geographic dissimilarities, the ecologic wonders, over 3,700 recorded miles over two years by boat, foot, and horse? The National Park Service did not have a mechanism to preserve stories that occurred over distances like this, although there were many that needed to be preserved. Congress acted in 1964 when it established the Lewis and Clark Commission to "stimulate a creative and viable atmosphere for all agencies and individuals to identify, mark, and preserve for public use and enjoyment the routes traveled by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark," and again in 1978 when it amended the National Trails Systems Act to accommodate historic trails. The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail was accepted under this new law. The authorizing language describes the trail as, "extending from Wood River, Illinois, to the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon, following the outbound and inbound routes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."[19]

The National Trails System Act assigned administrative responsibility for the Trail to the Secretary of the Interior, and delegated responsibility for long-term administration to the National Park Service. This Trail includes pristine riverine, terrestrial, estuarine, and coastal segments, with some landscapes remaining much as they were seen by the Expedition. Added are the parallel highways and roads providing access to historic, cultural, natural, and recreational resources of, and along, the Trail. The Trail extends through Federal, Tribal, State, county, and local jurisdictions, and also passes through lands held privately and by non-profit organizations. Federal lands and waters along the Trail are managed primarily by the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Army Corps of Engineers. The National Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service also manage Trail segments, as does the Coast Guard.

Hells Gate lies on river bottom left over from the great ice age floods about 15,000 years ago. At the south end of the park are basaltic columns from the Pomona flows 14 million years ago. Hells Gate State Park was once the site of a Nez Perce Village. Little is left of the village, but depressions south of the campground are the remnants of pit houses used for years by the Nez Perce as they fished for lamprey near Astoin Creek. Courtesy of Tom Wandel.

Today, with many dozens of major partners across the Midwest, Rocky Mountains, and Pacific Northwest providing interpretive and recreational services and opportunities, annual visitation to sites along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is estimated to be at least several hundred thousand. The natural and cultural resources associated with the Trail are fundamental components of local and regional tourism economies.[20]

The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803–1806 was a major event that shaped the boundaries and the future of the United States of America—and forever changed the lives of this continent's indigenous peoples. Native Ancestors provided the Corps of Volunteers for Northwest Discovery with food, shelter, protection, survival skills and guidance for the expedition's successful journey to the Pacific Ocean and return to Saint Louis, Missouri.

— *Enough Good People*, 2009, p. 90

Tribes consider the coming of Lewis and Clark as the beginning of the end of life as they had known it. Lewis and Clark were representatives of the U.S. government, and over the next century tremendous change would come to American Indian Nations as a result of U.S. policies. Whether these changes were directly or indirectly related to the visit of Captains Lewis and Clark is a matter of debate. It is undeniable that change came, and it was not in the best interests of the Native population. Yet, in many U.S. classrooms the story of Lewis and Clark is no different from that of the original stories about Thomas Jefferson or Abraham Lincoln or other revered American historical figures. They were larger-than-life American heroes.

It was here at the horse prairies in our backyard, that the Lewis and Clark expedition entered the homelands and forever changed our way of life, of the Lemhi-Shoshone Tribes, alerts rang out through the mountain ranges of the Lemhi that intruders were approaching.

— Leo Ariwite, Sr., Lemhi-Shoshone Elder

The Bicentennial Commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was supported by an extraordinary allocation of Congressionally legislated funds that were subsequently awarded to hundreds of Trail communities, including Tribes. These were funds sustained over the course of the multi-year Commemoration. These resources resulted in products about Lewis and Clark and tangential to Lewis and Clark that have an exceptional variety of perspectives expressed in a multiplicity of media: cultural demonstrations, scholarly seminars, literary research, television documentaries, the production of DVDs and websites, live classroom broadcasts, visitor center construction, interpretive signage, curriculum development, museum exhibits, traveling exhibits, dramatic arts presentations, and the like. Previously unknown stories of America's most revered expedition were being uncovered and shared. Some stories only ever told within a particular Tribe for generations were now being told on a public stage. It was recognized that the Lewis and Clark Expedition was much more than two men on a journey of exploration for President Thomas Jefferson. The story was much more complex and involved a vast number of good-willed people. No longer singular American heroes, Lewis and Clark became two of many.

Lemhi Pass, homeland of the Lemhi-Shoshone and the Native American guide Sacajawea, who was the only woman member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The mountains represented a formidable barrier to the explorers' Corps of Discovery in their 1805 quest to find the "Northwest Passage" to the Pacific Ocean. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

Discovery Hill in Salmon, Idaho, has tangible evidence of ancient Indian trails most likely used by Lewis and Clark when traveling through this area. This hill was a high priority for preservation during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. With the help of the Bureau of Land Management, Salmon Valley Stewardship, and community volunteers, this location has been transformed from a community dump to a premier recreation spot and interpretive experience. Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service.

The following excerpt was taken from a National Park Service summary report of the Bicentennial activities that commemorated the Lewis and Clark Expedition from 2003 to 2006.[21] It tells a tale of change. It recalls how Tribes refused to participate in commemorating an event that they felt was the end of life as they knew it without being given the opportunity to tell their side of the story. Their position being, if the Trail wanted to include Tribes, it needed to change its plan for the Bicentennial. And it did. The results of this decision reverberated in communities along the Trail; Tribal and non-Tribal people came together and listened to each other. Facts about the expedition from Tribal oral histories were shared, stunning Lewis and Clark scholars. It was neither easy nor simple, and still is not, but something foundational shifted, and Trail management has not been

the same since. Other NPS sites look at the Bicentennial as a model for other commemorations that may be sensitive to Tribal histories. Dr. Ella Inglebret uncovers so much of this transformation in her curriculum unit/teaching, *Honoring Tribal Legacies in Telling the Lewis and Clark Story*. It is fascinating and can teach a lot to us about listening and offering opportunities to speak one's truth.

Although we are almost 10 years beyond the Bicentennial, the Tribal legacy established through partnerships and education is as strong today as it was then. As we move to the next generation of storytellers and students we will continue to commemorate the impacts of the 1804–1806 journey of the Corps of Discovery where native voice, cultural competency, and inspiration will provide a foundation for the future.

—— Scott Tucker, Superintendent, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park; interview with Richard Basch, July 2013

Summary History of Corps II. This section is our abbreviated and edited version of the *Summary of the Administrative and Interpretive History of the "Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future," A Project of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial 1994–2006* (National Park Service, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, 2008). The Bicentennial of the Corps of Northwest Discovery of 1803–1806, more popularly known as the Lewis and Clark Expedition, was commemorated from January 2003 through September 2006. The Bicentennial presented the National Park Service (NPS) and other federal bureaus the unique opportunity to share with the nation stories of the Expedition members and the people they encountered. Through innovative thinking, calculated risk taking, and ample funding the NPS' Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LECL or Trail) and its partners created the first mobile national park, the *Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future* (Corps II). Congressional support, particularly the Lewis and Clark

Congressional Caucus, enabled the NPS to distribute nearly $26 million to partners through the Challenge Cost Share Program to support local efforts in commemorating the Bicentennial and developing related infrastructure.

In May 1994, Trail staff developed the goals and objectives to guide participation in the Bicentennial. Four overarching topics drove the development of the goals: resource stewardship, cultural diversity, education/visitor services, and partnerships. For each goal, several key objectives were also developed to focus the picture of success. The goals were: *(1) Foster understanding and protection of the cultural and natural resources along the expedition route; (2) Foster increased understanding of the multicultural nature of the expedition's members, and those cultures contacted, to an ethnically diverse American audience; (3) Use the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial as a catalyst to launch a new "Corps of Discovery" interpretive and education effort to stimulate personal voyages of discovery; and (4) Provide leadership for all interested parties in observing the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial and for improving stewardship of national historic trail facilities, programs, and activities.* (*Summary*, 2008, p. 3)

Since the NPS was designated as the lead Federal agency to coordinate interagency involvement, Trail participation in the Bicentennial took on a central role. As the NPS began to plan actively for the Bicentennial in the mid-1990s, the importance of Tribal involvement was realized, but remained a somewhat peripheral issue. As entities such as the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial continued to hold planning workshops, however, Tribal concerns started to be heard. One of the turning points for the NPS in realizing the Tribes of the Trail needed to be directly consulted was in late 1998 as the Corps of Discovery II mobile exhibit proposal was revised. Traveling the Trail meant that Corps II would cross many Tribal lands, and the learning curve grew steep as the NPS realized how many Tribes needed to be consulted. (*Summary*, 2008, p. 20)

Circle of Tribal Advisors Board Members (Daphne Richards Cooke [Oglala Lakota], Chris Howell [Pawnee], Bobbie Conner [Umatilla] and Robert Miller [Eastern Shawnee]) meet with National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial President Robert Archibald (right) and Karen Goering, Executive Director, foreground, in Louisville, KY. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

We have all joined the Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA) representing 58 Tribes on the Lewis and Clark trail. With these partnerships we hope to achieve some monumental planning accomplishments for the Bicentennial commemoration beginning in 2003 and to provide a Legacy which should last for centuries.

—— Chief Cliff Snider, Chinook Tribe, May 8, 2001

The Trail did accomplish a change in mindset during the Bicentennial, learning how to work with Tribes on their terms, not just through government channels, to achieve this objective. The Trail's relationships with Tribes needed to be nurtured, and a large dose of cultural understanding was about to pass between them, especially since the NPS desired Corps II operation on Tribal lands. To welcome Tribal input, the Trail worked with the individual Tribes and groups such as the Circle of Tribal Advisors to ensure their perspectives were shared. During the planning and inauguration of Corps II, Trail Superintendent Gerard Baker leveraged his Mandan-Hidatsa

background and made great progress in establishing working relationships with Tribes. Those working relationships became a fundamental value of Corps II, and were supported and continued by his successor. Several American Indian Liaisons worked for the Trail during the Bicentennial, and helped Trail staff, visitors, and Tribes understand the cultural encounters of the original Corps of Discovery. (*Summary*, 2008, p. 21)

Corps II was a four-year national touring exhibition commemorating the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The exhibit began January 14, 2003 at Monticello, the home of President Jefferson, and ended September 24, 2006, in St. Louis, Missouri. Coordinated by the NPS, this federal interagency exhibition conveyed themes relevant to the 1803–1806 Corps of Discovery and its influence in U.S. history. The exhibit included an overview of the original journey with maps, paintings, graphics, photos, and an audio tour. Corps II had a small, replica keelboat and a 14-foot diameter Plains Indian lodge. In 2005, Corps II welcomed one more exhibit component, a dugout canoe. Even with additions, the main Corps II performance venue was the 40- by 70-foot "Tent of Many Voices (TOMV)." The TOMV became the heart of the exhibit; it was known as a respected forum where multiple perspectives on the Expedition could be shared freely and encouraged. (*Summary*, 2008, p. 15)

Corps of Discovery II included an overview of the original journey with maps, paintings, graphics, photos, and an audio tour. Corps II had a small, replica keelboat and a 14-foot diameter Plains Indian lodge. The main attraction was the full mobile auditorium called the "Tent of Many Voices." It was known as a respected forum where multiple perspectives on the Expedition could be shared freely and encouraged. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

I invite you to come along the trail in two different ways. . . . One is the view from the keel boat as it goes up the river as it did 200 years ago. But I also ask you to step off that keelboat and be in the villages of the American Indian Tribes that Lewis and Clark encountered. We are in danger, I believe, of losing some of those cultures. . . . Let's get together with the spirits of Lewis and Clark, and don't forget Sacagawea, York the slave, and the others. I challenge you to come along with us as we travel this trail . . . to not let this vision die once we reach the end of the Bicentennial in 2006.

— Gerard Baker, Superintendent, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail; Opening Ceremonies: Falls of the Ohio Signature Event, Louisville, Kentucky; October 14, 2003.

Gerard Baker (Mandan Hidatsa), Superintendent of the Lewis and Clark NHT from August 2000–June 2004; courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service.

The beauty of these efforts was that the Lewis and Clark NHT not only highlighted the Tribes Lewis and Clark encountered, a venue was also provided for them to tell their own stories in their own words. The Corps of Discovery II mobile outdoor exhibit, complete with the Tent of Many Voices (TOMV), was the Trail forum for achieving cultural engagement. The TOMV gained a reputation as a respected forum where one did not have to hold the European American view of history as the only truth. At each Corps II venue, a balanced presentation schedule was designed for the TOMV. The Trail, other Federal bureaus, venue communities, and Tribes worked on the TOMV schedule to give every voice equal billing. The TOMV housed a wide variety of presentations: panel discussions, musical performances, drum and dance demonstrations, lectures, films, slides shows, traditional craft demonstrations, PowerPoint talks, plays, readings, traditional games, and living history. Just as presentation formats were numerous, so were the topics covered. Presentations ranged from American Indian traditional life ways, Tribal resource protection and sovereignty, to contemporary perspectives. Many Tribal presenter programs were rooted in history, and considered current issues, but repeatedly brought this objective to the next level by asking their audiences to envision the next 200 years of natural, cultural, environmental, and political conditions along the Trail (*Summary*, 2008, pp. 21–22)

Voices shared on this stage were uncensored. It was important to encourage tribes to express their views, even if tribal tradition and stories were in conflict with the European American view of history. Courtesy of National Park Service.

Opening of Corps of Discovery II at the "Falls of the Ohio," Bicentennial Signature Event. Honored by Members of the Blackfoot Color Guard with the Corps of Rediscovery, based in St. Charles, MO, and members of the U.S. Army Old Guard. Louisville, KY. October 15, 2003. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

School children came to the Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) in droves throughout the Corps of Discovery II journey. They were exposed to presentations and demonstrations about Lewis and Clark from many perspectives. Here they line up to get into a program on Oct. 15, 2003, in Louisville at the start of the Falls of the Ohio Signature Event. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

Owner-operators Denver and Shanna Cain were contracted by Legacy Transportation Services (Legacy) to manage the exhibit infrastructure and logistics for the duration of the project. They used a 2003 Kenworth T2000 truck, specially outfitted with a generator, to pull the 53 foot trailer along the Trail.The big blue 18-wheeler was wrapped with graphic landscapes and portraits of members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. This trailer was the anchor of the Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years into the Future. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

Trail staff realized that bringing a voice to American Indian culture and history was essential to commemorate respectfully and genuinely the history of the Expedition. It was important to encourage Tribes to express their views, even if Tribal tradition and stories were in conflict with the European American view of history. The TOMV was that venue. The NPS had learned that attempting to guard appearances by reviewing presenters' scripts was inappropriate and counter-productive. The majority of presenters confirmed the positive returns from the open forum of the TOMV. The Trail guaranteed that the TOMV was a place for all to speak freely, including stakeholders of every affiliation and background. The Trail's proudest Bicentennial legacies are the Tribal connections made and the stories shared and recorded for posterity. (p. 9) The Bicentennial acted as a catalyst to shape the future of the Trail, and the majority of these perspectives were shared in the Tent of Many Voices. (*Summary*, 2008, p. 43)

These TOMV presentations have been a key resource to the Honoring Tribal Legacies curriculum designers and will continue to provide vital information needed for future design and research.

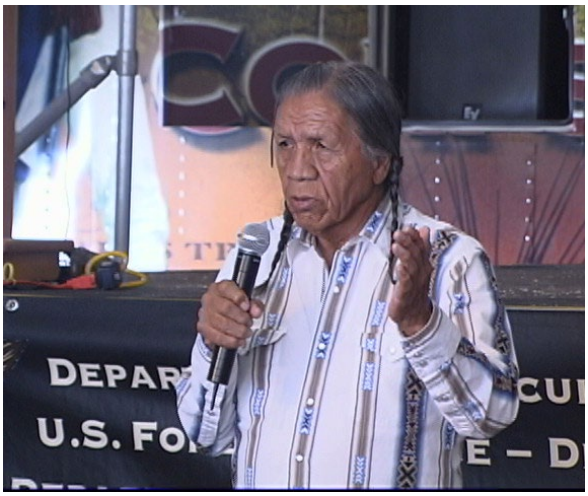
A Photo Sampling of Native Presenters in the Tent of Many Voices

Alanna Nanegos, "A Salmon Culture." Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) on the Umatilla Reservation, May 1, 2006.

Cherokee Christian (Fort Peck Tribes),"Traditional Dancing." Tent of Many Voices, Fort Peck Reservation, Montana, May 6, 2005.

Cody Harjo (Otoe-Missouri), Miss Indian Nations presents, "The First to Meet Lewis and Clark." Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) in Boonville, Missouri, June 12, 2004.

Bobbie Conner (Umatilla), "Umatilla History and Culture." Tent of Many Voices, in Great Falls, Montana, June 25, 2005.



Louis Adams (Salish), "Lewis and Clark Meeting the Salish Indians." Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) in Fort Benton, Montana, June 4, 2005.

JT Thomas and Ryan Reck (Nez Perce), "DJ & Rapper: Contemporary Nez Perce Music." Tent of Many Voices, Lewiston, Idaho, June 16, 2006.

JR Spencer (Nez Perce),"Nez Perce Legends and Flutes." Tent of Many Voices, Lewiston, Idaho, June 12, 2006.

Kevin Peters (Nez Perce), "Flutes and Winds of Change." Tent of Many Voices, Kamiah, Idaho, September 20, 2005.

Dakota Goodhouse (Standing Rock Sioux), "Universal Language of the Plains." The Winter Count is used to remember and recount histories.

Daryl Shortman (Gros Ventre), "Native American Flute." Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) at Fort Belknap, Montana, May 21, 2005.

Clint Brown (Assiniboine) and Darrell Martin (Gros Ventre), Question and Answers, Tent of Many Voices (TOMV), Louisville, KY.

Lee Borgeau (Nez Perce), Prior to her presentation and panel discussion on "Nez Perce Gatherers." Tent of Many Voices, Lewiston, Idaho, June 7, 2006.

Upon reflecting on the Bicentennial in January, 2007, Lee Bourgeau, a member of the Nez Perce Tribe and a Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) presenter, wrote: "The elders have taught us that sharing with our neighbors about who we are will foster greater Peace . . . and the Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) did just that." (p. 42)

Learning about Tribes, and hosting a place where all could exchange ideas, is a lasting legacy of the Bicentennial, but what made all of this possible was strategic partnering. Without a doubt, looking back on the Bicentennial, the Trail is proud of how the work to hold a commemoration was carried out with partners. There are lessons to be learned; each partnership is unique and expectations differ. Some partnerships had to be formalized when funding was provided, especially among Federal agencies.

There was also a place for the casual partnership—no doubt the 95 Corps II communities could credit a number of informal relationships to venue success. (*Summary*, 2008, p. 9)

Though Corps II was led and largely funded by the NPS, it involved more than two-dozen federal agencies, nearly 50 American Indian nations, state and local agencies, non-profit groups, and thousands of individual volunteers. Close partnering at each venue, and a multi-talented staff of approximately 20 enabled Corps II to set up at 95 venues, including 15 Signature events in 22 states plus the District of Columbia. This mobile National Park admitted over 500,000 visitors at no charge during 4 years of operations both on and off the Trail. At the close of the Bicentennial, Corps II staff earned a Secretary of the Interior's *Unit Award for Excellence of Service*. (*Summary*, 2008, p. 15)

United States Department of the Interior

Unit Award

Members and Coordinators Corps of Discovery II:
200 Years to the Future Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail
is hereby awarded this certificate of honor for

Excellence of Service

Given under my hand and seal this 22nd day of September, 2006

Secretary of the Interior

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
MARCH 3, 1849

Unit Award for Excellence of Service. Courtesy of Richard Basch.

This unprecedented collaborative effort involved many groups who had never worked together before. Revisiting the Lewis and Clark story 200 years later required the strength of partnerships but also the openness to share multiple views. The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail worked in many capacities to encourage the spirit of inclusion. The Trail also established inclusive partnership networks and baseline resource data to embark on a new era of collaborative Trail administration. (*Summary*, 2008, pp. 4, 7)

The Trail staff gained the knowledge and assurance that the Lewis and Clark Expedition is alive and well in the minds of many Americans. Those who participated in the Bicentennial Commemoration share a renewed spirit of keeping the history alive. Looking forward "200 Years to the Future" the Trail has the responsibility to preserve and disseminate the knowledge gained during the Bicentennial. The greatest legacy will be in keeping the momentum going, sharing the stories and knowledge so that those who follow can reach goals over the next 200 years that reach beyond these accomplishments. (*Summary*, 2008, p. 10) The legacy of the Bicentennial is a broader commitment to inclusion, constructive intercultural communication, and increased partnering to preserve and protect resources, educate the public on their value and significance, and enhance public awareness of healthful recreational opportunities along the 3,700 miles of the Trail. (*Summary*, 2008, p. 4)

Tribal Perspectives on the Bicentennial Commemoration

As the honorary Chief of the Chinook Indian Nation it is truly my privilege to welcome all of you fans to the final session of the "tent of many voices." Gerard Baker selected me to give the opening presentation. I recall the 1st presentation—near Monticello in Virginia. This tent has become famous because it has traveled all the way from Virginia to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and back to St. Louis, presenting hundreds of speakers who have covered every facet of the Corps of Discovery on the same time line as Lewis and Clark took 200 years ago.

I salute Gerard Baker who saw the value of Corps of Discovery II at the very start, and Steve Adams and Dick Basch who carried the "tent" across America over 6,ooo miles. I also salute the staff, who worked tirelessly in every type of setting in every state to make sure the children and adults of each locality were treated to a wonderful part of American history. They are the friendliest and one of the most organized groups I have ever met.

Honorary Chief Cliff Snider (Chinook). After many presentations at the Tent of Many Voices, Chief is shown here closing Corps II activities with the final presentation at the Tent of Many Voices. "Lewis & Clark: Currents of Change" Signature Event, St. Louis, MO, September 24, 2006. Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service.

The commemoration changed the lives of many people. Did it change yours? Over the past few years it brought Indian Tribes and government agencies together for the first time. The national parks, corps of engineers, fish and wildlife, forest service, department of transportation, county and state governments all came together for one common cause. Even the BIA eventually took notice. If everything continues in this vein, maybe the Indians will someday have an embassy in Washington, D.C.

— Chief Snider, Chinook Tribe, "Lewis & Clark: Currents of Change, Signature Event," St. Louis, MO, September 24, 2006

Tribal Buy-In, An Opportunity

Whether Lewis and Clark knew it or not, they were the "spearpoints" of an invasion of Native American homelands in the West. Whether or not it was deliberate, they touched off an invasion rarely paralleled in world history, displacing entire peoples and Tribal groups with Anglo settlers, backed by the U.S. Army. It is for this reason that many native peoples see no reason to be happy about the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, and why this event should be looked upon by all as a "commemoration" rather than a "celebration."

The Brown Quarterly Newsletter for Classroom Teachers

The Brown Foundation for Educational Equity, Excellence and Research

Fall/Winter 2003

Enough Good People[22] is a tremendous recollection that describes Tribal involvement in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration from a Tribal perspective. It humbly honors those contributions made by so many Tribal and non-Tribal individuals, federal, state, county, city governments, educational institutions and non-government organizations. It also honestly assesses lessons learned, milestones, and work yet to be accomplished. It is a true gift and legacy itself to this event. The following are excerpts from this publication. To appreciate it fully, please seek it out electronically in its entirety at http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/book which is on the Lewis & Clark—Tribal Legacy Project website (http://lc-triballegacy.org/) hosted in Montana. Additional information about the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is available at the Trail's website www.nps.gov/lecl, which gives a brief overview of the history and culture associated with the Trail. These excerpts provide examples of the rich perspectives and voices to be found in *Enough Good People* :

> Tribal participation in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial was, without doubt, the most energetic and engaging part of the commemoration. Far more than Tribal involvement, there was an honest, balanced, courageous telling of Tribal stories by hundreds of Native

people. This more nuanced telling of American history engaged and inspired everyone who listened, Natives and non-Natives, young and old of all cultures. Telling our stories to our own young people and to members of other Tribes was at least as important as telling our stories to non-Indians. This extraordinary exchange of information and perspectives illuminated the role of Lewis and Clark in exposing the West to further American incursion into Native homelands in ways most Americans had never considered. It respected everyone's ability to understand that the expedition of 1803–1806 was not just a great, extended camping adventure—but a truly pivotal episode in the conquest of Native America. (p. 56)

* * *

Early on, few Tribal people wanted to participate in the commemoration. From our standpoint of more than a dozen millennia of history on this continent, 200 years didn't seem like such a big deal. Many early COTA meetings focused on past injustices and lengthy discussions about whether or not to participate in what we viewed as a non-Indian party, celebrating non-Indian American heroes (whose precise maps would change our lives forever), by people who didn't comprehend or appreciate our perspectives of these past 200 years. (p. 56)

* * *

Lewis and Clark was not a priority for us. Tribal governments had no budgets for Bicentennial activities and could not divert sparse resources from other essential programs like language revitalization, cultural resource protection, elder services, education, health care, safety or infrastructure. Yet, we united in a determination to show American Indians not as victims, but as modern, educated members of American society with rich, diverse and ancient cultures, histories and languages, who are reclaiming control of our future. We also united in a determination to share the tourism and economic benefits the Bicentennial would bring. (pp. 56–57)

Successes of Tribal Involvement

Our successes during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial were guided by the early and enduring involvement of Tribal elders, funded by those who believed our perspectives were important, supported by visionary Tribal and Bicentennial leaders, and accomplished by dedicated, hardworking individuals from at least two-thirds of the original 114 Tribal nations recorded by Lewis and Clark. Among those successes:

- Naming the Bicentennial a commemoration rather than a celebration opened it to Tribal participation as defined by the Tribes, rather than simply as entertainment or backdrop for a non-Indian American hero story.
- The National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial voted early, and unanimously, to make "Tribal involvement" its number one priority for the commemoration.
- Native voices were not censored.
- Tribes were an integral part of the Bicentennial's decision-making processes.
- Three of the commemoration's fifteen National Signature Events were hosted by Tribal nations (Great Sioux Nation, Nez Perce Tribe, Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara Nation) in 2004 and 2006.
- The National Park Service's *Corps of Discovery II Tent of Many Voices (TOMV)* made 14 visits to American Indian communities and reservations. For 45 months, at 95 locations on and off the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, more than 400 Tribal individuals offered more than 1800 hours of presentations, stories, history, cultural demonstrations, music, dance, plays, films and more.
- $6 million of National Park Service Challenge Cost Share funding was awarded to Tribes for Bicentennial projects, language preservation, educational efforts and more.
- Tribal oral histories were presented, heard and respected. The National Park Service's *Tent of Many Voices (TOMV)* was the Tribes' most important venue for expression of

Tribal perspectives, reaching vast new audiences, including international visitors. Many Tribes began recording the language and stories of their elders to teach future generations.

- Though not a funded Bicentennial program, we infused the commemoration with our devotion to protecting cultural resources and sacred sites, whether in public or private hands.
- Exiled Tribes such as the Shawnee, Osage, Otoe-Missouria and others were invited back to their aboriginal homelands. Perhaps the most inspiring homecoming was that of the Osage Nation, who were invited back to the Saint Louis area after an absence of 200 years. Participating in numerous Bicentennial events, the Osage, in turn, welcomed other Tribes to their Ancestral home.
- In 2009, building upon their new relationships with the City of Saint Louis and the State of Missouri, the Osage were able to establish a literal, physical connection to their ancient history when they purchased the last undestroyed mound of the Cahokia complex remaining in private hands.
- National Ad Council and COTA public awareness campaigns focused on Native perspectives and reached multi-millions of people nationwide. A William and Flora Hewlett Foundation Leadership Grant funded creation and publication of 250,000 copies of COTA's brochure, *A Guide to Visiting the Lands of Many Nations*. Most of those copies found their way into the hands and living rooms of non-Indian Americans. Many schools also used the brochure as a curriculum guide.
- Inter-Tribal and inter-cultural collaboration and partnership grew on a scale unprecedented in American history.
- Important working relationships grew among Tribes, some of whom have been enemies for thousands of years.
- Publication of American Indian authors and Tribal histories increased substantially.

- The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation magazine, *We Proceeded On*, featured Robert Miller's (Eastern Shawnee) article, "Doctrine of Discovery," and Germaine White's (Salish) article, "Sharing the Vision: How the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Can Build Trust Between Tribal and Non-Tribal Cultures."
- Adding to James Ronda's 1984 groundbreaking *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*, new non-Native voices examined old characters in a new light that included the sacrifices and points of view of Native peoples, including Landon Y. Jones (*William Clark and the Shaping of the West*), Sammye Meadows and Jana Prewitt (*Lewis and Clark For Dummies*), Clay Jenkinson (Oregon Public Broadcasting radio series), and others.
- *Who is York: A New Look at the Lewis and Clark Expedition* was created by filmmaker Ron Craig and produced by Oregon Public Broadcasting. The film not only examined the life of the man who remained William Clark's slave while contributing as an extraordinary member of the expedition, but also included Native perspectives on York, whom some Tribes revered and called "Big Medicine."
- Tribal tourism grew and flourished. Federal and private funds came together to support tourist capacity building in Tribes, tour guide training, pageants, films, exhibits, symphonies, and more.
- Tribal telling of the Lewis and Clark story was not confined to Bicentennial settings, but also reached Indian communities and schools.
- Bicentennial organizers created budgets and raised substantial funds to support Tribal involvement.
- Relationships between Tribal nations and state and federal agencies were strengthened.
- The International Traditional Games Society was reinvigorated to successfully renew ancient Tribal games and engage modern Indian youth.
- Participation by Indian Youth was substantial, and the Bicentennial presented opportunities for young people to stay and work at home.

- Many Native participants received invitations to address non-Lewis and Clark groups and meetings, such as the National Association of Editorial Writers, National Historic Preservation Trust, National Association of Secretaries of State, and others.
- New Tribal leadership emerged in COTA as old leadership faded—giving our efforts continuing freshness.
- We influenced the thinking of a great many people—non-Indian and Indian.
- We made deep, abiding, lifelong friendships—whose good work will continue to unfold. (*Enough People*, pp. 57–59; http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/book)

Changes to Trail Administration

The Bicentennial Commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 2003–2006 had tremendous impacts on many people. The office of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail was no different. Once the Congressional funding for these events and programs and infrastructure came to an end, the Trail dedicated itself to continue its work honoring Tribes. The entire organizational structure of the Trail was changed in order to offer technical assistance to Trail partners in many disciplines: Natural Resources, Environmental Compliance, Cultural Resources, Geographic Information Services, Interpretation, Education, Volunteerism, Outdoor Recreation Planning, and Tribal Relations. The long-term planning efforts resulted in a revamping of the Trail's significance statements, those statements (quoted from the Trail's *Foundation Document* from 2012) that remind the staff and the public what is important about the Trail:

- The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail commemorates the 1804 to 1806 Corps of Discovery, which explored the Louisiana Territory and beyond. This epic journey contributed to significant scientific knowledge and profound political, social, economic, cultural, and environmental changes to the lands and the peoples of the North American continent.
- The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail identifies and marks the historic route and sites where the Lewis and Clark journey took place, and provides context for preservation of the route and further understanding of the expedition and its subsequent outcomes.

- The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail links contemporary communities including Tribes, whose historic connections span generations, to the places associated with the 1804 to 1806 expedition. The trail provides an opportunity to demonstrate the continuum of human history in these same locations and the subsequent relationships that developed among multiple cultures.
- Segments of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail retain characteristics and a sense of place similar to those seen and experienced by the Corps of Discovery. Today, the trail provides visitors with connections to the historic event through recreational, interpretive, and educational opportunities.
- The Corps of Discovery recorded a vast amount of information about landscapes, resources, and the people encountered during the journey. The observations of the Corps are used today to connect the public with the past and illuminate the changes that have taken place over time.
- Following the Expedition's route from eastern forests through treeless plains across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Northwest, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail crosses a wide diversity of landscapes, biological communities, and climate zones. (pp. 7–8)

The Trail also looked at its "Interpretive Themes" or those big ideas that the Trail supports and encourages. It is through providing technical assistance to our partners that the Trail can provide vital resources that will make a difference. These, too, were written anew to ensure that Tribes continue to be honored:

Theme 1: Growth of a Young Nation

Leaving Wood River, the Corps of Discovery set out on a military expedition into unfamiliar lands to find a direct water route to the Pacific Ocean for commerce for the young nation. During the epic journey, the Corps discovered the rich potential for fur trading in the Upper Missouri area, identified and suggested locations for military posts, and gathered geographic and scientific data.

When the U.S. government purchased the Louisiana Territory from the French government in 1803, it contained vast expanses of uncharted land. The theme, "Growth of a Young Nation," explores the primary mission of the Corps of Discovery—finding a direct water route through these lands to the Pacific Ocean. The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail provides a vital link to our understanding of the growth and expansion of the nation.

Theme 2: Documenting Observations of Natural Science

The Corps of Discovery made meticulous notes of natural environs, documenting the diversity and uniqueness of plants and animals, weather, natural cycles, and the vitality of the natural world. Through diligent documentation, comparisons of their scientific observations to current conditions can capture visions of the past.

Although the Corps of Discovery was a military expedition, scientific discovery and the recording of the natural environments the Corps encountered were critical pieces of their mission and embody the theme, "Documenting Observations of Natural Science." Lewis and Clark documented and recorded numerous plant and animal species new to science. Today, the Corps' observations are a critical resource for understanding the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

Theme 3: Encountering Indigenous Peoples

The Corps of Discovery, diverse in their cultures, experiences, and skills, explored vast lands and participated in diplomatic encounters with Indian nations. They traded with, learned from, and depended on friendly relations with over 50 Tribes throughout the course of the journey. The American Indians they encountered had been living on the land for thousands of years and had complex societal, political, economic, and spiritual structures in place. The Indian people shared their food, knowledge, and skills with the Corps of Discovery, thus ensuring their survival and the successful completion of their mission.

The Corps of Discovery was charged with making contact with American Indian Tribes during their journey and establishing trade relationships with these groups. Without the help and support of numerous Tribal groups, the expedition would not have survived in the rugged North American interior. The theme, "Encountering Indigenous Peoples," tells the story of first encounters between a growing nation and the indigenous inhabitants who had lived on the land for thousands of years.

Theme 4: Unity through History

The Lewis and Clark Expedition marks a significant time in the nation's history. Some call it an epic event leading to the prosperous growth of a young nation while others characterize it as having huge disruptive impacts on the viable and rich indigenous cultures. Listening to each other with respect, the nation can unite through an understanding of multiple perspectives of the collective history of the United States.

The historic events of the Lewis and Clark Expedition weave together numerous perspectives and interpretations of first encounters between the growing nation and the Tribal nations inhabiting the land. Commemorating and sharing the stories of the Corps of Discovery expedition through the creation of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail provide an opportunity to explore and share these perspectives providing a better understanding of the past. Through the theme, "Unity through History," the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail provides an opportunity to listen to and respect the multiple perspectives that mold the collective history of the United States.

Theme 5: Traces of the Past Observed Today

The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail provides opportunities to glimpse the past, learn from history, visit Tribal nations, and explore the landscape.

The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is a tangible link to the nation's past and enables exploration of the cultural landscape with a new-found respect and appreciation

for the legacy of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The trail also provides an opportunity to visit contemporary Tribal nations, understand their traditions, and gain respect for their relationship with these lands. The theme, "Traces of the Past Observed Today," utilizes the historic resources of the trail to increase understanding and appreciation of the past. (*Foundation Document*, 2012, p. 9–11)

Personal Reflections of the Authors

In this section, we offer some personal reflections with the hope that you, the reader, understand the life experiences that have inspired our passion and compassion for Honoring Tribal Legacies. We realize that our reflections pertain to a range of stories that exist among the citizens of this country. There are the Native people who were born to honor their Ancestors, languages, cultures, and histories in the face of all the inhibitors that conspire to undermine the foundation of Honoring Tribal Legacies. There are non-Native people who were touched by the many voices of Native people that could be heard throughout the Bicentennial as well as those who came afterwards to be bathed in the glow of the emanating energy of Tribal involvement and successes. These lived experiences inspired us to keep breathing life to Honoring Tribal Legacies. Whatever the perspective, our stories may be your stories and, like the national parks, are meant to be enjoyed by people today and well into the future.

Personal Reflection of Richard Basch, American Indian Liaison, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. Within these reflections, I evolve from a seven year old boy standing on the beach of my ancestral village site along the Oregon coast, listening to re enactor's telling me about the adventures of the Lewis and Clark Expedition; to a man exactly 50 years later encouraging Tribes to tell their histories and stories for the upcoming Bicentennial Commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. When visited by Gerard Baker and Otis Halfmoon in 2003, their description of what they wanted from this bicentennial was a perfect match with my sincere beliefs about the desperate need for us to tell OUR stories, TRIBAL STORIES, the good, the bad, the ugly and OUR HOPES for the future! However, an unknown

reality was that I had gone through a devastating trauma some six years prior and my own epic journey of healing. I had "made it through" having meningitis. The aftermath of this left me with many challenges and resulted in me resigning from my job with Seattle Public Schools and going on disability. But, what I found out was that even though I had some special challenges with "executive skills," I knew and remembered our histories and stories! Let me begin my own story.

A young boy stood on a beach listening to the true story of a young Indian woman from far away traveling with a group of men also from far away. These men were not like his grandfathers or uncles. They had pale skin and wore beautiful uniforms. They came to the village of NeCus' to see a huge beached whale and trade for its meat and blubber. This boy was dressed in a costume with fringe, hatchet, and feathers. Standing next to him was his aunt, dressed in buckskin, beads, and feathers. The man telling this story stood tall, wearing a beautiful uniform much like Captain Clark must have worn back in the day, with his large hat turned at an angle, looking really funny. He was very tall, standing above us. Soon more people gathered, were served mussel chowder, and listened to more stories about the journey of men that came long ago to this beach… along with a young Indian woman and her baby. The young boy listened to the stories, not at all realizing that the people in this story of long ago, these visitors had stayed in the villages of his Ancestors. Also, not realizing that the headman they described in their Journal as "kind," was his own "3-g" [great-great-great] grandfather! Yes, I was that boy. And I was standing on that beach because that was the summer of commemorating the Sesquicentennial (150th) of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. As a seven-year-old, I didn't "get it." I didn't get that this group of "rag a'muffins" from so long ago were here to check us and our land/resources out for the livability and economic factor for THEIR people and government.

As a young boy, Richard Basch (Clatsop-Nehalem) visited with re-enactors during a clambake at the NeCus' Village site, during the Lewis and Clark Sesquicentennial Commemoration. His Ancestors had welcomed William Clark and expedition members two centuries earlier. They stayed in this village while on their trip to see the beached whale. Cannon Beach, Oregon. July, 1955. Courtesy of Richard Basch.

As I grew-up, I studied at universities and with elders. I served as a council member on the Chinook Tribal council for decades, advocating for the voices and rights of Indian people. When approached by people advocating for participating in the celebration of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, no Tribe was interested at first. But then I met Gerard Baker and Otis Halfmoon. Sitting on the beach near Long Beach, WA, they shared THE vision. Basically, THE vision was to commemorate the visit of Lewis and Clark by giving the Tribes a forum, a platform, a voice to tell THEIR stories of that time period, AS WELL as what has happened to their people since 1803–1806, what is happening NOW, and share their hopes and dreams for the FUTURE. Well, I was "all over it." These guys from the government meant what they were saying, and they weren't going to back down. During this time, myself, Chinook honorary Chief Cliff Snider, and others attended planning meetings and started to move forward. I was totally surprised when I attended an annual Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation meeting in Lewiston, ID. I'd swear there were more Indians there than there were "Lewis and Clarkies." It was working. The government stuck to their promises (thanks to Gerard's insistence), Tribes trusted this, and everyone was getting along and sharing.

It is about this time that, for personal reasons, I changed my enrollment from the Chinook Tribe to the Clatsop-Nehalem Confederated Tribes. I was definitely hooked on what this "commemoration" could provide for the citizens, communities, and Tribes not just along the Trail and not just for these few years; BUT what it could mean for all people, far into the future! For the opening of Corps of Discovery II with its Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) in Monticello, VA, I was asked by Superintendent Gerard Baker to provide a prayer and blessing for its success; at first I declined. I couldn't get up in front of all these Tribal Nations and provide a blessing; I would embarrass my family, my Tribe and myself. Gerard and Otis thought otherwise. They convinced me this was the time to tell the stories of our ancestors and families and that I COULD do it. In Monticello that cold January day, I was on the stage and prayed for open minds and hearts, I prayed that people could hear and take part in the stories; and that, together we could learn from the lessons of our history. All this so we could learn to respect, share, love, and to heal.

Great Spirit

Grandfathers of the Four Quarters

Mother Earth

I call out to humble myself before you

I ask for your help in blessing this event here today

I ask that all these beautiful people come with open minds and open hearts

I pray they hear and are able to take part in the sharing of the stories told

I ask that we can, together, learn from the lessons for our history

I ask that we can all see ourselves humble, good people

So that we can learn to respect

So that we can learn to share

So that we can learn to love

So that we can learn the lessons Oh Great Spirit, that you would want us to

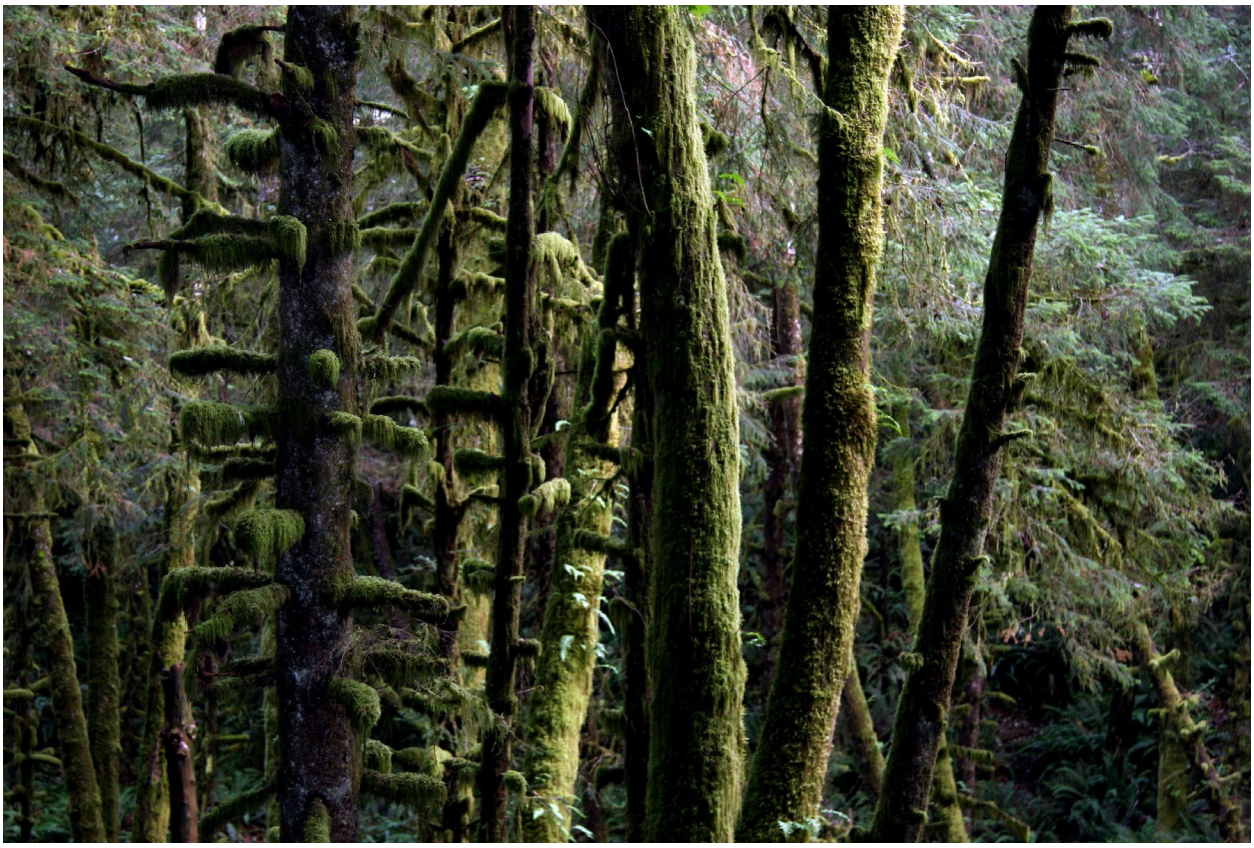
In this humble way I give you a gift from the west and ask for special blessings upon

This tent, and ask that it become a special messenger of all that we ask for.

I offer -

Water from Grandmother Ocean

Sweet cedar from our mountains



Rainforest of Ecola State Park, Cannon Beach, OR. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

The Pacific Ocean at Indian Beach, Oregon. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

Months later, I applied for and was hired as the American Indian Liaison with the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. I actually considered myself the luckiest person in the National Park Service. While most government people were making and enforcing laws, and wanting something from Indian people, I actually was able to approach Tribes and individuals with a most special "gift," an opportunity for them to have an audience. With their permission, these presentations were videotaped. These recorded presentations would later be available to them, to their Tribe, and to the public as a Legacy.

Excerpted from The Chinook Observer, July 27, 2003:

(Omaha, Neb.)—Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Superintendent Gerard A. Baker this week announced the hiring of longtime Washington state educator Richard Basch as American Indian liaison.

"My family 'hosted' the Expedition from November 1805 to March 1806," Basch said. "I'm descended from Coboway (Komowool)—Chief of the Clatsops—who was a frequent visitor at Fort Clatsop during that winter."

Lewis and Clark made many references to Coboway in their journals. "They didn't have many good things to say about the Indians while they were here, but Lewis characterized Coboway as 'more kind and hospitable to us than any other Indian in this neighborhood.' This being said, Coboway was also the victim of the infamous plot of deception that ended with the theft of the canoe," Basch said.

Basch is headquartered at Fort Clatsop National Historic Site near Astoria.

"I am very excited and pleased to be able to have Mr. Dick Basch on our Corps II staff," said Gerard Baker, Superintendent of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial "Corps of Discovery II: 200 years into the Future."

"Dick's experience, not only in the American Indian community, but also in the education field, is just what we need," Baker said. "Dick will bring many Indian stories together for the education of the American public regarding Lewis and Clark."

Basch will be the LCNHT liaison for Indian Tribes as well as local, state, and federal agencies and Lewis and Clark organizations. "I will assist Tribes and local organizations in the application process for National Park Service Challenge Cost Share grants, assess increased awareness of how Tribes can participate in Bicentennial activities," he said.

Basch will also help Tribes in the development and interpretation of their stories of the trail and assist in the development of audio and visual components of the Corps II exhibit and work with Tribes and individuals for presentations in the Corps II "Tent of Many Voices," performance venue.

"I've worked for over 30 years supporting and furthering Indian people, organizations and Tribes. I believe that as Indian people, we need to support each other in telling our histories and dreams. I am excited about being the American Indian liaison because Corps II offers Indian people a 'stage' for us to tell the stories of who we are to people who normally wouldn't have an opportunity to hear them."

For the next three years I was either on the phone or travelling on the Trail tracking down not just "the official" Tribal historians, but also the people from within the Tribal communities that held personal or family stories that needed to be shared. This journey also took me far off the Trail to Oklahoma and Kansas, for many of the Tribes had been "relocated" out of the fertile Missouri and Mississippi valleys to sparse and unfamiliar lands that became known as "Indian country." When meeting with either Tribal councils or community groups I was frequently asked, "Why are you coming to us?" or "What interests do you have in us?" Many had forgotten from where they had come. And, it certainly was not my place to remind them of the trauma of their relocation. I would step back in hopes that someone from within the community would speak up and speak of those stories. And, they did. We were able to provide support for members of these Tribes to return to their homelands and tell their stories in the Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) and other locations. What a homecoming for those who spoke, with many tears of joy as well as sorrow.

The continued increase in partnerships created an atmosphere of excitement for the challenges ahead. Basically, I was to help channel all the energy, interest, and funding and to increase levels of TRUST with all people and all communities; introduce Tribes to the idea of participating in this commemoration; find, within Tribal communities the people who would "tell the stories," all the stories from many perspectives and viewpoints; often "re-introduce" many Tribal communities to the homelands they had been "removed" from; and, open the hearts of many non-Indians living in "border towns," close to reservations to the stories of their neighbors that they may have never met.

This truly was a journey of *discovery and healing* for many of us, whether individuals or communities, Tribal or non-Tribal, partnerships and programs started coming together. Stories began to be shared and people were actually interested in listening to our untold histories. Ideas and venues for sharing information and stories took off like wildfire.

Community Members, Tribal, State, and Federal representatives participate in the Grand Entry of the Opening of the OCETI SAKOWIN EXPERIENCE: REMEMBERING AND EDUCATING Signature Event, Eagle Butte, South Dakota, September 17, 2004. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

It was important to encourage elders and youth to be involved. I was touched by many people and many stories during the Bicentennial, some which have left me with new friends and new ways of understanding our histories. We brought Traditional Indigenous Games to Tribal and non-Tribal audiences. It was exciting to work with the elders who told the stories and the children who would play the games and to see people "light up," as they learned the games. We brought an elder from Rocky Boy to the Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) in Seaside, Oregon, during the Signature Event to do presentations on traditional games. She had never seen the grandmother ocean. After picking her up at the airport we arrived at the beach right at sunset. She stood there, arms outstretched, praying to the Creator for a long, long time, overwhelmed by its beauty.

Ruby Stump (R) from Rocky Boys seeing the Pacific Ocean for the first time, with her husband Videl (L). Courtesy of the National Park Service.

A young dance group from Fort Berthold reservation was brought to a small non-Indian town in North Dakota. At the end of their presentation/performance, the group started a round dance (social dance). A young dancer approached an elder farmer from the community and asked him to join in the dance. The sight of this has stuck so strongly with me ever since. Such a small step, but what a wonderful and joyous step it was!

Eagle Feather Dance Club (New Town Schools) ask visitors to join them in a Round Dance. New Town, North Dakota. August 18, 2006. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

A moving ceremony was held by the Blackfeet Nation at Two Medicine River, Montana, to honor the memory of two young Blackfeet men (boys) killed by Meriwether Lewis and his party in 1806. This story was, for the first time, being shared outside of the Tribe.

The Blackfeet Nation holds Ceremony to honor the memory of two young Blackfeet men killed by Meriwether Lewis and his party in 1806. Browning and Two Medicine River, Montana July 27, 2006. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

While sitting with a group of elders in their lodge (Tipi) in Montana with Darrell Martin (incidentally, Darrell, a member of the Gros Ventre Tribe, and I, were both Tribal Liaisons during the Bicentennial), we were both in our NPS uniforms visiting with them about ways to involve Tribes and Tribal members in the commemoration, as well as how to engage non-Tribal communities. Our conversation wandered off to talking about how important it was for Indian country that we stay in these positions. We were truly a bridge for the communities. And, as expected we all ended up laughing when one of the elders joked, "The tables are turned now, we're using you two as OUR Indian scouts."

Since 2003, I promised hundreds of Tribal elders, youth, leaders, and community members that if they did come forward and use this opportunity, their story, video or even PowerPoint would not disappear into the dungeons of the National Archives. With the completion of the *Lewis & Clark Trail Tribal Legacy Project* website (http://lc-triballegacy.org/) and now this wonderful *Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing* (HonoringTribalLegacies.com), we can all be assured that Tribal histories will be told by Tribal voices, along what is now referred to as the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail so that we all may heal.

I can thank ALL of those people along the Trail that fed my desire to make sure that the stories and memories are KEPT alive for our children and children's children. I have been given the honor of making sure that the voices, the stories, the videos and dreams of the over 400 Tribal youth, community members, leaders and elders who spoke in the Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) remain alive so that we can all heal. When speaking about presentations at the Tent of Many Voices, Otis Halfmoon stated,

> You're gonna hear the word reconciliation . . . a good word . . . that really means . . . the books are balanced. . . . And for too many Tribal people, not only the Nez Perce but too many Indian people, the books will never be balanced.

And, that very well may be the truth because even though "the Journals" speak highly of my 3rd great grandfather Coboway, headman of the Clatsop people, and describe him as "being much more kind an hospitable to us than any other indian in this neighbourhood," the Expedition stole a much revered, treasured and needed Canoe from this "kind and hospitable" leader of this sovereign nation. And then after a brief 50 years US representatives promised Coboway's successors THAT if they would sign a treaty at Tansy Point, along with 13 other Tribes, lands would be "reserved" for them and the right to fish would continue. However, these US representatives did not deliver these signed Treaties to Congress or the President for ratification, leaving these Tribal citizens to live in squalor, finding themselves arrested for trespassing on someone else's land.

For me, my Tribe, and many others, the preservation of these many Tribal Legacies has been a journey towards healing. We are moving closer to "balancing the books." The Lewis and Clark

Bicentennial did provide the opportunities for Tribes and communities to share our stories; and in many cases people have reached out to provide support representing yet another step towards healing. As far as that seven-year-old Clatsop-Nehalem boy standing on the beach at NeCus' Village, he knows he has helped to ensure that the stories continue to be told and the people continue to respect, share, love, and to heal. I often go back to the thoughts and feelings I had as that 7-year-old boy standing on the beach listening to that tall man in the beautiful uniform telling that "wonderful and great" story. Those stories and "celebrations," were often times far from the truth and certainly didn't include the voices of those standing on the riverbanks welcoming Lewis, Clark, and the expedition members. We HAVE come a long way.

Personal Reflection of Carol McBryant, National Park Service, Tribal Interpretation, Education, and Tourism Programs. It is my honor to have an opportunity to tell my story. Everyone has a story and everyone should find comfort in telling their story in this Nation, a nation of clay pots and woven baskets that holds the stories of our people and our place here on earth. My story is simple. It is what I was born into, not unlike most. You live a life given you and do so with good intentions. You work hard, with a desire to do the best you can with what you have. You create and collect your stories, make contributions to your community and cherish the encounters of people and places throughout your life.

Every once in a while your story takes a dramatic turn; a loved one passes to the spirit world, an unexpected miracle happens or insights come through new experiences. The story I would like to share for the purpose of this book is a reflection of one of the turns in my life.

On September 11, 2001 I was in North Carolina packing my belongings to move to Omaha, Nebraska, to serve as the Chief of Logistics for the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. I was leaving a national historic site held in honor of Carl Sandburg, biographer of Abraham Lincoln, Poet of the People, children's author, Pulitzer Prize winner and activist for the common citizens of this Nation. I had spent five years managing the operations of this small, yet powerful, place in Western North Carolina where social justice and equality enveloped the place and the people who came to visit. A place that fits who I am—one who believes that everyone deserves a voice,

everyone deserves the privileges that this nation has to offer, one that recognizes the struggles of the oppressed and marginalized of this great nation we call America. I was moving on this day, a day of punctuation in our nation's history. A nation in shock because of the horrible non-discriminating terror imposed on its people. A day that our nation promised to never forget.

I was moving to a place where Lewis and Clark were seen as heroes of American history. Their expedition deemed successful by providing a broad foundation that shaped this young country 200 years ago. Two explorers hired by the United States Government to lead a corps of young men on a military expedition across the continent. Their purpose was to map the waterways west of the Mississippi River for the development of commerce and while doing so they were charged with documenting the flora and fauna and providing diplomatic relations with this continent's First People, all on behalf of the United States government. I was excited for this opportunity. I was chosen by the National Park Service to lead the logistical efforts for the national bicentennial commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. I hired a corps of young people, designed a traveling exhibit, organized tour stops and logistical requirements. I would represent the United States Government in building community relations.

What I began to learn you can't find in a text book. As I travelled the 3,700 miles that make up the route of the expedition, I began to piece together stories I had never heard before, stories that compared to the terror that our nation experienced on 9/11. The difference, we did forget and there was never a promise to always remember. We forgot the terror and colonization tactics imposed on the indigenous peoples of our new nation. I also learned that the "success" of the expedition could be attributed to the Tribal encounters and that the hospitality and friendship that was offered to the Corps by the Tribes was sincere, yet came with a price over the next 200 years of our history.

As I began to settle into my job, I began to realize how important my work was to help commemorate all of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Everyone's history. The history made by the heroes of our text books that so successfully set the foundation for our nation's growth was scratching the surface of this story. This story was also about setting that foundation with the

purchase of land that wasn't for sale. A nation with a history that if they were to become the "Land of the Free," needed to face that history honestly and reconcile having moved its original inhabitants out of the way, assimilating them into a colonized society or extinguishing their existence—these were the same inhabitants that contributed to the success of the expedition; History, our history, our collective American history. The successes of the expedition, the assistance from the Tribes, the terror imposed upon our First Nations beyond the expedition, the hero status of the Corps of Discovery, a successful military expedition; all of this history. This became my job, to help set the stage for our collective history to be told freely across America.

Throughout my travels, my understanding of our history went beyond the text books of my youth and began to grow through the knowledge and understandings of many tribal historians, educators, elders and the ancestors of those who welcomed Lewis and Clark as they made their way westward to the Pacific Ocean and back to St. Louis. As I listened, I began to learn how critical it is for our nation to provide a platform for all voices to be heard and that the National Park Service has an obligation to building the foundation for this in our country. I learned that the more voices that are heard in the places and about the events in our history, the more accurate and rich the history becomes. I began to understand a whole new "American History."

But how would we facilitate the telling of the whole story? How would the National Park Service set the stage for the public to hear the collective American History related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition? This was our charge. We did it by building true and meaningful relationships with the people whose ancestors were touched by the events of the expedition, especially the Tribes whose history had been left out of our American story for far too long. We built trust, we honored our promises and we were sincere in our friendships. For the first time in our history, America had an opportunity to experience the expedition from the shores—through the eyes and voices of the American Indian communities—whose very ancestors welcomed, and in many cases helped, the corps in their endeavor to map a waterway to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition is one of the greatest stories of our nation, in fact, even richer when it is told by many voices and through multiple viewpoints. When we invited American Indian voices into our history and listened to

the various perspectives of how history unfolded for them, we began to see a more complete Lewis and Clark story emerge, a story that provides lessons for the future, reflections on the past, a sense of belonging for all cultures.

After being on the Trail for several years, a dear friend and Tribal scholar of the Lewis and Clark, Allen Pinkham, once said to me that his studies of the expedition led him to believe that the Corps of Discovery returned to St. Louis in 1806 more Indian than American. He continued to say that the 28 months of the expedition were arduous and full of many challenges but because of the friendship and assistance from the Tribes they found their way in Indian Country and learned the ways of this land as the indigenous people had done from the beginning of their existence.

What I understood him to be saying was that the Lewis and Clark Expedition is as much an American Indian story as it is about a military expedition westward in America. It is a story of friendship, trust and cultural exchange. This I learned to be true. I had worked amongst the Tribes, sat with their elders, participated in their ceremonies and became their friend. Like the Corps of Discovery, I, in some small way, began to understand the people of this continent, their existence on this land and their courage and strength to survive. With this my story has taken a turn.

I have dedicated my life to doing what I can to bring the American Indian voices into the stories of our nation. I believe that when our teachers and our park rangers begin to give voice to our American Indian stories as a part of our collective American history and our students and park visitors begin to see the whole of American history, then we will be Honoring Tribal Legacies.

Personal Reflection of Jill Hamilton-Anderson, Education Specialist, National Park Service Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. I grew up in New England. "New." "England." The river behind my house in "New" "Hampshire," the place my parents still reside, is named the Winnicut River. This river connects by way of Great Bay estuary to the Piscataqua River which is a brackish tidal river that connects to the Atlantic Ocean. It is the third fastest-flowing navigable river in the world, or so I have always been told. This river separates the states of New Hampshire and Maine. The Winnicut River to me is where I went to fish and canoe, ice-skate and explore. A tributary of the river, which I affectionately referred to as

"the continuation," is where I would play in the muddy bottom making my own creations of clay pottery. I didn't know the Abenaki may have done the same. I never realized the Piscataqua River to the Abenaki was an important trade route. I also didn't know that they referred to it as the place where one leaves in one of three directions or comes from one of three directions since upriver from the ocean the river branches. It is here where many tribes, now part of the Wabanaki Confederacy, or People of the Dawnland, came to do business.

"In 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue," and discovered America. I grew up in the era of American education when concepts like these were not challenged. Why was New England a "New" "England"? This was never questioned. Native Americans were extinct. That was that. There was no talk of wars with Indians to take over their land. There was no talk of treaties. History was shared through a very narrow funnel, precisely measured. The history topic we spent the most time on was the American Revolution against Britain, even the Civil War was glazed over in my experience. So I grew up never being taught why these place names all around me were different from the others, but I was a curious kid. It was this curiosity that led me to finding answers as interpreted by me. For a while I read anything I could get my hands on, *Black Elk Speaks, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, Earth Speaks, Trail of Tears, The Medicine Wheel, American Indian Myths and Legends,* and *The Sand Creek Massacre*. Later as I was studying Outdoor Education in college I found the *Keepers of the Earth* teacher guidebooks. So although I was learning stories not offered to me in junior high or high school, coming to them alone and unguided left me with anger and guilt.

There are a few things I have always been drawn to: the ocean, the mountains, lakes and rivers, and historic landscapes. I was the kid who wanted to experience these things first-hand, swimming in the waters, hiking in the woods, touching and photographing landscapes, natural or built, and listening to people's stories. I always loved the stories. Working for the National Park Service has been a great gift to me. It has provided me with rich place-based content-opportunities to gain knowledge in areas never available to me in school curricula with resources I could touch and smell.

Fast forward to my current position at Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail; I was hired to coordinate with the Trail's American Indian Liaison its effort to create curricula that brings a tribal perspective to the study of Lewis and Clark. I was excited about this opportunity, but I was scared. I learned that the coming of Lewis and Clark was the beginning of the end for many American Indian cultures. It has been a difficult history to face as a Euro-American descendent and as an employee of the National Park Service. I have had to do more than read about these histories. I have had to face them. "Who am I to help with this effort?" I thought, feelings of unworthiness percolating. "How can I make a difference?" I knew one thing for sure. If I could make a difference for kids like me in schools across the nation, then I wanted to be involved, no matter what I contributed to the effort.

Over the next six years something amazing happened. . . G-R-A-C-E. Native people I have encountered through my work at the Trail have been patient with my ignorance, generous in sharing their knowledge and lifeways, honest about unjust U.S. policies affecting their people and ways of life. They have an unwavering positivity about the future. Those I have met are interested in creating an informed citizenry, so Native and non-Native people understand the impacts of the European-American "way of life and government" on the Native populations so we can find a better way to move forward, while preserving the sacredness of each other's cultures. I am humbled by the people I have met and eternally grateful. They have helped me understand that feeling guilty or angry is not the answer, but doing something to improve the next seven generations is where we should focus our energy.

Honoring Tribal Legacies to me is truly a journey of healing. Giving our students, our employees, and our children opportunities to experience a different way of seeing the world is vital to creating a more respectful and peaceful one. I have had the good fortune at the Trail to be part of a team with a supervisor, Carol McBryant who had deliberately set forth these opportunities to learn and experience Native cultures. She challenged us to attend Native events, lectures, visit homelands, involve Native people in our projects and be open-minded and reflective about our experiences. The Trail's American Indian Liaison, Dick Basch, also has been a tremendous mentor

for me, always giving me advice and telling me stories about how he thinks or processes things differently than I do, always with kindness and patience. And the team from Honoring Tribal Legacies, the most generous and kind, and good intentioned people I have ever had the honor of working with; I thank you all.

In my lifetime I will have only tasted the incredible diversity of these cultures and I will never become "culturally competent;" I don't live in Native shoes nor have I endured their trauma, but I can be patient, generous, and honest about what I do understand and I can have faith that, in the future, we will all be here together living in a better world.

Concluding Remarks

The National Park Service as an agency has made significant strides toward honoring Tribes in many areas of its work; the Tribal Preservation Program is a good example. It provides support to Tribes for the creation of Tribal Historic Preservation Offices and it provides Tribal Heritage Grants, which help create Tribal oral history programs, develop and operate Tribal museums and cultural centers, and create training and education programs that preserve traditional culture. Individual park units and trails have made strides as well. Each summer Fort Union Trading post National Historic site hosts an Indian Arts Showcase that demonstrates traditional Northern Plains Indian accoutrements, crafts, music, and lectures by Tribal historians and elders from Tribes of the Upper Missouri. Glacier National Park hosts a "Native America Speaks" program. Each summer Blackfeet, Salish, Kootenai, and Pend D'Orielle Tribal members share their history and culture with park visitors. Programs are offered in the lodges, campgrounds, and St. Mary's Visitor Center. Canyon de Chelly National Monument is located on Navajo Tribal trust lands with a community of Navajo families living in the canyons; the NPS and the Tribe work together to protect and preserve the park's resources and to hire Native interpretive park rangers. In an effort to strengthen NPS and Tribal relations and to create a more inclusive workforce and an environment that is more sensitive to Indigenous concerns, the National Park Service has embraced the Council for Indigenous Relevancy, Communication, Leadership, and Excellence (CIRCLE) as a resource for NPS employees.

The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail provides and encourages training to its staff in furthering their knowledge about Indigenous peoples. The Trail encourages non-Tribal partners to engage with Tribes and include them in interpretive and education planning and programming and in processes involving the protection of resources. The Trail employs an American Indian Liaison to assist with these efforts. The Trail also began a program working with Tribal colleges and universities to educate students in cultural interpretation and Tribal tourism. Native students can earn credentials in a field that will provide them with the skills to have a successful career in preserving cultural resources through interpretation and tourism. This program has now been elevated to include Tribal colleges and universities nationwide and is operated by the National Park Service's Washington D.C. office of Interpretation and Education. These things, in addition to changes in its organizational structure and its recently published Foundation Document, are a testament to these strides.

Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing is among the best examples of honoring Tribes under the Trail's new administrative model. This model had its creation in the Bicentennial, but has been effective and will continue to be so with the contributions and commitments of present and future Trail leaders. These leaders not only include those working for the Trail in the National Park Service, but all associated partners: other federal agencies, Tribal constituents, university partners, not-for-profit organizations, friends' groups, not to mention state, local, and county governments. The Trail envisions a future with many opportunities to continue to lift up this good work. One of these opportunities is to create a living repository for the tangible outcomes of the Bicentennial. These resources are enormous and are widespread, but some are disappearing. People move on and sometimes so do the products that were developed or disseminated by those people.

The Honoring Tribal Legacies project aims to secure as many of these products as possible, if only by providing knowledge of their existence or a mechanism for finding them. The Special Collections of the University of Oregon Library has contributed (etc.). The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and the National Park Service have contributed to the effort through

funding a portion of this project, giving technical assistance, guidance, and heart. The Trail worked with the National Archives to provide a secure location and access to the Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) video recordings from the Bicentennial for years to come.

It is our belief that this *Volume I – Foundation Document for Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing* and the companion publication, *Volume II – Guide to Designing Curriculum Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing,* will have its greatest impact with students who are learning how to teach. Together with the Honoring Tribal Legacies website www.HonoringTribalLegacies.com, we believe if they are exposed to this concept of design during instructional coursework, it will become a central feature of their teaching repertoire. The impact will be significant for their students in classrooms across the nation. We also aim to see the growth of Honoring Tribal Legacies beyond the focus on the Lewis and Clark expedition in history, to see it embraced by all of American history, perhaps even world history! Beyond that, our goal is to encourage honoring the legacies of all people. Diversity is what enriches us, and embracing it prepares us to be effective leaders in our diverse communities and workplaces. In continuing the journey, we embrace the words and actions of the Council of Tribal Advisors when they said it is their mission "to commemorate and acclaim the contributions and goodwill of our Ancestors and to plan for the well-being of future generations" (*Enough Good People*, 2009, p. 134).

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Chapter 1

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Lake McDonald, Glacier National Park, Montana; Ten miles long and nearly 500 feet deep, Lake McDonald, the largest lake in the park, is a direct result of glacial carving. The Kootenai Indian name for the lake, Yakilahkwilnamki, translates as "Sacred Dancing" and is believed to refer to ceremonies the Kootenai people performed at the foot of the lake. It is commonly thought that the present name of Lake McDonald was named after trader Duncan McDonald, who carved his name on a tree nearby in 1878.

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Page 48: Photo: Cliff Palace, 2008; Courtesy of Mesa Verde National Park, National Park Service; Retrieved from http://www.nps.gov/meve/photosmultimedia/photogallery.htm

Page 49: Photo: Badlands National Park, 2014 by Tom Wandel; Used with permission from Indelible images.

Page 53: Map: Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail map, n/d; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from http://www.nps.gov/lecl/planyourvisit/maps.htm

Page 55: Photo: Snake River through Hells Gate State Park, 2014 by Tom Wandel; Used by permission from Indelible Images.

Page 57: Photo: Lemhi Pass, 2011; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LECL), National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Photo: Discovery Hill, Salmon, ID, 2011; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 58: Logo: Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years into the Future; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 60: Photo: Meeting of the Circle of Tribal Advisors and National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 61: Photo: Corps of Discover II's Tent of Many Voices in Omaha, Nebraska, 2004; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 62: Photo: Gerard Baker, Superintendent Lewis and Clark NHT from August 2000-June 2004; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 63: Photo: Tent of Many Voices (TOMV) stage; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 64: Photo: TOMV, Lewis and Clark Expedition Reenactors and Blackfoot Color Guard, Louisville, KY, 2003; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Photo: TOMV crowd of attendees, Louisville, KY, 2003; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 65: Photo: Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future Legacy Transportation Truck; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 66: Collage of TOMV presenters: Alanna Nanegos, Pendleton, OR, 2006; Cherokee Christian, Fort Peck, MT, 2005; Cody Harjo, Boonville, MO, 2004; and Bobbie Connor, Great Falls, MT, 2005; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 67: Collage of TOMV presenters: Louis Adams, Fort Benton, MT, 2005; JT-Thomas and Ryan Reck, Lewiston, ID, 2006; Jr Spencer, Lewiston, ID, 2006; Kevin Peters, Kamiah, ID, 2005; and Dakota Goodhouse; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 68: Collage of TOMV presenters: Daryl Shortman, Fort Belknap, MT, 2005; Clint Brown and Darrell Martin, Louisville, KY; and Lee Bourgeau, Lewiston, ID, 2006; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 69: Image: Department of the Interior Unit Award for Excellence of Service; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Courtesy of Richard Basch.

Page 70: Photo: Chinook Honorary Chief Snider speaking at closing ceremony of Corps II in St. Louis, MO, 2006; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 82: Photo: Richard Basch as a young boy at the Sesquicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition, 1955; Private collection, used with permission from Richard Basch.

Page 85: Photo: Ecola State Park, Cannon Beach, OR; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Photo: Indian Beach, OR; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 88: Photo: Grand Entry at Signature Event, Eagle Butte, SD, 2004; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 89: Photo: Silhouette of Ruby and Videl Stump at Pacific Ocean; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 90: Photo: Eagle Feather Dance Club in a Round Dance, New Town, ND, 2006; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

Page 91: Photo: Ceremony at Two Medicine, near Browning, MT, 2006; Courtesy of Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, National Park Service; Retrieved from LECL's collections.

CHAPTER 2

Honoring Native Memory: Potent and Vital in the Past, Present, and Future

Oregon coast. Photo by Stephanie Wood.

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My Story

The task of honoring Native memory has consumed my life for about 35 years. In college, I chose history as an area of study when it became suddenly clear to me that I had learned a history fraught with injurious distortions and unfair omissions. I became determined to work to make historical memory more inclusive of diverse experiences and a greater variety of points of view. After college, in developing my own research directions, I chose the elevation of Indigenous perspectives in the history of Mexico under Spanish rule. The Nahuas, who included the group known to some as the Aztecs, as well as some of the Aztecs' traditional enemies, are exceptional for the way they wrote thousands of manuscripts in their own language about their daily lives, from about the 1540s until the 1830s. I am drawn to their history because we have these records from their point of view, in their own words, illuminating struggles with European conquest and colonization.

Detail of the García Manuscript No. 8, Benson Collection, Latin American Library, University of Texas, Austin, showing an Indigenous view of the "encounter" in central Mexico; photo by Stephanie Wood with permission.

My research background is not very distant from the project at hand, to Honor Tribal Legacies. I am thrilled to see the energy and creativity that people bring to this project with a similar intent, of working with teaching and learning communities to honor tribal contributions, bring healing, and celebrate Native heritage. One of the huge challenges we face as educators is to help shape a more balanced portrayal of U.S. history. "Supplanting the Meta-Narrative" is a chapter title in one of my books, and I feel that my whole career has been devoted to replacing the dominant discourse with something that a wider cross-section of this hemisphere will be able recognize and embrace. When taking a series of pivotal events from the past, such as the Lewis and Clark expedition of the early nineteenth century and its bicentennial commemoration 200 years later, we are drawn to address imbalances in the more established historical record.

We ask ourselves how the expedition has been framed and how it could be framed in a new way, with an eye to creating a more collective story, more inclusive of a variety of points of view. And we come together to explore how we can re-imagine our curriculum, infusing it with a healing vision, an inquiry involving critical framing, enhanced analytical skills, and resulting in a transformed practice.

— Stephanie Wood

Brenda Trofanenko, who holds the Canada Research Chair in Education, Culture, and Community, sees a pedagogical imperative in renewing our approach to the past and re-thinking who we are as individuals and communities. In her aptly titled article, "More Than a Single Best Narrative," Trofanenko explains how eighth-grade history students uncovered the ways the Lewis and Clark expedition was used to build a national identity about an "inevitable" push westward that involved the supposed "discovery" of an empty territory and the impressive "survival" of the Euro-American emigrants, creating a "frontier" society of self-made men, and so on.[1] We know all too well the tropes of this supposedly authoritative master narrative that Trofanenko's students so deftly debunked. Our knowledge of its inadequacies beckons us to come together now to challenge it and engage our students to take a new look at a broader array of evidence, welcome a greater variety of first-hand accounts, strive to understand cause, and come away with multiple interpretations.

We seek not just to know the past but also to find its meaning and purpose in our lives today and for our benefit in the future. Trofanenko convincingly argues that we can transform our historical consciousness through this process. The curriculum designed by our esteemed co-editor, Ella Inglebret, "Honoring Tribal Legacies in Telling the Lewis and Clark Story," is exemplary in this regard.

Observations of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, with the impressive Tent of Many Voices, have also inspired us in this endeavor. In 2006 in Grand Ronde, Oregon, for example, Carol Logan stepped up in the Tent to speak about "Ancestral Voices," and Don Day recalled "Cedar: One of Our First Gifts."[2] The involvement of the Native employees in the national parks (such as our contributor Richard Basch, of Astoria, Oregon) during the Bicentennial, and the supervision of Gerard, Baker, the first American Indian Superintendent of the national historic trail, were also crucial. These experiences have left us a bountiful legacy in the free, online Tribal Legacy Project videos and other resources, as well as the book *Enough Good People: Reflections on Tribal Involvement and Inter-Cultural Collaboration, 2003–2006*, organized with the guidance of the crucial Council of Tribal Advisors.[3] Presenters from the Tent of Many Voices will be referenced throughout this chapter and in the work of our featured curriculum designers. It is our aim to draw from and build upon the outstanding work of those active during the Bicentennial, weaving their voices into the new versions of this period in American history.

Path in the Sierra Mountains of California, symbolic of our effort to forge new trails; photo by Stephanie Wood.

In this chapter, we will explore perspectives on the past in light of the craft of history (what we call historiography), in its complexities and with its many faults, to see if we can forge a new path. On this new path we will aim to Honor Tribal Legacies and invigorate teaching and learning with a determination to infuse history with fairness and balance. We will raise for contemplation and discussion some of the elements in the traditional craft of history that call out for new approaches that embrace cultural diversity, multiple perspectives and voices, and a wider human experience. We will explore new methods and overlooked sources that can enrich our appreciation of Native memory. We will seek directions that move us along a journey of healing, enabling us—in our collectivities—to find ever richer, deeper, more satisfying, and more rewarding relationships with each other, with the spirits, and with this Earth upon which we live.

". . . the ancient history of the US is the Tribal history. We must help other citizens understand that our ancient history was not in Rome or Greece, but was here."

—Mike Iyall, Cowlitz, 2006; *Enough Good People*, p. 7

History and Historiography

What goes into the craft of history? It might be said that history combines research with imagination to interpret how humans have lived their lives in other times and in specific places, with the intention of making that past come alive, and to make it relevant for the present and the future. History often contains stories that help us make sense of the human condition, to understand our Ancestors and their legacies, to articulate and apply their wisdom, and to feel a part of a community with deep roots.[4] It can be a source of pride and a cause for periodic remembrance and even celebration.

The study of history can also expose behavior or patterns of action and belief that we might wish to avoid in the future, identifying the consequences such behaviors have produced. Histories can steer us away from (without guaranteeing an avoidance of) the repetition of mistakes. Knowing about mistakes can help us build our wisdom and side-step pitfalls in our pathways of the future.

"Over the years, I've tried to find ways to tell the truth about history so that students leave feeling more hopeful and powerful than when we began. I encourage students to 'talk back' to the history and to the history writers."

— Bill Bigelow, in *Rethinking Columbus*, 1998, p. 115[5]

Many of us who are historians and history teachers challenge ourselves to bridge cultures, build understandings, and fire imaginations. We approach the past, present, and future with a constructive purpose to inspire in our readers or our listeners the courage to make healthy choices, to dig deep for compassion, and to right wrongs. We believe in principles of equity and democracy, we celebrate diversity, and many of us are passionate about social justice.[6] We seek out new sources to round out the picture of human experience. We hope to show respect for our tradition bearers and provide them with various kinds of support to lead us through difficult conversations, record oral accounts, and to shape our histories in improved community and national museums.

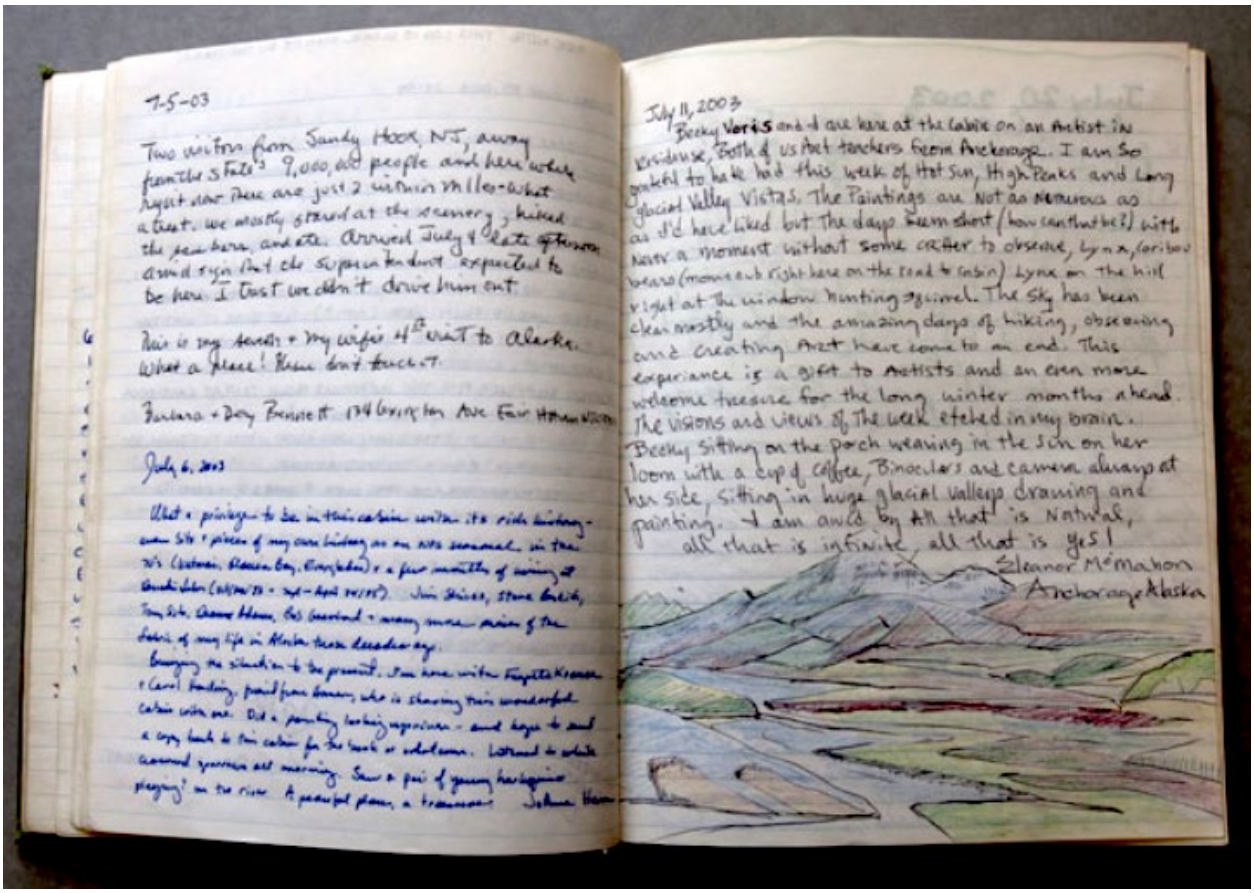
A ceremony honoring tradition bearers; photo by Richard Basch with permission.

This may not be every historian's approach to historical interpretation. In European and Euro-American cultures, the study of history has all-too-often involved the memorization of supposedly objective and universal "facts" about "great men," of "empirical evidence" presented with detachment, all of it ordered in a chronological, unstoppable march that was meant to give us assurance about its "truth." But as we mature and learn, we come to see that there are many truths, multiple points of view, various ways of interpreting time, and many of the best stories are still waiting to be shared. We find significant gaps to fill and stories to uncover or reshape.

"You don't have anything if you don't have the stories."

— Leslie Marmon Silko, Laguna Pueblo, in *Rethinking Columbus*, 1998, p. 114

Easily, the majority of lived experience has not been documented. And yet it nevertheless has had huge relevance and significance for the people who lived it. If we have not personally shared in some experiences nor visited certain places that witnessed full-blown human activity, we still need to recognize that our ignorance does not erase those very real lives, does not make those places any less known or inhabited to those who were and still are present on such landscapes or in such communities. We must strive not to be complacent in our ignorance. Many lessons await us in the greater variety of human experience across the vast stretches of time and space that still deserve our open appreciation. If one in a thousand people has kept a journal, are the other 999 of us represented in that one person's account of life experiences? We will have a much richer sense of the past and the lessons we can take from it if we can uncover more of the true range and variety of experiences.



Journal written during a stay at the East Fork Cabin in Denali National Park in 2013. Public domain photo hosted by the National Park Service, retrieved from http://www.nps.gov/dena/historyculture/arts-program-past-artists.htm

For us to reinterpret and revisit how the past was once framed, packaged, and delivered, and try to do a better job of being more inclusive in crafting histories, we must remember that we bring our own lenses and filters to our interpretations. This calls for us to be self-reflexive and openly examine our own processes of intellectual composition. We can also strive to uncover more voices, to be as honest and faithful to our sources as we can, and help our readers and learners see the path we have followed to reach our conclusions.

We hope that our students will be able to consider and weigh the logic of what we put forth and still come to their own conclusions. We want them to find their own truths, passing through their own filters the evidence that they will learn to assemble with our guidance. The discovery, elevation, and discussion of neglected and revisited perspectives—and the creation of more broadly relevant and inclusive resources for learning—help us embrace our craft with enthusiasm, energy, and determination.

History is a discipline that can be divided into sub-specializations, such as social history, cultural history, political history, economic history, intellectual history, and environmental history, just to name a few. Ethnohistory is a type of history (and, according to some, a sub-field of anthropology) that has the history of Indigenous peoples as its focus.[7] When it emerged in the 1950s, ethnohistory sought an insider's view of Indigenous people's history, turning away from the "othering" methods of the past.[8] Ethnohistorians have tended to follow the Western tradition of relying on documents, but they are increasingly seeking such records that might have been authored by Native people while also incorporating their oral traditions, languages, maps, art, music, place names, archaeological records, and more.[9] The concept of sources is, happily, broadening and breaking through earlier historiographical limitations. The exciting curricular unit by one of our featured curriculum designers, Carol Buswell, called "Exploring Your Community," builds on an array of resources from the National Archives, Library of Congress, Museum of the American Indian, and Tribal oral histories from the Tribal Legacy Project (National Park Service), guides students in research-discovery and methods for analyzing writing, drawing, oral histories, photographs, videos, and audio recordings, understanding these sources using both mainstream and Native methodologies.

Detail from an Indigenous-authored manuscript from sixteenth-century, central Mexico in the Benson Collection of the Latin American Library at the University of Texas, Austin; photo by Stephanie Wood with permission.

The study of history, regardless of the subdivisions, has commonly been the study of change over time. How cultures and societies evolve is what historians strive to understand. What has changed, how has it changed, and why? What has remained much the same or what has persisted despite countervailing encroachments and corrosive effects? How is it that these things have persisted?

The answers to such questions can help us endeavor to understand cultural continuities and longevity, especially within context. Understanding context is essential—the conditions and the confluence of circumstances that have allowed people to make a difference, whether achieving change or defending tradition. Recognizing the forces at work in change and in perseverance and persistence can also be empowering, as it can make us more aware of the potential impact of our own actions and the beneficial agency or influence we can have in our communities.

Context and causal relationships are also essential for examining the trajectories and intersections of Native American and Euro-American histories. We might say that nothing was inevitable. Governmental actions were usually calculated and intentional. Individual's actions—such as the "pioneers" or "settlers" seeking opportunity on what was for them a supposedly "open frontier"—also had serious consequences, for the West was not by any means unoccupied or freely available for the taking. The resulting historical trauma was very real and spanned generations, and the effects last to this day, through personal recollections of painful injustices.

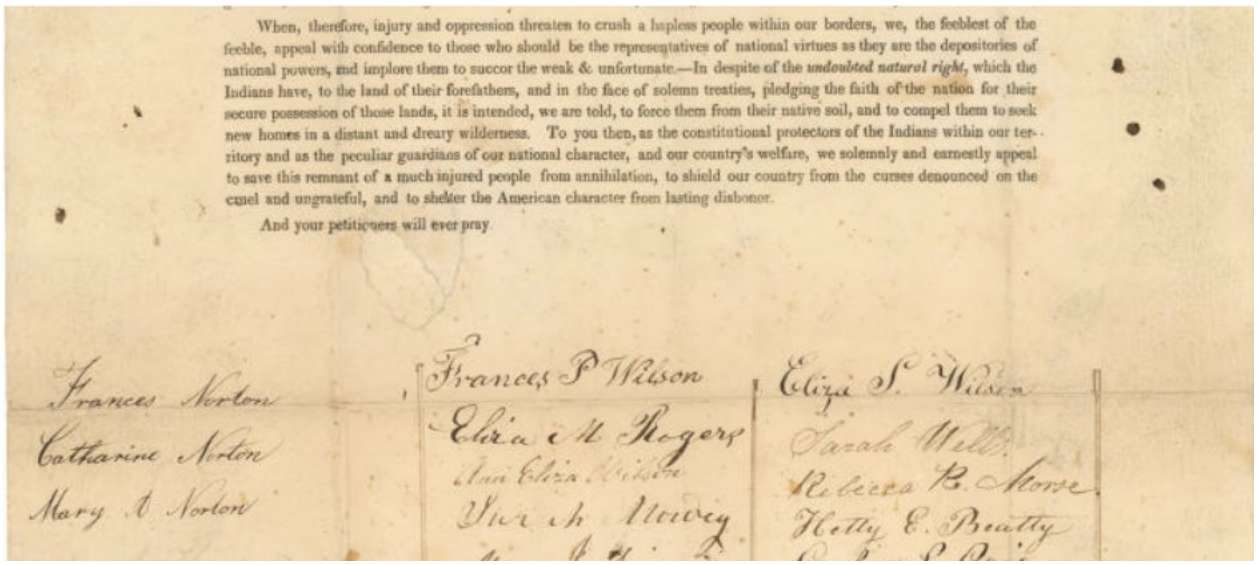
A strong urge to expand territorial boundaries and build empires brought people into contact, and exchanges covered a range of expression—from combative to constructive, discordant to harmonious, and destructive to creative.

— Stephanie Wood

Our colleague Dick Basch tells the story of Clatsop Chief Tostom (also spelled Toostum)[10] of Warrenton, Oregon, who, in the mid-nineteenth century, was disgraced to see part of the old longhouse being taken for the construction of a mansion to house the owner of the new logging company. Meanwhile, the chief was left to live in an old hut. This so disturbed the local Indian agent that he wrote a letter asking people not to disturb the honorable man, to let him go freely in the town and in the countryside. When we pause to reflect on the indignities that the chief had to endure, we know that this was one of innumerable painful injustices.

Native peoples paid a huge price for the Westward Movement, whether their blood was spilled or they were forced to relocate, leave Ancestral lands, and abandon cherished ways of life. Acknowledging their pain is both difficult and necessary. Those whose attachment to the land reached back through time immemorial felt the trauma far more deeply than anyone else. We must acknowledge that, whether through violent or peaceful exchanges, the results of the Westward Movement were compounded by a catastrophic demographic collapse and cultural losses that many recognize as genocide.[11]

Detail of a mural by Jacquie Cordova in Susanville, California, showing Captain Weatherlow negotiating settlement with Chief Winnemucca. Photo by Stephanie Wood, with permission from the artist.



When, therefore, injury and oppression threaten to crush a hapless people within our borders, we, the feeblest of the feeble, appeal with confidence to those who should be the representatives of national virtues as they are the depositories of national powers, and implore them to succor the weak & unfortunate.—In despite of the *undoubted natural right*, which the Indians have, to the land of their forefathers, and in the face of solemn treaties, pledging the faith of the nation for their secure possession of those lands, it is intended, we are told, to force them from their native soil, and to compel them to seek new homes in a distant and dreary wilderness. To you then, as the constitutional protectors of the Indians within our territory and as the peculiar guardians of our national character, and our country's welfare, we solemnly and earnestly appeal to save this remnant of a much injured people from annihilation, to shield our country from the curses denounced on the cruel and ungrateful, and to shelter the American character from lasting dishonor.

And your petitioners will ever pray

Frances Norton
Catharine Norton
Mary A Norton
Frances P Wilson
Eliza S. Wilson
Sarah Wells
Rebecca B. Howe
Hetty E. Beatty

Detail of a memorial signed by more than 60 non-Native women of Ohio, protesting "Indian removal" and the potential "annihilation" of Indigenous people in Ohio. Public domain image from the U.S. House of Representatives, 1830; National Archives; retrieved from http://docsteach.org/documents/306633/detail?mode=browse&menu=closed&era[]=expansion-and-reform&page=5.[12]

Elizabeth Cook Lynn (Nakota and Dakota) reflected in the Tent of Many Voices about how "the historical trauma that has been confronted by Indians is real; it's a real thing. It can't be dismissed. It can't just be shoved under the table." She adds that, "in the new history that we're trying to . . . promote" we need to have "critical analysis." We need to recognize that the Lewis and Clark expedition was "an illegal intrusion into sovereign Indian nation territories, sponsored by the U.S. government...And its result was the death to thousands and thousands of Indians, degradation of the environment, genocide, and the theft of land."[13]

"Saying that European atrocities in the Western Hemisphere were 'unavoidable' (or that the perpetrators of genocide were only 'products of their time') dulls our sense of injustice regarding events both past and present."

— Philip Tajitsu Nash and Emilienne Ireland, in *Rethinking Columbus*, 1998, p. 112

Terminology, or a study of the terms we choose and what we mean by them, can both hinder the delivery of a message and help it soar. "Genocide" is one such term, so powerful and pivotal that it can have enormous impact. Yet we have also seen how it can distract writers or readers into obsessing about definitions and getting side-tracked by applicability debates. Discussions over

terms do seem to have a place in the classroom, however, as they can open up our minds, lead to healthy discussion, and deepen our understanding of the weighty role of interpretation in history writing. They help us identify ethical issues and lay bare our value judgments and biases. Perhaps, through Honoring Tribal Legacies, we can identify terms worthy of more careful examination and exploration, elucidating at least some "working definitions" or elements for consideration. We must also maintain environments that are safe and respectful for addressing difficult topics where opinions and perspectives may range widely and have the potential for demoralization.

Cultural Persistence and Change

Honoring Tribal Legacies entails recognizing and embracing Indigenous traditions passed down through the generations. The contributions of one's parents, grandparents, and really all Ancestors to our present wellbeing, our way of life, and our cultural knowledge are worthy of great honor. Recognizing the special efforts and achievements, the care, and the hard work of those who came before is a process that reminds us of our origins and strengthens pride in our identities. When we know where we came from, when we celebrate the legacies of generations, we have a better sense of who we are.

Lolita Capoman and her daughter.
Courtesy of the National Park Service.

A history that highlights examples of cultural persistence and an analysis of how Native people have been able to retain their Ancestral ways of life can be inspirational. To speak of survivals can entail the rightful celebration of cultural persistence in the face of what are sometimes terrific odds. Tribal legacies are myriad, including an enormous range of ways of observing the sacred, engaging the environment in a sustainable way, building structures for habitat and for moving across water, making textiles and pottery, gathering and preparing foods and medicines, formulating oratory and maintaining storytelling, showing respect for elders, remembering Ancestors, educating youth, and coming together for ceremonies and celebrations, to name a few essential elements in daily life. Recalling and elucidating these and additional ways of being help us know and appreciate our Ancestors' efforts to keep culture alive and endow us with invaluable gifts for facing the future.

For some, it may pose a challenge to speak about traditions and their survivals without seeming "old-fashioned." Tony Incashola (Salish and Pend d'Oreille) said in the Tent of Many Voices, "It's very difficult to try to convince our young people the importance of language, the importance of culture."[14] Youth sometimes feel that tradition holds them hostage, or that they are trapped or imprisoned by rituals, when they might wish to be like youth anywhere—wearing the clothing and listening to the music of non-Native groups. Incashola adds, "our children would rather play [video] games, watch television than sit with someone and listen and learn . . . one of our biggest competitors is modern technology." In fact, perhaps youth can take an active role in keeping culture alive, while also serving as innovators, as agents for change from within. Incashola suggests that technology can be used to teach culture. Such change can therefore be good. We sometimes forget that change is not always imposed by colonizers. Canadian scholars such as David Schaepe of the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre suggest that "cultural change is as likely to be the outcome of Indigenous agency as coercive colonialism," and "continuity should be no more or less valued in an assessment of [I]ndigenous society than innovation."[15]

It might be worth discussing with elders and youth the extent to which change can be both desirable and detrimental. Change might pose a risk, but it might not necessarily erase what is

Odessa Oldham, Native of Wyoming, celebrating Native American Indian Heritage Month in Washington, D.C., November 2011; published by Wikimedia Commons (no copyright); retrieved from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:20111116-OHRM-RBN-Nat.Am.Ind.Heritage_-_Flickr_-_USDAgov.jpg

essential about the core identity of an individual, his/her place within a Tribe, and the values and beliefs that shape thought and action. Youth and elders can engage in mutually respectful conversations about working together to preserve culture and being flexible enough to allow for some innovation. For example, weaving traditions might incorporate new fibers, colors, or designs, while weaving techniques might still retain knowledge that comes from elders. To what extent and under what circumstances are changes welcomed? How will youth properly navigate between tradition and innovation? Might we embrace the idea that culture is and will always be dynamic? Can we trust our youth to introduce and guide changes to culture in a way that still respects and honors the legacies of those who have come before us? Bringing increased honor to Tribal legacies may infuse youth with greater motivation and pride around cultural preservation, even as they may cherish the ability to innovate.

Well-meaning outsiders, too, sometimes want to spray Native cultures with some kind of fixative that will preserve them unchanged, making them into "museum cultures" and erasing their dynamism. Can we Honor Tribal Legacies while also appreciating adaptability? Historian Steve Stern wrote a book about change within Indigenous cultures of the Andes in Spanish colonial times in which he has a chapter called, "The Tragedy of Success," lamenting ways people adapted to intrusions. He saw the ability of people to adapt to intrusions as a type of "success," but also saw that it could be "tragic" in that some cultural distinctiveness would be lost in the process.[16]

This consideration intersects with discussions about "authenticity." It asks, is this style or manner "authentic"?[17] Some historians are looking for purity in Native ways, cultural elements that are untouched by outsiders, or "uncontaminated." Yet, even before Europeans were on the scene,

A basket weaving exercise at the Family Activity Center, National Museum of the American Indian; photo in public domain; retrieved from http://blog.nmai.si.edu/main/2011/04/come-try-your-hand-at-weaving.html

Indigenous peoples across the hemisphere had known migration, and they had known contact and trade with other Indigenous cultures. Chocolate Ground cacao residue in ancient pots found in archaeological sites, for example, is widespread, from what we now call North America into Central America, and this speaks to a very long-distance trading network, for cacao originates in the Maya zone, in what is now called Guatemala.[18] Tropical feathers and copper moved north and turquoise moved south, following similar, long-standing routes of exchange.[19]

Language families also show connections between Tribes across sometimes considerable distances, and specific terms borrowed across languages also reveal a history of contact and exchange. A map of Native languages of North America, alone, shows the impressive geographical reach of Athabascan, Algic, Siouan, and Uto-Aztecan languages, among others.[20] Both cooperation and conflict between Tribes has also characterized the past and the present. Perhaps this collective enterprise of Honoring Tribal Legacies, this reaching out to more than 40 Tribes across the many modern states that encompass the trails followed by Lewis and Clark, and the tribal Ancestors who shared similar experiences, can lead to greater strength in unity as we face the future. Tribes had often formed crucial alliances. The archaeological site of Blood Run, on the border between the modern states of Iowa and South Dakota, reveals important inter-Tribal relationships prior to European arrival, where people came together from multiple ethnicities to settle and create a trading center.[21]

Thus, cultural mixing is age-old, and, while it will sometimes lead to conflict and loss, it can also be a positive force that injects communities with items of preciosity, leads to a sharing of

methods or technologies that might be embraced as favorable, or helps build crucial alliances and systems of mutual support.

Trying to understand the formation of combinations of cross-cultural, expressive forms and practices, or what some historians call "cultural hybridity," is another intellectual pursuit among historians in our day. Scholars strive to understand how people adopt—and even more interesting and realistic, *adapt*—new cultural elements, modifying them and making them their own. Once again, we can easily find in the huge variety of tribal legacies room to appreciate positive human contributions—as opposed to a simple passivity or being acted *upon*—in shaping cultural change.

Eleventh-century Chaco Canyon (New Mexico) chocolate pot. Chocolate residue has also been found 300 years earlier in pottery from Utah. Public domain photo; American Museum of Natural History, retrieved from http://www.amnh.org/explore/news-blogs/news-posts/curious-collections-chocolate-pots-from-chaco-canyon.

Cultural hybridity is the product of what some call "transculturation" processes. Fernando Ortiz says transculturation is:

a set of ongoing transmutations; it is full of creativity and never ceases; it is irreversible. It is always a process in which we give something in exchange for what we receive: the two parts of the equation end up being modified. From this process springs out a new reality, which is not a patchwork of features, but a new phenomenon, original and independent.[22]

Transculturation injects our filter with greater equality toward potential input from both sides of an equation. This approach seeks to moderate or replace what some once saw as "acculturation," "deculturation," or "assimilation." As Gerard Baker (Mandan and Hidatsa) said in the Tent of Many Voices, "the only way for them to survive on the East Coast was to assimilate, assimilate or die, basically," and people would not admit that they were "part Indian," because you would be "considered a second-class citizen."[23] Assimilation has often been approached as though it implies the appropriation of a different and preferable way of life. Assimilation has also been seen as the acceptance (forced or not) of imposed

values. It is a dirty word in many Indigenous communities, for it is a concept that has often assumed a unidirectional path of change—from Native toward "civilized"/"white"/"European." This stems from a European Enlightenment notion of progress. To assume that Indigenous peoples were not civilized is a ridiculous assumption that we must reject the instant it arises.

Assimilation assumes that prior cultural ways are abandoned upon the acceptance of ways from intruding cultures. And yet it is possible to accept some new ways of living and thinking without losing core values and beliefs. We must also be on guard against the thinking that change only goes one way. In fact, what we must hold in the forefront of our minds is that cultural encounters usually result in all groups being changed by the others in myriad ways. The exchange of information and technologies was the hallmark, not unilinear assimilation. Loanwords from Indigenous languages that have entered English underscore the fact that culture change was not unidirectional.[24] Clearly, Native peoples and their cultures impacted Euro-Americans in innumerable ways.

The idea of "transculturation" may bring more balance and less negativity to our assessment of encounters along the trail. It recognizes that human beings in even the most difficult circumstances can be creative, they can build, they can negotiate with opponents, and they can re-appropriate. According to this approach, through transculturation, identities become more complex, continental, holistic, and pluralistic, "without negating 'ethnic,' political, and cultural distinctive features."

— Interdisciplinary Research Group on the Americas[25]

Social and Cultural Identities

In seeking to honor Indigenous cultural survivals, it behooves us to take a closer look at the formulation of social and cultural identities, which can be a source of pride, affect how we see other people, and color the way we view intercultural interactions. Histories of "Native" people also quickly call into question what we mean by "Native." And should we refer to Euro-Americans as "whites"? Or should we recognize the diversity in the non-Native category (Latino/a, African-American, and the array of Euro-Americans, such as people with Scandinavian, British, Irish, Germanic, Eastern

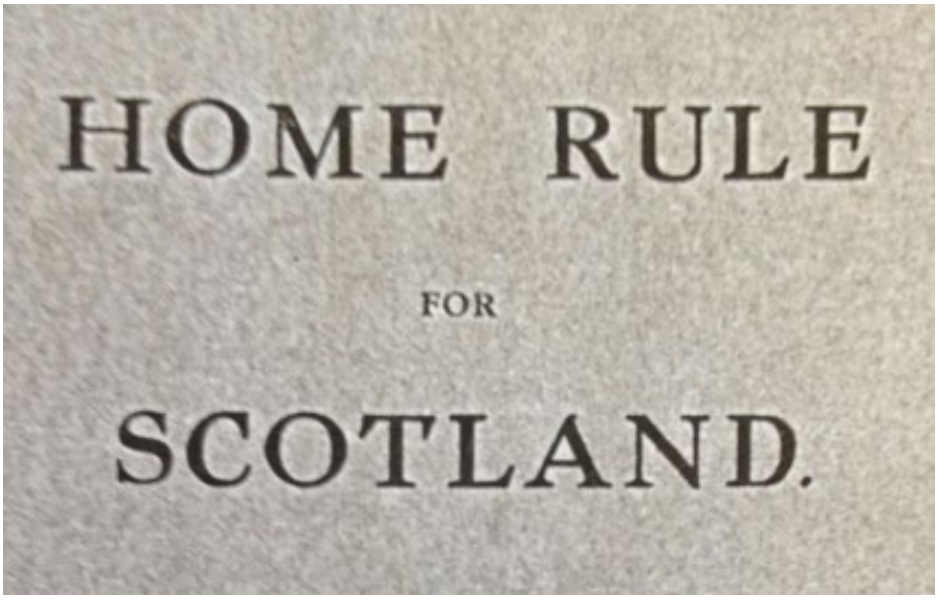
European, or Mediterranean heritage, among others)? Identity questions affect how we describe people in history, how we perceive their actions, and how we might become attached to outcomes.

The "Did You Know?" web page of the National Museum of the American Indian offers guidance about terminology. Public domain image; retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/explore/forfamilies/resources/didyouknow/#2.

Who are we as people? Do we have affiliations with certain cultures or ethnic groups, social classes, gender identities? How do we identify ourselves? What constitutes a Tribal affiliation? Can we be members of groups and still be individuals with our own unique identities? How do our affiliations affect the way we live, the choices we make, the way we act, the way we relate to one another? And how have such identities evolved over time, engaging us in dialogues and affecting our interactions with others?

These are heady questions without easy answers. Group identity often derives from a perceived sameness or shared trait, such as a common descent, or by like membership in a social organization. Our groups are partly defined by what sets us apart, or how we differ from other groups. Because all humans may share a common origin, some people will emphasize a family relationship with other people, calling them brothers, sisters, and so on, even when the physical consanguinity (blood relationship) might be distant. The desire to link to others in this way helps forge a shared group identity. Many additional elements in our lives can add to our linkages with other human beings.[26] We (and they) might identify with a particular place, have a shared name, history, religion, language, or way of life. Our collaboration in this project Honoring Tribal Legacies brings together Natives from different Tribes and non-Natives with multiple origins. We embrace this task with a unity of purpose, love, and enthusiasm despite some differences that in other circumstances might have divided us.

We might also ask: What kinds of identity groups are identifiable as "ethnicities"? What is ethnicity? What characterizes our own ethnic groups or other people's groups? I have a strong identification with Scottish heritage, retaining many of the ways and practices of my grandmother, who was from Glasgow. This heritage leads me, I believe, to relate to other colonized peoples in the world, because the Scots struggled for ages for increased autonomy from English colonizers, historically pressing them for a greater measure of "home rule."



A treatise from 1911 from a Scottish emigrant living in New Zealand, calling for sovereignty for Scotland vis-a-vis England. Image out of copyright, retrieved from http://thescottishdiaspora.co.uk/?tag=home-rule.

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines "ethnic" as being "of or relating to large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, Tribal, religious, linguistic, or cultural origin or background." [27] While this definition mentions race, some will see racial differences as semi-fictional, given that scientists have discovered that biological differences based on genetics are very weak, with the exception of skin color. Ethnicity partly binds people together around "a real or a presumed common genealogy or Ancestry," but it is also socially and culturally determined. [28]

Ethnicities can be linked with the concept of membership in a "nation." The Greek word "ethnos," from which ethnicity derives, is often translated "nation," although it was originally "used in reference to a band, Tribe, race, a people, or a swarm." [29] Sometimes a whole nation will embrace a certain ethnicity, such as we have seen in the Mexican promotion of "mestizaje" (a process that has led to a mixed heritage of Indigenous, European, and sometimes African Ancestors) and

the emergence of a twentieth-century ethno-nationalism. The latter is expressed, for example, in symbols such as the brown-skinned Virgin of Guadalupe, treasured even among Mexicans who do not self-identify as Catholic. In any ethnic group, one can find that such symbolic representations can be created, reproduced, and transformed with time. Some endure, and some are dynamic.

Ethnicities have also often been seen as "minorities" within a nation. Here we see a "them" and "us" dichotomy emerging, as was embedded in colonial history or in representations of the period when vast numbers of immigrants came into the United States, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Ethnocentrism" also grew in that period when descendants of "pilgrims" rejected later European arrivals (and they had rejected peoples on the land since time immemorial, to boot), seeing their own identities as superior. Ethnocentrism led to the belittling of other ethnic groups and derision expressed toward the material culture, behaviors, practices, and the way others looked. "Othering" was a part of this process, although that term was not coined until late in the twentieth century.

Vitally, how do we avoid "essentializing" and stereotyping ethnic groups, whether our own group or that of others? [30] How should we identify others? How do we do this without devolving into racism and stereotyping? Suggestions for approaching this minefield might include being careful to avoid mass generalizations and to be aware that we might more easily describe ourselves with some accuracy than we might describe others. We should strive to be aware of our prejudices. We should navigate with an eye to fairness and balance.

If we accept the "interconnectedness and interdependence among all elements of life," mentioned in our Learning Spiral and the Tribal Legacy website, we can even strive to find love and appreciation for all peoples and all living and nonliving things in our shared environment.

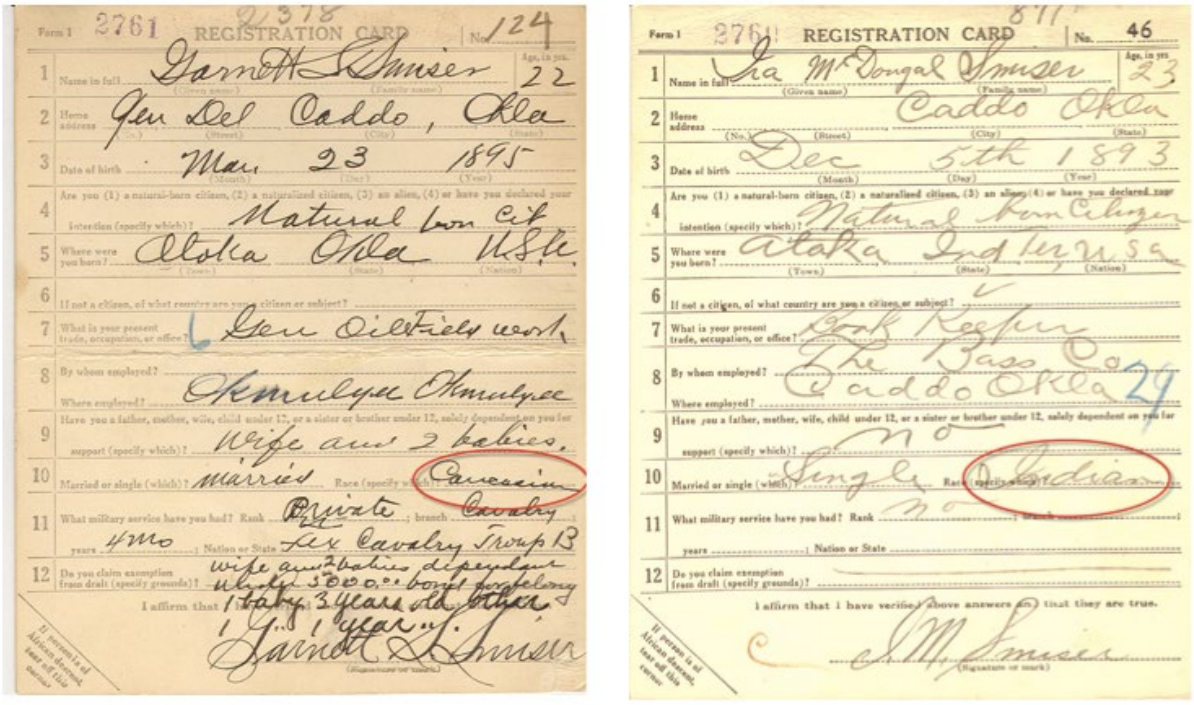
— Stephanie Wood

Another very relevant consideration for embracing place-based histories and multiple literacies includes the question, to what extent does place intersect with group and individual identity? Indigenous people are often working to strengthen their political rights, and this can be linked to competition over access to agricultural lands and waters, very specific places and spaces. As we look at the way we will write or teach history, we should consider our relationships with the land. Do we have a homeland that we embrace, and what meaning does it hold for us? How have our identities intersected with others' identities, and how have they evolved over time, whether on a stable homeland or on a shifting landscape, as we have faced relocation or have voluntarily moved from rural areas to urban, for example?

A Montana landscape, 2013. Photo by Stephanie Wood.

Tribal citizenship is often determined by "blood quantum," which connects to older ideas of race and yet continues in our codes and laws to have a powerful influence in defining the rights of many American Indians. The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) offers an open-source, two-part, video podcast dating from 2011 called, "Quantum Leap: Does 'Indian Blood' Still Matter?" [31] The presentation/discussion includes input from two sociologists, an anthropologist, and a museum historian. Paulette Jordan (Coeur d'Alene) took a question on marriage and blood quantum in the Tent of Many Voices in 2006, and she said, "that is the most complex question you could answer in Indian country right now."

The NMAI also hosts a video podcast that adds African heritage to the mix: "indiVISIBLE: African-Native American Lives in the Americas," which is a record of a standing-room-only event from 2009 that addressed blended communities and ways of life. [32] On the eastern seaboard, especially, Native Tribes counted members who had intermarried with African Americans. Non-Natives, however, given their racialized views, saw people of mixed Indian and African-American heritage as Black, erasing the Native component all too readily. [33]



World War I draft registration cards for two brothers named Smiser show one being described as "Caucasian" and the other as "Indian." Both had red hair and blue eyes. Their mother was apparently Choctaw. Public domain image in the National Archives, retrieved from http://www.archives.com/genealogy/family-heritage-native-american.html

My children are part Cherokee, but they do not qualify for Tribal membership and they did not grow up in an Indigenous milieu. Nevertheless, having at least two female Ancestors of not-too-distant Native origin, how will my children's lives be affected by this legacy? How will this heritage manifest itself? How are beliefs and practices preserved and inherited when one is removed from communities of origin? How do parents pass things on to their children, and how do such practices and perspectives survive across multiple generations?

At the other end of the spectrum, for people who grew up in a Native community (and how do we define that, as social, cultural, and/or geographic?), might an association with place penetrate their very being? How does it shape the way we see the larger "world"? "Place" can be a physical space we occupy with other members of a group. Each individual in the group may have a unique way of connecting to that place, but we often hold in our imagination a sense of the place as a shared space. It may be where our Ancestors once walked. It may be where their remains lie. It may be where individuals share memories imbedded in narratives that they embrace as a family, a lineage, or a community. The occupation of a place and our identification with it can provide us with security and stability despite the passage of time or *because* of the passage of time, such as (the immeasurable) time immemorial. The passage of time in a given place can lead to the formation of strong social ties.

A continuing connection to a place can give us a hope for the future, for coming generations, for our children, for our grandchildren.

— Stephanie Wood

Featured curriculum designer Julie Cajune's secondary-school unit, *"Sx^{w}jwjs*: The Journey," highlights how place shapes so many facets of a people's society. Her cultural geography approach has as its focus the homelands of the Salish People, where land served as church, store, hospital, refuge, and more. She asks her students questions about sacred creation stories associated with this territory, and how it was named, described, and interpreted. The work of another featured curriculum designer, Shana Brown, called "A Thousand Celilos," also probes Tribal naming practices with regard to Columbia River places, how Native people interacted with the natural

and the built environment, and how they occupied and moved through a riparian space (one that became flooded as a result of damming, completely changing the dynamic).

In a book about Columbia River identities, Andrew Fisher speaks about "renegade" Indigenous groups who intentionally avoided contact with Tribal agents and with the U.S. government's "Americanization" programs. The distrust and the resulting distance of these off-reservation groups allowed them to forge their own identities connected with traditional fishing economies. They apparently had a "sense of racial and Tribal distinctiveness," that served them well, even if their resolute refusal to be relocated cost them something in the way of their legal status.[34]

Fisher's book reminds us of how non-Indian definitions of "Indian" and "Tribe" have been imposed on Native peoples. We must look for ways Tribal people have forged their own definitions of Tribal affiliation. It would be good to remember, too, that non-Tribal Indigenous people, often in the shadows somewhere between reservations and the non-Native world, have consciously shaped their identities in ways that have improved their lives.

Between 2010 and 2050, the combined American Indian and Alaska Native population of the United States is projected to grow from 1.7% to 2%.

[Source: Center for Disease Control and Prevention website, retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/minorityhealth/populations/REMP/aian.html.]

The exercise of looking at some of the component parts of Indigeneity may help us appreciate diversity and the complexities of identities. It may help us steer clear of simplistic and essentialist notions of identity. Nevertheless, Indigeneity may also have easily recognizable hallmarks that give meaning to people's lives, helping them make an argument for Tribal autonomy, sovereignty, self-governance, special considerations within the realm of human rights, or cultural and linguistic preservation programs, to name several potential effects.[35] Terry Brockie (Gros Ventre) said in the Tent of Many Voices, "we're a 'we' people, not a 'me' people," when trying to explain American Indian society.[36] Teachers might explore with their students what kind of meaning being "Indigenous" (and other terms, such as Indian, Amerindian, Native American, Native, etc.) holds for them, as a launching pad for a fruitful discussion about Honoring Tribal Legacies.

Being Indigenous intersects with place in crucial ways, as Julie Cajune (Salish), Shana Brown (Yakama), and other featured curriculum designers are showing us. Being Indigenous relates to origins and rights to occupy a territory or a space. It relates to a deep permanence of settlement, an attachment to the land. In dictionary terms, "Indigenous" refers to one who is "[b]orn or produced naturally in a land or region; native or belonging to (the soil, region, etc.)." [37] We may recognize an inherent comparison being made here that emphasizes Indigenous people's deep connection to a place versus that of more recently-arriving people's connection to the same space. A late twentieth-century legal definition added to the place-based meaning includes an acknowledgement of the significance of colonization vis-à-vis Aboriginal, Native, Original, or First Peoples. We see this in statements coming from the United Nations, for example.[38] Some scholars argue that we must be careful about taking a colonial approach that simplifies Indigeneity as something primarily primordial and primitive, borrowing inadvertently from older anthropological language or ways of thinking.[39]

Returning to the individual level, and complicating our definitions, what happens when one must live away from home? What happens if one finds a partner from another Tribe or Indigenous community? What happens if one takes a partner from a non-Native group? Does it affect one's (or one's children's) identity as Indigenous? In short, where should we locate "Indigeneity," a relatively recently coined term that relates to the characteristics of Indigenous peoples? Pinning down Indigeneity can be more of a challenge, given the way individuals tend to navigate fluid identities within evolving social and cultural contexts. And yet exploring the meaning of Indigeneity can also involve a political expediency or usefulness. It can be a strategic element for improving lives, increasing independence and local authority, and reaffirming associations with specific territories.

We should remember that Indigenous perspectives are as varied as are those of any groups of human beings. We have on this earth many different Indigenous cultures, and within cultures we also find diversity of opinion, differing perspectives. We must take care not to assume we can combine all Indigenous perspectives into one monolithic point of view. And yet, can we—or should we—see if we can identify or describe frequently recurring Indigenous points of view or ways of thinking? Would this offer us support for preserving Tribal legacies?

No matter what, we should strive to collect multiple perspectives and help our students try to sort through them, examine where they come from, understand how they may have evolved the way they have. We can and should compare and contrast differing perspectives on the past: What happened? According to whom?

— Stephanie Wood

Including Diverse Voices

Historical sources can be oral, written, painted, and performative, among other types. We draw from such sources to build a narrative and/or analyses about the past. We have had all too few Indigenous sources contributing to the metanarrative about the U.S. West. Honoring multiple literacies broadens the range of resources upon which we can draw for our curricula. We should make our sources transparent, and cite their locations in archives or on line (or wherever they may be), so that others are able to retrace our footwork in locating them. Our readers and listeners may wish to go back and see what else can be learned from such records. Also, by increasing the visibility of diverse types of sources, and by making our methods transparent, history writers and teachers will come to appreciate the widening of possibilities in this line of work. Culturally responsive educators will focus on local ways of knowing and teaching, they will draw from community resources, they will participate in local activities with respect, they will see parents and local authorities as allies to conjoin in the effort of making classroom content and approaches more relevant. [40]

Laura Ortman, a White Mountain Apache, collaborated in providing music for a video with Native voices at the National Museum of the American Indian, which hosts this public domain image, retrieved from http://blog.nmai.si.edu/main/2011/02/.

To capture multiple perspectives, we must seek out multiple voices and strive to respect people's right to have a voice, to contribute to the historical record. We would be remiss if we did not recognize that some voices have been stifled or that others have been given undue attention. It is clearly worth our time to try to understand these processes and seek out the voices that have been lost or neglected.[41] The curricular design work of Dr. Ella Inglebret points to the importance of not only hearing neglected voices, but also considering different forms of communication and the challenges of being understood, especially cross-culturally. Pat Bauerle (Crow) believes that "we are living in a wonderful time," when "our voice is being heard, our stories are being told, and [they] are considered valid," not that it was always that way. [42]

Impressive efforts to compile Native voices include the anthology by Stephen Dow Beckham, *Oregon Indians: Voices from Two Centuries* (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2006). This volume contains nearly 70 documents ranging from the late eighteenth century through the late twentieth. Beckham's 40 years of impeccable research allows him to present these first-person accounts with reliable contextualization and commentaries. A more contemporary compilation is *Native Universe: Voices of Indian America by Native American Tribal Leaders, Writers, Scholars, and Storytellers,* ed. Gerald McMaster (Plains Cree and Siksika Nation) and Clifford E. Trafzer (of Wyandot Ancestry) (Washington: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 2004). This collection is illustrated with outstanding images of material culture and art that could be very useful in teaching.

As noted above, we also have a vast store of Native voices from the Tent of Many Voices dating from the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemoration. The Tent gave Indigenous groups or Native peoples a chance to speak out about events in history that had often been told by Euro-Americans and from an expansionist governmental point of view. The Tent of Many Voices also recognized not only that we would have both Native and non-Native voices, but that there would be a diversity of Native voices. It was an inclusive process. Some conversations generated painful memories, but many generated pride, and all raised voices that were vital to hear, enriching our understanding of the past, engaging us in the present, and preparing us for the future. [43]

A commemorative marker from the Corps of Discovery Bicentennial; a public domain image hosted by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, retrieved from http://www.ngs.noaa.gov/LewisAndClark/images/disk.jpg.

One of the many revisionist books that emerged in the period of the Bicentennial is *Lewis and Clark through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition*. Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., has compiled this extremely useful paperback that one reviewer has called "unconventional, indeed revolutionary . . . . The most compelling Lewis and Clark-related book I've ever read . . . . It challenges almost every historical perspective I held about the expedition." [44] N. Scott Momaday's contribution to Josephy's anthology concludes: "For the men who entered the unknown and returned, and for those who knew the land and watched from the heart of wilderness, nothing would ever be the same again. It was the most difficult of journeys, marked by extraordinary triumph and defeat." [45] The defeat was experienced on all sides.

However, the loss of life, reduced territories, unfair treaties, and other forms of social injustice that Native peoples have faced is historical. It is a challenge to avoid the overriding assumption that the "Indian" was a "victim," period.[46] For some of us, the "victims" line of inquiry can motivate us to be activists who donate our time to right (or write) wrongs and work to prevent future injustices. But dwelling on the consequences of colonization and its negative impacts can also be demoralizing and incapacitating. Deceptive treaties, the loss of life, the reduction of territories, removals, religious and educational abuses, and other dimensions of colonialism can lead to a cycle of despair whereby mental health suffers and people feel hopeless, sometimes abusing themselves and their families.

Our desire for a journey of healing challenges us to seek out new approaches that strengthen us, ones that remind us of legacies that instill honor and pride.

— Stephanie Wood

It can be instructive to discuss with students how we can be certain to recognize oppression and its inter-generational impact without dehumanizing the peoples (and their progeny) who confronted those pressures. One approach is to remind our students that people resist. They find ways to cope and to respond constructively and creatively. When victimized, human beings will often dig deep to exercise some form of power, individual or collective, to respond. We push back against constraints on our freedoms, and the result can be inspiring and instructive.

This Idle No More t-shirt logo reflects recent Native activism that spans the Canadian/U.S. border. A design inspired by Indigenous artist Dwayne Bird of Winnepeg, Mcnitoba, Canada. Photo by Stephanie Wood with permission.

We must also remember that Native peoples have rarely remained isolated or completely separate from intruding cultures. And when they have come into contact with other groups, they have often approached these encounters in a positive way. It may be human nature to engage newcomers, to teach them things, to share things. Native peoples have known the land longer and more intimately. They have had the skills and knowledge that can be advantageous and make positive contributions to the new societies that would emerge through encounters. This is a beautiful process that deserves recognition and a broad hearing. Capturing and conveying lessons about positive contributions requires the involvement of Native scholars and teachers in both the research and the teaching process. It involves compiling, making accessible, and consulting Indigenous-authored materials of many types as well as records created by non-Natives.

Sources and Methodologies

The historian's sources for prehistoric times are largely found in the archaeological record. Traditionally, historians did not see such information as falling within their purview, but they are increasingly crossing the disciplinary divide to see what they can learn from archaeological excavations that might help illuminate or expand the written record. Archaeologists are also meeting historians half way, getting more involved in the interpretation and presentation of data in museums. This process has been fraught, as we all know. The storage and display of sacred objects in non-Tribal repositories, and especially the display of human remains, spurred a movement of protest and policy adjustments that are on-going.[47] Partly as a result, we are seeing a wonderful new direction in this arena in the participation of Indigenous people in the creation of their own museums, integrating "artifacts" (read: sacred cultural items) with the analysis of documents, art, and oral tradition. Libraries and archives that are created and managed by Tribes are also multiplying.[48] We also have Tribal activism to thank for the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990.[49]

Davina Ruth Two Bears (Navajo) has published a study of the training of Native students in archaeology at the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department at Northern Arizona University that presents a model for new directions. This takes "collaboration" much farther than the norm, whereby elders are more actively involved in the organization of the university department itself. A number of these program graduates have returned to their communities to work in cultural resource management positions that crucially shape displays and interpretations.[50]

The Spokane Tribal Archaeology Crew conduct text excavations at Lake Roosevelt, a part of the Columbia River that was once an important trading center for American Indian Tribes. Photo by J.J. Sijohn, hosted by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, retrieved from http://www.usbr.gov/cultural/protect.html.

Archaeological discoveries are often also shared in field reports and now, increasingly, in documentary films. A wonderful venue for streaming open-access films of this type, without cost, is found in the The Archaeology Channel (TAC), based in Eugene, Oregon.[51] The TAC actually serves films that go beyond archaeology. Entering "Native American" in the search window brings up 53 hits, including examples of Indigenous storytelling and a documentary about a Nakota rap singer from Fort Peck, Montana, among other films. [52]

This is an archaeological site relating to the Hopewell Culture, National Historical Park, Ohio. Public domain photo hosted by the National Park Service, retrieved from http://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery.htm?id=E9D6EAFC-E96D-5CFE-C5B6EE8E5602D34A

Some documentaries made by anthropologists are more about community life than archaeology and fall into the category of ethnography or ethnology. Ethnographies can also take the form of field reports or books. Alfred W. Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1950, 2004), presents one such study. Gerard Baker (Mandan-Hidatsa), who was so active at the time of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, has said that Bowers "actually knew and lived among" the Mandan and "wrote the most comprehensive book ever written about the Mandans as a people." [53] Ethnographers can be Native and non-Native. The latter can be well integrated into the communities they research. But when they were not, we must

read them against the grain, striving to be vigilant about watching for the attitudes and othering practices of earlier periods. Many ethnographies are extremely detailed and serve as primary source materials, capturing content about ways of living that are not otherwise documented. We just have to handle them with caution and brace ourselves for potential prejudices.

Gerard Baker (Mandan-Hidatsa), Superintendent of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Washington, D.C., March 6, 2003; a public domain image in the National Archives, retrieved from http://research.archives.gov/description/5612447.

Written records have traditionally been the historian's first recourse for digging for data. The written legacy, however, is balanced in favor of perspectives from Euro-American culture. "Reading against the grain," whether or not that is what we have called it, is a method that we have probably often employed for approaching such sources for what we might learn about Indigenous history.[54] This entails taking primary sources authored by non-Natives to see what we can gain from them to fill in the gaps in the histories of Indigenous communities, especially when we only have non-Native sources for a particular time and place. For example, when we look at the Lewis and Clark journals we know we will be getting a Euro-American, elite, male perspective on the peoples and places they encountered on their expedition. We can hold that in mind and be critical readers of what they say about Tribal peoples they encountered. Choosing a page at random we find, for instance, an incident in which a man named Reed had deserted the expedition after stealing a weapon and ammunition. When he was sentenced to running the gauntlet four times through, and the men in the party were required to whip him with switches as he ran through, we are told that three chiefs who were observing all this petitioned for Reed's pardon. When Clark says he explained his group's reasoning behind a punishment of that nature, the chiefs were satisfied and stood by as witnesses.

Reading against the grain will often raise questions that can bring insights even when we cannot ascertain the answers. For instance, were the chiefs objecting to the form of punishment because this was so unlike their own forms of punishment? Such questioning will encourage us

to dig for further information. In another text, a chief present at the whipping of a man named Newman supposedly cried until this punishment was explained to him. How satisfied these chiefs were, in reality, is not something the Euro-American authors would know. They only knew that the objections ceased. The concerns raised by the chiefs had clearly been palpable.[55]

Flogging came to be outlawed in the United States in 1861. Lashes on a bare back came to be seen as a cruel and unusual form of punishment among Euro-Americans. It would be interesting to investigate more about Indigenous peoples' forms of punishment and how different cultures influenced one another in their practices of punishment. The Iroquois may have adopted the practice of having prisoners run the gauntlet from the French or English, for they were observed using it in 1641.

We can also read photographs against the grain, if you will. We have wonderful, one-of-a-kind pictures of Ancestors that were photographed by non-Natives. Some of these photos were "staged," whereby the photographer tried to influence how the "subject" was dressed, what he or she would be holding, and what props might be included. The Major Lee Moorhouse photographic collection, now digital and served on line with open access, includes rare images of the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla Tribes of Oregon. Moorhouse was an Indian Agent for the Umatilla Reservation. Between 1888 and 1916 he captured more than nine thousand images that document Indigenous community life, rural and urban, in the Columbia River Basin. One can browse all that have been digitized, or one can ask to see subjects, places, and names.[56] The list of names, alone, could be instructive for a study of Native naming practices, where we see references to hawks, coyotes, and elk, to name a few examples.[57]

Lee Moorhouse is seen in the back at the right. He is described as being in the company of "Umatilla, Paloos, and 2 white men;" public domain image in the National Archives; retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lee_Moorhouse#mediaviewer/File:Umatilla,_Paloos,_and_2_white_men_-_NARA_-_523642.jpg.

A sculpture of Alice Cooper (1905) of "Sacajawea" (c. 1790–Dec. 20, 1812), a featured profile for Native American Heritage Month and hosted. Retrieved from http://nativeamericanheritagemonth.gov/profiles/sacajawea.html

Because much of history is based on what we can learn from written records, and because men, especially elite men, were more likely to have a formal (i.e. schooled) education and do the writing, and they tended to write about themselves or other men they encountered, our written sources usually have an elite male preference. This imbalance does not fully negate their value; it means they are useful for teaching us about those elite male sectors of white and Native societies. But to learn about the Tribal legacies left by men who have not yet been singled out in the historical record, or, even more of a challenge, legacies left by Native women, we again face the difficulty of looking for bits of information that we can piece together to learn more about our foremothers.

Sacagawea/Sakakawea/Sacajawea stands out in the histories of the Lewis and Clark episode because she was mentioned various times in the written records.[58] Sadly, we do not have a diary written in her own words, and much of her life remains a mystery. Still, we are able to pull together points of pride in her story, including the fact that she was able to travel while pregnant

and then with a newborn, she helped people find edible plants, she rescued important documents and supplies when a boat capsized, she aided with a purchase of horses, and her presence with the foreign intruders reduced tensions and suspicions about their purpose (something for which they were grateful, at least). Still, the gaps in the records have resulted in some controversies surrounding Sacagawea, reminding us that our sources are less than complete.[59]

Randy'L Teton (Shoshone-Bannock/Cree), from the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, was the model for the dedicatory coin. Public domain image hosted by the National Park Service, retrieved from http://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery.htm?id=A284D139-155D-4519-3EC04D2B31E81DB2.

The craft of historical fiction involves another methodology we might wish to bring into our classrooms. Where we are lacking the first-person voices of Native women, we might enjoy the novelist's effort to put their stories into words, as though they were their own. Joseph Bruchac has done that with his novel, *Sacajawea*, which he tells from multiple points of view—that of William Clark (including some actual quotes from his journals), Sacajawea herself, and her son Jean Baptiste Charbonneau.[60] How do we judge the accuracy of such efforts to put words in the mouths of our forebears? Eileen Charbonneau, a contemporary relative of Sacajawea, writes on the

book jacket, "How pleased I am with your beautiful telling of my cousin's story. I found it filled with a wonderful spirit and many things that have not been written about before." [61] If a relative embraces the story, that is a convincing measure of success.

Another way to extend the Sacagawea story is to round it out with a close examination of the culture from which she sprang or where she lived for many years. Thus, John W. W. Mann has created the study, *Sacajawea's People: The Lemhi Shoshones and Salmon River Country*. If we do not learn much more about Sacajawea through this means, perhaps we can say that her legacy helped bring to light the struggle of the Lemhi Shoshones, who found their reservation liquidated in 1907, faced relocation, and who proudly preserved their own cultural uniqueness despite a proximity to more powerful and populous tribes around them.[62]

While we have few if any words written by Native women in the period of the Lewis and Clark expedition, we do have writings, speeches, and quotes from Native men, especially chiefs. Native voices in the written record hold considerable value, given that they bring balance to the historical record. We must seek them out and share them with our students. These words deserve our careful attention and thought. Indigenous oratory is an art and a legacy that calls out for our appreciation. Methods for communicating in council, for involving those present, for seeking consensus, and so on, all have a potential for teaching us more democratic, respectful, and peaceful forms of speech in our lives today and in the future.

The Lemhi Chief Tindoor, Southeastern Idaho, ca. 1897; a public domain photo in the National Archives, retrieved from http://research.archives.gov/description/519297

Kent Nerburn has compiled a book called *The Wisdom of the Native Americans*. These pieces of wisdom come from different periods of time, many of them more recent than the period of Lewis and Clark.

Nevertheless, they are clearly worthy of consideration. Nerburn is awed by the "uncompromising purity of insight and expression" this discourse conveys. He notes, too, the way such expressions were delivered: [63]

> each person listened attentively until his or her turn came to speak, and then he or she rose and spoke without interruption about the heart of the matter under consideration. This tradition produced a measured eloquence of speech and thought that is almost unmatched for its clarity and simplicity.

This way of speaking has been witnessed broadly across Tribal communities and has an impressive longevity. This form of address, in itself, is a Tribal legacy worthy of great honor as we watch, in contrast, how people squabble and interrupt each other constantly, muddying their messages on political talk shows and presidential debates aired on television today.

Ohiyesa (also known as Charles A. Eastman) from the Frontispiece of the book, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1916). Out of copyright.

Ohiyesa (b. 1858, Dakota) is one person whose poetry is preserved in the volume of wisdom edited by Nerburn. Ohiyesa is a fascinating figure who went to the schools of the colonizers (Beloit, Dartmouth, and Boston University) and became a physician trained in Western medicine. He returned to the Midwest and lived again among his people. Finally, however, he settled in New Hampshire, created a camp, and tried to "recreate the experience of Sioux education and values for non-Indian children," the reverse of the usual pattern of (colonial) education.[64]

Among the many messages left by Ohiyesa, we find his rejoicing in the "gift of my people:"[65]

> Is there not something worthy of perpetuation in our Indian spirit of democracy, where Earth, our mother, was free to all, and no one sought to impoverish or enslave his neighbor? Where the good things of Earth were not ours to hold against our brothers and sisters, but were ours to use and enjoy together with them, and with whom it was our privilege to share?

The speeches of elders often contain examples of Native philosophy that can be laden with gems for the appreciation of today's youth. They can enrich required units on "government" where "democracy" and "democratic values" might otherwise have a distinctly Euro-American slant. The wisdom of the chiefs also lends itself as a form of guidance for youth as they face the future with trepidation unsure of the kinds of people they want to be.

Our "situated practice" approach to curriculum development is invested with a desire for self-discovery, to know who we are and who we want to become.

— Stephanie Wood

"Honoring the elders who came before us," is part of the "Since Time Immemorial–Tribal Sovereignty Curriculum" developed in the state of Washington in recent years.[66] A number of wonderful resources appear on line, available for teachers anywhere to use to enhance their classes. In part, the honoring has involved recognition of elders still in communities today, and in part, we are seeing curricular materials that resurrect the stories of leaders who lived long ago.

In one slide presentation offered by Since Time Immemorial, we learn about Cheech-Ma-Ham (b. 1808), who became a chief of the Klallams. He was over 40 years old when the first Euro-Americans came to Port Townsend in 1851. In that same year he traveled to San Francisco and saw the large number of settlers who had been drawn to California by the Gold Rush. As the encroachment of emigrants became exceedingly uncomfortable in his community, and war was contemplated, he counseled peace, having seen, perhaps, that this westward movement of "white" people was a tide that would be difficult to turn back. He also saw the benefit of having

the intruders purchasing fish and skins from his people and offering winter coats for sale. Although relocation and other negative effects of the Euro-American invasion would be felt deeply by the Klallams, the slide show emphasizes the positive contributions of the chief, including his role as a translator/interpreter, an escort/intermediary, an intercessor who secured freedom for imprisoned Tribal members and saved the life of someone about to be lynched by a mob, and as an insightful peacemaker who navigated a difficult period of high tension that might have led to a greater number of deaths.

Oral histories provide another rich type of resource for preserving cultural traditions and the positive contributions of Ancestors.

— Stephanie Wood

The history of Cheech-Ma-Ham comes to us through written records of the nineteenth century, and perhaps some oral traditions kept alive by his descendants and other community leaders. Oral traditions often have deep temporal roots, from time immemorial, and therefore represent a source that is very different from written documents. They are bursting with possibilities for a multiliteracies curricular approach. A discussion with students about the extent to which this type of cultural memory represents "history," could be interesting. Pat Bauerle (Crow), speaking about oral history and perspective in the Tent of Many Voices, tells how storytellers often seek validation from listeners, welcome comparisons with multiple versions, and generally work to keep each other honest and build credence.[67] Rex Buck, Jr. (Wanapum), also discusses how oral traditions are kept by people who "have certain things that they take care of, and what we're telling you is the truth."[68] But regardless of the assessments, such memories are vital to preserve and pass along as Tribal legacies. Stories, such as that of Cheech-Ma-Ham, are accessible to a wide range of learners.

The "Lewis & Clark Trail—Tribal Legacy Project" website contains short videos with stories that speak to multiple literacies. These include age-old stories, examples of traditional culture, references to the nature of contact with the expedition, information about what happened in the wake of that contact, the nature of contemporary life, and how Tribes are looking to the future.[69] We have a great range of material in this collection where we can locate stories for embedding in our curricula.

Screenshot of the Tribal Legacy Project splash page (partial), hosted currently by the University of Montana; retrieved from http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/main.php

We can also take the book *Keepers of the Animals* (Caduto & Bruchac) as another example of oral traditions that have been collected—and now written down for us (in English) for our use in teaching. Vine Deloria, Jr., in the introduction, reminds us that animal stories have helped prepare children for understanding the world around them by emphasizing the virtues of animals. The stories have taught us "to be wise, gentle, brave, or cheerful." They have pointed to human personality traits in the psychological descriptions of "coyotes, beavers, elk, bears, and so forth."[70] The short Mohawk story of the Rabbit Dance portrays the rabbit as a creature that delights in movement. People might go out to hunt but come home, instead, with a lesson learned from the wise rabbit. The rabbit dance moves in a circle, and that circle reminds us of the interconnectedness of life.[71] It is remarkable that only recently in contemporary Western science have some practitioners begun to accept the fact that animals display an ability to mourn when they lose a loved one.[72]

A howling coyote, photographed by Dave Hensley at the Fort Worth Zoo, retrieved from http://flickr.com/photos/davehensley/5316950336/, Creative Commons.

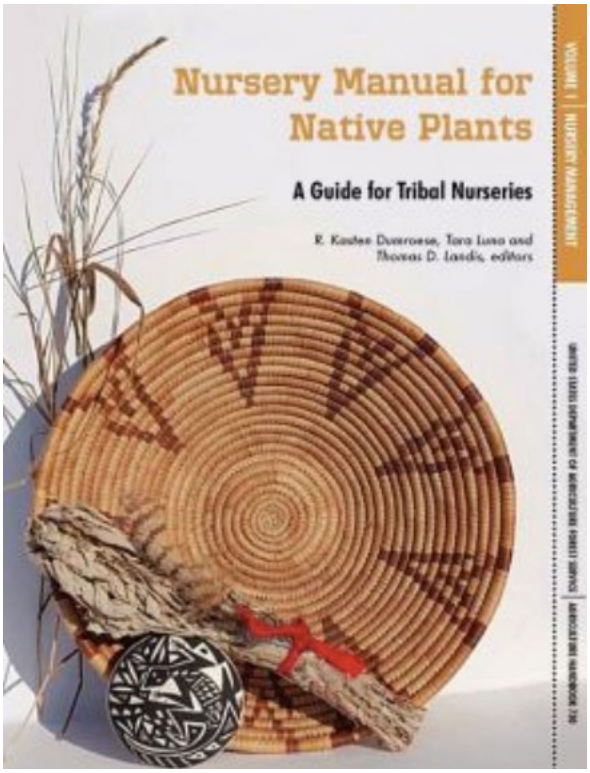
By showing connections between people and the animals with whom we share the natural world, we increasingly appreciate all forms of life and may become enjoined in a conservationist or "green" way of viewing our environment. During our summer institute for

designing curriculum to Honor Tribal Legacies in 2013, we created what we call the Eleventh Standard for the education of American youth. This asks that we "demonstrate environmental stewardship and a sense of service achieved through acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of humanity in historical, cultural, scientific, and spiritual contexts." [73] This derives from a greatly honored feature of Indigenous approaches to the life around us, but more than that, it makes sense for all of us who breathe our air and occupy our earth. Given that human beings are interdependent upon the natural world, our place-based approach to developing curriculum will also naturally allow room for us to consider the environment and its treatment in history. Featured curriculum designer Dr. Shane Doyle's secondary-school unit on the Apsáalooke Homeland, for example, demonstrates how the sustainable hunting and gathering practices on the Northern Plains region were fine-tuned through thousands of years of practice.

A great number of environmentalists have found the Lewis and Clark episode—and especially Native American contributions to this period in history—as ripe for exploring the state of knowledge about flora and fauna and their treatment in that period and to compare it to our practices today. The *Herbarium* that has been extracted from the journals of Lewis and Clark reveals a wealth of botanical knowledge that Western science gained as a result of the expedition.[74] At the same time, it reveals a drive to collect, to acquire, and to catalog nature—such a different approach from Indigenous relationships with the natural world. A curricular project that might bring greater balance to these works would search out more information on botanicals from Indigenous points of view. Non-Native authors Betty B. Derig and Margaret C. Fuller's book, *Wild Berries of the West* (Missoula: Mountain Press,

In her piece, "Ms. Coyote," Paiute-Pit River artist Jean LaMarr turns on its head the usual male gendering of the coyote trickster, which the National Museum of the American Indian hosts on its website as an example of Indian humor; public domain image, retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/indian_humor/encore/art2/lamarr2.jpg.

2001), includes a wide range of berry families and, for each one, a section entitled "historical uses" that recognizes Native knowledge. Of broader reach is Erna Gunther, *Ethnobotany of Western Washington: The Knowledge and Use of Indigenous Plants by Native Americans* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973).



This 2011 publication from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, is evidence of the recent surge in interest in native plants and the proliferation of Tribal nurseries; public domain image, retrieved from http://img1.imagesbn.com/p/9781782662068_p0_v1_s260x420.JPG.

In recent decades social studies teachers have increasingly experimented with using works of literature to enhance students' understanding of cultural memory. This can be effective for units about the natural world, especially. Contemporary Native American short stories such as those collected by Lorie Marie Carlson, *Moccasin Thunder: American Indian Stories for Today*, can provide remarkable insights into Indigenous ways of thinking about flora and fauna. One delightful morsel is Linda Hogan's (Chickasaw) story "Crow," whose subject is a bird that makes Grandma "new and soft, a candlelight inside her." The crow is a "heartbreaker" who nevertheless steadfastly rides on her shoulder, "pulls at the strands of her gray hair," and thrives on the grain and corn that she feeds it. She contemplates how the crow would like the rainwater that is "hitting the windows" and forming "red puddles" outside, for the rainwater would make the crow's feathers soft. She holds a general affection for crows, who were once people who could "speak our tongues." The crow keeps her company and understands "how hard it is to be old." [75]

Carrion crow in flight. Photo by Mikko Karvonen. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/hiljainenmies/3403462925/ Public domain image.

Just as literature is a non-traditional source for re-writing and embellishing history, we have music and song lyrics to enrich our curricular offerings. Some websites offering Native music for sale will also provide audio samples, such as Canyon Records[76] and the Dog Soldier Press, which provides Lakota sacred songs of healing, sung in their original language.[77] A website called "Songs for Teaching: Using Music to Promote Learning" includes samples (with audio links) of Native American songs.

Wee Hee Nah is one such song, of possible Lakota origin, about a children's "duck-catching" game. Two children make a bridge with their hands and other children walk under the bridge, singing and making a circle. At the end of the song, the hands fall around a "caught duck," who then becomes one of the duck catchers, and the circle of life continues.[78] Here are the lyrics (which can also be heard in a short clip on line if you go to Songs for Teaching):

Wee hee nah wee hee nah hee nah

Wee hee nah hee nah

Wee hee nah

Wee hee nah hee nah

Wee hee nah hee nah

Hey ho!

A wonderful history of the significance of dance ("We're a dancing people, always have been. . ."), and a celebration of the longevity of the powwow appear in Clyde Ellis's book, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains.* While opportunities for dance have been constant, some of the dances have nevertheless evolved. In the 1940s, for instance, "female fancy dancers" began entering contests at the American Indian Exposition and other large powwows. It caused

quite a stir, and "audiences didn't know quite what to make of it," with women making war dances. When the Second World War ended, women's fancy dancing died out, but then in the 1960s and 1970s women brought it back.[79]

The Hidatsa form a circle here for a "scalp dance," as depicted by Karl Bodmer in 1832, reproduced on line by the Library of Congress (public domain), retrieved from http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/lewisandclark/lewis-landc.html.

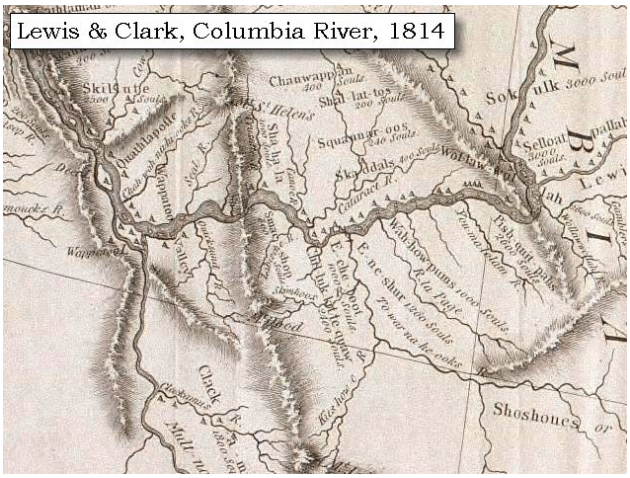
Colorful paintings of the third and fourth days of a Sun Dance, made by Short Bull in 1912, reside in the American Museum of Natural History. These records of the *Hunka* performance (Oglala Lakota) beautifully illustrate the dancers inside a circle, surrounded by teepees. This ceremony connects the Great God, the Earth, the Sun, the Sky, corn and meat, and it emphasizes generosity and sharing, according to a witness, James R. Walker, who observed it in 1912. Descriptions of performances and works of art that capture significant rituals such as this make additional sources that can embellish our curricula.[80] The art of making dance regalia is included in a beautiful children's guide to Native American technology, food making, and story telling. Educational projects in this well designed volume include learning how to make leggings, armbands, cuffs, anklets, headbands, masks, turtle-shell rattles, and much more.[81]

Beautiful dance regalia of Native women worn during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial activities. A public domain image hosted by the National Park Service, retrieved from http://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery.htm?id=A284D139-155D-4519-3EC04D2B31E81DB2

The same authors who brought us *Keepers of the Animals* have also published *Keepers of the Earth: Native American Stories and Environmental Activities for Children.* One of the points they raise is how environmental studies can bring to the fore a "clash" between "science and Indian beliefs." This is a valuable topic for discussion in the classroom, and the readings in their book provide concrete examples that can illuminate such differences. Does the Earth represent an "accretion from the solar nebula" or did it come into being as the cargo of an enormous turtle, standing on the back of another turtle, and so on, "all the way down"?[82] Some have said that creation stories from oral traditions—which are actually sacred for many communities—are "entertaining but archaic." The idea of "archaic," however, reminds us of the antiquity of such traditions and the relative newness of science. Is one superior to the other, or can there be room for both? Perhaps it is a matter of belief and perspective; Caduto and Bruchac point out that the science of ecology is not in conflict with Native beliefs that teach us how "all the living and nonliving parts of the Earth are one and that people are a part of that wholeness." [83]

Caduto and Bruchac include in the books they have created for classrooms a handy map of Native North America showing regional divisions and the location of Tribes within regions. Maps and geography have often been central to Western historical inquiry. We might take a fresh look at maps as a part of our place-based curriculum design that shifts appreciation to Native ways. In her unit, "Tribal Legacies of Pathfinding," featured curriculum designer Dr. Carmelita Lamb, reminds us how Indigenous sources of navigational knowledge were crucial to the Corps of Discovery's journey and impacted their maps. Native land-based points of reference were essential for the

journey of the Corps of Discovery and were incorporated into the final map of the expedition that President Thomas Jefferson received in 1814.



The Columbia River as mapped by the Corps of Discovery and as presented to Jefferson in 1814; public domain image of the U.S. Geological Survey, retrieved from http://volcanoes.usgs.gov/observatories/cvo/Historical/LewisClark/Historical/Maps/byu-archives_map_lewis_clark_columbia_east_1814.jpg

A Chiricahua Apache Gutáisi'á' (hide painting) about a puberty ceremony. Made by Nichea, c. 1900. Photo by Ernest Amoroso, hosted on the website of the National Museum of the American Indian. Retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/sites/1/files/images/exhibitions/021417-426.jpg.

Mapping was, of course, one of the primary objectives of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Mapping coincided with territorial expansion, and as such, it can seem abhorrent to those whose prior territorial jurisdictions suffered from the colonial push westward. But maps can also lay bare the motivations of Euro-Americans. Maps can reveal how those moving west saw themselves and how they depicted others, for dominion and identity are inherently bound up in Western mapping as the work of our contributing author, James Walker, illuminates.

A useful exercise might be to look in the journals of Lewis and Clark for Native maps or map-like information that became embedded there. Apparently, some Tribes did present Lewis and Clark with maps, which the latter incorporated into their journals. Some information was also conveyed to them in other ways. Drawing on the ground with a stick was one such method. Sharing pieces of bark and hides with charcoal drawings on them was another.[84] One of our featured curriculum designers, Dr. Carmelita Lamb, suggests we

examine Native cartographic methods, studying how landmarks, waterways, and nesting grounds were remembered. [85]

In general, though, the kinds of visuals that Europeans might call maps were rather rare or they were ephemeral in Tribal communities. So, we might reflect on why Indigenous people had fewer concerns about creating more permanent representations of territorial dimensions. How did Native people view the land, and how did they depict it? Did they have less of a need for a visual path-finding tool to get from Point A to Point B? Were they even that linear in their movements, or did they follow ancient animal trails that had been, in turn, a response to the locations where the Earth offered them food and water? Did Native peoples rely more on well-worn trails, memory, and oral tradition? Were they less interested in measuring, buying, and selling land? Scott McCarthy's book *People of the Circle; People of the Four Directions,* has compiled a wealth of Native spiritual discourse that reveals recurring patterns or shared visions of the organization of space from Tribes across the continent. Here we find Indigenous mental maps that reveal an understanding of symmetry and cardinal directions as they intersect with circles.[86]

Detail of petroglyphs carved in limestone cliffs in what is now Kansas, mentioned in a journal of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Public domain image from the records of the Environmental Protection Agency, 1974, National Archives, retrieved from http://docsteach.org/documents/557117/detail?menu=closed&-mode=search&sortBy=relevance&q=Lewis+and+-Clark&commit=Go.

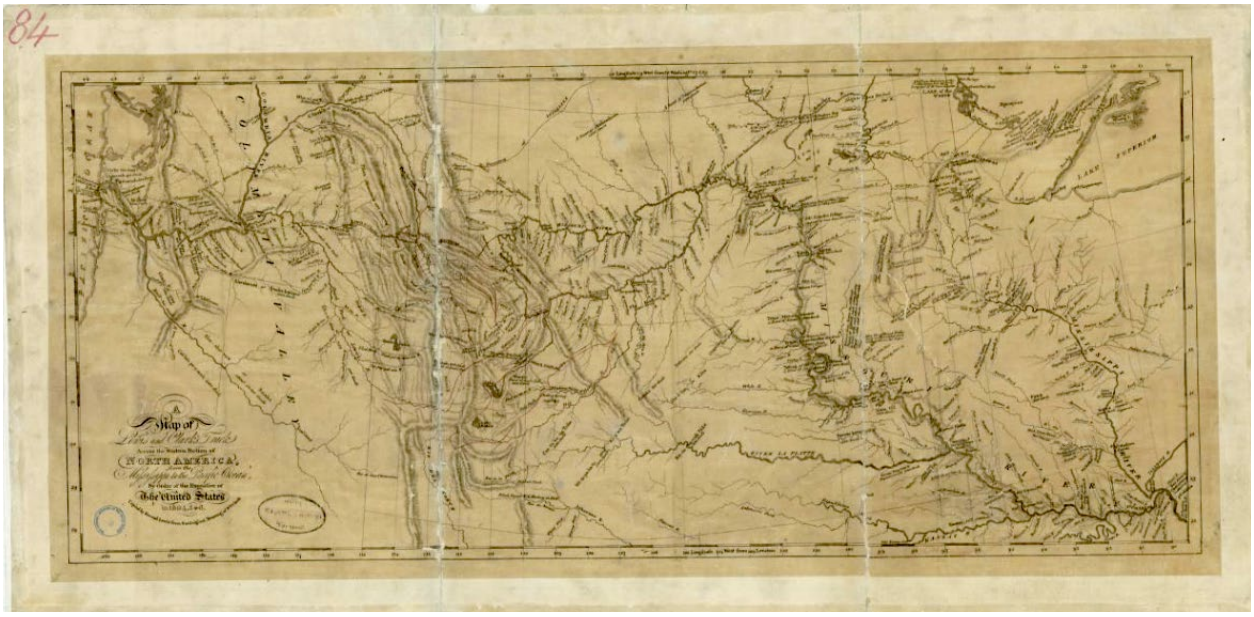
European Americans have also organized their conceptualization of the earth with cardinal directions. Where Mesoamericans prioritized East and West as the points of the rising and setting sun, Europeans' maps emphasized North, especially, given that they occupied what they considered the "Northern Hemisphere." Europeans were also very anxious to mark and name every detail and then demarcate their territorial claims, while also solidifying in their minds some kind of natural

right to do so. The more maps they made, the more they felt they had a claim on the land captured in the growing body of "geographic knowledge." This was clearly connected with a rationale of possession.

Mapping was also inherently linked in Euro-American minds with exploration and discovery, two additional buzzwords that deserve deconstructing.

— Stephanie Wood

Europeans' maps may have contributed to the concept of "manifest destiny," given that mapping made things manifest by making them more visual. Lewis and Clark's expedition involved what one scholar has called "'on-the-ground' mapping exercises" that led to "subsequent exploration," making it sound so natural and innocent. And "more than any other aspect of this nation's most important exploratory endeavor, these maps tell its story." [87] Taking a closer look at mapping can be enlightening, even if sometimes aggravating.



Map showing the route of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Public domain image from the Office of the Chief of Engineers, ca. 1806. National Archives, retrieved from http://docsteach.org/documents/5900021/detail?menu=closed&-mode=search&sortBy=relevance&q=Lewis+and+Clark&commit=Go.[88]

We can also follow our featured curriculum designer Dr. Rose Honey's approach, which reminds us how Lewis and Clark were seeking a waterway from the Atlantic (or interior bays, rivers, and lakes) to the Pacific. In appreciating waterways, the expedition members joined Native

Americans in seeing water as vital to life and worthy of great honor. Indigenous communities brought to their meetings with the expeditionary group a great deal of knowledge about the great rivers – how to navigate and travel on them, how to obtain food from them, how to treat them with respect, and more. They had much to teach newcomers, who might be just as inclined to think of water (like land) as a commodity that could be possessed, bought, and sold.[89]

A stream in Montana. The fence in the background is a hallmark of private property divisions and the commodification of land. Photo by Stephanie Wood.

Featured curriculum designer Julie Cajune (also a storyteller and an actress) demonstrates a holistic approach to the journey, exploring the many ways the Salish people interacted with the Corps of Discovery, extending their traditions of hospitality and offering life-saving gifts and support. She gives deep meaning to the presence and importance of water in Salish communities. Helping students understand their own communities and their own histories, as Julie does, makes legacies relevant in their young lives. Carol Buswell of the National Archives provides support for

this type of curricular work, pointing to methods and sources that enable students' discoveries of how their communities connect to the larger world. Another example along these lines is featured curriculum designer Shana Brown's attention to Celilo Falls on the Columbia River and the changes wrought there after contact. Shana guides our discoveries about how dams can raise serious complications for so many elements of life—including fishing, trading, and shore settlements, to name a few of the more essential.

Missouri River as seen from Atchison, Kansas. Public domain image from the records of the Environmental Protection Agency, 1974, National Archives, retrieved from http://docsteach.org/documents/557091/detail?menu=closed&-mode=search&sortBy=relevance&q=Lewis+and+Clark&commit=Go.[90]

As Dr. Shane Doyle (Crow) and Dr. Megkian Doyle, two of our featured curriculum designers, are showing us, pre-contact names for places such as rivers, mountains, and other places, and their name for people, often demonstrated an inter-connectedness between humans and the natural world. Such identities derived from relationships, dreams, spiritual experiences, a baby's birth order, special deeds, or physical characteristics, and more. A useful discussion would be to explore how pre-contact names could be reclaimed, and how could we reify the valuable meaning such names often carried about a special appreciation for the environment and all living things?

Reclaiming names in English translation is one option. But returning to names in their Indigenous language version could have the added benefit of helping us re-learn Native expressions in their most original form. [91]

In fact, Native languages represent another non-traditional source for creating histories that Honor Tribal Legacies. Again, a number of resources can be found on line, often accessible to everyone. "Our Mother Tongues" is a website that includes a language map of North America, plus voices of "heroic American Indian first-language speakers and dedicated second-language learners of heritage languages." This site also includes video clips from "We Still Live Here," which point to cultural clues that are embedded in languages. These videos contain messages from elders who remind us of the importance of learning one's mother tongue. A blog that features revitalization efforts, with stories and updates about recent successes, and a further offering on this website is an audio postcard opportunity.[92]

Nilch'itsoh
A big wind,
The wind of November,
A wolf that shreds leaves from trees,
A howl that keeps us close to the fire.

A poem that incorporates the Navajo word for "big wind," Nilch'itsoh [nil-CHI-tso] hosted on the website of the National Museum of the American Indian, retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/education/codetalkers/html/chapter2.html. [93]

We can also find on line "The Language Gathering," with links to hundreds of Indigenous language programs. [94] One such project has as its focus the Southern Pomo language of Northern California, where one can learn about an iPhone app of the Native alphabet and see a sign showing Pomo words for Native plants with QR codes that can be scanned by smart phones so that hikers in the Dry Creek Valley can hear authentic pronunciation of these plant names.[95] The use of modern technology can provide a "hook" for youth, motivating them to keep their Ancestral languages relevant in their daily lives. In another example, we see a burgeoning use of Facebook for language

use and for discussions about language preservation and revitalization. The Alutiiq Language and Learners (Kodiak, Alaska) is one such page.[96] Here we find lessons such as,

> The Alutiiq Word of the Week is Ikauwiitii(q); Ikuwitii(q); Iiyapawawi'i : Golden-crowned sparrow.
>
> Ikauwitiit nitnirtaartut. : Golden-crowned sparrows always sound beautiful.
>
> Hear the Alutiiq words spoken at the link below. Retrieved from
>
> http://alutiiqmuseum.org/files/AWOTW%20Sounds/S15/35goldensparrow.wav

Revitalization of language and, indeed, florescence in so many areas of activity on reservations, in Tribal colleges and museums, and in the national parks, rightfully capture our attention. They are the hallmarks resulting from considerable efforts expended by cultural champions within Tribes and in communities of solidarity all across North America.

This brief review of potential directions and suggestions for reflecting on Native memory and Honoring Tribal Legacies fails to exhaust the vast number of resources that we, as curriculum designers, have at our fingertips. Whether we are focusing on the Lewis and Clark episode in history or wishing to cast a broader net across time immemorial, the potential bounty is truly exciting. Abundant digital collections—of text and image—are coming on line almost daily. We have a beautiful library of books with a creative outpouring of expression from recent decades and earlier. With so much at hand, the challenge for us now is to step up, join the circle, assemble stories and materials, and engage our youth. We can make our curricula more validating, comprehensive, multi-dimensional, empowering, transformative, and emancipatory.[97] We just need to open our hearts and minds to the beauty of this collaborative process.

Together, students, teachers, parents, and community leaders can choose the journey of healing and devote our energies toward honoring the hard work, creativity, love, and guidance of our forebears.

— Stephanie Wood

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I wish to thank our incomparable leader CHiXapkaid for welcoming me into the circle of people he has called together to devote itself to Honoring Tribal Legacies. Through his inspiration, we are carrying forward the valuable work of the Tent of Many Voices in the time of the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark episode in our shared histories. I am very grateful for the humbling and broadening learning experience that this has entailed. It is a beautiful family, dedicated to keeping the stories alive and sharing them with all American youth in brilliant and passionate curricular expressions. I also cherish the support of Jill Hamilton-Anderson and Dick Basch of the National Park Service for their guidance and assistance to help make this dream a reality, to keep the drum beating, and to contemplate how this movement will continue to grow and gain momentum, blossoming, we hope, into multiple forms with great longevity. To the many kind readers who gave input on this essay, not only those already mentioned but also to our steadfast colleague, the stellar editor, and warm human being, Dr. Ella Inglebret, and to the selfless and driven Carol Buswell of the National Archives, I say "gracias mil."

Endnotes

[1] Brenda M. Trofanenko, "More Than a Single Best Narrative: Collective History and the Transformation of Historical Consciousness," *Curriculum Inquiry 38*(5) (2008), 579–603. One source that teachers might give students as a target for debunking the master narrative is Jack Uldrich's book, *Into the unknown: Leadership lessons from Lewis and Clarks' daring westward expedition* (New York: American Management Association, 2004). The title alone is a place to start: "unknown" to whom?

[2] See the fuller schedule of speakers retrieved from http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/userScripts/corps_pdfs/8.pdf

[3] See information about *Enough good people* at the Tribal Legacy Project website, retrieved from http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/

[4] See Peter N. Stearns, "Why Study History?" (1998), American Historical Association, retrieved from https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/archives/why-study-history-(1998)

[5] *Rethinking Columbus: The next 500 years*, eds. Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson (Milwaukee: Rethinking Schools, 1998).

[6] See <http://www.facinghistory.org> for many inspiring examples of this positive approach.

[7] The American Society for Ethnohistory states as its mission "a more inclusive picture of the histories of native groups in the Americas." Retrieved from http://www.ethnohistory.org/about-ase/

[8] The National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution holds the early records of the American Society for Ethnohistory from its inception in 1953 until about 1971, although the society continues to be active and hold annual meetings as of 2013. See: http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=American+Society+for+Ethnohistory, http://www.nmnh.si.edu/naa/fa/american_society_ethnohistory.pdf, and http://www.ethnohistory.org/

[9] See *The houses of history: A critical reader in twentieth-century history and theory*, eds. A. Green and K. Troup (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 175–77.

[10] For a photograph of Chief Tostom, see http://photos.lib.state.or.us/exhibit4/e40010a.htm

[11] Brenden Rensink, "Genocide of Native Americans: Historical Facts and Historiographic Debates," *Digital commons,* January 1, 2011 (University of Nebraska, Lincoln). The United Nations convention on genocide determined that "acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial or religious group," fit the label. Thus total destruction is not required, and intention is important. Acts can include distributing diseased blankets, secret sterilization campaigns, or leaving people with no resources with which to sustain themselves. See Lynda Gray, *First Nations 101* (Vancouver, B.C.: Adaawx Publishing, 2011), 84–85.

[12] A fascinating aside is that three-quarters of the space devoted to this memorial represents an effort to convince Congress to accept their opinion despite the fact that they were women.

[13] See http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=1180&query=genocide

[14] See http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=488&query=identity

[15] Keith Thor Carlson, John Lutz, and David Schaepe, "Turning the Page: Ethnohistory from a New Generation," *The University of the Fraser Valley Research Review 2*(2) (Spring 2009), 3.

[16] Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian peoples and the challenge of Spanish conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 159.

[17] See, for example, the summary of a presentation by Joanna Crow at "Teaching Indigenous Histories: A Roundtable," Conference on Latin American History, Washington D.C., January 5, 2008, retrieved from http://clah.h-net.org/?page_id=1911

[18] The news piece, "Curious Collections: Chocolate Pots from Chaco Canyon," *American Museum of Natural History* (7/27/2011), tells of the discovery of theobromine, the biomarker for cacao, in pots dug in Pueblo Bonito dating from the eleventh century. See: http://www.amnh.org/explore/news-blogs/news-posts/curious-collections-chocolate-pots-from-chaco-canyon

[19] Eric A. Powell, "The Turquoise Trail," *Archaeology 58*(1) (January/February 2005), abstract, retrieved from http://archive.archaeology.org/0501/abstracts/turquoise.html. On copper and feathers see Bonnie G. Smith, et al, *Crossroads and cultures, Volume II: Since 1300: A history of the world's peoples* (New York: Macmillan, 2012), 571.

[20] "Native American Languages," which hosts a schematic map, is a site served by Indiana University, retrieved from http://www.cogsci.indiana.edu/farg/rehling/nativeAm/ling.html

[21] See the Parks and Wildlife site about Blood Run retrieved from https://www.parkswildlife-foundation.org/projects/BloodRun.aspx; and see the Blood Run National Historic Landmark website, retrieved from http://www.iowahistory.org/historic-sites/blood-run/

[22] Interdisciplinary Research Group on the Americas, "Transculturation and Cultural Hybridity," retrieved from http://www.gira.info/en/about-us/research-questions-and-key-notions/transculturation-and-cultural-hybridity

[23] See http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=1049&query=assimilation

[24] See Charles L. Cutler, *O brave new words! Native American loanwords in current English* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

[25] Interdisciplinary Research Group on the Americas, "Transculturation and Cultural Hybridity," retrived from http://www.gira.info/en/about-us/research-questions-and-key-notions/transculturation-and-cultural-hybridity

[26] Athena S. Leoussi, "Tribal Identities," *Encyclopedia of global studies*, ed. Helmut K. Anheler and Mark Jurgensmeyer (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2012).

[27] See: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethnic

[28] See the chart at the bottom of the webpage article, "Ethnicity vs Race," retrieved from http://www.diffen.com/difference/Ethnicity_vs_Race

[29] See Timothy Baumann, "Defining Ethnicity," *The SAA Archaeological Record* (September 2004), 12.

[30] See the summary of René Harder Horst's presentation as the same CLAH roundtable in 2008, retrieved from http://clah.h-net.org/?page_id=1911

[31] See: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JgJJzTFwdfA

[32] This website hosts various podcasts from the NMAI: http://www.si.edu/podcasts/nmailive/NMAILiveVideoPodcastSDBuzzBoostCSS.htm

[33] Roy Cook, "Heart of Colonialism Bleeds Blood Quantum," retrieved from http://www.americanindiansource.com/bloodquantum.html

[34] See Andrew Fisher, *Shadow Tribe: The making of Columbia River identity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 119.

[35] Katherine Martineau, "Indigeneity," Cultural Anthropology: Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology, 03/11/2008, retrieved from http://www.culanth.org/?q=node/116

[36] See http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=191&query=identity

[37] Jeremy Waldron, "Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy," *New Zealand Journal of Public Law 1* (2003).

[38] The U.N. has a "Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues," retrieved from http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples.aspx. The U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was passed in 2007, which is a PDF that is available in multiple languages from that same website.

[39] See Mathias Guenther's remarks about the concept of Indigeneity in Alan Barnard, "The Concept of Indigeneity," *Social Anthropology 14*(1) (February, 2006), 17.

[40] This draws from the "Guide to Implementing the Alaska Cultural Standards for Educators," retrieved from http://www.eed.state.ak.us/standards/pdf/cultural_standards.pdf

[41] The African-American perspective might not be one that everyone would expect to see incorporated into the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition, but the group did include a man named "York," who had this heritage. One of several efforts to flesh out his experience despite the near void in the documentary records is Laurence Pringle's *American slave, American hero: York of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Honesdale, Penn.: Calkins Creek, 2006).

[42] See: http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/ftp/transcripts/PBaCr6A-inclusivehistory.txt

[43] The Tent was erected in many communities along the trail. Montana Fish, Wildlife & Parks offers on line a document for downloading about the speakers' schedule from 2005; the Tribal Legacy Project offers various programs, as well, including the one from Grand Ronde, OR, in 2006, retrieved from http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/userScripts/corps_pdfs/8.pdf

[44] The review, by Matt Love, published in *The Oregonian* newspaper, is excerpted and printed inside the jacket cover of *Lewis and Clark through Indian eyes* (New York: Vintage, 2007).

[45] Love, 2007, 192. Another worthy study with a revisionist interpretation worthy of our attention

is Robert J. Miller's (Eastern Shawnee) *Native America, discovered and conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006). A shorter revisionist piece worthy of consideration is Richard Littlebear, "Beyond 'Discovery,' Lewis & Clark from an Indigenous Perspective," in *Your Heroes are not Our Heroes: Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education 14*(3) (Spring 2003).

[46] See the summary of Brian Owensby's presentation at the same CLAH roundtable in 2008, retrieved from http://clah.h-net.org/?page_id=1911

[47] Karen Coody Cooper, *Spirited encounters: American Indians protest museum policies and practices* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2008). See also David Hurst Thomas, *Skull wars: Kennewick Man, archaeology, and the battle for Native American identity* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

[48] *Tribal libraries, archives, and museums: Preserving our language, memory, and lifeways*, ed. Loriene Roy, Anjali Bhasin, Sarah K, Arriaga (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011).

[49] T. J. Ferguson, "Native Americans and the Practice of Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology 25* (1996), 63–79.

[50] Davina Ruth Two Bears, "Native American Archaeologists: Continuing the Tradition of Protecting the Past, for the Present and Future Generations of Native Peoples," *Winds of Change 18*(1) (Winter 2003), 12–14.

[51] See: http://www.archaeologychannel.org/

[52] Hollywood films about "cowboys and Indians" or even the type that tried to honor tribal legacies in the vein of *Little big man*, can provide another classroom resource that we can use as the basis for exploring representations of Indigenous people over time.

[53] *Bowers, Mandan social and ceremonial organization*, vii. To view some 67 photos of Gerard Baker and the Bicentennial see: http://research.archives.gov/search?expression=gerard+baker+bicentennial&pg_src=group&data-source=all

[54] "Resistant Reading" and "Critical Literacy" are concepts that are intended to help us become more active and thinking readers. One can find Wikipedia entries under such headings. See also: "Reading With and Against the Grain," a part of the "College Reading Skills Program: Techniques for Skillful Reading," retrieved from http://www.csupomona.edu/~crsp/handouts/read_grain.html

[55] See Robert R. Hunt, "Crime and Punishment on the Lewis and Clark Expedition," in *Explorations into the world of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 2, ed. Robert A. Saindon (Great Falls, Mont. Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 2003), 728.

[56] See: http://oregondigital.org/digcol/mh/

[57] See: http://oregondigital.org/digcol/mh/toc.php?CISOROOT=/Moorhouse-wkf&db=Moorhouse-wk&nicks=names&title=Browse+by+Name

[58] We have an exhaustive compilation of excerpts from the various records that mention her thanks to Grace Raymond Hebard, *Sacajawea: Guide and interpreter of Lewis and Clark* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2002).

[59] Emma Carlson Berne has written a biography that is accessible to youth called *Sacagawea: Crossing the continent with Lewis and Clark* (New York: Sterling, 2010). One of many available discussions about the spelling, pronunciation, and meaning of the name of this iconic figure is found on page 4 of this biography. Another well-known biography is *Sacajawea* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), by Harold P. Howard. David L. Nicandri's essay, "The New Sacagawea Myth," in *River of promise: Lewis and Clark on the Columbia* (Washburn, N.D.: The Dakota Institute Press of the Lewis & Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, 2009) is an important analytical study of a range of older and more recent representations of the legendary trail guide. Similarly, see the section "Bird Woman" in Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns, *Lewis & Clark: An illustrated history; The journey of the Corps of Discovery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 92–93. Kenneth Thomasma has written what he calls *The truth about Sacajawea* (Jackson, Wyo.: Grandview, 1997, 2000, 2003), which represented a lobbying effort in the selection of this figure for a U.S. coin, and Neta Lohnes Frazier penned the more traditional, *Path to the Pacific: The story of Sacagawea* (New York: Sterling, 1967, 2007).

[60] See Joseph Bruchac, *Sacajawea: The story of Bird Woman and the Lewis and Clark expedition* (New York: Harcourt, 2000). Similar works of interest focus primarily on her son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, such as Marion Tinling, *Sacagawea's son* (Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press, 2001) and Susan M. Colby, *Sacagawea's child: The life and times of Jean-Baptiste (Pomp) Charbonneau*

(Spokane, Wash., Arthur H. Clark, 2006). See also the biography by retired journalist Frederick Taylor, *Pomp: The long, adventurous life of Sacagawea's son* (Bloomington, Ind.: AuthorHouse, 2004).

[61] Taylor, *Pomp*, back cover.

[62] John W. W. Mann, *Sacajawea's people: The Lemhi Shoshones and the Salmon River Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). A novel that takes the point of view of the guide's husband, Charbonneau, is Richard Hétu's *The lost guide: The man behind the Lewis and Clark expedition* (New York: East Village Press, 2004). A photo of Chief Lemhi Tindor, dating from 1897, retrieved from http://research.archives.gov/description/519297

[63] *The wisdom of the Native Americans*, ed. Kent Nerburn (New York: MJF Books, 1999,) xi.

[64] *The wisdom of the Native Americans*, xiii–xiv.

[65] *The wisdom of the Native Americans*, 132–33.

[66] See the first PDF listed on this web page: http://tribalsov.ospi.k12.wa.us/

[67] See: http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=152&query=Oral history

[68] See: http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=868&query=Oral history

[69] See: http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/main.php.

[70] Michael J. Caduto and Joseph Bruchac, *Keepers of the animals: Native American stories and wildlife activities for children* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997), xi.

[71] *Keepers of the animals*, 44–45. The National Museum of the American Indian in New York has an wonderful exhibit called the "Circle of Dance," 2012–2017. For more information, see: http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/circleofdance/

[72] See Barbara J. King, "When Animals Mourn: Seeing that Grief is Not Uniquely Human," *NPR Cosmos & Culture 3*(7) (April 11, 2013), retrieved from http://www.npr.org/blogs/13.7/2013/04/11/176620943/when-animals-mourn-seeing-that-grief-is-not-uniquely-human

[73] We hope, eventually, to see Tribes develop their own standards for the education of their children. Dr. Rose Honey's curricular project cites some potential Indigenous-inspired standards that might provide a start in this direction.

[74] See *The definitive journals of Lewis and Clark: Herbarium, Volume 12 of the Nebraska Edition,* ed. Gary E. Moulton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004) and Susan H. Munger, *Common to this country: Botanical discoveries of Lewis & Clark* (New York: Artisan, 2003). See also H. Wayne Phillips, *Plants of the Lewis & Clark expedition* (Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press, 2003).

[75] See: *Moccasin Thunder* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 79, 83. Another great volume of short literary works, compiled by Jarold Ramsey, is *Coyote was going there: Indian literature of the Oregon Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980). Among the many gems, for example, are creation accounts (e.g. 78, 106, 232, 258), the Wishram Calendar of twelve moons, June through May, and their Native names (72), recollections of treaty speeches (119, 120), and a memory of the first non-Native ship to visit Clatsop Country (174).

[76] See: http://www.canyonrecords.com/

[77] See: http://www.dogsoldierpress.com/index.php/en/. YouTube also provides examples of music, song, and that might be useful for teaching. An example is the Cherokee Morning Song with Lyrics, retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8C52yqpQV2I, and the Stomp Dance Cherokee Sacred Spirit, retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uou4S1ljLlU). One hopes that these videos have been posted with tribal acquiescence. The issue of rights and propriety around posting videos of sacred music and dance offers another teaching moment.

[78] A photograph of boys playing "Bear in Ring," from c. 1911, Delaware, can be found among the online offerings of the National Museum of the American Indian, retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/explore/exhibitions/washington/. For music, see: http://www.songsforteaching.com/native-american-music/. River Trading Post Pod Network offers free audio of Native music, along with podcasts about American Indian art, retrieved from https://player.fm/series/river-trading-post-pod-network

[79] See: *A dancing people* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 152–153. Powwows and Native American dancers are now regularly caught on video and published to YouTube, which represents another teaching resource, if used with care.

[80] See: James R. Walker, *Lakota belief and ritual,* eds. Raymond J. Demallie and Elaine A. Jahner

(Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 216–239. Colored drawings of dancers in war insignia also appear in that chapter.

[81] Laurie Carlson, *More than moccasins: A kid's activity guide to traditional North American Indian life* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1994). The technologies of the teepee (tipi), travois, and lodge are included in Adolf Hungrywolf, *The tipi: Traditional Native American shelter* (Summertown, Tenn.: Native Voices, 2006), 13, 22, 25, 26, and passim. A special section on "Building a Tipi" begins on 220. Technologies that involve the use of cedar wood are found in Hilary Stewart's beautifully illustrated, *Cedar: Tree of life to the Northwest Coast Indians* (Vancouver and Seattle: Douglas & McIntyre and University of Washington Press, 1984). Basket making technology, design, cultural significance are highlighted in Mary Dodds Schlick, *Columbia River basketry: Gift of the Ancestors, gift of the earth* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994). For a wonderfully detailed and informative exploration of feather crafts, see J. Andrew Forsythe, *Focus on feathers: A complete guide to American Indian feather craft* (N. p.: Crazy Crow Trading Post, 2010). A helpful general catalog of copyright-free clip art of *North American Indian motifs*, selected and arranged by Maggie Kate (Mineola, N.Y. Dover Clip-Art Series, 1996), could have many uses for classroom art projects. The National Museum of the American Indian makes available a lesson plan called "A Life in Beads: The Stories a Plains Dress Can Tell," retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/sites/1/files/pdf/education/NMAI_lifeinbeads.pdf. Many such resources can be found at the NMAI website of "Classroom Lessons," retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/explore/foreducatorsstudents/classroomlessons/

[82] The quote about the accretion from the solar nebula was retrieved from Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Earth, and the story of the turtle from Michael J. Caduto and Joseph Bruchac, *Keepers of the earth*, (Golden, Colo. Fulcrum, 1997), 4.

[83] *Keepers of the Earth*, 4, 5.

[84] Derek Hayes, *Historical atlas of the Pacific Northwest: Maps of exploration and discovery* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1999), 7. A map-like buffalo hide painted by a Lakota historian named Lone Dog captures a spiral that began in the winter of 1800, with images of Lakotas killed in a fight with Crows, and continues during the period of the Lewis and Clark expedition and beyond

with representations of horse-stealing, trading posts, treaty ceremonies, disease, and flags. See a photograph of the hide in Duncan and Burns, *Lewis & Clark,* 219. It also appears Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the divide* (Washington and London: Smithsonian, 2003), 314–315. Another bison robe painting, showing combat between Sioux warriors and earthlodge villagers is reproduced in Castle McLaughlin, *Arts of diplomacy: Lewis & Clark's Indian collection* (Cambridge and Seattle: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard, and University of Washington Press, 2003), 41. This catalogue offers a vast array of photographs of material culture with many potential classroom uses, including studies of pipes (Chapter 8) and Grizzly Claws, Garters, and Fashionable Hats (Chapter 9).

[85] George Thomas, *Lewis and Clark Trail: The photo journal, up the Missouri, down the Columbia and back* (Harlowton, Mont., Snowy Mountain Publishing, 2000), includes gorgeous photographs of the landscapes along the trail, including the many waterways that it encompasses. Ron Lowery and Mary Walker have published aerial photographs in their book, *Chasing Lewis & Clark across America: A 21st century aviation adventure* (Harrison, Tenn.: Windsock Media, 2004). Of a similar beauty and possible utility would be Charles Fritz, *The complete collection, Charles Fritz: 100 paintings illustrating the journals of Lewis and Clark* (Helena, Mont.: Farcountry Press, 2009).

[86] See: *People of the Circle* (Nevada City, Calif.: Blue Dolphin Publishing, 1999).

[87] John Allen, "The Maps of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," in Paul E. Cohen, *Mapping the West: America's westward movement, 1524–1890* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 74.

[88] The National Park Service also hosts an elaborate, animated map of "Lewis and Clark's Track," retrieved from http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/lewisandclark/index.htm

[89] A recommended collection of documents from *Before Lewis & Clark: Documents illustrating the history of the Missouri, 1785–1804*, ed. A. P. Nasatir (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), contains an impressive number of primary-source records about this crucial period of early contact prior to the expedition. Here is a collection that will definitely benefit from being read against the grain and deconstructed, watching for perspectives, language, and designs the documents' authors held on the region. For a consideration of wood as a commodity, one might take a look at *Lewis and*

Clark meet Oregon's forests: Lessons from dynamic nature, by Gail Wells and Dawn Anzinger (Portland: Oregon Forest Resources Institute, 2001), which emphasizes that even before Euro-Americans were on the scene the forests of the Northwest were marked by "disturbance and change," seemingly in an effort to justify resource extraction.

[90] Please note that this image is one of several that have been compiled for possible use in teaching the Lewis and Clark episode in history.

[91] A fascinating study of a related nature is Garrick Mallery, *A collection of gesture-signs and signals of the North American Indians: With Some Comparisons* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880).

[92] See: http://ourmothertongues.org/Home.aspx

[93] Image source: http://nmai.si.edu/education/codetalkers/html/chapter2.html

[94] See: http://languagegathering.org/

[95] See: http://languagegathering.org/languageprogram/southern-pomo-language-program/

[96] See: https://www.facebook.com/alutiiqlanguage?ref=tn_tnmn

[97] These terms come from the website, "Culturally Responsive Teaching," which cites G. Gay, *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, & practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000), retrieved from http://www.intime.uni.edu/multiculture/curriculum/culture/teaching.htm

CHAPTER 3

Exploring the Deep Meaning of Place Names along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail

Image of elk along the river. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

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"…nothing is comprehended, much less possessed, until it has been given a name…"

—Wallace Stegner (Stewart, 1982, p. xxviii)

"There is nothing that has such an air of verisimilitude as a map."

—Henry R. Wagner (Wagner, 1968, p. 3)

Introduction

Given our enthusiastic embrace of place-based learning for Honoring Tribal Legacies, it behooves us to take a moment to consider the names we attach to places and the meanings we attach to these names. Naming practices can reflect the social identities we construct for ourselves, the way we see our natural world and our positioning in it, and even the way we look into the future. These considerations provide an entry point for teachers retracing the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (hereafter, the Trail) and the long-term effects of the expedition of 1804–06. At that time of Euro-American exploration and map-making, many Native place names were translated, distorted, or erased entirely. Understanding how maps are made, how place names are immortalized, and then going back to reclaim and analyze the original names associated with places are all activities that provide a fertile plain for enriching our understandings of this vast and beautiful landscape and cultural ways of thinking about the environment. They provide sacred elements for nurturing curriculum design and sprouting lively classroom discussions that will Honor Tribal Legacies and bring balance to our study of the past and its relevance today and tomorrow.

Standing in a sacred place, we have drawn from the four directions to bring our story to life. In doing so, the terms Indigenous, Tribe, Tribal, Tribal nations, and specific names of Tribes are used throughout this chapter in reference to the many peoples that are the Aboriginal inhabitants of the sacred place we now call America. The use of the terms American Indian, Native American, or Indian is retained when quoting published authors. Three primary authors, each with distinct and complementary approaches to the study of place names along the Trail, have contributed to

this collaboration, and the supportive hand of a team editor (Stephanie Wood) helped to bring them all harmoniously together. We begin with a piece from James Walker,[1] a retired physician who has studied and published scholarship about early maps and the practice of cartography for many years. His contribution will help us understand how Native geographic knowledge informed European map-making, even if many place names were lost in the process. Dr. Walker helps us understand the history of how traditional maps were constructed, being part of a discourse largely of territorial appropriation, with a fast-paced timeline that pressed for the new American nation to reach the Pacific in short order in the nineteenth century. He shows us how mapping involved renaming, erasure, and was part of an expansionist machine that was first established on paper and then followed by physical aggressive settlement.

In the wake of our consideration of that historical backdrop, the contribution by Dr. Shane Doyle, an Apsáalooke (Crow) Tribal member, represents a healing approach that provides valuable Native perspectives and knowledge for our much-needed recuperation of place names. Dr. Doyle also helps us to understand and appreciate the rich meaning of Tribal place names. He brings in significant ecological relationships, plus spiritual and cultural-geographic considerations, such as food security and other strategies for survival, which facilitate our grasp of the insightful and respectful nature of the Native recognition given to rivers, mountains, and other landscape features. Like Dr. Walker, Dr. Doyle also includes original language for place names where they are still known, in recognition of how language uniquely captures significance and must be preserved. He also helps us see that, while specific words could be different from one Tribe to another, the meaning for a major feature on the landscape was often shared.

Finally, Ryan Cooper, a Geographer with the Trail, explains recent directions in mapping and describes the promising opportunities for re-inscribing original place names on new maps of the Trail. These innovations have emerged as a result of both developments in technology and a commitment to historical reconstruction that came out of the special collaboration between Tribes and the National Park Service during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. As a geographer working with the National Park Service on this important project, Cooper has first-hand experience with

the methodology and explains well the initial results and the opportunities to map place names and understand the stories and meanings to reveal the landscapes along the Lewis and Clark Trail as people originally knew them.

Rethinking Maps, Map-Making, and Place Names

Map-making is both an art and a social practice (Mitchell 2000; Sack 1997). Maps have decorative and stylistic elements, but they also illustrate the mapmaker's geographical understanding and can reveal colonial ambitions. Interdisciplinary studies—combining history, geography, social sciences, art history, linguistics, graphics, and others—have shown how historic maps contain multiple layers of information that reflect culturally specific knowledge and ways of thinking. The interrelationships between people and place are formed by the ideas that exist inside our minds and are written on the landscape (Duncan 2000; Schein 1997). Traditional published works, exhibitions, and classroom teachings have often focused on information that maps convey about geographical observations and data pulled from explorers' and travelers' accounts as though these are all completely factual and objective. In the last 30 years, however, scholars and teachers of the history of cartography have shifted their inquiry to the layers of social information that maps communicate.[2] The emphasis of much of this literature has been on how sixteenth- through eighteenth-century European mapping conventions conveyed imperialistic ambitions to establish dominion and identity in the so called "New World." Among these conventions place naming was a powerful cartographic and colonial tool.

In the nineteenth century maps and the use of place names played a dominant role in the construction of cultural identities in the American West. It is useful to begin this discussion with the definition of maps as "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes or events in the human world" (Harley & Woodward, 1987, p. xvi). This broad definition allows us to understand maps in four ways. First, it recognizes culturally distinct methods of understanding space and place without assigning hierarchies. For example, we may then study and value traditional Indigenous ways of representing territory without defaulting

to practices that have been mainstreamed (e.g., Euro-American traditions). Secondly, the definition clearly states that a map (in any culturally distinct way of understanding that term) may convey much more than geographical information. Elements of map construction such as place names, boundaries, and symbols help to fashion social knowledge that is about the values and beliefs of the mapping society, often contrasting with those of another society being represented. Maps may thus be used by a dominant society as a means of establishing dominion over the landscape. Thirdly, the definition reminds us that graphic representations, such as maps, serve as an important form of discourse in transmitting information within a particular group. Among Euro-American cultural groups, and recognizing the colonial context, maps have always asserted powerful authoritative influences. Finally, the definition reminds us that "graphic representations that facilitate spatial understanding" will typically change over time, as does the context of our multicultural human world.

The more than 500 years of recording representations of encounters among different cultural groups in the Americas is a process still underway. As "things, concepts, conditions, processes or events" (Harley & Woodward, 1987) change, so does their mapping. These four dimensions will help us explore how maps shaped an enduring (if distorted) understanding of the American West by Euro-Americans in the early nineteenth century.

Maps and Culturally Specific Understandings of Space and Place

The familiar traditional elements of today's printed maps authored by Euro-Americans derive from "scientific" or "quantitative" principles of mapmaking that first appeared in fifteenth century Europe.[3] These include: a template of a co-ordinate system for establishing location (e.g., latitude and longitude), projection (for displaying a three-dimensional image on a two-dimensional surface), scale, and direction. When using maps as way-finding instruments or for locating places, the application of these elements results in a judgment of the "accuracy," "objectivity," or "truthfulness" of the geographical image.

By way of contrast, in Native societies understanding of space and place did not rely on these same principles; nor was it important to create a non-perishable artifact (i.e., a physical map) to convey that understanding (Belyea, 2007, pp. 31–89; Lewis, 1998, pp. 51–183; Lewis, 1987, pp. 63–80; Ronda, 1987, pp. 81–91; Warhus, 1997, pp. 3, 7–56). Indigenous peoples had deep knowledge of their territory and shared this orally or by drawings in sand, earth, or on perishable objects such as animal hides, tree bark, and the like. Numerous accounts of explorers in the American West and elsewhere document the ability and willingness of Indigenous people to incorporate their geographic knowledge into a format more familiar to visitors (Hollis, 2011, pp. 145–153; Ronda, 1987, pp. 81–84; Short, 2009, pp. 21–46; Warhus, 1997, pp. 99–137). Physical maps that are directly attributable to Indigenous authors in the historic record have usually been transcribed by Euro-Americans, so that this contribution became embedded into the Euro-American traditional map. The latter must be examined carefully to reveal the Aboriginal source of information.

Geographical information from Indigenous sources was critical to the Lewis and Clark expedition, during its preparation, during its course, and in the construction of a mapped record of the event. In planning the expedition, Thomas Jefferson and Lewis and Clark consulted published maps including "A Map Exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America" printed in 1802 by the English mapmaker Aaron Arrowsmith (Allen, 1975, pp. 78–83; Beckham, 2003, pp. 39–40, 56–57; Belyea, 2007, pp. 45–49). This map contained important geographic information about the interior of the country west of the upper bend of the Missouri River, or in other words, it conceptualized river passages between the Mandan villages on the Missouri River and the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. This information, "new" to the people of the eastern United States, derived from one or more maps drawn by the Blackfoot Indians Ac Ko Mok Ki and Ki Oo Cus in 1801–1802 (Belyea, 2007, pp. 46–48; Moodie & Kaye, 1977, pp. 4–15; Ruggles, 1987, pp. 153, 189–190; Ruggles, 1991, pp. 60–64; Warhus, 1997, pp. 154–157). Also, in early 1805 a Mandan Chief, Sheheka or Big White, provided Clark with a description of the Yellowstone River and its tributaries. Clark incorporated many Indigenous place names on his surviving sketch of Big White's map (Ronda, 1987, pp. 82–83).

In April 1805 when Lewis and Clark left the Mandan villages to head west, they sent back to Thomas Jefferson a map of the information they had obtained from Indigenous informants during their winter overstay. Draftsman and surveyor Nicolas King in Washington copied this map, and the two surviving copies acknowledge in their title, "The Country West of Fort Mandan is laid down principally from Indian information" (Moulton, 1983, pp. 10–11 and referenced maps). Subsequently, beyond the Mandan villages, Lewis and Clark obtained a great deal of geographic information from Tribal people, information Clark then transcribed into sketches that still exist (Moulton, 1983, pp. 10–11; Wheat, 1958, pp. 40–43). The journals of Lewis and Clark include multiple descriptions of these interactions that resulted in knowledge not only about routes and topographical features along their track, but also about the geography of more distant places not directly observed by members of the expedition. Even though all of this important, detailed geographical information from Indigenous sources was incorporated into Clark's maps, it can be difficult to recognize it as such.

The most culturally distinct elements on maps that emerged from the encounters between Lewis and Clark and Indigenous informants involved language and words. Lewis and Clark recorded a substantial number of original place and ethnic names in their journals. When these Tribal names were applied to Clark's maps, a reader could easily see that the West was occupied by large numbers of Indigenous peoples. The imprint of original place names and ethnic names on Clark's map also made it clear that Indigenous peoples were significant contributors, indeed, co-authors, to these highly valued documents.

Maps as Conveyers of Social Knowledge

Map historian J.B. Harley (2001) wrote that within Euro-American mapping traditions, "As much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism" (p. 57). While this statement might be overreaching, it focuses attention on features of maps that convey socio-political rather than just geographical knowledge and how these features shape perception of other cultures. These elements include legends, symbols of power and possession (such as ships, flags, and boundaries), pictorial elements with stereotypical representations of people, and new place names.

For the Spanish, naming was a particularly important part of the ritual of establishing dominion and sovereignty in the Americas from the time of the first encounters (Greenblatt, 1991, pp. 86–92; Stewart, 1982, pp. 12, 73–75). Historian Stephen Greenblatt has examined how the application of European place names to the newly encountered American landscape in the sixteenth century was a form of "linguistic colonialism," perhaps even a first necessary step in the process of establishing empire. In its most egregious form, Greenblatt (1976) proposes that by "discarding the particular words . . . you have discarded the particular men" (p. 576).[4]

Place names established by Europeans were meant to be included on maps and in texts read by Europeans and to be understood within a European consciousness. For example, Christopher Columbus renamed the site of his first landfall, known to its inhabitants as *Guanahaní*, giving it the new name, San Salvador. He subsequently applied names of Spanish royalty to islands of what Europeans called (mistakenly) the West Indies, using *Española* (or Hispaniola, which became the modern Haiti and Dominican Republic) and *Juana* (Cuba). Original names were replaced or "mapped out." The new toponymy of the colonizing cultural group not only served a legal purpose in establishing possession, it also linked an identity of a place with one particular cultural group at the expense of any other (whether Indigenous or even another European group). Although the historical record is often sketchy in documenting Aboriginal names, it is highly likely that for every European name bestowed on a geographical feature, an Indigenous name was erased.

Cartographic naming and un-naming have been practiced by dominant culture groups in the Americas in every period of encounter since Columbus, including the earliest forays into the American West by Euro-Americans in the early nineteenth century. Lewis and Clark recorded a great number of Indigenous language place and Tribal names in their journals, and several scholarly studies on linguistic elements of the expedition have appeared over the years.[5] A review of this literature is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few examples may illustrate the use and fate of many of these place names. Here we will pay particular attention to how they were recorded on Clark's 1810 manuscript "Map of part of the continent of North America" and on the reduced printed version, "A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track Across the Western Portion of North America," published in 1814 (Wheat, 1958, pp. 49–60).

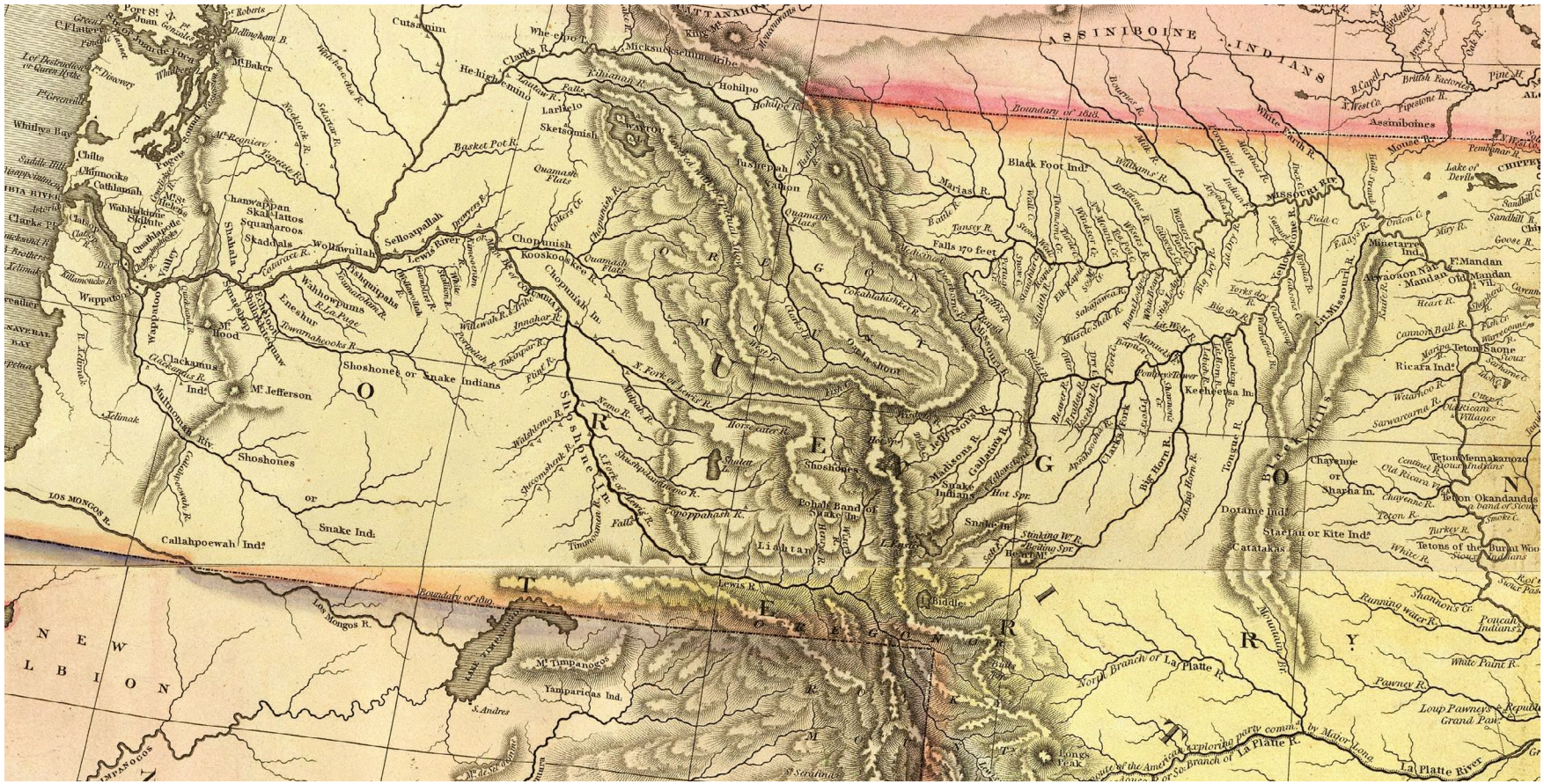
Many Tribal names were recorded in the journals, but never appeared on the maps: e.g., *Amahtearzzha* (a Hidatsa name for the Missouri River), *E-mah-tark',ah'-zhah* (Hidatsa for the Little Missouri River), *Ar-sar-ta* (of Crow or Mandan linguistic origin, the modern Big Horn River). Many Tribal names that appeared on Clark's maps were subsequently changed to English names, e.g., *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* (of Chinookan origin, became the *Deschutes River*), *Kooskooskee* (of Nez Perce origin, became the Clearwater River), *Tape-tett* (became the Yakima River), and a series of names of rivers draining into the upper Snake River (*Walsh le me, Tan mo a men, Cop pop pah ash, Nemo, Shusht-pellanimmo,* and *She-com-shink*) were renamed during subsequent fur trapping forays by Euro-Americans of the Hudson's Bay Company. Several Tribal names on the Clark maps retained phonetic links to their modern counterparts such as *Youmatolam* (from Nez Perce, the modern Umatilla River), *Wollawwollah* (from Sahaptin, the modern Walla Walla River). Only rarely will we see a Tribal name on the maps, such as the *Mult-no-mah* River, being changed subsequently to another name of Indigenous origin (e.g., the modern Willamette River) (Please note that the orthography of place names is not meant to be authorative. Spelling varies depending upon the source.)

Finally, for many locations, English names from the journals and on Clark's maps never reveal a Native source or predecessor, such as the Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin Rivers (unchanged on modern maps), the Philosophy River (modern Willow Creek), Wisdom River (modern Big Hole River), and Philanthropy River (modern Ruby River). Presumably, all of these rivers did have an Aboriginal name at the time of encounter among the local communities. But renaming was so prevalent, at least on Euro-American authored maps and among the waves of migrants who followed, that the authors of *Oregon Geographic Names* estimate that only about 6% of the modern place names in Oregon that they have examined are of Native American origin (McArthur & McArthur, 2003, pp. ix–xiii). Lewis and Clark historian Donald Jackson estimates that of the 148 names these men recorded for what became the state of Montana, only 20 were Indian names, and only half of those are still used on modern maps (Jackson, 1987, p. 88). These figures are a reminder not only of how linguistic and ethnic information is erased over time, but also how it can be partially recovered by reference to primary documents, such as Clark's original map. Interestingly,

even the newly applied European names were not always lasting, either, for Jackson also notes that of the 128 non-Indian names applied by Lewis and Clark, only 17 are still used.

Many readers of modern maps might be surprised at the extent of the erasure of a Tribal linguistic imprint on the American West as recorded on Clark's maps. Although this loss was uncoordinated and occurred in stages, the pace of extinction of Indigenous names and replacement with Euro-American ones was, nevertheless, rapid. Less than 60 years after the publication of the *History of the Expedition* and Clark's map, both government-sponsored and commercially produced maps contained mostly modern place names. Replacement of place names over time may not have always been calculated and intended to exert political or commercial control. Nonetheless, James Ronda has described the practice of renaming on maps as a "re-order[ing] [of the West] according to the passions and desires of those who followed behind Lewis and Clark" (Ronda, 2006, p. 127). Such practices gave little thought to the consequences for the Native communities whose identity was place-based and whose struggles to retain their own languages in a colonial environment were already very challenging.

The erasures of Indigenous names over time can be traced through an examination of some of the most authoritative large-scale maps of North America (and subsequently the United States) up to modern times. For example, on the 1816 influential "Map of the United States with the Contiguous British and Spanish Possessions" by Philadelphia mapmaker John Melish, and on the 1822 "A Map of North America Constructed According the Latest Information" by Henry Tanner, almost all of the nomenclature of Clark's 1814 map was retained (Wheat, 1960, pp. 62–64, 82–87). By 1838, however, Washington Hood's "Map of the United States Territory of Oregon" contained both modern place names in lieu of Clark's Tribal names as well as names in transition (e.g., *Chutes or Falls R. for Deschutes River, R. Eyakema for Yakima River,* and *Umatallow R. for Umatilla River*). Hood's map first appeared in a Congressional document advocating for an American occupation of the area that was then called the Oregon Territory (Wheat, 1960, pp. 160–162). The map received widespread attention and was used repeatedly over the next five years in similar publications calling for American expansion to the Pacific Northwest.



Tanner Map, 1822. Includes many place names from the 1814 Clark map. Adds features, such as the prominent regional boundary lines and the name "Oregon Terr." that reflected contemporary ideas of western expansion. Photo from a private collection, with the owner's permission.

Northern Boundary 1818
Southern Boundary 1819
TERRITORY
OF
OREGON
Saptin or Lewis or Gr. Snake R.
Columbia R.
Ft. Astoria or Clatsop or Ft. George
Ft. Vancouver
Ft. Nezperces
Ft. Okanagan
Ft. Colville
Ft. Nasqually
Ft. Umqua
Ft. Langley
Koolanie Ft.
Flathead or Clarkes River
Lewis and Clarkes Route
Rocky Mts.
Blue Mts.
Cascade Mts.
Rocky or Oregon Mts.
Columbia R.
Missouri River
Yellow Stone R.
Salt L.
Mt. Hood
Mt. Vancouver
Mt. Shasty
Mt. Rainier
Mt. St. Helens
Mt. Olympus
Pt. Discovery
Pt. Grenville
Grays Harb.
C. Shoalwater
C. Disappointment
C. Lookout
C. Foulweather
C. Perpetua
C. Gregory
C. Oxford or C. Blanco
Pt. S. George
Pt. S. Juan
Pt. Adams
Quicksand B.
Killimoux R.
Sequits R.
Nacte R.
Alcoyce R.
Ilonio R.
Umqua R.
Bridge R.
Elk R.
East Branch
Rouge
Clamet R. or Two-to-ner or Mc Leods R.
Clamet L.
Nasty R.
Shasty R.
Christmas R.
New Years Lake
Hot Spr.
Pit L.
Youxpell L.
Mc Laughlin
Mc Kenzie R.
Sandiham R.
Walla Mate R.
Pudding R.
Clackamus R.
Quicksand R.
Lehum R.
John Days R.
Crooked R.
Malheur R.
Burnt R.
Powder R.
Gd. Road R.
Wapticacoos or N. Branch of Lewis's R.
Alexander R.
Koos-koos-he or Salmon R.
Chopunnish or Ashnka R.
Canoe Camp
Priests leap
Yakama R.
Walla Walla R.
Gt. Bend
Tmatallow R.
Volcanic M.
Great L.
Cowlitz R.
Cathlatscow R.
Chekalis R.
Buckland R.
and Paquson Rapids
Columbia R.
Spokane R.
Coulee Plains
Pointed Hart Mt. L.
Old Ho.
Kuttespelm L.
Flathead L. or Selish
Portages
Flathead Ho.
Kettle Falls
Thompson's Rapids
Tobacco Pl.
Kootanie or Mc Gillivray or Flat Bow R.
Lower Ar. L.
Shimikoak Lake
Trout R.
Okanagan R.
Bellingham B.
Smiths I.
Possession Sd.
Admiralty Inl.
Boads Canal
Puget Sd.
Queenial B.
Waze R.
Shuxpellatima or Payette R.
Wagner or
Reeds R.
Owhee R.
Sylvilles R.
Gr. Rock R.
Brimeau R.
Stone Br.
Sickly R.
Salmon Falls
3 Butes
Riv. rises
Hot Spr.
Falls R.
Rock R.
Elanie R.
Charles R.
Reik R.
Poimeir R.
Blackfoot R. & Hill
Snake R.
Hays R.
Caps or Teons R.
Wisdom R.
Jeffersons R.
Hot Spr.
Canoes Left
Hot Spr. Brimstone
L. Eustis
Salt R.
Bidd
Shield R.
R. Across
Smiths R.
Rap.
Snow R.
Judith R.
Muscle Sh
Nyor R.
Field C.
Medicine R.
Tansey R.
Battle R.
Marias R.
Stone Wall R.
Stone wall R.
Thompsons R.
Windsor R.
N. Mountain R.
Macoutish R.
Lowis and Clarkes Rout
Deerborne R.
Mt. Olympus
Pt. Discovery
Admiralty Inl.
Boads Canal
Puget Sd.
Pt. Grenville
Grays Harb.
Chekalis R.
Buckland R.
Mt. Rainier
Priests leap
Yakama R.
Cowlitz R.
Cathlatscow R.
Mt. St. Helens
Volcanic M.
Great L.
Walla Walla R.
Gt. Bend
Tmatallow R.
Ft. Nezperces
Ft. Vancouver
Pt. Vancouver
Quicksand R.
Lehum R.
John Days R.
Crooked R.
Malheur R.
Burnt R.
Powder R.
Gd. Road R.
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Flathead L. or Selish
Kettle Falls
Thompson's Rapids
Ft. Colville
Koolanie Ft.
Tobacco Pl.
Kootanie or Mc Gillivray or Flat Bow R.
Lower Ar. L.
Shimikoak Lake
Trout R.
Okanagan R.
Ft. Okanagan
Spokane R.
Coulee Plains
Columbia R.
Piscous R.
Ft. Nasqually
Ft. Langley
Howes Sd.
Murrards Cl.
Bellingham B.
Smiths I.
Possession Sd.
Admiralty Inl.
Boads Canal
Puget Sd.
Pt. S. Juan
S. Gonzalo Pt.
Rocks
C. Flattery
Mt. Olympus
Pt. Discovery
Pt. Grenville
Grays Harb.
Chekalis R.
Mt. Rainier
Buckland R.
and Paquson Rapids
Columbia R.
Ft. Astoria or Clatsop or Ft. George
Pt. Adams
Quicksand B.
Killimoux R.
C. Lookout
C. Disappointment
C. Shoalwater
C. Foulweather
C. Perpetua
C. Gregory
C. Oxford or C. Blanco
Pt. S. George
Sequits R.
Nacte R.
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Ilonio R.
Umqua R.
Bridge R.
Elk R.
East Branch
Rouge
Clamet R. or Two-to-ner or Mc Leods R.
Clamet L.
Nasty R.
Shasty R.
Christmas R.
New Years Lake
Hot Spr.
Pit L.
Youxpell L.
Mc Laughlin
Mc Kenzie R.
Sandiham R.
Walla Mate R.
Pudding R.
Clackamus R.
Quicksand R.
Lehum R.
John Days R.
Crooked R.
Malheur R.
Burnt R.
Powder R.
Gd. Road R.
Wapticacoos or N. Branch of Lewis's R.
Alexander R.
Koos-koos-he or Salmon R.
Chopunnish or Ashnka R.
Canoe Camp
Priests leap
Yakama R.
Walla Walla R.
Gt. Bend
Tmatallow R.
Ft. Nezperces
Ft. Vancouver
Pt. Vancouver
Quicksand R.
Mt. Hood
Mt. Vancouver
Mt. Shasty
Mt. Rainier
Mt. St. Helens
Cowlitz R.
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Chekalis R.
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Okanagan R.
Ft. Okanagan
Ft. Colville
Koolanie Ft.
Ft. Nasqually
Ft. Langley
Howes Sd.
Murrards Cl.
Bellingham B.
Smiths I.
Possession Sd.
Admiralty Inl.
Boads Canal
Puget Sd.
Pt. S. Juan
S. Gonzalo Pt.
Rocks
C. Flattery
Mt. Olympus
Pt. Discovery
Pt. Grenville
Grays Harb.
Chekalis R.
Columbia R.
Piscous R.
Spokane R.
Coulee Plains

By 1857, U.S. Topographical Engineer Lieutenant Governor K. Warren's monumental "Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean" included even fewer of the Indigenous place names derived from Clark's map, although Warren did record many Tribal names in the West, including an early reference to the "Proposed Reservation/Coast Umpqua Willamette Indians" along a section of the Oregon coast (Wheat, 1960, pp, 84–91). This map was used in military and colonial administrative capacities for many years. It was meticulously compiled by Warren who tabulated 44 sources on the map beginning with the Clark map of 1814. No Tribal contributions were noted. One noteworthy river name on the Warren map deserves a brief digression, the *KoosKoosKee River,* also named the Clearwater River on this map. This was a pivotal river for Lewis and Clark, being the first navigable river they encountered on the western slope of the Continental Divide.

The Indigenous place name (Kouskouske) first appeared on an 1809 map, "Amerique Septentrionale" published by a Frenchman, Jean-Baptise Poirson in 1810 (Walker, 2005–2006, pp. 17–19). Poirson's source of information was a letter written by William Clark to his brother upon the expedition's return to St. Louis in September of 1806. The letter described the track of the expedition, noted many place names, and it was widely published. The name ("Kooskooske") appeared in this letter more often than any other river names except the Columbia and the Missouri. Considering the significance of this river to Lewis and Clark, the primacy of the Tribal name on a European-authored map, and the longevity of its survival on published maps, it is especially regrettable that the name was eventually displaced by its English translation, Clearwater.

In 1860, commercial mapmaker Joseph H. Colton's "Map of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, British Columbia & Montana" depicted territory in Oregon west of the Cascade Mountains as being filled with names of topographical features, settlements, and color-coded counties. Only east of the Cascades did map viewers see recognition of the Tribal presence (Klamathor Lutuana Indians, Mohla Indians and so on).

Warren Map, 1857. This small-scale map of "all of the explorations of our territory west of the Mississippi River" located many known and proposed locations (i.e., reservation sites) of Indigenous groups. Warren also drew in the routes of recent Army surveys and the planned terminal course of a transcontinental northern railroad. Photo from a private collection, with the owner's permission.

William Clark's map, published in 1814, transformed the geographical image of the American west for mapmakers in this country and in Europe. On Aaron Arrowsmith's earlier map of 1802 the conceptualized landscape of the West included a single low elevation mountain range extending north-south and a few simple dotted lines for rivers stretching across the continent from the mountains east to the Missouri River and west to the Pacific Ocean. Most of the entirety of the western continent was a blank space. Clark's map filled in the terrain and hydrography, and it also entered into the blank spaces names of Tribal groups: *Sho-sho-nes, Chin nook, Cathlamah, Clack a mus* and others, thus documenting that the region was extensively inhabited by Indigenous people. Most of these Tribal names were accompanied by Clark's estimate of the number of "souls" living in the area, located by the name. Clark's map gave a "spatial understanding" both of the complexity of the landscape and of the complexity and extent of the Native populations who lived there. This information was both geographic and social.

Over time maps of commercial mapmakers lost this layer of Tribal information in favor of layers of information that reflected increasing attention to the West as a place for the territorial expansion of the American Republic. In 1867 civil engineer William Keeler published a large map (88" x 39") under the direction of the U.S. Secretary of the Interior and with the supervision of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Keeler's "Map of the U.S. Territories, Pacific R.R. Routes, Mineral Lands, and Indian Reservations" was packed with names of towns, rivers, mountains, military forts, reservations, overland transportation routes, mineral resources, railroad lines, government surveys and more (Wheat, 1963, pp. 211–213). All of these layers of "progress" displaced almost any vestige of original Indigenous presence except for a few retained names of topographical features.

Keeler Map, 1867. In this U.S. Government sponsored "National Map," it would have been difficult to locate a presence of Native people. Keeler noted that his map would appeal to those interested in "the rapid advance of settlement, and in the development of new features of grandeur . . . and new sources of national wealth . . . ." Photo from a private collection, with the owner's permission.

Maps as Influential Discourse

Americans' concept of national sovereignty extending to the Pacific Ocean developed gradually and haltingly during the first four decades of the nineteenth century.[6] Discourse about American interests in the Pacific Northwest included intermittent but intense international diplomatic negotiations, presidential messages, congressional debates, editorial commentary, and an increasingly interested and opinionated cartographical literature. All of these layers of discourse were linked by their focus on a geographical area and by geopolitical events centered on that area. This discourse contributed to a gradually developing image of an American dominion of continental proportions extending into the Pacific Northwest. Armchair observers in the East would hardly know this was a place still populated and occupied by Tribal peoples. Diplomats, congressmen, newspaper editors, and mapmakers were all involved in the development and promotion of this image of a new, expanded nation both by describing and interpreting national and international events. Through the use of discourse, they pressed to make their dream a reality, flying in the face of the true situation on the ground.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the United States, Great Britain, Spain, and Russia all claimed sovereignty over some portion of the Tribal-controlled lands of the Pacific Northwest. By the middle of the second decade, Euro-American citizens in the East claimed a right to this vast region principally on the basis of three historical events: (a) Robert Gray's entrance into and naming of the Columbia River in May, 1792; (b) the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1803-06; and (c) the establishment of the private (but government approved) fur trading enterprise at Astoria in 1811. In 1814, the publication of the *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*, with the folded map originally drawn by Clark, achieved rapid international recognition. In the same year, an English edition of the History with its map was published in London; and in 1815, Adrien Hubert Brué in Paris published a wall map, "Carte Encyprotype de L'Amérique Septentrionale," that incorporated all of the new information from Clark's map. In 1816, John Melish in Philadelphia published his "Map of the United States," and in an accompanying memoir, Melish (1972) stated his intention to "show[s] at a glance the whole

extent of the United States territory from sea to sea" (p. 4). Of course, it would be many years before this region consisted of states within the American Republic. But the frenzy to map and claim continued; other American mapmakers followed Melish's example. In the Pacific Northwest, "new" features on updated editions of maps were often boundaries, legends, color codes, and place names that reflected the actions of non-Native diplomats and congressmen, fur traders, explorers, and settlers. These maps graphically represented how American cartographers tried to legitimize the expanding domain of their own socio-political group and, at the same time, delegitimize the sovereignty of both other imperial European nations and, crucially, Tribal nations in the Pacific Northwest.

At the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century, three main players—the United States, Great Britain, and Russia—continued to claim sovereignty over the Pacific Northwest, and they were contesting a northern boundary somewhere above 42 degrees North Latitude. Needless to say, these nations did not recognize Native dominion in the region. And yet, the United States still had no military presence there, and the only American commercial activity centered on a few vessels trading along the coast. Ambitious and imperialistic mapping had contributed significantly to the state of affairs.

While Henry Tanner's 1822 wall map, "Map of North America" continued to incorporate Native American information from Clark's map, he eliminated the numbers of "souls" attached to each ethnic group on Clark's map. Tanner overtly promoted his map as a patriotic (i.e., expansionist) document and for the first time attached the toponym "Oregon Terr." to a vast area extending east from the Pacific Northwest. Tanner adopted the name, Oregon Territory, from a bill introduced to Congress just six months previously by Representative John Floyd of Virginia. Tanner employed this new name, previously applied only to a river, to further promote Floyd's image of a new territory extending to the Pacific Ocean. Tanner's map received very favorable critical, testimonial, and editorial reviews, was purchased by congressional leaders, and influenced the cartographic literature of his contemporaries. Updated issues of the map continued to illustrate geographical information from Clark's map. What was different was the overlay of geopolitical information: color coding

that reflected territorial possessions, boundaries that reflected international negotiations, and new place names that reflected the accounts of Euro-American fur traders and explorers.

In the fourth to fifth decades of the nineteenth century, other mapmakers added additional layers of place names, boundaries, and other markers of a newly asserted sovereignty that helped define the identity of an expanding nation-state. In the 1850s the Federal government implemented a system of survey and sale of public lands in the West that resulted in yet another layer of boundaries of townships and ranges. This new information was incorporated into both government-issued and commercially-produced maps (Walker, 2002, pp. 44–51). These were constructions familiar to an American audience accustomed to cartographic and national-identity conventions of European origin. At the same time, of course, the identity of the region was being redefined for Tribal communities with their much-diminished input. The cartographies of Melish, Tanner and others both reflected and contributed to the contemporary rhetoric of congressional speeches, newspapers, and texts. Thus, these maps became influential political documents in the same manner as Congressman John Floyd's bill.

GLO Map, Oregon Territory, 1852. The U.S. General Land Office was responsible for western public land surveys that began in Oregon Territory in 1851. On this 1852 map, the overlay on the landscape of the rectangular survey grid and the prominent documentation of many northern Willamette Valley towns exemplifies the role of the map in the appropriation of territory and identification of favored occupants. Photo from a private collection, with the owner's permission.

Maps Reflecting Change in a Multicultural Society

In Western cultures place naming has been and continues to be a dynamic process over time. The more than 500-year historical record of printed maps of the Americas is replete with examples of naming and re-naming, some of which occurred over a relatively brief period of time. It took less than 60 years for most of the Indigenous names on Clark's 1814 map to be replaced, a process of effacement and re-naming that may be interpreted as either "cultural trespass" or "cultural change" according to historian Donald Jackson (1987, p. 85). This replacement was related to the repeated waves of Eastern migrants who converged on the western landscape after Lewis and Clark and displaced Tribal Nations, as exploration was followed by resource extraction, then by survey and settlement.

Naming and re-naming almost always have political and social implications that can be both appropriative and associative. These implications are particularly overt when the intent of the naming process is to appropriate territory. Clear examples of names as symbols of empire are the stamps of *"Nova Francia"* (New France), *"Hispania Nova"* (New Spain), and *"Nova Albion"* (New Albion, derived from an older name for Britain), over huge swaths of territory in North America on maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ironically, this occurred at a time when these regions were only sparsely populated by Europeans or not at all.

Map historian Christian Jacob (2006) refers to these "special cases" of naming when he observes, "It is an astonishing example when the original toponym is detached from the geographical country that it names in order to preserve only its symbolic and political meaning" (p. 205). Indeed, while the "symbolic and political meaning" of one cultural group may be thus transferred to another continent, it is lost for another cultural group whose very identity is often based on the place being re-inscribed. An example of the tenacity of such a practice is illustrative of how deeply embedded such cartographic practice had become. When the accounts of the voyages of George Vancouver were published in 1798, his "Chart Shewing Part of the Coast of N. W. America" carried the inscription, "Part of the Coast of New Albion," from about 35 degrees to about 45 degrees North Latitude.

Indeed, the possessive implication of the toponym "Quadra and Vancouver Island" that first appeared on maps in 1798 is a clear example of what geographical historian Daniel Clayton (2000) describes as a cartographic "construction of space" that helped to create an "imperial fashioning of Vancouver Island."[7] This process of using toponymy on maps with appropriative intent continues today. A recent example is the act by the British Foreign Office to name part of Antarctica as "Queen Elizabeth Land," a move that resulted in a prompt protest from Argentina, which also claims territorial rights in the region. Klaus Dodds, Professor of Geopolitics at Royal Holloway, University of London remarked, "I think it's provocative and it's significant because place-naming is one of the most powerful ways of reinforcing your sense of ownership of a territory, and the use of royalty is, in turn, the most powerful way of cementing a connection with the UK" (Rayner, 2012, n.p.).

But re-naming also sometimes functions in an associative manner when the intention is to connect the naming culture with a specific place, rather than, necessarily, a clear intention to possess or appropriate that place. The changing toponymy in the American West from the first half of the nineteenth century forward illustrates how powerful forms of a culturally specific discourse can occur via cartographic representations and can both construct and repress identities. Of course, this can—and apparently did—foreshadow and pave the way for expansionist action.

Geographic features may be largely immutable, but place names are not. For those communities who have experienced removal, exclusion, and erasure from Ancestrally charted territories, the recovery of some intellectual traditions can begin by re-inscribing the historic record with new maps and educational efforts. Cultural critic Edward Said (1994) has noted, "For the Native, the history of colonial servitude is inaugurated by loss of the locality to the outsider; its geographical identity must thereafter be searched for and somehow restored. Because of the presence of the colonizing outsider, the land is recoverable at first only through the imagination" (p. 225). Recovery and change in "things, concepts, conditions, processes or events" (Harley & Woodward, 1987) continue in many communities today, and these changes will be mapped. In recent years many groups have made significant efforts to re-establish Aboriginal place names on

maps of their communities (Wood, 2010, pp. 129–142). In New Zealand, the Geographic Board web site states, "place names are important landmarks of history and culture of our nation and communities. They honour the people who live in New Zealand." One of the Board's functions is to "collect original Maori names and encourage their use on maps and charts" (New Zealand Geographic Board, n. d.).

Tribal Place Names

In contrast to the newly imported place names that marked the European style paper maps produced during the age of geographic exploration and colonial expansion, Tribal place names along the Trail were not meant to reflect a systematic identification method that resulted from an initial scouting report. Instead of an expedient and symbolic naming process that was part of the discourse of appropriation just reviewed, most Tribal place names were the products of ancient and reciprocal relationships between the people and their abundant homelands (Nabokov, 2007). These place names emanated from complex connections between human communities and the ecosystem and their significance to cultural-geographic history cannot be overstated (Basso, 1996). In fact, when these place names are compared and contrasted with the colonial names that replaced them in the nineteenth century there are several noteworthy distinctions that become evident. Exploring these distinctions is a key to understanding the important history behind both the Tribal and non-Tribal place names. In the sections that follow, we focus on a few examples of how exploring Tribal place names along the Trail can reveal remarkable cultural history there and how the National Park Service (NPS) is Honoring Tribal Legacies today.

Conflicting Food Systems and Contradictory Worldviews

Along the Trail, peoples and their cultures depended upon ecosystem-specific food systems that were very different from the portable food systems of the European colonial tradition. The Tribal traditions of hunting buffalo in the Missouri River Country and fishing salmon in the Columbia River region were ancient ways of sustenance that enhanced Tribal peoples' knowledge of natural

and ecological processes (Cajete, 2000). The contrasting way of life that was foreshadowed onto the Trail by the Lewis and Clark expedition was based upon a self-contained and mobile economic foundation: farming and ranching on privately owned land. The European style farm with cows, sheep, goats, chickens, and pigs could be uprooted and transported anywhere in the world where the climate and environment was suitable for livestock. This system enabled European colonists to settle Tribal lands and draw profits from them—basically eliminating the dietary need for both wild game and wild plants. This colonial economic system conflicted dramatically, however, with Tribal wild food systems because it required that traditional and ancient food webs be either altered or eliminated entirely in order to make room for the colonial way of life.

Rather than settling the land and living outside of the boundaries of the wilderness, Tribal people along the Trail harvested all of their resources from the entirety of the landscape (Cajete, 2000). Even as an agricultural revolution based on corn, beans, and squash spread across the continent at least 800 years ago, the upper Missouri River and Columbia Plateau remained a place of hardy and wealthy hunters and gatherers. Through the synthesis of their knowledge, and the application of their skills and abilities, the Tribal people who lived along the Upper Missouri and Columbia Rivers flourished and enjoyed a level of wealth essentially unparalleled by other hunter-gatherer societies around the globe. Ample supplies of salmon and bison were the staple foods on either side of the Continental Divide, but there were also elk, deer, and antelope, as well as fish and wild plants. The predominant task for Tribal people along the Trail was to know their place on many different levels and layers, so that they understood metaphysical aspects of their world (Basso, 1996). As people of a ceremonial oral tradition, they learned most prominently about themselves and their world through first-hand experience and dreams. As knowledge of their place was constructed and shared within Tribal communities over the course of generations, the spirits of the land were also recognized as integral aspects of the world that warranted respect and acknowledgement (Deloria, 2006).

These conflicting ways of being on the land for survival represented the crux of the rationalizing the hostility towards Tribal nations that is associated with colonizing the Trail.

Moreover, these conflicting ways of being also signify the vastly dissimilar relationships that Tribal peoples and Euro-American colonists had with the land. It was these different ways of living that spawned the unique place names along the Trail. Contrary strategies for survival contributed to the dissimilar life experiences for Tribes and Euro-Americans, and these different cultural understandings were expressed through place names along the Trail (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001).

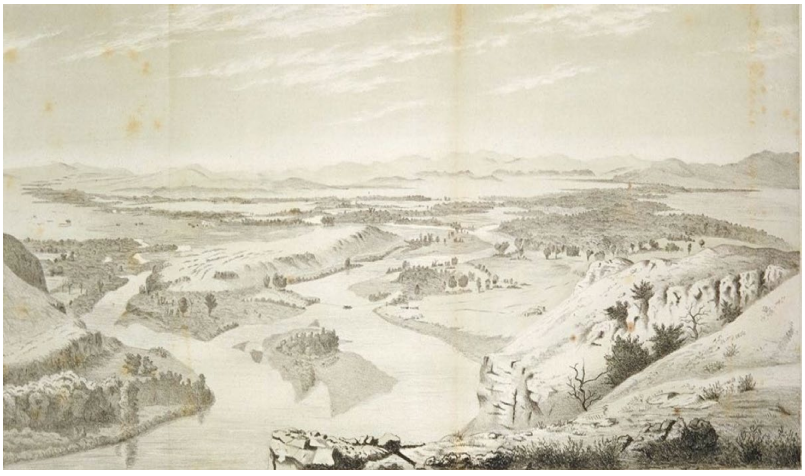
The Elk River. Photo by Mark Stevens. Creative Commons. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/14723335@N05/11374865404/

Inter-Tribal Place Names

The larger geographic features along the Trail, such as the major rivers, and mountain ranges, had all been named for thousands of years by the time the Lewis and Clark expedition traversed it in 1804–1806. Many of the places were named based on their essential qualities, so these names were shared in common by numerous and distinct Tribal communities throughout the region, regardless of their language or political affiliations. The Elk River is one example that demonstrates how many well-known and revered Tribal names were lost to literate history because they were expunged from Euro-American maps by early explorers. Dozens of Tribes and more

than six different Tribal language families translated "Elk River" into their own lexicon of cultural geography. Although there were numerous other, lesser-known titles that referred to the river, such as the Apsáalooke term "Whirlpool River," or the Salish title, "Hide Scraper River," the most commonly known name for today's Yellowstone River was historically "Elk River." Tribes like the Piegan (Blackfeet), Salish (Flathead), Shoshone, Tsistsistas (Cheyenne), and Nimiipuu (Nez Perce), all knew the modern Yellowstone as the Elk River, or among the Apsáalooke (Crow) it is known as E-chee-dick-karsh-ah-shay.

Lewis and Clark's most notable river-naming event occurred when their expedition reached the headwaters of the "Big River," also known as the Missouri River, in what is known today as the Gallatin Valley. The three rivers that come together at the west end of that "Valley Where the Rivers Mix," were named "Jefferson," "Madison," and "Gallatin" by Lewis and Clark in tribute to the political leaders of the day who proposed and funded their expedition. Two hundred years after Lewis and Clark named the three forks of the Big River—the Madison, Jefferson, and Gallatin—are now synonymous with Montana trout fishing, whitewater rafting, and the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem. Ironically, the official names of the rivers are forever linked to men who never even saw, much less drank from them.



Gallatin "City" in the Background; an A. E. Mathews' Sketch, published in 1868. Provided for Fair Use by the University of Cincinnati; retrieved from http://digitalprojects.libraries.uc.edu/exhibits/mathews/ For a marked-up version, see http://lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2621.

Like most places within the Tribal oral tradition, there were often numerous names for rivers and places, with variations common among Tribes and even within Tribal communities. However, the most well-known titles became inter-Tribal in their recognition. The ancient names of Baáchuuaashe "Berry River" (Gallatin), Aashalatatche "Where the River is Straight" (Madison),

and Iichíilaashe "Horse River" (Jefferson), have been largely lost to the dominant society, because they do not exist on any official map. But they are still on permanent record throughout Montana. Despite having been excluded from the official USGS maps, Tribal river names can be found on informational displays at the Headwaters State Park and also in some historic publications and numerous Tribally-specific maps produced by Tribal scholars for public and Tribal college use.

The three rivers that form the Missouri had especially meaningful names when they are considered from a cultural-geographic context. Each of their names signified a geographic fixture that played prominently in the northern Plains way of life. The "Chokecherry River," also known as the "Berry River," had the name of the predominant fruit of the Yellowstone region, wild berries. There were many types of berries that were harvested during the late summer by the Montana Tribes, including juneberries, huckleberries, and buffaloberries. However, the berry most commonly used in the Plains Indian recipe for the power-bar style snack known as "pemmican," was the chokecherry, which grows on trees.

Archaeological evidence indicates that people living on the northern Plains have been relying on these potent berries for life-sustaining nourishment for thousands of years. The chokecherry berries can be found in any area where water flows, but the Gallatin River was extremely abundant with these important trees, which were critical for not just food supplies, but for hardwood needs such as arrow shafts and tipi pins and stakes. The Tribes often used fire to clear competitive undergrowth from other plants, giving the chokecherry trees an ecological advantage and ensuring their continued success.

Chokecherry tree. Photo by Per Verdonk. Creative Commons. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/per_verdonk/9518478837/

The anti-oxidant value of the chokecherry berries are some of the highest of any berry in the world, as the magenta-colored fruits contain a

mega-dose of flavonoids, the anti-cancer compound found in most berries (Li, et al., 2009). The hardiness of the chokecherry trees and the healing qualities of their fruit were just part of their strengths, as the tart flavor was especially delicious dried in patties or mixed with wild game. All of these wonderful benefits of chokecherry trees made them the most utilized berry on the northern Plains. As a direct contrast to the seldom-referenced name "chokecherry," which makes more sense locally, the name "Gallatin" is used for dozens of official places and organizations, including the Gallatin Valley and Gallatin Canyon, as well as Gallatin County and Gallatin College.

Continuity and Destruction: Same Place Name, Different Explanation

Before Manifest Destiny resulted in major changes on the landscape, life for humans in the Yellowstone River region was constantly hazardous, but endlessly enriching, especially for ceremonial life. The ceremonies of the northern Plains Tribes empowered individuals and communities to connect with the spirits of the land (Medicine Crow, 1992). An elemental part of Tribal life in the northern Plains and Plateau region was to fast without food and water at sacred sites. This act of sacrifice allowed individuals to communicate directly with the spirits of their homeland and receive important revelations, which could then be shared with the Tribal community (Medicine Crow, 1992). The continuous cycle of seeking and receiving visions are what helped to guide Tribal leaders through perilous and confusing episodes in order to give continuity to generational transitions (Peat, 2002).

The Crazy Mountains of south-central Montana are a sacred place where Tribal people have visited to fast and pray for millennia. During the summer of 1804, as the Lewis and Clark expedition traveled by canoe up the Missouri River, a famous Apsáalooke chief named Alapooish (Sore Belly) fasted on top of the highest peak in the Crazy Mountains and received a powerful dream that helped to propel him into history as a leader on the northern Plains (Medicine Crow, 1992). Alapooish was just one of many important chiefs to fast and receive revelations in the Crazy Mountains. One of the most famous Apsáalooke chiefs, Alaxchíia Ahú (Plenty Coups),

also received a key dream while fasting there as an adolescent in 1861. In his vision, Alaxchíia Ahú foresaw the Virginia City Gold Rush and the opening of the Bozeman Trail, which informed his Tribe's diplomatic decisions when the invasion of the Crow homeland began in 1864 (Linderman, 2002).

Alaxchíia Ahú (Plenty Coups). He Sought and Received Medicine in the Crazy Mountains. Photographic portrait by Edward S. Curtis; image in the public domain and hosted by the Library of Congress, retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plenty_Coups - media-viewer/File:Plenty_Coups_Edward_Curtis_Portrait_(c1908).jpg

The picturesque Crazy Mountains were known to the Apsáalooke people as Awaxaawapìa Pìa, roughly translated as "Ominous Mountains." An even rougher translation of "Pia" could be the English term "crazy," because it infers an extreme and unpredictable nature. Awaxaawapìa Pìa were well known for their unique qualities that included their stark physical stature, their ability to draw storm clouds upon them at any time, and their metaphysical power which was always abundant and potent for those who sought it in the mountains.

The contemporary tale of how the Crazy Mountains got their present name is based on an 1870's yarn of how a pioneer family was ambushed and killed by Piegan (Blackfeet) Tribal members, with only one person, a woman, surviving the encounter. According to this popularized legend, the distraught woman escaped from the "Indians'" grasp and disappeared into the wild and treacherous mountains, surviving there in isolation as a crazy outcast. Although highly dubious, the myth of how the "Crazy Woman Mountains" became the Crazy Mountains is written on a Montana highway road sign at the Interstate 90 rest area about ten miles east of Big Timber.

The sign and the story have provided countless travelers with a violent and melodramatic explanation of how the majestic Crazy Mountains were christened. In this version of events, the Crazies become symbolic of how the early pioneers suffered untold tragedies before ultimately winning the West. The appalling story of a pioneer family mercilessly attacked by "Indian" warriors fits handily with colonial assumptions about Tribal aggression and provides moral justification for removing the Piegan (Blackfeet) and others from the Crazy Mountain region. The Tribal oral traditions, which describe how the Crazy Mountains manifested their name, have been largely lost to history, but the contrasting spirit of the stories reveals their potency as cultural tools for understanding our shared history.

Awaxaawapìa Pìa (The Crazy Mountains). A public domain image by Mike Cline, from Wikipedia Commons; retrieved from http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/37/PeaksinCrazyMountains.jpg.

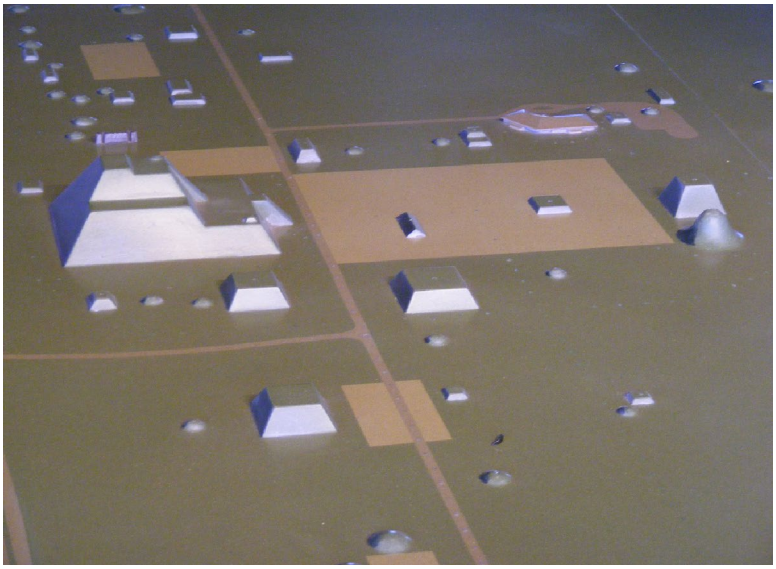
Science of Space and Place

Tribal place names often reflect a deep and complex understanding of the characteristics of the place, and the names themselves can be linked to the diverse nature of culture in North

America. One example of a place name that provides a deeper understanding of the way of life of the region is located along the E-chee-dick-karsh-ah-shay (Elk River) or now commonly known as the Yellowstone River, near present day Springdale. The place is known by the Apsáalooke people as Xooxaashe Alatshiile Awooshisee (Where the Corn Was Planted and Died). When this name is considered within a cultural and historical context, it provides a profound insight into the human experience in the region, and explains why the hunter-gatherer economy continued to be the dominant way of life in the area.

As the name suggests, members of the Apsáalooke population attempted to grow corn along the Yellowstone River at an early point upon their arrival in the region. Being former horticulturalists who had migrated to the northern Plains following a man's vision of a promised land, the Apsáalooke people learned through trial and error that some of their traditional economic practices, such as growing corn, would no longer be the best option in their new homeland (Nabokov, 2007).

It was the Ancestors of the Siouan speaking people, including the modern day Crow Tribe, who had successfully taken corn agriculture from the ancient mega-city of Cahokia (St. Louis) on the Mississippi River and established a permanent farming village and trade center at the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers. Utilizing stories and other elements within the Apsáalooke (Crow) Tribe's oral tradition, the Tribe's cultural historians have linked the group to the Cahokian Mound builders of around 1200 AD (Apsáalooke Tribal History Project, 2002–2012).



Cahokia City Model; a detail of a public domain image by John W. Schulze in Flickr; retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/gruenemann/4515283543/

But as these intrepid voyagers and savvy agriculturalists ventured further west, they learned to come to terms with their new place that was inhospitable to growing corn. Through their lived experience on the land, they simultaneously formed their own identity and also marked their on-going history through the meaningful act of place naming. Far beyond simply assigning a familiar title to a commonly known space, the outcome of place names was also significant for its singular ability to embed and chronicle the story of a people's survival on the land. The Tribal place names animate and enliven the natural world, making the landscape an open book of countless stories to be interpreted by wisdom keepers and passed along to future generations. As new people in a new land, the Apsáalooke composed a survivors' guide by bestowing place names that chronicled their lessons learned.

According to their oral history, there were at least two other areas along the E-chee-dick-karsh-ah-shay or Yellowstone River: the Hagen Site, near modern-day Glendive, and the area around the mouth of the Rosebud Creek, near present day Miles City, where corn was planted but did not grow successfully. Fortunately for the Tribe, although the corn may have died, the people persevered in the Yellowstone region. As a clever, flexible, and opportunistic community, the Apsáalooke people quickly learned how to make the most of the economic opportunities available to them. They adapted their way of life to the land and climate and overall resources, and they learned to thrive in their homeland (Medicine Crow, 1992).

The deeper, unseen story behind this Apsáalooke place name, Xooxaashe Alatshiile Awooshisee (Where the Corn Was Planted and Died), signifies a profound amount of cultural, historical, and geographic data (Apsáalooke Tribal History Project, 2002–2012). The name connects people to places, places to climates, and climates to economy. Like so many Tribal places along the Trail, the name is drawn from a complex history of how people came to know the specific area. Every explanation behind a place name is unique and different, yet the root of each story is connected by the same interactional processes and through a web of relationships that stretch across time and space. The Tribal place names indicate that the places have a spirit and character of their own, and the stories describe how people have engaged with and perceived the spirit of that place.

Traditionally, Tribal elders shared these stories with younger members of the community, in many different kinds of venues, but most obviously around campfires during the winter, or while traversing the land on a hunt or wild plant harvest. Elders still share stories about Tribal place names today, in the twenty-first century, but times have changed. As Tribal communities see the passing of elders, the oral histories are slowly fading, and digital recordings and paper maps have begun to play a more prominent role in how young Tribal members learn about their Ancestral history. Yet, while the knowledge of the place names can still be transmitted without personal interaction, it is often the familial relationship that translates into a closer sense of connection to the land for the younger generations.

Hide Scraper Mountain as seen from the Mission Creek Agency. Photo by Shane Doyle.

Another site along the E-chee-dick-karsh-ah-shay River that is significant to all of the Tribes of the region is an enormous granite escarpment located about 15 miles east of Livingston, along the north side of the river. The high hill is identified on the map today as "Sheep Mountain," but traditionally, some Tribes knew it as "Hide Scraper" (Apsáalooke Tribal History Project, 2002–2012). The mountain acquired its name because of its obvious resemblance to a giant rock tool, commonly utilized by Plains Tribes for cleaning and processing animal skins. As the largest landmark along the river's eastward path, the mountain is a significant site for many reasons, and its traditional name reveals its quintessential role in the upper Yellowstone region's hunter-gatherer economy. During the cold winter months, Tribal communities set up their lodges in the nearby creek valleys, giving the people shelter from the wind, as well as access to water and firewood. All of the streams that flow near the Hide Scraper Mountain are smaller tributaries of the Yellowstone River.

The ancient name reveals the singular importance of hides and hide preparation in the Plains Tribal way of life. Hide scrapers were common tools that could be found in every tipi, and they were used on a daily basis, often for hours on end, and for months at a time, during the summer and fall harvests. During processing the tools were used to scrape any flesh or other irregularities off from the animal skins, preparing them to be further processed into either soft and pliable buckskin or hard and tough rawhide. The dry climate of the region allowed the hides to maintain their protective qualities for years without degrading and rotting away. In fact, animal skins formed the building blocks of Plains Tribal society.

The Hide Scraper is a striking landform, rising up majestically, 2,000 feet above the Yellowstone Valley—its steep rock facade peering due south, toward the north face of the Absaroka Mountain Range. Standing prominently as a symbolic beacon of the Plains Tribal economic way of life, the Hide Scraper beckons both hunters and animals alike, like a lighthouse in the midst of a sea of high, rolling hills and rugged mountain horizons. It was such a well-known and definitive spot for so many Tribes in the region, the Salish people often referred to the E-chee-dick-karsh-ah-shay or Yellowstone River itself as the Hide Scraper River, according to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council (2008). The Hide Scraper promontory is located about 15 miles west and upstream from Xooxaashe Alatshiile Awooshisee (Where the Corn Was Planted and Died), and offers a stunning view of the nearby Awaxaawapìa Pìa (Crazy Mountains) to the north.

Standing atop the mountain provides a 360-degree panoramic observation spot, with hundreds of square miles in plain view, so if game was not within close striking distance, it could likely be spotted in the area with the naked eye. The northward side of the Hide Scraper is a grassy plateau and sloping hill, providing a large pasture for migrating herds of bison, elk, deer, and antelope. Historically, the mountains' natural shape and prominent location along the river have made it a year-round Mecca for most animals crossing its southwest corridor and continuing into the high country of the Yellowstone caldera. Across time, as game animals traversed the trails over and around the mountain, hunters took advantage of the prime grounds to harvest meat and hides.

Huge numbers of wild game provided both food and the raw materials for the hide-based culture. Tanned hides were the textile material utilized for creating mobile homes, or tipis, which were perfect shelters to accommodate the hunter-gatherer way of life. An average winter encampment of 20 lodges would process and store 4,000–5,000 pounds of meat for a winter's supply, and all of the skins from those harvests were utilized as well—brain-tanned hides for new lodges and clothing and rawhide for such items as drums and parfleche suitcases or bags. During the long winter nights, hide clothing would be embroidered with dyed porcupine quills and, in the nineteenth century, decorated with glass beads.

The mountain's place within the regional topography made it a central point of cultural affinity for thousands of years, and its name provides the link to that remarkable time in history. As recently as 2011, local hikers out for a walk with their dog discovered an obsidian rock cache totaling over 21 pieces and 16 pounds. This glass rock was discovered within several miles of the mountain and was dated to 2,000 BC. It is believed that the obsidian was taken from the Obsidian Cliff in Yellowstone Park. It was likely delivered by foot to the Hide Scraper Creek and left as a stash for Tribal hunters who would use the obsidian pieces to fashion arrow points.

The new identity of the mountain, Sheep Mountain, contrasts strikingly with its ancient Tribal name, which offered the world an opportunity to gain greater insight into the ancient northern Plains Tribal culture. The modern, official name of Sheep Mountain conveys the settlement of a new type of animal and a new way of life. The wild place was tamed and in recognition of this transformation, it was christened with the name of a domesticated animal of Biblical lore, "sheep." Sheep Mountain symbolizes the dawn of a new way of life in the Yellowstone region, just as the creek that flows directly across from it is now known as "Mission," to signify the Christian evangelism that came along with Manifest Destiny.

Modern Legacy

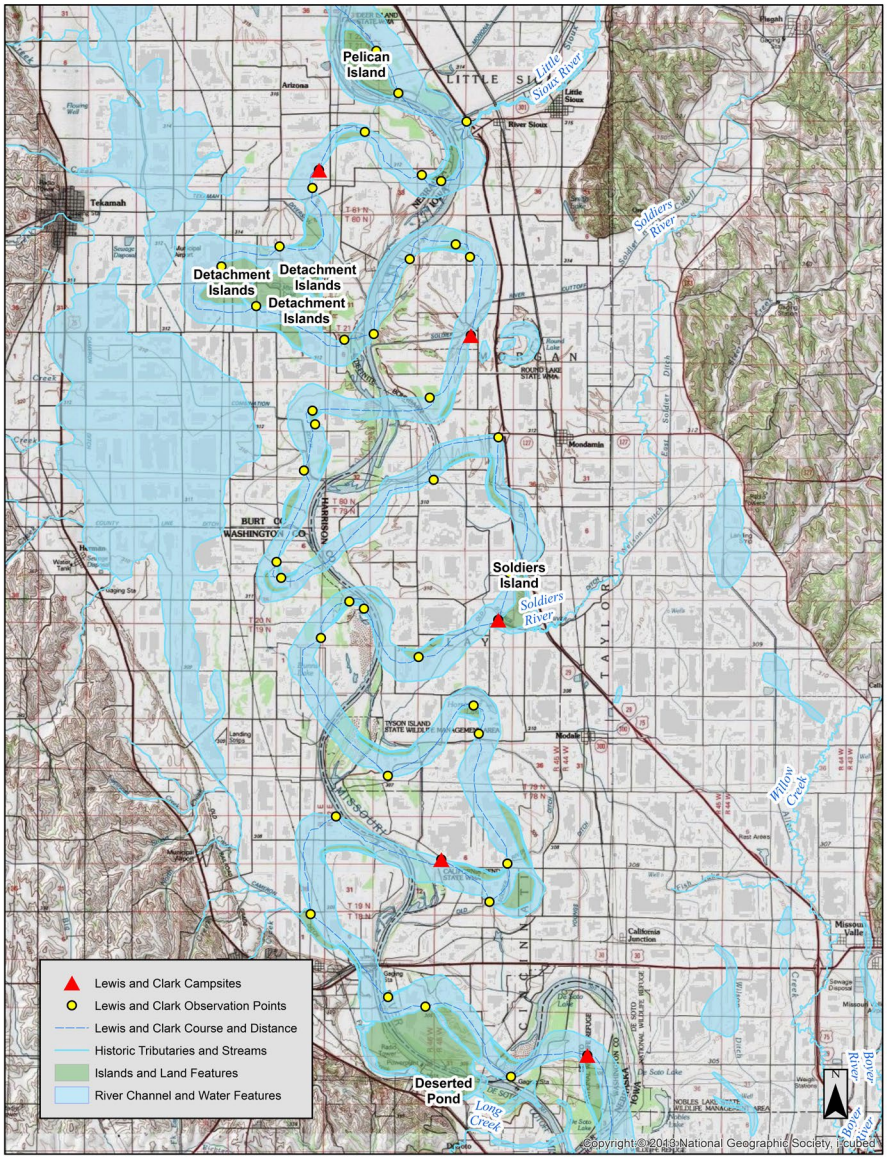
Although most Tribal place names of significance along the Trail are not on any contemporary map, the National Park Service of the twenty-first century is now Honoring Tribal Legacies along

the Trail by recovering and celebrating them. Recovering the original Ancestral Tribal place-names and hearing the stories that explain and accompany those names is an empowering learning experience because it allows students to "peel back" a layer of time and modern culture, and to reveal in their mind's eye the living landscape as the first peoples there knew it. Experiences of this type transform one-dimensional information into multifaceted social, scientific, and historical knowledge and deepen students' own connections with the land, creating a more significant impact on their internalized investment in ecological, social, and environmental action. This contemporary model of educational collaboration also decolonizes the traditional narrative of the Trail and offers students a more complete and authentic perspective from which to recognize and appreciate both the Trail and the American West.

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Mapping

The Trail was profoundly changed by the collaboration that took place during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, especially with the involvement of the Circle of Tribal Advisors, the creation of *Enough Good People* (2009), and the integration of more than 400 Native voices and over 1,800 hours of Tribal presentations in the Tent of Many Voices. As the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial concluded, the National Park Service shifted the focus of the administration of the Trail from coordinating commemorative events to protecting resources, providing for visitor use and enjoyment of the Trail, and offering technical assistance to partners. This shift in focus resulted in an operations analysis of the staff positions that would be needed to adequately address complex issues along a long, linear trail that covers a broad geographic extent and passes through numerous areas of mixed land ownership where natural, cultural, and recreational resources vary considerably. A Core Operations Analysis identified Geographic Information Systems (GIS) as being perfectly suited to address the unique and complex challenges faced by the National Trails System, as they allow users to visualize, question, analyze, and interpret spatial data in order to understand relationships, patterns, and trends. GIS-based maps can also be used to help understand situations and scenarios, make decisions, and improve communication.

In 2008, the NPS began building a comprehensive GIS program to better protect and interpret the natural, cultural, and recreational resources of the Trail. This would involve assembling as much existing geographic data about the resources of the Trail as possible and developing new layers of information to be used in mapping projects in order to understand the complexity of the Trail, respond to resource threats, and provide support and information to staff, partners, and visitors. Much of the natural and recreational resource GIS data were readily available for inclusion in the Trail's GIS, while cultural resource GIS data were much less accessible. Perhaps most surprisingly, accurate historical data on the Lewis and Clark expedition largely had yet to be researched and compiled.



GIS Data Illustrating the Historic Route of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
Image courtesy of the Environmental Systems Research Institute and the National Geographic Society.

Early in 2008, Trail staff were approached by members of a group interested in historic sites of importance to Omaha cultural heritage. As a result, the National Park Service staff at the Trail and the Midwest Archeological Center, the Geographic Resources Center at the University of Missouri-Columbia, and the Omaha Tribal Historical Research Project entered into a joint project conducting collaborative ethnohistorical, cartographic, and non-intrusive geophysical archaeological research at several sites along the Trail. Part of this project entailed using the information recorded in the Lewis and Clark journals and the maps of Captain Clark to cartographically reconstruct the historic 1804–1806 channel of the Missouri River, the route of the Corps of Discovery, the location of cultural sites, as well as the place names given to physical features by Lewis and Clark. The geographic data was then linked to the University of Nebraska's online Journals of Lewis and Clark. The cartographic reconstruction of Lewis and Clark's historic route was developed by James D. Harlan of the University of Missouri-Columbia and was completed for the entire Missouri River in 2012. GIS data for other scholarly research on the historic route of the Lewis and Clark Trail was also developed and compiled, including the Lewis and Clark campsites located by Robert Bergantino, the trail cartography developed by Martin Plamondon, and the GPS data for the overland portion of the trail between the Missouri and Columbia Rivers collected by Steve Russell.

The important cartographic information revealed from the development of the GIS data for the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail contrasts with the popularly held notion that Lewis and Clark were blazing a new trail through an empty and previously uncharted wilderness. Rather, as many Tribal and non-Tribal scholars and historians now know, they were following an ancient and well-recognized system of trade routes that had been used since time immemorial (Allen, 1975; Moulton, 1983; Ronda, 1987; Wood, 1987; Wood, 2003). As already demonstrated above, the place names given by Lewis and Clark often memorialized members of the expedition or prominent political figures, events and occurrences that took place on the journey, or remarkable characteristics of the landscape. Place names applied by early European explorers are also found on Clark's maps (Wood, 1987). For example, Clark relied heavily on the "Indian Office Map" created in 1797 by traders James Mackay and John Evans, which charted the Missouri River all the way to

Little Missouri R.
Yellow Stone R.
Tongue
Little Big Horn R.
Milk R.
Bratton's R.
Wiser's Cr.
Teapot Cr.
RIVER
MISSOURI
North Mountain Cr.
Windsor Cr.
Turtle Cr.
Thomson's Cr.
Stone Wall Cr
Foot Indians
3500 Souls.
Black
Rocky Mountain
Dearborn's R.
Medicine R.
Marias R.
Battle R.
Point of Observation
Shannon's Cr.
Pompey's Tower
Manuel's Fort 1809
Pryor's fork
Fork
Fort Cr.
Dry Cr.
Otter R.
Beaver R.
Rosebud R.
Big Dry R.
Little Dry R.
Big Dry Cr.
Arrapha R.
Porcupine R.
Milk's R.
Missouri R.
Yellow Stone R.
Shield R.
Judith R.
Big Horn R.
Stinking R.
Clarks R.
Columbia R.
Missouri R.
Lewis's R.
Field R.
Travellers Rest
Track Cr.
Cotter's route in 1807
Cotter's route in 1808
Dolame 120 Souls.
Chayenne Indians
Snake Indians
Flat Heads
Kooskooske R.
Lochsa R.
Kamenestiquah R.
Mar-shas-kap R.
Big Dry R.
Yorke's Dry R.
Samuel R.
Argalia Cr
Gibson's Cr.
Oahtarcum Cr.
War-har-sa R.
Field Cr.
Lake Horn
Lochsa R.
Pine Cr.
Gibson's Cr.
Warner's Run
Burnt Lodge Cr.
Little Wolf R.
Bowyer's Cr.
Porcupine R.
Arrapha R.
Big Dry R.
Little Dry R.
Big Dry Cr.
Yorke's Dry R.
Indian R.
Two Medicine R.
Marias R.
Battle R.
Teton R.
Medicine R.
Dearborn's R.
Rocky Mountain
Smith's
Stinking R.
Judith R.
Shield R.
Big Horn R.
Stone Walls
Stinking R.
Stone Wall Cr
Foot Indians
3500 Souls.
Black
Marias R.
Battle R.
Teton R.
Medicine R.
Dearborn's R.
Rocky Mountain
Smith's
Point of Observation
Missouri R.
Yellow Stone R.
Shield R.
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Mar-shas-kap R.
Big Dry R.
Yorke's Dry R.
Samuel R.
Argalia Cr
Gibson's Cr.
Oahtarcum Cr.
War-har-sa R.
Field Cr.
Lake Horn
Lochsa R.
Pine Cr.
Gibson's Cr.
Warner's Run
Burnt Lodge Cr.
Little Wolf R.
Bowyer's Cr.
Porcupine R.
Arrapha R.
Big Dry R.
Little Dry R.
Big Dry Cr.
Yorke's Dry R.
Indian R.
Two Medicine R.
Marias R.
Battle R.
Teton R.
Medicine R.
Dearborn's R.
Rocky Mountain
Smith's
Stinking R.
Judith R.
Shield R.
Big Horn R.
Stinking R.
Stone Walls

the Mandan Villages. Original place names and their English translations also appear sporadically on Clark's maps (Jackson, 1987). By the late 1800s, most Indigenous place names—and indeed most of the new place names given by Lewis and Clark—were replaced by subsequent fur traders, scientists, geographers, cartographers, and emigrants, as James Walker has documented here (and see Jackson, 1987).

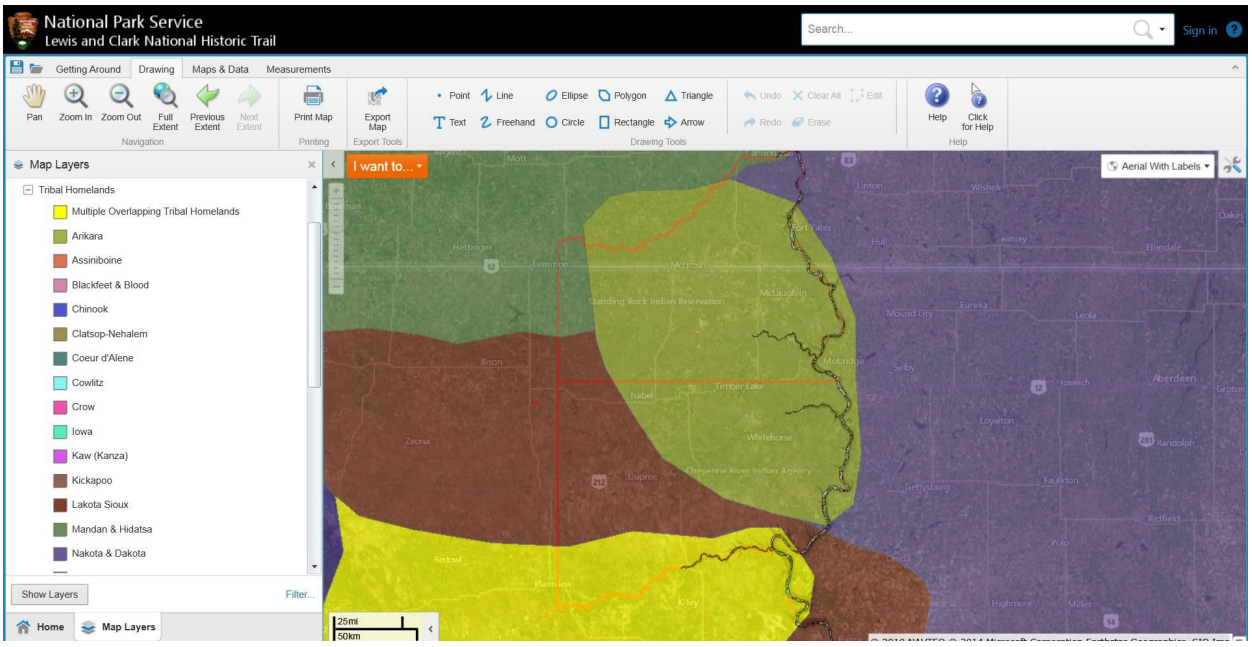
Mackay-Evans Indian Office Map of 1797, detail. Image in the public domain.

Illuminating Original Place Names—The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Atlas

In 2012, the National Park Service completed the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail *Foundation Document* (2012), which is a formal statement of the Trail's core mission and provides basic guidance for all planning and management decisions. The *Foundation Document* identifies the purpose, significance, and fundamental resources and values of the Trail. It underscores the

Trail's commitment to understanding and respecting the numerous perspectives and interpretations of the encounters between the Corps of Discovery and Tribal Nations whose lands they were traveling through. The Trail provides an opportunity to explore and share diverse perspectives in order to provide a better understanding of the collective history of the United States.

One important component of this *Foundation Document* is the *Trail Atlas*, a dynamic, interactive, user-friendly mapping site that contains a number of the Trail's different geographic layers of information, including historical data, natural and cultural resource GIS layers, recreational layers for visitors, and attributes and links to further information. The *Atlas* program was originally created by the National Park Service Planning Division to give staff access to the most important GIS layers in order to help make planning decisions, regardless of their level of experience with GIS. Trail leadership and Trail backers saw the value in the *Trail Atlas* beyond its original purpose as an internal tool for staff planning activities. They envisioned the *Atlas* as an interactive tool for partners and educators along the Trail and a portal into the world of the Lewis and Clark Trail for the public. Trail staff collaborated with the National Park Service's Denver Service Center to make the *Atlas* publicly accessible on the web. The *Trail Atlas* serves out the geographic information gathered through collaborative projects, and it can be used by anyone to create and share their own custom maps.



Screenshot from Trail Atlas, showing geographic data layers and customization ability. Image courtesy of the National Park Service.

Unlike a traditional atlas, which consists of static maps with a specific number of geographic layers printed at a particular set scale, the *Trail Atlas* allows users to zoom in and out of areas of interest and choose the geographic extent and scale at which they want to view the map. Users can turn layers of information on and off in the Table of Contents; display different backgrounds (e.g. aerial photography, topographic maps, street maps); draw and add directly on the web map; export and print customized maps; add personalized geographic information and GPS data to the map; measure distance and area; find latitude and longitude coordinates; and, view photos and links for more information on the web. For ease of use, Trail GIS layers are organized in the Table of Contents by theme and, as time and resources allow, more data layers and tools are continually being added to the *Atlas*. The data in the web map are also accessible through a variety of clickable links to websites that provide a wealth of additional information about the Trail, including the online Journals of Lewis and Clark.

A close examination of *Trail Atlas* use has revealed three primary groups of users who have been creating custom projects—trail visitors, agency partners, and educators. In 2013 and 2014, National Park Service staff created training videos that they put on *YouTube* and conducted workshops on the *Trail Atlas* for educators, interpreters, and scholars. Feedback at a workshop held at the University of Montana as part of the Gilder Lehrman Institute resulted in the development and release of a mobile version of the *Atlas* that does not require the installation of additional plug-ins or software, which may be used on smart phones, tablets, and other mobile devices. Trail staff are proposing that educators use the *Atlas* as a tool to rediscover and map original place names along the Trail, working with their students. Ancestral place names may be identified and re-written on this map and could be used to identify the relationships between the landscape and peoples of this vast region. The *Atlas* can be seen as a tool for empowerment and can be used to reach back to reveal the landscape as people originally knew it. Projects developed in the *Atlas* can be printed, exported, and shared with others. Additions and modifications to the Atlas can be continually developed. By illuminating ancient place names using the *Trail Atlas*, traditional narratives of Lewis and Clark as discoverers filling in the empty spaces on the map can be altered to provide a more complete and authentic view of American history.

Endnotes

[1] Dr. Walker wishes to acknowledge our editor, Dr. Stephanie Wood, for her assistance with this essay. He is also appreciative of the editing recommendations of Dr. Barbara Walker.

[2] This expansive literature owes a great deal to the early work of the late J. B. Harley, many of whose essays were published in J. B. Harley's contributions to *The New Nature of Maps*, ed. by Paul Laxton (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). For a seminal work of interpretation of how maps influence us, see Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*, translated from the French by Tom Conley and edited by Edward H. Dahl (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006). A more recent study of the authority of maps and many contemporary map practices, see Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 2010).

[3] Some of this extensive literature, spanning several centuries, has been reviewed recently by Patrick Gautier Dalche, "The Reception of Ptolemy's *Geography* (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)" in *The History of Cartography, Volume Three, Part 1, Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 282–364; also John P. Snyder, "Map Projections in the Renaissance" in the same volume, pp. 365–381.

[4] In his chapter on "Linguistic Colonialism" (pp. 561–580) Greenblatt discusses the Spanish perception that the unfamiliar nature of New World languages implied that the Indians were at best culturally uncivilized and at worst sub-human. Greenblatt's broader theme is how the Spanish linked this judgment with the business of conquest such that (the Spanish) language was considered "the perfect instrument of empire."

[5] Much of the following section is based on the work of Donald Jackson, *Among Sleeping Giants: Occasional Pieces on Lewis and Clark* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 75–123; William Bright, "A Glossary of Native American Toponyms and Ethnonyms from the Lewis and Clark Journals," in Names 52:3 (September 2004), pp. 163–237 and on-line as http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?_xmlsrc=lc.bright.01&_xslsrc=LCstyles.xsl; and, James

P. Ronda, *Finding the West: Explorations of Lewis and Clark* (Albuquerque, Minn.: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), pp. 126–127. For a summary of place name information on the water tributaries from the mouth of the Missouri River to the Mandan villages as of the winter of 1805, see Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, Volume 3 August 25, 1804–April 6, 1805* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), pp. 269–283.

[6] Much of the discussion in this section comes from James V. Walker, "Henry S. Tanner and Cartographic Expression of American Expansionism in the 1820s," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (Winter, 2010), pp. 416–443.

[7] In this masterful study of pre-colonial and colonial periods of Native-European encounters on Vancouver Island, Clayton explores "cartographic and geopolitical processes of inscription [as] modes of appropriation that prepared the ground for colonists" (p. 234). Although his research is focused on Vancouver Island, Clayton's observations about the possessive role of European mapping conventions such as place naming apply equally to elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest and, indeed, to many other occupied regions in the world. See also, Ken G. Brealey, "Mapping Them 'Out': Euro-Canadian Cartography and the Appropriation of the Nuxalk and Ts'ilhqot' in First Nations' Territories, 1793–1916, *The Canadian Geographer 39*(2). (June, 1995), pp. 140–156.

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CHAPTER 4

"With Utmost Good Faith": Cultivating Sustainable Relationships between Tribes and Other Stakeholders

President Gerald Ford with Fort Peck Tribal Councilman Caleb Shields at the White House, at the end of the Trail of Self-Determination Caravan to Washington, D.C., July 16, 1976. The President later sent Mr. Shields a copy of the picture with a letter. Photo courtesy of Mike Jetty, with permission from Caleb Shields.

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WORKING TOGETHER

The Tribal Nations herein wish to work together with others to improve the future well being of our Earth so that 200 years from now, all people may experience the natural and cultural resources the expedition encountered and documented 200 years ago. Our Sovereign Nations seek collaboration with federal, state, and local governments, private companies and agencies, educators, and all stewards of our mutual landscape to:

- **Ensure accuracy and completeness in the histories of these events;**
- **Educate the general public, relevant officials, and decision-makers about the meaning and importance of these events for Tribal people;**
- **Promote respect for and understanding of Tribal sovereignty;**
- **Promote respect for and understanding of Tribal traditional cultures and languages, and the urgent need to take action to ensure their survival;**
- **Promote protection and restoration of the natural environment within Aboriginal territories, to ensure the future survival of all aspects of the rich natural heritage known by the Tribes and members of the expedition; and**
- **Facilitate the return of remains and cultural properties held in private and public collections.**

Circle of Tribal Advisors, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial (2009)

Introduction

We offer greetings to all of our relatives. We are honored and humbled to share insights and experiences for establishing and maintaining collaborative relationships to improve education for and about Indigenous students. In this chapter we share examples of how all of us can create and cultivate sustainable relationships between Tribes and other stakeholders to ensure that the Honoring Tribal Legacies project becomes integrated into the American school system. We will share some history, suggested action strategies derived from the wisdom of our elders, examples of promising initiatives, and model efforts that will inspire us all to work more closely with

each other in advancing education in America. In addition, we draw from accomplishments of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration to inform the process of sustainable relationship building.

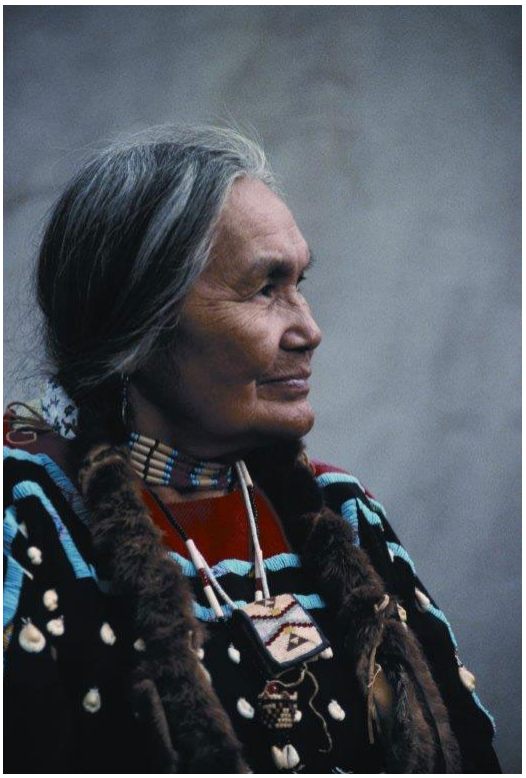
Historical Context

Since Time Immemorial hundreds, if not thousands, of Sovereign Indigenous Nations existed in what is now called the United States. *The terms American Indian. Indian Indigenous, Native American and Tribe are used throughout this guide when referring to all Indian Nations/ Peoples. For millennia these Sovereign Nations co-existed with each other and developed a unique relationship with everything that shared the lands they inhabited. These Sovereign Nations continue to maintain their relationship with the land, plants, and animals within their Ancestral territories. This relationship is based on spiritual law, a law that has been given by the Creator, the maker of all things. It is called the Big Law or Natural Law by Indigenous peoples, or other names depending upon the different Sovereign Nations' traditions. This law/tradition supersedes all other laws. For example, the Dakota refer to this sacred/spiritual relationship as "Mitakuye Oyasin" (we are all related) meaning we, the plants, animals, water, fire, and earth are related to the spiritual realm. The ongoing challenge and opportunity for educators is to embrace traditional Indigenous ideas and perspectives regarding relationships and use that to enhance and improve education about and for Indigenous peoples. In a 1978 publication, Dr. Henrietta Whiteman (Mann) made the following statement to urge us to take action and to promote active and ongoing Indian education reforms:

> After 400 years of experience as the oppressed native peoples of our country, it is time we implemented the concept of self-determination as Native Americans and assert control over our lives. By controlling the education of our young through Native American Studies, we are molding the Native American of tomorrow, with the attributes of warrior, scholar, and community activist. (p. 1)

*The terms American Indian. Indian Indigenous, Native American and Tribe are used throughout this guide when referring to all Indian Nations/Peoples.

On July 8, 1970 President Richard Nixon first articulated the current Federal Indian Policy of Self-Determination in his "Indian message" to Congress, when he called for a new federal policy of self-determination to define a more evolved relationship between the Federal government and Indian communities (http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2573). Congress responded to this message by enacting into law several new statutes that confirmed the inherent sovereign powers of the Indigenous Nations. The intent of these new laws was to establish a meaningful "government-to-government" relationship between federal agencies and Sovereign Indigenous Nations. The policy of Self-Determination has provided the context and opportunity for authentic collaboration.



Cecilia Bearchum, Wallulapam (Walla Walla) Elder and Language Teacher. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service.

Listening to the Wisdom of our Elders

In June of 2013 a small gathering of elders and individuals who have spent their careers working with Indian education issues met and shared their experiences and stories regarding authentic collaborations.[1] The focus of the dialogue was on addressing the topic of how Honoring Tribal Legacies can inform efforts to cultivate sustainable relationships between Tribes and other stakeholders. It was a profound gathering and what follows is a summary of insights and wisdom offered up in the spirit of developing and maintaining collaborative relationships to effect positive change. These suggestions for action strategies are in no particular order, and the most important point to emphasize is that one can start anywhere to cultivate sustainable relationships (with the key term being "start"):

- Begin new efforts by sharing current examples of successful collaborations.
- Break down stereotypes with the inclusion of authentic American Indian voices.

- Develop a more inclusive sense of place. Relationships are not just among humans but also with the plants, animals, and the whole earth. "Mitakuye Oyasin" – We are all related.
- Understand that developing trust takes patience and perseverance.
- Work with existing elements to develop new partnerships with various stakeholders.
- Retain the main focus: educating our youth, both Native and non-Native.
- Establish relationships and be clear that everyone has something to gain from collaboration.
- Remember that different Tribes have unique issues and each relationship is unique.
- Utilize oral traditions and share the purposes of stories and how they apply in our lives today.
- Recognize that collaborative efforts reaffirm Tribal Sovereignty.
- Be aware that we need a highly educated Native population, and Honoring Tribal Legacies is part of ongoing efforts in that direction.
- Utilize primary source documents.
- Empower Native youth to realize and share their gifts.
- Utilize visits to sacred places, and share the knowledge and history of such sites with students.
- Balance being a diplomat and a lawyer (i.e., be aware of legal/legislative issues).
- Understand that successful collaborations can make curriculum authentic, hands-on, and relevant.
- Tap into social synergy and focus on positive effects.
- Be aware that the purposeful creation of an Indigenous learning environment is a key factor for educational success.
- Develop a collaborative, nurturing environment, and have high expectations.
- Document your experiences and share them with others.
- Work to take paternalism out of our relationships.
- Focus on misconceptions and the need to retell stories from Indian perspectives.

- Start new efforts by keeping them simple and succinct, get to the point, and focus on tangible results.
- Understand the role of humor in traditional American Indian cultures and how laughter can help foster and maintain positive relationships.

These suggestions and reflections may seem simple at first glance, but taking a deeper look at them and putting them into actual practice takes significant time, effort, and good will. The underlying wisdom in these powerful words is actually "walking the talk," which is what these Indigenous educators have done throughout their careers. Their insights help all of us in our ongoing education efforts. We now provide a few examples of promising practices for improving the educational experience of Indigenous youth, families, and communities.

Contemporary Collaborative Indian Education Efforts

Several examples exist where Tribes and other stakeholders with a vested interest in improving education have worked together through state legislative processes to have laws or policies enacted that require the teaching of Tribal Sovereignty along with Tribal histories, cultures, and contemporary issues. Examples include:

- Maine revised statute 4706 – Instruction in American history, Maine studies, and Maine Native American history (2009);[2]
- Montana's Indian Education for All Act (1999);[3]
- South Dakota's Act to provide for an Office of Indian Education, an Indian Education Advisory Council, and to establish certain provisions to enhance Indian education in the state (2007);[4]
- Washington State's RCW 28A.345.070 – House Bill 1495 (2005);[5] and
- Wisconsin's Act 31 (1989).[6]

These examples represent historic developments in states that are working together with Tribes to address the needs of Indigenous children, families, and communities for the benefit of all citizens. The list could be longer. McCoy (2005) assembled a list of legal advances in 39 states that she

described as "tribalizing" education, recognizing Tribal input and Tribal Sovereignty in these developments in Indian education. Her project, which reviews legislative improvements across the U. S., was funded by the Native American Rights Fund. The advances in Maine and South Dakota, mentioned above, are but two examples of the more recent gains since McCoy assembled that list.

Cultivating sustainable relationships has been essential to experiencing progress and positive outcomes. The legislation in Wisconsin came about as a result of escalating tensions between Indians and non-Indians over Ojibwe treaty rights. Several legislators developed an initiative requiring the study of Wisconsin Indian history, culture, and Tribal Sovereignty in public schools. Washington's RCW 28A.345.070—House Bill 1495 officially encouraged the inclusion of Tribal history in all common schools. As a result of these efforts we have also seen the creation of ground-breaking curriculum called "Since Time Immemorial: Tribal Sovereignty in Washington State."[7] The curriculum was made possible through a unique Tribal-state partnership. A common theme with these efforts was to ensure that the information be culturally accurate, relevant, and most importantly, developed by American Indian people.

Developing a Sustainable Relationship Framework in Washington State

In follow-up to passage of RCW 28A.345.070 in Washington State (2005), popularly known as House Bill 1495, a study was conducted to examine Native American student educational achievement (CHiXapkaid, Banks-Joseph, Inglebret, et al., 2008). This comprehensive study, commissioned by the Washington State Legislature, was designed, in part, to identify elements of an effective government-to-government relationship between a Tribe and a school district. With a focus on bringing Native voices to the forefront of educational reform efforts, multiple data-gathering methods were employed. These included: (a) listening sessions held in 10 locations across the state that involved more than 2,000 Native community members, (b) individual interviews with Tribal education directors, (c) observation of and participation in Cultural Education Exchanges and "Since Time Immemorial" curriculum meetings, and (d) review of related documents and artifacts.

The generated, qualitative data were combined and analyzed using a constant comparative approach (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) to identify overarching themes that have applicability in efforts to Honor Tribal Legacies.

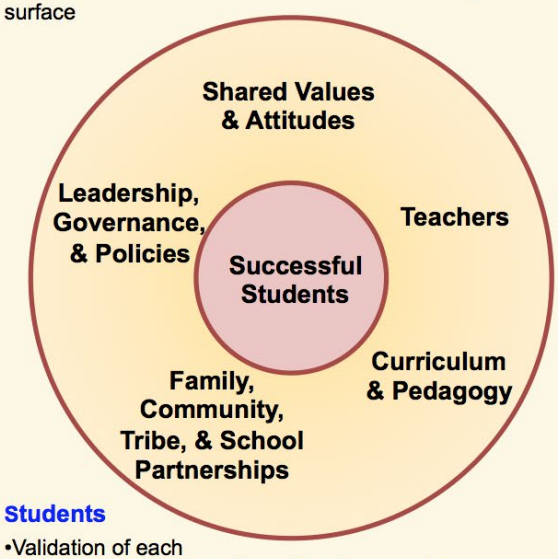
The themes emerging from this study are communicated through a circular framework, as depicted in the figure, "Elements of an Effective Government-to-Government Relationship between a Tribe and a School" (Inglebret & CHiXapkaid, 2008). The circle depicts a process in which all elements of a sustainable relationship between a Tribe and a school interconnect and interact with each other. This is consistent with participant perspectives highlighting the need for a holistic approach to the complex process of relationship building. Native students are positioned in the center circle as their educational success is the desired outcome of sustainable relationships. These successful students are surrounded by the emergent themes representing core elements of sustainable relationships. These emergent themes or core elements are: (a) shared values and attitudes, (b) leadership, governance, and policies, (c) family, community, tribe, and school partnerships, (d) teachers, and (e) curriculum and pedagogy. The following section identifies data-based indicators that are associated with each element of the relationship framework that can be enacted in Honoring Tribal Legacies.

Elements of an Effective Government-to-Government Relationship between a Tribe & a School

Shared Values & Attitudes
- Mutual respect & trust
- High expectations & a belief that all students can learn
- Consistent message that all students will graduate
- Holistic approach – emotional, social, physical, & academic development are interwoven
- Understand that building relationships take time
- Understand tribal sovereignty
- Respect for cultural & intellectual property rights
- Understand that racism exists & should be brought to the surface

Leadership, Governance, & Policies
- Dialogue occurs regularly between decision-making bodies
- Equity in decision-making & policy formation
- Tribe, parents, & schools partner in making decisions about use of Title VII & Impact Aid funds
- Commitment to increase number of Native school administrators & school board members
- Meetings take place at schools & on reservation
- Administrators participate in tribal community activities (e.g., honoring ceremonies, potlatches)
- Program evaluation to ensure policy translates into practice throughout the school

Teachers
- Caring attitude
- Commitment to increase number of Native educators
- Participate in tribal community activities (e.g., honoring ceremonies, potlatches)
- Elders as educators
- Participate in professional development provided by tribe
- Regular communication with tribal program staff



Family, Community, Tribe, & School Partnerships
- Affirm value of family, tribe, & community involvement in schools
- Community-based learning & teaching partners
- Family & community volunteers in schools
- Wrap around, coordinated services
- Outreach to families through reservation-based activities
- Hold parent-teacher conferences on reservation
- Allow tribal employees paid time to volunteer in schools
- Understand that family members may have had bad experiences with education

Curriculum & Pedagogy
- Authentic, tribe-specific curriculum pertaining to culture, history, & government
- Place-based learning
- Array of options for completing courses (e.g., credit retrieval opportunities, after school programs, flexible summer school)
- Diverse teaching & learning strategies
- Diverse means for demonstrating learning (assessment strategies)
- Native American Club
- Opportunity Fairs (show choices for after graduation)
- Consideration of concepts of time (e.g., wait time, past/present/future)
- Support at critical transitions (e.g., middle to high school)

Students
- Validation of each student's gifts, contributions, & intrinsic worth
- Individualized attention
- Active participation in decision-making about the learning process, including self-evaluation
- Clear plan for path to graduation
- Careful tracking & follow up on attendance & absences
- Youth leadership preparation
- Opportunity for all students to come to reservation to learn about culture
- Sense of responsibility to community

Elements of an Effective Government-to-Government Relationship between a Tribe and a School, Design by Doug Stephens, Ella Inglebret, and CHiXapkaid. Used with their permission.

Students. The future of Native communities is viewed as dependent on preparing the next generation of students for leadership roles in carrying forward the culture, traditions, and knowledge of their peoples. Participants stressed the importance of validating the unique gifts, contributions, and intrinsic worth that each student brings to the educational process. The need for individualized attention in supporting school performance was connected to school personnel understanding the home and community circumstances of each student. Developing a clear plan for the path to high school graduation was emphasized with particular attention given to guiding students identified as "at risk." Careful tracking and follow up on school attendance and absences was considered critical to keeping students on the path to high school graduation. It was expected that formal education would instill a sense of responsibility to community. This intrinsic sense of responsibility could be enhanced by actively building the capacity of students to make decisions about their own learning, including components of self-reflection and self-evaluation.

Shared Values and Attitudes. Shared values and attitudes form the foundation for a sustainable relationship between a school and a Tribe. To promote educational success, it was considered essential that each student receive a consistent message across Tribal and school personnel that he/she has the capacity to meet high expectations for learning and to graduate from high school. The need for a holistic educational approach that addressed academic performance, while simultaneously fostering emotional, social, and physical development was stressed. Participants emphasized that mutual respect and trust among partners in a relationship was necessary to support the development of a common vision and common goals. An ethos of shared values and attitudes also entails all partners understanding Tribal Sovereignty and demonstrating an associated respect for cultural and intellectual property rights over entities, such as traditional knowledge, stories, and songs. Participants pointed out that formal education may be associated with negative experiences for many Native community members, such as for those who were punished for speaking their heritage language. Thus, it was emphasized that building trust would take time.

Leadership, Governance, and Policies. Regular and deliberate dialogue between governing bodies with decision-making authority was perceived as a cornerstone of building

Tribe-school relationships. It was considered essential that leaders in relationship-building were committed to achieving equity in the development of policies and common goals. An important aspect of building bridges between schools and Native communities related to location of meetings and leadership involvement in cultural events. Equity would be reflected in meetings being held on reservations and in urban Indian community centers, in addition to the more common practice of meeting at school administrative offices. In addition, it was important that school administrators come to Tribal and urban Indian communities to participate in cultural events, such as honoring ceremonies and potlatches. It was also deemed critical that leaders held each other accountable for ongoing program evaluation to ensure that policy was translated into practice throughout the educational system. Participants expressed concern about two programs in particular. They wanted to see Tribes, parents, and schools working in partnership to make decisions about the use of Title VII and Impact Aid funds. A commitment to increase the number of Native school administrators and school board members was also considered essential to promoting equity in governance and policy formation.

Family, Community, Tribe, and School Partnerships. Participants emphasized the need for coordination of efforts among all stakeholder groups interested in promoting Native student achievement. The concept of "it takes a community to raise a child" was perceived as becoming reality when family, community, Tribal, and school partners came together to educate and provide "wrap around" services for children. Participants described various indicators of this comprehensive and coordinated web of interconnected efforts beginning with schools affirming the value of family, Tribe, and community involvement in education. Teaching partners provided learning opportunities that occurred in community settings. Family and community volunteers were welcomed into the schools. Tribal employees were allowed paid time to volunteer in schools. Schools made deliberate efforts to reach out to entire families and younger siblings through reservation-based activities. Parent-teacher conferences were held on reservations and in urban Indian community centers, as well as at schools. Efforts were made to understand a history of mistrust of formal education that would need to be overcome through sustained relationship building with families over time.

Teachers. Teachers play a key role in fostering the educational achievement of Native students. Having a caring attitude and establishing a personal relationship with each student was considered essential. In addition, a willingness to learn about a student's culture and community was identified as important. Caring teachers participated in Tribal and urban Indian community events, such as honoring ceremonies or potlatches, as they made sincere efforts to gain a better understanding of the culturally-based knowledge and skills that students brought to their classrooms. To further this understanding, teachers also participated in professional development opportunities provided by local Tribes. Teachers regularly communicated with Tribal program staff so that educational efforts could be coordinated and approached in a holistic manner. Schools recognized the traditional role of Tribal elders as education leaders for their communities and engaged them as active participants in student learning experiences. In addition, a value was placed on increasing the number and proportion of Native educators in schools. These Native educators served as role models for Native students—demonstrating possibilities that the students might pursue for their own futures.

Curriculum and Pedagogy. The use of curriculum that validates place-based knowledge, revitalizes heritage languages, and integrates culturally-responsive pedagogy was considered central to promoting Native student educational achievement. It was important that curriculum be authentic, Tribe-specific, and pertinent to culture, history, and government from the perspectives of Tribal members. Opportunities to participate in a Native American Club were viewed as potentially enhancing content of the formal curriculum. Diverse teaching and learning methods characterized the educational process and students demonstrated learning through the use of diverse assessment strategies. Learning opportunities included an array of options for completing courses (e.g., credit retrieval opportunities, after school programs, and flexible summer school). Variations in concepts of time, such as wait time before responding and views of past/present/future, were considered. Students were provided support at critical transition points in the curriculum (e.g., middle to high school) and were exposed to possibilities for the future through activities, such as opportunity or career fairs.

Barriers to Relationship-Building. While it is critical to highlight what works in building sustainable Tribe-school relationships, participants also emphasized the importance of recognizing the tenuous nature of these relationships. A persistent barrier encountered in school environments is racism. While this racism may generally lie just below the surface, it often flares up during periods of controversy, such as when Tribes assert their sovereignty through fishing, hunting, or whaling or when ancestral remains are uncovered and the process of building a new bridge is delayed. This may result in overt harassment of Native students by fellow students or more covert discrimination. Racism needs to be brought to the surface and dealt with directly in a constructive manner. It is anticipated that infusion of accurate information about Tribal Sovereignty, history, and culture into the curriculum will bring new cross-cultural understanding. However, this will likely not be enough. Continual reflection by all cooperative partners on the assumptions that underlie behaviors and actions will be necessary. As these assumptions are surfaced, partners in a relationship then have the opportunity to replace inappropriate assumptions with more appropriate understandings of the context surrounding particular events.

Connecting the Relationship-Building Circle. A framework representing elements of a sustainable relationship between a Tribe and a school (Inglebret & CHiXapkaid, 2008) was described in this section. The framework, based on a study conducted in the State of Washington, provides a general guide that is intended to be adapted to fit the needs of individual Tribes and schools. When the framework is enacted by schools and Tribes working in unison, various positive outcomes could be expected for Native American students. Increased attendance and active engagement of students in learning activities would be observed. Native students would work together with their teachers to infuse Tribal culture, history, and government into the school curriculum. Support would be in place to ensure successful transitions from middle to high school. Students would set and attain educational goals that led to their high school graduation and post-secondary enrollment. They would achieve career and health-related goals that they had set for themselves. They would have opportunities to "give back" to their communities through service learning opportunities facilitated by their schools. Sustainable relationships between Tribes and schools would guide Native students moving into leadership positions in their Tribal communities.

Clatsop-Nehalem potlatch honoring a new cedar canoe with Tribal and non-Tribal guests from across the Lewis and Clark Trail. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service.

Montana's Indian Education for All Model

The Montana Indian Education for All Act (1999) represents an ongoing, collaborative effort with many participants and stakeholders.[8] This legislation incorporates the teaching of American Indian cultures and histories in the statutory definition of a quality education. Since no other state has a comparable state constitutional commitment (Montana Constitution Article X), Indian Education for All (IEFA) serves as a model for all educators dedicated to embracing American ideals of social justice and educational equity.

IEFA exemplifies the shared tenets of multicultural education theorists and the practice of culturally responsive pedagogy. IEFA addresses historical and contemporary oppression of Indigenous peoples by transforming educational policy, curriculum, and pedagogy. Its implications reach beyond Montana's borders by providing a hopeful example, inspiring educators across the

U.S. and around the world to become more culturally inclusive in their classrooms and communities (Starnes, 2006). IEFA benefits Indian students in several ways: by reducing anti-Indian bias resulting from a lack of knowledge, by enriching instruction through cultural relevance, and by instilling pride in cultural identity.

Collaboration between Tribal and non-Tribal stakeholders is a process central to IEFA, and it is also a desired outcome. Many programs that have charted the course of Indian education in the U. S. have excluded Indian voices; IEFA requires and relies upon Indian involvement. Tribal histories and other instructional resources are developed with continual representation and participation from each of the state's 12 Tribes, eight Tribal governments, and seven Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs).

In Montana, there is a formal structure for state and Tribal collaboration regarding Indian Education efforts. The Montana Advisory Council on Indian Education (MACIE) consists of Indian educators from all Tribes in the state, selected in consultation with organizations, Tribes, and schools. This board serves the Office of Public Instruction (OPI) and the Board of Public Education "in an advisory role ... in matters affecting the education of Indian students in Montana" (Office of Public Instruction, 2013, p. 1). One of MACIE's key functions is to review curriculum and IEFA policy created by or for OPI to ensure authenticity and appropriateness.

IEFA is changing education in Montana; Indian students and their families are beginning to feel more welcomed in public schools and are contributing their perspectives to instructional content. Yet as Montana's Superintendent of Public Instruction, Denise Juneau (Mandan-Hidatsa) asserts, IEFA is meant to benefit all students:

> This constitutional, ethical, and moral obligation, known as Indian Education for All, is not only for Indian students. In fact, its principal intent is that non-Indian students gain a richer understanding of our State's history and contemporary life. (Juneau, 2006, p. 3)

Collaboration between Indian and non-Indian educators, Tribal partners, and OPI have diminished barriers and paved the way for current and future IEFA efforts. More than ever before, Native American students are seeing their identities reflected in curriculum:

> They realize their identity does mean something to the real world, that someone off the rez really wants to learn about us. (Teacher, Personal Communication, 2009)

OPI works to supply educators with materials and resources to support quality instruction integrating IEFA, constantly seeking cooperation with Tribal entities to ensure accuracy and appropriateness from Indian perspectives. Close collaboration with Tribal individuals and organizations builds teachers' instructional confidence, as evidenced by this educator's statement:

> Teachers are good at planning the design and creating the lessons, but … anything I did might not be appropriate. I wanted to make sure it was respectful . . . [My Salish learning partner] provided the heart, and I could provide the lesson. (Ngai & Allen, 2007, p. 37)

Successful relationships between public schools and Tribes depend on individuals' willingness to share information and sometimes make uncomfortable forays into unfamiliar territory. Anger, fear, indifference, or resistance may arise from the examination of a significant historical context that, if recognized and respected, can instead facilitate greater understanding.

> Indian Education for All is not about blaming people, or making them feel guilty. It's about teaching us all to include each other when we think about the world, and about our place in it. It's about getting rid of the biases that we've all inherited, and looking at each other as fellow human beings, and not as a collection of stereotypes. And students get it. They really get it. (Indian Education for All Coach – Great Falls, MT, Personal Communication, 2008).

Jioanna Carjuzaa (2012), a multicultural education scholar, states that IEFA "may now be considered the most comprehensive and progressive approach to Single-Group Studies that any U.S. state has ever attempted." While other states cannot necessarily replicate the circumstances that created IEFA (i.e., creating a state Constitutional Convention), there is great interest in replicating the results and their benefits. Indian Education For All (IEFA) has proven itself over the past decade to be a watershed of opportunities for improved cultural understanding and meaningful dialogue among Montana's Indigenous communities and the mainstream society within the state.

Building on Accomplishments of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration

The commemoration has changed the course of our nation, bridges of good faith have been built among all people and we must not let them disappear regardless of what has happened in the past.

—Chief Cliff Snider (Chinook), 2006

Warmsprings/Paiute elder honoring Quinault traditional carver at potlatch. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.

The Commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial (2003–2006) fundamentally shifted the way in which the story of the Corps of Discovery was being told. As highlighted in the featured teaching (curriculum unit), *Tribal Legacies of Pathfinding*: critical pieces of information and support were shared by American Indian people with Lewis and Clark which enabled them to successfully traverse the North American continent in 1804–1806. In terms of actual resources, the Tribes along the Trail furnished information regarding the terrain to be crossed, guides that were knowledgeable on many levels (geography, language, tribal associations), medicines derived from native plants, alternate sources of food that were plant-based

when hunting was unsuccessful, multiple means of transportation (horses, canoes) and extended shelter from the harsh environmental elements. (Lamb, 2014, www.HonoringTribalLegacies.com).

Despite these contributions to the completion of the journey, Tribal perspectives on the Corps of Discovery have typically been omitted or Tribal peoples have been asked to serve as "entertainment" during special events. This was the case during the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition (Bradley, 1905) and the 1955 Sesquicentennial (Lewis, 2010). Representing a 180-degree shift, the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial made "Tribal involvement its number one priority for the Commemoration" (Circle of Tribal Advisors, 2009, p. 73) and Native voices came to the forefront in telling the story of Lewis and Clark.

How did this shift occur? Meaningful and authentic relationships were formed among Tribal and non-Tribal peoples on multiple levels—inter-Tribal, federal, state, regional, county, and local. Sincere efforts in relationship-building brought representatives of 40 Tribal Nations from across 11 states into leadership roles on the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial and into the Circle of Tribal Advisors for the Bicentennial. The voices of Tribal peoples were heard, respected, and responded to during the ten years of planning and the execution of the Commemoration from 2003–2006. This was not an easy or conflict-free endeavor, as the following statement from the Circle of Tribal Advisors (2009) illustrates.

In 1994, when planning began for the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial, the so-called "celebration" was little more than a groan in the throats of those Indian people who saw it coming. For a long time after non-Indian planners began calling the event a "commemoration," in deference to concerns tenaciously raised by Indians involved early on (Allen V. Pinkham, Sr., Jeanne Eder and Gerard Baker), few tribes hurried to join the effort. A centuries old inter-cultural communication gap seemed to rise insurmountably between us. It would take nearly ten years of cautiousness, misunderstandings, and shared commitment to a more complete telling of history before we could create a trustable bridge to one another.

Many Indians saw—and still see—ourselves and our cultures as survivors of a historical genocide comparable to the Holocaust that continues in perhaps less dramatic fashion today. Many non-Indians thought of Indians as historical relics or Hollywood stereotypes. Few were aware of Indians as modern educated Americans with active, vibrant cultures, or of the urgent problems—like poverty, health, education, safety, sacred site looting and language loss—that face tribal communities today. Many Indians were bitter toward non-Indians because of the past and because they feel non-Indians don't know or care about tribal histories or current problems. Most non-Indians saw Indians as all the same, unaware of the rich assortment of tribal cultures, languages and traditions across the continent.

Yet—in one area we found common ground. Indians wanted to tell our own stories and to educate others about us. Non-Indians wanted to learn about our histories, cultures, arts, treaty rights, and contemporary life.

Circle of Tribal Advisors, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 2009

Relationship-building associated with the Bicentennial was an ongoing, challenging, and complicated process that has served as the foundation for *Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing*. To illustrate the complexity of the process, we adapt and use the framework, "Elements of an Effective Government-to-Government Relationship between a Tribe and a School" (Inglebret & CHiXapkaid, 2008) to organize and describe relationship-building. We begin with a discussion of the Bicentennial's "Leadership, Governance, and Policies" and then move to "Shared Values and Attitudes." We have adapted "Family, Community, Tribe, and School Partnerships" to focus on "Partnerships between Tribes and other Stakeholders" during the Bicentennial. As we move forward to focus on the current Honoring Tribal Legacies initiative, we circle back to "Teachers" and "Curriculum (Teachings) and Pedagogy" then end with a focus on "Students."

Photo courtesy of the National Park Service.

Leadership, Governance, and Policies.

Planning for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial evolved as the role of Tribal members moved toward full partnership in leading, governing, and forming policies for the anticipated events. Equity in partnership did not happen overnight and involved much patience, good will, and perseverance on the part of all who were involved in the relationship-building process. Going back to the formation of the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial in 1993, we saw the anticipation of a "celebration" of the Lewis and Clark journey. In 1994, recognizing the role of Tribes in the Lewis and Clark story, Harry Hubbard, President of the National Council, invited four Tribal leaders to become members of the Council. The Circle of Tribal Advisors (2009) describe the initial planning meeting in the following manner.

In April 1996, the National Council holds its first annual planning workshop for the upcoming 200th anniversary at Skamania Lodge, Stevenson, Washington, in the magnificent Columbia River Gorge. The landmark meeting becomes the stage for a heated, legendary, and pivotal confrontation between Indian and non-Indian board members. Initial conceivers of bicentennial activities imagine a celebration of Lewis & Clark's journey accompanied by demonstrations of Native dancing, similar to the 100th and 150th anniversary events. At Skamania, the Council's Native board members tenaciously counter that conquest and loss of tribal lands, cultures, and languages followed closely after the Lewis & Clark Expedition, and that no American Indian could participate in a celebration of the end of the world we had known. After many harsh words, Allen Pinkham offers a healing prayer to dispel bad thoughts and issues. In deference to Tribal concerns, the Council officially adopts the term commemoration instead of celebration to describe forthcoming bicentennial activities.

Circle of Tribal Advisors, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 2009

Subsequent to this initial meeting, ten more American Indians became members of the National Council, further ensuring that Indigenous perspectives would be considering in the planning efforts. In addition, the Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), a group representing 40 Tribal Nations from across 11 states, was formed. This advisory group played an essential role in bringing visibility to issues of critical concern to Tribal Nations along the Trail, including sacred site protection, language preservation and restoration, and natural resource protection. As stated by Allen V. Pinkham, Sr. (Nez Perce), Chairman of COTA, "The Lewis & Clark Bicentennial was a milestone for American Indian Tribes along the Lewis & Clark Trail. When else have Indians been so greatly involved in interpreting our Tribal histories?" (COTA, 2009, p. 8). This was largely due to the commitment of the National Council to make Tribal participation its number one priority, a result of the mutual respect and collaborative spirit engendered by both Tribal and non-Tribal leaders dedicated to relationship-building.

An essential step in leadership involved the development of mission and vision statements that provided a reference point for the multitude of Tribal and non-Tribal stakeholders involved in the Bicentennial Commemoration. Working in unison with the National Council, the following "Mission Statement" was developed by COTA.

MISSION STATEMENT

The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803–1806 was a major event that shaped the boundaries and the future of the United States and changed forever the lives of Indigenous people. Our ancestors preserved the cultural heritage of our Tribes and provided the Corps of Northwest Discovery with food, shelter, protection, survival skills and guidance for its successful journey to the Pacific Ocean and return to St. Louis, Missouri.

In cooperation with the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial and its partners—local, state, federal and Tribal—the Circle of Tribal Advisors will promote:

- **educational programs that clarify the important role of the Tribes,**
- **cultural sensitivity and harmony,**
- **sustaining stewardship of natural, cultural and historical resources,**
- **cultural perpetuation,**
- **and, protection of sacred sites along the route of the expedition.**

The Circle of Tribal Advisors supports reconciliation that results in sustained healing and meaningful dialogue with Sovereign Nations, creates commemorative infrastructure and establishes lasting Tribal legacies to continue after the years of the bicentennial.

Circle of Tribal Advisors, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 2009

The "Mission Statement," along with a "Vision Statement" (see COTA, 2009, p. 135), and two policy statements, "Guidance for Tribal Involvement in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial" (p. 138–139) and "Guidelines for Tribal Participation in Lewis & Clark Bicentennial National Signature Events" (p. 140–141) clearly and directly communicated expectations, underlying values, and priorities to

be reflected in the Commemoration. More specifically, the "Guidance" statement was "provided to express that the National Council expects all organizers of bicentennial events, activities, programs and campaigns to engage in early, substantive, meaningful dialogue, to communicate regularly, and to work together in partnership with the Tribes in whose homelands they are functioning" (p. 138). Signature event guidelines described expectations for opening/closing ceremonies, panel discussions, exhibits/booths, entertainment, media coverage, and advance site visitation. Together, the mission, vision, and policy statements developed by COTA in unison with Tribal and non-Tribal members of the National Council provided a foundation for the relationship-building process.

Logo of National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. Figure courtesy of the National Park Service.

Shared Values and Attitudes.

We can learn about the shared values and attitudes of Tribal and non-Tribal leaders of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial by examining the emergence of the Bicentennial logo. This design grew out of the decision to call the Bicentennial a "commemoration" rather than a "celebration." The original plan was to use an image of Lewis and Clark facing west. Obviously, this did not represent the role that Tribes played in supporting the expedition and was inconsistent with the expressed priority to promote Tribal participation in the commemoration. Reflecting an authentic commitment to be inclusive of Tribal perspectives, a new logo design was created. This design is presented in Figure 1 and has been described by COTA as follows:

LOGO OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK BICENTENNIAL

The circular nature of the image represents the circle of life. The eight-pointed ring suggests both a compass and a Native American medicine wheel. The points on the left side are white to suggest illumination from the west, as from the setting sun.

The eagle feathers represent the four directions. The tips of the feathers are dipped in blood, signifying the subsequent sacrifices and blood of Native peoples as America continued to expand westward. The feathers also acknowledge Native people's many contributions to help the expedition survive and succeed.

The Stars and Stripes, of course, are a symbol of American patriotism.

The stars are shown in the heavens overlooking all of us. They represent the 17 states of the Union at the time of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Additionally, reference to the stars helped the explorers navigate.

The thirteen red and white stripes, as in the US flag, stand for the original 13 colonies. The wavy stripes suggest the motion of a flowing river or of prairie grasses in the wind. They also communicate the nautical nature of much of the expedition's travel.

The mountains illustrate the beauty and grandeur of the American landscape. Many Tribal nations encountered by Lewis & Clark live in the mountains, yet passage through the high terrain caused the explorers great hardship.

The logo's colors—red, white, and blue—reflect the colors of the American flag. White and red also signify the (mostly) peaceful interactions between the expedition and the Native peoples they met, as well as hope for cross cultural understanding and collaboration during the commemoration.

Circle of Tribal Advisors, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 2009

It can be seen that values and attitudes of Tribal and non-Tribal peoples converged within the Bicentennial logo design. For example, the circular shape simultaneously communicates the circle of life, an American Indian medicine wheel, and a compass typically used in Western wayfinding. The four directions are expressed through both the major points of a compass and the four eagle feathers. Natural elements of Tribal homelands—a flowing river, grasses blowing in the wind, and mountains—are depicted through the red, white, and blue colors of the U. S. flag. The contributions of Tribal peoples to the Lewis and Clark expedition are featured through the central placement of the eagle feathers. Of particular significance, the Native and non-Native designers together communicated the shared hope for cross-cultural partnerships through the red and white colors of the logo (COTA, 2009). The joint endeavor of creating an inclusive logo design is a direct representation of the mutually respectful relationship and shared values and attitudes that evolved between Tribal and non-Tribal leaders in planning for the Bicentennial Commemoration.

Corps of Discovery II is not intended to glorify the expedition, nor is it limited only to presentations about 1803–1806. Its title, 200 Years to the Future, is a collective reference to the people and land in the two centuries since Lewis and Clark—and to the shared stewardship responsibility for conveying the nation's precious natural and cultural heritage to succeeding generations.

—Gerard Baker, 2003

Partnerships between Tribes and other Stakeholders. The success of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration was dependent on building partnerships among Tribes and a wide range of other stakeholders, such as federal agencies, state, regional, and local organizations, and individuals. The need for collaboration was particularly evident in events associated with the Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future. The Corps of Discovery II served as a mobile exhibition that traveled over and operated on the homelands of many Tribes along the Trail during a four-year period of time. Thus, it was essential to honor government-to-government relations by working directly with Tribal governments. The National Park Service facilitated this process by hiring Gerard Baker (Mandan-Hidatsa) as the Superintendent of the Lewis and Clark National

Historic Trail and American Indian Liaisons who took leadership roles in forming relationships with each of the Tribes impacted by the Lewis and Clark expedition. The American Indian Liaisons were responsible for advocating on behalf of the Tribes as Sovereign Nations, recognizing that each had its own government, history, culture, language, and views of the original Corps of Discovery. The role played by National Park Service personnel in relationship-building among Tribes and other stakeholders is described in detail in Chapter 1, *Spirit and Vision: Honoring What Has Been Accomplished.*

Twelve points of protocol adapted by COTA (2009; see Appendix A) from Salmon Corps were used to guide interactions between Tribes and other stakeholders. The protocol advocated for active listening, patience, being direct and truthful, showing respect, and having a sense of humor. It was deemed essential for visitors to remember they were "guests" in Tribal communities and to regularly thank their Tribal hosts. The protocol highlighted that elders are considered the heart of Tribal communities and that they should be treated with utmost respect and be served by visitors. The importance of delineating points of agreement and living up to these points every day was emphasized along with understanding that each Tribal community was unique and would have a different conceptualization of success. In addition, it was pointed out that Tribal cultures were in recovery from the aftermath of the Lewis and Clark expedition, so some turnover in leadership might be expected. These twelve points of protocol provided a set of guidelines for facilitating genuine bridge-building and partnerships between Tribal and non-Tribal peoples during the Bicentennial. As a legacy of the Commemoration, Tribal Nations continue to partner with many friends and colleagues along the Trail. In particular, the ongoing partnership between the National Park Service and Tribes has led to the current Honoring Tribal Legacies project.

Traditional Longhouse of the Western Plateau Tribes. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service.

Teachers. Carrying forward the legacy of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, teachers today can play a role as leaders of bridge-building across cultures. Teachers working with school leaders, including superintendents, principals, and school board members, can show respect for Tribal Sovereignty by forming relationships with their neighboring Tribes starting at the level of Tribal governments, as advocated by Washington state's RCW 28A.345.070—House Bill 1495 (2005). Protocol and a toolkit for respecting Tribal Sovereignty in relationship-building have been developed by the Washington State School Directors' Association (2010). The toolkit includes samples of: (a) a school board letter to Tribal leaders, (b) a school board resolution regarding Tribal history curricula, (c) a Memorandum of Agreement, and (d) a policy/procedure regarding curriculum development/instructional materials.

Teachers can also refer to the mission, vision, and policy statements developed for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration (COTA, 2009) for guidance in relationship-building. In addition, the *Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Foundation Document* (2012) provides

information about Tribal resources and values to be considered in relationship-building. In following proper protocol and gaining knowledge of Tribal culture and values, teachers and other school leaders serve as role models for their students, who will serve as the future leaders in building relationships with Tribes and other stakeholder groups.

As described in the *Place-Based Multiliteracies Framework* chapter of Volume II, Honoring Tribal Legacies involves a shift to reciprocal teacher-learner relationships. This shift involves a teacher serving as one member of a learning community, in contrast to being an authority figure, who transmits knowledge to students. As teachers learn alongside their students, a need for self-reflection occurs. Ongoing reflection by each teacher about the cultural values and historical background that he/she brings to being an educator shapes the way relationships are formed with students (Doyle, 2012; Martin, 2008). It is expected that a teacher's enhanced self-awareness will contribute to increased understanding of the cultural background that each student brings to learning. This, then, can lead to validation of the life experiences, literacies, and local knowledge that students bring to the classroom from their immediate surroundings and Tribal communities. With this validation come potential connections to local Tribal worldviews and learning that carry real-life benefits for Tribal communities.

In this way, reciprocal teacher-learner relationships serve as the foundation for broader relationship-building with Tribes that instills hope for the future. As we draw from the lessons of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, teachers and students together come to understand there is a need for healing—through relationship-building with neighboring Tribes, taking care of the gifts bestowed by the Creator, respecting and restoring Indigenous place names, listening to each other, and reflecting on lessons of the past and present so that connections to the future become more evident.

The "Giveaway" at a Northwest potlatch. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.

Curriculum (Teachings) and Pedagogy. Central to the Honoring Tribal Legacies project are seven featured curriculum units (teachings) located at:

- www.HonoringTribalLegacies.com

These teachings represent an outgrowth of relationship-building among Tribal members and other stakeholders. Curriculum design team members came from a diverse array of backgrounds, including educators from PreK-12, higher education, and the National Park Service, Tribal elders, librarians, archive specialists, a historian, a videographer, cultural specialists, mapping experts, poets, a weaver, drummers, singers, and artists. To build relationships and promote collaboration and synergy among the team members, opportunities were provided to meet face-to-face at various points over a two-year period. Stories were shared through the oral tradition, music, written words, maps, photographs, illustrations, documents, poetry, video and audio-taped recordings, Power Point presentations, and natural sites.

In addition, curriculum designers contributed to the weaving of a story blanket, as described in Volume II, Chapter 4, *Differentiated Instruction*. During the gatherings, as well as via email and other electronic venues, curriculum designers shared the content and pedagogy associated with their teachings-in-progress and provided affirmation and feedback to each other. A spirited dialogue about what it means to Honor Tribal Legacies in the context of the Common Core State Standards resulted in the development and addition of an Eleventh Standard to each featured teaching. This Honoring Tribal Legacies Standard states that students will "demonstrate environmental stewardship and a sense of service achieved through acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of humanity in historical, cultural, scientific, and spiritual contexts." It can be seen that this standard centers on relationship-building across multiple domains. Examination of each of the seven featured teachings reveals elements of the COTA 12-point protocol, and the mission, vision, and policy statements for building relationships with Tribal partners (COTA, 2009), previously described in this chapter as well as in Chapter 1, *Spirit and Vision: Honoring What Has Been Accomplished.*

All of the teachings hold paramount the need to listen respectfully to Tribal members and to consider their perspectives throughout the learning process. The teaching, Sx^{w}iwis *see p.5(The Journey)*, focuses on understanding the unique protocol for hospitality and being a guest on Tribal homelands. In addition, the importance of honoring elders as the wisdom keepers of a Tribe is highlighted. The teaching, *Discovering Our Relationship with Water*, builds understanding of the rhythms of the earth and the need for the protection of our water resources. The teaching, *A Thousand Celilos: Tribal Place Names and History along the Lewis and Clark Trail*, promotes respect for local Tribal literature, experience, and oral histories as they are elevated to the status of mentor texts. Through the teaching, *Exploring Your Community,* students seek out historical records that provide Tribal and non-Tribal perspectives related to the place where they live and come to understand the uniqueness of each specific place.

As part of the *Honoring Tribal Legacies in Telling the Lewis and Clark Story* teaching, students come to understand a particular place and related Tribal perspectives by visiting a Tribal museum,

center, or park and examining COTA-authored materials from the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration. The teachings, *Tribal Legacies of Pathfinding* and *Apsáalooke Basawua Iichia Shoope Aalahputtua Koowiikooluk (Living Within the Four Base Tipi Poles of the Apsáalooke Homeland)*, highlight the importance of revitalizing Tribal place names as language directly connected to knowledge of the earth. Overall, by building on the mission, vision, protocol, and policy statements of the Bicentennial Commemoration, curriculum designers have sustained its momentum and extended the legacy of relationship-building between Tribal and non-Tribal peoples.

Tribal participation in the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial was, without doubt, the most energetic and engaging part of the commemoration. Far more than Tribal involvement, there was an honest, balanced, courageous telling of Tribal stories—by hundreds of Native people. This more nuanced telling of American history engaged and inspired everyone who listened, Natives and non-Natives, young and old of all cultures. Telling our stories to our own young people and to members of other Tribes was at least as important as telling our stories to non-Indians.

Circle of Tribal Advisors, Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, 2009

Students. What do we hope to see as student learning experiences and outcomes associated with the Honoring Tribal Legacies initiative? Through an ongoing process of relationship-building, the Bicentennial Commemoration resulted in a plethora of materials that present Tribal perspectives on the Lewis and Clark expedition, as well as on Tribal histories, cultures, worldviews, knowledge, and languages. These materials include approximately 1,800 hours of videotaped presentations, books, articles, websites, illustrations, artwork, photographs, audiotapes, music and sound recordings, live and virtual exhibitions, maps, road signs and displays, place names, stories, artifacts, symbols, and much more. Our intent is to bring visibility to these resources and get them into the hands of students and their teachers.

At the same time, the Honoring Tribal Legacies project has resulted in model teachings (curriculum units) and new materials that can catalyze the design of further learning resources. Taken together, we see an array of accessible materials that promote a more balanced portrayal of the Lewis and Clark journey, as well as affirm the contributions that American Indians have made to our society. Through these materials and other resources, we want students to explore connections while experiencing the mystery of the world and how much we still have to learn about ourselves and all that surrounds us. We want students to arrive at epiphanies as they experience meaningful, authentic learning about places in a variety of ways—literally, metaphorically, philosophically, intellectually, emotionally, and physically.

We see students becoming the bridge-builders of the future as they recognize the importance of relationship-building between Tribal and non-Tribal peoples and have ideas of how to go about forming relationships. We want students to understand the strength that comes from considering multiple perspectives on a particular place over time—from past to present and carrying forward into the future. We want students to have the capacity to give back to their home communities as they grapple with issues that hold relevance in their own lives, while understanding the linkages of these issues to the broader world and their capacity to be leaders and agents of change. We want students to join this Epic Journey of Healing as they build on the plan of action of those who have come before us—Tribal and non-Tribal people together—to build hope, health, and wellbeing for the next seven generations. Students can carry forward the U.S. Department of Interior's call for participation in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration (2003) of "many voices—one journey—join us!"

Logo/Pin of the "Corps of Discovery II: 200 years to the Future." Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.

Concluding Thoughts

Effective collaboration is a vital component in our ongoing Indian education efforts. We all must continue to do good work facilitating the teaching of culturally authentic American Indian content and perspectives in all schools, for all content areas, and for all grade levels (including the ivory tower of the university system), so that this content and these perspectives become infused seamlessly throughout the curriculum. All students will have a basic understanding of American Indian histories, cultures, and perspectives, and Indigenous students will see themselves reflected in school curricula in an authentic manner.

We are living in exciting times and have seen progressive outreach from the Federal Government that has been enacted "with utmost good faith" to build positive relationships with Sovereign Tribal Nations. Examples include the U. S. Congress and President Barack Obama signing a bill in 2009 apologizing "to all Native Peoples for the many instances of violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted on Native peoples by citizens of the United States" and expressing "its regret for the ramifications of former wrongs and its commitment to build on the positive relationships of the past and present to move toward a brighter future where all people of this land live reconciled as brothers and sisters, and harmoniously steward and protect this land together" (http://usgovinfo.about.com/b/2012/12/27/did-you-know-the-us-apologized-to-native-americans.htm).

Further action taken "with utmost good faith" is represented by the 2011 White House Initiative on American Indian and Alaska Native Education. The initiative is intended to support ongoing improvement efforts in Indian Education. A vital component of the initiative has been the establishment of regional Tribal Consultation Sessions where the Tribes share their ideas for improving Indian Education. The White House Initiative on American Indian and Alaska Native Education, together with the Honoring Tribal Legacies project, offer us an excellent opportunity to continue to share our stories and experiences and to press forward in establishing and maintaining collaborative relationships to improve education for and about American Indians.

Endnotes

[1] Here, we draw from interviews (June 2013) with Dr. Tom Ball, Richard Basch, Robey Clark, CHiXapkaid, Lynn D. Denis, Se-ah-dom Edmo, and Denny Hurtado. Also, in this chapter, we endeavor to use Indigenous in reference to American Indians and Alaska Natives but retain the common practice of using Indian, American Indian, Native, Alaska Native, Native American, or specific Tribal name, especially when using quotations from published material.

[2] See the Wabanaki website for Maine Native Studies, which provides the wording of that statute, retrieved from http://www.maine.gov/doe/wabanaki/statute.html. The mandate is that curricula include "tribal governments and political systems and their relationship with local, state, national and international governments; Maine Native American cultural systems and the experience of Main tribal people throughout history; Main Native American territories; and, Maine Native American economic systems."

[3] For the full wording of the law, see http://opi.mt.gov/pdf/indianed/resources/ArticlesX_IEFA.pdf

[4] For the text of the South Dakota Indian Education Act, see the website hosted by the South Dakota Office of Indian Education, retrieved from http://indianeducation.sd.gov/IEact.aspx

[5] For an overview of HB 1495, see the website retrieved from Indian-Ed.org, http://www.indian-ed.org/about-sti/overview-of-hb-1495/. The site includes a 12-minute documentary video called "A Shared History: The Story of HB 1495," with a variety of testimonials from students, elders, faculty members, state representatives, and others.

[6] For further information about Wisconsin's Act 31, see the Indian Country website, retrieved from http://www.mpm.edu/wirp/ICW-23.html. Excerpts from related statutes are also included.

[7] See the website of Indian-Ed.org for an overview of Since Time Immemorial, retrieved from http://www.indian-ed.org/

[8] See the website of "Indian Education for All," managed by the Montana Office of Public Information, retrieved from http://opi.mt.gov/programs/indianed/IEFA.html

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Appendix A

Twelve Points of Protocol

(*Enough Good People*, p. 133)

Adapted by COTA [Circle of Tribal Advisors] from Salmon Corps (a program for young Pacific Northwest Indians to help repair the disappearing salmon habitats of the Columbia River Basin):

1. Listen. Be patient.
2. Learn that each Tribal community or Tribe has its own timeline for getting things done. It may not be the same as your timeline. Adjust.
3. Each Tribal community or Tribe has its own definition of success. It may differ from yours.
4. Respect—earn it every day.
5. Relationships are built on points of agreement. Make lists; document what you agree to/on. Live up to agreements, every day.
6. Be direct; be straight; tell the truth. Most Indian Tribes have had at least 200 years of someone trying to sell us a bill of goods we don't want.
7. Solve problems together. Define a way to do it together.
8. You are a guest in our Tribal community or Tribe.
9. Serve elders. They are the heart of the Tribal community or Tribe, and they back you up when times get rough.
10. Understand turnover. Cultures that had stability for thousands of years are recovering from a few hundred years of cleric and federally subsidized attacks on that stability. Recovery doesn't happen overnight in anyone's life, community or culture.
11. Have a sense of humor.
12. Finally, don't forget to thank people and organizations. Some cultures believe that you should give thanks seven times. Not a bad idea because it helps focus on the good things repeatedly and keeps one from focusing on the negative repeatedly.

Coming Full Circle

Photo courtesy of the National Park Service.

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We come full circle in Volume I when saying that a more balanced kind of scholarship has received a considerable boost from the National Park Service (NPS) in recent years. NPS employees and their partners led the way in helping formulate how the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition would be commemorated. They called their observation the Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future, which acknowledged the depth of history but also gave it a forward-looking thrust. A historic agreement forged with Tribes along the Trail led to the inclusion of an activity called the "Tent of Many Voices" in the Bicentennial activities, an effort to document Indigenous oral histories and incorporate Native perspectives on the significance of Lewis and Clark's expedition from the perspective of Tribal legacies. As a result, hundreds of Native people shared their histories, music, dances, games, and other cultural practices before live audiences. Video recordings of Tribal participants in these observations represent a vast and largely untapped resource that is available on the Lewis and Clark Tribal Legacy Project website (http://lc-triballegacy.org/).

Inside the "Tent of Many Voices" presenters told stories passed down for generations by their Ancestors. These stories did not necessarily match the accounts in the journals of Lewis and Clark. They articulated views seldom expressed in traditional American history texts. They revealed loss and tragedy, humor, and a sincere hope for the future of the generations to come. This was beautifully articulated by a Nez Perce elder, Otis Halfmoon, who spoke in the Tent of Many Voices:

> You're gonna hear the word reconciliation . . . a good word . . . that really means . . . the books are balanced. . . . And for too many Tribal people, not only the Nez Perce but too many Indian people, the books will never be balanced. . . . And that's the truth of how the Tribes look upon it. And so I introduce another word, to heal. . . . We can heal. This is our community. This is our homeland, and we all live here together. Maybe this is what we can get out of some of this Lewis & Clark bicentennial.

Cultural bridging—finding a common ground for discussing the significance of the 200th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark's expedition—included favoring terms such as "observation" or "commemoration" over a "celebration." Healing and looking forward were recurring approaches, too. The records of these discussions provide rich material for thoughtful humanities conversations that will hold the interest and provide an intellectual challenge for descendants of Native Americans and Euro-Americans (or other immigrants and their descendants) alike.

A traditional emphasis on the cataclysmic destruction of Tribal communities is giving way to a growing recognition of Indigenous contributions, wisdom, cultural survival, and adaptation—in short, of cultural florescence.

- How did Native peoples respond to the survey party?
- How did its incursion compare to what had come before?
- How did they absorb these experiences into their realities?
- How did they contribute to shaping the new communities that would emerge?

Such questions, in turn, give way to an acknowledgement of histories unheard. This is happening not because of government attempts at social engineering or politicized systems, but rather because educators will accept the learning opportunity to find justifiable equivalents to Indigenous stories of adventure, discovery, and social interactions that truly represent the vast complexity of present and future American society.

When discussing complicated conversations, Slattery (2013) explains that successful interpretations can result in healing by uncovering the salient unconscious factors in a place where the individual experiences his or her temporal reality, especially when embracing the subjectivity of place. Fertile humanities issues are embedded in the ethics of the fur trade, with its pioneering spirit but lack of attention to sustainability, or in evangelization and mission-building activities, with their lofty ideals but low regard for existing faiths and practices. There is much to learn about the intergenerational outcomes of reservation formation and life that may have professed the goals of preservation and autonomy, but which resulted in dislocation and changing ways of supporting families or educating children.

The multi-layered motivations of treaties and federal policies, which may have held a promise of even-handedness but often resulted in reduced sovereignty, also now reveal teachings associated with how humans can deceive but how deception is short-lived when compared to authenticity and integrity. Epidemic management (with demographic disasters challenging cultural preservation), and the increasing presence of hunters, miners, homesteaders, and railroad builders (impacting the economy and human interactions in both positive and negative ways) provide equally telling lessons to be learned in terms of the consequences of how we treat each other and the environment. We hope that these and other topics, explored from multiple perspectives, will occupy many ensuing discussions raised by *Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing* and the resources made available at HonoringTribalLegacies.com

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Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail
IL, MO, KS, NE, IA, SD, ND, MT, ID, WA, OR

The purpose . . . is to offer America and our children an opportunity to learn who they are—an opportunity to learn about the Lewis & Clark Trail and the people of the Lewis & Clark Trail. And when I say that, I mean that the people who were there when Lewis & Clark went through or whose territory Lewis & Clark went through. We try to look at . . . [it] in at least four different elements: what life was like before Lewis & Clark, what happened during the Lewis & Clark journey, what happened during the last two hundred years, and finally, and I think one of the most important aspects, is what we are going to do in the future. I grew up in a tradition of the Mandans and Hidatsas on my reservation in North Dakota listening to the elders, listening to the people tell their stories. We offer this opportunity today for you to listen and to learn.

–Gerard Baker (Mandan and Hidatsa)

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