

ACCESS, DISCOURSE, AND
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CHANGE:
THE CASE OF NATIONAL PARK COMMUNITIES
ALONG THE CRATER LAKE HIGHWAY
IN JACKSON COUNTY, OREGON

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2010, the idea of national parks in the United States spans nearly a century and a half. In that time, parks have become symbols of the nation. Mention the geysers of Yellowstone, the trees in Redwood, or vistas within the Grand Canyon and Americans picture park landscapes. Those images of landscape can be static and unchanging, reflecting a portrait of the place as we remember it—or as we wished it were.

Yet park landscapes are dynamic and encompassing, having experienced many changes, many because they have been modified to be more accessible to visitors. The arrival of the automobile at the turn of the century, followed by the creation of a federal agency to promote and manage the parks, as well as an increased interest in outdoor recreation each played a role in shaping the national parks. The greatest impacts have been within access corridors through which most visitors travel in parks. However, the effect and influence of these forces have not been isolated to the parks themselves. The development of the communities beyond park borders are intertwined with developments at nearby parks just as national developments shaped individual park units.

The recreation landscape, a component of the larger cultural landscape of park regions, can reveal a great deal about the manner in which parks and

communities interact during important periods of development. While these landscapes are sometimes seen as a physical representation of a particular period's tastes or desires, they can be influenced by a multitude of competing forces. As Schein notes, any cultural landscape is likely to contain the imprint of several "relatively independent discourses."¹ Each of these discourses is shaped by a broad theme in contemporary society as well as through the efforts of countless individuals at a local level. Represented as part of the cultural landscape these efforts become a materialized version of the discourses.²

Discourses and the materialization of discourses contribute to the formation of cultural landscapes across the nation. In the recreation landscapes of park regions, there are a number of significant discourses to consider. Previous research has identified the influence of automobiles and automobile-based infrastructure developments as a principal aspect of park development. The role of promoters and park boosters encouraged travel to and use of park sites as did the popularization of outdoor recreation opportunities. The presence of federal land management policies has also influenced the types of landscapes possible within a park region.

These four discourses—the automobile and road industries, regional and park booster organizations, outdoor recreation providers, and federal land management agencies—are crucial to understanding the creation and evolution of park landscapes. Although each of these pieces has had some attention in academic literature, there is little documentation of how the separate discourses

¹ R. H. Schein, "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting the American Scene", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 4 (1997): 663.

² *Ibid.*, 663-4

have been represented during periods of park development. More importantly for the understanding of the evolution of park landscapes, few have explored how these discourses have impacted park landscapes and each other during significant periods of landscape change in park regions.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The goal of this research is to address the following broad question: How have these four discourses been represented in a local context within park regions and how have they impacted the creation and evolution of recreation landscapes along access routes to park sites? The most effective way to address this research question is to examine four related aspects of this relationship:

- 1) How did access levels for automobiles change within and surrounding parks throughout their history?
- 2) How did changes in accessibility to parks manifest in the structure and development of park-related industries in local communities?
- 3) How were the individual discourses portrayed and represented within local communities as these changes took place?
- 4) How did these discourses 'materialize' on the recreation landscapes in park regions during periods of change?

Alone, these discourses can provide insight into the history of a particular force in park and regional development; together, they can reveal a hierarchy of landscape influence and provide insight into how future changes in discourse

may impact the formation of the recreation access corridors within parks and park regions.

Studying the cultural landscapes of the entire park system through the analysis of multiple discourses would be a cumbersome and difficult endeavor. Therefore, this study employs a representative case-study location to showcase how discursive landscape analysis can be used to interpret the historical forces along a particular park access route. As outlined below, this research focuses on the western access road to Crater Lake National Park. The 80-mile route from the city of Medford, Oregon, to Crater Lake has been utilized for over 100 years and has witnessed unique periods of change during that time (Figure 1).

Although the exact route of the Rogue River Route portion of the Crater Lake Road has changed slightly since its early years, it continues to function as a primary artery for public access to Crater Lake and surrounding regions of the Cascades.

RELEVANCE

Evaluating the research questions mentioned above provides a unique glimpse into the development of a park region. Traditional park histories provide details of development specific to a particular park. While they often discuss significant periods of change, they do not always reflect upon how specific discourse themes are represented in the local context or in the creation of new park-related landscapes. By using the framework of discourse analysis, the cultural landscapes along the park's access route can be viewed as a more complex representation of specific social forces.



Figure 1 – The Crater Lake Highway in southern Oregon is shown in red. The Rogue River Route consists of the western portion of the road, running from Medford into the national park.

While this study attempts to reveal the patterns within the discursive landscape themes along a particular route, there are larger implications to using this method for understanding the evolution of the recreation landscapes of other park regions. It is possible that each of the discourse themes, taken separately, will influence cultural landscapes beyond the scope of recreation access in national parks. Yet the interactions within park regions, where economic and social connections to a park itself can be a driver for local action, creates a distinct pattern not seen in other regions. In addition, discourses are by their nature dynamic. They depend on input from the larger social context as well as

manipulation at the individual level. By identifying the local-level representations and relationships of the selected discourses in the case-study region, a pattern is established with which additional park regions can be studied.

RESEARCH OUTLINE

STUDY STRUCTURE

To address the enormous breadth of the topic of park access, some limiting factors were established. The study location, historical time frame to examine, and specific discourses to be evaluated required well-defined structure and focus to ensure that research objectives could be met with a reasonable time period. The decisions regarding the structure for each of these components were largely based on evidence found in the literature.

Study Location

With nearly 400 units in the National Park Service, of which 61 are designated as national parks, there are many ways to explore how access discourses affect recreation landscapes. Because of the enormous size of the U.S. Park System, the study must conform to some limiting factors to make completion of the research possible and to ensure the applicability of the resulting themes to the Park Service as a whole. The most important consideration in selecting a study area was identifying a park that existed for the entire study period, which begins prior to the Park Service Organic Act of 1916. Of the 61 current National Parks, only 19 existed as parks or monuments before 1916. Of these locations, each provides a unique window into park landscape

dynamics over the past century. Following the example of much of the park literature, a case-study approach is employed to provide a framework for the examination of the discursive landscape. Using one park as the focal point facilitates comparisons among historical periods and establishes a benchmark for the dynamic relationships of park access discourse themes.

Based on the availability of previous park studies and the availability of historical documents and contacts within the Park Service and local communities, Crater Lake National Park in southern Oregon was selected as the case-study for this research. In addition to being among the earliest national park units, its association with the regional gateway community facilitated access to a rich collection of sources. Medford is the principal urban center for Jackson County and the surrounding areas of southern Oregon. Rail and highway functions helped bolster the city's position during the early years of the 20th Century.

Medford is not the only community impacted by the Rogue River Route of the Crater Lake Road. Though Medford serves as the western anchor for the highway, a number of smaller communities along the route have helped shape the regional landscape during park development. While many of the communities existed during the entire length of the study period, others witnessed an increase or decrease in their fortunes during that time. Each of the following communities, listed in the order encountered on a trip from Medford to Crater Lake and displayed in Figure 2, contributed in some way to the recreation landscapes experienced by travelers on the Crater Lake Road.

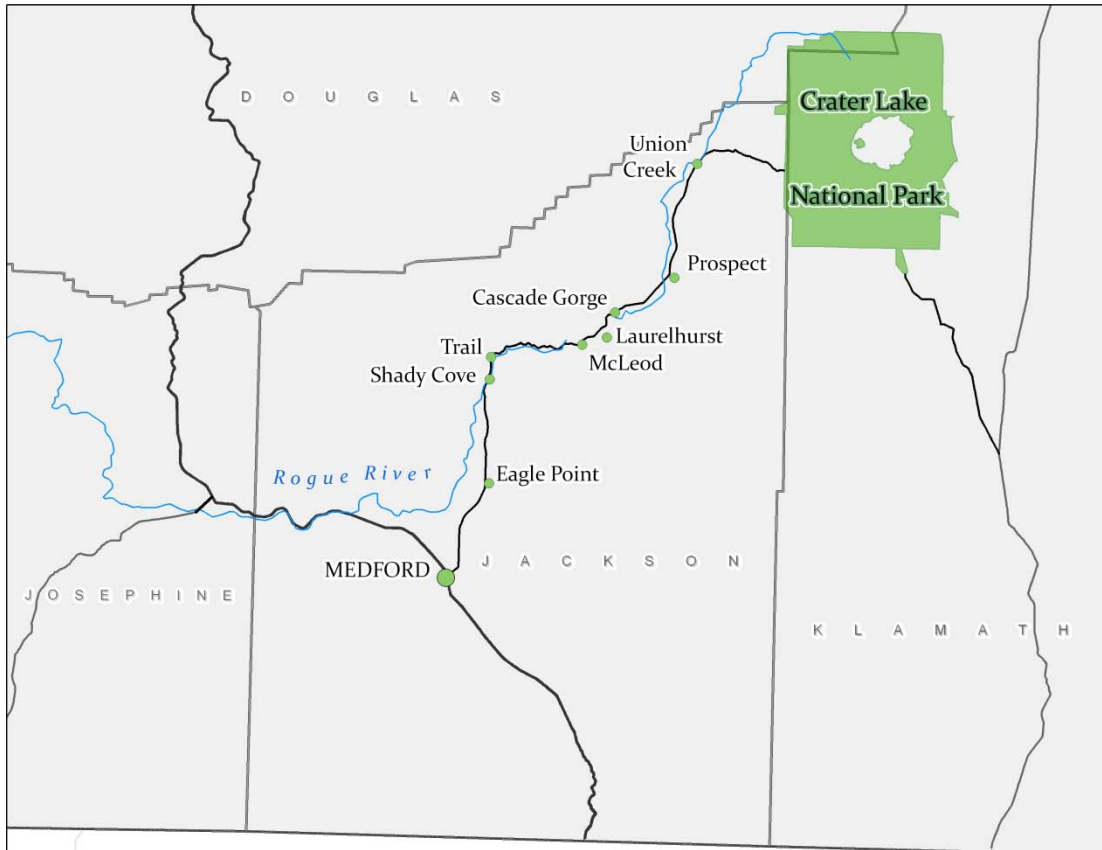


Figure 2 – The Communities of the Upper Rogue Valley, Jackson County, Oregon.

About a dozen road miles north of Medford, Eagle Point is located in the northernmost portions of the valley that stretches through the central portion of Jackson County. For much of the region’s history, Eagle Point was on the periphery of vast fruit orchards that dominated the landscape close to Medford and its neighbor to the south, Ashland. Another ten miles beyond Eagle Point, after passing through rolling agricultural land, the Crater Lake Road meets the Rogue River and begins to climb into the Cascades.

At the point where the road and the river first meet sits Shady Cove. Located near the location of one of the principal river ferries during the late 19th Century, Shady Cove emerged in the mid 20th Century as a recreation and

retirement community focused on the amenities provided by the Rogue River. The 20 miles immediately beyond Shady Cove contain the portions of the Crater Lake Road that have witnessed the greatest amount of transformation since the beginning of the 20th Century.

Just two miles above Shady Cove is the town of Trail. Located at the junction of the Crater Lake Road and a lesser-used route to the west across the Umpqua Divide, Trail once served as a significant stopping point for travelers in the Upper Rogue region. Changes in the route of the Crater Lake Highway and emergence of Shady Cove as the local service center caused a decline in Trail's roadside profile.

Six miles above Trail is the area known as McLeod. Earlier in the 20th Century, the Crater Lake Road followed the Rogue River north from the McLeod Bridge and traversed the most difficult sections of the route along 'Pumice Grade' and the Evergreen Ranch.³ The road emerged from the steep-walled valleys at Cascade Gorge, eight miles above McLeod. An alternate route followed the ridges south and east of the Rogue River from McLeod, passed through the community of Laurelhurst, and crossed the river before rejoining the Crater Lake Road just below Cascade Gorge. A series of floods on the Rogue River in the mid-20th Century accelerated existing plans for flow management on this section of the river. The completion of the Lost Creek Lake project in the 1970s

³ Numerous local histories point to the Pumice Grade as the most challenging section of road between Medford and the park. Repairs and improvements were almost constantly underway along the grade, making the necessity for a resting point even more pressing. Evergreen Ranch served that purpose for a time.

drastically changed this section of the highway and effectively eliminated the communities of Laurelhurst and McLeod.

For nearly three-dozen miles beyond Cascade Gorge, the terrain of the road changes. The road emerges from its dramatic climb along the banks of the Rogue River to a sloping, high-elevation forest. The elevation profile of the modern road shown in Figure 3 displays this transition in terrain. Five miles from this transition point, the road passes through the community of Prospect. Established as a timber prospecting outpost in the late 19th Century, the town was well situated to take advantage of the vast areas of timbered land of the Upper Rogue region.

The Crater Lake Road enters national forest land just beyond Prospect and continues in the Forest Service's domain for 20 miles. At the halfway point of that portion, just before the route turns east toward the western entrance to the park, sits Union Creek. Informal campgrounds and the presence of natural attractions prompted forest managers to encourage development at Union Creek in the 1920s.

Crater Lake National Park's western entrance is an additional ten miles beyond Union Creek. Mazama Junction at Annie Springs, the former administrative center for the park, is an additional eight miles and the development at the rim seven miles beyond that. The final 25 miles from Union Creek to Rim Village lay entirely within federally protected lands. That status helps to create a distinctively different landscape compared to the remainder of the Crater Lake Road's route.

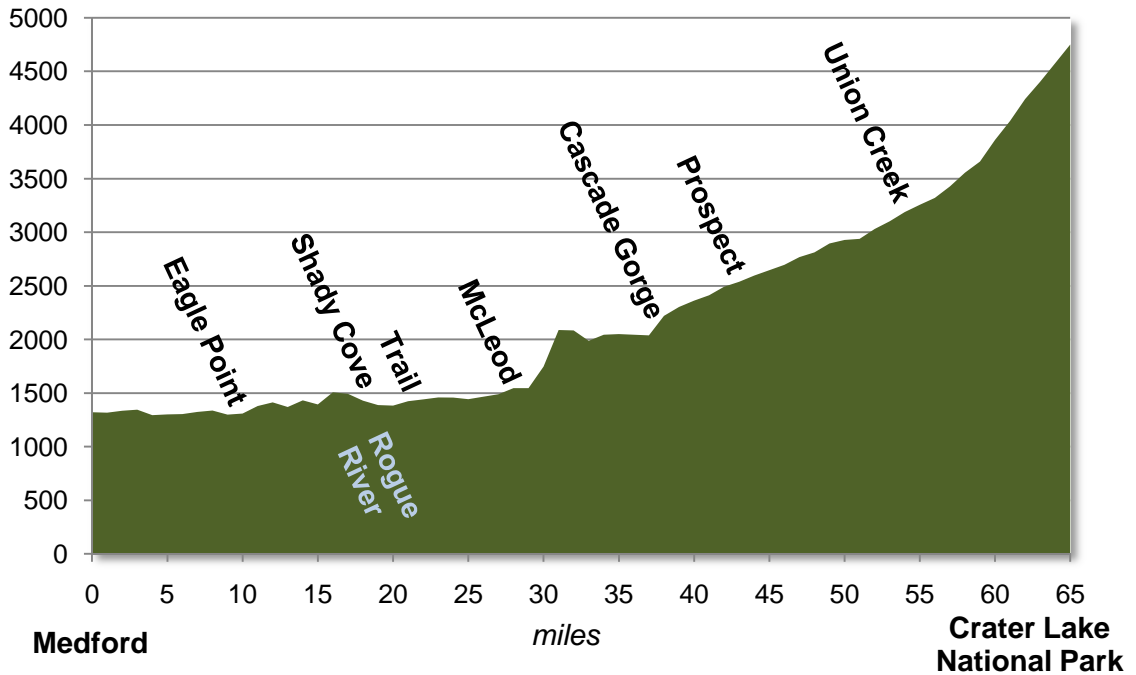


Figure 3 – Elevation profile (in feet) of the Rogue River Route from Medford to the western entrance of Crater Lake National Park.

Historical Framework

For this research, it is important to classify park access landscapes through a series of time periods. Rather than evaluating the whole span in yearly intervals, this study divides the time period into blocks of years that correspond to a theme, expressed in the form of the National Park Service development agendas at Crater Lake as well as the impact and influence of the four selected discourses. This method provides an opportunity to highlight signature events during each time period. The specific time periods, outlined below, were selected based on literature about park history and policy as well as on selected events related to one or more of the recreation landscape discourses.

The earliest period consists of the years before 1916, when no national park agency existed. This period was characterized by remote western parks with limited access and visitation restricted to anyone but the wealthy or the adventurous. During this time, park areas were shaped and developed with a combination of local political maneuvering and private investments in time and finance.⁴ Though controlled by government agencies, the remoteness of most parks made them largely autonomous of other units. Even though Oregon was a leader in recreation-based highway improvements, Crater Lake was relatively isolated through its early years.⁵

The second period spans the first 30 years of the National Park Service, from 1917 to 1946. This period, which ends with the conclusion of World War II, saw a great deal of institutional reform within the park system and a clear, driving philosophy for parks laid down by Directors Mather and Albright. The systematic planning and development of park infrastructure around the automobile created the landscapes that are still present in most parks today.⁶ Development initiatives were championed not only by Park Service administrators but also by local interests. This period witnessed a dramatic surge in park popularity as people were introduced to and given unprecedented access to the nation's parks.

Utilizing the same 30-year interval, the third and final period spans the years from 1947 to 1976. This period, highlighted by the development oriented Mission 66, was a period of enormous expansion of the National Park Service

⁴ Winks, "A Contradictory Mandate?"; S. Mark, "Crater Lake: The Campaign to Establish a National Park in Oregon", *Southern Oregon Heritage Today* 3, no. 1 (2001), np., NPS-H.

⁵ Jakle, *The Tourist*.

⁶ McClelland, *Building the National Parks*.

but also one of increasing environmental concern. Environmental and social activism helped to usher in such changes as federally designated wildernesses and urban recreation areas.⁷ The increased affluence of the population following the end of World War II and the expansion of existing recreation-based industries resulted in an evolution in the way park units were used by the public.⁸ With improved access, the remote or rugged parks such as Crater Lake saw their highest visitation up until that time.⁹

Discourse Identification

Recreation landscapes in national park regions present a focal point for the interaction of multiple discourses on many levels. Beginning with the original establishment of park units, a variety of influences from local and national discourses have affected how park access zones developed. To ensure that this study remained focused and manageable, four discourses representing the most significant elements in the development of park regions during the past century were selected. Those four discourses are: 1) automobile and road industries, 2) local and regional boosters, 3) outdoor recreation providers, 4) federal land management policy. Both the national themes and local application of the discourses are presented, providing a consistent thematic connection throughout the research.

The selection of these four discourses was based largely on the existing frameworks presented in traditional park histories. Contributing to the overall

⁷ M. Frome, *Regreening the National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992); Runte, *National Parks*; Benton, *The Presidio*.

⁸ Sutter, *Driven Wild*.

⁹ R. Harmon, *Crater Lake National Park: A History* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2002).

ability of the public to access park lands in automobiles, road building and automotive industries represent the role of emerging technology on access patterns in park areas. This discourse therefore provides the groundwork for showing the popularity of the automobile and the increasing scope of its influence.

The economic and civic booster associations were often important factors in early development of parks. Included in the booster discourse are businesses in local communities and promotional organizations aimed at increasing the status of a park region. Specific examples vary from the broadly aimed 'See America First' League to local civic organizations hoping to promote local growth. Within southern Oregon in the late 19th Century, Portland businessman William Steel was responsible for much of the momentum for park development at Crater Lake. With his assistance, additional investments in regional development were made by local communities and regional business interests, including E. H. Harriman's Southern Pacific Railroad.¹⁰

The discourse on outdoor recreation has changed as the type of visitor and the style of travel in a national park context has evolved during the 20th Century. Represented in this group are the businesses associated with the enjoyment of travel along a transportation route. For many national park visitors this is often tied to activities such as camping or hiking, but in a broader sense it also applies to any roadside attraction that encourages a motor traveler to stop at a particular site.

¹⁰ S. Mark, "A Sluggish Sort of Eden".

With nearly half of the route from Medford to the rim at Crater Lake passing through public land, the relevance of federal policies toward land management is obvious. Presenting the discourse of federal land management allows the national themes from conservation and preservation debates to be presented in the context of landscapes at the local level. While some decisions are made thousands of miles away, the impacts on communities along the Crater Lake Road are still significant.

METHODOLOGY

The research techniques of this study are tailored to both the location and the scope of interest. As an historical evaluation, the use of archived primary materials provides a foundation for the project. The structure of the research required a two-fold approach to gathering data required for developing the historical narrative as well as the framework for discourse analysis.

Establishing the relevant historical narratives was done through a combination of evaluating previous literature, government documents, and local history collections. Important to understanding the context of the national themes within the communities along the Crater Lake Road, existing local histories in the form of transcribed interviews, unpublished reports, and library or archived scrapbooks, were invaluable. These materials were found at a number of archival locations.

U.S. National Park archives at Crater Lake as well as at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, are an important source of park history. Located in these collections are a variety of documents that span the breadth of

development across the Park Service. These include superintendent's reports, resource inventories, office communications, engineering records, visitation documentation, and building and construction reports.¹¹ However, the majority of the material relating to the discursive analysis of the regional recreation landscape came from outside of the park. Local and state historical societies contain documents that record conditions surrounding the park location. In most cases this material was found in library and archive files. Yet some historical documents have been made available through online databases and these proved invaluable as a research source. A full list of all archival and database sources appears ahead of the bibliographic entries.

To investigate the representation of each of the four discourses within the Medford/Crater Lake region, a survey of local and state newspapers was undertaken. News articles were gathered by reviewing newspaper collections at five-year intervals. Because of the seasonal nature of travel to Crater Lake, especially during the earlier periods of the study, material selected for each specified year included one spring month, one summer month, and one fall month. For each month selected, the daily newspaper records were visually searched for articles related to any of the four discourse themes in the Crater Lake region. The inspection process required several steps. The first was identification of potentially relevant articles based on the printed headline. When potentially relevant articles were identified, they were reviewed to verify the

¹¹ E. Hill, *Inventory of the Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2007).

accuracy and proper interpretation of the headline. Finally, each selected article was reviewed and assigned to one or more of the four discourse themes.

To accomplish this, the articles were evaluated using the guiding principles of text coding, a broad approach from content analysis that helps to classify and reduce text material to the most important themes.¹² Text coding is frequently utilized in qualitative research to help sort through the vast amount of material and provide a logical framework from which conclusions can be drawn.¹³ Using a semi-structured collection of words and phrases, each selected article was reviewed and grouped with material containing similar discourse themes. To facilitate analysis of the material during the coding process, each item was registered on a formatted information sheet, a sample of which can be found in Appendix C. Utilizing this technique ensured a thorough and consistent final product.

The combination of the contemporary news reports and promotional materials provides the underlying foundation for the cultural landscape evaluation of this study. It is through the local items that distinct discourse themes are expressed and eventually translated from their physical representations within the landscapes of the Upper Rogue region. While previous literature may offer some insight into the events of each period, the archival material allows for a more in-depth understanding of the processes linking the Crater Lake Road with the region's communities.

¹² R. Weber, *Basic Content Analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990).

¹³ C. F. Auerbach and L. B. Silverstein, *Qualitative Data: An Introduction to Coding and Analysis* (New York: New York University Press, 2003)

To elaborate on the evolution of cultural landscapes in any region, it is essential to understand exactly how the people of that place present themselves to those on the outside.¹⁴ Contemporary written or visual attempts to publicize a town, park, or attraction are based on the expectation of a particular physical landscape. Once published, those promotions serve to reinforce that version of the cultural landscape. For the residential landscapes examined in Schein's implementation of discursive landscape analysis, these archival materials included personal letters between residents, community planning documents, and reports from residential building contractors.¹⁵ For this study on the landscapes of recreation along in the Upper Rogue Valley, the primary documents include archived oral histories, regionally-produced promotional literature, and newspaper accounts.

LIMITATIONS

When approaching a study of this kind, it is important to consider as much of the relevant source material as possible. Due to a number of factors, however, not all desired items were available during the research period. County records, initially planned as a potential source of business and property ownership information, were quickly eliminated as a source. Due to shrinking county revenues following a decline in the Jackson County's timber industry, county records from before the last few decades have been turned over to a private warehousing company. Requests can be made through the county clerk

¹⁴ J. S. Rikoon and J. Austin, *Interpreting Local Culture and History* (Boise: University of Idaho Press, 1991), 40.

¹⁵ Schein, "The Place of Landscape", 677.

for individual items but not for entire volumes. In addition, the materials are stored off-site and require a processing period following any request. Because of the structure of the research, access to this material was limited. Archived material at historical societies, local libraries, and universities helped to establish a baseline of information comparable to the data that would have been acquired through the county records.

The revenue shortfalls which resulted in the removal of older records from county control is also responsible for the limited availability of some archives held by local research libraries. Both the Southern Oregon Historical Society Research Library and the Jackson County Library were running on partial schedules during the field research periods of this study. The staff at these locations were invaluable to the research and some continued to send items related to the park and or road after the field studies were concluded. However, the lack of funding from state and local sources has resulted not only in fewer opportunities to access the archives but a lower likelihood that staff or volunteers have organized or categorized the records.¹⁶

This underscores one reason the additional evaluation of newspaper records was undertaken. Archived history collections may reflect only specific events or themes based largely on the needs of prior researchers or of the interests of the archive staff. Using a structured set of newspaper records

¹⁶ The budget issues at the Southern Oregon Historical Society became extremely acute in Fall 2009. Nearly all staff and volunteers were released, all museums were closed, and the research library was shuttered. The research library has plans to reopen in May 2010 with a limited staff but the situation illustrates the tenuous nature of research in local historical collections.

provides a glimpse into the entire spectrum of events which occurred in the Upper Rogue Valley over the entire period of the study.

ORGANIZATION

The second chapter is a review of previous literature relevant to the themes and theories encapsulated in this research. This includes existing research on national park sites as well as the individual discourses represented within the cultural landscapes of parks. The third, fourth, and fifth chapters address the themes of each discourse during three periods of park development, each spanning roughly thirty years. The chapters are each arranged in a similar manner. They begin with an overview of the status of national parks during the period, followed by a review of the national themes addressed within each discourse. Attention then focuses on the study area with a review of developments within Crater Lake specifically, followed by an analysis of the discourses as represented in contemporary local sources. Each chapter concludes with a summary of how the discourses ‘materialized’ within the recreation landscapes of that period.

The final chapter addresses the overall themes found within the analysis of discourses throughout the three periods of park development. Emphasis is placed on the changing status of individual discourses within the local context and the ways those changes influenced the creation of new features and evolution of existing ones in the recreation landscape of the Crater Lake Road. Finally, a summary of the implications for utilizing this type of landscape study to

understand the relationships between the forces at work in park regions is presented.

A list of archival and individual sources is included in the source material, which is followed by a series of appendices. Appendix A provides a list of national parks listed chronologically by establishment while Appendix B gives the official yearly visitation to each existing park, classified by the three time periods employed in the study. Appendix C is a sample of the coding sheet utilized in the analysis of archival and historical material related to the study area discourses.

CHAPTER II

CONTEXTUALIZING CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

LITERATURE REVIEW

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

This study focuses attention on the recreation-based components of a cultural landscape crossing through a national park region. The study of cultural landscapes has been an important focus within the realm of cultural geography. In the context of North American cultural geography, many traditional landscape studies were employed as a component of regional geographies. Describing the landscape was an integral part of a comprehensive regional study. Many North American landscape studies trace their lineage back to the works of Carl Sauer, particularly his 1925 “Morphology of Landscape,” which emphasized the role of human agency in the creation of the components of the cultural landscapes of a particular region.¹⁷

Subsequent landscape studies have continued to focus on the human-built environment.¹⁸ Landscape studies have broad appeal within a variety of

¹⁷ C. Sauer, “The Morphology of Landscape” (1925), reprinted in J. Leighly, ed., *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 315-350.

¹⁸ J. F. Hart, “The Highest Form of the Geographer’s Art”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 72, no 1 (1982): 1-29; D. Lowenthal, “The American Scene”,

subfields. The study of everyday landscapes, those often overlooked in traditional studies, has gained favor in recent decades. J. B. Jackson's evaluations of the vernacular landscape opened the field of landscape studies to an even wider array of subjects.¹⁹

Landscapes, vernacular or otherwise, are not static features. The role of landscape change and the forces responsible for that change have been important components in the study of cultural landscapes for many researchers. In his evaluations of cultural landscapes, Jackson emphasized the importance of contemporary social values and utility in shaping landscapes.²⁰ Recognizing the desires of those who occupy the cultural landscape in question provides a valuable insight into the evolution of those places. Recent studies have applied the concept of social norms to help explain these forces of change.²¹ A normative landscape, one that reflects the expectations and needs of its creators, allows for a structured view of changing contexts.

The role of cultural landscape change has also played a large role in the context of historical geography. D. W. Meinig's encompassing study of five centuries of American development contains a strong link to the material

Geographical Review 58, no 1 (1968): 61-88; D. Cosgrove, "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, 10, no 1 (1985): 45-62.

¹⁹ J. B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, 8th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

²⁰ T. Davis, "Looking Down the Road: J. B. Jackson and the American Highway Landscape", in C. Wilson and P. Groth, eds., *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 62-80.

²¹ R. H. Schein, "Normative Dimensions of Landscape", in Wilson & Groth, eds., *Everyday America*, 199-218.

landscape changes witnessed throughout the nation during that time.²²

Environmental historians have also utilized the theme of landscape change to emphasize significant components of historical narratives. William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* notes the modifications of the natural environment by Native Americans in pre-colonial and colonial New England.²³

Just as important as the emphasis on landscape change has been a focus on landscape authorship. Assigning authorship is often a difficult process as the cultural landscape is composed of many individual pieces, each of which with potentially separate origins. As Lewis notes in "Axioms for Reading the Landscape" the multiple contexts imbedded within cultural landscapes makes them inherently difficult to interpret.²⁴ Difficult to interpret does not, however, mean impossible. Meinig's "The Beholding Eye" suggests that ten individual viewers of a landscape may see ten unique scenes, each underlain by historical, wealth, or aesthetic attributes.²⁵

In "The Place of Landscape", Richard Schein uses Meinig's example to showcase a discursive analysis of cultural landscapes.²⁶ Discourses in the context of landscape study can represent any theme or social force which may enact some measure of influence on the creation or evolution of a particular

²² D. W. Meinig, "The Continuous Shaping of America: A Prospectus for Geographers and Historians", *The American Historical Review* 83, no 5 (1978): 1186-1205. Meinig's brings history and geography together in his four volume work, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* (New Haven: Yale University, 1986 (Vol 1), 1993 (Vol 2), 1998 (Vol 3), 2004 (Vol 4)).

²³ W. Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

²⁴ P. K. Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene", in D. W. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 11-32.

²⁵ D. W. Meinig, "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene", in Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, 33-50.

²⁶ Schein, "The Place of Landscape".

landscape. Discourses may involve actions by select individuals but are often the representations of issues within the community or larger society. In a study of an American suburb, Schein emphasizes a selection of discourses relevant to residential development in the 20th Century. His discursive analysis of themes including zoning, landscape architecture, and consumption focuses on the way in which those themes are 'materialized' within the relevant landscape.²⁷

Though Schein uses the concept of discourse materialized to highlight the processes involved in the suburban landscape of American cities, the same process can be applied to the recreation landscapes in this study. As Schein notes, the number of individual discourses at work on a particular landscape may be large, yet a selection of a few significant discourse themes can provide a valuable glimpse of landscape development and evolution.

The theme of access is best represented by the road and automobile industries, without which modern recreational travel would be entirely different. Road and automobile advancements provide the means for access yet promotion of parks and park regions encourage increased travel to these places. This theme is represented by local and regional boosters. As travel patterns changed and promotions encouraged more visitors, the activities and amenities available for tourists also increased. Outdoor recreation encapsulates the broad themes in those activities. In national park regions, the federal government plays an implicit role in regulating land use. The policies employed by all applicable federal land management agencies represent the final discourse theme contained in this analysis.

²⁷ Ibid., 663

The remainder of this literature review focuses on broad concepts within park-based studies as well as studies focused on each of the four selected discourses. With an enormous array of literature that has examined national park regions, this review will emphasize those studies with either historical geography or cultural landscape components. Review of literature for each of the four discourse themes will emphasize similar aspects, especially for studies which link those themes directly to park regions.

NATIONAL PARKS

National parks have long been a focus of scholarly research. Many previous park studies emphasize the general history and development of the idea of parks and protected areas.²⁸ Several comprehensive histories document the debates between preservation and conservation forces or examine the political and social climate that led to the establishment of the first national park at Yellowstone in 1872. Alfred Runte's 'worthless lands' thesis, which suggests that early parks were created only when economic interests declared a region valueless from a resource perspective, is a prominent example of this kind of park creation narrative.²⁹ Other literature focuses on specific aspects of

²⁸ A. Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* 3rd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); R. Nash, "The American Invention of National Parks" *American Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1970): 726-735; R. Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

²⁹ A. Runte, "The National Park Idea: Origins and Paradox of the American Experience", *Journal of Forest History* 21, no. 2 (1977): 64-75. Runte's presentation of his worthless lands thesis was an attempt to reveal the contemporary view of park lands in during the 19th Century. Many early park proponents, including Ferdinand Vandever Hayden and John Muir, used the poor timber, mining, and agricultural prospects of park sites as rationale for their protection. By the time of Runte's work, the origin of many parks had become somewhat mythological and his reiteration of the economic reasons for park creation helped provide a valuable context to park histories.

protected area management or on the internal conflicts within federal agencies during significant periods of park development.³⁰

Park research can provide important insight into the issues addressed by park management. To assist in the decision-making process, administrative histories are often used to showcase the significant themes present at a particular location throughout development. While some are merely overviews of leadership changes, policy evolution, and infrastructure developments, some others take a particular issue and fit the history of development of a park into the context of that event.³¹

Park landscapes have been a large component of the research on parks and their development. For the earliest parks, the landscape component often refers to the physical environment and monumental vistas expected at a park destination. Wyckoff and Dilsaver show that these expectations of particular landscapes at Glacier National Park in Montana during the early 20th Century were often reinforced by commercial enterprises hoping to make money on tourist traffic to the park.³² In a study of modern tourist expectations at Denali

³⁰ H. Rothman, "A Regular Ding-Dong Fight': Agency Culture and Evolution in the NPS-USFS Dispute, 1916-1937", *The Western Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1989):141-161; R. Righter, "National Monuments to National Parks: The Use of the Antiquities Act of 1906", *The Western Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (1989): 281-301; T. Wikle, "Proposals, abolishments, and changing standards for U.S. national parks", *Historian* 54, no. 1 (1991): 49-64; R. Winks, "The National Park Service Act of 1916: 'A Contradictory Mandate'?", *Denver University Law Review* 74, no. 3 (1997): 581-595.

³¹ B. Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, Rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1991); H. Unrau and S. Mark, *Administrative History of Crater Lake National Park*, 2nd ed. (Seattle: National Park Service, 1991). For an example of a study which focuses on a particular issue throughout a park's history see L. Schoch-Roberts, *A Classic Western Quarrel: A History of the Road Controversy at Colorado National Monument* (Denver: National Park Service, 1997).

³² W. Wyckoff and L. Dilsaver, "Promotional Imagery of Glacier National Park", *Geographical Review* 87, no 1 (1997): 1-26.

National Park in Alaska, Eugene Palka highlights the way 'sense of place' affects the experiences of visitors to the park.³³

These studies underscore the importance placed on park landscapes by potential and actual visitors. Yet the landscapes of parks are not limited to the grand scenery or inspiring views; they also include the built environment constructed to facilitate park use. Numerous studies highlight the development and evolution of the cultural landscapes within national park sites. In many cases, the focus is on the application of architectural design to create a style now referred to as 'National Park Rustic'.³⁴ Other literature addresses the conscious attempt by park administrators and engineers to create a landscape to match the expectations of visitors. Through the work of landscape architects, roads and buildings were blended into the natural landscape creating a smooth transition between the scenery and built environment.³⁵

Research on roads has also focused on aspects of planning and visitor access to park sites. In Anne Mitchell's study, the dynamics of local and regional politics as well as the ideas of touring by automobile helped shape the cultural

³³ E. Palka, "Landscapes into Place: An Experiential View of Denali National Park", dissertation in Geography (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1995).

³⁴ See E. Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) and L. F. McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998) for in depth evaluations of landscape architecture and its imprint on the early landscapes of park sites.

³⁵ A variety of studies have examined the impact of landscape architecture on visitors' park experiences. Among them are B. Essig, "Constructing the Western Landscape: National Park Architecture" dissertation in Architecture (College Park: University of Maryland, 2008); D. Louter, "Windshield Wilderness: The Automobile and the Making of National Parks in Washington State" dissertation in History (Seattle: University of Washington, 2000); R. Vandersall, "Building the View: Rocky Mountain National Park's Trail Ridge Road" thesis in Geography (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 2004); and K. Sallee, "The Cultural Landscape Inventory: A Research Process for the Platt District of the National Park Service" thesis in Landscape Architecture (Arlington: University of Texas-Arlington, 1996).

landscape of the Blue Ridge Parkway.³⁶ Other studies focus specifically on the degree of accessibility within a park environment.³⁷ Some, including Finney's work on the participation of African Americans in activities in the 'Great Outdoors', have looked at the issue of access through the lens of social justice, race, class, and environmental perception.³⁸

Many park studies focus on the issues at work within the borders of a protected area but do not consider the effect of management beyond those borders nor do they highlight the influence of external forces on park landscapes. More recent literature has addressed the issue of cross-border management and the effects that process has on local sentiment towards park administration and development.³⁹ Only a few, however, address the shared cultural landscapes across those borders.⁴⁰

That these previous studies of park creation, development, and evolution are often focused on the context of events within the parks belies the complex

³⁶ A. V. Mitchell, "Parkway Politics: Class, Culture, and Tourism in the Blue Ridge" dissertation in History (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1997)

³⁷ B. O'Brien, "The Future Road System of Yellowstone National Park", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 56, no. 3 (1966): 385-407; and A. Mullick, "Accessibility issues in park design: The National Parks", *Landscape and Urban Planning* 26 (1993):25-33.

³⁸ C. Finney, "Black Face, White Spaces: African Americans and the Great Outdoors" dissertation in Geography (Worcester, MA: Clark University, 2006). The use of parks as pieces of social and class manipulation is examined in S. Germic, "Nature, Naturalism, American Exceptionalism: Nineteenth-Century Designs to Obscure Class and Crisis" dissertation in English (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1997) and D. Taylor, "Central Park as a Model for Social Control: Urban Parks, Social Class and Leisure Behavior in Nineteenth-Century America", *Journal of Leisure Research* 31, no. 4 (1999): 420-477.

³⁹ J. L. Hough, "National Park-Local People Relationships: Case Studies from Northern Benin, West Africa and the Grand Canyon, USA" dissertation in Natural Resources (Lansing: University of Michigan, 1989); B. Kearney, "Exerting Local Power Over Federal Process: Stakeholder Negotiation Process in the Canyon Forest Village Land Exchange Process 1992-2002" dissertation in Geography (College Park: University of Maryland, 2006); L. Benton, *The Presidio: From Army Post to National Park* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998).

⁴⁰ L. Watt, "Managing Cultural Landscapes: Reconciling Local Preservation and Institutional Ideology in the National Park Service" dissertation in Resource Science (Berkeley: University of California, 2001).

array of themes influencing parks from the larger society. The themes represented by the four discourses examined in this study have played a role in park development and each have been investigated in existing literature to varying degrees. The following section identifies relevant literature within each of the four discourse themes, displaying the general concepts as well as those applied specifically to park and protected area studies. Though most of these studies focus on only one of the discourse themes, their collective weight lends support to the selection of these items for the focus of this study.

DISCOURSE THEMES

Automobile & Road Building Industries

The impact of the road and automobile industries on the American landscape, particularly during the past one hundred years, has been a focus of study for a number of geographers and historians. Meinig's *Shaping of America* includes several sections dedicated to the impact of increasing mobility of the American public.⁴¹ In works by Brigham, Flink, and others, the technological advancements required for large-scale adoption of private automobiles is examined.⁴²

In the context of increasing mobility, a number of studies have underscored the evolution of governmental influence and involvement in road planning and construction. Federal efforts to increase national mobility extend

⁴¹ Meinig, *Shaping of America*, vols 1-4.

⁴² A. Brigham, "Good Roads in the United States", *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 36, no. 12 (1904): 721-725; J. Flink, "Three Stages of American Automobile Consciousness", *American Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1972): 451-473; I. Holley, "Blacktop: How Asphalt Paving Came to the Urban United States", *Technology and Culture* 44 (2003): 703-733.

back to the early 19th Century. Proposals for (and nascent attempts to build) a national transportation system have drawn the attention of many scholars.⁴³ That interest continues through periods of state-funded road construction and into the era of direct federal involvement during the 20th Century.⁴⁴

The changing status of roads and travel brought a new and rapidly evolving landscape to the American scene. A number of studies have attempted to describe the transformations that have taken place in that context. Some, such as Raitz's "American Roads, Roadside America," document the broad scope of landscape change seen through changing periods of transportation development.⁴⁵ Others focus on a particular period or specific element of the roadside landscape and document the changes seen in that context.⁴⁶

The theme of recreational travel by auto has been a significant one in literature on the emergence of the automotive culture of the United States. Flink, Jakle, and Hugill each address impacts of auto touring on tourist destinations as

⁴³ J. Larson, "Bind the Republic Together": The National Union and the Struggle for a System of Internal Improvements", *The Journal of American History* 74, no. 2 (1987): 363-387; M. Conzen, "The National Road, or, a Landward Salient for a Potamic People", *Geographical Review* 88, no. 4 (1998): 580-586; P. Baker, "The Washington National Road Bill and the Struggle to Adopt a Federal System of Internal Improvement", *Journal of the Early Republic* 22, no. 3 (2002): 437-464.

⁴⁴ K. Raitz, "The Nineteenth-Century Evolution of Local-Scale Roads in Kentucky", *Geographical Review* 94, no. 4 (2004): 415-439; J. Weber, "The morphogenesis of state highway networks in the United States", *Journal of Historical Geography* 31 (2005): 323-343; R. F. Weingroff, "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956: Creating the Interstate System", *Public Roads* 60, no 1 (1996), np; T. Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highway, Transforming American Life* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997).

⁴⁵ K. Raitz, "American Roads, Roadside America", *Geographical Review* 88, no. 3 (1998): 363-387. The entire scope of auto-induced landscape change is also addressed in J. Jakle, "Landscapes Redefined for the Automobile", in M. Conzen, ed., *The Making of the American Landscape* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 293-310.

⁴⁶ P. Hugill, "Good Roads and the Automobile in the United States 1880-1929", *Geographical Review* 72, no. 3 (1982): 327-349; A. Hurley, "From Hash House to Family Restaurant: The Transformation of the Diner and Post-World War II Consumer Culture", *The Journal of American History* 83, no. 4 (1997): 1282-1308; W. J. Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979).

well as the expectation of access for private automobiles.⁴⁷ The emergence of an automobile culture and the reinforcing of that culture throughout the 20th Century has produced a distinct American landscape.⁴⁸

The fact that the debut of the automobile came during the decades leading to the creation of the National Park Service in the United States provides an indication of the potential relationship between the two. In fact, a number of studies have examined the way traveling by automobile has affected the perception and expectation of park visitors. In *Windshield Wilderness*, Louter focuses on three periods of park development in the State of Washington to highlight the role of automobile use in shaping access and expectations.⁴⁹ Youngs, White and Wodrich recently documented how those expectations of access have become an ingrained part of the cultural landscape within national parks.⁵⁰

The expansion of the automobile into parks and protected areas did increase access by the public but it also raised alarm amongst some resource managers and existing preservation groups. Paul Sutter's *Driven Wild* provides an excellent glimpse at the reaction to the promotion of auto access by some in

⁴⁷ J. Flink, *America Adopts the Automobile, 1895-1910* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970); J. Jakle, "Touring by Automobile in 1932: The American West as Stereotype", *Annals of Tourism Research* 8, no. 4 (1981): 534-549; P. Hugill, "The Rediscovery of America: Elite Automobile Touring", *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, no. 3 (1985): 435-447.

⁴⁸ T. Edenson, "Automobility and National Identity: Representation, Geography and Driving Practice", *Theory, Culture and Society* 21, no's 4 & 5 (2004): 101-120.

⁴⁹ D. Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006). The connection of autos and nature viewing is also addressed in G. Barnett, "Drive-by Viewing: Visual Consciousness and Forest Preservation in the Automobile Age", *Technology and Culture* 45, no. 1 (2004): 30-54.

⁵⁰ Y. Youngs, D. White, and J. Wodrich, "Transportation Systems as Cultural Landscapes in National Parks: The Case of Yosemite", *Society and Natural Resources* 21 (2008): 797-811.

the park community.⁵¹ A number of studies have examined the backlash against automobiles in an historical context as well as within the modern landscape of access and development.⁵²

Regional & Local Boosters

The arrival of automobiles in park regions was not simply an organic force of nature. An array of promotions, from the national level to the local, helped to encourage travel to these places. It began with the grassroots movements of public interest organizations and economic booster programs that pushed for expanded access and local development at the turn of the 20th Century. A number of studies have examined the connection between the road and automobile industries and these boosters by focusing on appeals for standardization of construction techniques to facilitate better travel.⁵³

Promotional tourism was a significant component of local and regional booster efforts and has found considerable attention in the literature. The origins of the 'See America First' campaign and its role in the promotion of travel in the Western United States was examined by Marguerite Shaffer.⁵⁴ While campaigns such as 'See America First' were successful for a number of decades, in other

⁵¹ P. Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002)

⁵² T. McCarthy, "The Coming Wonder? Foresight and Early Concern about the Automobile", *Environmental History* 6, no. 1 (2001): 46-74; A. S. Hill, "A Serpent in the Garden: Implications of Highway Development in Canada's Niagara Fruit Belt", *Journal of Historical Sociology* 15, no. 4 (2002): 495-514.

⁵³ Flink, "Three Stages", 453-457; P. Mason, "The League of American Wheelmen and the Good Roads Movement, 1880-1905", dissertation (Lansing: University of Michigan, 1957).

⁵⁴ M. Shaffer, "'See America First': Re-Envisioning Nation and Region through Western Tourism", *The Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (1996): 559-581.

cases efforts to promote a local economy through travel or resettlement did not meet with great success.⁵⁵

Previous research has also examined the specific role of tourism promotion in the context of national park sites. While many park histories document the role of the Park Service and its administrators, other research has highlighted the promotional efforts of commercial enterprises with an interest in park tourism.⁵⁶ The role of the railroad industry in travel promotion has been of particular interest, especially within studies examining park travel before the middle of the 20th Century.⁵⁷

Those studies have led to examinations of how parks are represented within the promotional literature. Researchers have examined the changing ways park landscapes have been expressed to the American public. Since the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, imagery from park sites has been used to generate interest and support for park protection.⁵⁸ In “Promoting National Parks”, Joan Zenzen documents over one hundred years of national park imagery used to promote western travel.⁵⁹

Outdoor Recreation

The promotion of park sites and the added access provided by better automobiles and highways has changed the way Americans use the natural

⁵⁵ S. Mark, “A Sluggish Sort of Eden: Dreams and Decline in Fort Klamath, Oregon”, *Journal of the Shaw Historical Library* 21 (2007): 71-96.

⁵⁶ H. Albright and M. A. Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999)

⁵⁷ A. Runte, *Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks* (Niwtot, CO: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1994); Wycoff and Dilsaver, “Promotional Imagery of Glacier National Park”.

⁵⁸ Runte, *National Parks*.

⁵⁹ J. Zenzen, “Promoting National Parks: Images of the West in the American Imagination, 1864-1972”, dissertation in American Studies (College Park: University of Maryland, 1997).

environment. Societal changes in the ways of viewing nature are important themes throughout park related literature. In *American Sportsmen*, John Reiger highlights the significance of hunting and fishing enthusiasts in the early conservation movement, while Roderick Nash's seminal *Wilderness and the American Mind* focuses on the changing perception of nature in American life.⁶⁰ Of particular interest to this research are studies which emphasize the creation and early evolution of natural tourist attractions such as Niagara Falls, Mammoth Cave, or Virginia's Natural Bridge or recreation regions such as the Catskills or Poconos.⁶¹

The transformation of access to outdoor recreation following the introduction of the automobile was a major factor in the changing patterns of recreation at park sites during the 20th Century. It is understandable, therefore, that a number of studies emphasize the impact of private automobiles on the landscapes of recreation. Some of these realizations came shortly after the trend began, as was the case with Norman Hayner's research on auto camps and the changing social status of travel in the 1930s.⁶² Others, such as Jakle's *The Tourist* have documented the changing expectations of pleasure travelers during the automobile age.⁶³

⁶⁰ J. F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* 3rd ed. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001); Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*.

⁶¹ J. F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the 19th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); S. E. Demars, *The Tourist in Yosemite, 1855-1985* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991); S. J. Hornsby, "The Gilded Age and the Making of Bar Harbor", *Geographical Review* 83, no. 4 (1993): 455-468.

⁶² N. Hayner, "Auto Camps in the Evergreen Playground", *Social Forces* 9, no. 2 (1930): 256-266; N. Hayner, "The Tourist Family", *Social Forces* 11, no. 1 (1932): 82-85.

⁶³ J. Jakle, *The Tourist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

The changes in recreation expectations were also present within national park sites. Some of the change in visitor experience was due to the evolving role of the Park Service itself in the interpretation of features for public enjoyment. In “Forest Scholars”, Jeffrey Pappas examines in detail the status of nature guides during the early years of national parks.⁶⁴

In many cases, the changes in public use of outdoor recreation destinations have stirred controversy. That controversy often involves the degree of access provided to the now ubiquitous automobile, as Searle’s review of the conflicts between canoeists and auto tourists in the national forests of Northern Minnesota shows.⁶⁵ In a broader study, Sutter’s *Driven Wild* provides insight into these changing demands by highlighting the increasing complexity of commercial camping and touring gear available to consumers during the 1920s and 30s.⁶⁶

Federal Land Management Policy

The role of federal government agencies such as the Park Service and Forest Service can have a direct effect on the cultural landscapes of park regions. Much of the research focused on these agencies examines their historical context during different eras, with particular interest on the internal debates between competing factions within the land management community. Hal Rothman highlights much of that competitive agenda during the first two

⁶⁴ J. Pappas, “Forest Scholars: The Early History of Nature Guiding at Yosemite National Park, 1913-1925”, dissertation in History (Tempe: Arizona State University, 2003).

⁶⁵ R. N. Searle, “Autos or Canoes? Wilderness Controversy in the Superior National Forest”, *Journal of Forest History* 22, no. 2 (1978): 68-77.

⁶⁶ In the second chapter of his book, Sutter addresses the dramatic increase in outdoor recreation amenities and technology and how those shifts pushed some individuals toward a more restrictive idea of nature enjoyment. See Sutter, *Driven Wild*, 19-53.

decades of the National Park Service in his “Agency Culture and Evolution in the NPS-USFS Dispute”.⁶⁷

In some cases, the dispute is not between separate agencies but rather between the federal government and local communities. Elmo Richardson documents the political posturing by advocates and opponents of Olympic National Park in Washington State during disputes concerning its status and size throughout the mid-20th Century.⁶⁸ In some cases, especially in more recent years, local concerns can have a direct influence on decisions made by government policy-makers.⁶⁹

Federal agency decisions can have a profound impact on the landscapes of parks and park regions, especially in the western states where federal land ownership is high. Some literature concentrates on the ‘idea’ of the West as a distinct American region, often assigning the presence of federal lands – recreational or otherwise – as an important force in the creation of the regional landscape and identity.⁷⁰ This concept or perception of the ‘West’ in American society is often bolstered by images from national park sites themselves.⁷¹

The expected landscapes of parks can be partly attributed to the policies enacted by the National Park Service throughout its history. As noted previously,

⁶⁷ Rothman, “A Regular Ding-Dong Fight”.

⁶⁸ E. R. Richardson, “Olympic National Park: Twenty Years of Controversy”, *Forest History* 12, no. 1 (1968): 6-15.

⁶⁹ See Kearney, “Exerting Local Power Over Federal Process”.

⁷⁰ D. Worster, “New West, True West: Interpreting the Region’s History”, *The Western Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1987): 141-156; D. Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); W. Cronon, G. Miles, and J. Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America’s Western Past* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992).

⁷¹ Zenzen, “Promoting National Parks”; Wyckoff and Dilsaver, “Promotional Imagery of Glacier National Park”.

the use of landscape architects and designers during the early period of park development provides insight into the management policy ideas of park administrators.⁷² Ethan Carr's detailed coverage of the Mission 66 project documents internal dialogue and discussion within the Park Service during an era of dramatic change to park landscapes.⁷³ Dilsaver and Wyckoff focus on the effect of long-standing agency protocols in the evolution of park landscape.⁷⁴ The emphasis on public access by automobiles created a pattern of cyclical development resulting in ever-increasing use throughout much of the 20th Century.

⁷² See Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, and McClelland, *Building the National Parks*.

⁷³ E. Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

⁷⁴ L. Dilsaver and W. Wyckoff, "Agency Culture, Cumulative Causation and Development in Glacier National Park, Montana", *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, no. 1 (1999): 75-92.

CHAPTER III

EMERGING PARK LANDSCAPES: 1800s – 1916

NATIONAL THEMES

THE NATIONAL PARK IDEA

The final quarter of the 19th Century saw the emergence of the national park idea in the United States. As American settlers pushed the frontier West and urban industrialization transformed the cities of the East, a significant change in environmental values was underway. The natural world was no longer a threat or a barrier to development; American society had produced vibrant communities in nearly every pocket of the nation.

As this expansion took place, some observed the diminishing role of nature. A renewed emergence in environmental writing in the middle of the 19th Century, led early on by Henry David Thoreau, focused on the effect of modern life on the surrounding environment and the social significance tied to people's lack of connection with nature.⁷⁵ The suggestion that advances of civilization were degrading the pure, natural state of humans – a declensionist style of environmental change history – was easily understood in a country where a

⁷⁵ J. Cramer, ed., *Henry David Thoreau: Walden* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

seemingly wild and pristine continent had existed only a few hundred years earlier.⁷⁶

The late-Victorian/early-Progressive Era mindset also fueled a changing attitude toward the natural world. As an urban landscape emerged as dominant in many parts of the country, access to a natural setting for rejuvenation and revitalization became more appealing and encouraged a more functional view of nature.⁷⁷ From mountain retreats to weekend vacation sites and urban recreation grounds, these places served as a respite from the trials and pressures of the ever-increasing pace of modern life. Park planners such as Frederick Law Olmstead actively shaped the environment to suit the needs and expectations of the public.⁷⁸ In the span of a few decades during the middle of the 19th Century general attitudes towards the environment went from fear of a vast, untamed wilderness to a desire for a reflective personal connection with nature. While that personal connection often came by means of highly scripted and planned interactions within the confines of managed parks, this represented a significant shift in sentiment.

Americans of the 19th Century were also pushing to develop a concrete national identity. Despite burgeoning arts and literature movements, the relatively new United States had little in the way of cultural history to compete with centuries of development seen throughout Europe. One of the few things

⁷⁶ Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 9-13. For a historical perspective on the origins of the view that civilization degrades nature while primitive societies live in harmony with it, see M. Cranston, *The Noble Savage: Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁷⁷ T. Young, "Social reform through parks: the American Civic Association's Program for a better America", *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 4 (1996): 463-464.

⁷⁸ See Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, and McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, for detailed evaluations of the role of landscape architects in public parks.

Americans could focus on were virtually unaltered natural features. As early as colonial times, sites such as Virginia's Natural Bridge and New York's Niagara Falls garnered popular attention as scenic wonders.⁷⁹

These sites were often promoted as tourist attractions for American citizens as well as international visitors. At first only minimal services were provided for travelers to these locations but over time commercial development became significant. The effect of this development on the scenic landscape was particularly acute at Niagara Falls where private businesses occupied nearly every vantage point.⁸⁰ By the middle of the 19th Century, many were calling for better management of the nation's scenic treasures, in part to maintain the image of scenic wonder that American promoters were attempting to cultivate.

While attempts were ongoing to rescue well known eastern sites, explorers and surveyors on the frontier of the American West were writing accounts of unparalleled scenic wonders. Romantic interpretations of these places by countless artists helped to promote the monumental landscapes of the nation. Depictions of the massive granite walls of Yosemite Valley and the brilliant colors of Yellowstone Canyon were displayed for audiences throughout eastern cities and across the Atlantic in Europe.⁸¹

The revelation of these spectacular landscapes, along with a renewed interest in the physical benefits of nature and a desire to prevent a repeat of Niagara Falls-type commercialization, helped push forward the idea of protection

⁷⁹ S. S. Hollberg, "National Historic Landmark Nomination for Natural Bridge, Rockbridge County, Virginia", prepared for U.S. Department of Interior (October 1997), 8-15, NPS-H; Sears, *Sacred Places*.

⁸⁰ Demars, 20-21.

⁸¹ Runte, *National Parks*, Ch. 2.

for the most noteworthy sites. Yosemite Valley, a well-known site in California's Sierra Nevada, was transferred to state control in 1864 with a mandate to use the land as a public park. The federal government was reluctant to enter into active management of recreation lands until nearly a decade later following the exploration and mapping of extensive geyser basins in the northwestern corner of the Wyoming Territory.

Following military and scientific surveys of the area, complete with photographic and artistic depictions of the landscapes, public sentiment in favor of landscape protection began to rise. Much of this support was fueled by the images produced by photographer William Henry Jackson and painter Thomas Moran, which captured the surreal nature of the Yellowstone terrain. Those images were instrumental in encouraging members of Congress to take up debate on the subject of federal protection for the Yellowstone area early in the 1870s.⁸²

The images coming east from Wyoming confirmed the spectacular features in the upper reaches of the Yellowstone River, yet its location had as much to do with its eventual designation as the first national park as did its tally of significant features. Like the Yosemite Valley park in California, Yellowstone was in a difficult-to-reach mountainous area. Arduous travel, rough terrain, and extreme remoteness helped in protecting the area from development. In the context of American settlement of the West, these areas were often viewed as economically worthless from an agricultural viewpoint and unproductive or

⁸² P. Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2004), 60-61; L. Smith, "The Contested Landscape of Early Yellowstone" *Journal of Cultural Geography* 22, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2004): 7.

unusable from a mining or timber perspective.⁸³ Unlike California at Yosemite's transfer in 1864, Wyoming was not yet a state. As a result, transferring the land to local control was a less viable option. Congress opted to keep Yellowstone as a federal possession, removing it from the land available for homestead or settlement. With the signature of President Grant, Yellowstone was declared a National Park on March 1, 1872.

At the time of establishment there was already a sense that areas of natural wonder could attract tourists. As seen with eastern sites such as Natural Bridge or Niagara Falls, people were willing to travel to remarkable landscapes if they had the inclination and ability to make the journey. The railroad industry was keenly aware of its own unique role in making places such as the Yellowstone geyser basins accessible to tourists. Representatives of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which was in the process of building a line across central Montana north of the proposed park, were active in financing expeditions through the area and promoting the region's protection as a public park. Though the connection between St. Paul, Minnesota, and Portland, Oregon, would not be completed until 1883, the Northern Pacific recognized the potential for tourist income as the most efficient route into the park.⁸⁴

The efforts of the Northern Pacific illustrate how directly corporate or individual influence affected park establishment during the first decades of the protection movement. Corporate interests, while draped in banners of

⁸³ Runte, *National Parks*, Ch. 3.

⁸⁴ J. Vance, *Capturing the Horizon: the Historical Geography of Transportation Since the Sixteenth Century*, *Softshell Books ed.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 323-324; Meinig, *Shaping of America, Vol 3*, 149; Schullery, 59-62.

conservation or national promotion, were more directly tied to securing monopolistic access to new regions of the West, including new park sites. Individual campaigning by private citizens was significant in a number of cases, particularly following the example John Muir, the champion of California's Sierra Nevada. After his first visit to the Yosemite Valley in 1868, Muir recognized the benefit of the rugged wildness that still existed in the High Sierra and began writing accounts of his adventures in California and elsewhere.⁸⁵ Muir pushed forward with ideas in both conservation and in public appreciation of nature, tenants of the social outing organization, the Sierra Club, which he helped found in 1892.

By the time Yellowstone National Park marked the 25th Anniversary of its establishment in 1897, the movement to protect other pieces of the American landscape was well underway. Bringing the ranks of national parks to four were Sequoia, Yosemite, and General Grant, all in John Muir's treasured High Sierra and all officially established by federal legislation in 1890 (Figure 4). The Department of the Interior was also responsible for two reservations, Hot Springs in Arkansas and Casa Grande Ruin in Arizona, while the War Department managed four significant Civil War sites as national military parks or battlefield sites.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ J. Muir, "The Yosemite" in *John Muir: The Eight Wilderness Discovery Books* (Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1992), 607-632.

⁸⁶ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*. General Grant National Park would be absorbed into Kings Canyon National Park in 1940. The Yosemite Valley, a state possession following the land transfer in 1864, was not part of the original Yosemite National Park, which consisted only of the surrounding areas in the High Sierra. The valley itself would be added to the rest of the park in 1906. An additional national park on Michigan's Mackinac Island existed between 1875 and 1895 before it was transferred to the state of Michigan. Hot Springs and Casa Grande Ruins were later redesignated. Casa Grande Ruin became Casa Grande National Monument

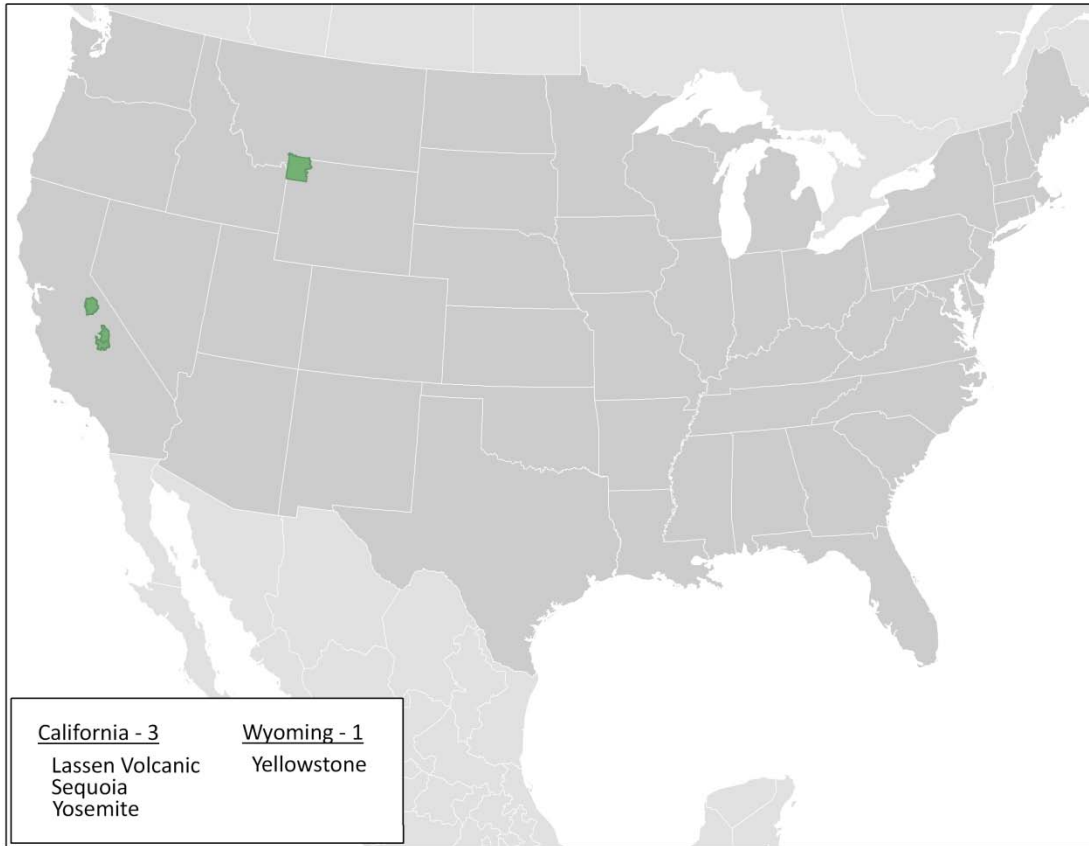


Figure 4 – Locations of designated national parks, 1897.

Proposals for new national parks soon emerged from all parts of the nation. In the first decade of the 20th Century, six new parks were established, though two would later be demoted from park status. Though the sites all carried the ‘national park’ name, local issues were often the principal force behind their establishment. By the middle of the 1910s, the lack of consistent management for the 33 parks, monuments, and reservations managed by the Department of Interior, as well as a growing concern over the introduction of inferior sites for

in 1918; in 1926 it was renamed Casa Grande Ruins NM. Hot Springs, having been a Reservation since 1832, became a national park in 1921. Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park and Antietam National Battlefield Site were established in 1890, Shiloh NMP in 1894, and Gettysburg NMP in 1895. All four were transferred to the National Park Service during a 1933 reorganization of federal land holdings.

federal protection, created a debate surrounding the status of these federal lands as a whole.⁸⁷ Earlier in the decade, political and social forces from San Francisco had successfully petitioned for a new dam and reservoir in the Hetch Hetchy Valley, inside the borders of Yosemite National Park. As the President of the Sierra Club and the unofficial voice of the national parks of the Sierra Nevada, John Muir was appalled by the decision.⁸⁸

Muir's concern spread to other members of the Sierra Club, including a California businessman and growing park supporter, Stephen Mather. Connected to Department of the Interior administrators through school and business acquaintances, Mather soon found himself leading efforts to build a separate national parks bureau in Washington.⁸⁹ Several early attempts to pass a park service bill failed, but by 1916 pressure from Interior officials, park managers, and local boosters combined to push through a short, yet powerful statement creating a new national park service.⁹⁰ Its brevity came from a desire to move Congressional attention on to the more pressing matters of an upcoming election and ongoing belligerence in Europe, but it served to provide generations of park administrators and admirers with a succinct, if arguably vague, mandate:

The service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks ... to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide

⁸⁷ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*; Wikle, "Proposals, Abolishments, and Changing Standards for US National Parks"; Rothman, 147.

⁸⁸ Demars, 79; Runte, *National Parks*; Frome, 210.

⁸⁹ Albright and Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service*, 31-38; J. Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), 193-194.

⁹⁰ Winks, "A Contradictory Mandate'?"

*for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.*⁹¹

The passage of the Park Service Organic Act brought to an end the era of separately managed national parks and monuments and ushered in several decades of administrative clarity and cohesion which helped solidify the national parks as symbols of the nation.

DISCOURSES IN A NATIONAL CONTEXT

Each of the four discourses in this analysis, road and automobile industries, regional boosterism, outdoor recreation, and federal land management policy, had an impact on the creation of the national parks. More importantly, these discourses influenced the cultural landscape of the parks and the regions surrounding them. The following sections provide an overview of the national themes within each discourse as they relate to the formation of the national park idea during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

Automobile & Road Building Industries

The creation of a National Park Service was a major step in promoting the increased role of national park sites as tourist destinations. Early in the four-plus decades between the designation of Yellowstone in 1872 and the creation of the Park Service in 1916, large numbers of tourists rarely ventured to the rugged parts of the West that were being set aside. Those who did make the journey endured grueling travel and were often presented with little or no contemporary conveniences at their destination.

⁹¹ 16 USC 1

One of the primary reasons for the slow growth of general tourism in the western parks was the effort required to complete a journey to those locations. Before the turn of the 20th Century, the parks relied heavily on passenger trains and stage coach lines as links to their scenery. As noted previously, railroad companies were acutely aware of their own potential profits regarding this service to parks. As transcontinental lines were being completed across the western half of the nation additional spurs were proposed, surveyed, and constructed to the entrances of many park sites.

At Yellowstone, the Northern Pacific Railroad's involvement with exploration and development predates the designation of national park status itself; Thomas Moran, noted American landscape artist, became a member of an 1871 expedition to the basin led by geologist Ferdinand Vandever Hayden with financing provided by the Northern Pacific's Jay Cooke. The influence of Moran's drawings, including the first rendition of his 'Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone,' along with photographer William Henry Jackson's images of the basin, were part of the reason Congress considered creating Yellowstone National Park in 1872.⁹² Knowing the economic benefits of a tourist destination so close to its trunk line route in Montana, railroad executives were instrumental in setting the agenda for public lands issues and creating a surge of interest in protecting the Yellowstone region.⁹³

Even with the backroom influence of railroad companies, early parks remained difficult destinations to reach during the 19th Century. A railroad line

⁹² Runte, *National Parks*, Ch. 2.

⁹³ *Ibid.*; Ise, *National Park Policy*, 120.

reached to within 110 miles of Yosemite by 1869, but the remaining distance had to be traversed by horse-drawn stage coach on rough, winding mountain roads.⁹⁴ These roads were a constant source of annoyance and inconvenience for people attempting to reach the parks. In most park settings the moisture of spring and fall turned the roads into mud pits, while the summer sun loosened the dirt and created dust clouds that consumed passengers on the stage lines.⁹⁵

Because these roads were often built at the request of, or even by commercial enterprises looking to carry visitors into parks, some were established as toll roads. In Yosemite, a series of toll roads extending from the Central Valley of California into the park were the only access routes available to visitors during the 1870s and 1880s. Independent visitors wishing to enter the state-owned Yosemite Valley were required to pay between 2 and 3½ cents per mile for use of the roads; hired stages paid up to 15 cents per mile for the same trip.⁹⁶ While the state and federal park authorities did their best to maintain public roads within the boundary of Yosemite Park, the toll roads leading up to the park effectively prohibited large-scale use of the area by the general public.

The use of toll roads was not uncommon during the 19th Century, especially where road building was costly due to isolated locations or rough terrain. Government funding for road building outside of urban areas, especially from the federal level, was not yet popular but the demand for access to areas beyond the cities was growing. In most locations, urban roads had been put under the control of engineers and road workers who were paid by local property

⁹⁴ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 55; Demars, 123.

⁹⁵ Demars, 44-46.

⁹⁶ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 76.

taxes. At the same time, rural jurisdictions were left on their own to develop a system of routes to serve the citizens of the local area, often employing crews of prison inmates or delinquent taxpayers as *corvée* labor for road building.⁹⁷

These roads were designed primarily to provide access to larger market towns for residents living on farms in agricultural areas.

The earliest proponents of the American 'Good Roads' movement were cycling aficionados who were looking for locations to use their new machines. A revolution in personal transportation technology, modern bicycles rose in popularity in the United States in the 1880s and with them came a public demand for improved roadways.⁹⁸ Using these early bicycles on suburban and rural roads, often barely improved dirt paths, was usually tiresome and often dangerous. Local and national organizations formed to promote the interests of cyclists, perhaps none more noteworthy than the League of American Wheelmen. With a circulation of over 3 million in 1894, the League's *Good Roads Magazine* took the lead in promoting the cause of better road financing and construction beyond the urban zones of the nation (Figure 5).⁹⁹

The significance of this Good Roads movement and the rise of personal transportation in the form of the bicycles for the emerging system of federal parks at the turn of the century was two-fold. First, although bicycles were not at the time and never became a customary way of getting to the parks, they were occasionally available inside parks and allowed an individual to explore park

⁹⁷ Vance, 487-488; R. R. Howard, "The Governor's Honor Men", *Outlook Magazine* 101, no 13 (July 27, 1912): 716-724, specifically describes the use of inmate labor crews in Oregon and some of the associated problems that resulted from the practice.

⁹⁸ Hugill, "Good Roads and the Automobile", 327-328; Meinig, *Shaping of America, Vol 4*, 5.

⁹⁹ Vance, 494.



Figure 5 – Masthead from *Good Roads Magazine*, 1900. From GB.

landscapes at their own pace. Second, the good roads that were championed by the early cyclists laid the groundwork for the comprehensive system of roads that were to be built across the nation during the subsequent decades. By the start of the 20th Century, the newest transportation technology, the automobile, had begun to shape the future of road building and outdoor recreation.

Automobiles came onto the scene in the United States for the first time in the 1890s, though production volumes were considerably below that of Europe for several decades.¹⁰⁰ Like the pleasure-travel by rail in earlier periods, the cost of automobiles before the second decade of the 20th Century made them nearly inaccessible to anyone outside of the very wealthy. In addition, many of the same roads which made bicycling hazardous were equally troublesome for the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 496-497.

new automobiles, many of which were built to European road standards, which at the time made them considerably more advanced.¹⁰¹

Within a few years of the start of the new century, the realization that automobiles would open the nation in a way not seen before was becoming obvious. Three separate transcontinental crossings from California to New York were undertaken in 1903 and by 1904 there were nearly 100 automobile clubs across the country.¹⁰² Amongst them was the American Automobile Association (AAA), a collective of regional associations, which was founded in 1902 with the express agenda of promoting progressive automobile legislation.¹⁰³ The efforts of the AAA were directly descended from the efforts of the League of American Wheelmen of the previous decade.

While residents in many rural areas also recognized the benefits of easier and quicker travel, particularly for agricultural and postal interests, many were taken aback when members of the increasingly mobile automobilists roared through their communities leaving dust clouds and spooked horses in their wake.¹⁰⁴ However, with only 78,000 automobiles licensed for use in the country by 1905, there was not much impetus to dramatically improve roads in most areas.¹⁰⁵ Within a few years, however, accessibility of automobiles would dramatically increase, as would their imprint on the landscapes of recreation inside and surrounding national parks.

¹⁰¹ Flink, *America Adopts the Automobile*, 115.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 38, 144-150.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 66-70; Hugill, "Good Roads and the Automobile", 328-330.

¹⁰⁵ Vance, 499.

The cost-prohibitive automobile of the early 20th Century was a vestige of European-styled designs and expectations for use. The labor intensive manufacturing and relatively lavish accoutrements made these automobiles more toy for sport than practical machine. But the emergence of the Model T Ford in 1908 signaled a dramatic shift in the acceptance of automobiles by the general public. Revolutions in manufacturing efficiency and in simple, robust design made the Model T one of the most popular, and more importantly, affordable automobiles of the early 20th Century. Within its first five years of production, the Model T went from an eight percent share of American automobile production to a 40 percent share.¹⁰⁶ Regardless of the popular contemporary jabs regarding the variety of color choices, so long as the choice was black, Ford's Model T was an example of modern mass production and marketing at its finest. Ford focused nearly all of his company's resources on production of the Model T and, through cost control measures and increased production efficiency, reduced the cost of a 1916 model by over 50 percent from the 1908 model price.¹⁰⁷

The mass production of Model T's spurred a period of overall growth in the American automobile industry in the second decade of the century. The number of vehicles licensed had climbed to 472,000 by 1910; by 1912, the number was 1,000,000. In another five years, the number would be 5,000,000, with Model T's representing less than 20 percent of that total.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 501.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 499

The dramatic increase in the number of cars meant a greater number of voices calling for improved roads throughout the nation. As the Good Roads Movement moved beyond the bicycle craze and into the automobile age it garnered more political clout around the nation (Figure 6). President Roosevelt and eventual Democratic Presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan both attended the 1903 National Good Roads Convention in St. Louis.¹⁰⁹ Their attendance, along with the subsequent increases in the number of cars, spurred the improvement of thousands of miles of roads across the country. Though fewer than nine percent of roads were surfaced in 1909, over 75 percent of new roads laid down from 1904 to 1909 were surfaced.¹¹⁰



Figure 6 – Attendees at a 1915 Good Roads Convention in Grand Rapids, South Dakota. LOC photo LC-USZ62-128872.

Calls for federal help in highway construction became more persistent as the number of out-of-state travelers rose in states across the nation and the construction costs for modern, improved roadways climbed. For over a century, many members of Congress viewed transportation infrastructure as a state or local issue and considered federal funding of these improvements as

¹⁰⁹ Flink, 203-204.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 210.

unconstitutional.¹¹¹ Yet a larger volume of traffic and a recognition that good highways would benefit commerce and industry as well as provide arteries for national defense, should that situation present itself, slowly turned the tide in favor of federal involvement. In 1916, the same year the National Park Service emerged as a separate agency, Congress passed the Federal Aid Road Act, written specifically to address issues of improved road construction around the nation.

With funds amounting to \$75 million appropriated for disbursement over a five-year time frame, the 1916 Road Act was the first step to federal participation in highway development.¹¹² The bill had three principal provisions: 1) states were required to establish a highway commission by 1920, if none was established already; 2) federal funds were provided on a scale based on state population, state area, and mileage of rural mail routes; and, 3) federal funds were to be matching funds, up to 50 percent, meaning states and/or local jurisdictions would need to appropriate money for road improvements. In addition to the funds for state roads, Congress appropriated an additional \$10 million to be spent on the improvement of roads leading into or through national forest lands, providing an incentive to develop better access to scenic sites.¹¹³

Regional & Local Boosters

The increase in surfaced roads, coupled with the improving technologies of the automotive and highway design industries, meant a greater proportion of

¹¹¹ Meinig, *Shaping of America, Vol 4*, 6-8.

¹¹² Vance, 506-507.

¹¹³ R. F. Weingroff, "Federal Aid Road Act of 1916: Building the Foundation", *Public Roads* 60, no. 1 (1996): 6; Sutter, 62.

the country was now open to travelers. Local and regional promoters took full advantage of the new potential for cross-country travel. This was particularly true for the boosters of western areas who were interested in making their own local attractions popular for the newest class of tourists. In 1905, just as good roads were gaining momentum and affordable automobiles were within reach, the 'See America First' campaign was launched.

The brainchild of a Salt Lake City hotel manager, the 'See America First' promotion came out of a series of sessions between politicians, chambers of commerce, and development-oriented clubs that hoped to establish a comprehensive strategy for promotion of the western United States.¹¹⁴ The hope was to draw the newly mobile, upper-middle and middle class tourists to western sites with the premise that American landscapes were as much or more worthy of their time and expense than the typical European sites. The formation of the See America First League in 1906 pushed to educate Americans about the wonders of the western states and the ways in which they could enjoy those locations.¹¹⁵

Efforts of the See America First League, the Good Roads Movement, and the American Automobile Association all drew attention to the need for well funded road construction, with many calls for federal aid in the cause. During the first decade of the 20th Century the constitutional concerns about federal involvement in what was viewed as a state or local issue prevented the full-scale funding of cross-country routes. By the end of the first decade of the 20th Century, members of the growing automobile industry, along with the numerous

¹¹⁴ Shaffer, 559-560; L. Whiteley and J. Whiteley, *The Playground Trail: The National Park Highway* (Boulder, CO: Johnson Publishing, 2003), 16.

¹¹⁵ Shaffer, 563-564.

travel and promotional associations throughout the nation recognized the need for well-established and well-marked routes for the automobile tourists.

Founded in 1912 by automobile industry executives, the Lincoln Highway Association became the first in a series of proposed modern highways across the nation.¹¹⁶ The proposed route of the Lincoln Highway, from New York City to San Francisco, was essentially a nation-wide cooperative project between local boosters, state highway departments, and automobile and travel industry members. Where roads already existed the Lincoln Highway Association often encouraged states to upgrade the surface to a concrete pavement. Where roads did not exist, particularly in the West, the Association worked to secure funding and in many instances promoted the construction of sample sections of roadway to show the benefit of a well-surfaced road.¹¹⁷

Construction on the Lincoln Highway began in 1913 and several other highway proposals soon emerged from other groups. Park sites in the West were a significant highlight along a number of planned routes including the Yellowstone Trail, a proposed route from Boston to Seattle by way of Yellowstone National Park.¹¹⁸ The various associations which sponsored each route took an active interest in promoting their particular highway through the publication of guidebooks and the establishment of standard highway shields to mark the route.¹¹⁹ Erecting route and mile markers along the routes and giving

¹¹⁶ G. R. Stewart, *US 40: Cross Section of the United States of America* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1953), 11.

¹¹⁷ Vance, 506.

¹¹⁸ Whiteley and Whiteley, 26; Yellowstone Trail Association, "History of the Yellowstone Trail" *The Yellowstone Trail* (web), accessed Jan 14, 2010.

¹¹⁹ Jakle, *The Tourist*.

detailed guides to prospective tourists made these early transcontinental highways a reasonable alternative for pleasure travel.

Outdoor Recreation

The romantic ideals of late 19th Century pleasure tourists fit well into the national park landscapes. The mental and physical escape provided by venturing into nature was the primary goal of pleasure travel at the time. It was largely the domain of the wealthy classes in the United States. The Victorian mindset that encouraged reflection and rejuvenation in natural surroundings and the progressive ideas of 'The Strenuous Life' had helped to popularize the eastern resorts on the Jersey Shore, along the coast of New England, and in the Berkshires, Catskills, and Poconos.¹²⁰ These locations facilitated a close proximity to natural settings, whether the ocean or the mountains, and allowed the growing leisure class to enjoy a respite from modern living within close reach to the major urban settings of the Northeast.

At the end of the 19th Century, an increasing number of people were involved with pleasure travel. Crowds had become commonplace along the beach resorts closest to New York City such as Coney Island, and with improved local transportation options even the once isolated mountain resorts of New England and upstate New York were within reach. Resorts that were once the sole domain of the economic elites were now accessible to an expanded clientele. To avoid the popularized landscapes of eastern resorts the wealthiest travelers, particularly ones who believed in remaining apart from other social

¹²⁰ Sears, Ch. 3; Belasco, *Americans on the Road*; Hornsby, 455-456; Demars, 16-20.

classes, sought out new vacation destinations that would isolate them. The cost of the most elaborate vacations provided de facto separation between distinct economic classes. Europe was an option but with the emergence of Yosemite Valley as a state park in 1864 and Yellowstone as a National Park in 1872 the wealthiest pleasure travelers were given new locations on this continent.

The parks were initially much more rustic than the well-appointed eastern resorts. In Yosemite guests at James Hutchings' hotel during the 1870s slept in military-style quarters with sheets hung between beds.¹²¹ At that time wealthy tourists often attempted to mirror the trips of others so they could claim to have completed a similar tour of the West. Trip guide books listed Hutchings' dormitory and the proprietor was considered a master publicist so many visitors saw it as a required stop on their trip. However, by the middle of the 1880s cries for a better class of hotel from tourists who were used to more elaborate accommodations elsewhere finally persuaded the state of California to build a more substantial hotel.¹²²

Just as accommodations were improving for visitors to places like Yosemite there were an increasing number of outdoor enthusiasts who eschewed both the newer luxury accommodations and the older hotels. These tourists were more connected with a desire to experience the ruggedness of nature, an ideal gaining momentum through the Progressive Movement and individuals such as Theodore Roosevelt.¹²³ Their stays in the new parks of the West were often in tents or under the stars and required taking all supplies with

¹²¹ Ibid., 43.

¹²² Ibid., 42-44

¹²³ Ibid., 55-58

them and finding their own spot amongst the vast open spaces of the High Sierra surrounding Yosemite Valley or in the forests of the Yellowstone Plateau.

The remote locations of the parks meant that actual visitation to the parks before the turn of the century was very small. Visitation to the five active national parks at the end of the 19th Century rarely surpassed a few thousand per year with the vast majority of visitors coming during the summer travel months. As the type of visitor changed and as the number of parks grew in the first decade and a half of the 20th Century, the volume of tourists to park sites began to grow. While there were still far fewer visitors to western national parks than at more established parks and resorts, elsewhere the trend was toward increased use of parks by the public.

With an increase in public mobility and a growing movement to improve the highway infrastructure in the United States, national park superintendents quickly recognized the value of automobile tourists. The presence of automobiles in early parks was not much more than a novelty. The considerable effort required to drive a car over the terrain leading to most parks made them of limited use. But as the national highway associations started targeting parks as destinations and local groups pushed for improved access routes, parks were required to deal with automobiles. In some case automobiles were banned from parks because they were seen as either a nuisance or a hazard. In most cases, parks established strict regulations regarding the use of automobiles. Parks required operators to register vehicles upon entrance, pay additional fees for the

use of the car, follow speed limits, and yield to pedestrians and horse teams.¹²⁴

When Yellowstone lifted its ban on private automobiles in 1915, all national parks were allowing entry to private automobiles.

In a span of fifteen years that began at the start of the 20th Century, the automobile had dramatically changed the way Americans experienced their country. While there were many in society who could not yet afford their own automobile, prices were dropping quickly and expectations abounded about the future of private transportation. Traveling in an automobile for pleasure and exploring scenic areas by motorcar were gaining acceptance and growing as pastimes even though most regions of the country did not yet have the infrastructure or accommodations to support them.¹²⁵

By the middle of the second decade of the 20th Century most western states were aware of the benefit of good roads and the potential of tourism to boost the status of important sites within their borders, including existing and potential national park sites. States shouldered the cost of road building through long-established methods including the *corvée* and prison laborers, yet they were increasingly pressured to build roads for more than just local connections. From these proposals emerged the idea of the scenic highway as a route chosen not to connect important endpoints in the most efficient manner but rather to showcase the natural landscape through which it passed. The Columbia River Highway, running east out of Portland, Oregon, along the south side of the Columbia

¹²⁴ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 202-203; Demars, 81-83.

¹²⁵ Belasco, *Americans on the Road*; Jakle, *The Tourist*.

Gorge was the first of these scenic highways when its construction was started in 1913.¹²⁶

Auto-campers or auto-gypsies, depending on the connotation embraced the Progressive Era idea of getting back to nature, preferring to experience nature through use of a motor car (Figure 7).¹²⁷ Many contemporary accounts

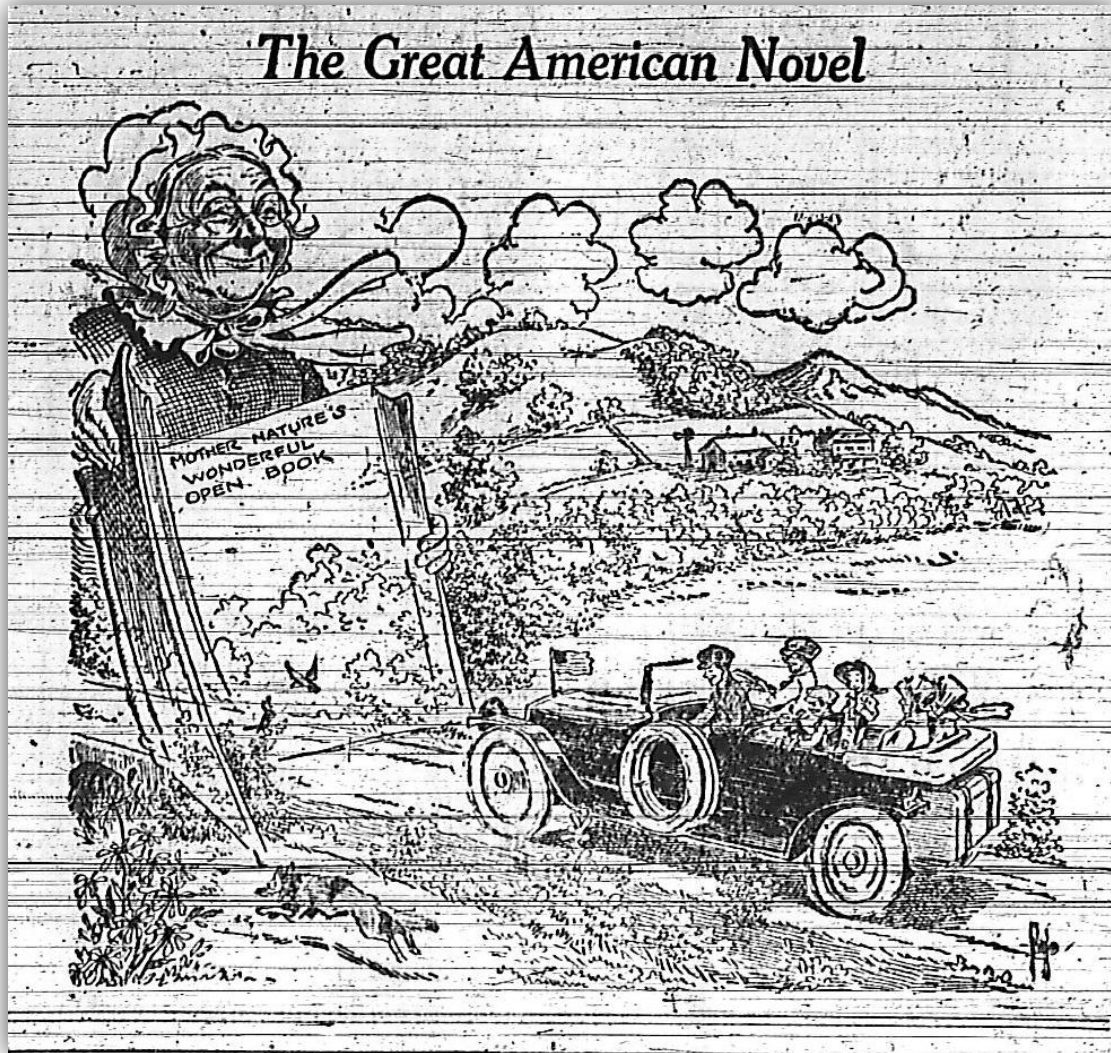


Figure 7 – Illustration from a series of items on ‘National Touring Week’ displaying the freedom implied in the ownership of an automobile. *MMT* (Aug 9, 1916).

¹²⁶ Harmon, *Crater Lake National Park*; Jakle, *The Tourist*.

¹²⁷ Belasco, *Americans on the Road*; S. Mark, “Save the Auto Camps!”, *Southern Oregon Heritage Today* 3, no 4 (1998), np., NPS-H.

viewed the automobile as the ideal way to escape the drain of city life and even touted driving through the country as a cure for medical ailments. Auto-campers often made lengthy trips with multiple destinations on the itinerary. This was a dramatic shift from the days of railroad travel, when tourists were limited to the schedule and route of the major rail companies. Rail executives were keenly aware of their declining share of western tourists and increased their own promotion of western sites in the hopes of drawing more tourists to rail travel. In the case of the Great Northern Railroad which ran along the border of Glacier National Park in Montana, their promotional literature even began using the 'See America First' motto used in the previous decade by western boosters (Figure 8).¹²⁸



Figure 8 – Great Northern Railroad advertisement for Glacier National Park, 1925. From Runte, *Trains of Discovery*.

¹²⁸ Whiteley and Whiteley, 16.

Federal Land Management Policy

The division of management applied to federally protected lands was a significant source of tension at the outset of the national park movement. In 1900, the five existing national parks were all managed individually, within the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.¹²⁹ In most cases, the parks were completely surrounded by forest reserves which had become more common in the western mountains after the passage of the Forest Reserve Act in 1891. This act granted the President authority to remove important timber sources from the domain of public land.¹³⁰ Although the principles of forestry and timber management on the forest reserves were not always in line with the attempted recreational developments made in parks, a number of forestry officials pushed for consolidation of the parks and reserves.

Competition between forest managers and park administrators over control of federally recognized scenic and historic wonders was made more pronounced in 1906 with the passage of the Antiquities Act. Similar to the Forest Reserve Act fifteen years earlier, the Antiquities Act gave the President the authority to declare national monuments by removing designated parcels of land from the public domain. Originally intended to protect archeological sites in the desert southwest from looting, the Antiquities Act quickly became a powerful tool in the

¹²⁹ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*. Mount Rainier National Park was established in 1899 after a land exchange between the federal government and Northern Pacific Railroad was completed. See D. Louter, *Windshield Wilderness*, for a detailed analysis of the development of parks in Washington state.

¹³⁰ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 48. While the 1891 bill provided for the establishment of forest reserves, no administrative structure for the reserves existed until after the passage of an additional forest act in 1897. For more detail, see M. Clawson and B. Held, *The Federal Lands: Their Use and Management* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957) 28, 200.

protection of significant natural and historic sites.¹³¹ These designated areas remained under the management of whichever agency controlled the land they were on, be it Interior, War, or after a 1905 reorganization of the forest reserves, Agriculture.

The emergence of the modern Forest Service as a utilitarian conservation agency aimed at active management of a usable natural resource was countered by the efforts of national park administrators who focused on public promotion, use, and consumption in a recreational sense.¹³² This management difference broadened the gap between the forests and the national parks. Local and regional interests pushing for their own federally managed public park often used the potential economic benefits that promotion and tourism would have on their community as an incentive to gain support for the designation of a new national park. Some deserving sites such as Crater Lake were products of this type of campaigning. However, the vague guidelines by which parks were approved allowed political and financial influence to manipulate that process and led to the designation of several less-than-significant sites during the first decade of the 20th Century.¹³³

In the over fifty years from the establishment of Yosemite park in 1864 to the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, the travel patterns to and accessibility of the various national park sites changed dramatically. No longer were parks isolated from the majority of the American public, requiring grueling,

¹³¹ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 152-160; Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*; Righter, 284-285.

¹³² Rothman, 141-143; Ise, *National Park Policy*, 279, 282.

¹³³ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 136-142. Some such locations, such as Oklahoma's Platt National Park, remained designated parks through most of the century through the same type of political maneuvering that initially helped them become established.

expensive trips to reach. The automobile helped to transform the general landscapes of leisure and recreation within a few decades of its arrival in the United States and its influence would continue to grow in the decades to come.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES ALONG THE CRATER LAKE ROAD

The remaining portion of this chapter will address the pre-National Park Service status of the four relevant discourses in the context of Crater Lake National Park and the communities along its western access road: 1) road building and automobile industries; 2) local or regional boosterism; 3) outdoor recreation; and, 4) federal land management policy. It will begin with a brief description of the region during this period. Reconstructions of each of the local discourses using contemporary records from the pre-1916 period comprise the second section. The chapter concludes with a summary of how these discourses influenced the recreational landscape as well as the overall cultural landscape of the park and its neighboring communities in Jackson County.

CRATER LAKE AND ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT

As was the case for many of the early national park sites, the establishment of Crater Lake as a national park was a back-and-forth battle between local promoters, state congressional delegations, and Federal officials. Discovered by white settlers in the mid 19th Century, the descriptions of Crater Lake seemed as farfetched as those coming out of the Yellowstone region in the 1860s and 1870s. Though permanent communities existed only a few dozen miles from the rim of the lake, its relatively isolated location kept Crater Lake in

the realm of mystery for most people. However, by the 1880s reports from prospectors in the region had substantiated many of the early claims. Touting an unbelievably blue lake tucked deep within the thousand foot walls of an enormous crater, publicity began drawing the attention of travelers.

One of those early travelers was William Gladstone Steel, a Portland businessman who in 1885 made his first trip to Crater Lake.¹³⁴ Steel's visit convinced him of the grandeur of the lake and he promptly began a campaign to make the site a new national park with the goal of making Crater Lake a premier tourist destination. Mirroring the efforts undertaken by park promoters such as John Muir, Steel circulated petitions to generate support, used political connections to protect the land around the potential park site, and organized local interest groups to promote the benefits of protection for natural sites.¹³⁵

Though Steel's ultimate goal of national park status remained elusive for nearly two decades, his efforts were successful in urging President Grover Cleveland to remove ten townships in the Crater Lake area from the public domain early in 1886. In the intervening years Steel encouraged scientific explorations at the lake, hoping a better understanding of the origin of the lake and its natural features would lead to protection. Along with other outdoor enthusiasts in Portland, Steel established the Oregon Alpine Club in 1887, five years before the Sierra Club was formed by John Muir in California.¹³⁶ Unfortunately, the Alpine Club's efforts were short lived and in 1894, Steel

¹³⁴ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

¹³⁵ S. Mark, "Seventeen Years to Success: John Muir, William Gladstone Steel, and the Creation of Yosemite and Crater Lake National Parks" (2001), np., NPS-H.

¹³⁶ Mark, "Seventeen Years to Success".

organized a new mountaineering society, the Mazamas. Steel's Mazamas sponsored excursions to sites such as Crater Lake, Mount Rainier, Mount Hood, and elsewhere throughout Oregon and the Pacific Northwest.¹³⁷

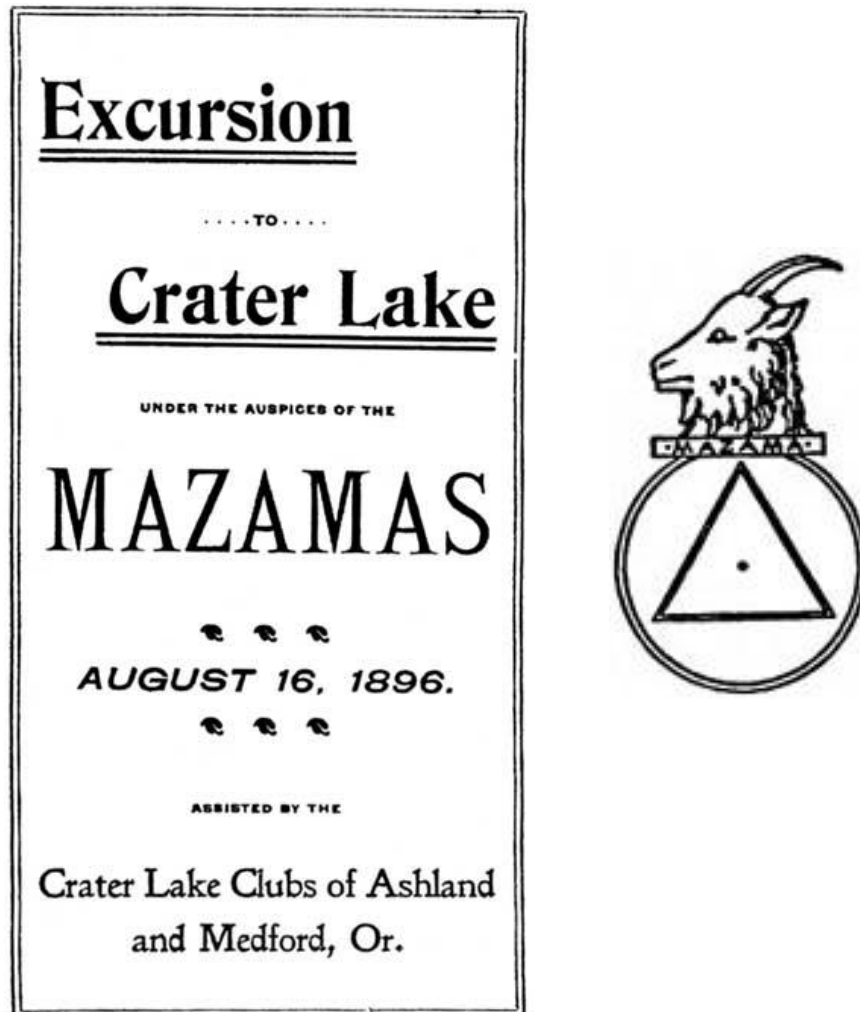


Figure 9 - Pamphlet for 1896 Mazamas excursion to Crater Lake. At the event, the Mazamas officially designated the site's former mountain peak 'Mt. Mazama'. From Fuller, "Christened Mount Mazama", *Nature Notes* 25 (1994), CLI.

¹³⁷ Ibid. The name Mazama was supposedly inspired by a native Mexican term for a mountain goat. A goat logo remains the symbol of the Mazamas. In addition, the name Mount Mazama was given to the now-missing peak where Crater Lake sits during an 1896 excursion to the park by the group.

By the turn of the 20th Century, the pressure applied by Steel and other Crater Lake supporters in Oregon was enough to push a bill to protect Crater Lake through Congress. In May of 1902, President Roosevelt officially declared Crater Lake National Park the nation's sixth national park. Although a victory for Steel, his larger goal of seeing the lake become a destination for travelers remained unfulfilled.

As was the case in many of the first national parks, visitation was limited in the early years. The park's isolated location, poor transportation routes, and difficult terrain and climate conditions all contributed to low visitation during the first decade of the 20th Century. The first several years of reported visitation saw fewer than two thousand tourists arriving at the new park. Frustrated over the lack of development and a perceived snub of being passed over for the job of park superintendent, Steel took matters into his own hands. In partnership with a handful of Portland businessmen and financiers, Steel was awarded the first concession contract for public services at Crater Lake in 1907. Under the name Crater Lake Company, Steel and his partners quickly established transportation services to bring guests from nearby rail connections in the Klamath Basin to the south and Rogue River Valley to the west.¹³⁸

Poor lodging options and a lack of outdoor kitchen facilities to provide food for guests continued to limit the number of visitors during the first year of Crater Lake Co. operations. Although a 50-person campground was established on the rim of the lake near the present-day location of the lodge, Steel encouraged

¹³⁸ "Make Crater Lake a Great Tourist Resort", *Oregon Journal* (Mar 22, 1907), CLNP; "Company Changes", *Klamath Falls Express (KFE)* (Jun 13, 1907), CLNP.

potential visitors to delay their visit until the following season when more services could be available.¹³⁹ Visitation in both 1907 and 1908 was above previous years with a 44 percent increase from 1906 to 1907 and a 103 percent increase from 1907 to 1908 (Table 1). Steel’s suggestion to wait to travel to Crater Lake appears to have been well received.

Year	1905	1906	1907	1908
Attendance	1400	1800	2600	5275
Change From Previous, %	-	28.6	44.4	102.9

Table 1 – Early attendance figures from Crater Lake National Park. Visitation statistics from National Park Service, Statistical Abstracts, Online Reports, NPS-S.

The daily operation of the Crater Lake Co. in the park was soon transferred to Arthur Parkhurst as William Steel turned his attention toward another goal: the park superintendent’s position. W. F. Arant, a Klamath County rancher, had been selected as the first superintendent in 1902 and had arguably done as good a job as could be expected with the meager appropriations granted to the park during the very early years. Steel was initially skeptical of Arant but had become a supporter of him in the role of superintendent following his backing of Steel’s park concessions. Nevertheless, in 1912, as the political winds shifted from Taft’s Republican administration to Wilson’s Democratic one, Steel saw an opportunity to take control at Crater Lake.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ “Plan Improvements”, *Klamath Falls Herald (KFH)* (Aug 22, 1907), CLNP.

¹⁴⁰ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

He divested himself of interest in the Crater Lake Company, wrote numerous letters to elected officials and Department of Interior administrators, and quietly rallied public support in parts of Oregon to help his cause.¹⁴¹ The seasonal park Ranger, H. E. Momyer, also interested in succeeding Arant as superintendent, viewed Steel's efforts as "turning the whole [C]rater [L]ake proposition over to ... the Crater Lake Company and Medford."¹⁴² Steel's political allies, however, proved too powerful for any opposition and he was selected as Arant's replacement, effective in July 1913. Arant, who had repeatedly ignored requests to resign his position and who refused to vacate the superintendent's quarters when Steel arrived, had to be physically removed from his position by United States Marshals later that month.¹⁴³

The local competition hinted at by Ranger Momyer in his comments regarding William Steel provide an insight into the status of southern Oregon during the early years of Crater Lake National Park. Portland, and the Willamette Valley in general, were long regarded as the center of Oregon in terms of population and power, both economic and political. Southern Oregon had several burgeoning cities, Klamath Falls on the east side of the Cascades, Ashland, Medford, Grants Pass, and Roseburg on the west, which were challenging each other for regional dominance.

That regional superiority would come from transportation connections to the Willamette Valley to the north and California to the south. Cities on either side of the Cascades were jockeying for position along major routes. While

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid., Ch. 7.

¹⁴³ *William Gladstone Steel (WGS) Scrapbook, Vol 1, CLNP.*

automobile routes would eventually become the most important links to the region, as well as to Crater Lake itself, it was the railroad companies that were providing connections for local communities at the turn of the 20th Century. The most prominent of these links, and the only one that provided a direct link between Portland and San Francisco at the time, was the Southern Pacific's Siskiyou Route.

Named for the rugged mountains straddling the Oregon-California border over which the final section of the line was completed in 1887, the Siskiyou Route became the driving economic force for many of the southern Oregon communities along its track.¹⁴⁴ Included among these was the city of Medford, in the southernmost reaches of the Upper Rogue River Valley in Jackson County, Oregon. Ashland, Medford's neighbor to the south, had served as the southern terminus of the Portland railroad until the Siskiyou grade was completed, but Medford's central location in the Upper Rogue Valley quickly allowed it to shift the local focus once the entire line was completed.¹⁴⁵ Market roads from nearby agricultural lands as well as routes from the more distant communities in the surrounding mountains were soon funneling the bulk of Jackson County's residents towards the Southern Pacific lines at Medford.

One of the more significant routes through the rural parts of the county was the old military stage route along the Rogue River and into the Klamath Basin on the east side of the Cascades (Figure 10). The route was first used as

¹⁴⁴ B. Solomon, "SP to Oregon: The Siskiyou Line and the Natron Cutoff", in Solomon, *Southern Pacific Railroad* (Osceola, WI: MBI Publishing, 1999), 38-40, GB.

¹⁴⁵ *Medford, Oregon, and the Rogue River Valley* (Medford: Medford Commercial Club, 1909), from Southern Oregon Digital Archives (SODA).

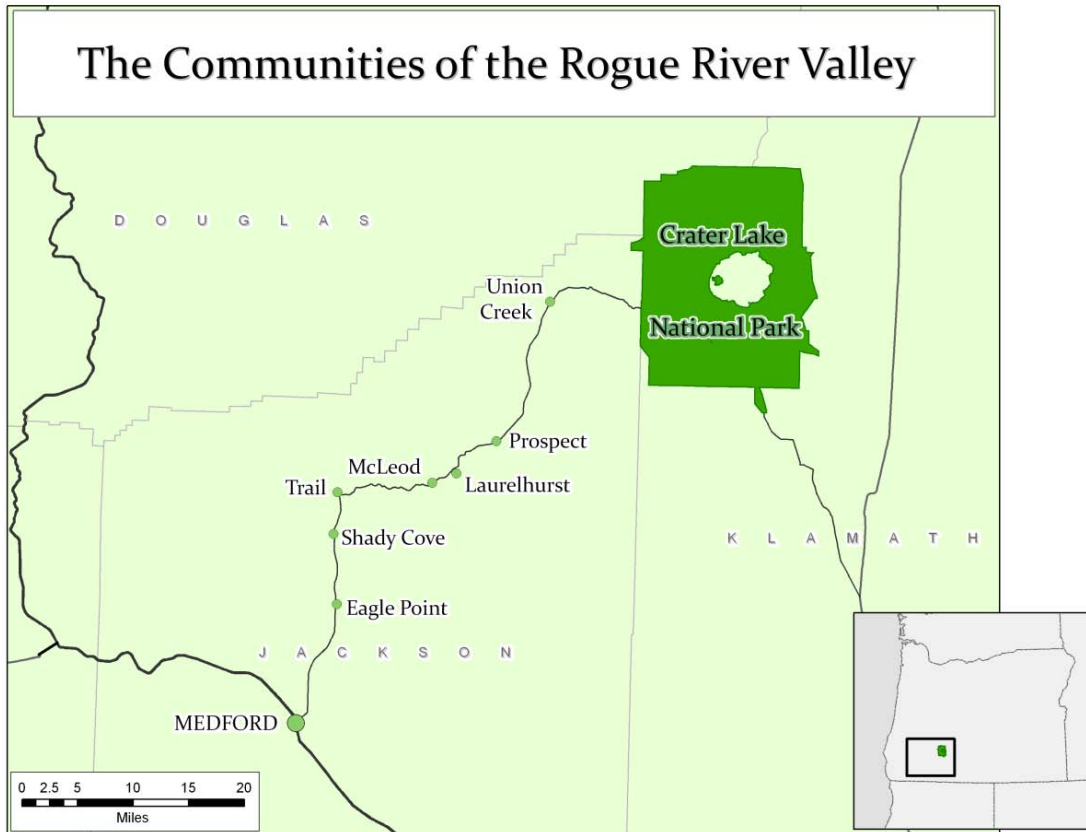


Figure 10 – The Communities from Medford to Crater Lake during the early 20th Century.

a supply route from the Rogue Valley to the military post at Fort Klamath east of the Cascades. As the population of the region grew, a number of communities emerged along the Jackson County portion of the road. Peripheral farming communities such as Eagle Point emerged in the broader sections of the valley, just north of Medford, while more isolated communities, typically linked with local mining or timber operations, were established at Shady Cove, Trail, Laurelhurst, Prospect, and Union Creek.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ G. Stiles, "Prospect: Crater Lake, timber brought community short prosperity", *Medford Mail Tribune (MMT)* (Mar 27, 1994), from Southern Oregon Historical Society (SOHS); M. O'Harra, "Shady Cove Incorporates to Stay Ahead of Those Who Would Exploit Area", *MMT* (Nov 26, 1972), SOHS; T. Trower, "Union Creek: Lakes led to building of resort", *MMT* (Mar 27, 1994),

Each of these communities, from Medford to Union Creek, relied on the Klamath-Rogue River route for supplies and regional transportation. With the designation of Crater Lake National Park in 1902, the road took on an additional role: access to the national park. Approximately a dozen miles of the road lay within the southern portion of the park, passing fewer than three miles from the rim of the lake. The Crater Lake Road, as it became known, would be the primary artery for visitors to the gem of the southern Cascades and, in the decades following the creation of the park, the communities along its route would help to shape its course.

DISCOURSES IN A LOCAL CONTEXT

This history of Crater Lake and its western access route along the Rogue River in Jackson County provides us with evidence of the substantial changes that took place in the recreation landscape of the region in the years before the National Park Service. Those changes are not the product of one particular force but rather, of a multitude of inputs from all facets of society. The discourses included in this evaluation, road building and automobile industries, local boosterism, outdoor recreation, and federal land management, each have a national scope as addressed earlier. However, they also have unique applications along the Crater Lake Highway in Jackson County.

Analyzing records from Oregon during the period reveals the impact of each discourse on the Upper Rogue River Valley's landscape and the relative

SOHS; R. M. Weiss, *Laurelhurst: Lost Community of the Upper Rogue* (Eagle Point, OR: Laurelhurst Publications, 1991), JCL.

importance of those impacts on the communities of the region. The public expression of the discourses, as measured in an analysis of newspaper content from state and local sources spanning the late 19th and early 20th Century, is heavily weighted to the road and automobile industries (see Table 2). Of 303 articles reviewed, 145 (47.6%) discussed highway projects, local road bond elections, the status of automobile sales in the region, or other road and automobile related subjects. Considering the dramatic change underway in the United States during the time period, this overwhelming emphasis on the road and automobile industries is not surprising.

Discourse	Articles	
	Number	Percent of Total
Auto/Roads	145	47.85
Boosters	72	23.76
Outdoor Recreation	66	21.78
Federal Land Mgmt	20	6.60

Table 2 – Reviewed article distribution by discourse theme, pre-1916.

The next most expressed discourse within the regional context of the Crater Lake Road was that of the local boosters. Out of the 303 articles reviewed for this period, 72 (23.8 %) detailed booster activities. This included descriptions of the actions of the local Commercial Club, commentary on levels of civic involvement, announcements of upcoming events or projects, elaboration of promotional campaigns in the region, or touting the virtues of the Upper Rogue

River Valley to readers. Following boosters was outdoor recreation with 66 articles (21.8%). The rise in nature tourism was in early stages but the creation of Crater Lake National Park during this period provided a boost to articles about park statuses, the enlargement of campgrounds, availability of travel services, and related items.

Public discussion or review of the management of federal lands in the newspapers of southern Oregon during this period was the lowest of the four included discourses. Only 20 of the 303 articles (6.6%) mentioned aspects of park management, timber policies on Forest Service lands, issues of concessionaire contracts with the agencies, or other provisions targeting the use of the public lands of the region. While Crater Lake itself was established as a park during the period, its remote location and relatively low attendance figures kept the park at a lower administrative profile than might be expected. Most news reports from the park emphasized the projected opening or closing of the tourist season or the status of park construction projects.

The following sections describe particular events, personalities, or discussions related to each of the four individual discourses affecting the recreation landscape along the Crater Lake Road. The sections are arranged based on their respective coverage in local and state media, as addressed above. An interpretation of the specific factors within the region that contributed to the formation and evolution of the landscape along the Crater Lake Road will follow the discourse narratives.

Automobile & Road Building Industries

Medford and the Upper Rogue Valley were similar to many other parts of the nation in their efforts to secure good roads in the first decades of the 20th Century. The relatively mild climate, large amount of valuable agricultural lands, and the highly-touted scenic features in the region made automobile travel a well-promoted activity in the Upper Rogue Valley.¹⁴⁷ The state of Oregon as a whole had taken an early lead in road building projects, specifically those built expressly for scenic travel. The Columbia River Highway, a portion of which is seen in Figure 11, which runs from Portland to The Dalles along the southern edge of the Columbia River Gorge, was begun in 1912 and was open to traffic in 1915 with several sections surfaced with hard pavement.¹⁴⁸

Linking Medford to the other parts of the West Coast was the Pacific Highway, a route that was designed to link the entire coast from Canada to Mexico. Proposed in 1910 at a regional automobile club meeting in Seattle, the Pacific Highway's Oregon route ran from Portland through the Willamette Valley to the Siskiyou Grade south of Ashland.¹⁴⁹ In 1914, Medford, which touted itself as the state's leader in paving per capita, saw its section of the Pacific Highway become the first paved highway in Oregon.¹⁵⁰ As was the case in many places across the nation before federal funding for roads became available, Medford and Jackson County were largely responsible for building and improving the roads in the surrounding region.

¹⁴⁷ *Medford Bulletin* (Medford: Medford Commercial Club, 1911), 28-29, SODA.

¹⁴⁸ R. K. Wood, *The Tourist's Northwest* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1916), 89, GB.

¹⁴⁹ Wood, 20.

¹⁵⁰ W. P. Tucker, "The History of Jackson County Oregon", thesis (Seattle: University of Washington, 1931), 156, SOUL.



Figure 11 - A section of the Columbia River Highway, near Rowena, 2008. (author)

However, the state still had significant roles in directing the road agenda throughout Oregon and along the Crater Lake Road in Jackson County. In 1901, well before the proposals for either the Pacific or Columbia River Highways, the state legislature passed a bill that allowed for the creation of county road funds through property tax assessments. The use of these county funds would be directed by a county road master who would oversee the construction and improvement of the roads in that jurisdiction. While the bill only allowed for tax levies of not more than 10 mills, it allowed counties to increase their internal road improvement efforts above the levels of previous years.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ R. Watson, *Casual and Factual Glimpses at the Beginning and Development of Oregon's Roads and Highways* (Salem: Oregon Highway Commission, 1951), 3, ODOT.

As noted previously, the services for visitors to Crater Lake were extremely limited during the first few years of park operations. With work initiated by William G. Steel and his partners in the Crater Lake Company in 1907, those conditions began to improve. Attention turned to the access roads into the park as more people viewed Crater Lake as a destination. Improving the road from Medford to the park was technically the responsibility of Jackson County, yet the status of Crater Lake as a national park and a potential tourist draw for the nation drew attention from elsewhere in Oregon.

In August 1908, Governor George Chamberlain announced the formation of the Crater Lake Wagon Road Commission. The members of the commission were "... to provide ways and means for the building of a first-class state highway from [the Rogue River Valley] to Crater Lake and on to Klamath Falls."¹⁵² The eleven-member commission was comprised of business and civic leaders from Medford, Portland, Klamath Falls, Central Point, and Ashland, as well as two members from New York City, including E. H. Harriman, president of the Union Pacific Railroad. Their task was to select a route to the lake which would be "... an easy and pleasant one for all classes of travelers ..." and that would "... make the natural wonderland around the lake more accessible to the people of the country."¹⁵³

A month later the Commission held its first meeting in an attempt to determine how to address the issue of the Crater Lake Road project. The commission was not able to announce any concrete details for the planned route,

¹⁵² "Crater Lake Road Commission Named", *Central Point Herald (CPH)* (Aug 27, 1908), np., SOHS.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

though they were hopeful that Jackson and Klamath Counties, as well as the individual communities along the route, would subscribe to a road fund for construction of the road. Based on the interest seen in the road from some in Portland and Salem, there was an expectation that the state legislature would match any amount raised by local interests. Preliminary projections concluded that the overall cost of the road would likely be close to \$500,000, with some of the money coming from state and federal sources.¹⁵⁴

The residents of Jackson County were quick to support the plan. An improved road from Medford to the park would attract an array of visitors from across the nation, all of them potential transplants to the Rogue River Valley. By the end of September, the Jackson County Court had pledged its share of the Crater Lake Road money and over 200 residents had joined a new 'good roads' organization.¹⁵⁵

The status of other financial sources was not as certain. Klamath Falls businessmen were in favor of the project, yet the Klamath County Court refused to make a pledge of support.¹⁵⁶ Backers of the project touted the economic potential for the region but many residents were not convinced, especially those not living directly along the route. Because state law at the time made it illegal for counties to issue bonds for road work, the only local source of revenue for the project was through tax levies. Anxious for their own good roads, residents in

¹⁵⁴ "Commission In Session", *MMT* (Sep 15, 1908), CLNP.

¹⁵⁵ "Jackson County Pledges \$50,000 for Crater Road", *MMT* (Sep 25, 1908), CLNP; "Unanimous Support of the Court", *MMT* (Sep 26, 1908), CLNP.

¹⁵⁶ "Klamath Falls Businessmen Would Welcome Highway", *KFE* (Sep 28, 1908), CLNP; "Favors Crater Lake Road", *KFH* (Sep 30, 1908), CLNP.

eastern portions of Klamath County were skeptical of a project that could potentially drain the county of funds for other purposes.¹⁵⁷

Wanting to ensure that the state and federal governments had a 'good faith' offer of support from both participating counties, leaders of the Crater Lake Road Project organized a publicity campaign in Klamath County, culminating in a general good roads meeting, held November 7, 1908, in Klamath Falls.¹⁵⁸ E. H. Harriman, Chairman of the road commission who was also the owner of a summer retreat in the Klamath Basin, indicated his intention to walk away from the project if proper funding was not achieved, saying that he would "have nothing to do with a cheap dirt road".¹⁵⁹ The Klamath Falls Herald printed a 'Proclamation by the Mayor', John Stilts, "requesting that all business houses close their doors from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. ... [to] let every citizen attend this meeting."¹⁶⁰ Medford newspapers were quick to slam the county government in Klamath Falls for putting the entire road project at risk, though they were also open to proposals to build only the section of road from Medford to the park, without continuing on to Klamath Falls.¹⁶¹

Klamath County finally pledged funds for the road in early January 1909, and the prospect of work being done on the road by later that year was closer to reality.¹⁶² Throughout late 1908 and early 1909, survey crews were working along the route, noting sections for rerouting or grade reductions and planning

¹⁵⁷ "Opposition to Crater Lake Levy Proposal", *KFH* (Jan 10, 1909), CLNP.

¹⁵⁸ "We Want That Highway", *KFE* (Nov 8, 1908), CLNP.

¹⁵⁹ "Auto Road Finds Favor", *KFE* (Oct 2, 1908), np., CLNP.

¹⁶⁰ "Proclamation By the Mayor", *KFH* (Nov 6, 1908), np., CLNP.

¹⁶¹ "Klamath County is Backward", *MMT* (Dec 16, 1908), CLNP.

¹⁶² "County Court News", *Sunday Journal (Portland)* (Jan 10, 1909), CLNP.

the overall course of the road.¹⁶³ By February, a bill was before the state legislature pledging \$100,000 for the construction of the Medford-Crater Lake-Klamath Falls road. This would double the amount raised by the two counties.¹⁶⁴ By July the federal government had approved plans for sections of road through the national park and forests, sending an engineer to oversee part of the work.¹⁶⁵

Despite this progress, concerns persisted among citizens unwilling to shoulder the tax burden for what appeared to be a rural county road project. Some voiced a concern that the state's \$100,000 pledge would not be enough for the entire project and would likely require future appropriations from the legislature, while others claimed the entire project was a waste, as several new railroad lines had been proposed within a few miles of the east side of the park and they would render the wagon road obsolete within a few years.¹⁶⁶ J. K. Sears, an opponent of the Crater Lake Road project, filed a lawsuit in Salem alleging the money allotted by the legislature was unconstitutional because the road itself was of local concern. The case made it before the Oregon Supreme Court by early 1910 where, to the surprise of the Crater Lake Road supporters, the justices deemed the Crater Lake Road project to be a local issue, rendering the \$100,000 appropriation unconstitutional.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ "Crater Lake Road Only 2 Percent Grade", *MMT* (Nov 20, 1908), CLNP; "Road Work Progressing", *CPH* (Feb 4, 1909), SOHS.

¹⁶⁴ "Crater Road Will Lead From Medford to Lake", *Oregonian* (Feb 3, 1909), CLNP.

¹⁶⁵ "Government Engineer Completes Labors on Crater Lake Road Route", *CPH* (Jul 29, 1909), SOHS; "Crater Lake Road Assured", *Journal (Portland)* (Apr 2, 1909), CLNP.

¹⁶⁶ "Opposed to Crater Lake Road Expense", *Albany Journal* (Feb 8, 1909), CLNP; "Raps Crater Lake Wagon Road", *Oregonian* (Mar 17, 1909), CLNP.

¹⁶⁷ *Sears v. Steel*, 107 Pacific Reporter 4, GB. The Steel in the case is not W. G. Steel of Crater Lake fame, but rather Oregon State Treasurer George A. Steel.

On February 15, 1910, the evening of the court's decision, the *Medford Mail Tribune* ran full, front-page coverage of the story and of the local reaction to the news.¹⁶⁸ While some accused the Willamette Valley residents of being 'mossbacks', others pledged to raise the remaining funds locally, doing essentially what the majority of the justices had determined should have been done all along.¹⁶⁹ Within weeks the Medford Commercial Club had organized an independent road committee and had begun soliciting private subscriptions of \$100 each from Medford, Jackson County, and throughout southern Oregon.¹⁷⁰ William Gladstone Steel, who was in Washington, D.C., to lobby Congress for Crater Lake funds, noted that park advocates in the capital resented the fact that the Oregon Supreme Court considered Crater Lake to be merely a local concern.¹⁷¹

Undeterred by the turn of events in Salem, Jackson County, with help from the local civic organizations, pushed forward with its plans to improve the road. Oregon's Congressional delegation, which now included former governor Chamberlain, who had been instrumental in launching the initial Crater Lake Road commission, reported that they would do everything possible to obtain

¹⁶⁸ "Crater Lake Road Case Knocked Out", *MMT* (Feb 15, 1910). The reaction to the court's decision brought new interest in ideas to create a new state out of southern Oregon and northeast California. The State of Siskiyou never officially developed but the region's resentment of the political power structure in the state ran high: see "The State of Siskiyou", *MMT* (Feb 22, 1910).

¹⁶⁹ "If Soloman Came to Oregon", *MMT* (Feb 18, 1910); "Crater Lake Road Shall Be Constructed", *MMT* (Feb 18, 1909).

¹⁷⁰ "Plans for the Crater Lake Highway", *MMT* (Feb 22, 1910).

¹⁷¹ "The Crater Lake Highway", *MMT* (Apr 5, 1910). It was not just federal officials who viewed Oregon's decision as parochial: James J. Hill, head of the Great Northern Railroad publicly announced plans to shift his business interests from Oregon to Washington state due to the apparent sentiment in Portland and Salem; "The Bible of the Mossbacks", *MMT* (May 10, 1910).

funds for the federal portions of the road.¹⁷² By the summer, crews were at work all along the route, improving and upgrading bridges and reducing the most challenging grades.¹⁷³ While local fundraising efforts were important to keep the project moving, a more fundamental change in the way roads were funded was still needed. By state law, counties were unable to issue bonds to fund construction and improvements along their roadways, instead relying solely on the revenue generated by tax assessments and the resources available in their county road fund. As the movement to improve the Crater Lake Road intensified, a referendum on county bonded indebtedness was set and in November 1910, Oregon voters approved the sale of bonds by counties for road purposes, giving Jackson County the opportunity to raise additional funds for the road.¹⁷⁴

Work on the Crater Lake Road continued under the supervision of county, state, and federal engineers over the next several years, with focused attention on particularly poor sections between the towns of Trail and Prospect.¹⁷⁵ The improvements done on the primary road into and through Crater Lake were essentially a promise of higher visitation into the park. Each year, local papers were quick to report the status of the roads as the snow cleared in the higher terrain and often drew attention to when the first automobile of the year reached the lake indicating the start of a new travel season to the park.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² "Delegation in Congress Will Work For Park", *MMT* (May 17, 1910).

¹⁷³ "Bridge to be Built Across Union Creek", *MMT* (Jun 30, 1910); "Work Commences on Crater Lake Highway", *MMT* (Oct 13, 1910).

¹⁷⁴ Watson, forward.

¹⁷⁵ "County Takes Over Work on Crater Highway", *Medford Sun* (Mar 19, 1911).

¹⁷⁶ "Chevrolet Car Makes Record Early Run", *MMT* (May 11, 1911); "Road to Rim of Crater Lake Open", *MMT* (Jul 26, 1916).

Aware that travelers to the park needed improved roads inside the park in addition to the roads leading to it, Superintendent Arant continued to request appropriations for roadwork on the three primary roads in the park: the south entrance road from the Klamath Basin, the west entrance road from the Rogue River Valley, and the road to the rim from the junctions of the first two (see Figure 12).¹⁷⁷ In 1911, with improvements underway outside of the park, the US Army Corps of Engineers began surveys for a new system of park roads.¹⁷⁸ Included in the new road plans was a loop road along the entire rim of Crater Lake which would include views from several locations along the caldera wall and allow visitors to experience “one of the grandest scenic roads in the world.”¹⁷⁹ The construction of the new rim road would take several seasons, with the final portions remaining unfinished until 1919, but the groundwork for an updated road system for the benefit of park visitors was finally established.¹⁸⁰

Improvements in the Crater Lake Highway from the Rogue River Valley to the park, as well those done on the road inside the park, were a boon to the automobiling citizens of Medford and Jackson County. It was noted previously that the first two decades of the 20th Century witnessed a dramatic shift in the use and acceptance of automobiles across the nation. This trend was just as evident in Medford during the same period. In 1910, according to local newspaper reports, there were approximately 30 people for every car in Medford, allegedly giving the city more cars per capita than anywhere in the

¹⁷⁷ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

¹⁷⁸ W. D. Stowell II, “Evolution of Road”, *Crater Lake National Park Roads, 1919-1933* (Washington, DC: Historical American Engineering Record (HAER)/ NPS, 1999).

¹⁷⁹ Unrau and Mark, Ch. 6.

¹⁸⁰ Stowell, “Evolution of Road”; Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

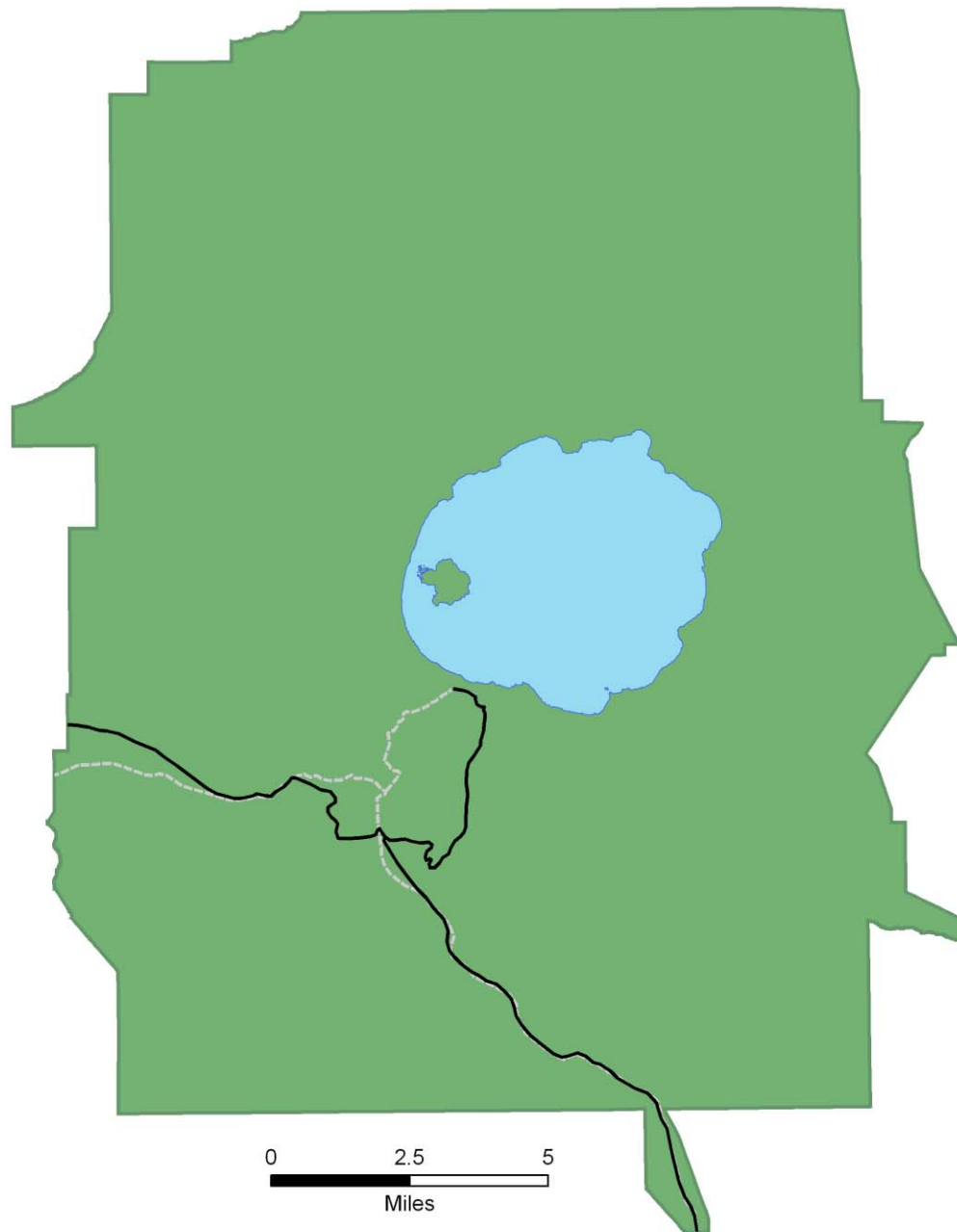


Figure 12 – Major access roads within Crater Lake National Park, 1910s. Original wagon road shown in grey, Army Corps of Engineers roads from 1910s in black. Park border is current.

United States.¹⁸¹ Based on United States population statistics and numbers for automobile registrations nation-wide in that year, the national ratio was approximately 195 people per registered automobile.¹⁸² Regardless of whether Medford's claims to be the top auto city in the nation were correct, the city was significantly ahead of the country as a whole in the adoption of the automobile. This was shown not only in the number of cars per capita, but also in the services available to motorists. Auto sales and garage services were initiated in Medford in 1908 by William Hodson who was quickly followed by A. W. Walker, George Merritt, and C. E. Gates (Figure 13). By 1915, Gates' Garage was noted as being the "largest auto supply house in Oregon."¹⁸³

The impacts of road building and automobile industries along the road from the Medford to Crater Lake prior to 1916 were similar to the trends seen across the nation and around other park sites. While the battles fought over the specific details of road building and financing were particular to Jackson County and southern Oregon, many of the national themes of taxation, constitutionality, and road usefulness were present in the local discourse. With the growing impact automobiles, shown in the increase in registrations and services for motorists, Medford and the communities along the western Crater Lake Highway were beginning to see the changes 20th Century travel patterns would bring.

¹⁸¹ "Medford Leads Number of Autos", *MMT* (Feb 27, 1910).

¹⁸² Vance, 499 (see note 108 above).

¹⁸³ Tucker, 90.

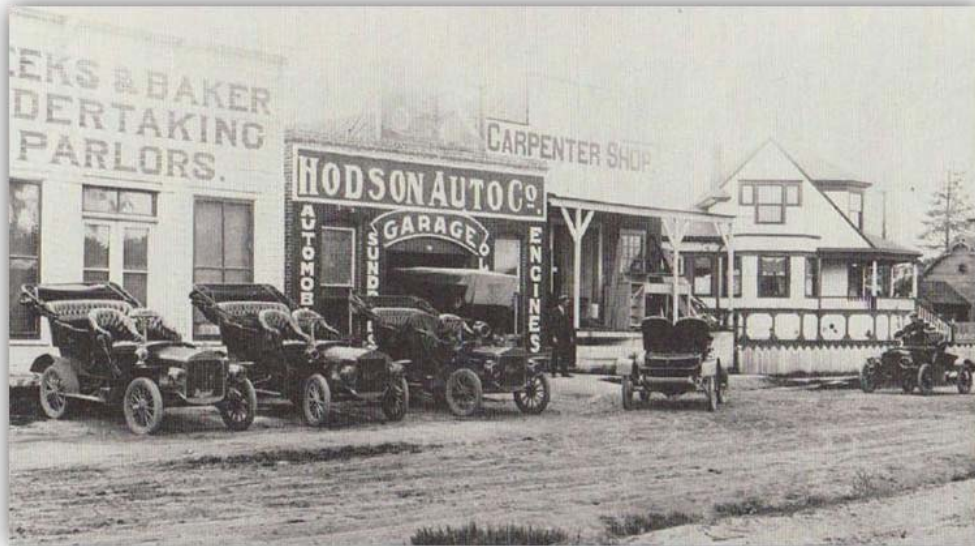


Figure 13 – The Hodson Garage in Medford, 1910s. From Atwood and O’Harra, *Medford, 1885-1985* (Medford: 1985), 54; SOHS photo.

Regional & Local Boosters

Even before the establishment of the national park in 1902, Crater Lake played a significant role in the promotion of southern Oregon. With the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad Siskiyou Route in 1887, Medford gained the important status of a mainline railroad city. Members of the local business community recognized the potential of enticing travelers on the trains coming from Portland or San Francisco to disembark at Medford and explore the Upper Rogue Valley. In September of 1895, 44 Medford residents signed a statement forming the Crater Lake Club. The petition read:

*We, the undersigned citizens of Medford and vicinity, hereby agree to unite with an organization to be affected in the parlor of the Hotel Nash this, Wednesday evening, Sept. 18th, 1895, for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information relating to the mountain scenery of Southern Oregon, and especially Crater Lake.*¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ “Crater Lake Club Signatures”, (Sep 18, 1895), Crater Lake Vertical Files, np., SOHS.

The Crater Lake Club of Medford, along with a sister club in Ashland, often joined forces with William Steel's Portland-based Mazamas for excursions to the lake and throughout the Cascades. The Mazamas' August 1896 outing to Crater Lake, which saw the group perform ceremonies on Wizard Island officially dedicating the long-vanished peak as Mount Mazama, was partially organized by members of the local Crater Lake Clubs and was well attended by Rogue River Valley residents.¹⁸⁵

Crater Lake was often a popular destination for organized groups. Medford-based clubs made efforts to cater to these organizations when they came through the region. In September of 1912, a touring party from the American Geographical Society made Medford and Crater Lake a stop on their two-month long, nationwide expedition. Beginning as early as April, local papers were asking for support and assistance from Medford residents in helping prepare accommodations in the city as well as plan a trip to the lake.¹⁸⁶ Wanting to impress the group that was to contain over fifty foreign members, William Gladstone Steel announced a desire to have as many local volunteers with foreign language experience as possible.¹⁸⁷

Asking for support from the public was not uncommon, especially when it directly related to actions of guests visiting Medford and the surrounding region. Only a few years before the AGS party came through the Upper Rogue Valley, editorials and letters to the editor in the Medford papers were crying out for

¹⁸⁵ L. Green, *Crater Lake National Park: Historic Resource Study* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1984), NPS-H.

¹⁸⁶ "Eminent Scientists Plan Visit to Crater Lake", *KFH* (Apr 20, 1912).

¹⁸⁷ "Linguists Wanted to Drive Autos for Geographers", *MMT* (Jun 9, 1912).

increased hotel capacity in the city.¹⁸⁸ Knowing that visitors would pass on to the next town if no accommodations were available, demands for temporary housing were made. Some writers even suggested that private homeowners with extra rooms should open their doors for guests.¹⁸⁹ Part of the concern among the citizens in the region was the fact that many people were coming to the Upper Rogue specifically because of publicity efforts undertaken on behalf of the area.

As was the case with many cities at the turn of the 20th Century, Medford did not lack in these promotional efforts. The Crater Club, as it was typically referred to, as well as the local Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club were active in publicizing the attributes of Medford and the surrounding region. While Crater Lake was highlighted in many of the Medford-based publications issued during the pre-1916 era, and in fact graced the cover of some, the objective for most advertising was to attract new business and new residents.¹⁹⁰

To assist in getting word out about the Upper Rogue Valley, businesses with a stake in travel to the region often financed publications. A number of the Medford Commercial Club's informational brochures during the period were planned and written by Sunset Magazine's Homeseekers' Bureau and financed by the Southern Pacific Railroad (Figure 14).¹⁹¹ In the March 1910 edition of 'The Rogue Magazine', a promotional publication developed by a Medford publishing house, the Portland-based general passenger agent for the Southern Pacific announced 'Colonist Rates' from eastern cities to Oregon destinations.

¹⁸⁸ "Hotel Situation Acute", *MMT* (Feb 28, 1910).

¹⁸⁹ "Medford is Badly in Need of Greater Hotel Accommodations", *MMT* (Feb 28, 1910).

¹⁹⁰ *Medford and the Rogue River Valley* (Medford: Medford Commercial Club, 1909), 1, SODA; *Medford Bulletin* (1911), 12-14.

¹⁹¹ *Medford and the Rogue River Valley* (1911), 64; *Medford Bulletin* (1909), 34.

The advertisement noted that the special rates were important “...in past seasons to stimulate travel to and settlement in Oregon” and encouraged residents to tout the fares to eastern friends and family.¹⁹²



Figure 14 – Publishing logo from *Sunset's* Homeseekers' Bureau. From *Medford Bulletin*, Medford Commercial Club (1911), SODA.

Attracting new settlers to the region was paramount on the mind of many local leaders. Publicizing recent expansions in the fruit orchard industry, publications included glowing summaries of crop yields, profit margins, and fertile soils.¹⁹³ The attractive, mild climate was also a selling point. In describing the climate, an Ashland Commercial Club Bulletin from the early 1910s claimed “...the climate much resembles that of Northern Italy.” A Medford Commercial Club publication from the same period suggested that “...people who are

particular will find the climate to their liking in Southern Oregon, unless they expect the impossible.”¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² *Rogue Magazine* 1, no. 12 (March 1910), 43, SODA.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, p 8

¹⁹⁴ *Ashland, Oregon* (Ashland: Ashland Com Club, 1909), 7, SODA; *Medford Bulletin* (1911),

The role of Crater Lake, however, was to showcase the potential for outdoor living that could be afforded in southern Oregon. Pairing the destination and recreational opportunities of Crater Lake with the hunting available in the Cascade forests or the fishing in the Rogue River underscored the variety of activities a visitor or new resident to southern Oregon might find.¹⁹⁵ In December 1914, a special edition of the *Ashland Tidings* used these broad themes to promote the Upper Rogue Region as a tourist destination for travelers to the upcoming Pan-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco.¹⁹⁶ While much of the issue was focused on the mineral waters at Ashland's Lithia Park, potential trips to Crater Lake, and the 'Marble Halls of Oregon' in Josephine County (Oregon Caves National Monument) were described, as was the wildlife that could be seen throughout Jackson County.¹⁹⁷

The urge to attract new residents and business investments to Medford and the Upper Rogue Valley was the driving force behind the majority of booster publications from the region during the early years of last century. While the beauty of Crater Lake was often highlighted and additional outdoor recreation potential was addressed in most informational sources, those features were secondary to the economic opportunities provided in southern Oregon. Promoters knew that visitors might come to see Crater Lake, but to permanently settle in the region, they would need an economic incentive.

¹⁹⁵ *Outdoor Life: Hunting and Fishing in the Rogue River Valley* (Medford: Medford Commercial Club, 1911), SODA.

¹⁹⁶ "Ashland, Oregon: The Carlsbad of America", *Ashland Tidings* (Dec 31, 1914), SODA.

¹⁹⁷ Oregon Caves National Monument was established within the Department of Agriculture in 1909. It became a unit of the National Park Service after the 1933 realignment. See Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*".

Outdoor Recreation

As the efforts of local boosters indicate, the potential for outdoor recreation in the Upper Rogue Valley and at Crater Lake was an important factor in encouraging people to visit the region. For the same reasons the Upper Rogue was ahead of many parts of the nation in automobile use and road improvement, the region was an attractive destination for outdoor enthusiasts. The diversity of climate, from the relatively mild basin surrounding Medford to the snow-clad peaks of the Cascades and Coast Ranges, made the area appealing for sightseeing.

Crater Lake was the principal attraction on most visitors' itineraries. Even before the Crater Lake Road was improved for automobile use late in the first decade of the 20th Century, visitors were making the trek to the lake. For those travelers, the journey often took several days and typically included a series of stops at well-known spots along the road as it followed the Rogue River into the Cascades. A number of the small communities along the route began long-standing recreation enterprises, catering to the needs of the passing travelers.

Between Medford and Prospect the road traveled between privately held farms, ranches, and mountain outposts. For local residents, early trips often included overnight stops at the homes of people living on these properties.¹⁹⁸ Visitors from outside of the Rogue River Valley who would not have known which properties were open to camping and which were restricted were provided additional options in the small towns along the route. In the first decades of the

¹⁹⁸ F. Pearson, "Oral History Interview", in *Recollections: People and the Forest, Vol 3* (Medford: USFS, 1993), 9-11, SODA.

20th Century the Ash and Middlebush families operated guest houses in the supply outpost of Trail.¹⁹⁹

As the Crater Lake Road was improved and the number of through travelers on their way to Crater Lake increased, so did the number of potential stopping points and the activities visitors engaged in. In 1916, the McDonald family opened the Rogue Elk Hotel near the confluence of Elk Creek and the Rogue River, about three miles up the valley from Trail (Figure 15). The Rogue Elk was advertised as “...one of the finest [buildings] in southern Oregon” and “...an ideal place to spend vacations.”²⁰⁰ The hotel was more than a place to stay on the journey to Crater Lake and other destinations; guides were available

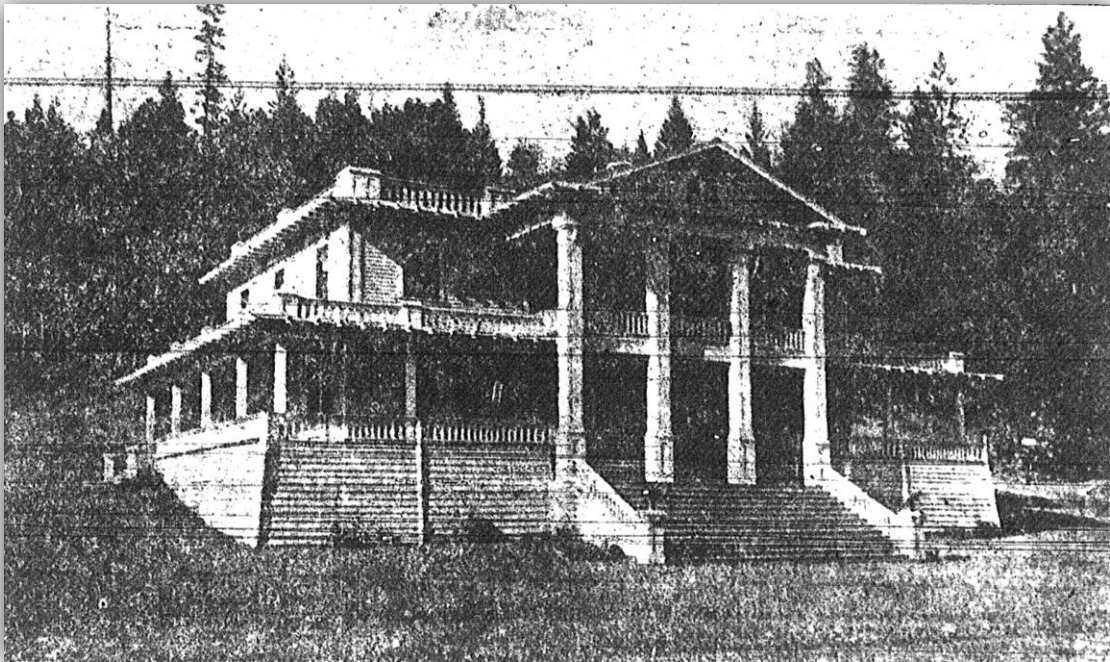


Figure 15 – The Rogue Elk Resort, 1916. From *MMT* (Aug 31, 1916).

¹⁹⁹ J. Carlton, “Trail, Oregon from the Beginning”, from *Rogue Valley Communities History Collection* (1961), 4-5, JCL.

²⁰⁰ “New Rogue Elk Resort on Upper Rogue is Popular”, *MMT* (Aug 31, 1916), 4.

for hunting expeditions, Elk Creek and the Rogue River were touted as prime fishing locations, and plans were included for a campground and summer cottages.²⁰¹

Less than twenty miles above the Rogue Elk Hotel travelers found the town of Prospect. On the edge of the vast timberlands of the Cascades, Prospect had emerged in the final decades of the 19th Century as the hopeful terminus for a timber region railroad.²⁰² That service never materialized but Prospect continued to serve populations in the far reaches of the Upper Rogue. For travelers en route to Crater Lake, Prospect, located forty-five miles from the city and thirty-five from Crater Lake, was the natural halfway point. Originally built in 1892 by the Boothby family, the Prospect Hotel became a popular attraction for travelers along the road (Figure 16).²⁰³ Whether overnight guests or those on a stage line from Medford to Crater Lake making a stop for lunch, the Prospect Hotel was well known to travelers in the Upper Rogue Valley.²⁰⁴

Above the town of Prospect, the road entered public forest land where tent camping was a popular activity for all travelers, especially during the warmer and drier summer months. The most significant locations were often based on their proximity to unique attractions or an important road juncture. Union Creek, at the point where the original Fort Klamath-Rogue River Military Road turned away from the Rogue River and headed east towards Crater Lake, became a popular

²⁰¹ "Fine New Resort on Rogue River Opens Saturday", *MMT* (Jul 17, 1916).

²⁰² R. M. Weiss, *Prospect: Portrait of an Upper Rogue Community* (Eagle Point, OR: Laurelhurst Publications, 1989), 1-3, JCL.

²⁰³ B. Hegne, *Prospect Hotel and Community* (Medford: Barbara Hegne, n.d.), 7, SOHS.

²⁰⁴ Hegne, *Prospect Hotel*, 7, 10, 15. Some of the most prominent guests to stay at the Prospect Hotel in the early years of the 20th Century were Jack London, Zane Grey, Teddy Roosevelt, and William Jennings Bryant.



Figure 16 – The Prospect Hotel, 1890s. From Weiss, *Prospect*, 12.

camping destination. The nearby attractions of Natural Bridge and a narrow river gorge through which the Rogue River passed made the site a popular stop on most Crater Lake trips. As travelers followed the road east toward the park they encountered Huckleberry Mountain, a well-known spot for wild huckleberry picking, which was frequented as a side-trip by many local residents on their annual excursions to Crater Lake.²⁰⁵

Travelers making the trip during the first decade of the 20th Century were often required to make one stop, or several, at the locations described above. The eighty mile journey from Medford to Crater Lake often took several days by horse-drawn wagon before permanent bridges were built at river crossings. When the first automobiles began making the trek to Crater Lake a few years

²⁰⁵ Pearson, “Oral History”, 3-5. Huckleberry pie is still a local favorite at many of the restaurants along the Crater Lake Road.

after national park status was granted the length of time for a trip along the Rogue River route was greatly reduced. While visitors might still expect to spend nine to ten hours on the road on the way up to Crater Lake it was possible by 1910 to make a trip over a weekend.

Some adventurers were not concerned about the length of the trip, but rather just the fact that a trip could be made by any conveyance. In 1907, a husband and wife team made a nearly month-long journey entirely on bicycles from the Klamath Basin through Crater Lake National Park and down the Rogue River road entirely on bicycles.²⁰⁶ In a display of the growing possibilities of outdoor recreation and the importance of good traveling corridors, for bicycles as well as the emerging automobile, the couple published a description of the trials they encountered as well as the sights they were able to enjoy on their journey.

For most people a one-hundred-plus mile journey on bicycle was more than they were willing to endure to see Crater Lake. William Steel knew that many visitors would arrive at the nearest railroad station with a desire to visit the park but no means of reaching it. As part of the concession contract given to Steel's Crater Lake Company in 1907 he and his partners were granted permission to run stage lines from the nearest railroad terminals into the park.²⁰⁷ While early runs were made by horse-drawn stages the switch to automobiles occurred quickly. In 1910, the company had three automobiles in service; by 1912, five were in operation.²⁰⁸ Six additional autos were also put into service in 1912 by the Klamath Development Company who were granted a concession

²⁰⁶ J. E. Ross, "To Crater Lake Awheel", *Outer's Book* (Dec 1907), 1497-1505, SOHS.

²⁰⁷ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*.

contract after concerns were raised that the Crater Lake Company was developing a concessions monopoly.²⁰⁹

The combination of better transportation options and the improvements seen on the Crater Lake Road from Medford to the park meant a larger number of tourists were reaching the lake during the summer travel season. As was noted previously, early services for park visitors were severely limited. Yet with the creation of the Crater Lake Company and the emergence of the first park concession operations, the lack of park amenities began to dissipate.

The most pressing need at the park was lodging. Camping was a popular activity, though not all travelers were able to bring enough personal equipment to establish their own campsite. To enhance the park experience of their stage-line customers the Crater Lake Company began operations of 'camp hotels' at the rim of the lake and near the park administrative center at Camp Arant.²¹⁰ These facilities were little more than canvas tents mounted on wood-bottomed frames and had no running water or kitchen facilities. William Steel recognized the need for more substantial accommodations for park visitors and encouraged Alfred Parkhurst, who by 1909 had taken over the operation of the Crater Lake Company, to plan a permanent lodge on the rim of the lake. The position of the lodge would afford guests views of the lake while providing a substantial improvement in the quality and comfort of park lodging options (see Figure 17).

Construction of the lodge spanned several years as short summers and high labor costs at the location hampered efforts. The first official guests at the

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.; Green, *Historic Resource Study*.



Figure 17 – Crater Lake Lodge under construction, 1910s. CLNP Archives.

lodge came during the 1915 season, six years after the first portions of the foundation were begun.²¹¹ During the interim period the Crater Lake Company expanded its other services in the park, including additional facilities in the campgrounds and sightseeing tours on park trails and in motorboats on the lake itself. Park officials were also aware of the attractions visitors wanted to see when coming to Crater Lake. Mirroring actions taken at other park sites, Superintendent Arant arranged garbage dump sites near the headquarters area in the hope that the local bear population would put on a show for visitors.²¹² These attractions were intended to provide tourists with a visit to match their expectations of what would be seen in a national park.

²¹¹ Green, *Historic Resource Study*.

²¹² "Tame Bears in Crater Park", *CPH* (Aug, 29, 1912), SOHS.

For visitors to Medford and the Upper Rogue River Valley, the primary goal for outdoor recreation during the years prior to the establishment of the Park Service was typically a trip to Crater Lake. However, there were numerous intervening opportunities along the route, ranging from traditional camping, hunting and fishing activities, to those geared towards hotel and resort excursions. With the improvements in visitor access to the park and to the rim of the lake itself, the visitor services provided by the park concessions took on more significance in the regional recreation landscape. Local attractions that had been regular overnight destinations when the journey took several days were now short stops on the half-day trek to Crater Lake National Park.

Federal Land Management Policy

The establishment of Crater Lake National Park in 1902 was only one of many federal government involvements in the use of land in the Upper Rogue Valley during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. As was the case in much of the western United States, land in Jackson County and the adjoining areas of southern Oregon was often claimed by early settlers through homesteading. The earliest settlers occupied the land at lower elevations, below the rough mountain regions of the Cascades, Siskiyou, or Coast Ranges. These areas had the highest agricultural potential and were more likely to have transportation routes linking them to adjoining regions.

Climbing up the Rogue River from the basin containing Ashland, Medford, and Eagle Point, into the Cascades, the valley narrows and the terrain becomes less inviting for large-scale agriculture. The land immediately along the banks of

the Rogue River, and consequently along the Rogue River-Fort Klamath Road, was claimed by early settlers looking for locations from which to base prospecting, timber, or high-country ranching operations. Several communities emerged as supply points for the residents of that 'Yonder Hills' region of Jackson County.²¹³ Some, such as Trail formed at the confluence of a small mountain stream with the Rogue River, while others like the town of Prospect maximized their location along the very edge of the forested expanse of the Cascades.

Many of the early settlers in towns such as Prospect came expressly for that timber supply. The first homesteaders in the area came in the 1870s and established sawmill operations on what quickly became known as Mill Creek.²¹⁴ With 160-acre parcels of heavily timbered forestland, each homesteader began with a fair amount of potential timber product. Government regulations technically required the landowners to gain a profit from the cutting of timber only if the trees were cut to clear the land for farming operations though lax enforcement of that policy provided opportunities for fraud.²¹⁵ The emphasis at the time was for private ownership of land. Other legislation such as the Timber and Stone Act of 1878 legitimized that policy, allowing citizens to purchase timber-cutting rights to 160-acre blocks of timber at \$2.50 an acre in areas which were "unfit for cultivation".²¹⁶ This, along with the Free Timber Act which allowed miners and settlers permission to cut timber on public lands if it was for personal

²¹³ B. Hegne, *Yonder Hills* (Eagle Point, OR: 1989).

²¹⁴ Weiss, *Prospect*, 4-5.

²¹⁵ J. Ise, *The United States Forest Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920).

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

use, resulted in private ownership of large tracts of timber land in the Upper Rogue Valley.²¹⁷

National concerns about the status of timber lands in the West culminated in the repeal of previous legislation and the passage of the Forest Reserve Act in 1891. With a federally-designated forest reserve for the Cascades now only a presidential signature away, William Steel rallied support within his Portland-based mountaineering organizations. In September of 1893 the crest of the Cascades from Mount Hood to Crater Lake was proclaimed as the Cascade Forest Reserve by President Cleveland.²¹⁸ Many of the settlers on the western side of the mountains who depended on timber for their livelihood, including some in the Upper Rogue Valley, resented the withdrawal of these forest plots.²¹⁹

When Steel's attempts to create a national park at Crater Lake finally paid off in 1902, some residents were against additional restrictions on the land. While most communities in the Upper Rogue Valley, particularly those along the only road from Medford to the lake, soon embraced the potential economic boon a national park could bring, there remained an anti-regulation sentiment within the local population. When automobile regulations were formally adopted at Crater Lake in 1911, the Department of the Interior implemented a \$1 per car charge for entrance to the park.²²⁰ Many in Jackson County, where increased

²¹⁷ Ibid., 56-58.

²¹⁸ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*. The Cascade Forest Reserve was eventually divided into several National Forests during later administrations. See C. E. Brown, "History of Rogue River National Forest" (1957), USFS Files, SODA.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

taxes had been paid to improve the road leading to the park, resented the decision and requested that the park make exceptions for local residents.²²¹

The administration policies and implemented regulations at Crater Lake National Park, and the surrounding Crater National Forest which was declared by President Roosevelt in 1908, had a direct impact not just those living in the surrounding regions but everyone visiting the park.²²² During the first years of the park annual appropriations were well below the requests sent by Superintendent Arant. The lack of proper funding resulted in only marginal improvements to the facilities and services available at the park during those first years. Signing concession contracts with the Crater Lake Company in 1907 helped to remove some of the burden from park administrators, yet even those agreements were lacking.

William Steel addressed the issue of concessionaire contract terms at the National Parks Conference in 1911. The Crater Lake Company, chartered to provide lodging, dining, and transportation services at the park, was at the time working under a five-year lease. Steel felt that without a longer guarantee there was little incentive for the company to invest in more improvements. He focused on his primary concern, stating:

We want to do our part, and we want the Government to help us. All we ask is a 20-year lease. Give us that, and we can secure funds to carry on the work as it should be. Limit us on the lease and you limit the development. We must have a 20-year lease or we will not be ready to receive and properly care for the great number of tourists that will come to us in two or three or four years,

²²¹ "Automobile Tax for Crater Lake National Park is Protested by Medford Commercial Club", *MMT* (Jul 24, 1911), CLNP.

²²² "Welcome", *Rogue River-Siskiyou National Forest* (2009), web accessed Jan 15, 2010.

*with transcontinental railroads operating within 15 miles. ... We can do all these things better as a single corporation than they can be done by a lot of little ones. ... [W]e must have a monopoly for the protection of the men who supply the money and for the protection of the public as well.*²²³

Steel's pleas for a longer lease term were answered in 1912 when the Crater Lake Company signed a 20-year lease, though the company was not granted a full monopoly as additional concession contracts were signed with outside transportation companies at the same time.²²⁴

Beyond his efforts to secure a better lease for the Crater Lake Company, Steel was consistently able to use his connections in Washington to acquire additional appropriations from Congress. As the touted 'Grandfather of Crater Lake', Steel's knowledge of the region and his acute awareness of the practical requirements needed for improvement within the park made him difficult to challenge. His persistence was well-rewarded on numerous occasions, especially when he sought funding for improved roads. Appropriations in 1908, and again in 1910 and 1911, were part of the regional efforts to improve the Crater Lake Road from Medford through the park and on to Klamath Falls.²²⁵ Speaking a second time at the National Parks Conference in 1911, Steel addressed his vision for a spectacular road around the rim of the lake saying it would be "...the most thrillingly beautiful automobile driveway on earth." Issuing a challenge for more funding from the government, he stated "I am here on another mission for Crater Lake, in that I want a paved road built from Medford to

²²³ W. G. Steel, "Remarks to the Secretary", *Proceedings of the National Parks Conference, 1911* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912) 38-39, GB.

²²⁴ See note 209.

²²⁵ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History; Green, Historic Resource Study*

the western entrance of the park, at a cost of nearly \$2,000,000; and I expect to win.²²⁶

The changes in concessionaire policy and the increased expenditures on road improvements inside and outside the park, each possible in part because of Steel's continued pressure for development at Crater Lake, were instrumental in making the park a larger tourist destination. As use increased and the number of people entering the park and the surrounding forest, it became necessary to implement guidelines and policies to ensure the safety of visitors and the protection of the landscape. In 1912, after it was realized that visitors passing through the Crater National Forest often failed to recognize that they were on federally managed land, officials erected signs and roadway arches notifying travelers of the boundaries of designated forest land.²²⁷

The disparity in appropriation and general administration between the individual national park sites at the start of the 1910s gave individuals such as Steel a reason to lobby stridently for a particular park. Eventually the desire for more consistent management of the parks would lead to the creation of a separate bureau dedicated to national park administration within the Department of the Interior. The creation of the National Park Service in August of 1916, and subsequent announcements declaring Stephen T. Mather, who had served as the Interior Department's Assistant Secretary for National Parks for the previous year, as Director were well received by residents of the Upper Rogue Valley.²²⁸ With an overarching purpose for the management of national park sites, each

²²⁶ Steel, "Remarks", 315.

²²⁷ "Gates at Entrances", *Ashland Tidings* (Feb 26, 1912), CLNP.

²²⁸ "Mather Ideal Head for Parks Says Dr. Coe", *MMT* (Aug 8, 1916).

location would become an outlet for the administrative policies of Park Service officials as well as a sounding board for local opposition to park regulations.

INTERPRETING DISCOURSE IMPACTS

When we examine the recreation landscapes of the Rogue River Valley during the pre-1916 period, a number of substantial changes are evident. The most important of these transformations in the context of access to Crater Lake National Park is the evolution of the Crater Lake Road itself. As was the case in many regions of the United States at this time, the increasing availability of the automobile as a private transportation option provided momentum for the Good Roads Movement. For the communities along the Crater Lake Road, this evolution brought several changes.

The most evident was the physical change in the road itself. In the span of less than twenty years what had been a rugged, narrow, military wagon path had become the primary artery into one of the nation's crown jewel parks. Requirements for automobiles were substantially different for those of horse drawn wagons and modifications were necessary at river crossings, along steep or narrow sections, or in places where the natural surface was not conducive for repetitive auto traffic. In the Upper Rogue Valley, the most common road concern of the time was a product of the ground itself. The fine, volcanic soils along the route to the park and on roads and trails within Crater Lake were prone to severe rutting during wet periods and produced extreme amounts of dust during dry times (Figure 18). Adding coarse crushed stone alleviated some of

the rutting while application of water or oil to the surface lessened the impact of dust.



Figure 18 – Crater Lake West Entrance Road, 1910s. The volcanic soils produced voluminous amounts of dust in the summer and were nearly impassible during wetter seasons. From SOHS.

With these highway modifications, the difficulty of travel along the Crater Lake Road was lessened and a roadway able to carry a substantially higher amount of travelers was produced. At the western terminus of the improved Crater Lake Road, Medford's business establishment was able to capitalize on increased traffic by increasing the amount of services available to motorists, such as filling stations and repair shops. For the communities between Medford and the park an increase in the number of people using the road meant an increase in the demand for lodging options. Before the turn of the 20th Century, when local residents dominated recreational travel along the Upper Rogue River,

people could rely on family, friends, or a reliable knowledge of land ownership to find a suitable location for overnight accommodations. It was during this period that small towns such as Trail and Prospect witnessed the emergence of roadside resorts. The building of the Rogue Elk Hotel in 1916 highlights the changing nature of recreational lodging options along the route to Crater Lake during this time. Designed to attract travelers on the road, the Rogue Elk specifically marketed its location near Rogue River fishing holes, forested hunting grounds, and the scenic wonders of the Upper Rogue.

Residents of Medford and Jackson County utilized the new Rogue River route in a slightly different manner than outside guests. Like the Middlebusher or Ash hotels in Trail, some lodging establishments served the needs of recreational motorists while also providing a service location for miners and loggers in more remote regions of the surrounding mountains (Figure 19). For residents along the route, improvements meant reliable access to the regional market centers or government offices near Medford. To others the road was a source of employment, since much of the road labor as well as the materials used were of local origin. The local sourcing for road projects was in part a product of the funding structure for transportation issues present during this period. Construction and improvement of roads was generally the concern of the counties and individual cities, rather than of the state or federal governments. That control structure was in flux during the first two decades of the 20th Century and by 1916, the federal government became fully involved in highway affairs. However, as the contentious debate about the funding for the Crater Lake Road

shows, there were many who saw little benefit in a broader system of improved roads.



Figure 19 – The Middlebusher Hotel, Trail, circa 1900. SOHS.

In Jackson County, the desire for good roads expanded beyond Medford and the communities along the Crater Lake Road. Of primary concern for many rural residents was the need for agricultural market roads leading from the orchards and ranches surrounding Medford and Ashland to the railroad and highway stations in those cities. During the last decade of the 19th Century and the first two of the 20th, Jackson County boosters were successful in attracting a large number of new settlers. As was noted earlier, the promotional material

advertising southern Oregon touted the mild climate, long growing season, and successes of already established farmers of the region (Figure 20). With an increase in the number of people came an increased demand for land to be converted to ranches or orchards.

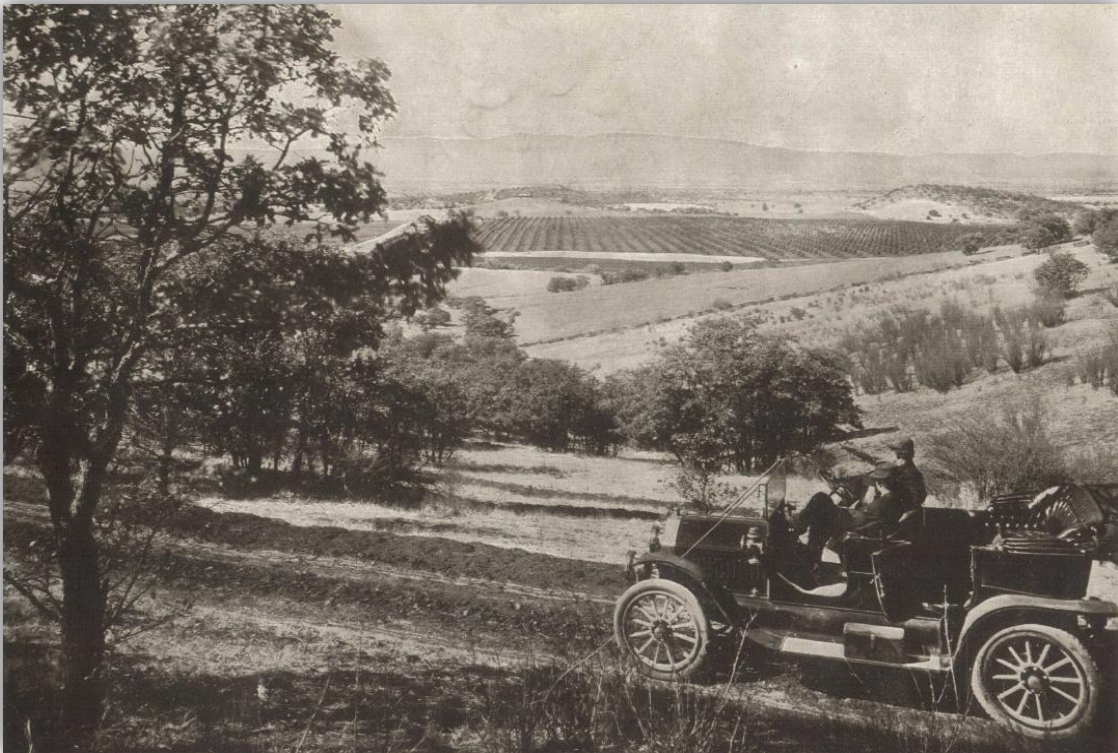


Figure 20 – Orchards near Medford, 1910s. This image is from a 1911 Medford Commercial Club publication touting the agricultural heart of the Rogue River Valley. SODA.

Existing development occupied most of the good land within close proximity to Medford, Ashland, and the route of the Southern Pacific Railroad forcing the newest arrivals to find land along the periphery of the valley. A traveler on the Crater Lake Road during this period would have left downtown Medford and quickly found themselves surrounded by newly established agricultural lands. The portion of the valley north of Medford through which the

road passes was one of the most marginal agricultural areas in the non-mountainous regions of the county. While early settlers generally avoided this area, real estate speculators used the cheap land prices and lack of local knowledge of new arrivals to sell land at a profit.²²⁹ The few settlers who remained in this area as well as those who found land further from Medford, closer to where the Rogue River and Crater Lake Road's paths come together, created a distinctly agricultural landscape for the first twenty miles of the journey from Medford to Crater Lake.

Where the road joined the river, near present day Shady Cove, the valley narrows and begins to rise into the heart of the southern Cascades. The agricultural landscape of the broader portions of the valley near Medford and Eagle Point would have given way to small riverside homes and ranches surrounded by timbered hillsides. With the river and mountains more accessible, this portion of the road became more attractive for scenic travel and outdoor recreation.

As more travelers utilized the Crater Lake Road to gain access to recreation sites along the Upper Rogue River or in Crater Lake National Park the roadside landscape was impacted to a greater degree. Local residents established a series of campsites between Prospect and the park boundary during this period. These camp locations were not always located directly on the main travel route yet they still provided summertime resting points for travelers on their way to Crater Lake or, for many locals, a destination to enjoy with friends

²²⁹ R. Love, "City of Industry, City of Dreams", *Table Rock Sentinel* (Aug 1988), 1-13, from Camp White and Eagle Point History Collection, JCL.

and family. Unique features of the Upper Rogue region often became sites of informal campsites that gained popularity from season to season.

The emergence of the automobile as a recreational vehicle and the improvements along the Crater Lake Road facilitating better automobile usage brought changes to these established campsites. With a quicker trip, the necessity for multiple overnight stops between Medford and Crater Lake was eliminated and camping sites having few or no amenities were soon forgotten. Though local residents remained attached to these places a visiting tourist would just as well pass by on the way to a camping location within Crater Lake Park itself. As the dynamic changed and a greater number of non-local visitors made the trip along the Crater Lake Road, travelers looked towards camping or lodging options closer to the main road and with more services, such as the Rogue Elk or Prospect Hotels.

The presence of federally-owned land along the upper reaches of the Crater Lake Road implies at least some impact on the surrounding landscapes by direct government policies and management. The creation of the Cascade Forest Reserve in the 1890s and the establishment of Crater Lake National Park shortly after the turn of the 20th Century set the tone for most of the land beyond the town of Prospect along the Crater Lake Road. While official policy and regulation guidelines were constantly evolving during this period there was still a well-established framework for the management of forest and park lands. In many cases, that management dealt directly with how to make these places more accessible to the American citizen.

Within the newly established Crater Lake National Park the establishment of campgrounds, an upgraded road and trail system to match those outside the park, and permanent buildings dramatically affected the natural landscape around the lake. As was the case with many parks with just one primary feature, the vast majority of use was focused along specific corridors and at a few service nodes. Annie Springs, at the junction of the two main entrance roads and the road to the rim, and the Rim Village area seen in Figure 21, where the rim access road reached the crest of the caldera, were the principal locations visited by most travelers to the park.



Figure 21 – Rim Campground, Crater Lake National Park, 1910s. CLNP.

As park boosters such as William Steel consistently noted, there was always more that could be done to make the park more accessible and more

attractive to visitors. That attitude towards development of public parkland led to the planning and construction of the first iteration of the Rim Road during the last few years of this period. With the movement toward a dedicated agency for park management gaining ground by the middle of the 1910s, the view of places such as Crater Lake as regulated tourist attractions would soon become the principal force behind park development. Newer features and services would eventually be added, all based on the groundwork laid out during the park's first two decades.

CHAPTER IV

CREATING A NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM: 1917 – 1946

NATIONAL THEMES

MANAGING THE NEW NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

At the end of 1916, the newly created National Park Service was responsible for 14 national parks, 21 national monuments, and two reservations in 16 states or territories from Maine to Hawai'i and Alaska to Oklahoma (Figure 22).²³⁰ Though the units were scattered across the nation, administration of the overall system was now consolidated under one agency. It was hoped this would provide a measure of consistency and purpose to the growing reach of parks. To begin this new vision, Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane selected Stephen T. Mather as Director of the fledgling agency. Mather, a businessman and progressive conservationist from California, had spent the previous year building momentum for the Park Service legislation as Lane's Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior for National Parks.²³¹ His connection with the late John Muir, his devotion to the idea of national parks, his hard-nosed business sense, and his

²³⁰ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*.

²³¹ Albright and Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service*, 36-40; Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*.

newly found connections within established park channels in Washington made him a logical choice.

As Mather and his Assistant Director, Horace Albright, recognized immediately, the primary concern for the new agency was simple: gain a dedicated national park constituency.²³² Individually, many of the parks were well known and in some cases, well visited. However, most parks were

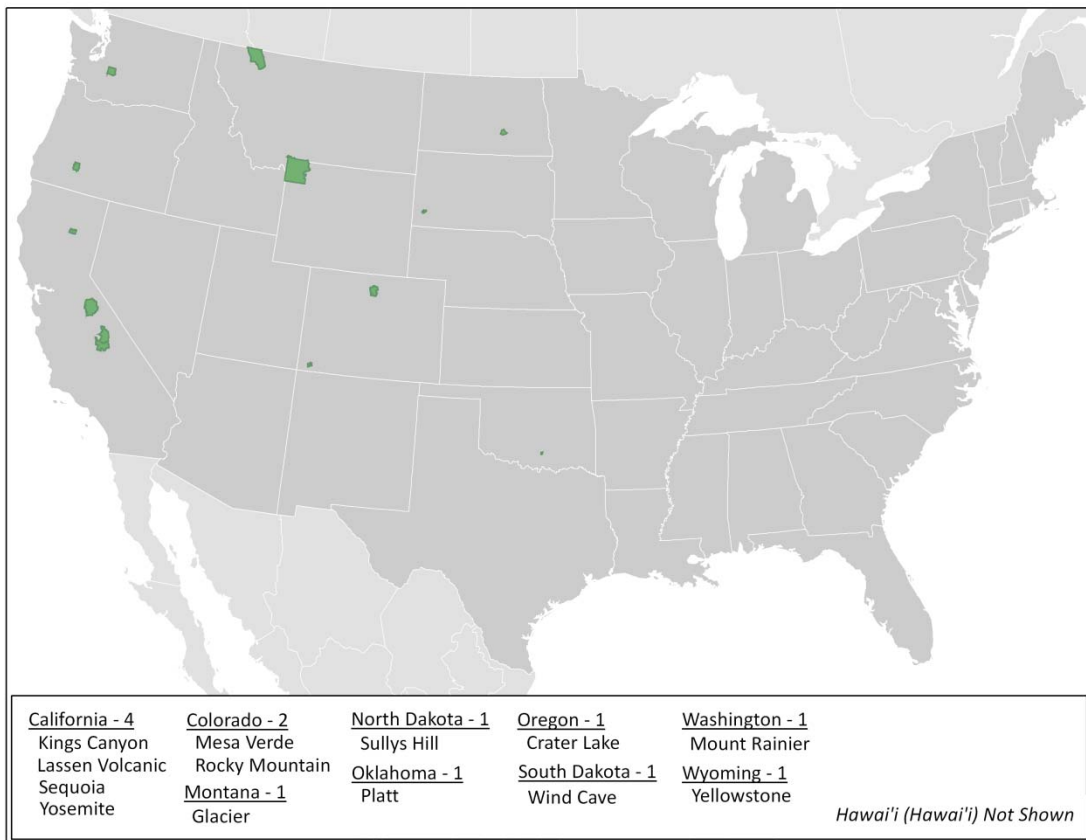


Figure 22 – Locations of designated national parks, 1917.

²³² While Mather was the appointed Director of the new Park Service, as his assistant Albright was deeply involved in agency decisions throughout the 1920s. Part of that involvement came as a result of Mather's periodic bouts with depression, which left him virtually incapacitated. See Albright, 196-200, for an account of Mather's condition shortly following the establishment of the Park Service.

consistently underfunded and, by Mather and Albright's estimation, underdeveloped. Bringing more people into the parks, and educating them about what the parks preserved and why, would provide a measure of public support which could then be transformed into pressure to open up more federal resources for Park Service sites.

To this end, Mather employed the knowledge and skills of a variety of individuals and groups to transform the image of the national parks. Robert Sterling Yard, a writer, park supporter, and friend of Mather was instrumental in the years leading up to the creation of the Park Service. His 1916 *National Parks Portfolio* captivated members of Congress and the public, making the national parks cause one of national pride.²³³ After administrative adjustments within the new agency left Yard without an official position, he used support from Director Mather to form the National Parks Association (NPA), a group dedicated to promoting park issues from beyond the bureaucracy of the federal government. In 1919, as the head of the NPA, he wrote *The Book of the National Parks* and began a nearly twenty year editing run for the *National Parks Bulletin*.²³⁴

Yard's work highlighted the scenic grandeur of the parks and educated the public about what they might find when they went to parks. But Mather and Albright were interested in more than piquing the curiosity of the American public. They wanted to make certain as many people as possible were able to visit the

²³³ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 196; Sutter, 104

²³⁴ Sutter, 105-106. The NPA was renamed the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) in 1970; the name was shortened to the National Parks Conservation Association in 2000. "Who Are We?", *NPCA*, (2009), web accessed Jan 19, 2010.

parks. By the end of the 1910s, the recent surge in popularity of automobile travel was difficult to ignore. The director encouraged park superintendents to do whatever possible to support the automobiling public.²³⁵ As was noted earlier, parks had started registering private automobiles for use on park roads as early as 1908. The problem was not the desire of automobilists to travel to parks but rather the suitability of park facilities to handle them.

Director Mather and Assistant Director Albright were conscious of the need for modern, automobile-friendly national parks. As funding for park development became more consistent in the early 1920s, the Park Service utilized the services of the Bureau of Public Roads and the Park Service's own Landscape Division to bring park transportation systems up to contemporary standards.²³⁶ Engineers and landscape architects worked together to blend modern, safe roadway designs into the natural scenery of parks. Out of these efforts came a distinct style of national park landscapes, which was built to enhance the experience of visitors as well as present the rustic ideal expected at places such as Yosemite, Glacier, or Crater Lake.²³⁷

The expectation of an 'authentic' national park experience was one part of the driving philosophy of national park administration during the Mather and Albright years in the 1920s. In part shaped by a policy outline signed by Secretary of Interior Lane in 1918, this philosophy was based on equitable access and strongly tied public engagement to education and interpretation that

²³⁵ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*; Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 170-177; L. F. McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942* (Washington, DC: NPS, 1993), NPS-H.

²³⁷ Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 7.

encouraged system cohesion and integrity of purpose among all park units.²³⁸ Before the establishment of the Park Service, that system cohesion had been difficult to maintain as a growing number of communities across the nation lobbied for their own national park site. Whether it was through the effort of pork-barrel politics in Congress or the influence of wealthy philanthropists, the number of proposals for new parks and monuments rose significantly in the first few decades of the Park Service.²³⁹ Some park supporters, such as Robert Sterling Yard, came out against a dramatic increase in park sites, citing concern about the value of newer, possibly less significant locations.²⁴⁰ Mather himself attempted to deflect pressure from the federal administrators of the park system by repeatedly calling for the expansion of state park organizations. In a number of speeches to park supporters in the late 1910s and early 1920s, Mather touted the significant impact a ‘*state park every hundred miles*’ would have on the visitation to the national parks.²⁴¹

Director Albright, who was given the top Park Service position following the retirement of Stephen Mather in 1929, and Arno Cammerer, who served under Albright and succeeded him as director in 1933, were both aware of the potentially contradictory aspects of increasing development within national park

²³⁸ Ise, *National Parks Policy*, 194-195. Ise and others have speculated about the true author of the so-called “Lane Letter” of 1918. While some suggest that Mather wrote the statement for Lane to sign, in *Creating the National Park Service* (275-276) Horace Albright takes credit for the document. That version has been repeated in more recent summaries of that period, including Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 81.

²³⁹ Wikle, 51-52; Ise, *National Park Policy*, 296-300.

²⁴⁰ Sutter, 100-141.

²⁴¹ R. W. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 69. The motto “A State Park Every Hundred Miles” was the organizing statement of the NPS-organized National State Parks Convention in 1921.

areas.²⁴² As early as the late 1910s, park administrators had attempted to set limits on the amount of park land opened to automobile travelers. Director Mather had voiced an interest in keeping the impact of roads to a minimum. In some parks that meant building just one road to the most desirable locations and harmonizing the roadway landscape with the surrounding scenery.²⁴³

Even with precautionary measures, the increase in park development and the growing role of recreational tourism caused concern amongst some who had once been steadfast park supporters. Former park promoter Yard, along with naturalist Aldo Leopold, forester Bob Marshall, regional planner Benton MacKaye, and a handful of other park development critics formed the Wilderness Society in 1934.²⁴⁴ As an outlet for organized opposition to outdoor recreation plans in federal agencies such as the Park Service and Forest Service, the Wilderness Society encapsulated the growing belief that automobile-based developments were undermining the inherent benefits of recreation in a natural setting.

Despite these efforts, the emerging concerns about park development were not popular enough in the 1930s and 40s to seriously challenge the overall direction of the Park Service. An increase in the number of American citizens with access to automobiles and a growing demand for destinations meant a continued dedication to increased public access and service within park sites.

²⁴² As mentioned in Note 227, Mather actually suffered a series of emotional and physical breakdowns throughout his tenure as director. Albright served as acting director during Mather's periods of incapacitation and took over the office of director in 1929 when Mather's health situation failed to improve.

²⁴³ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 204, 370.

²⁴⁴ For an in-depth analysis of Yard, Leopold, Marshall, and MacKaye and their roles in the organization of the Wilderness Society see Paul Sutter's *Driven Wild*.

Some modifications such as more efficient campground designs and better signage along road corridors were added to mitigate the most destructive aspects of auto use in parks. However, the Park Service remained an agency focused on public access.²⁴⁵

By the early 1940s, the Park Service was responsible for 28 national parks, 79 national monuments, 12 national military parks, and 33 additional units across 39 states and territories (Figure 23). The economic troubles of the 1930s were an unexpected boon to the development of some park sites as unemployed citizens turned out in the thousands to join massive public works projects. In turn, visitors were utilizing parks as never before by the time the United States entered the Second World War.²⁴⁶ Like many non-military entities of the federal government during the war years, the Park Service was nearly dormant. Many parks were closed for extended periods, some were utilized as training or rehabilitation centers for military personnel, and all were given limited financial allocations because of spending on the war effort in Europe and the Pacific.²⁴⁷ Now over a quarter century old, the National Park Service remained dedicated to public outdoor recreation and anticipated the return of peacetime and its loyal visitors.

DISCOURSES IN A NATIONAL CONTEXT

Though the management issues of the national parks changed with a new agency in control, the influence of the four discourses on park development was

²⁴⁵ Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 281.

²⁴⁶ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 429.

²⁴⁷ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

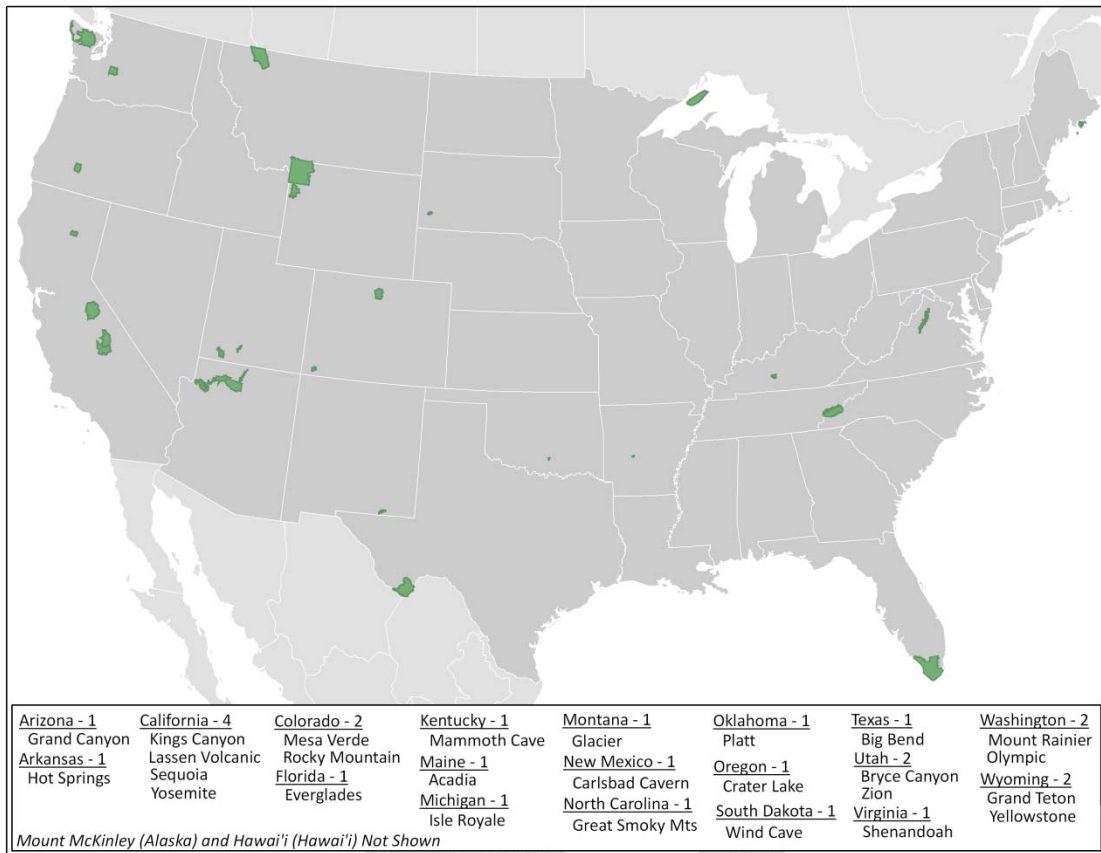


Figure 23 – Locations of designated national parks, 1941.

still significant. Road and automobile industries, local boosters, outdoor recreation businesses, and federal land policies each impacted park landscapes. The following sections highlight the significant factors that emerged nationally from each of the four discourses during this period.

Automobile & Road Building Industries

Road construction and maintenance had taken on a significant role in national affairs by the end of the 1910s. As was noted earlier, the first large-scale federal funding for road projects came in 1916 and allotted \$75 million over

a five-year period. Several provisions of this bill directed significant portions of the nation's road building agenda over the following decades.

The first was a stipulation that required states to form and maintain an active highway department within four years of the passage of the bill.²⁴⁸ While many states, particularly those in the more urban northeast or in progressive areas of the west, had already formed state highway commissions or boards by 1916, some had not and the absence of a formal state highway bureaucracy made application of the Federal Aid Road Act difficult.²⁴⁹ The difficulty came from a second stipulation in which the states themselves were to designate appropriate projects and manage them, with oversight – and primary funding – from the Office of Public Roads in the Department of Agriculture.²⁵⁰ In states without an organized highway administration, that provision was impossible to implement. The bill encouraged states to incorporate highway departments by making a portion of the federal funds 'matching' meaning they would be paid only when a state had allotted a similar amount of money to road projects.²⁵¹

An additional facet of the bill was that its primary focus was rural routes and inter-city transportation links rather than existing urban routes. In fact, the amount of money potentially available to states was determined by a formula based, in part, on the mileage of rural mail routes in that state.²⁵² The emphasis on rural roads was of particular interest to national park managers since most parks in the late 1910s were located in remote parts of the west. While the \$75

²⁴⁸ Vance, 506-507.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Jakle, *The Tourist*.

²⁵¹ "Oregon's Share Road Fund for 1916 is \$78,687", *MMT* (Jul 26, 1916), 1.

²⁵² Meinig, *Shaping the System, Vol 4, 7*.

million appropriation was allotted for rural post roads and farm to market roads, Congress included an additional \$10 million specifically for roads leading into and through existing national forest reserves.²⁵³ This money would be available to make remote sections of public lands more accessible for economic and recreational purposes.

By the time the initial funding from the 1916 Roads Act expired in 1921 a new push was on to create more reliable and more efficient regional and national highway connections. This effort was set in motion by the dramatic increase in the number of licensed motor vehicles that had reached ten million by 1921, and a recent failure of rail capacity and functionality during the waning stages of World War I.²⁵⁴ With a renewed focus on highways as a national defense system, Congress passed a new Federal Highway Act. In the 1921 bill states were required to select seven percent of their rural highways as primary routes that facilitated intra- and interstate movement.²⁵⁵ Projects to improve these primary highways would be eligible for matching funds from the federal government, some of which would come from the establishment of a federal tax on gasoline. These improved highways, in addition to proposed defensive routes connecting all cities of over 50,000 people, would be numbered by the government, creating a logical system of routes from coast to coast.²⁵⁶

The expansion of modern roads throughout the nation ushered in a transformation in how people visited national park sites. An increase in

²⁵³ "Federal Aid For Roads", *MMT* (Jul 22, 1916), 4.

²⁵⁴ Vance, 499, 508.

²⁵⁵ Meinig, *Shaping*, Vol. 4, 13.

²⁵⁶ Jakle, *The Tourist*.

automobile-based travelers was mirrored by a decline in railroad-based passengers.²⁵⁷ The move towards individualized recreation allowed visitors to come and go on their own schedules rather than those of railroad timetables or stage services. It also meant that visitors could carry most of their necessities with them, creating an increased demand for drive-in/drive-out campsites.²⁵⁸ Before parks began implementing standard regulations for automobiles, motorists such as those in Figure 24 often drove their vehicles across open fields or through forest glades, parking and setting up camp at whatever spot provided



Figure 24 – Field camping in Yosemite Valley, 1920s, prior to strict campground regulations. (Photo 001933, NPS-HPC)

²⁵⁷ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 196.

²⁵⁸ Demars, 155.

the best views.²⁵⁹ Following the establishment of basic automobile guidelines, park managers began designing campground facilities specifically for the growing number of automobile campers. These campsites often consisted of platform tents with cots. In most cases campers relied on concessionaire services for food and shower facilities.²⁶⁰

As the number of visitors in private vehicles grew, Park Service officials focused their attention on developments that accentuated the scenic grandeur of park landscapes and allowed the modern automobile tourist to view those landscapes from their vehicle. Director Mather, along with a score of engineers working for the Park Service and other federal agencies, aimed to create park roads that did not detract from the settings they were part of. The rustic architecture being utilized by many of the designers of park lodges – a style later termed ‘Parkitecture’ or ‘National Park Rustic’ – Mather insisted that “[a]ll of the improvements in the parks must be carefully harmonized with the landscape”.²⁶¹ Tourists arriving at national parks were expecting views of unspoiled nature; the Park Service took great measures to ensure that landscapes fit that expectation.

The Going-to-the-Sun Road, connecting the east and west sections of Glacier National Park, was the first in a series of signature scenic roads within the national parks. Roads designed to accentuate park scenery were not new; Mount Rainier’s access roads had been specifically tailored to automobile use as

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 139.

²⁶⁰ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 202-204.

²⁶¹ Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1918 fiscal year* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 814, GB; Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 122-123.

early as the first decade of the century.²⁶² Yet the Going-to-the-Sun Road (seen in Figure 25), along with Trail Ridge Road (Rocky Mountain National Park), and Skyline Drive (Shenandoah National Park), represented significant advancements in the way the National Park Service approached road construction. Construction of these roadways was often demanding and expensive, partly due to the location of the roads but also because of technical specifications required to meet the expectations of Director Mather and park visitors.



Figure 25 – The Going-to-the-Sun Road, Glacier National Park, 1932. (Photo 000034, NPS-HPC)

²⁶² Louter, “Windshield Wilderness”, 13-14.

To oversee these plans, the Park Service relied on trained landscape architects and highway designers within its own engineering and landscape design offices, as well as assistance from the Bureau of Public Roads. Individuals such as Thomas Vint oversaw the design and implementation of many projects intended to facilitate greater public use of parks.²⁶³ The extent and scope of those projects was dramatically increased during the New Deal Era of the 1930s, largely through work done by individuals employed by a variety of public works agencies.

Regional & Local Boosters

As the newly-appointed director of the National Park Service, Stephen Mather knew that the best way for the fledgling agency to gain the appreciation needed to ensure its continued existence was to bring as much of the public into the parks. To that end, the Park Service engaged journalists, publicists, and promoters in efforts to spread the idea of park tourism out to a broader audience. As the efforts undertaken within the road building industry show, any amount of promotion was worthless without the infrastructure needed to direct tourists into park locations. Considerable effort during the first decades of the National Park Service was dedicated to planning, designing, and constructing the roads and service points that would make public use of parks possible for large numbers of tourists.

As the federal government was beginning its venture into publicly-funded road construction, regional highway organizations, such as the previously

²⁶³ Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 7.

discussed Lincoln Highway Association, helped in advancing their goal to create a comprehensive system of interconnected routes. Marked with distinct signs and promoted with detailed maps and guides, routes such as the Dixie Highway, Pacific Coast Highway, Arrowhead Highway, and Old Spanish Trail were created by a vast array of local and regional development boosters.²⁶⁴ NPS Director Mather solidified the status of several of these routes by promoting a designated national parks loop road, to be called The National Park-to-Park Highway, along existing highways in portions of 11 western states (Figure 26).²⁶⁵

Construction of quality highways and the establishment of services along those roads, coupled with an increasing availability and capability of automobile models, made traveling by automobile a standard part of American life. Trips that at the turn of the century would have taken weeks to complete could now be accomplished in less than half the time. This increasing efficiency of travel was not necessarily viewed in a positive light by all who participated. When trips were planned and organized based on preordained rituals and 'what-to-see' checklists in promotional guidebooks it was relatively easy to lose touch with the purpose of the journey. As journalist Thomas Wolfe commented during a 1938 tour along the National Park-to-Park Highway, travelers were "'making every National Park' without seeing any of them."²⁶⁶

With increasing visitation through its first 25 years, the National Park Service was not in a position to suggest an alternative to that type of travel.

²⁶⁴ Whiteley and Whiteley, , 26-27.

²⁶⁵ Jakle, *The Tourist*. For an illustrated account of the first attempt to drive the Park-to-Park Highway see Whiteley, *The Playground Trail*.

²⁶⁶ T. Wolfe, *A Western Journal: A Daily Log of the Great Parks Trip, June 20-July 2, 1938* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1951), 3.

While, as noted, there were some vocal opponents to the rise in automobile use at public recreation facilities, the vast majority of park managers focused on the

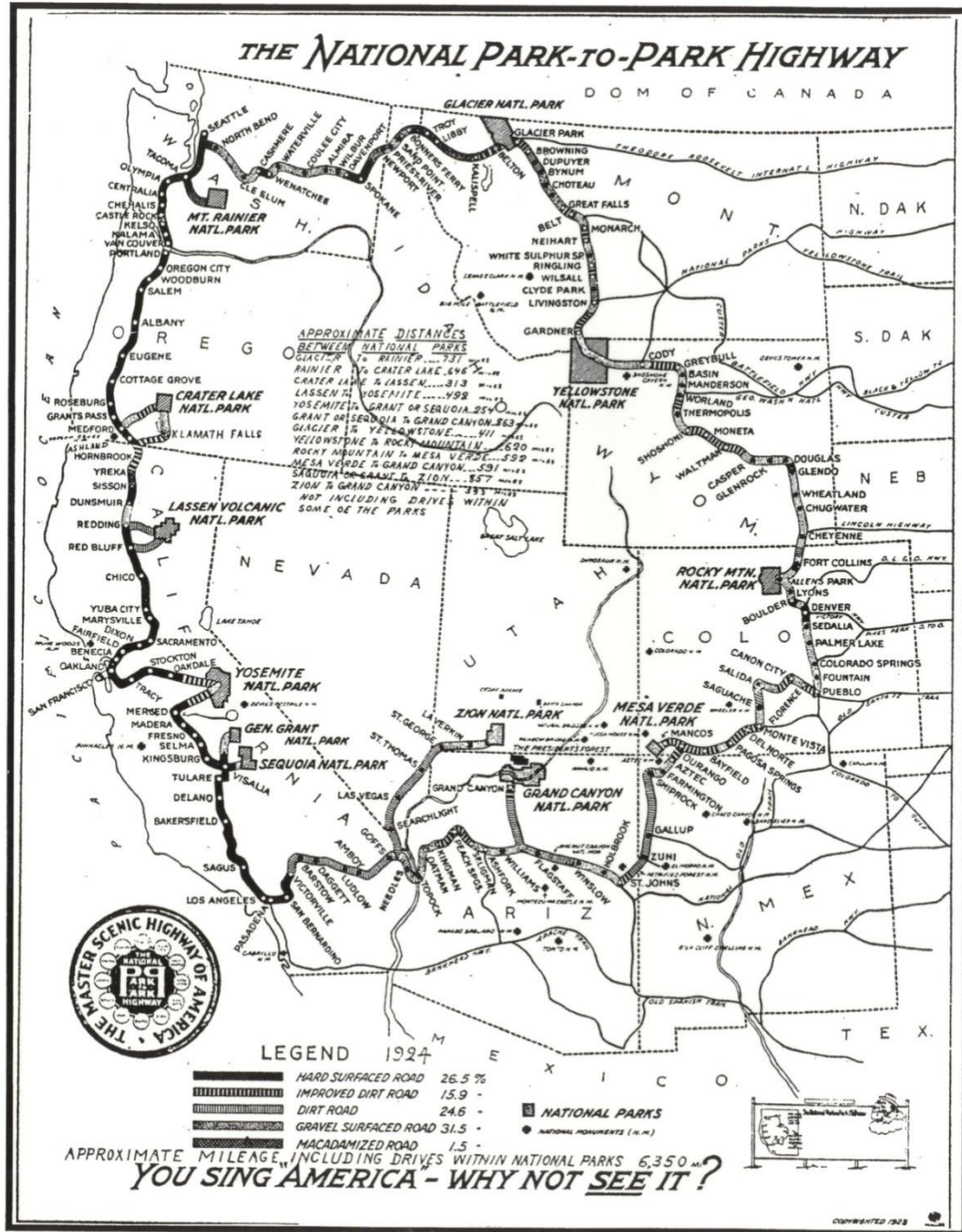


Figure 26 – The National Park-to-Park Highway map, from 1924 Wyoming Edition of highway guidebook. (reprinted in Whiteley and Whiteley, *The Playground Trail*)

social and economic benefits of motor tourists. With an emerging modern highway system as well as the specter of war again appearing in Europe, Americans at the start of the 1940s had an incentive to spend their tourism dollars from the seat of their automobiles within their own country. The Park Service returned to the theme of America First, seen 30 years previous, and Congress appropriated resources to tourist agencies through legislation entitled “An Act to Encourage Travel in the United States”.²⁶⁷

Within two years, the nation was embroiled in the Second World War and these promotions, along with many park operations, were curtailed or entirely suspended. Yet the work of promoting parks and encouraging the American public to visit them had created a viable park system. When the nation emerged from the war years, the public was ready to take advantage of those opportunities.

Outdoor Recreation

Promotion of the parks and the ability of more of the public to reach them produced increasing options for outdoor recreation, whether in national parks or other locations. Parks once established as isolated recreation grounds fashioned as more rustic versions of the exclusive eastern nature retreats were now more open to a diverse array of leisure activities. One of the principal shifts in use within parks themselves was camping in lieu of staying in lodges.

Rugged accommodations were originally the only option in national park sites such as Yellowstone or Yosemite, especially early in their development, but

²⁶⁷ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 429.

there had been a push in the late 19th and early 20th Century to make more sophisticated lodging options available to visitors. Hotels with only the most basic services were replaced with more elaborate destination hotels, beginning with the *Old Faithful Inn* in Yellowstone and *El Tovar* on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon in the first few years of the 20th Century.²⁶⁸ In both of the above cases, railroad companies – the Northern Pacific in Yellowstone and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe (ATSF) at the Grand Canyon – promoted and funded the construction of the new lodges as a way to draw more passengers via their routes.

Yet with the arrival of the automobile tourist, interest in ‘roughing it’ increased. This was in part due to space limitations at the existing lodges which had typically been constructed during periods of lower park visitation and could not always handle the number of visitors to a park site. More importantly however, the new motor tourists were eager to embrace their individuality and sense of freedom by using their automobiles as an anchor for their camp.²⁶⁹

As the number of visitors using campgrounds increased, so too did the impact on the natural environment of those campgrounds. By the 1920s and 1930s, park ecologists realized that repeated use of campsites by auto-campers had compacted the soil and disrupted natural vegetation. Addressing concerns in many federal recreation locations, including national parks and national forests, plant scientist E. P. Meinecke noted the destruction of plants and soil in

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 197-198.

²⁶⁹ Demars, 82-84.

existing campgrounds when he proposed a substantial redesign of sites to handle the increase in motor traffic that was expected in most locations.²⁷⁰

One of Meinecke's concerns was an aspect of the changing public ideas on how parks and outdoor recreation settings were to be used. Auto-campers had been accustomed to loading down their vehicles with as much gear as they could hold, in part out of necessity since early automobiles often required roadside repairs, but also due to novelty since earlier forms of travel limited the amount of personal belongings that could be taken on a trip; with an automobile, that limitation was (somewhat) eliminated.²⁷¹ Eventually, auto-campers began using small trailers which were towed behind their vehicles and which held the necessities for life on the road. Yet by the mid-1930s, when Meinecke made his recommendations, the trailers were becoming larger than the vehicles that towed them and vastly more complex in their utility.²⁷²

These new house-trailers, as they were referred to, were the early equivalent of motor homes and they allowed visitors to remain essentially isolated from the park landscape, even while in it (Figure 27). A trip into a national park that had recently been about escaping urban life had become an extension of that life. Though the number of house-trailers did not comprise a large segment of the total vehicle entrants to parks, the concern Meinecke had

²⁷⁰ E. P. Meinecke, "Memo: The Trailer Menace", included in a letter from Meinecke to Dr. Haven Metcalf (Apr 1, 1935), FHA.

²⁷¹ Sutter, 38-39.

²⁷² Meinecke, "Trailer Menace".

about their use and what they signaled about the public's expectations within parks was mirrored by others in park administration.²⁷³

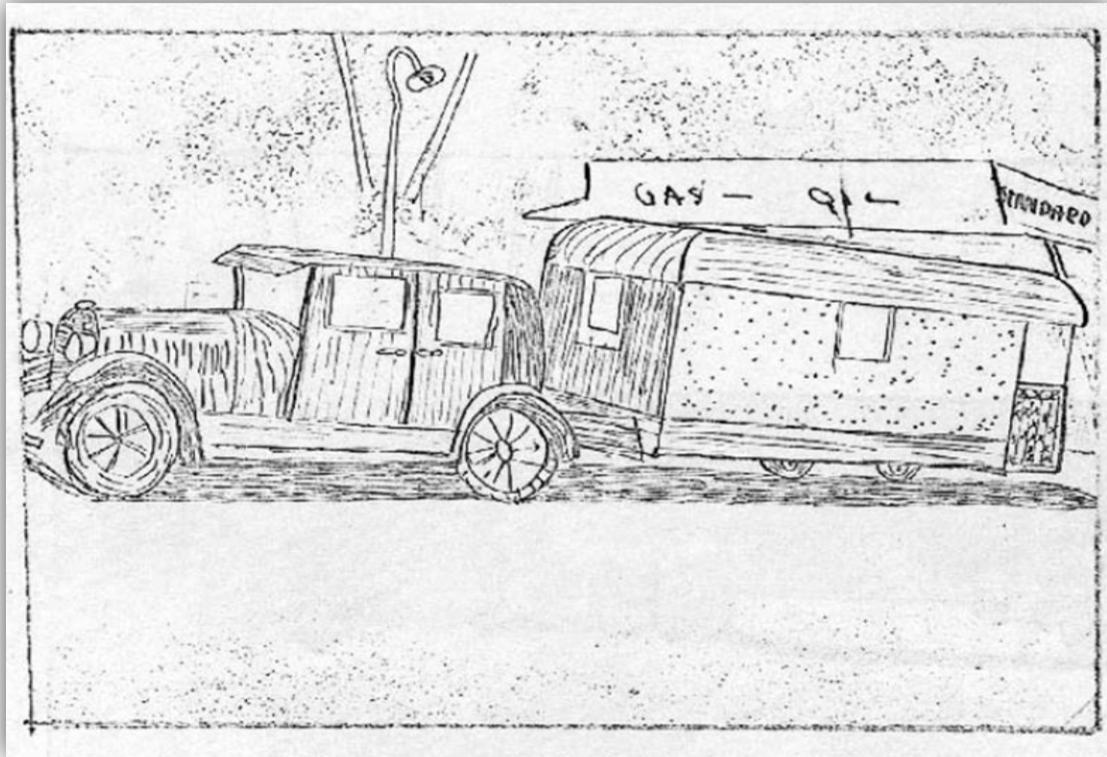


Figure 27 – “A Housetrailer of Modest Size”, graphic from E. P. Meinecke’s 1935 memo “The Trailer Menace”. (from FHA)

While visitors were bringing running water and kitchens with them into the parks, many were also engaging in a variety of activities outside of the campgrounds. One of the principles of the Park Service, established at the outset of the agency by Director Mather, was that the parks should provide educational and interpretive exhibits and displays to help the public understand and enjoy the sites they were seeing.²⁷⁴ With more people reaching the parks in the 1920s and 1930s, the Park Service took a more aggressive role in shaping a

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 194-195.

rewarding park experience for new visitors. Though ranger-led programs were at the core of that effort, park administrators often encouraged more outlandish displays in the hope of creating publicity. Numerous 'Bear Dumps', where park garbage was left in an illuminated, open area to attract bears to feed at regular times, so that visitors could view wildlife, were immensely popular and continued on well into the middle of the 20th Century. Other events such as the Yosemite 'Firefall', in which glowing embers from a bonfire lit on a granite cliff above the valley were pushed off to create a glowing waterfall of fire, created an atmosphere of entertainment within parks.²⁷⁵

The practice of auto-camping was not limited to park areas alone. There were roads now available in locations where they had previously not existed. Roads throughout the nation were progressing through an evolution of surfacing materials from dirt to gravel, to macadam, to asphalt, and finally to concrete. The transition helped to create longer-lasting and more reliable highways.²⁷⁶ As touring the nation on these newly improved rural highways became more common, the practice of auto-camping gained more popularity. Auto-campers represented a significantly changing component of leisure travel.

Many early auto-campers followed the routines of previous non-automobile tourists by finding lodging in established hotels and resorts. But by the 1920s auto-camping was creating a new landscape of leisure along the nation's roadways. Organized campground facilities were established along primary routes, often on the periphery of existing communities to cater to

²⁷⁵ Demars, 68, 97

²⁷⁶ Hugill, "Good Roads and the Automobile", 340-342.

automobile tourists. While some auto-camps were promoted as a destination for travelers, particularly those within close proximity to established tourist sites, many were managed by local municipalities as free 'through-camps' where visitors would spend a night or two and then move on.²⁷⁷ Services at the earliest camps were primitive at best; a source of fresh water and shade, along with the personal security of knowing you were not trespassing on road-side private property, were all that the first auto-campers sought.²⁷⁸

Soon, however, some camps began offering additional services, often for a fee upon entrance. Picnic areas, shower and bathroom facilities, and stores to purchase supplies emerged as new services that travelers were willing to pay for. Those changes continued through the 1920s and 1930s with private cabins replacing tent sites, cabins with attached kitchens replacing outdoor firepits, private bathrooms replacing attached kitchen units, and restaurants replacing the camp store. The auto-camp-come-motor court-come-motel became a standardized feature of the American roadside by the 1940s.²⁷⁹

Federal Land Management Policy

Under policies set forth by Director Mather and Interior Secretary Lane, national parks continued a trend towards more improved access. By 1916, the automobile had made Americans more mobile than ever before. Between 1910 and 1916, Yellowstone's annual attendance increased 83 percent, from 19,575 to 35,849, while Yosemite's visitation increased 145 percent, from 13,619 to

²⁷⁷ Belasco, *Americans on the Road*.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

33,390.²⁸⁰ Over the next five year period, from 1916 to 1921, the two parks saw even greater increases, 122 percent and 174 percent, respectively.

Though visitation to parks was on the rise, park officials continued to push for a stronger Park Service. There was an increasing interest among some Park Service officials in consolidating monuments and parks that were not already under the control of the National Park Service. By the early 1930s, in addition to the 72 units in the Department of the Interior's park system, there were 46 federal monuments, battlefields, parks, military sites, and other locations managed by either the Department of War or Agriculture.²⁸¹ Because it managed the national parks such as Yellowstone, Yosemite, Crater Lake, and Mount Rainier, many people viewed the Park Service as primarily the grand 'nature' parks agency.²⁸² Although the Antiquities Act of 1906 had changed that dynamic, the Park Service remained primarily focused on scenic parks. Historically significant sites such as battlefields, presidential birthplaces, or American pioneer settlements were often handled by the War Department with lesser natural or cultural sites formed from Forest Service lands remaining with the Agriculture Department. In 1933, using previous legislation authorizing presidential reorganization of executive agencies, Franklin Roosevelt brought all of these locations under Park Service control, effectively broadening the scope of the agency to cover nearly all national treasures, scenic or otherwise.²⁸³ This was quickly followed by the 1935 Historic

²⁸⁰ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior), NPS-S. See Appendix B for full tables of national park visitation.

²⁸¹ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*.

²⁸² Ise, *National Park Policy*, 155.

²⁸³ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*.

Sites Act which specifically addressed the need for protection of the nation's historic landmarks.²⁸⁴

Adding historical and cultural sites was only one aspect of changing criteria for parks within the system. Since the creation of the first national parks, there was a tendency to focus attention on areas of scenic grandeur where visitors could stand in awe of nature and the powerful forces of the Earth. Part of this came from the previously discussed desire for national identity to present to European citizens in the face of a paucity of cultural history.²⁸⁵ This 'monumentalism' focused on grand scenes, but often overlooked smaller sites or locations of great scientific value but less visual or aesthetic appeal.

By the 1930s, there was a growing awareness of the need for landscape protection based on natural sciences, such as ecology or biology. In 1931, Isle Royale, an isolated island in Lake Superior, and in 1934, the Everglades, a water-filled grassland in south Florida, were designated as National Parks. The establishment of these sites marked a significant change in the traditional view of national parks. Mountainous scenery and rugged landscapes remained a part of many parks, but ecological and biological uniqueness now played a role.²⁸⁶

The nation underwent significant economic upheaval in the late 1920s and early 1930s as a world-wide depression brought unemployment and economic instability to many communities. The Park Service, like many other federal agencies, became the beneficiary of government spending aimed at pulling the nation out of the Great Depression. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs,

²⁸⁴ 16 USC 461-467, NPS-H.

²⁸⁵ Runte, *National Parks*, Ch 1.

²⁸⁶ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 332-333

most notably the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), drastically altered the face of many well known parks.

CCC camps were established throughout mostly rural parts of the nation, employing thousands of young men in a variety of infrastructure improvement projects. Within the realm of parks, the CCC was tasked with constructing new park buildings such as ranger cabins, fire lookouts, and dining halls, creating or enlarging tourist-centered features such as roadways, parking areas, campgrounds, and scenic pullouts, and facilitating an increase in visitation to national and state parks across the country (Figure 28).²⁸⁷ This effort was two-fold: not only did it bring a wave of development and infrastructure to national park sites, it also greatly improved the status of the state park systems, which generally lagged well behind federal standards even after the early calls from Director Mather.

Even with the economic concerns of the 1930s, park use continued to increase each year at most park sites. Rocky Mountain National Park saw visitation increase 123 percent from 1933 to 1937, with 651,899 visitors by the later year. Great Smoky Mountains National Park, quickly gaining popularity in the east, saw its visitation increase 93 percent over the same period, with a 1937 total of 727,243 visitors.²⁸⁸ Yet those gains in visitation were quickly lost with the entrance of the United States into World War II at the end of 1941. Nearly every

²⁸⁷ Sutter, 48-50.

²⁸⁸ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*.



Figure 28 – Public Works project on the Blue Ridge Parkway, Virginia, 1938.
(Photo 000265, NPS-HPC)

park saw a substantial drop in attendance between the 1941 and 1942 seasons as Americans' leisure time activities were largely curtailed. Even the most popular and most recognized parks, Great Smoky Mountain, Yellowstone, and Yosemite saw declines of 44, 68, and 46 percent, respectively. Government resources were redirected towards the war effort, often leaving parks without the necessary funds to maintain campgrounds or clear roads. Yet, as the years following the war would reveal, America's national parks remained as popular as ever.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES ALONG THE CRATER LAKE ROAD

The remaining portion of this chapter will address the status of the four relevant discourses, road building and automobile industries, local or regional boosterism, outdoor recreation, and federal land management policy, in the context of Crater Lake National Park and the communities along its western access road. An overview of major events in the region will be presented first in this section. The second section will present reconstructions of each of the local discourses using contemporary records from 1917 through 1946. The chapter concludes with a summary of how these discourses influenced both the recreational landscape and overall cultural landscape of the park and its neighboring communities in Jackson County.

CRATER LAKE AND ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT

Crater Lake drew 12,265 visitors in 1916, the most it had ever seen.²⁸⁹ While that figure put visitation to the park at only eighth among the 14 national parks in the system, Crater Lake was still considered a ‘crown jewel’ of the system by many.²⁹⁰ Stephen Mather, who would officially become the first director of the National Park Service in 1917, toured Oregon and Crater Lake shortly after the 1916 Organic Act was signed. The seemingly slow pace of development at Crater Lake was a concern for park officials in Washington, D.C., just as it was for William Steel. Speaking to a group of Portland businessmen, Mather reiterated that Crater Lake “has probably the greatest possibilities of any

²⁸⁹ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*.

²⁹⁰ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

scenic park in the world” but also suggested that if Oregon leaders would not cooperate in making those developments he would “go to California and try to interest the capital there.”²⁹¹ He issued a challenge to the local leaders in Portland, as well as in Medford, Ashland, and Klamath Falls to raise \$500,000 in support of work being done in the park by the Crater Lake Company.

Alfred Parkhurst, head of the Crater Lake Company, had opened the lodge at the rim during the previous season and the efforts of Steel had brought the Rim Road close to completion. Steel, who had become superintendent in 1913, retired from his position late in 1916 to become the first magistrate at Crater Lake.²⁹² As was the case for all Park Service units following the creation of the NPS, the director selected the individuals who would serve as park superintendent. At Crater Lake, Park Ranger Momyer held the superintendent’s position briefly before Mather selected Alex Sparrow for the position in 1917. Over the next 20 years, four superintendents oversaw Crater Lake: Sparrow from 1917 to 1923, Charles G. Thomson from 1923 to 1929, Elbert C. Solinsky, 1929 to 1934, and David H. Canfield, 1934 to 1937. Following Canfield’s departure in 1937, Ernest P. Leavitt was given the reins. His tenure lasted until 1952, and spanned the final years of the depression, World War II, and the first half-decade of post-war economic boom.²⁹³

There were similar themes in management issues addressed by each of Crater Lake’s superintendents from the late-1910s through the mid-1940s. As

²⁹¹ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*, Part III, Introduction.

²⁹² Mark, “Seventeen Years to Success”.

²⁹³ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*. Leavitt’s tenure as superintendent at Crater Lake remains the longest in the park’s history.

had been the case in the pre-NPS years, the elevation and location of the park brought seasonal challenges seen only at a handful of other park sites. Demand for year-round operation of the park pushed the limits of the infrastructure as well as the staff assigned to maintain it. Increasing public use, an issue across the entire park system, presented additional challenges for park personnel. During the 1916-1946 period, visitation at Crater Lake increased from 12,265 to 208,640, an increase of over 1600 percent (Figure 29). Yet the total visitation at all designated national parks over that period increased roughly twice that figure while Crater Lake's share of total park visitors dropped from just over five percent to less than two and a half percent.²⁹⁴

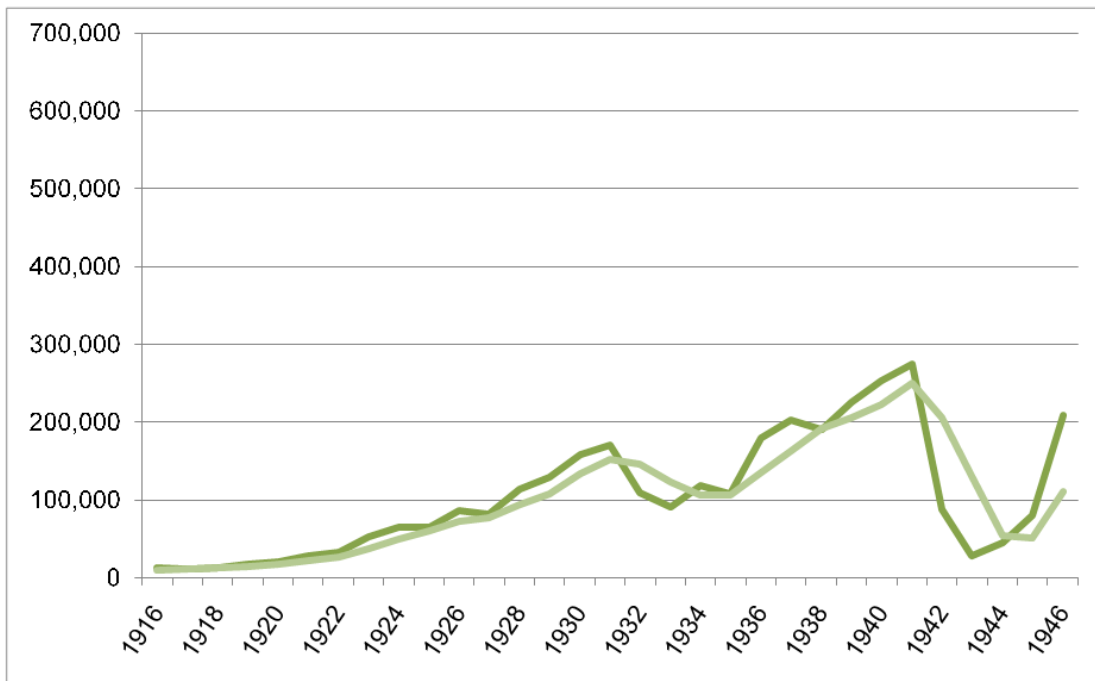


Figure 29 – Crater Lake National Park visitation, 1916-1946. The darker line represents actual visitation, the light green shows the three-year average trend. (Data from NPS-S)

²⁹⁴ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*. Some of those changes came from the expansion of the system itself as the number of designated parks doubled from 1916 to the early 1940s.

There were also dramatic fluctuations in visitation throughout the entire period, due to the two World Wars, economic uncertainty, and the Depression. World War I produced a brief drop in visitation at Crater Lake during the 1917 season, posting a decline of about five percent from the previous year. A more serious visitation drop was seen at the park during the first few years of the 1930s as the effects of economic depression became more widespread. Attendance at Crater Lake had been increasing for four consecutive years, and 13 out of 14 years, through the 1931 season when an all-time record attendance of 170,284 was set. Attendance then fell in three of the next four seasons and did not reach record levels again until the 1936 season.

Economic recovery, improved roads, and the move to year-round park operations in the mid 1930s brought an increased number of tourists to Crater Lake, raising yearly visitation from 180,382 in 1936 to 274,002 in 1941. The start of active American involvement in World War II in December 1941 had a tremendous impact on visitation to Crater Lake and the Park Service as a whole. Crater Lake witnessed two consecutive years of over 60 percent declines in visitation, resulting in an attendance of only 28,850 in 1943, the lowest seasonal attendance at the park since the 1921 season. Park operations were reduced, the workforce was trimmed to essential personal only, and appropriations for new projects were halted as government agencies were required to do everything possible to support the war effort.²⁹⁵ As was the case with many park sites, the

²⁹⁵ K. Leavitt, "Oral History Interview", *Jacksonville Museum* (Apr 15, 1980), Tape 150-13, SOHS.

military utilized park resources at Crater Lake by bringing injured and on leave soldiers to the park for rest and rejuvenation.²⁹⁶

The fluctuations seen in visitation at Crater Lake were mirrored by the economic conditions in the communities to the west of the park in the Upper Rogue River Valley. Similarly affected by the impacts of two wars and the depression, Medford and other communities of Jackson County still found ways to promote development and growth in the region. Local businesses continued to look toward the Cascades and Crater Lake as a source of potential economic gain.

Medford's rise as a regional center in the 1910s continued through the 1920s as the presence of the Southern Pacific Railroad and Pacific Highway brought new business to the city. With an increasing focus of the local economy, Medford leaders pressed Jackson County officials to relocate the county government from Jacksonville to Medford. The growth of the local fruit industry, coupled with the arrival of large timber operations brought the population of the city to 11,000 by 1930.²⁹⁷

A traveler leaving Medford along the Crater Lake Highway during this period would find distinct transitions between the city and surrounding farmland and between the farmland and the surrounding mountain communities. As historian Jeff LaLande notes:

“Jackson County in 1930 exhibited certain social and economic divisions that correspond to the region’s geography. The country

²⁹⁶ Leavitt, “Oral History”, Tape 150-14.

²⁹⁷ J. LaLande, “The ‘Jackson County Rebellion’: Social Turmoil and Political Insurgence in Southern Oregon during the Great Depression”, *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 95, no 4 (Winter 1994-95): 412.

*contained three roughly concentric, circular zones: the 'urban,' the 'small town/orchard,' and the 'hinterland.' The approximate center of the three zones, each of which contained about a third of the county's population, was Medford, the core of the new urban zone.*²⁹⁸

The dominance of Medford over other communities in Jackson County and the Upper Rogue River Valley played a role in the economic, social, and political balance of the region during this period. Families in hinterland communities such as Trail, Laurelhurst, and Prospect were far removed from the day-to-day decisions being made by the county government. Occupants of these communities often harbored some resentment toward the urban 'elites' of Medford.

When the fruit and timber booms of the 1920s collapsed in the early 1930s as part of the expanding national economic depression, sentiment against the entrenched powers in local government rose to an all-time high. Public discontent with county policies was fueled through the rhetoric of two Medford-based newspaper editors, Llewellyn Banks and Earl Fehl, who had attempted to capitalize on the Populist leanings of many rural Jackson County residents.²⁹⁹ The rancor within Medford and Jackson County in the early 1930s made headlines across the country as evidence of a growing tide of dissatisfaction with government responses to economic problems.³⁰⁰ Although social and political discontent in Jackson County had subsided by the middle of 1933, sentiments

²⁹⁸ LaLande, 412-413.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 424-427.

³⁰⁰ "Law and Order Champion Held in Slaying of Oregon Constable", *New York Herald Tribune* (Mar 17, 1933), 13.

against the Medford-centered establishment continued to linger, especially with older 'hinterland' residents.³⁰¹

Through the economic depression of the 1930s, Rogue River Valley residents struggled to find employment. With declining commodity prices, small-scale farmers were often unable to maintain adequate profit margins. Laborers in orchards and lumber mills found themselves out of work. This reinforced the dominance of Medford and other urban centers, particularly those along the primary road and rail arteries of the county, as people were drawn to the services and relief being offered by government agencies.³⁰²

By 1940, most of the land along the Crater Lake Highway from Medford to Prospect had been claimed and developed in some way. The urban zone around Medford occupied most of the central portions of the southern Rogue River Valley and was surrounded by orchards and small-farms. In the forested realm around Prospect, timber companies controlled most of the land that was not controlled by the Forest Service. Along the banks of the Rogue River itself, private landowners occupied small parcels of land. Yet between the urban zone of Medford and the rural outposts of Shady Cove, Trail, and Prospect, there remained one relatively undeveloped portion of land: the Agate Desert.

Comprised of dry, rocky soils and containing few sources of adequate water, the Agate Desert had remained virtually empty through the 1930s. Located fewer than ten miles from Medford along the Crater Lake Highway the area saw periodic land-speculation but few long-standing developments ever

³⁰¹ J. Hollenbeak, "Oral History Interview" from *Recollections: People and the Forest, Vol 3* (Medford, OR: Rogue River National Forest, 1990), 51-53, SODA.

³⁰² LaLande, 418-419.

took root.³⁰³ It took the outbreak of World War II for development to come to the Agate Desert. In 1942, the U.S. Army chose the site as the location for a military training camp, rehabilitation hospital, and prison camp. Named Camp White for the commanding general of Oregon's Army forces, the Agate Desert was transformed into a bustling post where 200,000 military personnel would pass through during the war years.³⁰⁴

As is seen in Figure 30, Camp White was bisected by the Crater Lake Highway. During the construction of the base, travelers along the route were

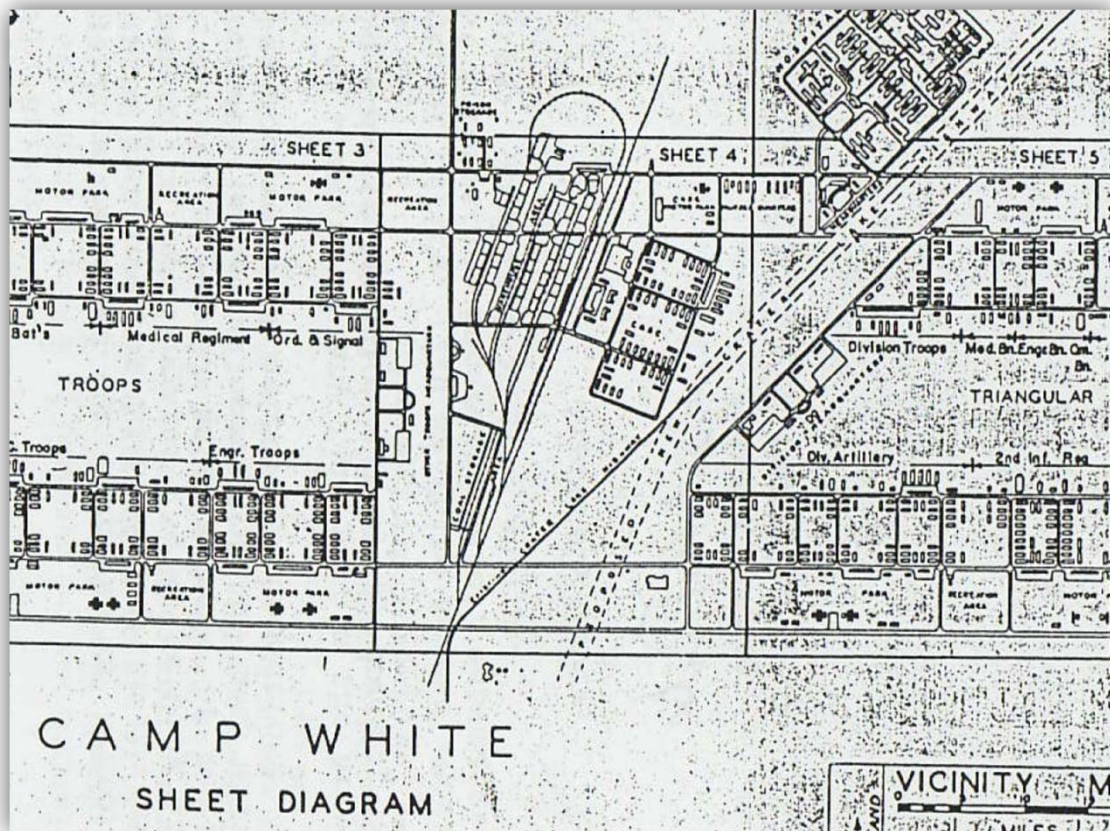


Figure 30 – Detail from Camp White planning diagram. Note the proposed route change for the Crater Lake Highway marked in a double dashed line through the center of the camp. (from U.S. Army, “Field Progress Report – Camp White”, see note 305.)

³⁰³ Love, 5-6.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 8.

detoured north through Central Point and around the site.³⁰⁵ The route of the highway itself was rerouted by base construction projects; its modern layout remains a product of those modifications. With the end of the war in 1945, Camp White was no longer needed and the Army decommissioned the base the following year. Most buildings at the camp had been temporary and were dismantled and removed. However, the military hospital remained and was transferred to the office of Veterans Affairs. The remainder of the land was returned to previous owners or sold to developers.

DISCOURSES IN A LOCAL CONTEXT

The dynamic of the four discourses along the route of the Crater Lake Highway in Jackson County displays many of the themes present throughout the rest of the nation during this period. Each of the discourses continues to exert some influence over modification of the existing cultural landscapes and the creation of new ones. One of the key components in this assessment of the landscapes of national park communities is understanding how the influence of these discourses changes from one period to the next.

An analysis of the public representation of these four discourses within the context of the Crater Lake Road during the thirty years following the creation of the National Park Service reveals some change in the amount of coverage (see Table 3). The road and automobile industries discourse does remain the best represented in news sources within the region during that time period. Out of the

³⁰⁵ “One-Way Traffic for Crater Lake Highway, Midway During Camp Building”, *MMT* (Feb 27, 1942); U.S. Army, “Field Progress Report – Camp White” (Sep 30, 1942), from *Camp White and Eagle Point*, history collection, JCL.

306 articles reviewed, 132 (43.1%) presented information on new road projects, reviewed new automobile services, discussed highway funding projections, or commented on road or automobile issues. Though the percentage of articles from the period is fewer than during the previous period, this discourse remained far ahead of the others in coverage. With the arrival of federal road aid in 1916 and the additional measures to standardize national and regional highway networks during the 1920s and 30s, the continuation of road and auto industry dominance among the four discourses is reasonable.

Discourse	Articles	
	Number	Percent of Total
Auto/Roads	132	43.14
Boosters	46	15.03
Outdoor Recreation	89	29.08
Federal Land Mgmt	39	12.75

Table 3 – Reviewed article distribution by discourse theme, 1917-1946.

Local and regional boosterism witnessed the greatest drop in coverage within state and local sources during this time. Of 306 articles, 46 (15.0%) presented stories about civic events, promotional campaigns, or simply extolled the virtue of the region itself. This represents a drop of 8.7 percent from the previous period. The decline in local coverage of boosters and promotion may have had more to do with national events than any other factor. After 1916,

Crater Lake fell within the auspices of the National Park Service and its national campaigns for park promotion and visitation. In addition, the full-fledged foray into highway financing by the federal government also removed the largest target of early boosters: poor road conditions. As roads and other facilities improved, groups who had earlier relied on the lack of infrastructure or civic development to rally supporters found fewer people to champion their cause.

One aspect of development that showed a considerable rise during the period was outdoor recreation. Within the public expression of the discourses, those commenting on increased traveler services, reviewing campsites or conditions at significant sites, or recommending vacation itineraries amounted to 89 of the 306 articles reviewed (29.1%). With a more mobile public, the prospect of camping, hiking, or sightseeing on a weekend trip to the mountains beyond Medford became a reality for a large number of people. This increasing coverage in local sources represented the emerging importance of outdoor recreation as a leisure activity.

Just as outdoor recreation coverage increased during this period, so did local debates about federal land management policies. With 39 of the 306 articles (12.8%) the federal land management discourse remained the least covered item, though its percentage of the total nearly doubled. The establishment of the National Park Service brought with it an additional layer of federal presence in southern Oregon, which contributed to this increase. However, the largest factors were the government's regulation and use of public lands during the Depression and World War II. Coverage of local public works

camp, announcements of timber or stock land purchases, review of war-time policy changes, or discussion of agency proposals brought the federal land discourse to a more prominent public position.

The four discourses of this period are each composed of unique events that shaped how they influenced the recreation landscape along the Crater Lake Road between Medford and Crater Lake National Park. The following sections highlight these discourses and are presented in the same order as the previous chapter. An analysis of the factors from these discourses that contributed to the formation and evolution of the region's recreation landscape is then presented.

Automobile & Road Building Industries

The passage of the 1916 Federal Roads Act was a significant boon to road development in Oregon and in the Upper Rogue Valley. To facilitate the construction of projects related to the 1916 Act as well as a variety of additional projects throughout Oregon, the legislature authorized the creation of a three-member highway commission in 1917.³⁰⁶ One of the first pieces of business for the new commission was the completion of the Columbia and Pacific Highways, two major links in the state's highway system.

Medford's position on the Pacific Highway meant that any significant highway improvements would likely increase economic prospects for the region. While funds for major roads in the county came from state and federal sources, the county government was still partly responsible for improvements on many rural roads. As part of the continuing improvement work on the Crater Lake

³⁰⁶ Watson, 28.

Highway, Jackson County made arrangements with the state to provide one-quarter of the expected construction costs through additional county-level highway bonds in 1920.³⁰⁷ Additional increases in statewide road funds, possible through voter referenda on increased bond issues and a 1919 legislative initiative to pass a gasoline tax, complemented Jackson County's contribution.³⁰⁸ The remaining funds would come from federal assistance through the 1916 roads act.

For residents of Jackson County, the need for good roads during the 1920s was just as prominent as in the previous two decades. Voters were encouraged by local leaders and civic organizations to support ballot measures giving the state or county governments the ability to raise more funds for road construction. A May 1920 state referendum on additional bonding limits for counties was promoted heavily in the Medford papers as early as February.³⁰⁹

An increased reliance on automobiles for commerce and travel made the improvement of all roads a primary concern for residents of Medford during the 1920s and 1930s. The efforts of 'Good Roads' campaigns expanded from simply promoting modern surfaced roadways to encouraging a comprehensive standard for both vehicles and roads. While national guidelines were still in their infancy, Oregon followed the lead of other states by implementing vehicle safety inspections and new auto headlight and signal requirements designed to make the state's roadways safer for the driving public.³¹⁰ In 1925, Medford drivers registered with the American Automobile Association were added to the growing

³⁰⁷ "Crater Lake Road Waits on Election", *MMT* (Feb 7, 1920).

³⁰⁸ Watson, Foreword.

³⁰⁹ "Good Roads Is Topic Chamber Commerce Luncheon", *MMT* (Feb 18, 1920).

³¹⁰ "Road Signs and Car Signals", *MMT* (May 11, 1925).

list of drivers with AAA-sponsored towing services when AAA officials certified several local garages.³¹¹

The focus on improving roads remained an important priority for local and state government, especially as the amount of traffic on the roads increased. Though surfacing techniques had improved dramatically over the first several decades of the 20th Century the weight of larger vehicles was responsible for damage to macadamized pavements that could easily handle smaller passenger cars.³¹² In southern Oregon generally, and on the Crater Lake Highway's Rogue River Route specifically, there was an increased concern about the use of logging trucks on the surfaced portions of the highway. Advocates for more advanced highway construction noted that asphalt or concrete surfaces would likely be able to handle the increased traffic volume and weight, though these improvements would require additional investments by the State Highway Commission.³¹³

In 1925, the Oregon legislature passed a law increasing taxation on corporate revenue for all bus and truck companies operating on state highways. This added revenue would be used for road improvements and repairs and was supported by numerous road improvement organizations throughout the state. When truck and bus companies campaigned to have a state-wide referendum on the issue, a number of civic organizations came out to oppose the efforts

³¹¹ "Medford Members of AAA Now Have Towing Service", *MMT* (Sep 1, 1925).

³¹² "Protect the Highways", *MMT* (May 4, 1920).

³¹³ "Save Our Paved Highways", *MMT* (May 11, 1925).

claiming that the safety and integrity of Oregon's highway system would be endangered if commercial interests were successful in removing the tax.³¹⁴

As a result of changing standards in road construction throughout the 1920s and 1930s there were numerous highway reconstruction projects initiated during the period. The economic climate was often a significant part of the politics of these road construction projects in Medford and along the Crater Lake Highway. There had long been a realization that better roads meant increased economic potential for the Upper Rogue Region. The county and state were often at work improving difficult grades, removing dangerous curves, and widening the route for increased traffic.³¹⁵ Yet there were occasional conflicts between improvement schedules and the livelihood of the local economy.

In July 1926 the Oregon Highway Commission scheduled a section of the Crater Lake Highway for oiling. This procedure, which applied a layer of oil and loose gravel to an existing road surface, was originally planned to go on throughout the summer months. Concerned that the oiling would impede tourists heading to Crater Lake, the Medford Chamber of Commerce made a series of requests to state officials asking for a delay in the work until the tourist season was over.³¹⁶ At first, the Highway Commission pledged to halt work only for holidays or weekends, but after a push from Jackson County businesses the Commission officially halted work until later in the year after the bulk of the tourist

³¹⁴ "Launch a New Movement to Beat Referendum", *MMT* (May 25, 1925).

³¹⁵ "Expect to Start Work on Crater Lake Road This Fall, May Change Route", *MMT* (Jul 28, 1920); "Paving Crater Lake Roads to Start the First of July", *MMT* (May 25, 1925).

³¹⁶ "Oiling Started on Crater Road", *JCN* (Jul 2, 1926), SOHS.

volume passed. The decision to wait on highway improvements satisfied the business interests in Medford and officials at Crater Lake.³¹⁷

Medford commercial interests voiced similar concerns about the impact roadwork was having on the local economy when the Pacific Highway was undergoing a more comprehensive paving operation in the spring of 1930.³¹⁸ A process of eliminating unnecessary curves along the route and increasing the width of the paved road surface had been underway on various portions of the Pacific Highway throughout Oregon during the 1930 season.³¹⁹ When work crews arrived in Medford to begin a similar process on the portions of the road running south towards Ashland there was hope the work would proceed quickly. Yet when crews were still at work over a month later, local organizations made their concerns known.³²⁰ The primary fear was that the construction area was located near some of the principal fruit orchards in the region and the poor conditions of the detour routes was putting the profits of those business into jeopardy.

Highway improvements were vital to the livelihood of local residents in small communities between Medford and Crater Lake. For towns such as Trail or Prospect that had for decades been service points for the logging and mining outposts scattered throughout the northern portions of Jackson County, the Crater Lake Highway was more than a tourism corridor. Constructing a road

³¹⁷ "Crater Lake Road Oiling is Stopped", *CPA* (Jul 8, 1926), SOHS.

³¹⁸ "Surfacing of Wide Highway South Begins", *MMT* (Jun 6, 1930).

³¹⁹ "Oregon to Push Highway Plans Says Engineer", *MMT* (Feb 15, 1930).

³²⁰ "Kiwanis Discuss Highway Delays at Noon Meeting", *MMT* (Jun 23, 1930).

capable of handling the larger loads associated with those industries was viewed as a significant factor in proposed improvements.³²¹

Occasionally, proposed routes became the subject of brief but intense debates throughout southern Oregon, as was the case when suggestions for an improved highway west from Trail to the town of Tiller sparked concern about local connections to Crater Lake.³²² The existing Trail-Tiller road crossed over the Umpqua Divide and continued on to the city of Roseburg, located on the Pacific Highway nearly one hundred road miles north of Medford. With an upgraded road connecting that community to the Crater Lake Highway, Roseburg could potentially rival Medford as the western gateway to Crater Lake.

Though the Tiller-Trail road was never upgraded to the level of the Crater Lake Highway, other routes to Crater Lake National Park and the surrounding areas of Oregon's southern Cascades were planned and constructed during this period. The most significant of these led to Diamond Lake, an increasingly popular summer retreat located about 20 miles north of Crater Lake (Figure 31). Targeted several times by Crater Lake and Park Service administrators as a logical part of a park expansion, Diamond Lake attracted a greater mix of recreation-based travelers than Crater Lake. During the 1920s and 30s, a formal road was constructed from the junction of Crater Lake's Rogue River Route near Union Creek to the north and east, past Diamond Lake and on to The Dalles-California Highway to the northeast of the national park.³²³ Once these external links were established around Diamond Lake, officials at Crater Lake began

³²¹ "Federal Trails to Oregon Mines, Plea", *MMT* (Feb 9, 1930), 8.

³²² "Cutoff via Trail Road Considered", *MMT* (Oct 12, 1930), 1.

³²³ "Diamond Lake Road Correspondence Files" (Crater National Forest, 1925), SODA.

efforts to construct a link between the two sites, creating a new northern entrance to the park in the process.³²⁴

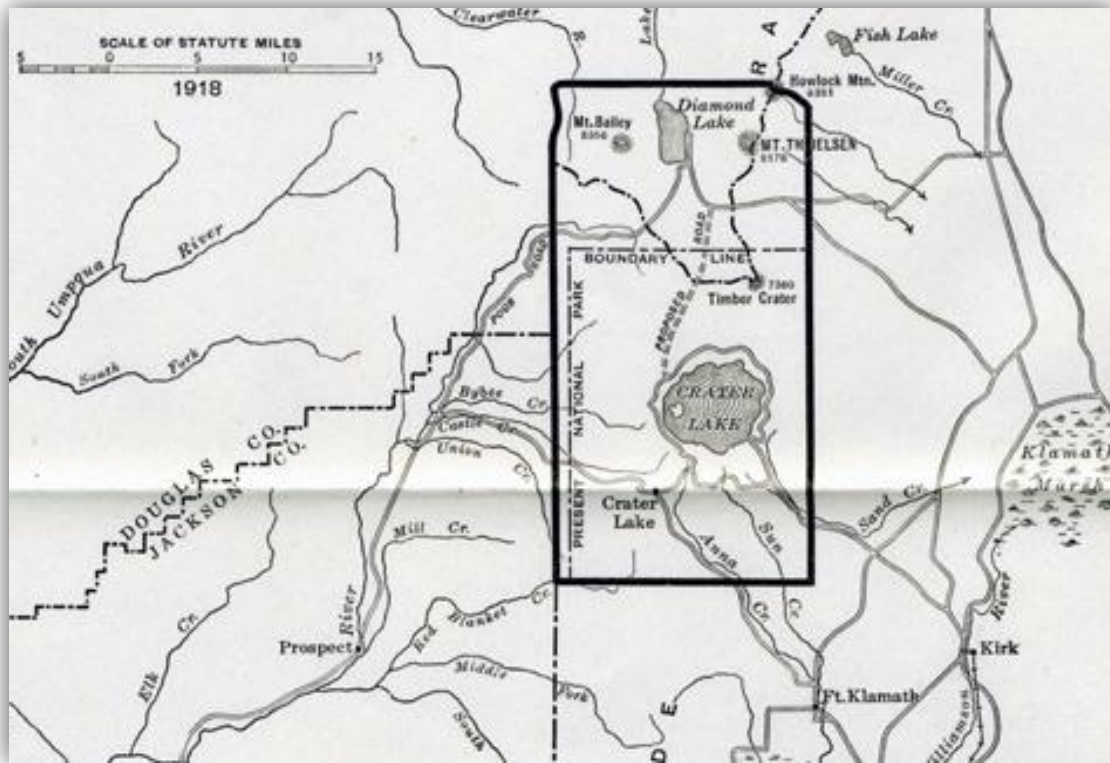


Figure 31 – Proposed 1918 expansion of Crater Lake National Park. This map from shows the proposed extension to include Diamond Lake to the north. (from Historic Images, CLI)

The Diamond Lake and Crater Lake north entrance roads illustrate the interdependent nature of road projects outside and inside the park during the period from 1916 to 1946. When one road segment was improved, either with a more stable surface or through a new route with easier grades and curves, the glaring inadequacies of the now-outdated segments were even more apparent. Director Mather, always pressing for better roads leading to and within national park sites, was well aware of the road situation in Jackson County and within

³²⁴ “Crew Starting Diamond Lake Route Survey”, *MMT* (Jun 4, 1930), 1.

Crater Lake. He noted his concern in his first report as director, noting the poor condition of the roads leading to the park from Jackson County.³²⁵ He also recognized the financial challenges undertaken by the county in upgrading the route and concluded that financial support from both the State of Oregon and the Federal government was the only way to ensure a satisfactory road from Medford to the park entrance.

Four years later, with the approach road fully improved, Mather noted the need to bring the park's roads up to the same standards. He acknowledged the existing roads were "better than passable" but also that more modern surfaces were needed. He argued that since the local and state governments had met their obligations in making improvements to the access road, "in simple justice to all concerned the Federal Government must hold up its end" with regards to the roads inside the park itself.³²⁶

The efforts of Director Mather and superintendents at Crater Lake to push forward access roads were only part of the road building effort during this period. As part of a comprehensive system of roads planned for the park, a primitive Rim Road, initially surveyed by the Army Corps of Engineers in 1911 and started in 1913, was finally completed during the 1919 season (Figure 32). The route would undergo substantial improvements over the subsequent decades, but with a new completed circuit around the lake, visitors could now enjoy a variety of scenic vistas from points along the caldera wall.

³²⁵ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, Ch. 13.



Figure 32 – The Rim Road, 1920s. (from CLNP)

The engineering efforts undertaken to build the Rim Road, even the single lane rough track that served as the first iteration of the route, were equal to similar projects underway at the time throughout the Park Service. Just as road crews on the Going-to-the-Sun Road had to manage the difficult terrain of Glacier's alpine passes, the Park Service and Army Corps of Engineers crews who were responsible for the earliest road projects, had to negotiate similar conditions along the narrow ridges near the rim of the caldera. Adding to the difficulty was the fact that much of the underlying rock strata were composed of volcanic pumice. While the material was lightweight and made road cuts easy and often cheaper than expected, as a natural road surface it was dusty, prone to ruts, and nearly impassible when wet.³²⁷

³²⁷ Ibid.

By the middle of the 1920s, the modern road system at Crater Lake National Park was essentially completed. Though some adjustments were made during subsequent decades, the principal arteries were in full use by park visitors. These routes included the Crater Lake Highway, serving as the access route from the southern and western entrances, the road from Anna Springs to the Rim, the Rim Road itself, the north entrance, and the east entrance road along Sand Creek in the Pinnacles District. Additional plans to build a road inside the rim of the caldera near the surface of the lake, which in conjunction with a tunnel through the mountainside had been part of William Steel's vision for the park for a number of years, were officially dropped by the Park Service in the early 1920s, though they occasionally saw renewed interest.³²⁸

As the road system improved, so to did the ability of the Park Service to maintain the existing infrastructure. Up through the early 1930s, the tourist season at Crater Lake officially ran from July 1 to September 30. Unofficially, the season began once the last of the snow had melted from the route and ended when the first large snowfall closed the roads. This could potentially make the season run from mid May through the end of November depending on the particularities of the weather in the southern Cascades.

With improved technology, along with additional budget appropriations from Washington, the park staff began experimenting with new techniques to help clear the roads earlier and with greater speed and efficiency. The imprint of the local fruit orchards was evident in the late 1920s when smudge pots were

³²⁸ Harmon, *Crater Lake National Park*; Stowell, "Evolution of the Road"; "Road Inside the Rim Crater Lake to be Abandoned", *MMT* (Mar 30, 1920), 8.

employed to melt spring snowpack on park roads.³²⁹ Eventually it became clear that the most efficient way to clear the snow for an early opening of the tourist season was to plow it as it fell during the winter. The acquisition of snow removal equipment during the 1930 and 1931 winter seasons allowed park staff to keep the park roads clear, though a short section of road at each entrance was left unplowed as a barrier to full winter access to the park. By 1935, with several seasons of snow removal from empty park roads as practice, Crater Lake officially opened as a year-round destination.

While the park would temporarily halt full-year operation during the war year winters from 1941 to 1946, the ability of park administrators to make Crater Lake a year-round travel destination changed the status of the park and of the highways serving it. Local papers and publicity outlets, accustomed to publishing the accounts of the season's first visit to the park, could now turn their attention to covering the possibilities of wintertime travel on the Rogue River Route.³³⁰ Indeed, when the Park Service decided to stop snow removal operations at Crater Lake in 1938, organizations in central and southern Oregon pushed the government to reconsider and the *Oregonian* published pleas to consider the "protests coming from Oregon."³³¹

Regional & Local Boosters

The push for better roads continued to be among the primary concerns of the local social and civic organizations of southern Oregon as the 1910s rolled

³²⁹ D. Fisher, "The Story Behind the Scenery: Crater Lake" *Oregon Motorist* 11, no 12 (Sep 1931), 7-16, ODOT; "Park Snow Garb Will Lure Many to Visit Crater Lake", *MMT* (May 8, 1932), SOHS.

³³⁰ "Winter Driving Hints", *MMT* (Feb 2, 1930), 3.

³³¹ "A Welcome Help", *Oregonian* (Feb 1938), np., KCL.

into the 1920s. When the Medford Chamber of Commerce announced its plans for the 1920 season, a road program was listed among the most pressing items. Their program included plans to enhance regional traffic flow by promoting improvements to existing infrastructure.³³² To call attention to those efforts, the Chamber solicited for new members and for donations, bringing in \$18,000 in the first few months of the year.³³³

Just as it had in previous decades, the promotion of good roads was at its core a promotion of the region and of travel to the region. Securing funding for improvements on the Crater Lake Highway was essential to the region's emerging tourist industry; passing up that funding could provide alternative locations such as Klamath Falls or Eugene for those tourists.³³⁴ Local business interests were well aware of the importance of using Crater Lake as a tourist draw for Medford and the surrounding region. Despite the fact that the park itself was technically in Klamath County, many Medford-based publications touted the lake as Jackson County's own.

The rivalries between the communities surrounding Crater Lake belies the fact that most local organizations were well aware of the benefit to increasing tourism throughout the region rather than in just one community. As part of a meeting of the Pacific Northwest Tourist Association in May 1920, an array of commercial clubs joined with civic organizations such as the Kiwanis and Rotary to endorse a comprehensive plan to encourage regional tourism beyond the

³³² "Program of Work for the Medford Chamber of Commerce is Outlined in Detail", *MMT* (Apr 22, 1920), 5.

³³³ "George Collins Boosts Good Roads in Jackson County", *MMT* (Apr 22, 1920), 5.

³³⁴ "Vote for Good Roads", *MMT* (May 6, 1920), 4.

traditional summer months. The proposal included increased promotion for existing festivals and events throughout Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia and adding additional winter sports events at Mount Hood, or Jasper and Banff National Parks in Canada.³³⁵ A decade later, the Northern California-Southern Oregon Development Association, which was focused on encouraging economic growth in the counties of southern Oregon and northern California, was heavily promoting its “Development” newsletter and was proudly announcing increases in copy requests and mail subscriptions.³³⁶

As promotional efforts increased and the number of leisure tourists in Oregon grew, it became imperative for local businesses to provide the most up-to-date services and information for their clients. For the managers of hotels, this meant knowing what amenities and attractions were available in the local area for their guests. This courtesy extended to hotel managers beyond the Medford area. For hotels in Portland, Crater Lake was a significant destination, even though the trip by train and automobile required several days to complete. In an effort to serve their clientele in the best way possible, hotel managers from Portland came to Medford to examine the potential lodging and entertainment options and to verify the travel conditions to the park.³³⁷

With larger numbers of people coming into Medford and spending time in the Upper Rogue region, the businesses of the area often pushed for services that would enhance the experiences of their guests. Often the added provisions

³³⁵ “Extend Tourist Season Northwest to 10 Month Year”, *MMT* (May 3, 1920), 3. Among the festivals to be included in the promotion were annual blossom festivals in Ashland and Medford.

³³⁶ “Steady Increase for Booster Paper”, *MMT* (Feb 25, 1930), 7.

³³⁷ “Portland Hotel Man Looks Over Rogue River Valley”, *MMT* (Jan 17, 1925), 2.

would be a benefit for tourists as well as the migrant agricultural workers who came to the region to assist with fruit harvests. In 1925, the regional representative for the Council of Women and Home Missions met with Medford business leaders and suggested organizing a nursery service for workers in the seasonal orchard trade.³³⁸

Local promotions continued in full swing during the period. Railroads, though serving a declining percentage of the traveling population, continued to play a significant role in the advertizing plans of Medford-based businesses. Pamphlets and dining car advertisements printed on placemats were some of the methods used to promote Crater Lake and the Upper Rogue to passengers on the Siskiyou Route through Ashland and Medford.³³⁹ A growing number of visitors were coming by private automobile and local merchants, especially those with an interest in promoting the use of automotive services, made efforts to spread their names through publications. The Merrick Motor Inn, a well-established auto-camp along the Pacific Highway in Medford, only a few blocks from the junction of the Crater Lake Highway, began a self-published newsletter titled "The Highway Bulletin" in May of 1925. The publication was distributed to travelers on the Pacific Highway and encouraged people to visit a variety of sites in southern Oregon.³⁴⁰

The importance of automobile travel only increased throughout the period as the number of people driving private automobiles grew. Local interest groups were aware of the draw of Crater Lake and the forested Cascades region to

³³⁸ "Plan Day Nursery for Tourist Babes", *MMT* (May 19, 1925), 3.

³³⁹ "Crater Publicity on Crack Trains", *MMT* (Feb 26, 1930), 6.

³⁴⁰ "Merrick Motor Inn Newspaper is off the Press", *MMT* (May 4, 1925), 8.

tourists passing through Medford and several made concerted efforts to protect the landscape of the route from potential desecration. In June 1930 the Medford Garden Club sponsored a talk by the President of the National Council for Protection of Roadside Beauty.³⁴¹ The discussion was centered around the need for better protection of the natural landscapes of highway corridors including the elimination of roadside billboards.³⁴²

Increased promotions, coupled with expanding efforts within Crater Lake to keep the park open for longer seasons, helped to bring rising numbers of people to the Upper Rogue region. Yet the area was not immune to effects of the economic troubles that emerged in the late 1920s and lasted through the start of American involvement in World War II. During the early years of the Great Depression there were efforts to keep as much business in the state as possible. In early 1930, the Oregon Chamber of Commerce announced plans to promote twelve designated loop tours on roads and highways throughout the state as part of a 'Build Oregon!' campaign.³⁴³ These routes would be advertized through illustrated guides, available to motorists at businesses. The intent for developing and promoting sites along these routes was to keep tourists and their money within the state as long as possible.

The Medford area also attempted to keep pace in promoting itself for the tourist crowd. In June 1930, the local Chamber of Commerce initiated a contest to find an appropriate nickname for the recreational region centered at Medford in hopes that this new designation would attract more business to the local

³⁴¹ "Roadside Beauty is Lecture Topic", *MMT* (Jun 27, 1930), 4.

³⁴² "Highways Are Show Windows for Scenery", *MMT* (Jun 29, 1930), 7.

³⁴³ "Oregon Circle Tours to Hold State Visitors", *MMT* (Feb 10, 1930), 8.

communities.³⁴⁴ While no winning entry was identified, there was no doubt of the importance of such a campaign considering the regional competition from other southern Oregon communities.

The town of Roseburg, once a potential gateway to Crater Lake, continued to foster its own recreational amenities in the heart of the Umpqua Valley between Medford and the Willamette Valley to the north (Figure 33).³⁴⁵ Grants Pass, between Roseburg and Medford on the Pacific Highway, was also a



Figure 33— Ad for the Roseburg Auto Park (see note 345).

potential alternate gateway to the park. In 1940, the Crater Lake National Park Company, the park’s primary concessionaire, filed plans to change the terminus of its western bus route from Medford to Grants Pass.³⁴⁶ The Medford Chamber of Commerce recognized the detrimental effect on local business if their only public link to Crater Lake were to be removed and requested a

³⁴⁴ “Name Medford Vacationland and Win Prize”, *MMT* (Jun 20, 1930), 8.

³⁴⁵ “Come to the Greatest Recreationland in the World - Advertisement”, *Roseburg News Review* (May 10, 1932), 23, CLNP.

³⁴⁶ “Park Bus Hearing Rescheduled for April 12 by PUC”, *MMT* (Mar 8, 1940), 1.

meeting with the state Public Utilities Commission to evaluate the decision. The immediate decision was reversed and Medford remained an active link for bus routes to Crater Lake National Park, as brochures in the years immediately following the decision note.³⁴⁷

Outdoor Recreation

An increasing number of automobile travelers along with better road conditions throughout the 1920s, 30s, and 40s created an environment of expanding tourist potential in southern Oregon. The transition from a rail destination to an automobile touring destination occurred rapidly. Though advertisements encouraging rail travel remained in use for several decades, it was clear to recreation providers that automobile tourists would be the primary clients in the coming years.

In 1920, as state tourism experts were predicting record travel for the upcoming year the City of Ashland began an expansion of their municipal camping grounds at Lithia Park.³⁴⁸ Lithia Park was widely known for its mineral springs and became one of the most popular automobile camping sites for travelers on the Pacific Highway during the 1920s (Figure 34).³⁴⁹ The location of Ashland made it the unofficial entrance to Oregon for northbound travelers, with only a few small communities in the Siskiyou Mountains between it and the town of Yreka, California, 40 miles south. As such, Ashland ranked second only to

³⁴⁷ "Crater Lake National Park – Tourist Guide" *National Park Service* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1948); "Crater Lake National Park" *National Park Service* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1974).

³⁴⁸ "1920 Record Tourists Travel in Oregon", *MMT* (Mar 4, 1920), 3; "Ashland Plans Large Extension Camping Grounds", *MMT* (Apr 7, 1920), 5.

³⁴⁹ B. Greer, "Mineral Springs Organization", *Ashland Tidings* (Dec 31, 1914), 5, SODA.

Portland as the top out-of-state automobile registration site in Oregon during the mid 1920s (see Figure 35).³⁵⁰

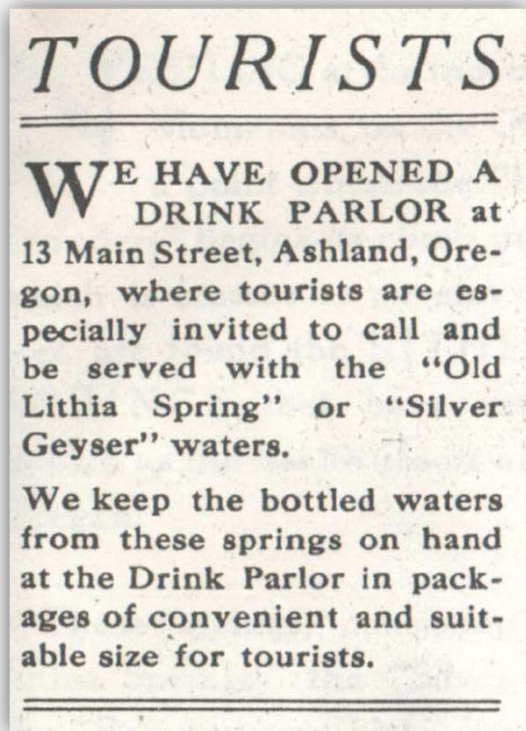


Figure 34 – Announcement from Pompadour Bottling Company, 1920s. (from SODA)

Medford, third in the same rankings, was equally attractive for automobile tourists during the period. Just as local publicity and promotion for rail traffic was seen as a potential economic gain for the city in previous decades, the growing popularity of Medford's auto camps in the mid-1920s was an encouraging sign for the future growth in the area. While evaluating the statistical breakdown of visiting tourists and their expenditures in 1923, a local report noted that "probably no crop is going

to bring more money ... into Medford and Southern Oregon than this tourist crop".³⁵¹ Medford's Merrick Motor Inn, located on the Pacific Highway only one block from the junction with the Crater Lake Road, was a popular location for travelers through the city.

As was the case in many other places throughout the nation, the rise in the use of auto camps in Jackson County meant growing concern over their

³⁵⁰ "Ashland Second Medford Third Car Registrations", *MMT* (Sep 12, 1925), 4.

³⁵¹ "A Bigger and Better Medford", *MMT* (Dec 3, 1923), 5, SOHS.

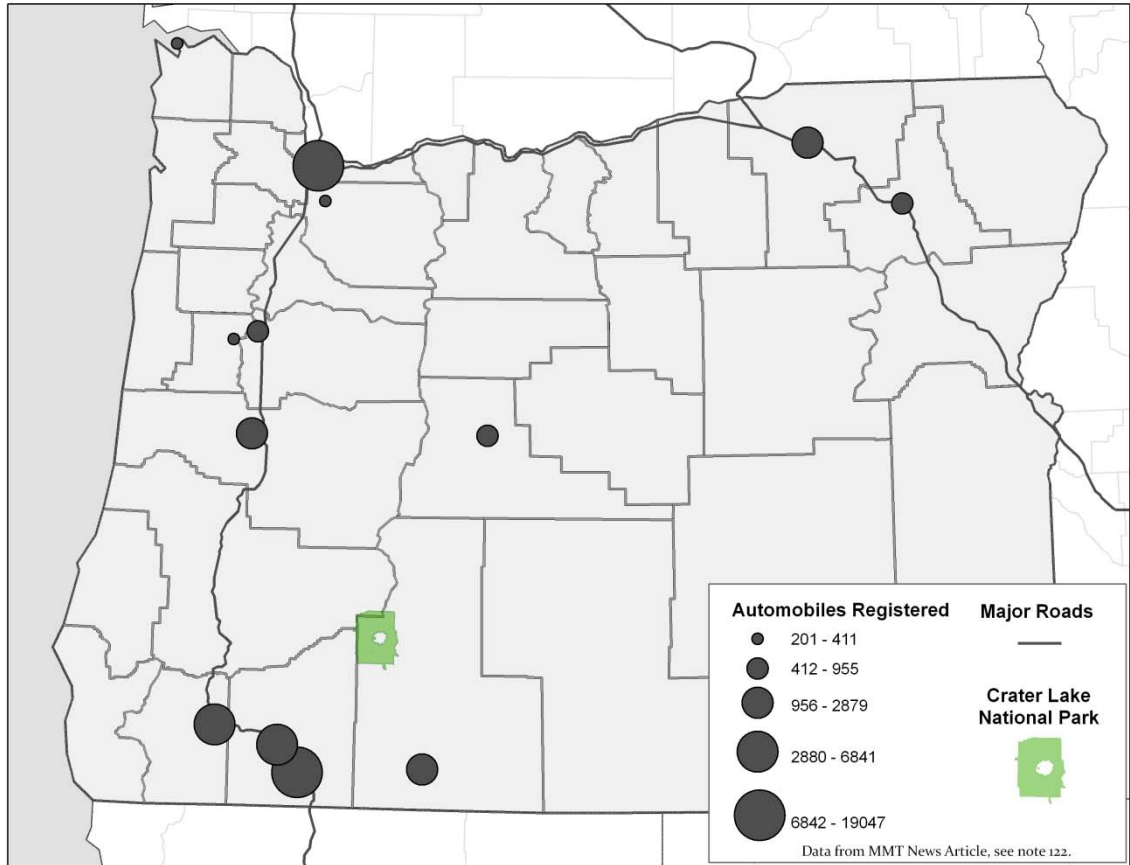


Figure 35 – Registration of out-of-state automobiles by city, 1924. (see note 350)

safety, sanitation, and reliability among travelers. By 1925, the State of Oregon had passed regulations requiring existing camps to undergo inspections and proposed that camps should be required to apply for state permits before being constructed.³⁵² When Oregon Auto Camp Association members met in Roseburg in February of 1928, there was no indication that the new regulations had hampered auto camp growth in the state. Reports showed that four hundred new permit applications had been made during 1927 and that over 90,000 autos had stopped at existing parks, spending nearly \$12,000,000 in the state.³⁵³

³⁵² “Start Inspection of Auto Camps in Jackson County”, *MMT* (May 22, 1925), 7.

³⁵³ “Auto Camp Meet”, *Pacific Northwest Hotel News* (Feb 25, 1928), 5.

Auto camps were not limited to the shoulders of the Pacific Highway alone. As all-season traffic increased on the Crater Lake Highway a number of the communities along its route saw the emergence of auto camp facilities, as shown in Figure 36. This was a natural progression from the days of roadside hotels and inns, such as the Rogue Elk Resort near Trail or the Prospect Hotel at Prospect. The proprietors at these locations recognized the changing desires of tourists and expanded their amenities to include cabins and camping grounds for overnight guests during the 1920s and 30s. New camping enterprises were started by residents who owned property adjacent to the highway or along accessible sections of the Rogue River.

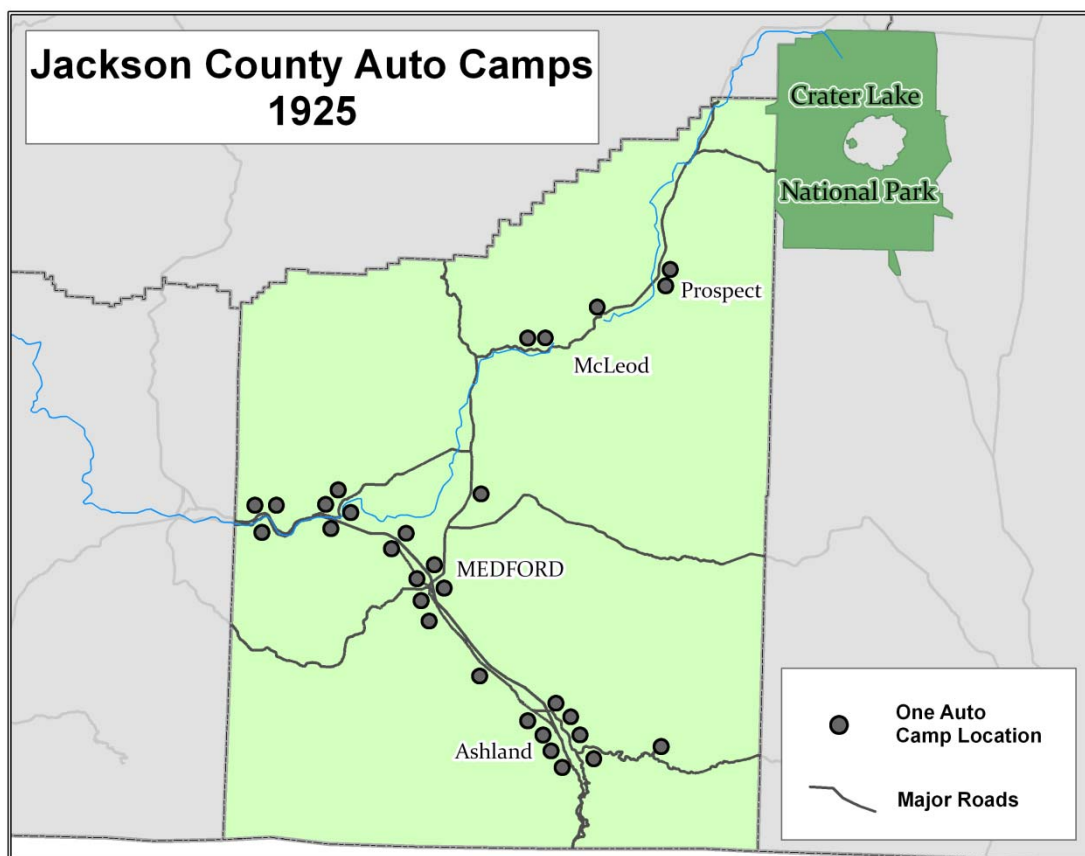


Figure 36 – Generalized location of registered auto camps in Jackson County, 1925. (data from report on camp inspections, *MMT*; see note 352)

Above the Town of Trail, particularly between McLeod and Prospect, the Crater Lake Highway climbed a series of hills while the Rogue River Valley narrowed considerably. The scenic appeal of this portion of the route coupled with the fishing and hunting potential in the surrounding region made it a highly desirable one for recreation enterprises. The stretch of road from McLeod to Cascade Gorge, along Flounce Rock Hill or the Pumice Grade, was considered one of the worst portions of the route until upgrades eliminated the most dangerous sections in the 1920s and 30s.³⁵⁴ This potential barrier to travel provided a substantial reason for travelers to stop and rest. Evergreen Ranch, a small roadside development along the Crater Lake Highway just above the Pumice Grade, was easily suited to take advantage of a traveler's need for a break, whether it was for a few hours or overnight.³⁵⁵

In the early 1920s, a newly arrived family from Tillamook, Oregon, upgraded a campground on the Rouge River just above the McLeod bridge junction, several road miles below Evergreen Ranch. The Hoag family added new cabins and improved the existing restaurant and gas station for travelers on the adjoining highway.³⁵⁶ The property changed ownership several times between the 1920s and 1940s with each subsequent owner continuing operation of the roadside campground and cabins.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴ F. Pearson, "Oral History Interview"; "Expect to Start Work on Crater Lake Road This Fall, May Change Route", *MMT* (Jul 28, 1920), SOHS.

³⁵⁵ C. H. Armstrong, *History of the Oregon State Parks: 1917-1963* (Salem, OR: Oregon State Parks, 1965), 126, SODA.

³⁵⁶ Weiss, *Laurelhurst*, 47-48.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Just west of McLeod on the Crater Lake Highway, Jack Casey also opened a new auto camp along the Rogue River. Casey's Auto Camp became a well-known stop for motorists as well as for local residents looking for a riverside picnic location (Figure 37).³⁵⁸ Unfortunately for Casey and his patrons, the auto camp was located on a former railroad right-of-way parcel for a proposed line to Prospect. Because the route was never completed the property had officially transferred back to the federal government, making Casey an illegal squatter.³⁵⁹ Casey eventually gave up his claim to the land in 1947 but the process leading to that event helps to highlight the changing role of government agencies in promoting outdoor recreation during this period.



Figure 37 – Casey's Auto Park, near McLeod, 1930s. (from SOHS, reprinted in Weiss, *Laurelhurst*)

As motor tourism on the Crater Lake route increased and the state of Oregon took a greater interest in a more comprehensive program of tourism and travel development, roadside right-of-ways became a principal location for travel-related improvements. Just as cities along major highways were developing municipal auto camps to attract tourists passing through their community, the

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 49-51.

³⁵⁹ Armstrong, 107.

State Highway Commission began contemplating roadside campsites and scenic areas to help bolster highway use, particularly in rural areas.³⁶⁰ The recreation resources of the Crater Lake Highway between Prospect and Trail were well-known and state officials quickly advanced ideas about prospective sites to take advantage of that potential.

One of those sites was the property on which Casey's Auto Park was located. Oregon leased the property from the federal government in 1932 with the hopes of utilizing its recreation potential. In 1937, the state purchased the property outright and made plans to establish a new state park at the location.³⁶¹ Though the state's legal position was secure, the presence of Casey's development and use of the site remained a barrier to the official conversion of the land to a state park site. Eventually, Casey agreed to give up his claim to the property but was allowed to remain near the site as the caretaker for the newly designated Casey State Park.³⁶²

The State Highway Commission was also interested in a number of other recreation sites along the Rogue River Route. During the late 1930s, as formal arrangements were being made at Casey State Park, state officials were also working on acquiring land along the Rogue River located on the northernmost portion of the Laurelhurst Road, a route parallel to but on the opposite side of the river from the Crater Lake Highway between McLeod and Cascade Gorge. Named Laurelhurst State Park, the site straddled the river and was an ideal spot

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 3-4.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 107.

³⁶² Ibid.

for fishing and camping.³⁶³ With access to the river from Laurelhurst State Park and Casey State Park, day trips along the river were a common activity for visitors and locals alike.³⁶⁴

Beyond Cascade Gorge and Prospect the Crater Lake Highway entered the national forest land and provided access to numerous recreation sites. The Union Creek area was located at a natural service point near the point where the old Fort Klamath Military Road met the Rogue River. The newer Crater Lake Road replaced the older military route and now included an additional spur north towards Diamond Lake. Businesses were able to capitalize on the increased amount of traffic coming through Union Creek. Mirroring similar developments down-valley, the area saw the establishment of cabins, an expanded general store and restaurant, and additional camping sites by a series of proprietors during the 1920s and 30s.³⁶⁵

As interest in motor tourism grew and the opportunities for rural camping increased, local businesses began offering special services or running camping-specific promotions. In Medford, the local auto-supply stores ran seasonal advertisements encouraging motorists to check their camping equipment and provided ideas for updated gear to use in the coming touring months.³⁶⁶ Grocery chains matched that effort with food suggestions and sale prices on camping staples (Figure 38).³⁶⁷ The availability of these services and those along the

³⁶³ Ibid., 151.

³⁶⁴ Weiss, *Laurelhurst*, 78-79.

³⁶⁵ Pearson, "Oral History", 7-10; T. Trower, "Union Creek: Lakes Led to Building of Resort", *MMT* (Mar 27, 1994), 6-7, SOHS; J. Fisher, "Union Creek Area Becoming Popular Place", *MMT* (Jul 3, 1960), 8A, SOHS.

³⁶⁶ "Camping Days are Here Again – Advertisement", *MMT* (Jun 10, 1930), 3.

³⁶⁷ "Camping Time – Advertisement", *MMT* (Jun 20, 1930), 5.



Figure 38 – Safeway Stores advertisement at the start of camping season, 1930.
(see note 367)

route to Crater Lake allowed motor tourists the freedom to select their own meals and their own style of accommodation, providing a personalized version of the new camping experience.

Federal Land Management Policy

The creation of the National Park Service in 1916 brought an additional level of federal involvement in the activities in the southern Cascades. While the park itself had been a federal site since 1902, the added bureaucracy and administration of Park Service officials meant Crater Lake was subject to a more comprehensive management philosophy. In the first years of the Mather administration this translated into an aggressive campaign for access. By 1925,

the plans within the park were well underway and during a visit to the park and to Medford, Director Mather seemed pleased at the progress.³⁶⁸

Yet many Park Service officials still viewed Crater Lake as an incomplete park. In speeches during his 1925 stop in Medford, Mather vocalized his support for an expansion of Crater Lake, specifically the ongoing efforts to include the region surrounding Diamond Lake.³⁶⁹ Diamond Lake was located about a dozen miles north of the northern boundary of the existing park and had been growing in significance as a summertime recreation center within the southern Cascades.³⁷⁰ While those in park circles favored this expansion, the local view was not as favorable.³⁷¹ Unlike the public backing the original Crater Lake park proposals of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries had seen, attempts to expand the reach of the park in the 1920s were viewed as restrictive to activities in the southern Cascades. Diamond Lake was more accessible to fishing, swimming, and boating than was Crater Lake and its location in the Umpqua National Forest allowed those activities to continue without substantial limitations. Park Service guidelines were seen by some as preventing full recreational use of some areas and many groups in the Rogue River Valley were concerned about that potential at Diamond Lake.³⁷²

Mather and Arthur Ringland, Secretary of the newly formed Coordinating Commission on National Parks and National Forests, were instrumental in

³⁶⁸ "Stephen Mather Sees Paving Started at Crater Lake", *MMT* (Jul 31, 1925), 1.

³⁶⁹ Ibid; S. Mather, "Letter to Superintendent Thomson" (Mar 16, 1925), from Crater Lake Extension Correspondence Files, Rogue River National Forest, SODA.

³⁷⁰ See Figure 31, p 158.

³⁷¹ "Propose Deer Preserve in Jackson Co, Diamond Lake Park Opposed", *MMT* (Jan 22, 1925), 1.

³⁷² "Diamond Lake Inclusion in Park Fought", *MMT* (Sep 9, 1925), 1.

arranging new evaluations of the southern Cascades with the express intent of surveying proposed extensions to Crater Lake.³⁷³ With the Diamond Lake expansion already garnering public opposition, efforts were made to focus on other attractions of the area. In the opinion of Superintendent C. G. Thomson, the most logical of these was Mt. McLoughlin, located about 25 miles letter to Arno Cammerer in January of 1925, Thomson asked Park Service south of the park's existing southern border (see Figure 39).³⁷⁴ In a personal officials to “[p]icture it as the roughest sort of country, dotted with fine little lakes and buttressed with McLoughlin at the south, and as virgin a land as the country holds”. Understanding the continued interest in other expansions, he pressed further by stating that he was “...not submitting this as an alternative to Diamond Lake, though I’m not sure I wouldn’t rather have it.”³⁷⁵

Following a June 1926 pack trip through the region with Hugh Rankin, the local Forest Supervisor in Crater National Forest, Thomson changed his mind. While the survey found vistas in the region surrounding Mt. McLoughlin worthy of national park designation, the vast majority of the proposed extension was simply high-elevation forestland. Writing to Director Mather a month after his trip, Thomson made his assessment:

I packed over that area with Supervisor Rankin and while there is some good country in the southern portion there is 500 miles of intervening country of no interest, scarce water supply, and without any Park value. The lakes are very small, shallow, and dirty bottomed; and when you get down to the good lakes they are all

³⁷³ C. Thomson, “Letter to Fred Kiser” (Jun 11, 1925), from Crater Lake Extension Correspondence Files, RRNF, SODA.

³⁷⁴ C. Thomson, “Letter to Arno Cammerer” (Jan 22, 1925), from Crater Lake Extension Correspondence Files, RRNF, SODA.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, np.

The primary force behind the expansion attempts during the 1920s was for relief in the shortage of camping opportunities within Crater Lake National Park itself. During the period, Superintendent Thomson repeatedly commented on the situation of the park's existing campgrounds. In his 1926 report to the Director, Thomson noted that "[t]here is a good hotel but approximately 90% of Park visitors fend for themselves, throwing very heavy loads upon our 10 camp grounds in the way of water supply, garbage disposal, sanitation, fuel, and policing."³⁷⁷ When the prospects of adding Diamond Lake or the Mt. McLoughlin regions had passed, Thomson continued to suggest the addition of locations like Union Creek to Crater Lake in the hopes of remedying the camping crunch.³⁷⁸ Even though formal developments at Union Creek were relatively new, the presence of the local Forest Service ranger station and proximity of several well-used campgrounds made Park Service acquisition impossible.

Land acquisition remained a significant theme throughout the period for the Park Service and Forest Service. In the early 1930s, Crater Lake added a two and a half square mile piece of land straddling the southern entrance road from Fort Klamath in a transfer from the Forest Service.³⁷⁹ At various times in the 1920s and 30s the Forest Service added significant parcels of timber through purchase from private landholders.³⁸⁰ One of the principal reasons for these additions to federal land ownership was concern over losing the scenic value of recreation corridors. The timbered regions of the southern Cascades had been

³⁷⁷ Unrau and Mark, Ch 13.

³⁷⁸ Thomson, "Letter to Director Mather".

³⁷⁹ Green, *Historic Resource Study*.

³⁸⁰ C. E. Brown, *History of the Rogue River National Forest, vol 1* (Portland: USFS, 1957), SODA.

gaining acceptance as tourist destinations for several decades. Travelers on the Crater Lake Highway on either side of the park, on the Diamond Lake Road, and on roads through the Umpqua Divide region of neighboring Douglas County expected to drive through large stands of mature pine forests.

When private timber operations threatened to begin cutting within view of major tourist routes, local organizations pressured the federal and state governments to protect the untouched character of the region.³⁸¹ In the 1920s, one of the earliest proposals by the state of Oregon was to pay landowners along the route to maintain the natural vegetation and not cut their timber stands.³⁸² Eventually, the federal government entered the scene by acquiring key parcels of land around Cascade Gorge and Prospect.³⁸³ Because existing policies within the Crater (Rogue River) National Forest restricted timber harvesting from along scenic road corridors, the inclusion of these parcels in the national forest lands meant their protection was ensured.³⁸⁴

Though national forest land was actively managed for timber harvesting, the forest managers recognized that these areas were gaining popularity as recreation destinations. In a 1930 brochure from Crater National Forest, destinations such as Union Creek, Diamond Lake, Lake of the Woods, and Natural Bridge are highlighted, as are the numerous regulations applied to use of

³⁸¹ "Forests Fringing Crater Highway Dangered by Axe", *MMT* (May 11, 1933) 1, SOHS.

³⁸² Armstrong, 2-3.

³⁸³ "Trees Along Crater Lake Road Saved", *MMT* (Nov 19, 1937), 6, SOHS; "Road Beauty Plans Aided by Land Deal", *MMT* (Jun 16, 1930), 1.

³⁸⁴ Crater National Forest "Policy Statement" (Feb 5, 1924), SODA. In 1932, Crater National Forest was changed to Rogue National Forest (later Rogue River National Forest) in an attempt to end confusion between national park and national forest lands.

federal lands.³⁸⁵ Some of the most important regulations on forested land in the southern Cascades were those targeting smoking and the use of fire (Figure 40). During the dry season, forest managers were acutely aware of the dangers of forest fires and were quick to castigate local landowners for their lack of vigilance when accidental fires destroyed stands of timber.³⁸⁶ In extreme cases, some areas would be entirely closed to all activity if the fire danger was deemed too high.³⁸⁷

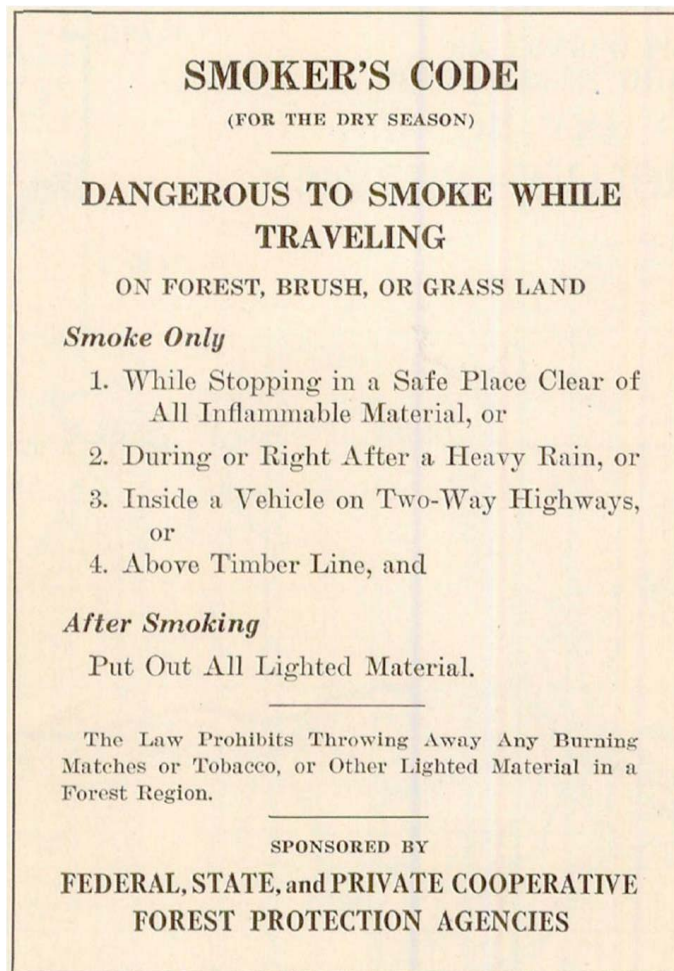


Figure 40 – ‘Smoker’s Code’ regulations from Crater National Forest brochure, 1930. (from SODA)

³⁸⁵ USFS, “Crater National Forest” (1930), SODA.

³⁸⁶ “Crater Area Folk Flayed by Forester”, *MMT* (Feb 6, 1930), 6.

³⁸⁷ “Blowdown Area National Forest Taboo to Travel”, *MMT* (Jun 28, 1930), 2.

The economic conditions of the 1930s eventually had an impact on the budgets of the Park Service and Forest Service. The appropriations for the 1933 season at Crater Lake were down 15 percent from the previous year and similar declines continued until the 1938 season.³⁸⁸ While these declines meant a cut in the number of seasonal park and forest workers, much of the missing man-power was replaced through projects run by the Public Works Administration (PWA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).³⁸⁹ Park records for improvements between 1930 and 1941 indicate that CCC crews put in over 1800 man-days of labor on campground projects and over 9200 man-days on general landscaping projects.³⁹⁰ As was the case for CCC camps throughout southern Oregon, the Crater Lake camps focused on improvements to campground infrastructure such as pavilions, tables, benches, fireplaces, and latrines as well as on trail repair and improvements.³⁹¹

By 1940, the economic necessity for the CCC camps had waned. Newspapers were quick to report on the prospects of camp closures or relocations based on expected enrollments and local need.³⁹² The closing of the last of the local CCC camps came with the American entrance into World War II at the end of 1941. For Crater Lake and the surrounding national forest lands, the remainder of the war years saw very little in the way of active management or

³⁸⁸ Unrau and Mark, Ch 13.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Crater Lake National Park, "Record of Improvements at Crater Lake" (May 1, 1945), from Administrative Records – CCC Vertical File, CLNP.

³⁹¹ Ibid; Hollenbeak, "Oral History", 74-75; For a historic look at the impact of the CCC on Southern Oregon in its entirety, see *The Journal of the Shaw Historical Library's* special volume entitled "We Can Take It: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Land of the Lakes" (Vol 20, 2006).

³⁹² "CCC Waits Order Naming Camps in Summer Period", *MMT* (Mar 7, 1940), 1.

use. The park was reduced to a skeleton staff and winter operations were suspended until the after the end of the war.³⁹³

INTERPRETING DISCOURSE IMPACTS

The dominance of the road and auto industry discourse during this second period contributes to a number of similar themes in the changing recreation landscape of the Rogue River Valley between the years leading up to the start of the NPS and the years following. It was during this later period that the automobile achieved its position as a ubiquitous shaper of the modern landscape of the United States. Along the Crater Lake Road, automotive advances and the subsequent improvements in highway construction practices transformed the trip from Medford to Crater Lake. The original roads that existed at the start of the period in 1917 largely gave way to hard-surfaced, paved routes by its end in 1946.

These improvements were a continuation of the efforts of the Good Roads movement and of the growing role of government spending on roads and infrastructure. Much of the improvement came from the modernization of the road surfaces and the standardization of construction. The Crater Lake Highway emerged as part of Oregon's first designated highway system in the 1920s and with an organized highway department and guidelines directing the use of federal road aid this system was constructed to match the expectations and needs of the motorists of the period. Those expectations included having roads and highways

³⁹³ Leavitt, "Oral History Interview", 150-13.

that were appealing to drive on and that could withstand the impact of contemporary vehicles.

Converting the Rogue River Route and the roads within the park to paved surfaces eliminated much of the past concerns about ruts, dust, and muddy travel conditions. Yet improving the roads included more than upgrading the type of surfacing. For the roads in the higher elevation regions close to the park itself, the most important transformation came in the technological innovations which allowed year round travel. Experiments with snow removal machinery allowed park staff to expand the tourist season beyond the short Cascade summers and allowed park visitors to experience an entirely new vision of Crater Lake.

Just as grade adjustments and new bridge crossings helped draw more travelers to Crater Lake before 1917, the emergence of a modern highway in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s helped increase the volume of traffic on the route and substantially lowered the amount of time needed to make a trip. A shorter trip removed the necessity of a stop between Medford and the park. Existing lodging operations expanded their services and amenities to ensure a constant flow of patrons. Roadside restaurants like the Rogue River Lodge served as a brief respite for motorists on the road, an alternative to longer-term lodging facilities. The Prospect Hotel added individual cabins and a general store to serve travelers looking for options beyond the park.

The large number of auto camps throughout Jackson County also provided additional recreational offerings for travelers during this period. Municipal camps along the Pacific Highway in Ashland or Medford and riverside

camps on the Crater Lake Highway in Trail or McLeod served travelers from throughout the country. In some cases, motorists used these camps as a resting point on a long journey while in others they were destinations themselves. For some, attractions at the camp helped to increase their popularity amongst motorists. Ashland's Lithia Park Camp, located near the city's mineral springs, was highly touted by travelers along the Pacific Highway (Figure 41). For the smaller camps along the Crater Lake Highway, access to fishing in the Rogue River and the proximity to the scenic destinations around Crater Lake were the primary attraction for motorists.



Figure 41 – Pacific Highway banner directing travelers to Lithia Park, Ashland, late 1930s. From CLNP.

Immediately outside Crater Lake, the options for recreation on national forest land were also greatly expanded during this period. Development at Union Creek brought formalized campgrounds and a general store, restaurant, and gas station to travelers on the Crater Lake Road. These served not only visitors to Crater Lake, but also those traveling on to the newly accessible locations near Diamond Lake. The extension of the Rogue River Route north through the national forest and the building of the north entrance in Crater Lake National Park created a recreation loop through this section of the southern Cascades.

Because of the recreation potential of Diamond Lake, the Union Creek district, and other locations near Crater Lake, Park Service officials actively pursued expansions to the park during this period. While the Park Service was not successful in substantially adding adjoining areas to Crater Lake, the increased interest in outdoor activities in the southern Cascades pushed the state of Oregon to develop its own recreation resources. Encouraged by NPS officials who viewed state park development as an important factor in the success of the national park system, the state highway department began investigating potential sites for parks and highway waysides. Along the Crater Lake Road through Jackson County, the state found several locations suitable for recreation development. Through land acquisitions and exchanges, parks or waysides near Laurelhurst, Cascade Gorge, McLeod, and Prospect all came into existence during this period.

The economic landscape of this period had a considerable impact on the dynamic between the discourses as well as on the creation of the recreation

landscapes themselves. Throughout the early part of this period, the desire to attract new visitors to Jackson County and Medford remained the principal agenda for many local boosters. Between the agricultural potential of Jackson County and the well-known scenic attractions along the Upper Rogue and at Crater Lake, the underlying formula for promotion was already well established. Yet with an improved road, timber interests were also more successful in gaining access to forested land along the Upper Rogue. Civic organizations recognized the potential impact on the tourism economy of the region and targeted the protection of roadside vistas as part of their campaigns. Keeping timber uncut along a forest road and ensuring that advertisements would be non-intrusive along major highways created more pleasing views for drivers. Land purchases by the state of Oregon and the federal government along the Crater Lake Road highlight the fact that the aesthetic values inherent in scenic tourism were beginning to be recognized.

With the introduction of federal work programs in the Crater Lake region came an additional layer of federal involvement. The WPA and CCC employed several hundred workers in the Upper Rogue Valley during the middle of the 1930s and was responsible for the construction of a large portion of the recreation infrastructure during this period. Both inside and outside of Crater Lake National Park, workers established new campgrounds, built pavilions, such as the one in Figure 42, and improved trails and roadways.

The development of Camp White in the Agate Desert near Medford reinforced the role of the federal government in shaping the landscape along the



Figure 42 – Newly built CCC pavilion, 1935. SOHS photo 13495.

Crater Lake Highway. Though built specifically for combat training during World War II, Camp White directly impacted the road and the park itself. After a temporary detour of traffic north of the site during construction, the route of the highway through the post was altered to conform to the necessities of military use. The personnel assigned to Camp White as well as the soldiers recuperating in the hospital there were frequent visitors to Crater Lake during the war

Traveling from Medford to Crater Lake at the end of World War II would have revealed a different landscape than the one that existed only thirty years before. The population in Medford and along the busy Pacific Highway had expanded into agricultural lands north of the city. The once sparsely settled Agate Desert was now a bustling military post. Scattered homes and businesses flanked the shoulders of the road as the Crater Lake Highway passed beyond

Eagle Point and joined the Rogue River near Shady Cove. In certain places, such as Trail, McLeod, or Cascade Gorge, a traveler would find a store, restaurant, auto camp, or hotel at which they could rest or purchase supplies. Emerging near Prospect after the climb along the Rogue River the road entered dense timber on national forest land and passed through the developments at Union Creek (Figure 43). A corridor through the trees would surround the traveler for the remainder of the journey. Once inside the park CCC and WPA buildings would greet the traveler near the lodge or along the Rim Road. Though the circuit around the lake was not upgraded to the level of the Rogue River



Figure 43 – Union Creek developments, 1939. SOHS photo 10676.

Route or the lower-elevation park roads until following the war, it provided outstanding views of the lake and the surrounding landscape for those who made the journey.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF NATIONAL DISCOURSE: 1947-1976

NATIONAL THEMES

A TRULY NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

The end of World War II marked a dramatic turning point in American society marking the end of Depression and war. The population of the country boomed and as it did, the nation was reshaped by a strong, vibrant consumer marketplace. Average citizens were ready to take advantage of their peacetime prosperity and many looked towards the national parks as outlets for their passions.

National Park Service officials, including Director Newton Drury who had replaced Arno Cammerer in 1940, now administered a system of 28 national parks, 84 national monuments, 20 national military or battlefield parks, 13 national historical sites and other sites (see Figure 44).³⁹⁴ Spread over 39 states and territories, Park Service locations were now closer to where Americans lived than at any time in their past. Coupled with the improved highway systems throughout the nation, the public now had unprecedented access to national parks. Yet this accessibility, paired with the relatively low funding for

³⁹⁴ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*.

infrastructure improvements during war years, created a growing problem given the poor condition of the parks.

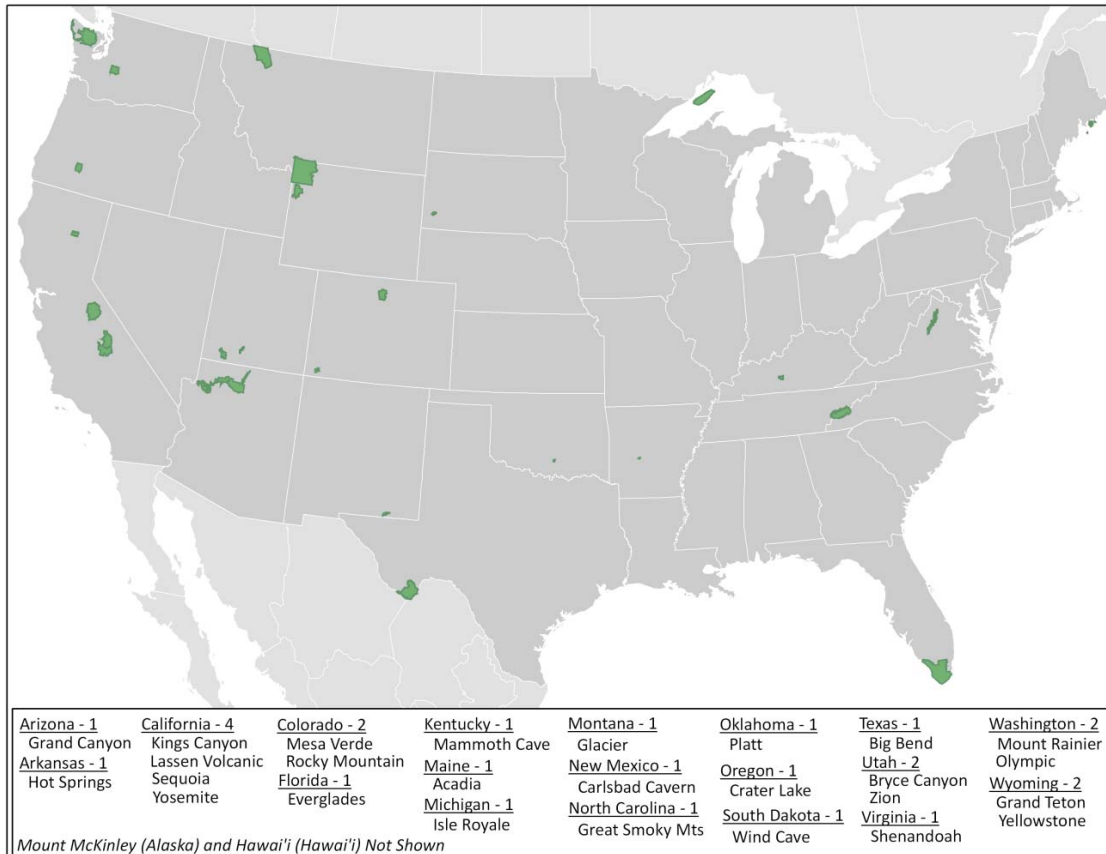


Figure 44 – Locations of designated national parks, 1941.

Visitors to the parks in the late 1940s and early 1950s were confronted with deteriorated infrastructure and less-than-satisfactory services. Although hoping for increased budgets to remedy the situation, Park Service administrators were largely ignored by legislators who were more concerned with the economic and political aftermath of the war. The Marshall Plan and the emerging Cold War with the Soviet Union put a financial strain on national parks

at a time when their popularity had reached record levels.³⁹⁵ Safety concerns and public complaints plagued park superintendents from the Grand Canyon to the Great Smoky Mountains.

While Park Service officials were wary of the problems facing the parks, there was little they could do but hope for more funding from Congress. Public concern about the parks reached a new level early in the 1950s when historian Bernard DeVoto's "Let's Close the National Parks" was published in *Harper's Weekly*.³⁹⁶ Part exposé of the deplorable conditions faced by park staff and visitors, part tongue-in-cheek solution to those same issues, DeVoto's article struck a nerve across the nation. A growing number of voices emerged to speak out in favor of an increased focus on park funding and improvement. Within three years of the article, the Park Service itself was ready to push forward a plan that would reinvigorate the national parks and renew their image in time for the 50th anniversary of the Organic Act in 1966.

Named Mission 66 by Director Conrad Wirth, who had taken over the Park Service in 1951 following Newton Drury's resignation, the plan was seen as a great advancement for the national parks.³⁹⁷ Early in 1956, Wirth presented his plan to President Eisenhower and his Cabinet, showing images of overflowing campgrounds and crowded overlooks and touting proposals to expand not just park facilities but park staffing levels to better handle the expected growth in

³⁹⁵ M. Frome, *Regreening the National Parks*; Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*.

³⁹⁶ B. DeVoto, "Let's Close the National Parks" *Harper's Weekly* 207, no. 1241 (1953): 49-52.

³⁹⁷ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*, 48; Ise, *National Park Policy*. Drury had in fact been replaced by Arthur Demaray, a career NPS employee who was given the director's position for 8 months as a retirement gift. Wirth succeeded Demaray in December 1951.



Figure 45 – Mission 66 sign, Grand Teton National Park, 1960s. (Photo 001669, NPS-HPC)

tourism.³⁹⁸ It was an overarching proposal; a vision for the entire park system that would focus on visitor use and comfort in the parks. As part of Wirth's plans, many parks would receive expanded visitor centers, increased parking capacity, and refurbished roadways, such as that seen in Figure 45.³⁹⁹

As work on Mission 66 was progressing in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a growing concern emerged about Park Service plans for growth and expansion. Although public use had been emphasized since the days of Mather and Albright, there were always some who criticized the focus on access over preservation.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁸ L. Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1994), Ch 4, NPS-H.

³⁹⁹ E. Carr, *Mission 66*.

⁴⁰⁰ Sutter, *Driven Wild*.

During the war years, industrial lobbies were successful in securing rights to material reserves within parks despite the best efforts of preservation groups and park managers.⁴⁰¹ The timber lobby was particularly effective in the Pacific Northwest's Olympic National Park.⁴⁰²

Following the war, the demand for economic growth put even more strain on parks. An expanding middle-class, a more mobile population, and burgeoning urban centers in the rapidly developing west all put external pressures on areas under the control of the agency. Competition also came from other federal agencies, especially the Bureau of Reclamation during its massive dam-building period that extended from the 1940s through the 1960s. In fact, conflict with dam proponents near Dinosaur National Monument on the Utah/Colorado border forced the resignation of Newton Drury in 1951.⁴⁰³ The Echo Park Dam was never built near Dinosaur but the most vocal preservation groups agreed to back a compromise plan, allowing the Bureau of Reclamation to dam a portion of the Colorado River above the Grand Canyon. The Glen Canyon Dam, and the resulting impoundment known as Lake Powell, later became a rallying cry for groups like the Sierra Club and was a primary impetus for the formation of more radical anti-development preservation groups such as Earth First!.⁴⁰⁴

With the culmination of Mission 66 projects slated for the Park Service's 50th Anniversary in 1966, concern about park over-development became a

⁴⁰¹ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 449-451.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*; Frome, 61-62.

⁴⁰³ Ise, *National Park Policy*, 477-480.

⁴⁰⁴ Frome, 213-215, 220-221; R. W. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New London: Yale University Press, 1997), 179-180. The notion of destroying the Glen Canyon Dam was the principal objective for the characters in Edward Abbey's novel *The Monkey-Wrench Gang*. The novel and its core ideals helped to embolden the most extreme groups.

primary focus of preservation groups. Not only were park officials emphasizing increased use of automobiles, they were creating entirely new, modernistic landscapes within park areas that had until that point been 'naturalistic' by design.⁴⁰⁵ Echoing the concerns of those who formed the Wilderness Society thirty years earlier, a number of biologists, naturalists, and ecologists made their case for greater natural protection within Park Service units in the face of the proposed projects. The 1963 *Report of the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management in the National Parks* was written by a committee of scientists called together by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall to examine specific wildlife concerns. The report outlined an entirely new direction of natural resource management for the Park Service that focused on the health of native species and, where possible, a return to "the ecologic scene as viewed by the first European visitors."⁴⁰⁶

The Leopold Report, as the Advisory Board's final summary became known, set the stage for a major transformation in the role of natural resource management within the Park Service. In 1964, Secretary Udall issued a letter regarding the management of National Park Service sites.⁴⁰⁷ In it, he addressed the fundamental management differences between areas that protected natural features, areas of historical concern, and areas reserved for outdoor recreation.

⁴⁰⁵ E. Carr, *Mission 66*, 137-142.

⁴⁰⁶ A. S. Leopold, et al., *Wildlife Management in the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1963), Summary, NPS-H. The report is commonly referred to as the Leopold report after its primary author and the Chairman of Secretary Udall's Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, A. Starker Leopold. Leopold was the son of Wilderness Society co-founder and forest ecologist Aldo Leopold.

⁴⁰⁷ Dilsaver, *The Critical Documents*, Ch 6.

His letter reiterated the guiding principle of limiting infrastructure developments to only “those that are necessary and appropriate” for the given location.⁴⁰⁸

That same year Congress passed the Wilderness Act. Park Service administrators viewed the act as a challenge to their own policies and felt much of the legislation was duplicating existing NPS practices of maintaining roadless primitive areas. However, public pressure for increased protection for the nation’s few remaining wildlands took precedence.⁴⁰⁹ In a similar move designed to protect the nation’s remaining free-flowing rivers from the dam-building Bureau of Reclamation, Congress passed the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act in 1968.⁴¹⁰ Adding more diverse units to the domain of public parks was the National Trails System Act in the same year.⁴¹¹ By 1976, the reclassification of park policy and management into separate natural, historical, and recreation-based themes underscored the new variety of sites within the system. These changes highlighted the significant changes that had occurred in the 104 years since Yellowstone and the 60 years since the inception of the National Park Service, particularly at the 37 national parks seen in Figure 46.

The thirty-year period ending in 1976 drew to an end the most dramatic period of park expansion and development in the history of the Park Service. Going forward to the end of the 20th Century and beyond, parks have not had the same type of growth as was seen in the first three quarters of the century. In

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.; Frome, 216-220.

⁴¹⁰ Dilsaver, *The Critical Documents*, Ch. 6; 16 U.S.C. 1271.

⁴¹¹ Dilsaver, *The Critical Documents*, Ch. 6; 16 U.S.C. 1241-1249.

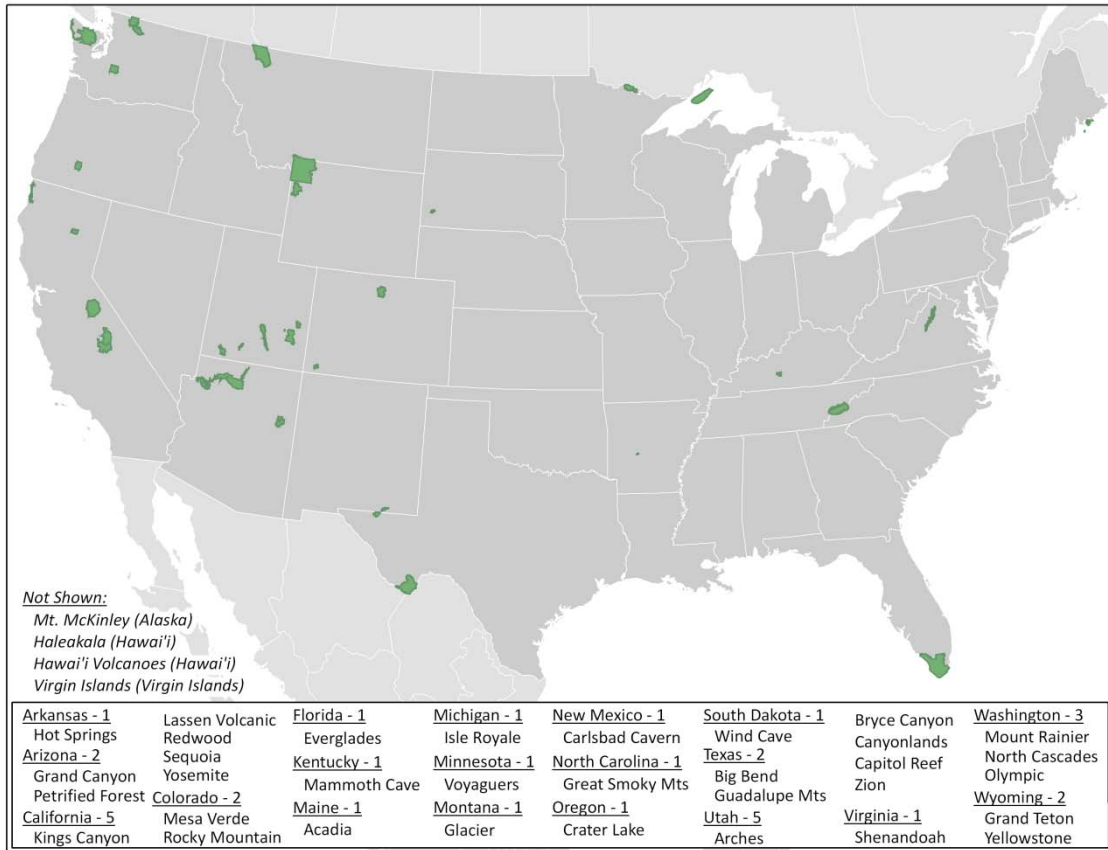


Figure 46 – Locations of designated national parks, 1976.

fact, between 1976 and 2008, average visitation to all types of National Park Service units declined by over nearly 10% while the average at national parks was down by over 20%.⁴¹² The era of active park promotion, an era begun by boosters before the Park Service existed and continued by Directors Mather and Albright as they built and expanded the system, had fulfilled its promise of raising interest in national parks. Emphasizing this point in a March 1955 memo, Director Wirth insisted that the Park Service no longer needed active promotions,

⁴¹² NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*.

stating: “Those working on Mission 66 believe that travel to the national parks should not be actively encouraged; the need for that is long past.”⁴¹³

DISCOURSES IN A NATIONAL CONTEXT

Automobile & Road Building Industries

Visitors to America’s national parks witnessed a dramatic increase in accessibility during the years between World War I and World War II and that trend did not change in the decades following the end of hostilities with Germany and Japan in the 1940s. Though the nation’s industrial output during the war years had been largely focused on the production of military materials, there continued to be an increase in the number of registered automobiles, up from 30 million in 1937 to 40 million by 1948.⁴¹⁴ The increase in the total number of cars was matched by an expanding national network of improved highways.

Federal spending on roads and highways had been ongoing for three decades by the time the Second World War ended. The original five-year, \$75 million outlay from the 1916 Roads Act was quickly followed by additional funding for more comprehensive improvements and planning.⁴¹⁵ An interconnected system of federal highways, numbered and signed to make travel simpler and more convenient, had been in place, at least on paper, since the mid-1920s. Although named routes, such as the Lincoln Highway or Park-to-Park Highway, were nearly forgotten in the two decades that followed, the continued advances

⁴¹³ C. Wirth, “Memorandum Number 2”, *Mission 66 Policies and Procedure* (Mar 17, 1955), Attachment 1, p 1. Emphasis from the original document.

⁴¹⁴ Vance, 499.

⁴¹⁵ Meinig, *Shaping of America* vol. 4, 14-17.

in automotive technology created demands for an ever-improving highway system.

Echoing a sentiment from the late 1910s, a number of military planners, fresh from Europe where high-speed roadways were a generation beyond most American routes, called for a new system of national highways. Similar to plans laid out by General Pershing following the First World War and a national defensive highway system proposed by Franklin Roosevelt, this new high-speed network, seen in Figure 47, would utilize the latest highway construction designs and provide practical and commercial routes between major cities.⁴¹⁶ Finally

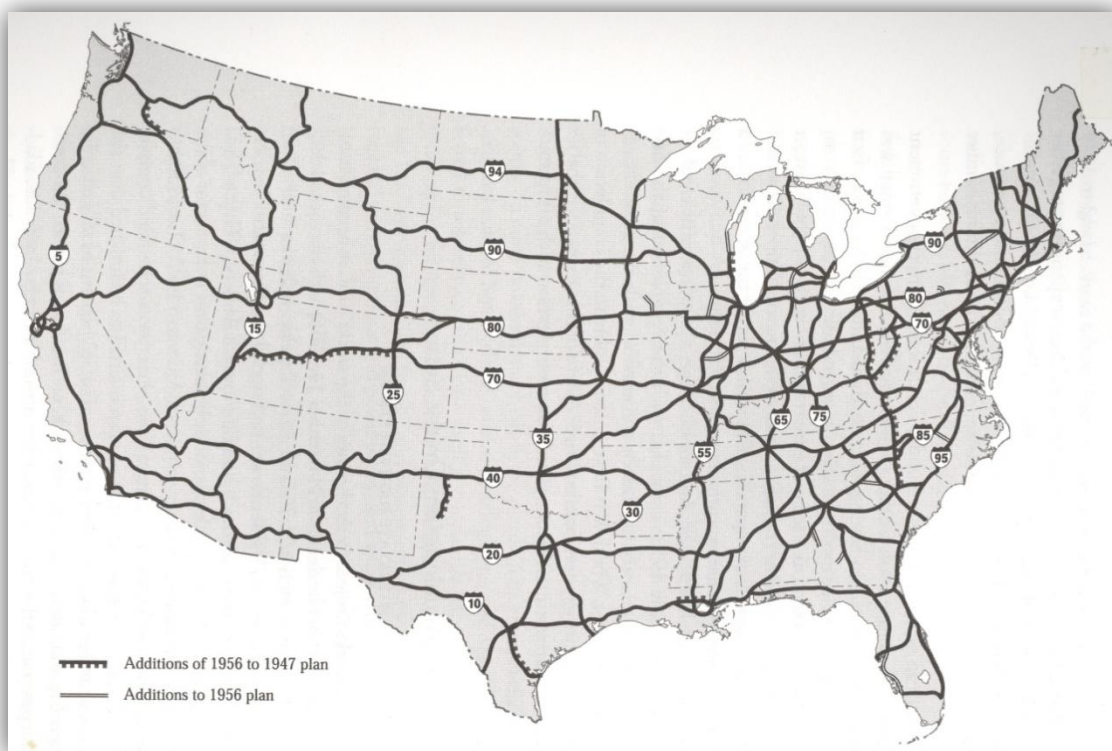


Figure 47 – Map of the proposed Defense Highway System, 1956. (From Meinig, *Shaping of America*, vol 4, 62.)

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 61-64

passed in 1956, the National Interstate Highway Act introduced a new level of highway construction throughout the nation. While many of the routes proposed by the original plan would not be fully complete for several decades, the addition of newer, safer, and faster highways would foster an even greater change in the way Americans traveled.⁴¹⁷

The expanding national highway network helped facilitate the desires of a public who were longing to explore their own nation as the economic prosperity of the country surged following the war. Motorists were on the road in greater numbers than ever before and many travelers made a point to include national parks in their vacation plans. The Park Service struggled to meet the demands of these new tourists. As noted previously, funding for the improvements in infrastructure and services within national park sites that had been available before the war was now being diverted to more pressing issues of national security and defense. The roads, trails, and buildings constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps during the years before World War II had been built for a park system that handled just below twenty million visitors a year. Visitation across the Park System was double that number by the early 1950s.⁴¹⁸

Park infrastructure was not suited to that rapid expansion and growing concerns about the quality of park services and the potential safety of visitors to park sites put pressure on Park Service officials in the field and in Washington. By the middle of the 1950s, public and internal pressure led to the formulation of Director Wirth's 'Mission 66' program to revitalize and modernize the park system

⁴¹⁷ Weingroff, "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956: Creating the Interstate System", np.

⁴¹⁸ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*.

in time for the 50th Anniversary of the Park Service. Many of the proposals in the Mission 66 project were focused on visitor services, including redesigned park roads as well as the facilities the public had come to expect while traveling in the United States.

While many of the projects included within the Mission 66 plan had been suggested in previous years and by previous park administrations, the timing of the program's official beginning had as much to do with the proposal and final passage of the Interstate Highway Act as it did a backlogged list of needed repairs and improvements. Park facilities had fallen below the requirements of current park visitation, yet with an even better and more comprehensive system of national highways, Director Wirth and other Park Service officials were well aware of the potential increases in the future.⁴¹⁹ Just as federal intervention in road building in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s had ushered in greater access to parks, so too would the new interstate system, as Figure 48 illustrates.

Mission 66 projects were framed in a way that emphasized the ever-changing way in which Americans traveled to and through their national parks. Director Wirth highlighted the problems associated with the Park Service's antiquated transportation infrastructure in a March 1955 memorandum to park officials during preparations for the Mission 66 rollout.⁴²⁰ The post-war era had seen a dramatic shift in how the public viewed recreation and travel and the parks needed to change to match the new paradigm. Wirth and other park officials put special emphasis on the connection of the Mission 66 program to the

⁴¹⁹ Carr, *Mission 66*, 341-342.

⁴²⁰ Wirth, "Memo number 2", 2.



Figure 48– Traffic waiting to enter Glacier National Park, 1960. (Photo 0000008, NPS-HPC)

original ideals of the Park Service, as outlined in the 1916 Organic Act and the 1918 Lane Letter.⁴²¹

Regional & Local Boosters

Just as in previous periods, there were a number of groups interested in directing federal expenditures or national interest towards specific regions or issues. Rather than encouraging development, however, many were focused on limiting growth within park regions. Some groups viewed the emphasis on automobile access and the rise in high-impact recreation as incongruous with the

⁴²¹ See pp 118-119; footnote 238.

principles of the National Park Service. Debate about the protection of disappearing wildlands had emerged almost a decade before the war, yet little was done in terms of establishing guidelines.⁴²² Previously unsuccessful attempts to formalize the protection of primitive outdoor recreation areas on federal lands were followed by the passage of the Wilderness Act.⁴²³

Formulated by the leaders of organizations such as the Wilderness Society, the Wilderness Act established guidelines by which undeveloped areas of national parks, national forests, and other federal lands would be preserved in their unaltered state.⁴²⁴ These standards allowed for recreational use, but limited the activities visitors could engage in. Under the principles of the act, a more primitive style of camping, a style more akin to the practices seen at the end of the 19th Century, was the emphasis within areas designated as wilderness. While the vast majority of visitors to national park sites continued to utilize the front country campgrounds and lodging options, backcountry and wilderness use was now offered as a significant alternative.

Though Wirth and his advisors on the Mission 66 project went to some length to establish Park Service policies that would direct their actions, many of the projects drew criticism from protection-minded organizations such as the Wilderness Society as well as from writers within popular media outlets like *Reader's Digest* and *Sports Illustrated*. Worried that parks were being over-developed, critics often faulted Park Service officials for relying too heavily on

⁴²² Sutter, *Driven Wild*.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*; 16 U.S.C. 1131-1136

automobile-based experiences within park settings.⁴²⁵ Director Wirth attempted to refute claims that automobile-related developments were spoiling parks by claiming that developments for park travel were limited to fewer than five percent of total park lands and that, while park roads were often busy, they were in fact “corridors through the wilderness connecting the developed areas or ‘zones of civilization’” within each park.⁴²⁶

Wirth’s statistical argument meant little to the growing number of wilderness advocates who hoped to establish a policy for the protection of untouched lands within national parks, national forests, and other federally-owned land. The presence of traffic congestion in places like Yosemite and the Grand Canyon became not only a publicity problem for the Park Service, but a source of policy debate as well. Wirth echoed previous directors when he claimed that the National Park Service contained “the finest and most consistently protected wilderness in our country”.⁴²⁷ Yet the idea of parks in the eyes of many observers was of places filled with tourists in their automobiles creeping slowly from each scenic or historic marker to the next, stopping occasionally to snap a photograph or read a sign. The fact that the vast majority of park land was undeveloped meant little against the images of crowded national park sites where most visitors rarely left the comforts of ‘front-country’ services. Pressure from opponents of development and the proponents of

⁴²⁵ R. G. Lilliard, “The Siege and Conquest of a National Park”, *American West* 5 (Jan 1968): 28-71; “Changing the National Parks to Cope with People – and Cars: An Interview with George. B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service”, *U.S. News & World Report* (Jan 24, 1972): 52-62.

⁴²⁶ C. Wirth, “Memorandum”, *Recent Magazine Articles on National Parks* (Mar 10, 1961): 6.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

designated wilderness areas succeeded in their efforts to create a new level of protection with the passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964. It was hardly a surprise that the bill was passed near the end of the Park Service's billion-dollar Mission 66 Program.

Outdoor Recreation

Since the emergence of the automobile, Americans had witnessed an evolution in landscapes associated with their travel routes. Where auto-camps had existed on the periphery of towns and cities in the 1920s, motorists of the 1940s and 1950s found motels. The economic constraints of the lodging system required a stream of paying occupants encouraging the migration of motels and hotels to important highway junctions where a greater number of travelers would pass each night.⁴²⁸ Travelers expected a standard set of amenities and in every corner of the nation those services emerged. Highway corridors were built to serve travelers on the road and a tourist in New York, California, Illinois, or Florida would soon find nearly the same arrangement of motels, service stations, and restaurants at every popular location.⁴²⁹

The changes inside park sites were not always up to the standards seen beyond their borders. As noted above, visitors to the parks were often greeted with sub-standard conditions at campgrounds and park service facilities as Park Service appropriations failed to increase in the years immediately following the Second World War. For some, increased availability of modern outdoor recreation equipment meant less reliance on park facilities and services.

⁴²⁸ Belasco, *Americans on the Road*; Jakle, *The Tourist*.

⁴²⁹ Belasco, *Americans on the Road*.

Relatively new items such as nylon tents, gas stoves and lamps, and packaged meals allowed park patrons to operate almost entirely inside their own world while visiting the parks (Figure 49).⁴³⁰



Figure 49 – Camping trailer at Chiricahua National Monument, 1958. The conveniences of a modern lifestyle were not necessarily difficult to find in park campgrounds. (Photo 000436, NPS-HPC)

Outdoor recreation interests were also focusing on a broader range of activities for park-goers. Rather than emphasize more traditional methods of park enjoyment such as scenery and history-focused tourism, a newer wave of alternative recreation activities emerged. The Park Service had created a

⁴³⁰ Sutter, *Driven Wild*.

separate type of park, National Recreation Areas (NRAs), explicitly for such purposes. Lake Mead, one of the first sites established, had over one million visitors during 1946 and within 30 years had over six million visits.⁴³¹ Lake Powell, part of Glen Canyon NRA, saw an increase of five hundred and ten percent in the ten years following the first impoundment of the Colorado River in 1963.⁴³²

National Recreation Areas were also intended to be outlets for the increasingly urban populations of the United States. Many had recognized that changes in American society were affecting the way people were participating in outdoor recreation and during this period, several studies were implemented to understand the status of outdoor recreation in the nation. One such study published by the presidentially appointed Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) noted that the Park Service itself, with more sites and more visitors, was becoming over-burdened by the recreational demands of the American public.⁴³³ The Commission's report in 1962 led to the formation of a separate Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to directly plan and coordinate new recreation opportunities among federal agencies.⁴³⁴ A portion of the report's recommendations also focused on the lack of urban outdoor recreation opportunities across the nation.⁴³⁵ In response, the recreational opportunities of the Park Service were accentuated in 1972 when Gateway and Golden Gate

⁴³¹ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*.

⁴³² *Ibid.*

⁴³³ Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*.

⁴³⁴ Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, *Outdoor Recreation for America* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1962); Dilsaver, *The Critical Documents*, Ch 5.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

NRAs were established near New York City and San Francisco, respectively.⁴³⁶ Within their first five years, they had become two of the most popular units in the entire Park System, with 6,300,200 visitors at Golden Gate and 8,716,100 at Gateway.⁴³⁷

These increases followed a trend during the middle of the 20th Century, that coincided with the improvements outlined under Mission 66 program. Tourists at national park sites found the improved infrastructure which had been a primary focus of the project, but also new visitor centers and interpretive features that helped to engage the public while in the parks.⁴³⁸ The education of visitors had been a staple of the Park Service since the days of Mather and Albright, but through Mission 66 funding, programs were enhanced using new media and contemporary interpretation methods.

Federal Land Management Policy

As the country transitioned from a wartime economy after the Second World War, the national parks became one of the many outlets for people seeking to utilize their leisure time. In the first post-war decade, nearly every park saw a substantial increase in the number of visitors entering their borders. By the early 1950s, over 40 million people were visiting parks each year.⁴³⁹ While the number of park units had increased during that period, the average number of visitors per unit for the entire system more than doubled from an

⁴³⁶ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*.

⁴³⁷ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*.

⁴³⁸ Carr, *Mission 66*.

⁴³⁹ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*.

average of 100,314 visitors per unit in 1938 to 253,252 per unit in 1953.⁴⁴⁰ For the roughly two dozen designated national parks, the increase was nearly as pronounced, going from 264,764 to 620,431 visitors per park over the same period. The growth at the older, more established parks was robust, with Yosemite increasing nearly 74 percent from 1946 to 1956. Newer parks had even greater attendance increases, such as at Olympic which experienced nearly 600 percent growth over the same period.⁴⁴¹

This increase in park use was an underlying cause for the concern about park management throughout this period. One of the most pressing concerns, and one which drew the most criticism, was the proper amount and location for park-related development. In fact, this topic had been an issue since the inception of the Park Service. Stephen Mather had acknowledged that visitor services should be focused at one location or at places along a single access route into park areas. The remaining land would not contain a grid of roads or large-scale development, leaving most park land relatively untouched. While the policy did reserve much of the land in national parks as unofficial wilderness, in some parks this had resulted in heavily impacted visitor-use zones around some of the most significant or scenic locations. In his March 1955 memo, Director Wirth made clear that any new developments would be placed away from any 'precious areas' and that existing facilities already located in those locations would be targeted for removal "out of the precious areas ... and on to the lesser

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

areas”.⁴⁴² In addition, a policy of moving some park administrative facilities such as employee housing, maintenance and storage facilities as well as some visitor services such as overnight lodging facilities and automobile services to ‘off-site’ locations was put forward for consideration. One of the stated rationales for such a policy shift was that modern means of travel allowed a greater separation of park features and service facilities for visitors.⁴⁴³ Though Mission 66 itself did not create the idea for park gateway communities, the acknowledgement that the necessities of travel had changed in such a dramatic way since the inception of the park service underscored the way in which park officials were adjusting to the growing demands on park sites.

As mentioned above, those demands included the recognition that the ecological balance of many natural sites had been dramatically impacted by park development. By the end of the 1960s, an entire package of environmentally conscious laws had been passed, each bringing with it a new challenge to park managers. Among these were the Clean Water Act, Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, and National Environmental Policy Act.⁴⁴⁴ Each of these new measures was two-fold for the Park Service: they provided increased protection for national park sites but they also called for a more sophisticated and nuanced management.

Environmental consciousness was only part of the expanding management domain of the Park Service. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, social justice and civil rights campaigns had introduced the ideas of equal access

⁴⁴² Wirth, “Memo number 2”, Attachment no 1, p 1.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., Attachment no 1, p 2.

⁴⁴⁴ Dilsaver, *The Critical Documents*, Ch. 6; 42 U.S.C. 4321-4327.

to resources, including those in outdoor recreation. Secretary Udall had already recognized the advantage of providing an array of park types, from natural to historic to purely recreational. In 1968 those three classifications received additional attention from Park Service officials with separate and detailed administrative policies outlined for each group.⁴⁴⁵ National Recreation Areas, sites that were established as intensive use recreation areas where “outdoor recreation shall be recognized as the dominant or primary resource management purpose,” had grown in number and in popularity as American’s continued to look for recreation outlets.⁴⁴⁶ Most of the early recreation areas were situated in rural areas, often at the location of one of the many man-made reservoirs created in the mid-century dam-building phase.

One of the primary selection criteria for recreation areas, however, was their proximity to large population centers. A 250-mile distance from major cities was specifically enumerated in early policy guidelines.⁴⁴⁷ Most of the areas followed this prescription: Lake Mead and Las Vegas, Coulee Dam and Seattle, Arbuckle and Dallas, Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity and San Francisco, Delaware Water Gap and the urban Northeast. Yet visitors wishing to use these places almost always needed their own means of transportation to reach them. Urban dwellers, particularly those of limited means or without transportation of their own, were seemingly left out of the access equation to the nation’s national parks. After a series of recreation assessments by the Park Service and other groups, two entirely urban national recreation areas, Gateway in New York City

⁴⁴⁵ Frome, *Regreening the National Parks*; Dilsaver, *The Critical Documents*.

⁴⁴⁶ Dilsaver, *Critical Documents*, Ch. 5.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

and Golden Gate in San Francisco, were added to the park system in 1972.⁴⁴⁸ These areas introduced public outdoor recreation sites to millions of American citizens and added an entirely new perspective on the ideals of parks and preservation.

With approximately 290 sites in 1976, the Park Service had an annual visitation of over 267 million.⁴⁴⁹ Over 50 million visitors entered the nation's designated national parks in that year, an increase of 450 percent since the end of World War II, and the average number of visitors per national park was up over 300 percent, from 321,124 in 1946 to 1,338,792 in 1976.⁴⁵⁰ With the exception of wilderness parks such as Isle Royale, visitation to the 37 national parks was in the hundreds of thousands or more, at each site. Great Smoky Mountain National Park, which had solidified its standing as the most visited national park in the system, saw just below nine million visitors, while Rocky Mountain, Yellowstone, Yosemite, and the Grand Canyon, well-known symbols of the Park Service, all saw over two million visitors each. These numbers illustrate the increasing role of park sites in the national recreation landscape as well as the significance of developments such as Mission 66 on the status of parks in the public eye.

⁴⁴⁸ Dilsaver, *The Critical Documents*; L. Benton, "Nature, Culture, the City and the Park: the transformation of San Francisco's Presidio Army Post to National Park" dissertation in Geography (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1997).

⁴⁴⁹ NPS, *Public Use of the National Park System, Calendar Year Report 1976* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Interior, 1977), 1, NPS-S.

⁴⁵⁰ NPS, *Statistical Abstracts*.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES ALONG THE CRATER LAKE ROAD

CRATER LAKE AND ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT

During the Second World War, Crater Lake had effectively ceased operations. With a skeleton staff park management was forced to curtail most services. Summer visitation was limited to day use as the lodge and campgrounds had largely been reserved for military personnel. Winter access was entirely halted. As the nation emerged from war, however, Crater Lake's popularity grew to its highest levels to date. In 1941, the last full season before the war, the park had seen visitation reach an all-time high of 274,002. By 1947 when park operations had nominally returned to pre-war levels, visitation hit a new high of 378,000.⁴⁵¹ While the park was open for year-round use and the services expected by the public had been restored, park managers found that the dramatic increase in visitation put a substantial amount of pressure on park resources and infrastructure. Recognizing the need to address these problems Ernest Leavitt, Crater Lake's superintendent from 1937 to 1952, requested additional funds in budget requests for campground improvements and expansions, trail repair, and additional personnel. However, as was the case for park budgets across the park system, the requests were not matched in congressional appropriations.⁴⁵²

Without the necessary funding, park facilities fell further into disrepair. This status was compounded by the severe winter weather seen at Crater Lake.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*; Ise, *National Park Policy*.

Though vigorous campaigns were waged to ensure the park would return to year-round operation following the war, winter visitation did not dramatically increase. In fact, the post-war bump seen in 1947 remained the highest seasonal figure until the 1960 season (See Figure 50). The severity of the winter seasons in the southern Cascades had been a source of concern at the park for a number of seasons.

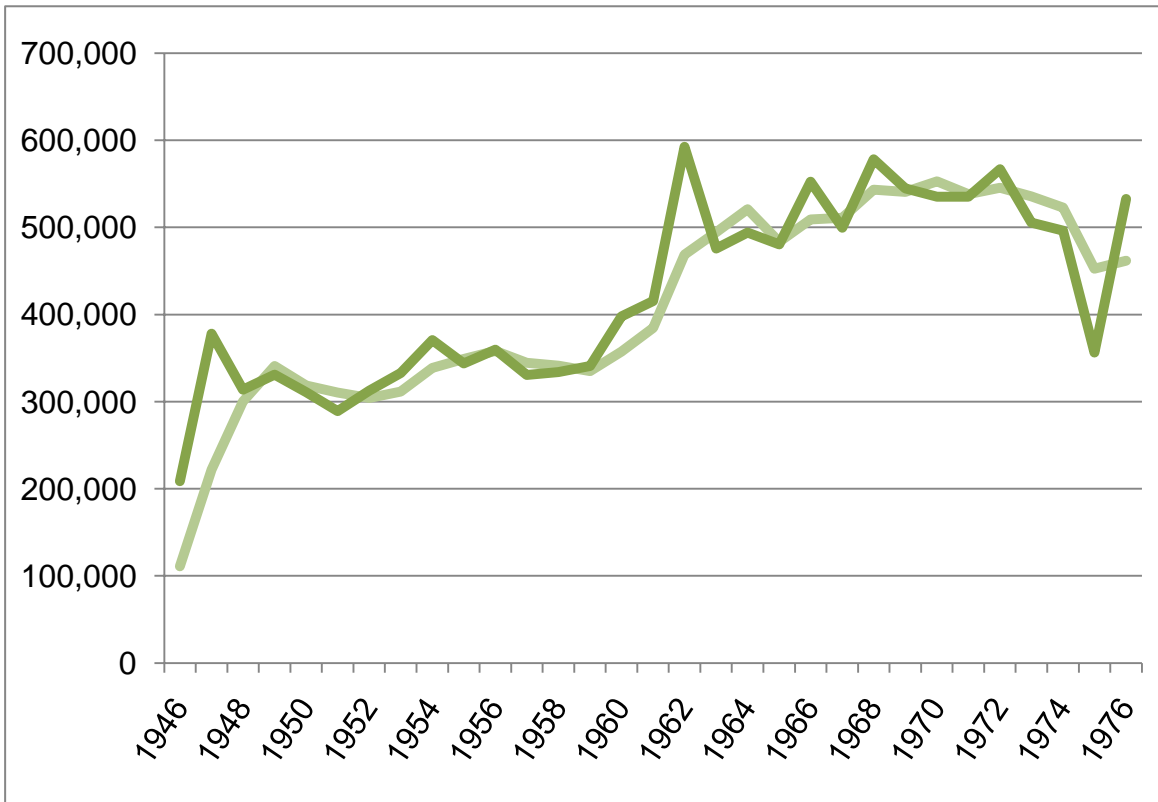


Figure 50 – Crater Lake National Park visitation, 1946-1976. The darker line represents actual seasonal visitation while the lighter displays the three-year rolling average trend-line. (Data collected from NPS-S)

Immediately following the war, a decision was made to move the park’s administrative facilities out of Munson Valley, located just below the rim on the access road from the Crater Lake Highway, to a more appropriate location closer

to one of the park's entrances.⁴⁵³ One of the principal reasons for making the move was to lessen the impact of snowfall on the buildings. Because the original facilities in Munson Valley had not been built for year-round occupation when they were constructed in the 1930s, some of the park's winter administration was operated out of an office in Medford.⁴⁵⁴ After a decade of debate, Superintendent Yeager concluded in 1961 that the primary alternative near the south entrance, with annual snowfall of close to five feet, was no better than the existing location and that park headquarters would remain in Munson Valley.⁴⁵⁵

The official establishment of a permanent park headquarters was only part of the internal development seen at Crater Lake during the 1950s and 1960s. As the Mission 66 program was rolled out throughout the Park Service, the emphasis began to focus on providing a worthwhile experience to the millions of visitors entering the nation's park sites. At Crater Lake the focus had always been on the lake itself, and the projects during Mission 66 accentuated that focus.

Of primary concern were the areas near the junction of the southern and western entrance roads at Annie Springs, at the park headquarters in Munson Valley, and at Rim Village along the southern edge of the caldera wall. These locations funneled visitors through the principal service areas and to the best views of the lake. The Rim Village area itself (Figure 51) had become a target of concern as visitation increased during the 1950s. In an effort to reduce the

⁴⁵³ Unrau and Mark, *Administrative History*.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*



Figure 51 – The western side of Rim Village, including the cafeteria and parking area, 1961. (From Harmon, *Crater Lake*, 151)

amount of automobile and pedestrian traffic at the rim, park officials decided to close the ‘Crater’ Campground, which had been in operation in Rim Village since the 1920s. In addition they elected to expand camping options at the Annie Springs location.⁴⁵⁶

Mission 66 projects in the park also helped improve the infrastructure needed for employee housing and park operations.⁴⁵⁷ However, not all projects had positive results. The installation of a sewer system in 1965 was designed to improve the existing septic tank and leach field. Unfortunately, the new sewer main was located next to Munson Spring, the source of the park’s potable water.⁴⁵⁸ A decade later, a clog in the sewer line from the lodge overflowed into Munson Springs causing contamination of the park’s drinking water and resulting

⁴⁵⁶ Green, *Historic Resource Study*, Section IX-F.

⁴⁵⁷ Unrau and Mark, Ch13. Of the federal funds used for Mission 66 at Crater Lake, over 25% went towards improving administrative and operations buildings.

⁴⁵⁸ Unrau and Mark, Ch13.

in illness for nearly 300 park employees and over 1000 park visitors.⁴⁵⁹ The park was closed for a three week period in the middle of the busy summer season as the cause of the failure was determined and an alternative source of fresh water was put in place. A congressional inquiry in the fall of 1975 found that Park Service officials, through negligence and inaction, had allowed a fixable problem to become a public relations disaster.⁴⁶⁰ The impact on the season's park attendance was significant with fewer than 357,000 visits, the lowest number since the 1959 season.

Outside of the park, the Upper Rogue Region of southern Oregon struggled with many of the same development-related issues. Prior to the war, Medford had solidified its position as the dominant market center for Jackson County, yet Klamath Falls, on the east side of the Cascades and at the opposite end of the Crater Lake Road, remained the largest city of the region. Both cities were served by highway and rail connections that facilitated commercial and industrial growth.

Until 1926, Medford maintained an advantage for rail traffic as the Siskiyou Route remained the only through connection between Portland and San Francisco. However, the same year the Natron Cutoff, a route through Klamath Falls and across the Cascades into Eugene and the southern Willamette Valley, was finally completed.⁴⁶¹ What became known as the Cascade Route shortened the trip by several dozen miles and over four hours. Medford's Siskiyou Line

⁴⁵⁹ Unrau and Mark, Ch10, Sec D.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Solomon, 38

continued to carry passenger trains for several decades but by the 1950s limited demand forced cancelation of the city's passenger service.⁴⁶²

Had rail maintained the transportation edge it held during the first two decades of the 20th Century, the focus of southern Oregon may well have shifted east of the Cascades to Klamath Falls. But even by the time the Cascade Route opened, rail was losing ground to automobile and truck traffic on the region's highways. Despite the location of Klamath Falls along The Dalles-California Highway, running from The City of The Dalles, Oregon, to Weed California, traffic on Medford's Pacific Highway continued to be greater.⁴⁶³ Construction of the West Coast's most significant north-south interstate route, I-5, which ran along the existing route of the existing Pacific Highway, also bolstered Medford's position in the region.

Of the forces driving the economy of Medford during this period, the timber industry was the most influential. With improved construction technology on highways and more powerful trucks, cut timber could be carried in closer proximity to major transportation hubs before being processed. Several timber mills were established close to the rail and highway corridor near Medford, including a large operation located at the site of the former Camp White.⁴⁶⁴ The new White City, which capitalized on the open land and existing rail and road connections to the base, became a major industrial site for central Jackson County.

⁴⁶² Solomon, 40. Southern Pacific, who controlled the Siskiyou Route, continued to operate freight service from Medford into the 1990s.

⁴⁶³ "Highway 99E Has Biggest Use", *Oregonian* (Nov 23, 1950), p 14.

⁴⁶⁴ Love, 4-13.

Improved accessibility in Medford and the surrounding parts of the Upper Rogue River Valley also brought a stream of new visitors, some passing through and others hoping to stay. As was the case in other regions of the western United States, many of those hoping to relocate to Jackson County were drawn by the natural amenities of the local environment.⁴⁶⁵ While Medford itself witnessed an increase in population, the growth of smaller communities in outlying areas of the county was even more dramatic.

One location that saw a large increase following the end of the war was Shady Cove. What had once been merely a convenient location for a ferry across the Rogue River became a booming community. As was the case for many other small settlements, part of Shady Cove's growth came out of the local timber industry. By the 1950s, mills that had been a part of the regional landscape since before the turn of the 20th Century had clustered along the main transportation routes in the southern part of the valley near Medford. Tracts of timberland, however, remained situated in the forested regions near Prospect. Shady Cove sat nearly at the half-way point between the two making the location of the town ideal for some timber company employees.⁴⁶⁶

Soon, additional services arrived in Shady Cove. Gas stations, restaurants, and shops filled lots along the Crater Lake Highway to serve passing

⁴⁶⁵ A number of studies have examined the impacts amenity seekers have had on communities throughout the United States. See P. B. Nelson, "Rural restructuring in the American West: land use, family and class discourses", *Journal of Rural Studies* 17 (2001): 395-407; K. Kwang-Koo, D. Marcouiller, and S. Deller, "Natural Amenities and Rural Development: Understanding Spatial and Distributional Attributes", *Growth and Change* 36, no. 2 (2005): 273-297; H. K. Cordell and M. Tarrant, "Changing Demographics, Values, and Attitudes", *Journal of Forestry* 100, no. 7 (2002): 28-33.

⁴⁶⁶ M. O'Harra, "Shady Cove Incorporates To Stay Ahead of Those Who Would Exploit Area", *MMT* (Nov 26, 1972), p 1, SOHS.

travelers and the new locals. With the added influx of amenity-seeking retirees, Shady Cove of the early 1970s was several times larger than it was in the mid-1940s. In an effort to control the growth of the now popular destination, community leaders organized a vote for official incorporation in May 1972.⁴⁶⁷ With a designated city council, residents hoped to retain the character of the riverside community that had served as a gateway to the Upper Rogue River for nearly a century.⁴⁶⁸

The river itself was an additional focal point for development during this period. The Upper Rogue River had always been a rugged and tempestuous waterway. While lower sections of the river were used for navigation and log driving during the early days of regional settlement, the challenging rapids and steep elevation change between the Union Creek region and the valley north of Medford made similar uses of the Upper Rogue difficult if not impossible.⁴⁶⁹ The proliferation of recreational sites that utilized the river's sporting amenities accelerated during a post-war rise in outdoor recreation, yet periodic flooding created a barrier to long-term development.

Following a series of major flood events in the 1950s and 1960s, the Army Corps of Engineers began to revisit proposals dating from the 1930s to control the Upper Rogue watershed through a series of dams.⁴⁷⁰ Located a mile above the town of McLeod, the Lost Creek Dam (Figure 52) would be the centerpiece of

⁴⁶⁷ "Shady Cove History", *Program – Shady Cove Water Festival* (Aug 25, 1973), SOHS.

⁴⁶⁸ O'Harra, "Shady Cove".

⁴⁶⁹ I. B. Daniel, "Historical and Current Use of the Middle and Upper Rogue River, Oregon: A Title Navigation Study", thesis (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2006), SODA.

⁴⁷⁰ B. Jones, W. Oakley, and H. Stearns, *Water-Power Resources of the Rogue River Drainage Basin, Oregon* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), SOHS; "Reexamining Lost Creek", *MMT* (May 3, 1972), p 4A, SOHS.

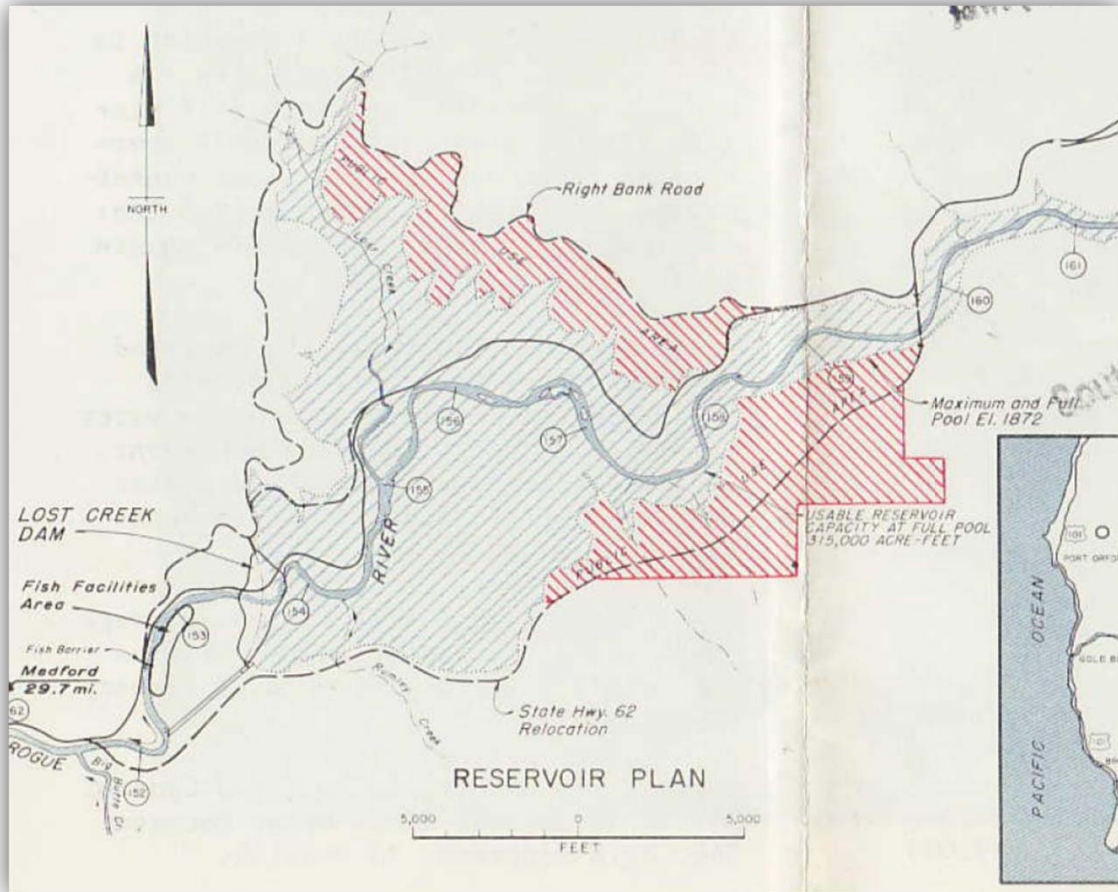


Figure 52 – Map of the planned Lost Creek Dam and Reservoir. The original Crater Lake Highway is noted by the black line to the north of the Rogue River while the proposed new route follows the dashed line to the south of the project (From U.S. Army Corps of Engineers informational pamphlet, “Lost Creek Reservoir Project”, 1971, SOHS).

the project. The largest of three reservoirs in the Rogue Basin plan and the only one situated on the main channel, the Lost Creek project would create a 315,000 acre-foot capacity lake stretching from the dam to beyond Cascade Gorge.⁴⁷¹

Some residents worried about the impact a dam would have on the natural flow of the river and organized a local interest group, the Citizens League

⁴⁷¹ “Lost Creek Reservoir, Oregon” *Brochure* (Portland: Army Corps of Engineers, 1970), SOHS.

for Emergency Action on the Rogue (CLEAR).⁴⁷² Not only were environmental concerns an issue, the livelihood of residents in McLeod and neighboring Laurelhurst, which would be submerged by the new reservoir, were also at stake. The devastating effects of the Rogue floods, particularly a 1964 event which destroyed the existing bridge at Shady Cove, were enough to sway the majority of Upper Rogue residents to favor the project.⁴⁷³

The project took nearly a decade to complete and involved much more than the construction of a dam and the impounding of the Rogue River. One of the first considerations was the Crater Lake Highway itself. The existing route followed the river and would be submerged by the new lake. A new route was selected that crossed the Rogue below the new dam and traversed the hills to the south of the river valley, following the southern shore of the reservoir. The route crossed the river again and joined the original road just below Cascade Gorge. As an added benefit, the new alignment would eliminate the old 'Pumice Grade', a section that had long been the most difficult portion of the highway. To support the sport fishing industry of the river, a new fish hatchery was constructed just down-stream of the dam site and additional public use areas were designated along the banks of the new reservoir.

DISCOURSES IN A LOCAL CONTEXT

The status of each theme at the national level is reflected in the changes seen within the four discourses in the Upper Rogue Region of Jackson County.

⁴⁷² "Lost Creek Dam Project Begins", *MMT* (Jul 28, 1972), 44, SOHS.

⁴⁷³ "Reexamining Lost Creek", *MMT*.

While the impact of each discourse theme is different than in previous periods, each of the four continues to play a role in the formation of cultural landscapes along the Crater Lake Highway. To assess how that influence has changed, an overview of the representations of the four discourse themes in local news coverage is required.

When the four discourses are considered in the context of the Crater Lake Highway during this period, there are a number of significant changes. While the interstate highway program began during this period and efforts to improve and modernize the road network continued, the road and automobile discourse saw a dramatic decline in coverage within state and local news coverage, as shown in Table 4. Of the 281 articles reviewed for the period, 82 (29.2 %) represented some aspect of the auto and roads theme. There were still a number of reports that focused on new construction as well as items that discussed future plans for highways, but the public focus appeared to shift away from this discourse.

Discourse	Articles	
	Number	Percent of Total
Auto/Roads	82	29.18
Boosters	38	13.52
Outdoor Recreation	95	33.81
Federal Land Mgmt	66	23.49

Table 4 – Reviewed article distribution by discourse theme, 1947-1976.

Following the trend that can be observed between the first two periods, the booster discourse also saw a drop in coverage within Oregon news sources.

Out of the total period article count, only 38 (13.5%) documented some aspect of local or regional booster involvement in the recreational landscape. It would seem from the public display of the theme that the efforts of institutions and agencies at state and national levels had more influence than the groups local to southern Oregon. In addition, the federal funding mechanisms in place for road construction and infrastructure development helped minimize the apparent need for large-scale involvement in activism or promotion of the kind seen in earlier decades.

While both the road and automobile discourse and booster discourse saw declines in coverage from the previous period, the other two discourses saw solid increases. Articles covering some aspect of outdoor recreation numbered 95 (33.8%), leading the four discourses and showing a marked increase from the previous period. The national trend for increased outdoor recreation by the American public, along with numerous public reviews and studies investigating multiple facets of recreation added to this increase. This increased representation manifested itself through travel stories, vacation planning advice, and the review of new trends in outdoor recreation.

An increase in public representation of federal land management practices can also be seen through national trends. With 66 of the 281 articles (23.5%), the federal land discourse saw an increase of 10.3 percent from the previous period. National projects such as Mission 66 as well as public debate over the concept and designation of wilderness, particularly within a state such as Oregon, contributed to this increase.

Automobile & Road Building Industries

The status of motor vehicles in American society was well established by the end of the Second World War. A motorist arriving in Medford in the late 1940s or early 1950s would have found most of the standard conveniences expected along a major travel route in the United States. With the Pacific Highway passing through town, Medford could rely on a steady flow of revenue at the businesses that catered to these motorists.

In the years immediately following the war, local concern continued to focus on the status of the roads themselves. As it had been in previous decades, that concern was two-fold. The status of existing pavement was constantly called into question. With an increased volume of traffic the road surfaces themselves were under more pressure and stress, causing accelerated wear along some of the older segments. Pressure was applied at the state level which forced the legislature in Salem to act. Increases in the state's gasoline tax at several times in the 1950s and 1960s were intended to provide additional revenue for road construction and maintenance.⁴⁷⁴ State and local papers were quick to tout the benefits of higher gasoline taxes and the role they could play in improving Oregon's highways.⁴⁷⁵

One of the biggest threats to roads, particularly routes such as the Crater Lake Highway that passed through mountainous regions, were large logging trucks. The weight of the logs and the style of tire used by some heavier vehicles were beyond the capacity of many state-built roads. In an attempt to establish a

⁴⁷⁴ "State Seeking Added Taxes", *Oregonian* (Jul 12, 1950), p 10; Governor's Committee for a Livable Oregon, "Report of the Tourism and Recreation Committee" (Oct 1968), 3, ODOT.

⁴⁷⁵ "All Have Gas Tax", *Oregonian* (Jul 16, 1950), p 26.

regional standard, Oregon and surrounding states passed laws specifying identical limits on size and weight for timber hauling trucks.⁴⁷⁶

A concern for the recreational automobile user was the compatibility of existing roads with contemporary vehicles. The Crater Lake Highway had originally been laid out as a wagon road across the Cascades. For most of its length the highway followed nearly the same route as when it was first used by wagons. While all segments of the road had been widened and surfaced by the 1950s, there were many portions that did not suit the faster and more powerful automobiles of the post-war era.

A few places became targets for improvement and ease of travel and as was the case in many highway realignments throughout the nation. At the turn of the 20th Century, a traveler making the trip from Medford to Crater Lake would welcome intermediary stops as they provided necessary services and a needed respite from the journey. The hotels and restaurants in Trail and Prospect that attracted visitors during the 1910s and 1920s were examples of these stops. But a traveler making the same trip mid-century would likely view those stops as unnecessary since a journey that once took three days could now be completed in under three hours.

With the necessity of intermediate stopping points all but eliminated for many travelers, the state Highway Commission decided to change the alignment of the Crater Lake Road at Trail and Prospect.⁴⁷⁷ Where the highway once passed through the center of each community, it now bypassed them in favor of

⁴⁷⁶ "Uniformity in Trucks", *Oregonian* (Nov 14, 1950), p 14.

⁴⁷⁷ "Highway 62 Work Asked", *Oregonian* (Mar 12, 1960), p 2; *Weiss, Prospect*, 44; Carlton, "Trail, Oregon, from the Beginning".

a more direct route through the area. At Trail, less than a mile of the original route is bypassed, while near Prospect the new route eliminates several miles of the old, winding road along the edge of the Rogue River canyon.

Part of the necessity for improving the travel speed along the Rogue River Route came from the standards being set with the Interstate Highway System. The Pacific Highway had long served as the primary travel artery for Medford and southern Oregon. As was noted earlier, the plan for Interstate 5, which was to run the entire length of the West Coast, followed much of the existing Pacific Highway.⁴⁷⁸

In Medford, the Pacific Highway served as a principal urban thoroughfare and as such could not be easily eliminated by the new interstate. Proposed routes through the city called for either an elevated highway close to downtown or a bypass east of town. Local debate over the placement of the new interstate was fierce, particularly amongst residents and business owners who would be directly affected by each alternative route.⁴⁷⁹ The elevated highway, which ran parallel to the existing Pacific Highway through downtown Medford was selected as the best route in the early 1960s.⁴⁸⁰ With a new alignment for traffic passing through the city came the need for a new interchange with the Crater Lake Highway. The original route went east from downtown through several residential neighborhoods before turning north towards Eagle Point and the

⁴⁷⁸ Oregon Department of Transportation, *Interstate 50th Anniversary: The Story of Oregon's Interstates* (Salem: Oregon Department of Transportation, 2006), 5, ODOT.

⁴⁷⁹ K Atwood and M. O'Harra, *Medford: 1885-1985* (Medford: Medford Centennial Committee, 1985), 89, SOUL.

⁴⁸⁰ "Medford Sees Freeway Finish in 1963" *Oregonian* (Jul 31, 1960), p 31. At the time, the State Highway Commission reported that with price tag of \$3.03 million, a section of the Pacific Freeway project north of Medford was the largest single road contract ever let by the state. See "Medford Firm Submits Record Breaking Bid", *Oregonian* (Nov 2, 1960), p 11.

Rogue River. Creating an interchange where the new highway crossed this route was not a valid possibility as existing structures in the downtown limited the area available for entrance and exit ramps. Instead, an interchange shown in Figure 53 was placed just north of downtown and the Crater Lake Highway was rerouted to meet the new interstate at this location.⁴⁸¹ This moved the bulk of the tourist traffic to Crater Lake out of downtown Medford and to a new commercial corridor between the city and the industrial developments near White City.



Figure 53 – Crater Lake Interchange with Interstate 5, 1966. Interstate 5 crosses the photograph from left to right; the Crater Lake Highway crosses I-5 and curves towards downtown Medford at the top of the picture. The image is oriented to the southwest (from Atwood and O’Harra, *Medford 1885-1985*, 105).

The realignment of existing routes or construction of new roads outside of Crater Lake had the potential to impact roads within the park itself. As was seen in the previous period, the extension of roads to the Diamond Lake region north of the park encouraged Park Service engineers to open an entrance on the north

⁴⁸¹ “Medford Sees Freeway Finish in 1963” *Oregonian*.

side of Crater Lake. Feeding visitors directly onto the Rim Road, this entrance saw a limited number of travelers since that loop was only opened once snow had cleared in the late spring.

The East Entrance road, which joined the Rim Road after passing through the Pinnacles District in the southeast portion of the park, saw even less use than the road to the north. Originally built as the most direct route to the rail depot in the town of Kirk, the East Entrance never gained popularity as a major access point to the lake. The completion of the Natron Cutoff in the 1920s eliminated the rail supply point at Kirk and reduced the need for the East Entrance, yet it remained an active park gateway.⁴⁸² There were still some summer visitors who utilized the route with The Dalles-California Highway (numbered as US Highway 97) passing only a few miles east of the park border.

In the 1940s, demands for a more modern highway east of the Cascades resulted in the realignment of US-97 east of the park. In 1949, the existing route through the Wood River Valley and over Sun Mountain was eliminated in favor of a more direct route from the Sprague River to Diamond Lake Junction (see Figure 54). As a result, use of the east entrance dropped dramatically. Within seven years fewer than four percent of all park visitors entered through the East Entrance and the Park Service made the decision to close the entrance permanently.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸² See pages 218-19 for a description of the Natron Cutoff.

⁴⁸³ *Historic Rim Drive* (Washington, D.C.: Historic American Engineering Record, 2003), Introduction, NPS-H.

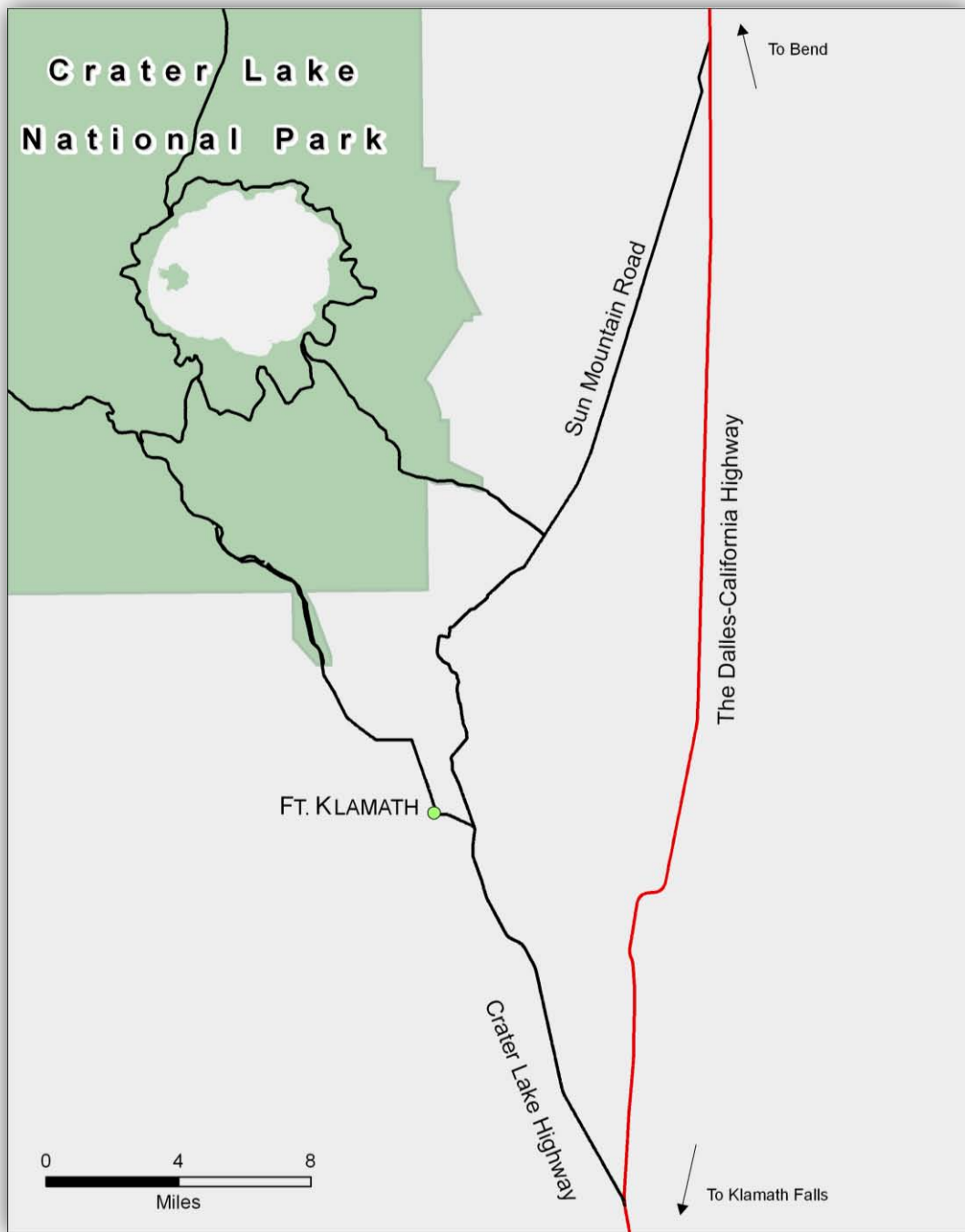


Figure 54 – Road configuration east of Crater Lake National Park. The new route turned north at Chiloquin and met the old highway east of the park.

Though the eastern entrance was no longer in use, Crater Lake continued to see an overall increase in visitation during the 1950s and 1960s. Within the park, the bulk of Mission 66 funding went to improving roads and trails.⁴⁸⁴ Among the projects implemented in the park were those geared towards improving traffic flow on Rim Drive. In an effort to make the park's principal attraction available to as many travelers as possible the sharpest curves and narrowest sections were given the most attention.⁴⁸⁵ Expanding existing turnouts and adding additional stopping points also helped improve the traffic flow within the park.

In 1971, following proposals from other units within the Park System, managers at Crater Lake made the decision to restrict Rim Road traffic to one-way traffic. With the exception of the three miles from Park Headquarters to Rim Village, which were the only portions of the road open year-round, the Rim Drive would be resigned as a clock-wise loop. By implementing the one-way traffic pattern, park officials hoped to reduce congestion as well as ensure safe passage for the oversized motor homes that were becoming a more significant portion of vehicles in the park.⁴⁸⁶

Regional & Local Boosters

As was the case in past time periods, the role of boosters was to promote the local area to outside parties. Some of that promotion had historically been geared towards people who were looking to relocate. Medford civic

⁴⁸⁴ Unrau and Mark, Ch 13.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ E. Hamilton, "One-Way Travel Pattern At Crater Lake Rim Permanent", *MMT* (Aug 25, 1971), p 10C, SOHS.

organizations had long touted the climate, employment potential, and outdoor amenities as principal reasons for a move to Jackson County. Population trends for the region during this period indicate that those efforts were fruitful. In 1940, Medford ranked as the fifth largest city in the state with 11,281 residents. Ashland, which had been the largest community in Jackson County at the turn of the century, was eighteenth with 4,744.⁴⁸⁷

By 1950, Medford had grown to 17,176 making it the fourth largest city in the state and the largest community in southern Oregon. In comparison Klamath Falls fell from fourth to sixth position making it the only one of the twenty largest cities in Oregon to lose population.⁴⁸⁸ As a whole, Jackson County increased in population from 36,213 to 57,831 through the 1940s.⁴⁸⁹ That trend continued through the rest of the period with gains of 15,000 to 20,000 for the county in each decade.

Many new arrivals came for employment in the area's fruit packing industry. Medford and the surrounding fruit and orchard region had gained a reputation as a premier location in the United States for specialty packaged fruits. With its growing importance to the county's economy, a number of local groups promoted the interests of Medford's agricultural community while also touting the successes of related enterprises.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ George Cram Company, "Towns of 2500 and Over", *Cram Map of Oregon* (1945), SOUL.

⁴⁸⁸ "State Gains Population of 500,000", *Oregonian* (Jul 2, 1950), p 1.

⁴⁸⁹ "State Population Put at 1,510,148", *Oregonian* (Jul 4, 1950), p 1.

⁴⁹⁰ L. G. Richards, "Rainmakers to Continue in Rogue Valley: Fliers' Experiments Declared Inconclusive", *Oregonian* (Jul 2, 1950), p 5; W. Morrison, "Rogue Valley Research by Oregon State College Sees Hail as Suseptible of Control", *Oregonian* (Mar 18, 1960), p 7.

With the rise in tourism and recreational travel following the War, local boosters focused more attention on regional amenities. As was noted earlier, natural recreation resources such as the Rogue River and the surrounding Cascade Mountains were attractive to many new residents who found communities like Shady Cove and Prospect ideal places to experience a relaxing lifestyle.⁴⁹¹ While Medford continued to be the active market center for the county, smaller communities became aware of the draw of their locations and were quick to form organizations to help promote their potential. To assist in promoting their communities business owners from Crater Lake Highway communities joined together in 1956 to form the Rogue Wonderland Association. Their goal was to capitalize on the growing popularity of the Upper Rogue Valley as a recreation center.⁴⁹² Members included proprietors of hotels, riverside resorts, tourist attractions, and retail stores from Shady Cove to Prospect.

Groups like the Rogue Wonderland Association and local Chambers of Commerce were instrumental in attracting visitors to the Rogue River Route in Jackson County. As was the case in previous decades, Crater Lake continued to serve as a central focus for many travel promotions including local literature that touted the pleasures of accessing Oregon's only national park. Well-aware that some visitors would enter the park via the South Entrance (Klamath County) or the North Entrance (Douglas County), Jackson County-based organizations

⁴⁹¹ D. Stanley, "Frontier Theme Seen as Boost to Shady Cove", *MMT* (Mar 3, 1980); Weiss, *Prospect*, 45.

⁴⁹² Weiss, *Laurelhurst*, 81.

placed billboards on The Dalles-California Highway encouraging Crater Lake visitors to utilize the Rogue River Route as they exited the park (Figure 55).⁴⁹³

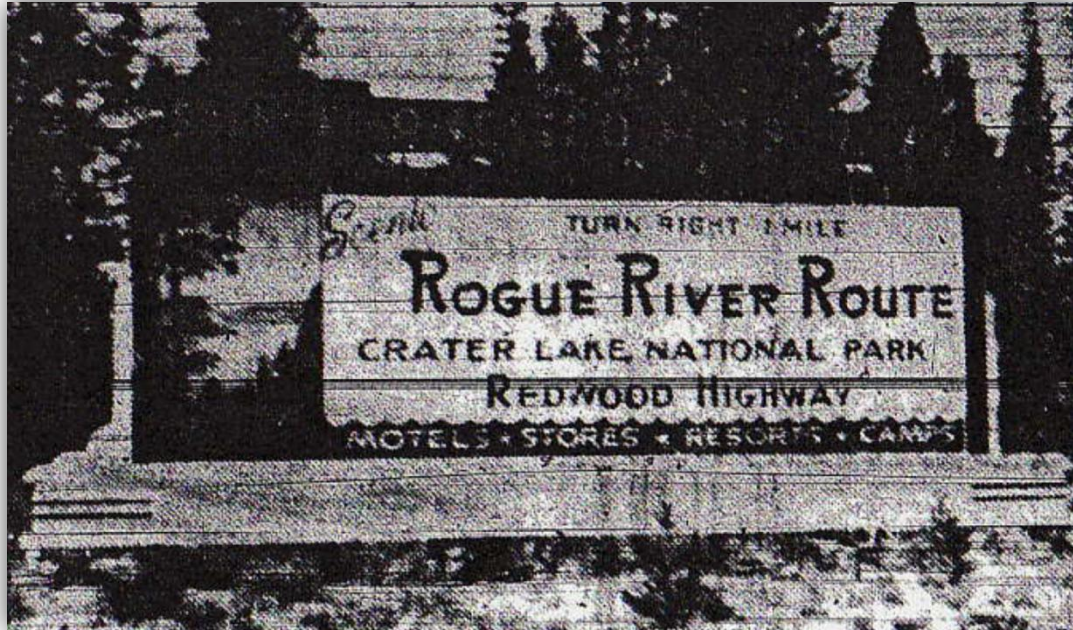


Figure 55 – Billboard on The Dalles-California Highway, 1950. The sign was erected by the Trail Upper Rogue Association who hoped to direct traffic on The Dalles-California Highway through Crater Lake to the Rogue River Route. (see note 493)

With increasing recreation travel throughout the region and state, an array of state-level organizations also became more active in the promotion of tourist sites along the Crater Lake Highway and across Oregon. The Oregon State Highway Department had a long history of promoting better roads and expanded travel options for motorists in Oregon. As was noted in Chapter Three, with the construction of the Columbia Highway, Oregon’s development of scenic highways was well ahead of most of the nation during the early 20th Century. Oregon continued to be the vanguard, being the first state to pass a gasoline tax

⁴⁹³ “Billboard Lures Tourists”, *MMT* (Mar 5, 1950), p 11, SOHS.

to generate highway revenue. By 1935, officials recognized the potential for recreational travel as an economic boost for the state and organized the Travel Information Bureau within the Highway Commission.⁴⁹⁴

The impacts of state-wide promotional efforts were pronounced. Estimates put 1936 tourism income during the first full year of the Information Bureau at \$35 million. Immediately following World War II, that figure increased to \$105 million and by the late 1960s it was over \$250 million.⁴⁹⁵ Part of that income can be attributed to nationwide marketing campaigns established by the Bureau. Oregon travel advertisements like the one seen in Figure 56 ran in a variety of national publications.⁴⁹⁶ Bureau officials sent packets of information to newspapers throughout the west, hoping to encourage articles and stories about the amenities the state offered travelers.⁴⁹⁷

The Bureau's efforts bolstered promotions by local organizations like the Rogue Wonderland Association. Officials with the state recognized that local promotions were often the most successful because local groups had a more direct understanding of their particular needs and the expectations of visitors.⁴⁹⁸ While state agencies were instrumental in generating a suitable economic

⁴⁹⁴ Governor's Committee for a Livable Oregon, 3.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁹⁶ Travel Information Department, "1952 Proposed Media Budget and Schedule" from *Director's Report* (Salem: Oregon State Highway Commission, 1951), ODOT.

⁴⁹⁷ R. H. Baldock, "Letter to Oregon State Highway Commission" (Aug 24, 1953), from Tourism and State Park Files, ODOT. Baldock, the Oregon State Highway Engineer, sent this letter to the Highway Commission praising the work of the Travel Information Bureau. Included with the letter was an example of the articles the Bureau encouraged: R. Hewitt, "Goin' Places", *Los Angeles Daily News* (Aug, 1953).

⁴⁹⁸ EBS Management Consulting, "Preliminary Study of the Promotion of Tourism in Oregon", prepared for the Oregon State Highway Commission (July 1964), 40, ODOT.



A 35-mile scenic drive takes you around the rim of an extinct volcano holding Oregon's deep-blue Crater Lake. This popular vacation-time destination is in mile-high Crater Lake National Park.

You'll Remember Oregon!

Lake Abert, a play-time beauty spot on the high plateau of South-Central Oregon, is bordered by massive Abert rim which towers 2,000 feet in height.



FOR YOUR VACATION in Oregon, nature has provided a variety of spectacular and historic settings in which you may explore, play or rest. These playlands for all the family range from 400 miles of Pacific Ocean coastline to the snowy crowns of great mountain chains. In Oregon you may go camping in forests of towering evergreens and, by contrast, ride the sagebrush trails of open plateaus. Deep and colorful gorges...sparkling streams and lakes...tumbling waterfalls...ages-old lava beds — all these and more you may see and enjoy when you travel Oregon's vacation highways. Send coupon *now* for *free* illustrated folder.

SEE ALL OF
Oregon
BY TRAVELING
SCENIC HIGHWAYS



Travel Information Dept., Room 11
State Highway Commission, Salem, Oregon

Please send free booklet to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone _____
State _____

Ad No. OS-1-51
National Geographic, March 1951
No. 11 — Circulation 1,930,225
Prepared by
Mac Wilkins, Cole & Weber (2130)

Figure 56 – National Geographic Magazine advertisement, March 1951. The ad was submitted for publication by the Travel Information Bureau (from ODOT).

climate for tourism, local boosters in communities along the Crater Lake Highway remained essential to the development of the regional recreation landscape.

Outdoor Recreation

In many regards, it was not a difficult proposition for local or state organizations to encourage people to travel for recreation following the end of the Second World War. Economic prosperity, increased mobility, and a greater level of consumer access to recreation resources resulted in a dramatic rise in public involvement in outdoor recreation during the middle of the century.⁴⁹⁹ As was noted earlier, studies such as the ORRRC Report in 1962 highlighted the necessity of increased recreational opportunities across the nation. One of the principal areas targeted were those that involved water-based recreation. Therefore a number of national seashore and national lakeshore sites were established.⁵⁰⁰ Within Oregon, some hoped to gain park designation for a section of the state's Pacific coastline known as the Oregon Dunes.⁵⁰¹ Because of the concerns from local landowners about tax revenues, property values, and continued access to local beaches, the Park Service was never able to add the area to its list of units. However, in 1972 a section of the central Oregon coast was designated as a National Recreation Area under Forest Service management.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹ Sutter discusses this many of these components in *Driven Wild* and notes that many of the themes came from before the war, in the 1930s.

⁵⁰⁰ Mackintosh, *Shaping the System*. Between the early 1960s and early 1970s, eight National Seashores and four National Lakeshores were established within the Park Service.

⁵⁰¹ "Poll Shows Support for New Coast Park", *Oregonian* (Mar 11, 1960), p 17; "Park Honor Bill Readied", *Oregonian* (Mar 15, 1960), p 6.

⁵⁰² "After thirteen years, The Oregon Dunes National Recreation Area", *Eugene Register Guard* (May 18, 1972), 5A, GB.

Regardless of the controlling agency, the expansion of recreation opportunities played a significant role in driving tourism planning in Oregon throughout this period. Housed within the State Highway Department, the Oregon State Park System received a considerable amount of attention.⁵⁰³ Following the example of the national-level planning early in the 1960s, the Parks and Recreation Division commenced with a state-wide survey of outdoor recreation needs to address the future of Oregon's parks.⁵⁰⁴ Along the Rogue River Route, the study noted that potential existed for an increased number of state-run recreation facilities. These included a proposed new state park along the Rogue River as well as a roadside nature trail leading to overlooks of Mill Creek Falls south of Prospect (Figure 57).⁵⁰⁵

As the report pointed out, outdoor recreation sites required a diverse number of activities to serve the expanding number of people participating in outdoor recreation. Local and state media helped to popularize some of these activities with regular media reports on potential destinations or tips for safe and exciting vacation travel.⁵⁰⁶ Similar to travelogues of previous eras, these reports would highlight significant sites and note recommended routes for persons planning a journey. Some business owners along the Crater Lake Highway went

⁵⁰³ C. V. Stanton, "Money For Parks", *Roseburg News-Review* (Feb 28, 1956), SOHS.

⁵⁰⁴ Oregon Parks and Recreation Division, "Oregon Outdoor Recreation: A Study of Non-Urban Parks and Recreation", report for the Oregon State Highway Department (Jun 1962).

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁰⁶ State and local papers typically had weekly series to showcase travel and tourism items. The *Sunday Oregonian Magazine*, a weekend insert of *The Oregonian*, contained frequent motorlog entries from its writers. Examples from July 1950 include: D. Drake, "Dams, Atoms Offer Study in Contrast", *Sunday Oregonian* (Jul 2, 1950), 4-5; E. M. Miller, "Seeing America in a New Car (Quick Like)", *Sunday Oregonian* (Jul 16, 1950), 8-9; J. Johnson, "Grand Tour of Western National Parks", *Sunday Oregonian* (Jul 23, 1950), 8-9; and J. Johnson, "Completing the Circuit of National Parks", *Sunday Oregonian* (Jul 30, 1950), 8-9.

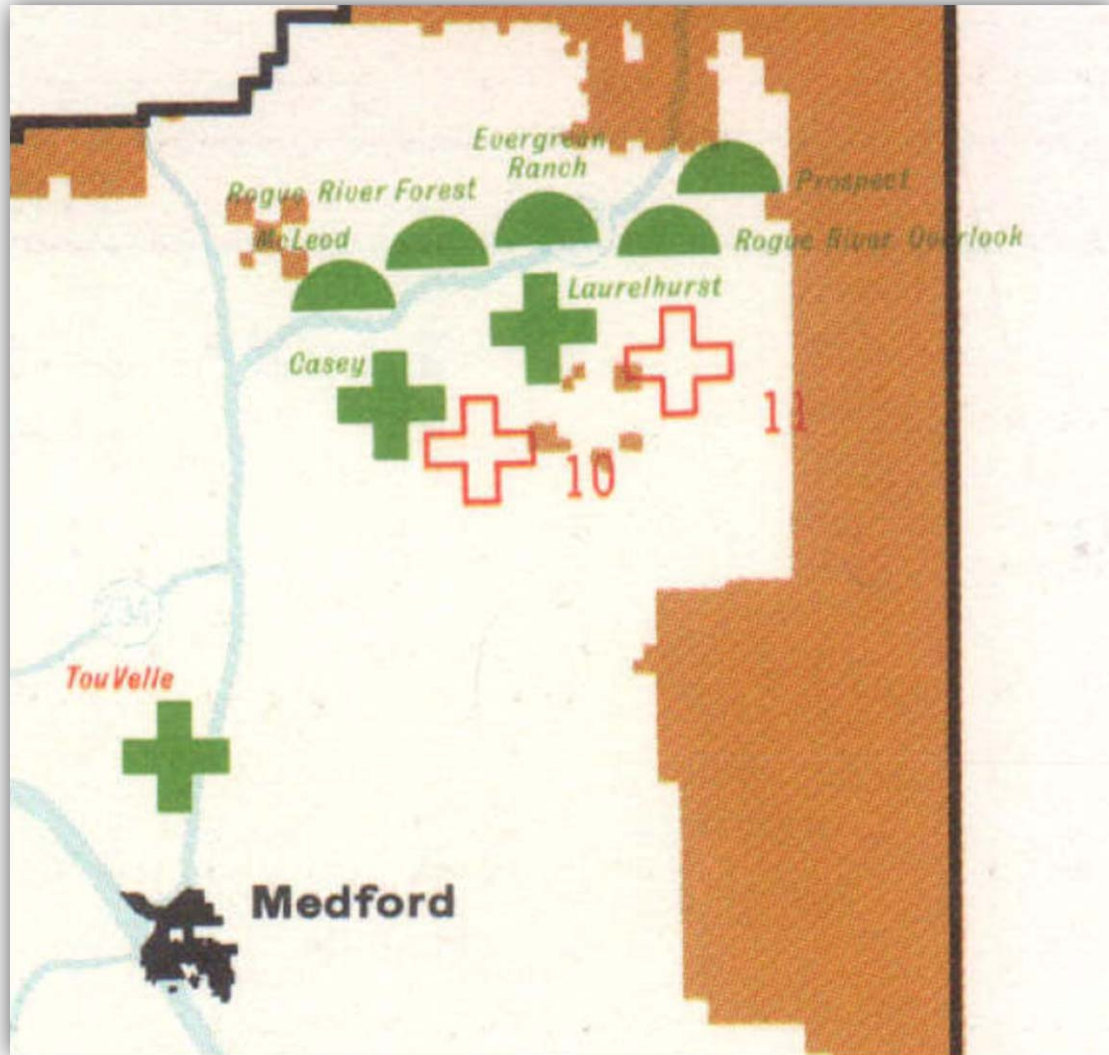


Figure 57 – Existing and potential park sites on the Upper Rogue, 1960s. This portion of a Jackson County map from Oregon Outdoor Recreation study of 1962 shows existing parks and waysides in green and potential new sites in red (from SODA, see note 504).

to great lengths to gain recognition in the hope of earning a mention in a published 'must see' itinerary. With fishing, boating, and camping options common throughout the Upper Rogue Region, attractions with a unique appeal often had the most impact. An offbeat attraction could do just as well, as the

owners of Uncanny Canyon (Figure 58) near Laurelhurst proved.⁵⁰⁷ One of many ‘mystery spot’ locations throughout the country, a roadside curiosity like Uncanny Canyon was often seen as quirky and kitsch yet it made travel on the Rogue River Route memorable for many people.⁵⁰⁸

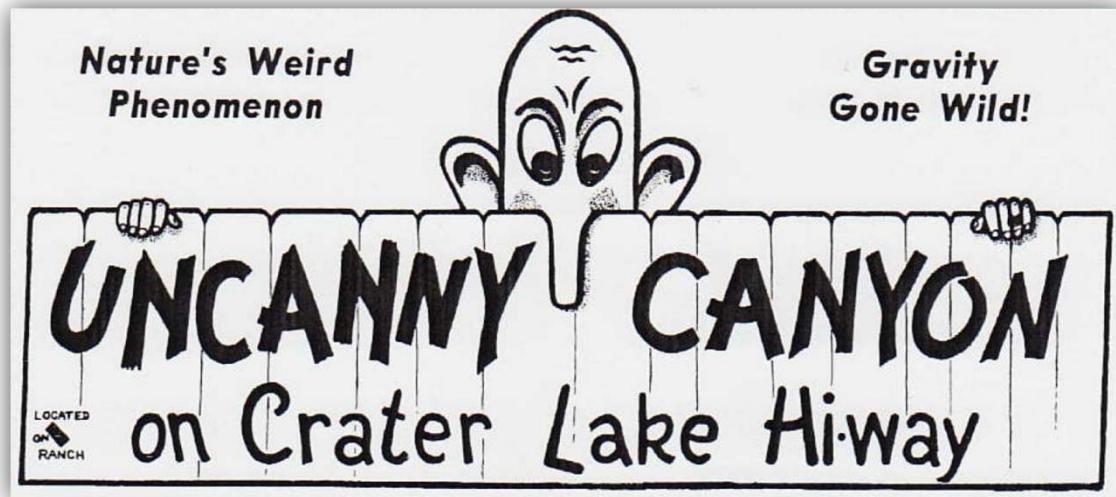


Figure 58 - Uncanny Canyon logo, included in 1963 brochure. (from SOHS)

Not all people were happy with developments associated with increased outdoor recreation. Some of the concern was focused on the tourists themselves. Property owners, particularly those with agricultural or timber interests, were acutely aware of the increased potential for fires spread by careless campers and motorists.⁵⁰⁹ In other cases, business owners, particularly those with lodging establishments, were concerned about the perceived competition between privately run motels and trailer courts and publicly run

⁵⁰⁷ Weiss, *Laurelhurst*, 81; “Uncanny Canyon”, brochure (1963), SOHS.

⁵⁰⁸ Uncanny Canyon was not the only ‘mystery spot’ in southern Oregon. The Oregon Vortex House of Mystery near Gold Hill had been in operation on the Pacific Highway since the 1930s. After Crater Lake Highway site opened, the owners of the House of Mystery sued Uncanny Canyon’s owner for unfair competition and business imitation. See “What’s in a Name?”, *Holland (MI) Evening Sentinel* (Apr 30, 1953), p 8, SOHS. The construction of Lost Creek Dam eventually closed the attraction, as the property would be submerged by the new reservoir.

⁵⁰⁹ “John Day River Ranchers See Hazard in Recreation”, *Oregonian* (Mar 4, 1960), p 3.

campgrounds. The owners of commercial lodging facilities claimed that cheaper park campgrounds presented an unfair market advantage and pushed the state to reduce the number of public campsites to help balance the economic equation.⁵¹⁰ In the late 1950s an economic impact study was conducted revealing that while campgrounds did give recreationists a less expensive option, there were inherent differences in travelers seeking a camp experience and those seeking a motel or trailer court.⁵¹¹ For the respondents in the study, a full park campground would only encourage them to drive on to find another camping option instead of encouraging them to stay at a local motel.⁵¹²

The expectation of cheap and available camping options within government-operated parks had become commonplace across the nation. This idea was challenged during this period and had a direct impact on Crater Lake. As was noted previously, Mission 66 projects within the park included the consolidation of park camp facilities at fewer locations away from the high-traffic area at the rim. In 1967, the Park Service began studying the feasibility of turning the primary campgrounds in the park over to the park's only concession.⁵¹³ As all park camping to that point had been a free service, reaction from many in the local community was fierce. Nearly 40 Crater Lake seasonal employees urged the Park Service to keep the concessionaire out of the campgrounds.⁵¹⁴ The pleas were not enough as the following year Crater

⁵¹⁰ Armstrong, *History of the Oregon State Parks*, 45.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 46-47.

⁵¹³ Unrau and Mark, Ch 16.

⁵¹⁴ Crater Lake Seasonal Employees, "Letter to Senator Wayne Morse" (Aug 22, 1967), CLNP.

Lake joined Everglades National Park as one of first parks to experiment with concessioner-operated campgrounds.⁵¹⁵

Federal Land Management Policy

The increased pressure on public resources during this period brought the management of federal lands into a prominent position within local discussions and dialogue. Because the timber industry remained the principal economic force within Oregon and within Jackson County, anything that affected the livelihood of local lumber mills or their employees was quick to draw a headline. In the early 1950s, a series of mining claims on national forest land west of Crater Lake near the Rogue River Route sparked concern.⁵¹⁶ Though existing laws limited the size of individual claims, there was no limit on the number of claims a person or corporation could file. This led many to believe that the claims were in fact a surreptitious timber grab. In a response to growing concerns, the state mining association even acknowledged the mining industry had a history of exploiting loopholes in land laws.⁵¹⁷ Though the head of the group stopped short of admitting abuses in the Rogue River mining claim situation, he recommended an investigation into the transactions.⁵¹⁸

For the timber industry these claims were not a minor problem. Though each claim was relatively small, the total claims accounted for over fifty-thousand acres of land. Another factor was that timber contracts prohibited harvesting of

⁵¹⁵ "Standby for Camper Reaction!", *National Park Service Newsletter* (Aug 8, 1968), p 1, CLNP.

⁵¹⁶ M. Blais, "Timber Grabbed in Mass Filing of Mine Claims", *Oregonian* (Nov 15, 1950), p 1.

⁵¹⁷ "Oregon Mining Group Urges Probe into Claim Filing Rush", *Oregonian* (Nov 20, 1950), p 11.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

trees from land where a competing claim existed.⁵¹⁹ Any restriction in the harvesting of timber reduced the amount of revenue for timber companies and subsequently lowered the tax paid to local jurisdictions. Beyond the scope of specific conflicts between claims, timber company owners were constantly arguing for modifications of existing timber law or appropriations for better forest infrastructure in efforts to maximize their profits.⁵²⁰

Administration of federal lands was not the sole concern of timber interests within the region. Ranching interests became more vocal about maintaining adequate herd sizes with added restrictions and competition for grazing rights on land throughout Oregon and the western United States.⁵²¹ Because of the preponderance of federally controlled land in Oregon, the state also studied the potential impacts of mergers among natural resource agencies.⁵²² During elections, state and local papers were quick to note the natural resource platforms of each party and major candidate, emphasizing the role these issues had within the daily life of residents along the Crater Lake Highway.⁵²³

For most people living along the Rogue River in Jackson County, the most significant federal involvement during this period was the Army Corps of Engineer's project at Lost Creek Lake. As noted previously, periodic floods on the Rogue had pushed planners and many local residents to favor a large-scale

⁵¹⁹ "Mining Claims in National Forest Said Wrecking Sales of Timber", *Oregonian* (Nov 15, 1950), p 12.

⁵²⁰ "Forest Tax Draws Fire", *Oregonian* (Mar 1, 1960), p 6; "Timber Groups Request Forest Road Funds Hike", *Oregonian* (Mar 2, 1960), p 15.

⁵²¹ "Grazing Land Draws Notice", *Oregonian* (Nov 2, 1950), p 14.

⁵²² "Visitors Study Land Problem", *Oregonian* (Jul 30, 1950), p 13.

⁵²³ A. R. Smith, "Jack Kennedy Plans to Set Up Special Council of Advisors for Natural Resource Policy", *Oregonian* (Jul 20, 1960), p 9.

project. The building of the dam and the creation of the reservoir behind it became a significant factor in the recreation landscape of the Upper Rogue Region.

In part, the project eliminated existing attractions and resources along the route. Uncanny Canyon, the roadside novelty site above McLeod, was a victim of the lake itself. Once plans were finalized for the location of the reservoir, the owner of the attraction was forced to sell the land to the government, which subsequently auctioned off signs and other memorabilia from the location.⁵²⁴ The existing Laurelhurst State Park, along with the community of Laurelhurst itself, also disappeared below the new lake. In its place a new park was planned for the southern shore of the reservoir with direct access from the new route of the Crater Lake Highway.⁵²⁵

The designated status of federal land continued to play a role in this period. Some local residents were concerned about the effect of proposed increases in regulation, as the opponents to a national seashore on the central Oregon coast were. Yet others viewed additional protection, particularly the new recognition of designated wilderness, as an added advantage from both ecological and recreational perspectives. When the Park Service released its proposals for Crater Lake in the early 1970s, local and regional interests groups

⁵²⁴ "Totem Pole in Auction", *New York Times* (Sep 29, 1968), p 61, SOHS.

⁵²⁵ Weiss, *Laurelhurst*, 82.

were quick to provide comments and suggestions and urged local residents to attend public sessions in Medford and Klamath Falls.⁵²⁶

INTERPRETING DISCOURSE IMPACTS

The status of the discourses during this period are noticeably different than those from before the Second World War but the changes in the recreational landscape still follow the trends established earlier in the 20th Century. While the automobile and road themes were not as dominant within the context of the local dialogue, they remained an important component of landscape change along the Crater Lake Highway. For the motorist on post-war highways, technological advancements meant faster speeds and better performance for vehicles. These advancements necessitated new highway alignments, which straightened curves and widened roadways that had originally been constructed for an entirely different generation of automobile.

While some individual businesses such as roadside attractions like Uncanny Canyon benefited from increases in speed and traffic volume, some communities were not as lucky. Following realignment in the 1950s and 1960s Trail and Prospect were removed from the new route of the Crater Lake Highway. Without a direct stream of travelers to support roadside businesses the communities struggled.⁵²⁷ Modern road construction and the impact of the Army Corps of Engineers' Lost Creek project did lead to a more positive road realignment as the most challenging section of the old road was eliminated in

⁵²⁶ The Wilderness Society, "Public Hearing Alert – Crater Lake National Park Wilderness" (Jan 8, 1971), KCL.

⁵²⁷ Hegne, "Prospect Hotel and Community", np.

favor of an easier grade and a more substantial bridge over the Rogue River (see Figure 59).



Figure 59 – The Rogue River bridge on State Highway 62 (Crater Lake Highway). The bridge passes over Lost Creek Reservoir/Rogue River just south of Cascade Gorge. This photo is taken from near the location of the old Crater Lake Road, looking southeast (author, 2008).

As the most represented discourse during the 30 years following the Second World War, outdoor recreation providers played a much larger role in directly shaping the recreation landscape of the Rogue River Valley than in previous periods. The variety of activities available to American travelers coupled with large-scale development programs initiated by Park System officials, transformed the expectations of the average American tourist. Along the Rogue River these activities were often facilitated by float and fishing outfitters who catered to travelers and local populations alike. The services and

amenities provided by these businesses attempted to make the recreation resources of the Upper Rogue fit the expectations of the modern American traveler.

In some instances the reality of a particular location did not match public expectations for outdoor recreation. At Crater Lake, Park Service regulations created a different recreation environment compared with nearby locations along the Rogue River or at neighboring Diamond Lake. Add to those regulations the physical location of the lake itself inside a caldera, nearly 2,000 feet below the surrounding rim, and the use of private boats on the lake was not a viable recreation option. Yet as Figure 60 shows, the reality of access for recreation participants at other locations in the region brought an expectation of similar access to Crater Lake itself.

For many of the communities along the Crater Lake Highway, recreation amenities became retirement amenities as older residents found the rural environment appealing. Places like Shady Cove saw not only the summer tourism traffic increase but also an increase in new residents. For a traveler on the Crater Lake Highway this created a new residential landscape situated alongside the existing recreation landscape that had been evolving since the turn of the century. The speed and simplicity of travel that allowed that growth also eliminated the need for some businesses. Overnight lodging options that had once served as vital stopping points on the daylong trip to Crater Lake were no longer necessary. Once popular resorts like the Rogue Elk Hotel near Trail could

not compete with the new variety of competition throughout the Upper Rogue Region and were forced to close their doors.⁵²⁸



Figure 60 – Motorist with private boat at Annie Spring Station, Crater Lake, 1960 (Photo 000473, NPS-HPC).

Part of this evolution in the recreational status of the Rogue River Route was the product of larger tourism campaigns at the local and state level. The promotion of Crater Lake and the amenities of the southern Cascades had been a staple of local civic and commercial organizations since before the turn of the 20th Century. With the efforts of groups like the Rogue Wonderland Association, that type of promotion continued through this period. The message from those

⁵²⁸ D. Stanley, “Old Rogue-Elk Hotel to open doors again”, *MMT* (Oct 11, 1979), SOHS.

groups that the region was full of a variety of outdoor recreation options was bolstered by the campaigns of the state Tourism Information Bureau.

Performing a similar function to that of the Park Service when it promoted Park-to-Park Highway use earlier in the century, state officials attempted to use roads to lure travelers to a variety of sites throughout Oregon. While out-of-state visitors were a primary target, the effect of these promotions was to make places like Crater Lake, the Rogue River, Mount Hood, or the Oregon Dunes appealing even for Oregon residents who were planning their vacations. The result was a saturation of Sunday newspaper travelogues, informational guidebooks, and touring publications.

These changes had a dramatic influence on the landscapes experienced by park visitors traveling on the Crater Lake Highway from Medford to the park. With the presence of the new interstate route through the center of the county drivers avoided the original Pacific Highway junction in downtown Medford and instead joined the route in the commercial and industrial areas to the north of town. Agricultural land remained along the route from Eagle Point to Shady Cove but the growing number of residents in Jackson County were filling in open spaces.

Once along the Rogue River between Shady Cove and the site of McLeod, the recreational nature of the region became more apparent. Float-trip and fishing outfitters, riverside campsites, and roadside restaurants catered to the passing motorists. The availability of water-based recreation was

accentuated with the Lost Creek Dam project (Figure 61) with the construction of a state fish hatchery below the dam and new park facilities on the lake itself.



Figure 61 – West face of Lost Creek Dam, 2008. The old Crater Lake Road passed through the Rogue Valley near this spot before the Lost Creek project forced the road to move. The new alignment for the Crater Lake Highway passes just out of sight on the opposite side of the dam (author).

The reservoir and related road realignments at Lost Creek effectively eliminated the communities of McLeod and Laurelhurst. Coupled with the road changes between Cascade Gorge and Prospect, the Crater Lake Highway from Lost Creek to the Union Creek area in Rogue River National Forest, a distance of over 20 miles, now passed through a corridor with very little roadside

development. That remote character of the Crater Lake Highway would carry travelers directly in Crater Lake itself.

Park Service projects at Annie Spring, Rim Village, and along the length of the park's roads were making the park experience for automobile-based visitors more efficient. These changes however did not detract from the primary feature of the park in that all of the developments were planned to give visitors the best opportunities to view the lake. The 'Sea of Sapphire', as Joaquin Miller once called Crater Lake, remained the destination for many travelers along the Crater Lake Highway in Jackson County yet the evolution of the recreational landscapes along the route during the first three-quarters of the 20th Century provided ample intervening activities.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

As this study reveals, the examination of cultural landscapes in park regions is complex. The access landscapes along the Crater Lake Highway are at once zones of recreation and zones of travel, and both types of corridors come with special needs and requirements. These uses are affected by a multitude of factors, each of which in turn has a unique impact on the resulting landscape. Previous park studies have often examined the historical context of these forces without addressing their impact on the formation or modification of surrounding cultural landscapes. When the cultural landscape is evoked, it is viewed as the reflection of one signature theme rather than a collection of multiple variables. These studies, while important in the broad understanding of parks and park regions, do not allow for the complex examination of the recreational geographies present within those places.

Utilizing the framework of discursive analysis in this examination of the Crater Lake Highway brings that complex understanding to the surface. Representative of some of the most significant themes present within park regions, the four selected discourses – road and automobile industries, booster organizations, outdoor recreation providers, and federal land management agencies – are all found in separate locations throughout previous park literature.

Yet few of those studies have attempted to understand the cultural landscapes of park regions through a collective evaluation of these four themes. In addition to the combination of multiple discourse themes, this study presents the representations of these discourses through local media. By doing so, the evaluation of landscape change is grounded within the events taking place in the communities alongside that landscape. This component is critical as these discourse themes represent the status of specific social values present in the community. Changes in representation can shed light on the relative influence of one discourse over another, in turn directing the physical manifestation of that discourse on the landscape. As Schein notes, the "...'cultural landscape' at once captures the intent and ideology of the discourse as a whole and is a constitutive part of its ongoing development and reinforcement."⁵²⁹

Including these discourse themes and their representation as social values within the communities of the Upper Rogue is significant for the study of the region's cultural landscape. These values have a direct impact on the surrounding landscapes, especially those that are tied to such routine actions as travel, which can dictate everyday movement and the larger social structure. In his numerous studies on the evolution of roadside landscapes, J. B. Jackson routinely viewed these places as the quintessential reflection of society's immediate needs and desires.⁵³⁰ Expanding upon his discursive view of landscape, Richard Schein notes that these community standards and values, the social norms dictating individual and collective behavior, are intimately tied to

⁵²⁹ Schein, "The Place of Landscape", 663.

⁵³⁰ Davis, "Looking Down the Road: J. B. Jackson and the American Highway Landscape".

landscape generation, preservation and change.⁵³¹ Whether attempting to create a logical solution, an aesthetically pleasing scene, or an ethically justified result, all components representing these community values are at work in a normative cultural landscape.

This study is unique in its attempt not only to reveal the social forces at work in park regions but also to reveal their dynamic nature. It is this dynamism which manifests itself in the cultural landscapes that are seen along the Crater Lake Highway. Each chapter presented in this study lays out a regional baseline from which the evolution of recreation landscapes during the period can be understood. By addressing aspects of access, visitor use, and material development, the impact of discrete discourse themes can be analyzed in their proper context. Through the evaluation of local sources a better understanding of the direct effect these themes have had on the creation of the cultural landscape of the Crater Lake Highway and Crater Lake National Park is gained.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following sections describe the result of this study from the discursive and normative perspective of cultural landscape analysis. The first section briefly describes some of the more significant changes in local representation of the discourses over the study period. Following that is a review of exactly how these four discourses have been translated into the cultural landscape of the Crater Lake Highway. The review follows the trends of landscape change but focuses primarily on the social rationale for the landscapes seen along the route.

⁵³¹ Schein, "Normative Dimensions of Landscape.

CHANGING DISCOURSE REPRESENTATIONS

An important facet in understanding of the evolution of the forces shaping cultural landscapes along the Crater Lake Highway comes through the changing status of discourse themes over the study period. The four discourse themes represented in the local public dialogue highlight the context in which those changes occurred. The relative importance or dominance of one particular discourse during any period gives an indication of what community members were concerned about at that time. As shown in Table 5, there was an underlying trend of change in the status of the public discourse themes.

Discourse	Percent of Total Articles		
	Pre-1916	1917-1946	1947-1976
Auto/Roads	47.85	43.14	29.18
Boosters	23.76	15.03	13.52
Outdoor Recreation	21.78	29.08	33.81
Federal Land Mgmt	6.60	12.75	23.49

Table 5 – Discourse Theme Article Coverage, by period.

As is evident from these changes, the access status for autos had a direct effect on the park and local communities. Of the discourses covered through the three periods, the road and auto industry theme represented the most dominant. As the first portion of the following section discusses, automobiles and access have played a large role throughout the development of the Rogue River Route. From the early calls of the Good Roads movement to updates on interstate highway construction, local newspapers were quick to cover a road themed story.

The most dramatic rise in discourse coverage came from the outdoor recreation theme. Expanded opportunities for recreation and an increased mobility among the American public brought about this change in local media representation by the 1970s. The recreation amenities of the Rogue River Valley and the Cascade Mountains provided southern Oregon media with a local focus to target during that period of transformation. While the overall representative coverage of the booster theme within local sources dropped over that same time span, its relative coverage when paired with recreation themes remained nearly the same. In each of the three study periods, between 15 and 32 percent of all recreation-themed articles were paired with booster related themes.

Examining the details of those booster roles reveals one of the principal changes to occur within that theme. Much of the early recreation and booster dialogue focused on the efforts of local civic or commercial clubs and their promotion of the Medford region. Within those early publications, Crater Lake and the Rogue River played key roles as they were touted as part of the natural amenities abundant in southern Oregon. By the middle to late part of the 20th Century, the promotion of the Upper Rogue Region by state agencies such as the Oregon Highway Department, through the Travel Information Bureau or the State Park and Recreation Division, became more common. Within the coverage in local media, stories reflected on these agencies' efforts and the impacts of increased travel on the Crater Lake Highway.

The changing travel patterns and the rise in outdoor recreation opportunities in the Upper Rogue Valley were supported by the same

organizations that encouraged that travel. Civic organizations and business associations managed to modify their agenda to meet the needs and expectations of travelers at different periods. Although the efforts of the Medford Commercial Club during the earliest days of the century brought results similar to those of the Rogue Wonderland Association during the 1960s, their inherent approach to promotion was different.

An increase in the active management of federal lands made the fourth discourse representation one of steady growth throughout the study period. While the presence of federal lands and federal land management agencies is a constant during that entire time, the rise in local awareness and commentary was dependent on regulations and policies that affected the local population. With the early dependence on Cascade timber resources and subsequent development of a robust natural amenity economy, the communities along the Crater Lake Highway recognized the impact federal policies could have on their livelihood.

DISCOURSE, SOCIAL FORCE, AND LANDSCAPE DEVELOPMENT

For this examination of the Crater Lake Highway, the four discourse themes are meant to represent the most significant forces at work in creating and shaping the surrounding cultural landscapes. Through each theme the needs, expectations, and values of the community are reflected in the surrounding landscape. In discussing this normative function of cultural landscapes, Schein highlights the logical, aesthetic, and ethical foundations affecting these social

forces.⁵³² Within the specific context of park access landscapes, particularly along the Crater Lake Highway, these themes can be clearly identified. The evolving advancements of automobile and highway design are logical adaptations to new technologies available within society. Successive attempts to shape the visual scene to suit the expectations or desires of visitors directly target aesthetic principles. Application of new social values in an attempt to reshape established precedent or policy can be regarded as part of a shifting ethical framework, especially as it applies to the use of the surrounding natural environment. Each of these three components of landscapes reflecting social needs constitutes a separate piece in the following analysis.

Landscape as Technological Innovation

One of the most significant aspects of cultural landscape creation and evolution comes from the modifications needed to support new technologies. That the automobile transformed many aspects of American society following its introduction has been examined by a number of previous scholars. The historic impact on parks themselves is also well known. However, this study brings automobile access into a normative role in shaping the cultural landscape. As noted above, exploring levels of access available to automobiles provides an underlying foundation for the discursive analysis. Examination of these access levels focuses on several types of changes. The first is the evolving automobile technologies that improved throughout the 20th Century. Previous literature has noted and contemporary accounts verify that motorists were routinely confronted

⁵³² Schein, "Normative Dimensions of Landscape", 201.

with the 'next new thing' from the automobile industry (Figure 62).⁵³³ Over the course of the century those improvements included better safety mechanisms such as headlights and windshields as well as performance enhancing features such as more powerful engines and stronger suspensions.

These advances were coupled with improvements in the roadways used by automobiles. In a cyclical pattern, advancements in automotive technology created demand for modern highways, which in turn facilitated faster and better



Figure 62 – Advertisement for Jewett models at the Crater Lake Auto Company in Medford (From Sep 4, 1925 *Medford Mail Tribune*).

performing vehicles. As road construction techniques expanded beyond grading of the natural surface, the capacity for travel on the Crater Lake Highway was markedly increased. With higher potential speeds highway engineers constructed newer and more efficient routes. Old highway

grades, such as the one shown in Figure 63 near Trail, were eliminated in favor of straighter and faster roads.

⁵³³ Hugill, "Good Roads and the Automobile", 345-347.



Figure 63 – Old section of the Crater Lake Highway, 2008. The modern Crater Lake Highway can be seen in the background and passes just behind the hill on the right (author).

The result of these changes is apparent along the entire length of the Crater Lake Highway from the park to Medford, though the impact varies from location to location. Within Crater Lake, the Park Service dealt with the impact of technological evolutions in automobiles and road building with the added onus of protecting the features of the park. As park histories have noted, allowing access to parks for motorists was an important step in the creation of the early Park Service constituency. Not only did improvements along the main entrance road mirror improvements outside of the park, the addition of the scenic Rim Road gave motorists the ability to reach a larger percentage of the park. Figure 64 shows the evolution of the road within the park from before its establishment in

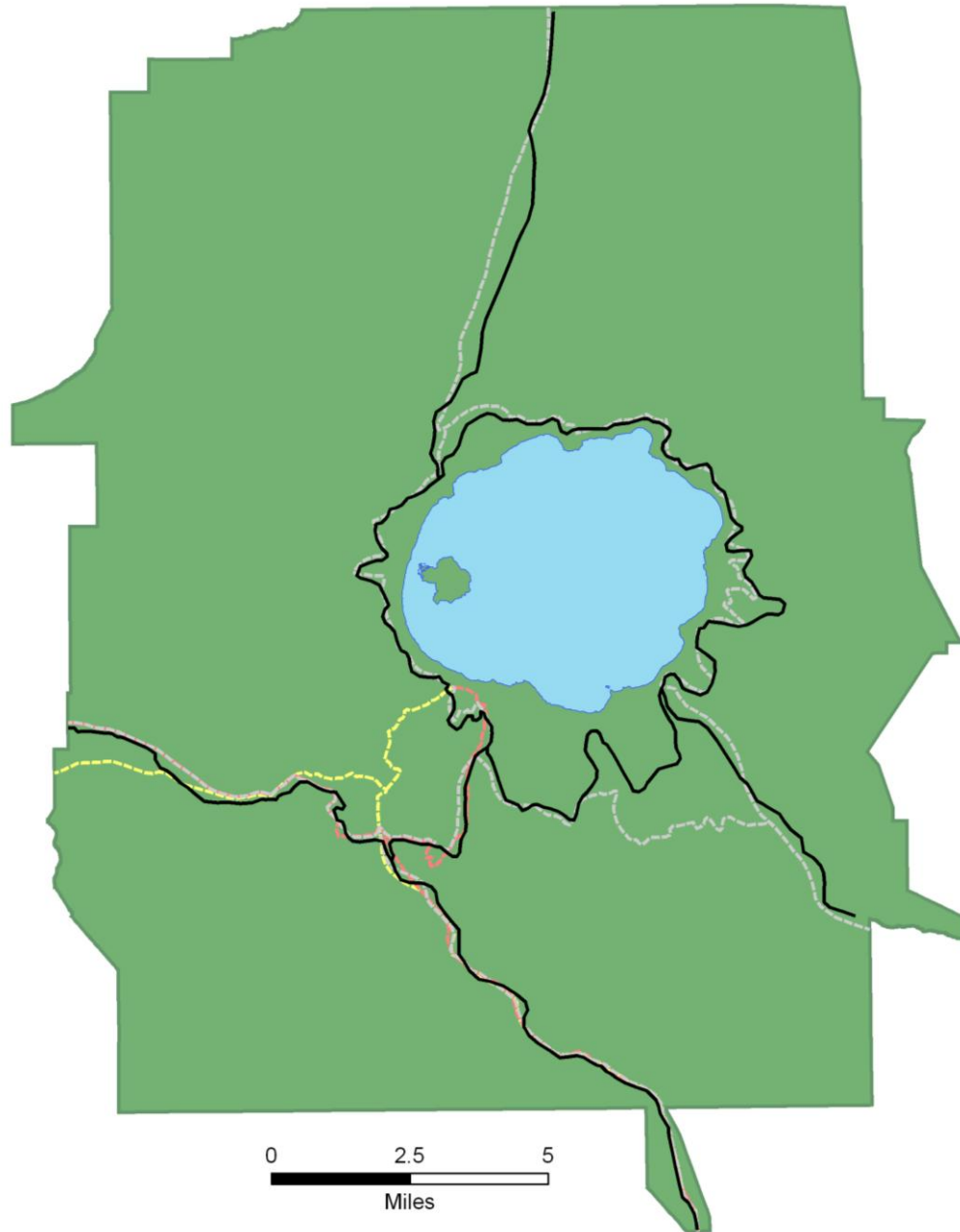


Figure 64 – The changing road system of Crater Lake National Park. The original wagon road is in yellow, early Army Corps construction in red, and the first NPS road in grey. Current paved roads are in black. (from HAER)

1902 through the late 20th Century. Compiled from previous studies on the Crater Lake road system, the map reveals the progressive changes that technology and an expectation of access brought about. While the vast majority of park infrastructure developments focused on the impact on internal travel, some were the result of different travel patterns beyond park borders. The northern entrance was a reaction to newly constructed state roads into the Diamond Lake area during the 1920s and 30s while the closure of the east entrance, seen in Figure 65, occurred following the relocation of U.S. Highway 97 to a new route more distant from the park.



Figure 65 – Crater Lake East Entrance, 2008. The old access road has been converted into a one-mile trail that links the end of the Pinnacles Road with this marker at the park boundary (author).

On the opposite side of the Rogue River route, Medford was also impacted by the changes in transportation technology. While the Crater Lake Road had once left the heart of downtown, by the 1960s it had become a new interchange on the passing interstate. The route of the old Pacific Highway through downtown once met the Crater Lake Highway at a prominent intersection but the shift in traffic to the new route eliminated the status of that intersection, as can be seen in Figures 66a & 66b.

This leads us to an examination of how changes in access affected the local communities themselves. As the largest and most central location in Jackson County, Medford housed a variety of functions that allowed it to maintain its status even while its roadside landscape was changing. Figure 67 shows the Rogue River Route from Eagle Point to Union Creek. Indicated on the map are road sections that had substantial realignments over the course of the study period and brought dramatic effects to the way travelers on the route interacted with their surroundings. As was noted above, increased speeds and volume on the road precipitated changes which eliminated sharp curves and unnecessary grades. In addition, several communities were cut off from the highway following these changes. As shown in Figures 68a & 68b Trail effectively lost its original business sector to a new highway location.

Even businesses that remained along the route were affected by the change in travel patterns. The Rogue Elk Hotel, once the most popular resort between Medford and Crater Lake, lost its viability as motorists could make the trip in hours rather than days. Other establishments were able to modify their

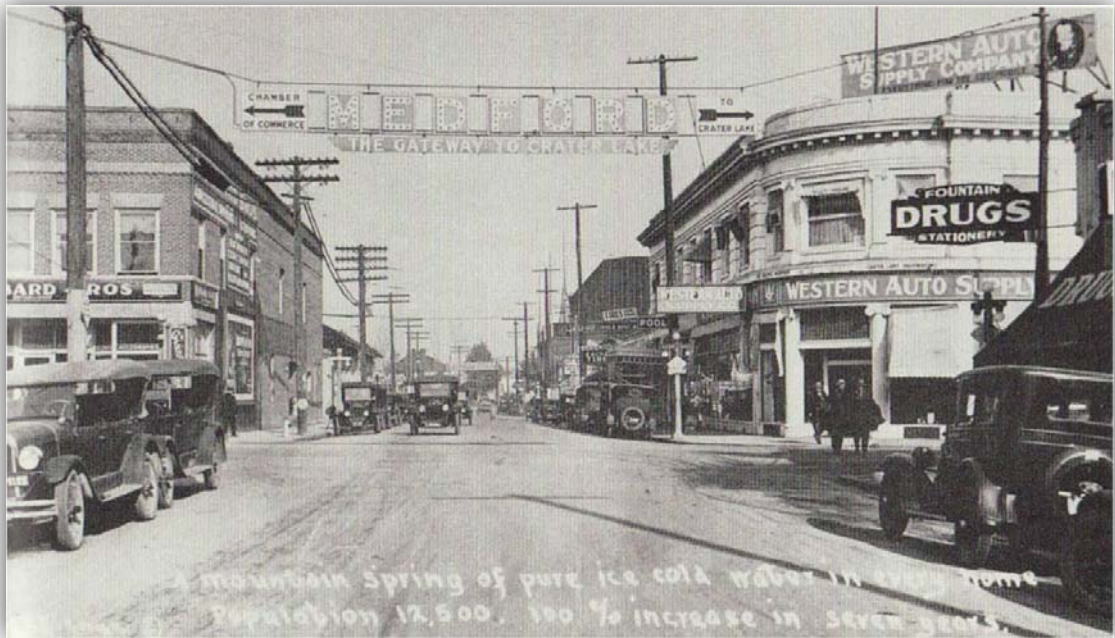


Figure 66a – View of the intersection of the Pacific Highway and Crater Lake Road, 1930. View is looking north. Note sign above the street indicating the route to the park and announcing Medford as ‘The Gateway to Crater Lake’ (from Atwood & O’Harra, *Medford: 1885-1985*, 81, SOUL).



Figure 66b – View of the intersection of Riverside and Main, 2008. While still a major intersection in downtown Medford, traffic is now one way on both routes. No mention of the city’s connection to the park is visible (author).

business to fit the needs of contemporary travelers. Just above the Rogue Elk, the Rogue River Lodge was one of the many riverside resorts to offer camping, cabins, and fishing access to potential guests. By the 1960s and 70s the typical traveler on the Crater Lake Highway could find many camping sites and river access locations. With a larger array of competition as recreation sites, business owners instead make a transition to roadside services. At the Rogue River

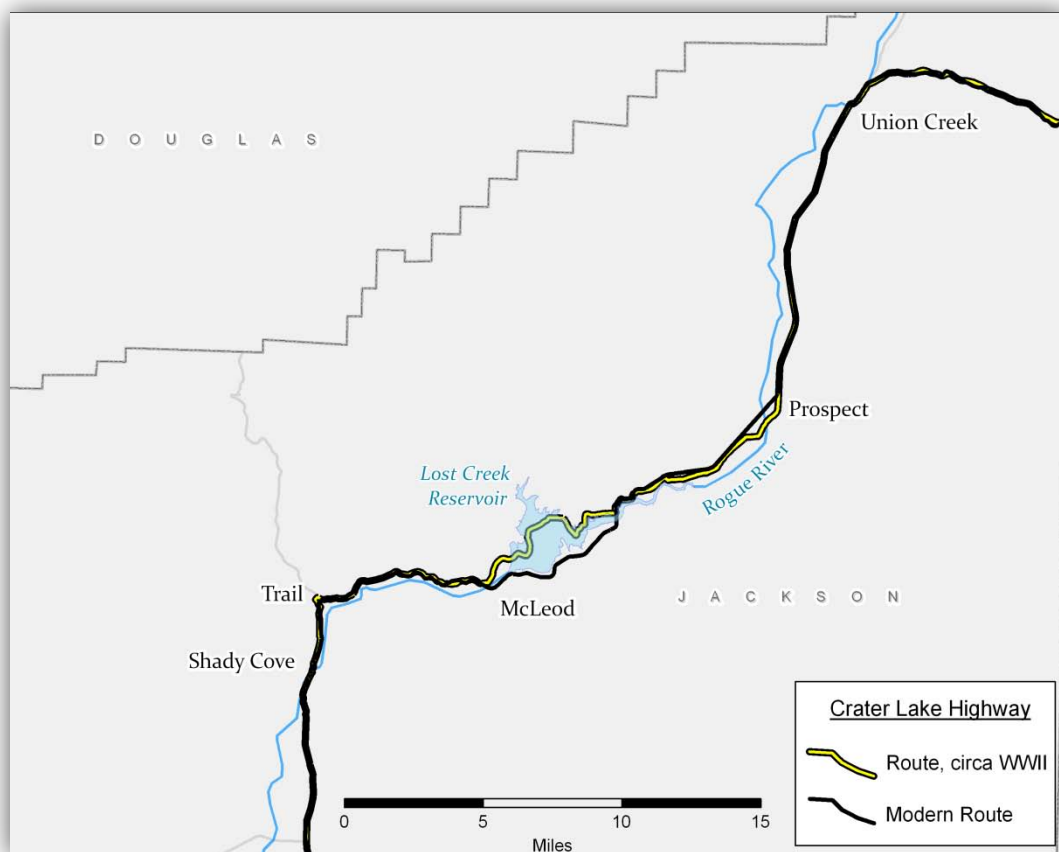
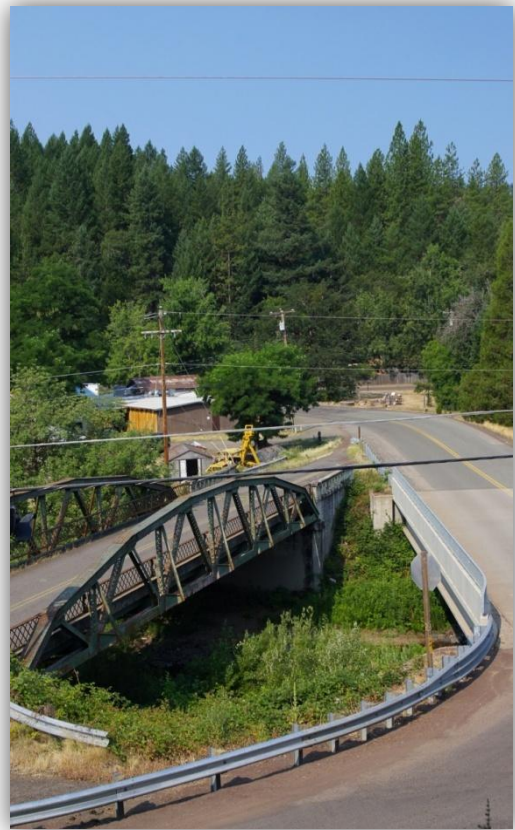
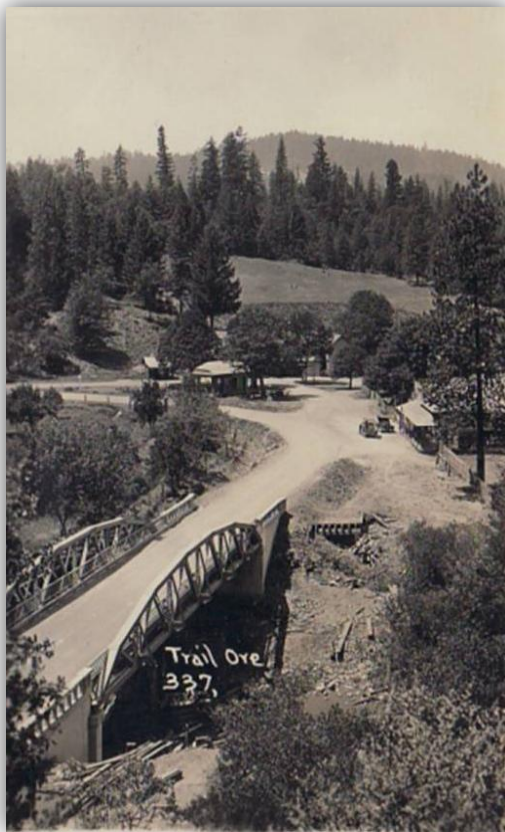


Figure 67 – Major Crater Lake Highway realignments, 1910s-1970s. The largest realignment was due to Lost Creek Reservoir above McLeod. Straightening near Prospect and Trail are also evident on the map.



Figures 68a & 68b – Trail, c. 1930s and 2008, before and after a Crater Lake Highway realignment. Both views are to the southwest (1930 photo from SOHS; 2008, author).

Lodge the new focus became feeding motorists, becoming the only remaining roadside restaurant between Trail and Cascade Gorge (Figures 69a & 69b).

Some locations remained virtually untouched as a result of few road adjustments and a steady flow of customers. Restrictive leases with the Forest Service for the operators at Union Creek helped facilities that had existed since the 1920s operate unchanged for much of the century. The main store, seen in Figures 70a & 70b, exhibits very little change from the 1940s to the early 21st Century.



Figure 69a – Rogue River Lodge, 1950. Note the sign, which announces cabins as well as meals (photo from SOHS).



Figure 69b – Rogue River Lodge, 2008. The sign now announces a lounge and dining (author).



Figure 70a – Union Creek Resort store, 1940 (photo from SOHS).



Figure 70b – Union Creek Resort store, 2008 (author).

Landscape as Visual Attraction

If translating the cultural landscape of the Crater Lake Highway as a transportation corridor is largely the domain of technological advancements, the translation of its recreation landscape is largely comprised of understanding community relationships with the surrounding natural environment. Part of that understanding can be placed within the context of the aesthetic value of the natural environment. Voices have argued for and against the use of natural resources while alternate views on the importance of the physical beauty of the landscape have been central in the creation of the character of this region. The debates in the local dialogue provide an opportunity to examine the ways in which the discourse themes themselves 'materialize' within the recreation landscape of Crater Lake and the Rogue River Route. Much of that impact is woven together with the expectations of and planning for a variety of tourism activities. The previous discussion of automobile access is an inherent part of that development but the physical manifestation of these landscapes was the result of more specific local actions.

Increasing popularity of motor touring along the Crater Lake Highway encouraged residents in the communities of the Upper Rogue to value the resources that made the trip worthwhile. Boosters touted the forested slopes and mountain streams as the highest representation of a pristine natural aesthetic. When scenic highway corridors through the high elevation forest were threatened by timber harvests, some residents recognized the impact cutovers would have on the expectations of a passing tourist and worked to protect those regions from

the lumber companies. While timber harvests were still possible, they were no longer in sight of the Crater Lake Highway, maintaining the aesthetic effect along the road that has existed for over a century (Figures 71a & 71b).



Figures 71a & 71b – Crater Lake Highway, near Union Creek, in 1909 and 2008. While the surface of the road has changed, the overall feeling of travel has not been drastically altered. (1909 photo from SOHS; 2008, author)

Within the park, changes in access also created a profound shift in the expectations of the recreational landscape. The building of modern roads encouraged more visitors to visit the park, which in turn encouraged park officials to increase internal lodging options. Primitive camping was the only available option until the lodge was started in the 1910s. While expansion of park campgrounds allowed greater numbers of overnight visitors to enjoy the park, the

increased access worried some. With increasing visitation came noise and damage to park resources, all of which detracted from the experience of visitors expecting a quiet and natural scene. Among projects funded through the Mission 66 program was the removal of the decades-old rim campground, located just southwest of the lodge and seen in Figures 72a & 72b. Camping options were increased at the new Mazama campground below Park Headquarters with the expressed purpose of minimizing congestion in Rim Village.

Debates about the heavy use of resources and impact to those resources were often products of issues seen at parks across the nation rather than at one site in particular. Though far removed from the specific environment at Crater Lake, the resulting public dialogue influenced development of the park's recreation landscape. As was seen above, the impact of intense use of Rim Village caused managers to rethink the design of the area. Campgrounds were removed to lower elevations to help minimize traffic in the area. In an attempt to reshape Rim Village into a more natural environment, the Park Service moved parking, realigned access to the Rim Road, and planted vegetation along the pedestrian corridor between the lodge and cafeteria. The result, seen in Figures 73a & 73b, attempted to lessen the impact of automobile access and refocus visitors' attentions toward the lake itself.

Landscape as Environmental Conscience

As a recreation-based landscape, the corridor along the Crater Lake Highway and within Crater Lake National Park itself is intimately tied to the natural environment. Like many other cultural landscapes, that connection is



Figure 72a – Crater Lake Lodge, 1920s. A portion of the Rim Campground is visible in the foreground and to the right (photo from Hegne, *Prospect Hotel and Community*, 12, SOHS).



Figure 72b – Crater Lake Lodge, 2008. The old Rim Campground is now used as a picnic area (author).



Figure 73a – West end of Rim Village, 1931. The parking area is situated at the point where the access road from Park Headquarters met Rim Road (CLNP).



Figure 73b – West end of Rim Village, 2008. Note the removal of parking and added vegetation (author).

often dependent on how society chooses to utilize the resources of that environment. As the previous section notes, the recognition of an aesthetic value for scenery-minded tourists pushed some to put more effort into preservation of that ideal. Yet many of those efforts were couched in the assumption that the natural environment held little economic value in its own right.

Some members of society attempted to present an alternative view of the natural environment. In some cases, this view came from a more scientific understanding of natural processes and a realization that human modification could be a potential hazard to natural systems. While this viewpoint became more common later in the study period, it was present as early as the 1920s and 30s when soil scientists such as E. P. Meinecke effectively convinced park managers to redesign campgrounds to limit damage to soils and plant species.

It is important to note that much of the dialogue that encouraged the consideration of inherent value in the natural environment was typically in opposition to the generally accepted viewpoint. The local opposition came through more forcefully in the debates concerning the role of the Federal Government in directing use on public lands in the region rather than on general environmental principles. With the presence of the Forest Service, Park Service, and later the Army Corps of Engineers, local residents had a number of targets at which to direct their anger about management decisions. The primary arguments, espoused by those in the Upper Rouge Region, targeted policies related to timber harvesting, entry fees, or commercial operations on public land.

In some cases, that opposition was directly tied to a more complex understanding of the systems of the natural world. The members of Citizens League for Emergency Action on the Rogue (CLEAR) who rallied against the Lost Creek Dam project mirrored the actions of national groups hoping to limit dam-building programs across the west. Though the economic reality of potential Rogue River floods gave supporters backing the Lost Creek project the momentum to carry the project to completion, other related projects were abandoned.

Even highly-regarded icons like the Crater Lake Lodge were not free from the debate. Some local residents who had visited the lake before the lodge had been built felt its presence detracted from visitors' experiences at the rim.⁵³⁴ The fact that it required nearly constant maintenance and could only provide lodging for a few months out of the year made it a lightning rod for scrutiny from park critics. These factors kept it in the news throughout Rim Village projects of the 1960s and 1970s.⁵³⁵ Plans to remove the existing lodge and restore the rim area to a more natural setting eventually met with stiff opposition from historic preservation circles. These groups successfully lobbied to have the structure renovated and reopened in time for the park's centennial.

Social interaction with the natural environment along the Crater Lake Highway creates the framework for the modification of particular landscapes in the region. While aesthetic values of that landscape continue to exhibit a more concrete impact on landscape change, a growing environmental ethic also plays

⁵³⁴ Pearson, "Oral History", 10.

⁵³⁵ NPS, *Announcement of Public Meeting Regarding Crater Lake Lodge Renovations* (Nov 24, 1980), SOHS.

a role. That the majority of landscape change is tied to the region's recreation potential leaves little doubt that the community interaction with the natural environment is a significant component of local social value.

The items included in the previous three sections are examples of the utility of community-based discursive studies of the recreation landscapes of park regions. The evaluation of the discourse themes of automobile and road industries, boosterism, outdoor recreation, and federal land management in the context of the Rogue River Route provides a framework with which we are better able to understand the evolution of the region's recreational landscape. Understanding the particular forces at work during the three periods provides an insight into the modern dynamics of park related discourse.

Unlike previous park studies which often isolate a specific theme, this study combines a variety of items in an attempt to reveal the complex patterns of landscape development. Rather than simply present those themes in a static narrative, this analysis shows that, as dynamic representations of social values, these themes can be important components in the understanding of cultural landscapes of park regions. With a more robust narrative of development, the nature of the relationship between parks, park communities, and the social forces at work in the creation of park landscapes are seen more clearly.

FURTHER STUDY

The research provides an example for further studies of cultural landscape evolution along park access routes. While this framework displays promise in the

analysis of the Rogue River corridor in Jackson County there are a number of ways in which this research can be expanded. The most basic approach would be to follow the same discourse evaluation process for Crater Lake's eastern access road in Klamath County. While many local themes present within southern Oregon would remain along the route from the park to Klamath Falls, the local realities of the Klamath Basin could reveal some relevant differences in public discussion for the entire Crater Lake region.

An additional aspect of the discourse analysis could come from comparative evaluation of sources from a variety of locations. Southern Oregon sources, based primarily out of Medford, were the principal source of material for analysis in this study. State and regional level influence was a factor for several themes, yet the review of public dialogue within those themes was largely limited in scope to the communities along the western side of the Crater Lake Highway. Just as local articles reflected the perceptions and values of Jackson County residents, articles about the region from other places would provide an added viewpoint from which to analyze each discourse and its effect on the creation and modification of the cultural landscape.

Through similar case studies in other park regions the factors influencing the individual discourses can be evaluated for broader variations. Because the discourse themes are inherently dynamic, expanding the scope of study can reveal those locations at which new recreational landscape designs emerge first and those that react to changes elsewhere. This would provide an essential piece in the understanding of the cultural geography of park regions.

As Schein remarks, the use of a discursive analysis of a cultural landscape is dependent on changing meanings and constant reinterpretation of ideas.⁵³⁶ This study highlights only four potential discourse themes, themes which have emerged from existing literature as significant forces in park development history. Yet other themes may exist, exposed in previous studies or conceptualized as the role of parks in society evolves. The possibility of an alternative understanding of park-related themes does not reduce the need to understand the four selected discourses but rather provides a baseline from which to discover the multiple facets of the cultural landscapes of national parks.

⁵³⁶ Schein, "The Place of Landscape", 676.

SOURCE MATERIAL

ARCHIVAL LOCATIONS

The completion of this research would have been impossible without the use of numerous archival resource locations. Most of these are traditional research libraries, historical society archives, or special collections. Some are blended archives where materials stored in a research facility are scanned for online use. Others are housed entirely online and consist of, at times, randomly collected items on a particular subject. The following is an overview of the principal archival locations utilized in this study. Each description makes note of the physical location of the archive (URL for online-only sites) and a general description of the material accessed for this study. An abbreviation is also listed for each archive. In the footnotes of the document, where appropriate, these abbreviations indicate the archival source of a particular item. A list of additional cited or referenced material follows the archival summary.

Crater Lake Institute

CLI

www.craterlakeinstitute.com

A non-profit organization based in southern Oregon, the Crater Lake Institute provides online access to a variety of materials related to the history, ecology, and management of Crater Lake National Park. The online library includes maps, articles, images, and a selection of books on the park and the region surrounding the park.

Crater Lake National Park Research Library**CLNP***Crater Lake National Park, Oregon*

The library at Crater Lake contains a variety of material related to the history and development of the park. While much of the administrative documents are available through the National Archives at various locations, the park holds a collection of historic scrapbooks dating to the late 19th Century.

Forest History Society**FHS***www.foresthistory.org*

For over 60 years the Forest History Society has promoted management and use of the nation's forest lands. Online documents include regular publications as well as a collection of material related to the history of forest management, dating as far back as the 1930s.

Google Books**GB***books.google.com*

Despite recent controversies about the legality of document scanning and posting by Google, the company has made a large amount of material available through their online library. While some materials are only available in limited previews, other items can be fully accessed. For this research, there were a number of significant items located through the Google online library. These included government reports and publications, including multiple years of National Park Service Director's Reports, summaries of park conferences, and Congressional committee minutes. Selected issues of various publications such as *Sunset Magazine* and *Good Roads Magazine* were also available for earlier periods of this study. In most cases, these items could have been located in traditional libraries but the online component made access and review of documents simpler.

Hannon Library – Southern Oregon University**SOUL***Ashland, Oregon*

The library at SOU provided additional county history documents as well as relevant map and newspaper indexes. A series of county-level road maps, originally published by the Metsker Map Company of Seattle is located here. Staff at the library have also compiled article subject indexes for local papers dating back to the 1910s.

Jackson County Library**JCL***Medford, Oregon*

Jackson County's library is a primary access point for local newspaper records. Microfilm versions of the Medford *Mail Tribune* are available dating to the paper's beginning in the early 20th Century. Unless otherwise noted in the footnotes, all Medford *Mail Tribune* articles were accessed through the Jackson County library. The library also holds several history collections for local communities. These include locally published newsletters, scrapbooks, and historically relevant memorabilia.

Klamath County Library**KCL***Klamath Falls, Oregon*

Klamath County's library contains a variety of material related to park development and community relationships. Material from Klamath County and its communities aided in understanding the context of Crater Lake in the entire region and augmented Jackson County information.

Knight Library – University of Oregon**KLUD***Eugene, Oregon*

The University of Oregon Library houses numerous collections related to the history of the state of Oregon. Of notable interest in this project are their state newspaper holdings. Library staff have compiled a subject and keyword index for the state's largest newspaper, *The Oregonian*, and have made that index searchable through a web interface. In addition to indexed article titles through the internet, the library also provided access to microfilm copies of local-level newspapers, including the Medford *Mail Tribune*.

Library of Congress**LOC***Washington, DC*

The nation's library served as a key location for state-level newspaper items, notably those from the Portland-based *Oregonian*. Unless otherwise noted in the footnotes, all *Oregonian* articles were acquired at the Library of Congress's Newspaper reading room.

National Archives**NARA***College Park, Maryland*

While the archives at Crater Lake house many park specific documents, many older materials and any documents that relate to the general administration of parks can be found at National Archives locations. The main NA archive in College Park contains correspondence, development plans, reports, and copies of official requests from multiple offices in the National Park Service. The archive holds records for other federal agencies including the descendants of the Bureau of Public Roads, the Forest Service, and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

National Park Service – History Collection**NPS-H***www.nps.gov/history/history/index.htm*

The National Park Service provides online users with access to a number of quintessential studies on the history of parks and of the service itself. In addition to published books, the online library also provides access to significant documents or memoranda related to park management. Coverage for individual parks includes items such as administrative histories, resource reviews, and relevant internal publications. The history collection also includes additional material specific indexes, including the Historic Photo Collection (HPC) and

National Park Service – Statistical Reports**NPS-S***www.nature.nps.gov/stats/*

As part of its reporting mechanism, the National Park Service's website allows online users to query the visitation statistics for the system or for any current park unit. The data in the statistical summaries includes the number of visitors, whether a stay was overnight, and the type of lodging utilized. In addition to the searchable visitation database, PDF versions of historic Statistical Abstracts are available from 1904 forward. These abstracts provide a summary of the park system at a particular time and allow access to visitation at parks that are no longer part of the system.

Oregon Department of Transportation**ODOT***Salem, Oregon*

The archive and library at the Department of Transportation hold multiple items relating not only to the development of the state highway system but also material on the

creation and management of the state parks and tourism bureaus. Road creation files noted the significant dates of road building; related maps categorize the major state routes by level of improvement dating back to the 1920s. Numerous state-funded reports on the history of or future plans for state highway construction as well as park development are found in the collection.

Shaw Historical Library - OIT

SHL

Klamath Falls, Oregon

Housed at the Oregon Institute of Technology the Shaw Historical Library provides a variety of material on the settlement and development of southern Oregon generally and the Klamath Basin specifically. Included in the collection are numerous narrative histories, journals, and personal letters.

Southern Oregon Digital Archives

SODA

soda.sou.edu

A service of the Southern Oregon University Library, SODA is an online repository of scanned documents relating to the people, history, and natural environment of southern Oregon. The material is from a variety of sources including the regional Forest Service headquarters, local civic organization historical files, county records, and private collections. Many items in the collection are scanned for general access before the record itself is moved to a permanent storage location.

Southern Oregon Historical Society

SOHS

Medford, Oregon

The SOHS was the primary archival source for many local history documents, including oral histories, photographs, maps, and personal correspondence. Material in the archive is arranged in vertical files organized by subject. Each file contains a variety of items related to the history of Medford and Jackson County.

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APPENDICES

The following pages include information regarding park establishment and visitation as well as documents related to the methodologies employed in this research. Appendix A shows all designated national parks established from 1872 to 1976. Appendices B-1 through B-3 show the visitation counts for parks which existed during each of the three study periods. Appendix C provides a sample of the coding sheet used to classify articles in the public discourse analysis.

Appendix A – Dates of Establishment, National Parks 1872 – 1975.

Park	Establishment Year
Yellowstone	1872
Mackinac*	1875 (1895)
Sequoia	1890
General Grant† (Kings Canyon)	1890/1940
Yosemite	1890
Mount Rainier	1899
Crater Lake	1902
Wind Cave	1903
Sullys Hill*	1904 (1931)
Mesa Verde	1906
Platt*	1906 (1976)
Glacier	1910
Rocky Mountain	1915
Hawaii† (Hawaii Volcanoes)	1916/1961
Lassen Volcanic	1916
Mount McKinley	1917
Grand Canyon	1919
Lafayette† (Acadia)	1919/1929
Zion	1919
Hot Springs	1921
Utah† (Bry ce Canyon)	1924/1928
Great Smoky Mountains	1926
Shenandoah	1926
Mammoth Cave	1926
Grand Teton	1929
Carlsbad Cavern	1930
Isle Royale	1931
Fort McHenry *	1933 (1939)
Everglades	1934
Big Bend	1935
Olympic	1938
Virgin Islands	1956
Haleakala	1960
Petrified F orest	1962
Canyonlands	1964
Guadalupe Mountains	1966
North Cascades	1968
Redwood	1968
Voyageurs	1971
Arches	1971
Capitol Reef	1971

† - Park renamed or reorganized.

* - Park abolished (Abolishment dates shown in parentheses).

Appendix B-1 – Visitation at Designated National Parks, 1904 – 1916.

Park	Establishment Year	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Yellowstone	1872	13,727	26,188	17,182	16,414	19,542	32,545	19,575	23,054	22,970	24,929	20,250	51,895	35,849
Yosemite	1890	9,500	10,105	5,414	7,102	8,850	13,182	13,619	12,530	10,884	13,735	15,145	33,452	33,390
Sequoia	1890	-	-	700	900	1,251	854	2,407	3,114	2,923	3,823	4,667	7,647	10,780
General Grant	1890	1,000	1,000	900	1,100	1,773	798	1,178	2,160	2,240	2,756	3,735	10,523	15,360
Mount Rainier	1899	563	928	1,786	2,068	2,826	5,968	8,000	10,306	8,946	13,501	15,038	35,166	23,989
Crater Lake	1902	1,500	1,400	1,800	2,600	5,275	4,171	5,000	4,500	5,235	6,253	7,096	11,371	12,265
Wind Cave	1903	2,900	2,438	2,787	2,751	3,171	3,216	3,387	3,887	3,199	3,988	3,592	2,817	9,000
Sullys Hill	1904	-	-	-	400	250	190	190	200	200	300	500	1,000	1,500
Platt	1906	-	-	-	28,000	26,000	25,000	25,000	30,000	31,000	35,000	30,000	20,000	30,000
Mesa Verde	1906	-	-	-	-	80	165	250	206	230	280	502	663	1,385
Glacier	1910	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,000	6,257	12,138	14,168	14,265	12,839
Rocky Mountain	1915	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31,000	51,000
Lassen Volcanic	1916	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hawaii	1916	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix B-2 – Visitation at Designated National Parks, 1917 – 1946.

Park	Establishment Year	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Yellowstone	1872	35,400	21,275	62,261	79,777	81,651	98,223	138,352	144,158	154,282	187,807
Sequoia	1890	18,510	15,001	30,443	31,508	28,263	27,514	30,158	34,468	46,677	89,404
General Grant/Kings Canyon†	1890/1940	17,390	15,496	21,574	19,661	30,312	50,456	46,230	35,020	40,517	50,597
Yosemite	1890	34,510	33,527	58,362	68,906	91,513	100,506	130,046	105,894	209,166	274,209
Mount Rainier	1899	35,568	43,901	55,232	56,491	55,771	70,371	123,708	161,473	173,004	161,796
Crater Lake	1902	11,645	13,231	16,645	20,135	28,617	33,016	52,017	64,312	65,018	86,019
Wind Cave	1903	16,742	36,000	25,000	38,000	28,336	31,016	41,505	52,166	69,267	85,466
Sullys Hill*	1904 (1931)	2,207	4,188	4,026	9,341	9,100	9,548	8,478	8,035	9,183	19,921
Mesa Verde	1906	2,223	2,058	2,287	2,890	3,003	4,251	5,236	7,109	9,043	11,356
Platt	1906	35,000	14,431	26,312	27,023	60,000	70,000	117,710	134,874	143,380	124,284
Glacier	1910	18,387	9,086	18,956	22,449	19,736	23,935	33,988	33,372	40,063	37,325
Rocky Mountain	1915	117,186	101,497	169,492	240,966	273,737	219,164	218,000	224,211	233,912	225,027
Hawaii	1916	-	-	-	-	16,071	27,750	41,150	52,110	64,155	35,000
Lassen Volcanic	1916	8,500	2,000	2,500	2,000	10,000	10,000	9,500	12,500	12,596	18,739
Mount McKinley	1917	-	-	-	-	-	7	34	62	206	533
Grand Canyon	1919	-	-	37,745	67,315	67,485	84,700	102,166	108,256	134,053	140,252
Lafayette/Acadia†	1919/1929	-	-	64,000	66,500	69,836	73,779	64,200	71,758	73,673	101,256
Zion	1919	-	-	1,814	3,692	2,937	4,109	6,408	8,400	16,817	21,964
Hot Springs	1921	-	-	-	-	130,968	106,164	112,000	164,175	265,500	260,000
Utah/Bryce Canyon†	1924/1928	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Great Smoky Mountains	1926	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shenandoah	1926	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mammoth Cave	1926	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Teton	1929	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carlsbad Cavern	1930	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Isle Royale	1931	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fort McHenry*	1933 (1939)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Everglades	1934	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Big Bend	1935	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Olympic	1938	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period (Abolishment dates shown in parentheses).

Park	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Yellowstone	200,825	230,984	260,697	227,901	221,248	157,624	161,938	260,775	317,998	432,570	499,242	466,185
Sequoia	100,684	98,035	111,385	129,221	143,573	131,398	126,464	147,533	205,783	230,714	243,661	260,139
General Grant/Kings Canyon†	47,996	51,988	44,783	43,547	51,995	40,805	50,081	66,024	116,739	148,568	157,810	148,116
Yosemite	490,430	460,619	461,257	458,566	461,855	498,289	296,088	309,431	372,317	431,192	481,492	443,325
Mount Rainier	200,051	219,531	217,783	265,620	293,562	216,065	170,104	242,757	239,309	317,345	349,289	381,876
Crater Lake	82,354	113,323	128,435	157,693	170,284	109,738	90,512	118,699	107,701	180,382	202,403	190,699
Wind Cave	81,023	100,309	108,943	88,000	85,000	12,539	10,460	15,205	20,207	16,605	19,075	19,132
Sully's Hill*	22,632	24,979	21,004	21,293	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mesa Verde	11,915	16,760	14,517	16,656	18,003	15,760	16,185	21,474	21,835	25,571	28,171	30,911
Platt	294,954	280,638	204,598	178,188	325,000	200,471	220,606	233,855	236,831	235,945	284,144	286,486
Glacier	41,745	53,454	70,742	73,776	63,497	53,202	76,715	116,965	143,240	210,072	194,522	153,528
Rocky Mountain	229,862	235,057	274,408	255,874	265,663	282,980	291,934	365,392	367,568	550,496	651,899	659,802
Hawaii	37,551	78,414	109,857	89,578	124,932	139,663	237,690	240,997	207,208	186,049	203,165	195,986
Lassen Volcanic	20,089	26,057	26,106	31,755	56,833	41,723	45,577	51,906	52,294	76,971	86,757	73,005
Mount McKinley	651	802	1,038	951	771	357	386	628	877	1,073	1,378	1,487
Grand Canyon	162,356	167,226	184,093	172,763	156,964	121,267	105,475	140,220	206,018	268,412	297,876	336,557
Lafayette/Acadia†	123,699	134,897	149,554	154,734	162,238	237,596	262,712	275,956	316,114	340,393	383,036	394,319
Zion	24,303	30,016	33,383	55,297	59,186	51,650	48,763	68,801	97,280	124,393	137,404	149,075
Hot Springs	181,523	199,099	184,517	167,062	153,394	201,762	151,638	205,565	247,387	273,083	185,935	121,909
Utah/Bryce Canyon†	-	-	21,997	35,982	41,572	34,143	32,878	51,188	63,703	88,848	94,331	101,851
Great Smoky Mountains	-	-	-	-	154,000	300,000	375,000	420,000	500,000	602,222	727,243	694,634
Shenandoah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	694,098	1,041,204	954,967
Mammoth Cave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57,775	75,434	120,692
Grand Teton	-	-	51,500	60,000	62,000	40,000	42,500	75,000	100,000	125,000	135,000	153,353
Carlsbad Cavern	-	-	-	90,104	81,275	61,474	53,768	88,349	113,753	148,129	201,333	205,765
Isle Royale	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fort McHenry*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	274,000	141,098	166,510	219,159	283,822
Everglades	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Big Bend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Olympic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,200	24,600	23,520	75,310

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period.

Park	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946
Yellowstone	486,936	526,437	579,696	185,746	61,696	86,593	189,264	807,917
Sequoia	275,329	282,198	302,530	154,880	62,780	54,600	137,875	315,365
General Grant/Kings Canyon†	161,080	201,545	173,587	97,745	60,651	35,203	82,442	221,990
Yosemite	466,552	506,781	597,863	319,816	116,682	120,494	290,569	640,483
Mount Rainier	361,787	456,637	476,776	343,575	124,474	135,277	304,227	470,903
Crater Lake	225,101	252,482	274,002	88,568	28,850	44,389	79,535	208,640
Wind Cave	16,202	18,028	21,095	10,650	2,989	3,784	10,298	84,800
Sully's Hill*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mesa Verde	32,246	36,448	42,406	13,045	4,621	5,561	12,994	39,843
Platt	358,240	309,749	317,685	143,477	73,816	180,686	297,171	506,524
Glacier	170,073	177,307	178,449	62,196	23,908	35,857	67,942	200,547
Rocky Mountain	609,029	627,847	681,845	383,670	124,353	211,953	356,793	804,588
Hawaii	226,741	287,810	271,824	337,926	394,140	402,475	368,629	405,755
Lassen Volcanic	100,880	104,619	109,272	48,144	18,971	19,060	45,225	99,067
Mount McKinley	2,262	1,201	1,688	5	12	0	19	1,134
Grand Canyon	395,940	371,613	436,566	132,584	71,650	64,568	169,960	486,834
Lafayette/Acadia†	396,468	382,084	409,961	36,544	8,246	12,916	20,200	382,390
Zion	158,063	165,029	192,805	68,797	44,089	42,243	78,280	212,280
Hot Springs	178,755	182,583	208,107	166,661	195,842	254,834	278,626	288,275
Utah/Bryce Canyon†	101,500	103,362	124,563	30,019	7,690	10,311	33,463	125,828
Great Smoky Mountains	761,567	860,960	1,310,101	728,706	383,116	534,586	750,690	1,157,930
Shenandoah	911,612	950,807	1,071,199	138,098	41,831	137,831	542,718	709,789
Mammoth Cave	116,516	117,751	165,996	87,157	44,611	49,389	70,513	162,877
Grand Teton	87,133	103,324	125,489	33,808	8,203	19,978	41,349	136,441
Carlsbad Cavern	212,348	236,653	285,418	124,809	89,128	122,467	193,237	380,465
Isle Royale	-	2,962	7,257	6,128	5,376	3,751	6,139	7,068
Fort McHenry*	258,403	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Everglades	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Big Bend	-	-	-	-	-	1,409	3,205	10,037
Olympic	42,125	91,863	92,667	72,349	56,681	56,076	106,740	123,698

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period.

Appendix B-3 – Visitation at Designated National Parks, 1947 – 1976.

Park	Establishment Year	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
Yellowstone	1872	937,776	1,018,279	1,131,159	1,110,524	1,163,894
Sequoia	1890	373,892	403,968	367,627	379,218	452,538
Yosemite	1890	777,622	745,899	808,372	820,953	858,405
Mount Rainier	1899	519,698	570,053	584,004	573,685	873,877
Crater Lake	1902	378,000	313,580	330,829	310,796	289,286
Wind Cave	1903	102,227	108,331	118,268	79,344	130,337
Mesa Verde	1906	52,975	59,362	78,024	88,184	99,309
Platt*	1906 (1976)	701,224	692,945	1,153,848	1,291,828	827,277
Glacier	1910	327,300	284,549	482,208	482,298	496,142
Rocky Mountain	1915	923,065	1,023,262	1,148,216	1,275,160	1,167,093
Lassen Volcanic	1916	149,848	160,707	172,496	183,815	203,609
Hawaii/Hawaii Volcanoes†	1916/1961	382,482	387,753	350,504	362,245	498,023
Mount McKinley	1917	3,466	4,512	4,831	6,672	7,807
Zion	1919	273,953	297,571	307,881	323,402	331,079
Grand Canyon	1919	622,363	618,033	600,690	665,039	682,152
Hot Springs	1921	300,820	304,021	314,949	294,955	307,426
Great Smoky Mountains	1926	1,204,017	1,469,749	1,539,641	1,843,620	1,945,100
Shenandoah	1926	858,630	932,068	1,157,946	1,279,387	1,412,499
Mammoth Cave	1926	185,111	180,621	211,792	254,187	364,213
Bryce Canyon	1928	163,172	175,975	192,552	212,976	224,801
Acadia	1929	434,069	420,846	438,584	485,220	518,556
Grand Teton	1929	142,975	153,054	166,506	189,286	637,785
Carlsbad Cavern	1930	405,266	435,481	431,187	467,283	493,618
Isle Royale	1931	7,867	7,922	9,518	3,100	2,370
Everglades	1934	-	7,482	94,927	123,405	142,971
Big Bend	1935	28,652	45,670	62,150	70,325	84,051
Olympic	1938	180,617	191,578	414,787	404,125	414,916
Kings Canyon	1940	236,687	279,231	294,021	337,840	450,031
Virgin Islands	1956	-	-	-	-	-
Haleakala	1960	-	-	-	-	-
Petrified Forest	1962	-	-	-	-	-
Canyonlands	1964	-	-	-	-	-
Guadalupe Mountains	1966	-	-	-	-	-
North Cascades	1968	-	-	-	-	-
Redwood	1968	-	-	-	-	-
Capitol Reef	1971	-	-	-	-	-
Voyageurs	1971	-	-	-	-	-
Arches	1971	-	-	-	-	-

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period (Abolishment dates shown in parentheses).

Park	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Yellowstone	1,350,295	1,326,858	1,328,900	1,368,500	1,457,800
Sequoia	472,062	501,259	484,700	518,000	538,100
Yosemite	973,971	969,225	1,008,000	984,200	1,114,200
Mount Rainier	877,388	768,015	795,000	839,200	850,700
Crater Lake	312,677	332,835	370,600	343,800	359,800
Wind Cave	352,577	305,875	276,700	267,900	279,200
Mesa Verde	105,700	136,123	150,300	161,300	186,800
Platt*	844,006	729,895	826,100	1,138,600	777,700
Glacier	649,689	633,480	608,200	674,100	718,900
Rocky Mountain	1,364,503	1,420,152	1,425,600	1,454,000	1,587,400
Lassen Volcanic	212,550	225,328	282,400	304,400	303,800
Hawaii/Hawaii Volcanoes†	694,632	416,942	444,600	416,700	521,400
Mount McKinley	7,310	6,839	5,000	3,400	5,200
Zion	352,921	389,445	416,800	406,800	421,200
Grand Canyon	737,159	836,878	814,700	892,400	1,033,700
Hot Springs	326,016	338,828	363,100	372,600	382,100
Great Smoky Mountains	2,322,152	2,250,772	2,526,900	2,581,500	2,885,800
Shenandoah	1,494,647	1,673,346	1,659,600	1,543,400	1,623,500
Mammoth Cave	438,030	499,416	439,800	447,800	466,100
Bryce Canyon	225,113	242,820	238,200	254,200	257,600
Acadia	549,075	556,195	553,800	655,000	735,500
Grand Teton	785,343	942,966	1,003,500	1,104,700	1,197,200
Carlsbad Cavern	531,751	510,318	444,300	466,200	455,000
Isle Royale	2,830	3,611	4,300	5,200	5,200
Everglades	168,621	206,773	218,000	247,100	267,000
Big Bend	94,367	86,635	67,300	81,000	89,700
Olympic	449,117	625,703	663,100	744,900	864,600
Kings Canyon	448,156	435,548	551,500	556,100	669,800
Virgin Islands	-	-	-	-	-
Haleakala	-	-	-	-	-
Petrified Forest	-	-	-	-	-
Canyonlands	-	-	-	-	-
Guadalupe Mountains	-	-	-	-	-
North Cascades	-	-	-	-	-
Redwood	-	-	-	-	-
Capitol Reef	-	-	-	-	-
Voyageurs	-	-	-	-	-
Arches	-	-	-	-	-

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period.

Park	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Yellowstone	1,595,900	1,442,400	1,408,700	1,443,300	1,524,100
Sequoia	535,800	512,200	547,300	610,800	610,200
Yosemite	1,138,700	1,139,300	1,061,500	1,150,400	1,227,100
Mount Rainier	935,800	1,115,800	1,105,100	1,538,700	1,592,800
Crater Lake	330,500	333,900	341,000	397,700	415,600
Wind Cave	284,900	279,400	265,600	864,600	700,200
Mesa Verde	193,900	201,300	217,400	225,700	227,700
Platt*	905,600	957,100	1,034,400	1,150,500	1,173,500
Glacier	759,200	706,800	722,300	724,500	740,000
Rocky Mountain	1,508,200	1,478,200	1,459,600	1,532,500	1,538,000
Lassen Volcanic	327,300	346,700	379,900	401,800	460,000
Hawaii/Hawaii Volcanoes†	517,300	461,300	786,000	709,100	769,600
Mount McKinley	10,700	25,900	25,800	22,500	18,300
Zion	525,100	590,700	585,000	575,800	604,700
Grand Canyon	1,102,400	1,064,000	1,169,400	1,187,700	1,253,000
Hot Springs	363,500	384,800	404,700	719,100	891,300
Great Smoky Mountains	2,943,700	3,168,900	3,162,300	4,528,600	4,762,100
Shenandoah	1,655,500	1,655,300	1,786,700	1,780,100	1,929,300
Mammoth Cave	450,200	480,100	490,300	519,100	519,300
Bryce Canyon	263,000	248,500	278,300	272,000	264,800
Acadia	858,900	816,500	755,900	1,638,200	1,574,600
Grand Teton	1,306,300	1,428,500	1,529,600	1,429,900	1,492,400
Carlsbad Cavern	451,100	435,200	483,900	537,000	590,000
Isle Royale	5,200	4,000	5,800	6,400	6,500
Everglades	344,700	443,300	500,200	579,200	566,800
Big Bend	75,000	72,600	70,400	75,900	90,600
Olympic	864,800	1,181,500	1,077,400	1,160,400	1,519,500
Kings Canyon	638,500	683,900	718,500	759,800	748,600
Virgin Islands	11,900	13,900	19,800	27,200	30,600
Haleakala	-	-	-	62,100	65,800
Petrified Forest	-	-	-	-	-
Canyonlands	-	-	-	-	-
Guadalupe Mountains	-	-	-	-	-
North Cascades	-	-	-	-	-
Redwood	-	-	-	-	-
Capitol Reef	-	-	-	-	-
Voyageurs	-	-	-	-	-
Arches	-	-	-	-	-

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period.

Park	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Yellowstone	1,925,200	1,872,500	1,929,300	2,062,500	2,130,300
Sequoia	687,400	631,700	654,100	877,300	797,800
Yosemite	1,505,500	1,473,400	1,547,000	1,635,400	1,817,100
Mount Rainier	1,905,300	1,544,300	1,439,900	1,643,100	1,722,300
Crater Lake	592,400	475,700	494,100	480,500	552,500
Wind Cave	818,600	931,100	894,300	885,600	928,500
Mesa Verde	262,200	325,300	344,400	378,300	423,400
Platt*	1,218,600	1,422,600	1,316,300	1,460,500	1,233,800
Glacier	966,100	810,200	642,200	847,100	907,800
Rocky Mountain	1,773,800	1,855,400	1,885,900	1,619,800	1,865,600
Lassen Volcanic	399,000	369,300	407,700	400,300	462,500
Hawaii/Hawaii Volcanoest	421,600	494,700	517,900	573,900	607,600
Mount McKinley	16,600	18,400	19,200	21,400	31,300
Zion	622,100	681,100	705,200	763,600	815,200
Grand Canyon	1,447,400	1,539,500	1,576,600	1,689,200	1,806,000
Hot Springs	1,874,000	1,870,600	1,787,300	1,809,400	1,763,700
Great Smoky Mountains	5,209,800	5,258,700	5,321,100	5,954,900	6,466,100
Shenandoah	2,049,400	2,237,800	2,276,200	2,289,400	2,349,100
Mammoth Cave	569,300	636,100	793,400	872,200	1,143,800
Bryce Canyon	251,000	289,500	300,300	366,800	396,600
Acadia	1,601,500	1,864,800	2,011,600	1,733,600	2,158,400
Grand Teton	1,799,400	2,158,800	2,456,800	2,507,000	2,673,100
Carlsbad Cavern	556,000	586,600	588,000	591,000	604,800
Isle Royale	5,400	7,800	8,200	9,500	10,800
Everglades	626,100	669,200	792,600	977,600	1,017,100
Big Bend	91,000	114,200	119,700	174,600	163,500
Olympic	2,044,400	1,576,200	1,343,600	2,058,000	1,752,000
Kings Canyon	826,100	778,600	831,600	848,900	923,400
Virgin Islands	55,400	86,200	71,600	57,400	66,000
Haleakala	71,200	72,100	87,600	90,100	95,500
Petrified Forest	705,000	786,000	884,000	867,800	849,800
Canyonlands	-	-	-	19,400	20,200
Guadalupe Mountains	-	-	-	-	-
North Cascades	-	-	-	-	-
Redwood	-	-	-	-	-
Capitol Reef	-	-	-	-	-
Voyageurs	-	-	-	-	-
Arches	-	-	-	-	-

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period.

Park	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Yellowstone	2,210,000	2,229,700	2,193,700	2,297,300	2,120,500
Sequoia	746,900	874,300	919,300	875,700	878,500
Yosemite	2,238,300	2,281,100	2,291,300	2,277,200	2,342,200
Mount Rainier	1,805,900	1,682,700	1,659,500	1,925,100	1,319,400
Crater Lake	499,400	578,300	544,900	535,000	535,000
Wind Cave	882,100	962,200	896,600	997,100	550,100
Mesa Verde	435,000	449,800	513,800	527,200	518,500
Platt*	1,345,600	1,707,500	1,611,900	1,586,000	1,723,100
Glacier	884,000	964,500	1,051,200	1,241,600	1,302,200
Rocky Mountain	1,915,200	2,187,600	2,217,200	2,357,900	2,449,900
Lassen Volcanic	358,300	442,800	435,700	466,600	447,400
Hawaii/Hawaii Volcanoes†	786,200	918,000	719,900	822,300	956,700
Mount McKinley	39,800	33,300	45,400	46,000	44,500
Zion	788,400	877,100	904,300	903,600	897,000
Grand Canyon	1,804,900	1,986,300	2,192,600	2,258,200	2,402,100
Hot Springs	1,981,300	1,913,900	1,852,300	2,092,400	1,824,400
Great Smoky Mountains	6,710,100	6,667,100	6,331,100	6,778,500	7,173,000
Shenandoah	2,133,100	2,273,200	2,400,900	2,411,500	2,140,600
Mammoth Cave	1,282,800	1,540,200	1,299,700	1,726,500	1,571,900
Bryce Canyon	295,000	320,800	366,900	345,900	377,800
Acadia	2,102,000	2,303,300	2,489,800	2,776,300	2,101,100
Grand Teton	2,643,700	2,970,300	3,134,400	3,352,500	2,556,400
Carlsbad Cavern	630,800	668,400	672,900	712,700	791,600
Isle Royale	9,500	10,100	10,400	14,400	15,900
Everglades	1,098,300	1,251,500	1,187,200	1,273,500	1,100,500
Big Bend	173,300	191,800	199,800	172,600	205,000
Olympic	1,905,300	2,013,800	2,135,900	2,283,100	1,621,400
Kings Canyon	909,900	1,064,000	946,000	1,019,000	887,000
Virgin Islands	102,700	123,800	117,000	126,600	133,700
Haleakala	102,700	132,700	146,800	197,400	222,800
Petrified Forest	797,200	869,400	1,004,900	1,151,400	1,072,000
Canyonlands	23,200	26,300	26,000	33,400	55,400
Guadalupe Mountains	-	-	-	-	27,100
North Cascades	-	-	-	295,000	210,800
Redwood	-	-	-	-	34,500
Capitol Reef	-	-	-	-	225,500
Voyageurs	-	-	-	-	-
Arches	-	-	-	-	202,100

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period.

Park	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Yellowstone	2,236,888	2,061,700	1,928,900	2,239,500	2,519,200
Sequoia	867,051	845,500	686,600	957,000	1,040,600
Yosemite	2,190,301	2,254,300	2,274,600	2,537,400	2,682,400
Mount Rainier	1,275,589	1,065,400	1,138,100	1,176,500	1,414,500
Crater Lake	566,655	505,300	496,100	356,500	532,700
Wind Cave	505,000	479,900	428,700	324,500	458,100
Mesa Verde	546,286	482,900	445,400	614,500	675,100
Platt*	1,704,200	1,694,100	1,749,900	1,652,600	-
Glacier	1,391,299	1,397,800	1,405,500	1,570,000	1,661,200
Rocky Mountain	2,513,420	2,507,600	2,489,300	2,842,200	2,727,900
Lassen Volcanic	504,641	496,200	408,700	444,500	461,400
Hawaii/Hawaii Volcanoes†	1,365,104	1,236,500	1,164,900	1,353,900	1,430,500
Mount McKinley	88,625	137,300	161,400	160,600	157,600
Zion	889,417	993,800	859,300	1,055,200	1,090,000
Grand Canyon	2,698,300	1,909,700	1,888,600	2,625,100	2,791,600
Hot Springs	1,974,038	1,768,300	1,631,400	1,351,000	1,117,900
Great Smoky Mountains	8,034,753	7,586,300	7,807,800	8,541,500	8,991,500
Shenandoah	2,038,224	2,308,400	1,949,400	2,420,600	2,448,600
Mammoth Cave	1,699,782	1,754,500	1,566,900	1,680,700	1,748,900
Bryce Canyon	424,830	429,700	408,800	579,200	625,600
Acadia	2,285,881	2,394,000	2,335,800	2,380,500	2,353,300
Grand Teton	2,490,266	2,228,600	2,392,900	2,173,500	2,834,700
Carlsbad Cavern	856,086	840,100	672,400	790,000	876,500
Isle Royale	16,116	15,700	13,900	16,800	17,000
Everglades	1,534,328	1,044,000	781,200	782,400	955,700
Big Bend	240,904	283,300	158,700	275,500	378,600
Olympic	2,464,637	2,384,800	2,094,100	2,289,200	2,327,400
Kings Canyon	1,051,755	899,300	1,216,800	1,031,500	1,127,900
Virgin Islands	148,626	150,100	154,800	156,900	182,600
Haleakala	271,326	360,600	433,500	524,900	650,300
Petrified Forest	1,223,473	1,065,100	781,000	979,400	1,066,200
Canyonlands	60,639	62,500	59,000	71,700	80,000
Guadalupe Mountains	39,100	45,100	37,500	50,300	81,400
North Cascades	546,266	865,600	882,000	866,200	765,600
Redwood	104,304	210,500	297,400	368,200	421,700
Capitol Reef	251,163	288,800	214,100	263,400	425,100
Voyageurs	-	-	-	-	121,200
Arches	225,128	274,900	166,900	236,100	294,800

† - Park renamed or reorganized during this period.

* - Park abolished during this period.

Appendix C – Material Coding Sheet for Article Evaluations.

Material Coding Sheet Recording Date: ____/____/____ Record ID #: _____

File Property Information

File Location and Name: _____ File Scan Date: ____/____/____

Original File Location: _____ File Page Length: _____

Source Material Information

Item Type: _____

Item Title: _____

Source Name: _____ Author: _____

Publication Date: ____/____/____ Publishing City: _____ Page Number: _____

Discourse Classifications

Discourse Theme

- Road Building and Automobile Industry
- Local and Regional Promotional Efforts
- Outdoor Recreation
- Federal Land Management Policies

Discourse Time Period

- Pre-1916 Era
- 1917-1946
- 1947-1976

Discourse Regions

- Crater Lake National Park *National Park Site*
- Crater Lake Communities *Local National Park Communities*
- Crater Lake Community, County Level *National Park Community, County Level*
- Southwest Oregon *Intrastate Region*
- Oregon *State-wide*
- West Coast *Regional*
- National *National*

Item Description and Summary

VITA

Stephen Michael O'Connell

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: ACCESS, DISCOURSE, AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CHANGE:
THE CASE OF NATIONAL PARK COMMUNITIES ALONG THE
CRATER LAKE HIGHWAY IN JACKSON COUNTY, OREGON

Major Field: Geography

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in San Francisco, California, on September 20, 1976.

Education: Graduated from RHAM High School in Hebron, Connecticut, in June 1994; received Bachelor of Arts degree in Geography from Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, Virginia, in May 1998; received Master of Science Degree in Geography from Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma, in December 2000. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Geography at Oklahoma State University in July 2010.

Experience: Employed by the Department of Geography at Oklahoma State University as a graduate teaching assistant, graduate research assistant, and cartographic aide, 1998 to 2000; served in Americorps*NCCC national volunteer service as assistant team-leader in 2001; employed by GIS/Mapping Department at Northeast Utilities in Berlin, Connecticut, 2002 to 2004; employed by the National Science Foundation as a graduate teaching fellow with the *Rural Alliance for Improving Science Education*, 2004 to 2007; employed by the Department of Geography at Oklahoma State University as graduate teaching associate, 2007 to 2008; employed by the Department of Geography at the University of Mary Washington as Visiting Instructor and Adjunct Instructor, 2008 to 2010; employed by Germanna Community College as Adjunct Instructor, 2009 to 2010.

Professional Memberships: Association of American Geographers,
National Council for Geographic Education

Name: Stephen Michael O'Connell

Date of Degree: July, 2010

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: ACCESS, DISCOURSE, AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE
CHANGE: THE CASE OF NATIONAL PARK COMMUNITIES
ALONG THE CRATER LAKE HIGHWAY IN JACKSON COUNTY,
OREGON.

Pages in Study: 312

Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: Geography

Scope and Method of Study: This dissertation examined changes in the cultural landscape along the Crater Lake Highway in southern Oregon and related those changes to local discourse of four principal development themes. The purpose was to establish a link between increased access at national park sites and landscape evolution in surrounding regions. Field and archival research was performed in the communities surrounding Crater Lake National Park, with a particular focus on areas in Jackson County, Oregon. Primary and secondary material provided the context for development along the route during the first 75 years of the 20th Century. Over 900 newspaper articles from local, state, and national sources were analyzed to determine contemporary attitudes towards automobiles and road building, boosterism, outdoor recreation, and federal land management.

Findings and Conclusions: The study found significant changes in the amount of automobile access along the route during the study period. These changes in access mirrored many changes that occurred near park sites throughout the nation over the course of the Twentieth Century. For the communities along the route, realignments and the corresponding increased speeds of traffic transformed their role for passing motorists. Businesses which catered to tourists destined for the park modified their services to suit the changing expectations of modern American travelers. In the evaluation of local discourse themes, automobile and road building was the most dominant overall. However the representative coverage of that theme in local media declined in the post-World War II period. Outdoor recreation and federal land management themes saw a steady increase over the study period as the economy of the Crater Lake Region became more focused on the tourism draw of the park and the surrounding Cascade Mountains. With the changes in access and the shifting focus of local attention came some substantial modifications of the cultural landscape along the route.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Thomas A. Wikle