To Love a Thing:

An Analysis of the Rim Road at Crater Lake National Park in its Early Years

The United States Railroad Administration's 1918 brochure on Crater Lake National Park describes the mountain the lake sits deep within, Mount Mazama, as "an uncrowned king, shorn of its diadem of burning gold and glittering silver, yet holding within its heart a treasure the rarest in the world" (Source D, page 5). If the mountain is this king, its long gone peak its diadem, and the lake its heart, then the Rim Road is a necklace placed delicately on its shoulders, one made first of dirt and then of concrete. Decoration, argued into existence by those who believed that beauty was a necessity. Focusing on the early years of its conception and construction in the early 1900s, the Rim Road at Crater Lake National Park exemplifies in a unique manner the perspectives on the purpose of the national parks held by National Park Service officials, Congressional officials, and the general American public, as well as bringing to light the influences of advancing technology, the manufactured creation of recreational opportunities, and the contested access to outdoor spaces.

The rapid influence of automobility in the national parks has long been recognized, and Crater Lake is no exception. The first permitted road to the rim of the crater was completed in 1905, and the first survey for a road system began in 1910 (Source M, page 4), when only 223 private auto permits were distributed (Source U, page 200). The quick rise to fame of the automobile can easily be seen in the park's annual reports, where in 1910 "Roads, Trails, and Bridges" is found as the eleventh section (Source W, page 3), and by 1913 "Roads" are listed in isolation as the first section (Source X, page 2), a clear indication of the focus of the administration at the time and the importance that they put on the Rim Road, which was starting its major construction in 1913. Attendance in the park tripled in the years between 1909 and 1916, predominantly attributed to the quick rise in automobile licenses issued by the National Park Service, which doubled between 1914 and 1916 alone. In 1916, his first year as the Director of the National Park Service, Stephen Mather boasted about the surge of visitors to the parks in general in

reference to the number of cars rather than people, and described their visits by stating that they "passed through them and made tours of the parks" (Source K1, page 5). This rapid intrusion of automobiles and the access they afforded the public to these places is now largely seen as being in direct opposition to the original and idealistic purpose of the National Park System.

In 1916, the National Park Service Act gave the Department of the Interior "the sole duty of protecting, promoting and developing these playgrounds in the public interest" (Source B, pg 11), and agreed that "they are not designated solely for the purpose of supplying recreation grounds" (Source T), but should instead follow three principles of parks management that had been laid down by Secretary Franklin Lane. These principles included "the stimulating of national patriotism", "the furthering of knowledge and health", and "the diverting of tourist travel to the scenic areas of the United States" (Source T). On the first point, Secretary Lane had written in the Railroad Administration's brochure that "Uncle Sam… has built roads through deep cut canyons and beside happy streams, which will carry you into these places in comfort" and that it was every American's responsibility to see them (Source D, page 4), of course promoting auto travel and the idea that the visitors comfort was a key part of the experience. It was understood that the National Parks were different from other sites such as national monuments in the fact that they included "development by roads and trails and hotels, so as to become a convenient resort for the people to visit and enjoy" (Source A, page 5). Calls for additional roads in the parks specified their creation for the purpose of providing the "maximum of enjoyment… with a minimum of inconvenience." (Source V, page 21). It was also apparent that those in charge of structuring the national park system believed that visitors should spend an adequate amount of time in the parks, and were looking for ways to engage and retain visitors to the extent they saw fit. In 1926 Stephen Mather stated his belief that a person visiting these sites "should spend the entire summer there", and was worried about changes that might "stimulate the desire to keep moving around, and [visitors] would only spend a few hours in one park" (Source R). This issue of retainment proves true to this day, with the average trip made to Crater Lake averaging only four hours by 2003 (Source C). It was a common understanding among government

officials in favor of the parks that they were an immense economic benefit to the country (Source K1, page 3), and that "the expenditure of money for the maintenance and development of our scenic reservations has an economic as well as aesthetic justification" (Source T). It was argued in a 1915 report that scenery could be just as valuable an economic asset as coal and timber, that the view itself was a natural resource (Source T). Stephen Mather was a businessman before he was an advocate of the parks, and "growth was his ideal in parks visitation, as it had been in borax sales" (Source J1). More people meant more Congressional funding, and better accommodations which would in turn create more money to the point that the park could be self-sufficient, the ultimate goal for Congressional shareholders. While some members of Congress believed in the lack of visitor or auto fees to access the parks, others were of the opinion that parks needed to be able to create enough revenue to support their administration and protection costs and their government "should only be requested to appropriate funds for their improvement" (Source K1, page 9).

As one of these "playgrounds", Crater Lake was set aside for a multitude of reasons, including recreation, entertainment, and scenic value, all of which connected and tied into the economic value that the park presented. In 1886, William Gladstone Steel, known as the "Father of Crater Lake National Park", wrote in a Portland magazine that "an overmastering conviction came to me that this wonderful spot must be saved, wild and beautiful, just as it was, for all future generations, and that it was up to me to do something" (Source G1). Steel was also an early advocate for the road circling the lake, and the man who stocked the caldera with fish, so he did not in fact leave Crater Lake just as it was, but the mentality around protecting and altering nature over one hundred years ago was substantially different than the way scholars and the park service view it today. As early as 1887, a defense of Crater Lake in favor of the creation of a national park references the area as valuable for the "instruction and entertainment of visitors" (Source G1), and in 1893, when the round trip from Central Point took 5 days, it was said that the lake would be a "popular resort for tourists and pleasure seekers" despite the rough travel (Source D1). The construction of a new road to the rim was discussed in 1903, with an article in the Medford Mail

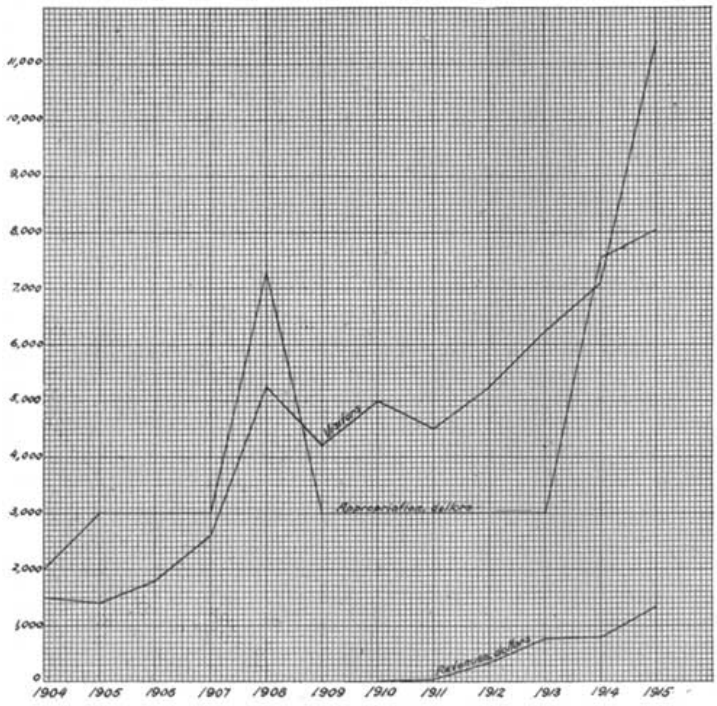
claiming that “Crater Lake travel is sure to become a source of considerable income to the valley” (Source D1), an opinion they were proved correct in having. By the 1920s advertisements on travel to the park, previously brief and to the point on the access points from train stations and existing highways, now include long paragraphs on the scenic values of the routes available (Source H, page 16-17). This change exemplifies the shift in the advertised experience, originally being the specific location and site in the park, and becoming focused on the journey to get there. This change is also a shift from the utilitarian approach to travel to a more romantic approach to the parks by advertising the area around it and the subsequent journey through it as interesting and worthwhile.

But this travel, while romanticized, wasn’t easy, and by 1914, it was claimed that “the time [had] forever passed when macadam roads [would] satisfy the desires of a progressive community” that made up Crater Lake’s visitor population (Source Y, page 6), and that “to foster tourist travel it will be necessary to develop the roads, trails, and other accommodations in the parks to a point where the traveler will not be subjected to serious discomfort” (Source T). The Rim Road is an extension of this idea, an excess. Not something needed in a utilitarian manner, but something justified as necessary. Stephen Mather claimed that “the completion of the Rim Road… will give Crater Lake National Park merited importance as an objective for motor travel” (Source G1), and thus solidified the focus of the park towards auto travel, specifically centered around the Rim Road. After its completion, the Rim Road was prized by Superintendent Thompson as being "easily one third of the value of our Park” and that “until it is fully open, thousands of people are denied…their greatest reaction” (Source C). Thompson later made the claim that “this Rim Road is not a joy ride… but a pilgrimage for the devotees of Nature. It is a spiritual experience – nothing less” (Source S). And while we may argue on the spiritual aspect of the experience, it was just that the road advocates were creating, an experience. But first they had to justify it. The justifications for, and the purpose of, the Rim Road that encircles the caldera are almost identical to those of the park itself, prized for its scenery, its economic benefits, and its entertainment and recreation qualities.

On scenery, advocates in the early days claimed it was "of paramount importance to build a road encircling the crater as near its rim as possible, in order that the lake may be viewed from all possible points" (Source S). In brochures advertising the park in 1920, under the "Seeing Crater Lake" section, the very first reference to the visitor experience in doing so is the Rim Road. For the first time, the road is prioritized above the "unusual fishing" that is advertised to travelers. From this point forward, almost every scenic aspect of the park in the brochure is framed by the Rim Road, even wildflowers along the section to Watchman's Overlook (Source H, page 10). In the 1922 brochure, the road is communicated as the main way to experience the park, warning drivers to stop at select locations and that if they do not, they will "miss[] one of the most instructive, withal entrancing, views to be had on the entire rim road" (Source B, pg 78), describing the views as a part of the road, rather than the inverse. This advertisement is one of the early moments when the discussion of scenery of the park includes the road as its own sight to see, in one section discussing the view by describing "the winding course of the highway at the base of Castle Crest" (Source B, pg 79). In this same document, the section titled "Summary of the Rim Road Tour" includes a basic summary of the lake in general, attributed to the road. Praise for the beauty of the highway included the claim that it would "soon become famous throughout the world for its unsurpassed scenic beauty and grandeur" (Source V, page 165). A 1920 brochure markets the lake in an interesting fashion, claiming that "the motorist looks down… upon the lake disclosed in complete detail from every point of view" (Source H, page 9), as if it could not be seen when traveling on foot at the rim.

A road around the rim was first sought for only after William Steel had started his company to offer guest services, which "largely stemmed from his optimism about public and private investment at Crater Lake" (Source C), and would draw in a large crowd of travelers specifically using cars as a means of recreation and travel. Worries about costs for the road were dismissed, and in 1910, road sprinklers that were added to keep dirt and dust to a minimal level were justified by the claim that "the cost of such improvement would be nominal in comparison to the benefit received by the traveling public" (Source W, page 9). An

incredibly influential cultural moment coincided with the construction of the Rim Road, and added to the necessity of its speedy construction. The 1915 World's Fair was to be held in San Francisco, and Major J.J Morrow, leading the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers who were constructing the road, was of the opinion that "the trip to the park [would] be one of the favorite side trips of tourists going from Portland to San Francisco", and "as much of this work as possible should be completed prior to the San Francisco Exposition in 1915" (Source S). Authors of a 1911 newspaper article were adamant that "an automobile boulevard about the rim of the crater… is certain to prove a great attraction to the touring public" (Source S). William Steel agreed and stated that the park would "simply be swamped with tourists" and the additions would elevate the park and give them something more to do (Source G1). Bringing in these large numbers of tourists would subsequently bring in entrance fee charges, hotel bookings, and tourists taking advantage of paid tours offered in the park. The road was not finished in its entirely in time for the fair, completed much later in 1919, but the goal to bring in tourists for recreation on the rim road would stay a constant feature of park administration.



(Source T)

The graph for Crater Lake clearly shows the rise in visitors after the park opened to automobiles in 1911 and when the allotted appropriation dollars skyrocketed in 1913 with the start of the construction on the Rim Road.

It was claimed that the automobile had “restored the romance of travel” (Source A1, page 24), and provided a community for travelers through auto-camps and gathering locations, “a place where strangers mingled companionably, exchanging information on road conditions and scenic attractions, borrowing supplies, and helping one another with repairs” (Source A1, page 137). While the actual drive appeared at this time to be a communal good that was to be experienced independently, a community was formed as a result of this method of travel regardless, and added to the advertised benefits of visiting. Superintendent Thompson told visitors in 1923 to "approach the experience [of driving around the rim] in a leisurely and appreciative mood” (Source C), but in other documentation just a year earlier, the experience was referred to as a “hurried circuit” of the lake (Source B). It seemed that while the parks service agreed on the necessity of the road, there was not yet a cohesive ideal for managing the way in which visitors recreated using it. Interpretational aspects of the experience in the 1920s was described as “incidental”, not embedded or necessary in the experience, just purely recreation and not education (Source C). Around 1926 John C. Merriam, a key member of those creating the interpretive programming at the park, stressed the importance of adding “observation stations” along the road, where visitors could stop to appreciate views or locations "which have been determined by experts to be of outstanding importance” (Source C). These stations were implemented by the National Park Service during the reconstruction of the Rim Road as Rim Drive, and clearly show the shift in NPS outlooks on the function and purpose of the Rim Road and the park in general. By the early 1930s, management of recreation on Rim Road included renovations with the goal to create “a more pleasant visitor experience” while also avoiding “creating a super-highway on which motorists ‘would speed around the lake and pass by scenes of beauty in their rush to make the lake circuit’" (Source C), a renewed focus on steering guests in a direction that wasn’t solely driving as recreation.

Much of these themes are true of other parks, but Crater Lake is unique in a few ways that made it stand out as a case study of roads in the national parks. Firstly, it is an extremely early example of these concepts. The main association with the creation of park roads and expanded recreation is the concept of

Mission 66 and the increased campaigns to improve and extend the roads in the national parks, but for Crater Lake these ideas existed and were put into action starting in the early 1910s, although they were expanded on greatly in the 1930s and 40s. The road itself is claimed as unique (Source D, page 9), but for reasons that relate to the park on the whole. Secondly, the creation of the park was relatively simple, attributed to the fact that "it was a small area, highly inaccessible and therefore not much wanted by…commercial interests" (Source N, page 131). This small area is due to the fact that early park advocates were not able to claim the addition of Diamond Lake and Mount Thielsen as part of the park founded in 1902, and these sections have not been added since. The park is seemingly a singular object, a one stop shop that contributes to the low average visiting hours. In the early years of its development, it was excessively difficult to reach, and diaries from the late 1800s recount that after the fight to reach the summit, they "suddenly emerged… [and] the stillness and solitude became almost oppressive" in such a way that "it was not at once [they] could realize just how wonderful it all was" (Source D1). After discussing driving the rim, a 1922 brochure states that "there remains yet one other phase of this place of mystery about which we must certainly inquire. It is the lake itself" (Source B, page 80). The initial focal point of the park itself is mentioned secondarily to the road, just three years after its completion, the road now the leading experience being offered in the park, becoming the destination itself.

This singularity about the park has created a long history of the park being perceived as having a lack of activities or there being a lack of interest in it in general. As early as the 1860s, descriptions of the lake stated that "the first impression made upon your mind is one of disappointment; it does not come up to your expectations" (Source G1). Brochures advertising the park actively stated that other parks had better wildflowers, and that a visitor would be disappointed in the selection at Crater Lake. In 1916, Sunset Magazine claimed that the sight "does not seem so sublime at first, but the mote is in your own eye… it takes you days to see" the splendor of the park (Source F, page 8). It took much convincing to get a similar level of funding and interest that other larger, more diverse, and more visited parks were receiving, but by 1916, with the Rim Road well underway, there was a louder call to catch Crater Lake up

to its fellow founding parks (Source K1, page 23). Mather's reports on the parks attempted to change this view of the park, pushing the idea that while "very little is known about the scenery of Crater Lake Park beyond that which is to be observed from the rim of the crater… the park really has an interesting variety of scenery, and its boundaries should be extended to include the Diamond Lake region to the northward". This would solve the issue of having a single attraction, and "the park would have a variety of scenic features to offer to the tourist that would compare favorably with the diversity of scenery in most of the very large mountain parks" (Source V, page 54-55). Although "parks need not be large" (Source N, page 195), Crater Lake was comparatively small, and seemingly lacked the diversity larger parks boasted (Source D, page 3).. It was less cohesive or impressive to the public, and needed something else to draw people in. When they didn't succeed in the Diamond Lake addition, they expanded on what the public already came for, the single view of the lake, this time all the way around. After the road was complete, a visitor described previous visits, stating that "after the first gasp, there was an awkward pause. It was like entering a beautiful residence, expecting to greet an old friend, but finding no one at home… after a few "Ohs" and "Ahs"... one was eager to get away" (Source G1). The successful change was attributed to better hospitality and management of the park as a whole, including the Rim Road.

In other parks, with a less singular focus, roads were "designed to provide a beautifully unfolding series of views of glaciers, rain forests, and wildlife habitats, the windshield in effect serving as the screen on which images of wild nature were projected for maximum visual impact" (Source Q, page xi). The path to the rim did not fit this criteria, as it was impossible to view the reason for the visit until reaching the rim of the lake. There was no lead in as there was in other parks, where the surroundings are similar to the destination, and visitors found the end destination "hard to grasp" based on their travel to the rim (Source D, page 3). Parks such as Olympic and Mount Rainier have multiple focuses, many hidden gems that their roads were designed purposely to showcase on the way to a final destination, either a beach, an overlook, the lodge on the mountain top, and still held a utilitarian aspect. You couldn't see that clear blue water from the highway like you could see Tahoma, or the range of the North Cascades, its geology makes it

simply impossible. You had to be *there,* standing at the rim of the lake, to have witnessed it. The philosophies for other park roads wouldn't apply here. While all the major one-road parks uphold the purpose of seeing the most in the shortest amount of time, in the instance of Crater Lake, the road created recreation rather than mitigated it. Where the road at Mount Rainier was a form of crowd control in ushering visitors to various points of interest, the Rim Road became necessary for visitors to witness the object that had been marketed to them. David Louter discusses how the Park to Park Highway idea allowed tourists to "think of parks and highways as a part of the same public landscape" (Source Q, page 43), and such as with his comparison to the proposed Rainier Road around the mountain, Rim Road allows tourists to think of the park by thinking of the road, as an experience one and the same, and inseparable. While visually on the map it looks like a detour loop, the Rim Road fills this gap of wanting to present the tourist with a drive *through* the park that allows them to weave in and out of gorgeous views and forested corridors. In the auto age where other parks were using roads to get people in and around parks in a timely, if enjoyable, manner, the Rim Road created an activity in the hopes that it would enrich visitor experience and appreciation for the park, rather than be a quick, if beautiful, pit stop. At the time before the rim road, visitors of the western parks were intended to travel in and out of Medford to continue on to Mount Rainier, not even passing through the northern entrance. This meant that, while the drive up the mountain was gorgeous, their auto experience that they associated with the lake itself began and ended in the parking lot. Marketed to tourists as a place to take their cars, Crater Lake was in need of providing that particular recreational activity.

Photograph by Fred H. Kiser.
SECTION OF THE RIM ROAD WHICH ENCIRCLES THE LAKE.

1926 Brochure (Source K)

In terms of creating recreational opportunities, the Rim Road is not the first nor last alteration that the parks service would implement in the park, but it is probably the most known. It is firstly necessary to add that the creation of travel to the park as a marketable experience ignored the existence of the indigenous people in the area and the ways they interacted with the lake as a sacred site. Late 1800s diaries state that "for many years the Indians could but be induced to visit the lake as they believed it to by the abode of a great Indian chief of God, whom they greatly feared. But they have since dismissed this superstition, and many have gazed upon it in astonishment" (Source P). We know that this is generally not true, and that the indigenous people in the area such as the Klamath Tribes went on journeys known as vision quests to the caldera when they reached life crises or milestones, such as puberty or mourning for spiritual cleansing (Douglas Deur source). Proceedings of the National Park Conference included the statement that "it was their belief that if any young member of their tribe ever looked upon this lake that his usefulness to his tribe as a warrior was forever destroyed; but in recent years through the advantages of education and enlightenment they have laid aside all such superstitions and legends and often make visits and camping trips to the lake" (Source U, page 198). While not unique to Crater Lake, this idea that the indigenous people weren't actually connected to the land, either too scared to go near the majesty of the sites or not strong enough to survive its rugged terrain, added to the idea that this was "new" land, land "discovered" by the white man that was conquered for the American people to recreate in. Many locations along the rim hold spiritual or cultural significance to the indigenous peoples local to the area, most

specifically Llao rock, and the destruction of the land for the construction of the road is another example of the influence of white, non-indigenous people's views on wilderness and nature, and making Crater Lake a site to recreate at instead of acting as a spiritual sanctuary.

The addition of trails and camps were already multiple and frequent, with a 1917 report claiming that the addition of a trail down to the lake in the coming year would "result in lengthening the stay of every visitor" (Source V, page 54). The same idea was true of the road. But not everyone agreed on the level of alterations that should be made in a park. An 1871 entry describes that the party regretted to find out "that the boat [had since been] destroyed through the carelessness of some parties who used it consequently" (Source D1), and with the creation of recreational activities in the park, so followed management principles in order to restrict and facilitate access to such activities. In 1907, William Steel obtained a license to provide multiple additive experiences, including camping, transportation services, gasoline services, and rowboats on the surface of the lake (Source N, page 133-134). He also stocked the lake with fish to "improve recreational opportunities", forever altering the fragile pristine ecosystem of the lake which, with no inlets and no outlets, had not previously been occupied by any living thing. This addition became the focus for visitors, with one guest in 1918 stating that his "delight in the grandeur of this view, it must be confessed, was heightened by the knowledge that the lake was inhabited by large rainbow trout which would rise to the fly" (Source D, page 3), and advertisements that pushed the idea that sport was the must-do draw of the park to visitors (Source B, page 97). In 1915 an added section was introduced in the annual report for a tunnel to the lake, claiming that the trail made the lake inaccessible, a life "is wholly impracticable", and suggested that, for the cost of only $1,000, they could investigate creating a tunnel from "a point on the road… to the surface of the water" (Source Z, page 10). At the time, this creation of recreational opportunities were not seen as invasive or intrusive to the park and other intrusions on this "purity" such as the Yosemite "Fire Fall", where the owner of a hotel in the valley made an event of pushing burning embers off of a cliff for the entertainment of guests in the 1870s, were overlooked by the National Park Service in the early days, when it seemed that "none of [the alterations

or instructions] violated the agency's core mandate" (Source J1). In line with catering to the tourists' wants and needs, reports note that they "usually to avoid retracing familiar roads", which showcased the emergence of every aspect of a trip needing to be a "unique experience" (Source L, page 10), no repetition in a place with one major marketable site. This example solidifies the place of the Rim Road as a man-made creation of a recreation activity, fulfilling a purpose separate from utilitarian travel. By 1935, when the then Rim Drive was listed as a place of interest, instead of a way to get to the places of interest, ranger-led trips around the lake were being marketed to private car owners to follow and join in the interpretive activities (Source M, page III). In summary, it is embedded deep in the history of the park that activities within it have been manufactured to an extreme extent, leaving very little of the "wilderness character" the parks had been so prized to showcase.

MOTORS ON RIM ROAD OVER SKELL HEAD.

The Rim Road, 35 miles in length, entirely encircles the lake, affording dazzling viewpoints 800 to 1,000 feet above the water's surface.

1923 Brochure (Source J)

Throughout this era of falsified recreation, technology inherently played a large role in the changes happening within the park. The lifespan of the Rim Road encapsulates the auto-boom in its entirety, from the late 1800s to the modern highway system. In early stages of development, the road was cleared first by hand shoveling the snow, followed by horse-drawn equipment to fully clear the roadway (Source C). In later years it would be leveled, resurfaced, redesigned and reconstructed, and finally paved. Early documentation of automobile entry in the park included visitors proving to park rangers that their machine ran functionally and was able to reach the rim of the lake, in a time when so many did not and

walked the final mile to the rim (Source F, page 18). In the 1920 season heavy snowfall and lack of equipment resulted in the roads to the lodge opening late on June 26th, and the Rim Road wasn't cleared until August 2nd by "a liberal use of T.N.T. to remove deep drifts" (Source G1), and Mather made the executive decision that the lodge be shut down and "the park would only be kept open for motorists bringing in their own equipment" which "had the effect of materially improving service for the remainder of the season" (Source G1). In 1925, over a fifth of the funds dedicated to park roads were used solely to remove snow in order to open the park. In 1929, the Rim Road opened on July 13th, just two days off from the 2022 opening day, which shows the consistent struggle the conditions in the park create regardless of technological improvements (Source G1). David Louter describes the national parks "not as wild places reserved from progress but known because of it" (Source Q, page 4), and that sentiment encapsulates the goals of the parks service from the beginning of the park until the modern day, constantly battling the elements to protect an ornamental experience in the hope that it influences visitors care and relationship with the site. In 1916 there were two competing rules of thought, one that believed that "the hand of man" should "alter[] only enough to provide roads to enter them, trails to penetrate their fastnesses, and hotels and camps to live in" (Source A, page 6), and the other which believed that the policy of "making appropriations for road and trail construction has been to give only enough to provide for the most immediate needs" was "most unfortunate and expensive" (Source A, page 14). The road around the rim was most definitely an unnecessary intrusion to the land, but still made the cut and presumably fit under the category for immediate needs. Many modern voices might agree with Louter's philosophies should a modern version of the Rim Road be proposed at another site, that "if we are going to succeed in preserving the greatness of the national parks, they must be held inviolate… If we are going to whittle away at them we should recognize, at the very beginning, that all such whittlings are cumulative and that the end result will be mediocrity. Greatness will be gone" (Source N, page 7). Ultimately, the Rim Road has placed itself as a highlight of the park. In 1999, when "certain camper store amenities were located at Mazama Village to make sure that they did not intrude on the central features of the park" (Source I1, page 6), the road was not included among the amenities referred to as intruding, and

inferentially, was one of the central features itself. Included in the 1999 Visitor Services Plan was the stipulation that there would be restricted boating hours "to partially mitigate the pristine lake viewing desired by some visitors" (Source I1, page 10). In the early years of the park, this pristine ideal did not exist in the same fashion, and such intrusions on the still quiet of a place like Crater Lake were disregarded.

A composite image from the Kiser Photo Company, a studio whose original location was on the rim of the lake, shows an advertisement for "tough tires" (Source O). Dated 1909-1914, this advertisement would have been published before the completion of the initial Rim Road, constructed from 1913-1919 in its entirety, but the photo is taken from the northeastern side of the lake, opposite the lodge, and would have required travel around the rim to get there. While we can't be sure that the advertisement is being honest given its collage nature, the message is that the product, the "tough tires", will be able to get their passengers around the lake on rough roads to this viewpoint.

The final influence in the creation of these recreational opportunities is of course the access that the public had to them, the overhanging goal of the national park system. From the beginning, there has been an argument over the institution or lack of entrance fees to the national parks, and varying degrees of disagreement over which park experiences should be accessible in which manner in the parks. Entrance fees, campsites, and transportation services are among the contested services. Congressional interest in Crater Lake came about as early as 1886, when two Congressmen introduced bills advocating for its protection. During discussions on Senator Joseph Dolph's bill, Congress expressed concern over to what

extent the funding for constructing roads would be self-sufficient, but Dolph "promised that the money would be used for roads to make the park accessible" and the bill passed (Source N, page 130-131). Mather explicitly states that he has been asked to make the parks accessible, that is, "to make every effort to provide accommodations in the national parks for all classes of visitors, and to give as much attention to the needs of the tourist with a small income as to those of the wealthy visitor accustomed to luxury" (Source K1, page 3). Here he mentions the "needs" of the tourist, as that is the phrasing that many concessionaires and service industry mouthpieces use to describe the service they are providing. But Mather was the director of the National Park Service, not the CEO of a hospitality company. In some ways, these seemingly contradictory organizations have a lot in common when it comes to their goal in getting people to the parks, and creating the experience they want guests to have. Mather states that "no class of people is excluded… there is equal opportunity for all to come and enjoy the park in their own way. Facilities are provided for travelers who do not carry their own equipment, and, to make these available, franchises under authority of the National Park Service act are granted to a public utility, which is obligated to provide transportation, hotel, camp, and other service" (Source B, pg 12). While Mather was of this opinion, some "feared that the new social phenomenon of automobility might lead to disorderly and dangerous cross-class familiarities" (Source A1, page 18).

Charging for experiences is the main signal for monetary access in the park. In *Taking the Wheel,* it is stated that a columnist for an auto magazine claimed 'motoring and money have a way of always whisking by together'" (Source A1, page 17). In 1917 these first sections to make up the Rim Road were advertised as "special trips", charging $1.00 for the "Sunset Drive", from the lodge to Watchman's Overlook, and $3.00 for a trip to Cloud Cap, at the time a 40 mile distance (Source G). By 1918, the railroad administration was advertising travel to the park in conjunction with the Crater Lake Company that provided the connection between the station and the rim, pushing reduced cost round trip tickets sold at the stations. One way trips to the park were around eight dollars, and round trips between twelve and fifteen (Source D, page 12). Once the end of construction of the Rim Road was in sight, trips around the

rim were advertised as chargeable excursions, starting at five dollars and sometimes including a picnic lunch or various side trips to must-see stops. Additional charges were added for pack animals and guide services (Source D, page 13). Although the road was completed by 1920, fares for transportation within the park remained at ten cents per mile. While this cost stayed stable, the fares for trips around the lake increased with the completion of the road, charging $5.00 for a full circuit (Source H). Although not eliminated as a barrier to entry, it was understood by park administration that "automobile fees in the parks should be reduced as the volume of motor travel increases" (Source R), and by 1926 it was determined that this goal had been met and entrance fees reduced to just $1.00 (Source K), the trip around the lake lowered to $2.00 by 1935 (Source M). In 1922 park officials lifted the restriction on the hours when cars could come and go from the park, eliminating curfews and widening access (Source I). In 1925 visitation passed the 65,000 tally, with 98% of visitors arriving in personal cars, and both attending individuals and the number of personal cars doubled again between the 1926 and 1931 seasons. This rise was attributed to the road improvements both in the park and to the park, as well as the completion of a rail route between Eugene and Klamath Falls that situated a station closer to the park. The increased auto travel to the park prompted members of the park Service and the Bureau of Public Roads to continue construction at and around the rim, expanding parking areas in 1927 and widening the rim road in various instances (Source G1). Further increases in visitor statistics leading into the 1936 season were attributed to both "an increased national park consciousness on the part of the traveling public" but predominantly to "year around park accessibility", although park officials acknowledged that was not the physical reality for the park due to issues with clearing snow, a contradiction not addressed in its entirety (Source G1).

While these themes have all been beneficial in categorizing the case study that is Crater Lake National Park, the main connection with accessibility in this case is to the experience being marketed there. A unique road in a unique park, those creating the park experience had to adapt the archetype of park management to a landscape somewhat unconducive to the goals of the administration. In a 1915 report park officials argued that "to love a thing one must know it" (Source T). I am of the opinion that to know

a thing one must spend time with it, and learn from it and about it. In an era allowing grand alterations to natural spaces in order to meet this goal of familiarity, and of love, shareholders agreed that one must see it from every angle. And the best way to do that, they agreed, was a road around the rim.

Bibliography

A: "Annual Report of the Superintendent of National Parks to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916." Washington: Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1916. http://npshistory.com/publications/annual_reports/director/1916.pdf.

B: *Crater Lake*. Vol. 1. Oregon Out of Doors 2. Portland, Oregon: Mazamas, 1922.

C: "Crater Lake National Park: History of Rim Drive," 2003. https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/crla1/rimdrive.htm.

D: "Crater Lake National Park Oregon." United States Railroad Administration, 1918.

E: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1912." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1912. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/generalinformati19121923unit-1.pdf.

F: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1916." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1916. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/1916.pdf.

G: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1917." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1917. http://npshistory.com/brochures/crla/1917/sec1.htm.

H: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1920." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1920. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/1920.pdf.

I: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1922." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1922. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/1922.pdf.

J: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1923." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1923. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/1923.pdf.

K: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1926." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1926. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/1926.pdf.

L: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1927." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1927. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/1927.pdf.

M: "General Information Regarding Crater Lake National Park. Season of 1935." Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1935. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/1929.pdf.

N: Ise, John. *Our National Park Policy*. New York: Arno Press, 1979.

O: Kiser Photo Company. *Composite Image Advertising "Tough Tires."* 1914 1909. Photograph. Oregon Historical Society Library. https://digitalcollections.ohs.org/composite-image-advertising-tough-tires.

P: Linn, Fletcher. "Fletcher Linn Papers," 1953-1890. Oregon Historical Society Research Library.

Q: Louter, David. *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2006.

R: Mackintosh, Barry. "Visitor Fees in the National Park System A Legislative and Administrative History," 1983. https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/mackintosh3/fees1.htm.

S: Miller, Bill. “Driving the Rim of Crater Lake - Not a Joyride.” *Mail Tribune*, July 24, 2011. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/smith-chronological-history-of-crater-lake/sources-and-articles-of-interest/riding-the-rim/.

T: NPS History. “Report of the General Superintendent and Landscape Engineer of National Parks to the Secretary of the Interior 1915,” 1915. http://npshistory.com/publications/annual_reports/landscape/1915/contents.htm.

U: “Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at the Yellowstone National Park. September 11 and 12, 1911.” Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/proceedings-arant.pdf.

V: “Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1917.” Washington: Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1917. http://npshistory.com/publications/annual_reports/director/1917.pdf.

W: “Report of the Superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1910.” Washington: Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1910. http://npshistory.com/publications/annual_reports/crla/1910.pdf.

X: “Report of the Superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1913.” Washington: Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1914. http://npshistory.com/publications/annual_reports/crla/1913.pdf.

Y: “Report of the Superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1914.” Washington: Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1914. http://npshistory.com/publications/annual_reports/crla/1914.pdf.

Z: “Report of the Superintendent of the Crater Lake National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1915.” Washington: Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1915. http://npshistory.com/publications/annual_reports/crla/1915.pdf.

A1: Scharff, Virginia. *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.

B1: Shelby, Bo, and Donald Wolf. “Social Impacts of Design Alternatives Crater Lake National Park.” Ashland, Oregon: School of Forestry, Oregon State University, 1981. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/social-impacts.pdf.

C1: Soullère, Laura E. “Historic Roads in the National Parks System Special History Study.” Denver, Colorado: Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, October 1995. http://npshistory.com/publications/transportation/historic-roads.pdf.

D1: Southern Oregon History, Revised. “Going to Crater Lake, 1865-1934,” 2023. https://truwe.sohs.org/files/craterlaketrip.html.

E1*: The National Parks: Shaping the System*. Third print edition. Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 2005.

F1: United States Congress. “National Park Service Organic Act,” 1916. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-1725/pdf/COMPS-1725.pdf.

K1: United States Department of the Interior, and Stephen T Mather. *Progress in the Development of the National Parks*. Washington: Government Print Office, 1916.

G1: Unrau, Harlan, D, and Stephen R. Mark. “Crater Lake National Park: Administrative History.” Crater Lake National Park, Oregon: Department of the Interior, 1987. https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/crla/adhi/contents.htm.

H1: U.S. National Park Service. “Rim Drive Historic District Cultural Landscape.” Accessed November 28, 2023. https://www.nps.gov/articles/400186.htm.

I1: “Visitor Services Plan.” Crater Lake National Park, Oregon: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, November 1999. https://www.craterlakeinstitute.com/online-library/wp-content/uploads/visitor-services-plan-1999.pdf.

J1: Worster, Donald. “National Parks | Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History.” Accessed November 28, 2023. https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-63?rskey=A3BAKQ&result=1.