1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: ST. CROIX RECREATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AREA

Other Name/Site Number: ST. CROIX STATE PARK

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: off Route 48

City/Town: Hinckley

State: MN   County: Pine   Code: 115

Vicinity: X

Zip Code: 55037

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property
Private: ___
Public-Local: ___
Public-State: X
Public-Federal: ___

Category of Property
Building(s): ___
District: X
Site: ___
Structure: ___
Object: ___

Number of Resources within Property
Contributing
127
1
36
0
164

Non-contributing
22 buildings
0 sites
4 structures
0 objects
26 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 164

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: Minnesota State Park CCC/WPA/Rustic Style Historic Resources. 1996; Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks. 1995
4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination __ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

__________________________________________
Signature of Certifying Official               Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

__________________________________________
Signature of Commenting or Other Official      Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain):

__________________________________________
Signature of Keeper

Date of Action
6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:  Landscape Sub: Park  Recreation & Culture Sub: Outdoor Recreation  Domestic Sub: Single Dwelling  Transportation Sub: Road-related

Current:  Landscape Sub: Park  Recreation & Culture Sub: Outdoor Recreation  Domestic Sub: Single Dwelling  Transportation Sub: Road-related

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Bungalow/Craftsman; Other: NPS Rustic

MATERIALS:
Foundation: Stone/Concrete  Walls: Stone/Log  Roof: Shingle  Other:  Site Furnishings: Stone/Wood/Metal/Concrete  Pavements and Curbs: Packed Earth/Gravel/Asphalt/Stone/Concrete  Retaining Walls and Other Landscape Structures: Concrete/Stone/Packed Earth
Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Summary

The St. Croix Recreational Demonstration area is located in Pine County in central Minnesota, 20 miles east of Hinckley on State Highway 48. The park was positioned between the Twin Cities region and Duluth, the state's principal metropolitan areas. The park consists of over 30,000 acres along the St. Croix and Kettle rivers. Now known as St. Croix State Park, the site was one of 46 "recreational demonstration areas" (RDAs), which were New Deal planning projects intended to retire "submarginal" agricultural lands and develop them for recreational use. A number of federal agencies were involved in these projects, with the National Park Service providing overall technical supervision and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) usually providing labor.

The setting of the park is vast, second-growth forest of pine, spruce, and hardwoods. Several streams drain the relatively flat area, which has an average elevation of 1,000 feet. The high bluffs along the St. Croix River offer panoramic views of the federally-designated Saint Croix Scenic Riverway, which runs along the eastern boundary of the state park. The Kettle River, which flows through the park and into the St. Croix, is a state-designated scenic river.

Planning for the park began in 1934, when the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) committed funds to acquire submarginal agricultural lands for various new purposes. The St. Croix site was immediately identified as an ideal location for a new RDA because of its inherent beauty, its location between the state's principal metropolitan areas, its limited usefulness for agriculture, and its availability for purchase. The CCC and the Park Service arrived at the St. Croix site the following year and established a camp even before the land acquisitions had been completed. Park construction accelerated in 1936 with the arrival of a WPA "transient camp" to augment the work done by the CCC. The first group camp opened in 1936; the next in 1938. The CCC left in 1937, but returned in the form of a veterans CCC camp which completed the park development between 1940 and 1942.

The St. Croix historic district was first nominated for the National Register on September 15, 1989, as part of the multiple property submission for Minnesota CCC-era state parks made at that time. In 1996, the proposed National Register District for St. Croix State Park was amended to include the entire park. Additional structures (primarily roads and trails) were also listed, for a total of 164 contributing resources. The National Historic Landmark District described here has the same boundaries and the same number of contributing resources as the amended National Register District.

Description of Contributing Resources in the Historic District

The following description of contributing resources is divided into seven categories:

- Spatial Organization
- Circulation
- Topography
- Vegetation
- Structures
Spatial organization refers to the composition and sequence of outdoor spaces within the district. Circulation refers to the means and patterns of movement through the district. Topography refers to the ways in which the landscape planning responds to the topographic features of the site, and also to modifications of that topography. Vegetation also refers both to the response to existing vegetation, and to the management of vegetation through pruning, removal, or addition of trees and shrubs. Structures include all the contributing structures in the district, including roads, trails, retaining walls, etc. Buildings are defined as structures intended to shelter a human activity. Sites are defined as discrete areas designed for a specific use, such as cemeteries or golf courses. No archeological resources are described in this nomination.

Note: For more information on individual buildings and structures in this historic district, please consult the National Register nomination form, "St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area" (Rolf T. Anderson, 1996). The National Historic Landmark nomination presented here supplements that 1996 multiple resource National Register nomination. This NHL District nomination is submitted in the theme of landscape architecture, and the resources described here relate primarily to landscape architectural design and planning.

HISTORIC DISTRICT OVERALL

Spatial Organization

The St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area exploited the recreational and scenic potential of the St. Croix River corridor at a point where high banks and bluffs provided excellent camp sites and views. Existing farmhouses and other structures in the area were not seen as contributing to these goals, and park workers demolished at least twenty such structures as well as other traces of previous agriculture and logging.

The overall organization of the principal spaces at St. Croix is characterized by the decentralized, dispersed, and relatively small scale of the recreational facilities. Five discrete developed areas were distributed throughout the park. One area was designed for park administration and visitor contact. Three were designed as group camps for organized groups of children attending summer camps. One was designed as a public campground and day use area. The four developed areas stretch almost the length of the park along the St. Croix River. At least three miles (as the crow flies) separate each of these historic developed areas, and each is within easy access of the St. Croix River.

The decentralized plan of the park allows each developed area seclusion from the others, while fully exploiting the full range of scenic views and recreational opportunities of the region. The decentralized plan made it possible for each developed area to be in its own zone of influence, away from the distractions and noise of other campers or park visitors. Park Service policy for how Recreational Demonstration Areas should be laid out specifically required the concentration of developed areas in discrete, independent units. This remains a primary characteristic of the spatial organization of the overall NHL District.
All the developed areas in the park were located after careful consideration of the existing topography, views, and vegetation. Early topographic, vegetative and other detailed surveys of existing conditions were essential in the master planning process, and the developed areas were each located to exploit the recreational or scenic opportunities specific to each location. Certain opportunities, such as pools to swim and meadows for group activities, were considered necessary for any successful camp. The activities offered by the St. Croix River corridor in particular included swimming, boating, fishing, hiking with scenic views, appreciating diverse wildlife and habitats, and organized sports and other outdoor activities in meadows along the high banks of the river corridor.

Circulation

In some cases, old roads of the region did become the partial basis for park roads and trails. The Fleming Railroad right-of-way, which in the 1890s was used to haul white pine logs to the St. Croix River, offered a route to the river's banks, and Park Service planners adapted it to become the main automotive approach into the park. (The new park road curved away from the railroad right-of-way as it approached the park headquarters, however, probably in part to provide more visual interest than the straight alignment would have.)

The circulation system of St. Croix exemplifies certain planning goals of Park Service landscape architects of the period. The necessity of automotive roads was well-established, for example, but roads were planned to be as unobtrusive as possible. Road alignments were therefore calculated to minimize necessary grading. They were also designed to maximize visual interest. A careful hierarchy of road types made a clear distinction between main public roads, which connected the park entrance to the headquarters and public day use areas, and secondary roads, which included service roads and truck trails and led to the group camps located at the park's extremities. Bridle trails and foot trails, represented the further extension of this hierarchy of road and trail types, each with its own typical section and alignment specifications.

The identifying differences in the physical dimensions and engineering specifications of all these road and trail types are a prominent aspect of the circulation of the park overall. The difference in width and pavement type between the Main Road and the group camp roads, for example, is significant. The fact that all the park roads are dead ends is also significant; this arrangement reduced the possibility that group camp roads would be frequented by day visitors to the park and eliminated the possibility of commercial traffic passing through the park at any point.

Another aspect of the circulation plan at St. Croix, typical of Park Service master planning, was the separation of foot and vehicle traffic. This was achieved in this case by the system of foot trails that connected the developed areas in the park while the vehicular drives remained dedicated to service use (or day use access to the day use area).

Topography

The existing topography of the site, especially the high banks along the Kettle and St. Croix rivers, created the scenic views that were a primary attraction for park planners. Otherwise the topography of the region, relatively flat and at an average elevation of 1,000 feet, did not
influence site planning decisions to a great degree.

As a matter of policy, the necessary manipulation of topography for the construction of roads, buildings, and other facilities was kept to an absolute minimum. One important exception to this policy at St. Croix involved the provision of swimming areas and fish rearing ponds. The rivers and creeks of the park fluctuated between high water, which could be dangerous to swimmers, to low water, which offered less than ideal swimming conditions. Since swimming and fishing were considered necessary activities for a successful camp, a number of small dams and excavations were carried out to create pools and flows, fed by river water, that would remain at consistent levels. Fish rearing ponds were created in a suitable location below the dam that created Lake Clayton near the Norway Point Camp.

Vegetation

Since the park was located in second growth forests and areas of submarginal agricultural land, the subsequent regeneration of forests since the creation of the park often presents a considerable contrast to the original appearance of the vegetation in the NHL District during the period of significance. This change has been characterized by the maturation of now more diverse forests of mixed hardwoods and evergreens.

The reforestation of the park was not only anticipated, but was a principal consideration for park planners. Keeping certain views open along roadsides, and especially from overlooks, was one of the most important aspects of the planned management of the vegetation. Specifically the Kettle River Highbanks and the Kettle River Overlook are marked as scenic vistas on the historic planning documents. Views from the contributing roads and trails of the NHL District were clearly considered in the routing of circulation features.

Afforestation, erosion control, insect control, and fire suppression were all practiced by CCC recruits within the park forests during the period of significance. In certain areas, such as along the Park Entrance Road, groves of Red pines and other species planted by the CCC can be identified by the patterns and ages of the stands. Although an exhaustive vegetative cover analysis would be required to identify all the trees planted in the park by the CCC, forest management during the period of significance definitely had an impact on the forest’s subsequent appearance and species diversity over a large portion of the NHL District.

Structures

The following structures of the NHL District relate to the district overall, and so are described here rather than as part of the descriptions of specific developed areas, which follow. All contributing resources have been given sequential numbers (CS for contributing structure, CB for contributing building) for the purpose of this nomination.

Contributing structures in the NHL District overall include the major park circulation structures: the Park Entrance Road (the main public roads) from the entrance to the St. Croix Lodge and the Riverview Campground; the Entrance Portals, at the main entrance; the Hay Creek Bridge, on the main road; the 25-mile system of three secondary roads (the service roads and truck trails) that connect to the three group camps; the Bear Creek and Sand Creek bridges on the secondary roads; the Kettle River Overlook (parking area and retaining wall); and four
hiking trails that survive from the historic period.

Almost all of the landscape structures in the NHL District share a unified inspiration and common materials and workmanship. This consistency was a principal goal for the park's planners. The consistent "rustic" quality of construction also reflects the working conditions of the CCC camps themselves, where labor was plentiful and materials were acquired and processed locally and by hand whenever possible. Throughout the park, local sandstone was the material of choice. The refined, random ashlar masonry typical of many structures represents a relatively restrained version of Park Service Rustic style construction.

Road construction in the park was intended to follow topography, avoid sensitive areas, and minimize impacts of construction, while opening particular scenic areas and other features to easier public access. Major road structures are listed and described individually below. Minor structures--such as culverts, retaining walls, and guardwalls--are not listed individually, but are contributing portions of the road structures themselves. The construction of culvert headwalls, paved swales, and retaining walls along the road typically employ the same irregular sandstone masonry found in the rest of the park. The "rustic" construction and stylistic uniformity of the smaller elements of road construction are important aspects of these contributing resources.

Other buildings and structures within the NHL District that are not described as part of a specific developed area are included in this section of the nomination as well.

**Contributing Structures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CS1. Structure: Main Public Roads</th>
<th>NR#: 102</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location: Park Entrance Road</td>
<td>Date: 1935-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This road consists of a five-mile section from State Highway 48 to the park headquarters, and a two-mile section from that point east to the Riverview Campground. The road is the main public access to the park and the day use area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CS2. Structure: St. John's Landing</th>
<th>NR#: 103A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location: Secondary Road</td>
<td>Date: 1935-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This six-mile road extends northeast from the park headquarters area to the St. John's Landing Group Camp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CS3. Structure: Head of the Rapids</th>
<th>NR#: 103B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location: Secondary Road</td>
<td>Date: 1935-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This 12-mile road extends west and south from the park headquarters area to the Head of the Rapids Group Camp. Spur roads include the road to the Norway Point Group Camp (one and a half miles) and the road to the fire tower (one mile).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CS4. Structure: Riverview Campground</th>
<th>NR#: 103C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Landing Road
Location: (Secondary Road) Date: 1935-42
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC
This half-mile road accesses the boat landing at the Riverview Campground.

CS5. Structure: River Bluff Trail NR#: 104A
Location: Between Riverview & Norway Point Date: 1935-42
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC

Location: North of Riverview Date: 1935-42
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC

CS7. Structure: Bear Creek Trail NR#: 104C
Location: along Bear Creek Date: 1935-42
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC

CS8. Structure: Trail NR#: 104D
Location: From St. John's To Crooked Creek Pool & the Adirondack Shelters Date: 1935-42
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC

CS9. Structure: Hay Creek Bridge NR#: 70
Location: Main Park Road Date: 1936
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA
An 18-foot bridge with masonry abutments and wingwalls. The plank deck and wooden railings have been replaced.

CS10. Structure: Sand Creek Bridge NR#: 77
Location: Head of Rapids Rd. Date: 1936
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA
A 52-foot long, 16-foot wide bridge, supported by abutments with wing walls and two center piers. The piers are battered and faced in native fieldstone. The plank deck and wooden railings have been replaced.

CS11. Structure: Bear Creek Bridge NR#: 80
Location: Head of Rapids Rd. Date: 1936
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC
A 40-foot long, 16-foot wide bridge supported by masonry abutments with wing walls and one center pier. The pier is battered and faced in native fieldstone. The plank deck and wooden railings have been replaced.

CS12. Structure: Kettle River Overlook NR#: 83
Location: Head of Rapids Rd. Date: 1940
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC
This terraced overlook was constructed overlooking the Kettle River. The parking area is
defined by a stone curb.

CS13. Structure: Entrance Portals
   Location: Park Entrance
   Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA
   NR#: 1
   Date: 1938

Identical stone portals flank the park entrance at State Highway 48. Each is 28 and a half feet long, and constructed in the random ashlar sandstone masonry typical of the park. The walls are battered one inch per vertical foot.

CS14. Structure: Fire Tower
   Location: Date: 1936
   Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC
   NR#: 81

A standard 100-foot steel fire tower with a small enclosure at the top.

Noncontributing Structures

NCS1. Structure: Mouth of Sand Creek Bridge
   Location: Date: 1992
   Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources
   NR#: 78

NCS2. Structure: Maple Island Bridge
   Location: Date: c1970
   Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources
   NR#: 82

Buildings

The following buildings are within the NHL District overall, but are not included in the descriptions of individual developed areas.

All the buildings in the park share a strong stylistic unity that can be attributed to the park architects and landscape architects, but also to the general policies for state park development promulgated by Conrad Wirth and Herbert Maier at the National Park Service. All the buildings in the park, like the smaller structures, are outstanding and characteristic examples of Park Service Rustic style as adapted to state park development beginning in 1933.

The more refined sandstone masonry of foundations and fireplaces on park buildings, as well as the use of darkly stained milled lumber in many cases for siding, are characteristic of the less exaggerated construction techniques deemed appropriate for the Midwestern location of the park. In addition, where log construction was used, the logs feature unevenly trimmed ends laid in saddle notches, a highly characteristic local construction technique.

Contributing Buildings

CB1-2. Buildings: Adirondack Shelters (2)
   Location: 2 miles north of St. John's Group Camp
   Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA
   NR#: 51
   Date: 1936
CB3-4. Building: Adirondack Shelters (2)  
Location: Near Head of the Rapids  
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA

NR#: 79  
Date: 1937

Noncontributing Buildings

NCB1. Building: All Seasons  
Location: former Fleming CCC Camp  
Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources

NR#: 52  
Date: c1975

NCB2. Building: Pump House  
Location: former Fleming CCC Camp  
Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources

NR#: 53  
Date: 1975

PARK HEADQUARTERS AREA

Spatial Organization

The headquarters area includes the main contact station (park headquarters), the park utility and residential areas, and the site of a former CCC camp known as Yellowbanks. The spatial organization of this diverse area is defined by careful zoning and separation of uses. The utility area, for example, is treated as a service court, given a back entrance, and walled off by the rectangular arrangement of buildings. Houses for park staff are grouped along a gently curved cul-de-sac separated from the nearby utility area. Within this residential area the superintendent's residence is further separated from the other residences and stands on its own away from the cul-de-sac. In the utility area the arrangement of buildings is rectilinear, while in the residential area it is curvilinear; this is another typical site planning device of Park Service landscape architects of the period.

The Park Headquarters also served as the principal contact station; both functions were consolidated in the same building five miles from the Entrance Portals at the main park entry. This separation of the main entrance from the park contact station is unusual in a state park of the period. The long drive down the main park road to the contact station reinforces an impression of the large size of the park (St. Croix is the largest state park in Minnesota). The contact station is also separated from the utility area and the residential area by the most important intersection in the park (between the Park Entrance Road and the group camp roads) immediately to the south.

Topography

The existing topography was consulted and exploited in the layout of this developed area. The utility area was placed behind a small knoll, for example, where it is less noticed. The superintendent's residence was placed atop the same feature, where it is a conspicuous symbol of the civic administration of the park. The park residences share this high ground, but behind the crest of the hill, out of the view of the entering visitors.
Vegetation

Period foundation plantings of native shrubs and small trees can be identified around several contributing buildings in the area. Existing vegetation at the site was used to reinforce the separation between the different sections of the headquarters area.

Native plants were often transplanted by CCC crews in order to "naturalize" disturbed areas, particularly around new construction. Such landscape work reinforced the overall goals of the spatial composition of the site plan. Foundation and other plantings around buildings, for example, were not intended to obscure the facades of buildings, but to become part of their elevations and enhance their ability to define outdoor spaces.

Detailed plans for landscape work of this sort do not exist; but historic site plans do indicate general goals. The superintendent's residence, for example, is sited in an open lawn, clearly visible to arriving visitors driving by its hilltop. Staff residences and the utility area, on the other hand, were intended to be screened from public view behind thick vegetation.

Circulation

The circulation of this developed area again is characterized by a rich typology of different road and trail types. Originally the utility area was accessed by a through road, while the staff residences were on a cul-de-sac, and the superintendent's residence was reached by a 100-foot pedestrian path. (The small loop road now in the residential area is not original, and the circulation around the utility area has been slightly altered.)

The circulation in the Park Headquarters Area was planned to be almost exclusively vehicular, centered on the important intersection between the Park Entrance Road and the group camp (secondary) roads. Very little public pedestrian activity was to be accommodated here, since park visitors generally would be moving on by vehicle to either the day use or group camp areas.

Structures

Contributing Structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CS15. Structure:</th>
<th>Water Tower</th>
<th>NR#: 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location:</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>Date: 1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Edward W. Barber/WPA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A 40-foot high, blockhouse style water tower, with a lower portion built in native sandstone, an intermediate level sheathed in darkly stained wood siding, and a projecting tower sided in darkly stained board and batten. The last portion conceals a steel water reservoir.

Buildings

Like the other developed areas within the St. Croix NHL District, the park headquarters area has a distinctive complement of contributing buildings. The unified architectural inspiration of the park overall, and also within specific developed areas, is a significant aspect of the park's architecture.
The most significant buildings in the headquarters area are those designed to make a public impression: the Contact Station and the Superintendent's Cabin. Together these buildings embody the civic administration of the park for entering visitors.

In all the buildings in St. Croix, native sandstone (cream colored) is laid in random ashlar masonry for walls, chimneys, and foundations. Board and batten siding, stained brown, is used here and throughout the park. Pitch roofs originally of shakes are now clad in brown shingles.

### Contributing Buildings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Architect/Builder</th>
<th>NR#</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CB5</td>
<td>Contact Station</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>Edward W. Barber/CCC</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB6</td>
<td>Superintendent's Cabin</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>E.T. Walley/CCC-WPA</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB7</td>
<td>Custodian's Garage</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>Edward W. Barber/WPA</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB8-9</td>
<td>Employee's Family Residences (2)</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>V.C. Martin/WPA</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB10</td>
<td>Garage</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>Dept. Of the Army/CCC</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB11</td>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>Dept. Of the Army/CCC</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB12</td>
<td>Ice and Wood House</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>V.C. Martin/WPA</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB13</td>
<td>Warehouse</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>H.M. Davidson/CCC</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB14</td>
<td>Shop Building</td>
<td>Headquarters Area</td>
<td>Edward W. Barber/CCC</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB15</td>
<td>Oil and Paint Bld.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noncontributing Buildings

NCB3. Building: Garage  NR#: 8
Location: Headquarters Area  Date: 1960s
Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resource

NCB4. Building: Lumber Storage Bld.  NR#: 11
Location: Headquarters Area  Date: 1974
Architect/Builder: Dept. of Nat. Resources

NCB5. Building: Shop/Garage  NR#: 15
Location: Headquarters Area  Date: 1987
Architect/Builder: Dept. of Nat. Resource/CCC

Sites

The open area known as Yellowbanks, which is the site of a former CCC camp, has become an important contributing resource of this area as well. The area is counted here as a contributing site of the NHL District. Thoughtfully interpreted, it is a naturally beautiful site. The fact that it is spatially well-defined and distinct from the other parts of the headquarters area adds to its considerable impact as an interpretive space. Although the original spatial composition of the CCC camp can only be suggested, the remaining space evokes the dimensions and character of the camp site. The only standing remnant of the CCC camp is the stone chimney at the site of what was the recreation building.

The site of the second St. Croix CCC camp (known as the Fleming, or the Veterans CCC camp) was redeveloped as a "Trail Center" for equestrians and other large groups in the 1970s. This area now has little integrity and is not considered a contributing site within the NHL District. The redevelopment of this second area further reinforces the importance of the Yellowbanks site to the interpretation of the history of the CCC in the park.

Contributing Sites

CSI1. Site: Yellowbanks CCC Site  NR#: 
Location: Headquarters Area  Date: 1930s
Architect/Builder: US Army/CCC

RIVERVIEW CAMPGROUND

Spatial Organization

This day use area and campground is the most important developed area for park visitors who are not part of group camp activities. The campground area has been enlarged through the addition of the Paint Rock Spring and Old Logging Trail Campgrounds to the west, in what was the day use portion of the historic developed area. The recreation field in the Paint Rock
Spring Campground is an original feature of what were originally the picnic grounds of the day use area.

The original campground of the developed area, the Riverview Campground, retains its spatial integrity well. Camping spots are arranged in the typical connected loops, around a central combination building that combined bathrooms, showers, and originally a group kitchen. A tourist cabin area was originally developed next to the campground, and two of the cabins, as well as a caretaker's cabin, remain from what was originally a group of 10 tourist cabins. The most important building in the park, the St. Croix Lodge, is the terminus of the Park Entrance Road. The parking lot in front of the lodge retains its basic spatial integrity, and this building retains its dramatic and privileged position in the overall site plan of the park.

The principal contributing spaces of the area are the parking lot in front of the St. Croix Lodge, which is the main arrival point for visitors; the Riverview Campground loops, which retain their basic configuration; and the Tourist Cabin loop, which retains its configuration although most of the cabins originally planned either have been removed or were never built.

Circulation

Circulation in this area is characterized by the termination of the wider, Park Entrance Road in front of the St. Croix Lodge, and the dispersion of slower speed traffic to the campground and (former) day use area to either side along the edge of the river bluff. The area also serves as a trail head for trails along the bluff and along the riverbanks.

Topography

The Riverview Campground Area is located on the edge of a steep bluff which falls off about 50 feet (in a 33% slope) to the riverside. The campground and tourist cabin site take advantage of a large level area at the top of the bluff; extensive grading was therefore not required for the development of the area.

The site was chosen as a scenic high point along the St. Croix, which was also a central point in the overall park site plan.

Vegetation

As the surrounding woodlands have matured, views from the back of the lodge and from the foot trails in the developed area have been obscured or eliminated. A vista cut down the slope behind the lodge is clearly indicated on the original site plans for the area. Other areas, such as the recreation field and the front parking lot, have been kept open; the Riverview Campground, however, has never regenerated a thick forest cover, as indicated on the original site plans.

There are identifiable historic plantings around the St. Croix Lodge and the Combination Building done during the historic period. These plants typically were native species transplanted from somewhere nearby.

Structures
There are 10 original drinking fountains in the park. They are typically battered masonry structures, square at their bases, and three feet high. The stone is again random ashlar, cream colored sandstone. Original curbs and retaining walls in the park are of the same material and workmanship.

**Contributing Structures**

CS16. Structure: Stone Curb  
Location: In front of Lodge  
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC  
NR#: 18  
Date: 1938

The parking area adjacent to the lodge is defined by a low stone curb.

CS17. Structure: Drinking Fountain  
Location:  
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC  
NR#: 19  
Date: 1938

Measuring two and a half feet square at its base, the water fountain rises to three feet with a slight batter. It is built of the sandstone masonry typical of the park, and has two steps on one side.

CS18. Structure: Water Tower  
Location: Riverview Area  
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC  
NR#: 20  
Date: 1936

The lower section is built of fieldstone and sandstone, and the upper portion is built as a log palisade. The reservoir is covered by a hipped roof.

CS19. Structure: Retaining Wall  
Location: Riverview Area  
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC  
NR#: 27  
Date: c1940

Located along the St. Croix River, the retaining wall is built of stone and is 40-feet long.

CS20. Structures: Campsites  
Location: (Loop roads)  
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC  
NR#: 26  
Date: c1937

South of the combination buildings, the campground loops are arranged as three almost parallel roads, 100 feet apart, and connected at the ends.

**Noncontributing Structures**

NCS3. Building: Wood Shed  
Location: Riverview Area  
Architect/Builder: Dept. of Nat. Resources  
NR#: 30  
Date: c1985

**Buildings**

The St. Croix Lodge is the most important building in the park. A large, sandstone structure with gabled roofs, the interior features exposed log trusses and a massive stone fireplace. Not
truly a lodge, the building serves as a museum, a scene for indoor activities, and as headquarters for interpretive programs and activities.

In the campground to the east, the Combination Building contains laundry, rest rooms, and originally a group kitchen. It is a particularly notable building of this type, and although much smaller, complements the Lodge. The flanking sections of the building are of peeled log construction, with distinctive saddle notched corners that were left unevenly trimmed.

The new Registration Building at the entrance to the area is noncontributing, and the road was not originally divided at this point. These changes, however, have not seriously altered the sense and sequence of arrival to the developed area.

**Contributing Buildings**

| CB18. | Building: Combination Building | Location: Riverview Area | Architect/Builder: Edward W. Barber/CCC | NR#: 22 | Date: 1937 |
| CB20. | Building: Two Unit Cabin | Location: Riverview Area | Architect/Builder: Edward W. Barber/CCC | NR#: 24 | Date: 1940-41 |

**Noncontributing Buildings**

| NCB7. | Building: Campground Store | Location: Riverview Area | NR#: 29 | Date: 1985 |
ST. JOHN'S LANDING GROUP CAMP AREA

Spatial Organization

The St. John's Landing Group Camp, or girls' camp, is located in the northeastern corner of the park, five and a half miles from the central headquarters area.

Certain observations about the spatial organization of this group camp illustrate the principles of ideal group camp design promulgated by the Park Service for Recreational Demonstration Areas all over the country. The camp cabins are organized in four groups of six, each cabin spaced 50-100 feet from the next. The cabins accommodate four campers, and each group of six cabins has its own unit lodge (a communal building), counselor's cabin, and latrine/washhouse.

The four cabin clusters, or units, are themselves grouped around a central group of buildings, including the main camp dining hall, administration building, crafts building, infirmary, and staff quarters, garage, and store house. Each cluster of cabins is spaced at least 500 feet from the next. The entire ensemble, covering about 50-60 acres, makes up the group camp.

The group camp is located in the park plan overall to provide privacy from other group camps and from day use visitors. The camp is also sited to fully exploit scenic and recreational opportunities in the area. A large recreation field, and a secluded campfire circle were essential complements for each camp; often both these features were situated to exploit scenic views. Some sort of swimming, boating, and fishing facilities were available for each camp, as were other open areas for activities such as archery.

There are, as a result of this spatial organization, hierarchies of spaces, from intimate to quite large, from the semi-private space around an individual cabin, to the more communal spaces of the camp. There is also a continuous spectrum in the degree of privacy offered by these spaces, from the individual cabin, to the cluster of cabins, to the main gathering points around the Dining Hall or (in the evening) around the campfire circle.

Circulation

All of these open spaces were carefully interspersed within the existing woodland of the park. All the clusters were connected to the central Dining Hall, and also to one another, in a network of lightly constructed trails. This network of trails is informal and somewhat
ephemeral by nature; the trails, however, particularly those that are better established, are contributing features of the historic developed area.

Vehicular circulation is very limited at the camp. A parking lot at the administration building draws most of the traffic, and the road then terminates at the back of the main dining hall. From that point, circulation is entirely by foot through the site, and by truck trail to the old Crooked Creek Swimming Area, about a mile away.

Topography

St. John's Landing Group Camp is located on a small knoll rising some 30 feet above water level near the confluence of Crooked Creek and the St. Croix to an elevation of close to 900 feet. The knoll is nearly an island, since on the other two sides it is surrounded by low wetlands. Again, the developed area takes advantage of a level area in a good location, so little grading was required to develop the site for camp purposes.

Vegetation

Little planting or transplanting was probably done in the group camp; the more important consideration here was preserving the existing woodland as much as possible. The low overall density of the developed area aided in this effort by limiting the impact of campers on one particular area. The dispersed pattern of development also allowed the cabins to be sited around desirable existing vegetation.

A second important consideration was maintaining certain areas as meadows, and keeping certain views open. Over the years, the views of the river from recreation field, however, have been closed off. In general, though, a conscientious mowing regime and a short growing season have kept the important open spaces of the plan well defined.

Structures

Contributing Structures

CS21-23. Structures: Drinking Fountains (3) NR#: 36 Date: 1936
Location: Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA
Measuring one foot ten inches square at their bases, the water fountains rise to three feet with a slight batter. They are built of the sandstone masonry typical of the park.

CS24. Structure: Recreation Field NR#: 49 Date: 1936
Location: St. John's Landing Area Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA
Located on the bluffs overlooking the river, the recreation field is a cleared area of about two acres.

CS25. Structure: Crooked Creek Pool NR#: 50 Date: c1940
Location: St. John's Landing Area Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC
The pool is a 130-foot long oval, 9 feet deep at its lowest point. Although no longer used, the pool remains full.

**Buildings**

**Contributing Buildings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Architect/Builder</th>
<th>NR#</th>
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<td>CB26. Building: Garage and Shop</td>
<td>St. John's Landing Area</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>1940</td>
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<td>CB27. Building: Help's Quarters</td>
<td>St. John's Landing Area</td>
<td>National Park Service</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB30. Building: Craft Building</td>
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<td>National Park Service/WPA</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>CB31-34. Buildings: Unit Lodges (4)</td>
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<td>CB35-58. Buildings: Unit Cabins (24)</td>
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ST. CROIX RECREATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AREA

Location: St. John's Landing Area  Date: 1936
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA

CB59-62. Buildings: Counselor's Cabin (4)  NR#: 47
Location: St. John's Landing Area  Date: 1936
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA

CB63-66. Buildings: Unit Latrines (4)  NR#: 48
Location: St. John's Landing Area  Date: 1936
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA

Noncontributing Buildings

NCB10. Building: Shed  NR#: 40
Location: St. John's Landing Area  Date: 1950s
Architect/Builder:

NCB11. Building: Sanitation Bldg  NR#: 43
Location: St. John's Landing Area  Date: 1981
Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat Resources

NORWAY POINT GROUP CAMP AREA

Spatial Organization

The Norway Point Group Camp, or boys' camp, epitomizes the same planning principles that are evident in the St. John's Landing Group Camp. In this case, there are four clusters of cabins grouped around a central dining hall and administrative area. The location of the group camp placed it closer to the Park Headquarters Area (about two miles away), but still a considerable distance from the Riverview Area on the other side of the Park Headquarters. The Norway Point camp also is located only about a quarter mile from a large swimming area on Lake Clayton, near the dam on the Hay River that created the lake. Lake Clayton, and the buildings and structures associated with the lake are included in this developed area, because the lake was built primarily for Norway Point campers.

The spaces of this area (which is a larger camp on a significantly more limited site) are more compact, and the clusters of cabins are in closer proximity (within 200-300 feet). The cabins themselves maintain the same spacing of 50 to 100 feet between them, however. The main dining hall, recreation field, and camp fire circle make up the principle public spaces. Because there are no views of the river, an expansive fire break (now maintained as a trail) originally created a significant corridor, offering vistas into the woods from the campfire circle. Again the group camp arrangement results in a hierarchy of spaces, from enclosed to open, and from intimate to public.

Circulation
Vehicular circulation, again, terminates at the service area behind the main dining hall. Again a small parking lot is provided by the administration building, and a truck trail leads to the swimming area. Otherwise all circulation in the camp is pedestrian.

**Topography**

Like other developed areas in the park, the Norway Point area was sited on the edge of the high banks of the St. Croix. The site of the Norway Point camp is one of the few relatively flat areas in this central portion of the park, which is both near the river and at an elevation of 900 feet or above. The site is as close to Lake Clayton (and as far from the Riverview Area) as the topography would allow. Again, because of careful site selection, little grading was required to develop the site, although the restrictions of a smaller level area had to be accommodated.

**Vegetation**

The preservation of the existing woodlands in the location of the individual camp structures was again a consideration, and the woods have matured to create good separation between the cabin clusters (even though the cabins are more closely spaced in this camp). As with other group camps, the vegetation here has been held in check in open areas through a conscientious maintenance regime.

**Structures**

**Contributing Structures:**

CS26-27. **Structure:** Drinking Fountains (2)  
**Location:**  
**Architect/Builder:** National Park Service/CCC  
Measuring one foot ten inches square at their bases, the water fountains rise to three feet with a slight batter. They are built of the sandstone masonry typical of the park.

CS28. **Structure:** Recreation Field  
**Location:** Norway Point Area  
**Architect/Builder:** National Park Service/CCC  
Located east of the administrative area of the camp, the recreation field is a cleared area of about two acres.

CS29. **Structure:** Lake Clayton  
**Location:** Norway Point Area  
**Architect/Builder:** National Park Service/CCC  
Lake Clayton was formed by the construction of an earthen dike on Hay Creek. The lake is 3,000 feet long and 200-250 feet wide.

CS30. **Structure:** Fish Rearing Pond  
**Location:** Norway Point Area  
**Architect/Builder:** National Park Service/CCC  
Located west of the south end of Lake Clayton, the fish rearing pond is a shallow excavation
covering about five acres. The pond is still in use, and serves to raise muskie stock.

CS31. Structure: Hay Creek Control Dam
Location: Lake Clayton
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC
This dam consists of two sluice gates, located on either side of the dike that forms Lake Clayton.

CS32. Structure: Hay Creek Spillway
Location: Lake Clayton
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC
This concrete and masonry spillway is 50 feet wide and 100 feet long. The structure also extends 50 feet into the lake.

**Buildings**

**Contributing Buildings**

Location: Norway Point Area
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB68. Building: Staff Quarters
Location: Norway Point Area
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB69. Building: Infirmary
Location: Norway Point Area
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB70. Building: Mess Hall
Location: Norway Point Area
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB71. Building: Help's Quarters
Location: Norway Point Area
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB72. Building: Help's Quarters
Location: Norway Point Area
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB73. Building: Warehouse
Location: Norway Point Area
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB74. Building: Craft Building
Location: Norway Point Area
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1937
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA

CB75. Building: Pump House  NR#: 65
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1937
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA

CB76-79. Building: Unit Lodges (4)  NR#: 66
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1937
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB80-107. Building: Unit Cabins (28)  NR#: 67
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1937
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

CB108-111. Building: Unit Latrines (4)  NR#: 68
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1937
Architect/Builder: E.T. Walley/WPA

Noncontributing Buildings

NCB12. Building: Sanitation Bldg  NR#: 63
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1980
Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources

NCB13-15. Building: Portable School Bldgs(3)  NR#: 70
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1970s
Architect/Builder:

NCB16. Building: Picnic Shelter  NR#: 75
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1973
Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources

NCB17. Building: Sanitation Bldg  NR#: 76
Location: Norway Point Area  Date: 1973
Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources

HEAD OF THE RAPIDS GROUP CAMP AREA

Spatial Organization

The Head of the Rapids Area, which is 12 miles from the Headquarters Area via the Head of the Rapids Road, is located in the southwest corner of the park.

This camp was designed for groups of campers staying for shorter periods and probably who required greater supervision. Each cabin is larger, accommodating at least eight campers, and includes a semi-private space for the counselor. Each of the three clusters is made up of only three of these cabins and a central latrine/washhouse, without the unit lodge. The infirmary is
combined with the administration building, and other services are combined in single buildings.

The basic spatial composition of the camp is that of a series of larger cabins strung along a road, rather than a series of well defined clusters, since vehicular access in this case continues throughout the camp on a loop road through each group of cabins.

Circulation

Circulation through this group camp is characterized by a vehicular loop road rather than a network of pedestrian paths.

Topography

Again, the camp is located on a knoll that rises to an elevation over 890 feet between wetlands on one side, and the Kettle River Slough (a body of water parallel to the St. Croix) on the other.

Vegetation

No significant views have been blocked by maturing vegetation, and the loop drive through the camp maintains the semi-open character depicted on the historic plans.

Structures

Contributing Structures

CS33-36. Structure: Drinking Fountains (4) NR#: 91
Location: Head of the Rapids Area Date: 1942
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/CCC
Measuring one foot ten inches square at their bases, the water fountains rise to three feet with a slight batter. They are built of the sandstone masonry typical of the park.

Noncontributing Structures

NCS4. Structure: Swimming Pool NR#: 101
Location: Head of the Rapids Area Date: 1962
Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources

Buildings

Contributing Buildings

CB112. Building: Office & Infirmary NR#: 84
Location: Head of the Rapids Area Date: 1939
Architect/Builder: National Park Service/WPA
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<tr>
<th>Building Number</th>
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**Noncontributing Buildings**

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ST. CROIX RECREATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AREA

Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources
| NCB20. | Building: Unit Cabin | Location: Head of the Rapids Area | Architect/Builder: Dept of Nat. Resources | NR#: 96 | Date: 1959 |
8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X  Statewide: ___  Locally: ___

Applicable National
Register Criteria: A X  B  C X  D

Criteria Considerations
(Exceptions): A ___ B ___ C ___ D ___ E ___ F ___ G ___

NHL Criteria: 1, 4

NHL Theme(s):
III. Expressing Cultural Values
5. Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Urban Design

II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
4. Recreational Activities

VII. Transforming the Environment
3. Protecting/Preserving the Environment

Areas of Significance: Landscape Architecture, Architecture, Entertainment/Recreation, Conservation, Politics-Government, Community Development and Planning

Period(s) of Significance: 1934-43

Significant Dates: 1935, 1936, 1937, 1940, 1942

Significant Person(s): NA

Cultural Affiliation: NA

Architect/Builder: Nason, George; Barber, Edward W.; Martin, V. C.; Averill, N. H.; Newstrom, Oscar; Clark, Walter; Nussbaumer, A. G.; DeWald, Ernest.

NHL Comparative Categories:
XVII: Landscape Architecture
XVI: Architecture
Y Rustic

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and
Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary

St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area, now known as St. Croix State Park, is one of the two best remaining examples of "recreational demonstration area" (RDA) planning and design in the country. The RDAs were a new kind of state park planned by the National Park Service during the New Deal to accommodate private non-profit organizations that operated summer camps for youths. St. Croix RDA is also an extremely significant and well preserved state park of the period, and epitomizes the artistic quality and high aspirations held for state parks designed by the Park Service during the 1930s. St. Croix is one of a handful of parks nationally that best represents the highest achievements of the collaboration of the Park Service, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), other New Deal agencies, and local park authorities during the New Deal.

Many of the most significant results of National Park Service landscape architecture were initiated in 1933 as part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. Among the many parks and park systems that make up the legacy of this period, certain examples are particularly significant because of their extensive complement of period development, the exceptional quality of their original design and planning, and their excellent historic integrity and physical condition. Among these showcase state parks of the New Deal, certain examples again stand out because of further distinctions. Certain parks, for example, were the prototypes for new kinds of parks, such as recreational demonstration areas (featuring organized group camps) and national recreation areas (featuring recreational development alongside reservoirs).

St. Croix is exceptional to begin with, because of its fine and well preserved lodge, day use area, and group camp buildings; the RDA is also an outstanding example of this type of planning nationally. The RDAs were initiated in 1934 as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) committed $25 million to the acquisition of "submarginal" farm land, some of which was to be developed for recreational uses by the Park Service. Of these "demonstrations," by far the most important was a new kind of state park (developed on federal land, then donated to the states) that specifically (although not exclusively) accommodated group camp organizations. Thirty-four of the new parks, which retained the generic designation "recreational demonstration areas," were developed specifically to meet this need over the next eight years in 24 states.

St. Croix was the largest of the RDAs in terms of acreage, and one of the finest in terms of artistic significance. The park has also retained an extraordinary degree of integrity and is in excellent overall condition. The park also became a major component of the Minnesota state park system, and today is the state's largest state park. No other RDA in the country (with the exception of the Mendocino Woodlands, in California, which is also being nominated as an NHL) better represents the unique and unprecedented planning for group camps that resulted in the RDAs. These two RDAs (St. Croix and Mendocino) are the best preserved examples of RDA planning with the highest degree of artistic significance in the country.

Few parks built by the Park Service during the New Deal are as expressive of the ideals of the New Deal era as the RDAs. "City planning in miniature," the group camp facilities combined the social philosophy of a generation of urban reformers with the refined state park planning
and design procedures of Conrad Wirth's branch of planning at the Park Service. St. Croix is one of the two finest and best preserved examples of this unique chapter in American park history.

The St. Croix RDA NHL District meets National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 for its association with the American park movement. The high artistic significance and great integrity of the park make it an outstanding example of Park Service/CCC/WPA collaboration. This collaboration was one of the most significant events in the history of American parks, and the results of this collaboration today continue to make up the core of many state park systems. The NHL District also meets National Historic Landmark Criterion 4 as an exceptionally valuable example of American landscape architecture, specifically as a significant example of the Park Service collaboration with the CCC and local park authorities in the 1930s.

The St. Croix RDA NHL District is significant under National Register Criterion A for its association with the American park movement. The NHL District is also significant under National Register Criterion C as an example of American landscape architecture, specifically as an extremely significant example of the Park Service collaboration with the CCC and local park authorities.

The period of significance extends from the beginning of planning and design for the park in 1934, to 1943 when jurisdiction over the park was transferred to the State of Minnesota. Other significant dates include 1935, when the Minnesota State Park Division was created; 1936, when the CCC and WPA intensified their work in the park and the first group camp opened; 1937, when the CCC camp at Yellowbanks left the park; 1940, when the veteran's CCC camp arrived at the park; and 1942, when the CCC ended all activities.

Historic Context

One of the first pieces of New Deal legislation passed by the new Congress in 1933 funded the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Within two months of Franklin D. Roosevelt's inauguration, the Department of Labor and the U.S. Army had mobilized an army of formerly unemployed youths to undertake soil, forest, and water conservation projects on public lands all over the country. And the CCC, over 300,000-strong by 1935, needed things to do, whether planners and supervisors had prepared plans for productive activities or not. The National Park Service and the USDA Forest Service, as the "technical agencies" in charge of planning and supervising most CCC projects, immediately hired as many landscape architects and foresters as they could find.

By 1933, chief landscape architect Thomas C. Vint and his atelier of Park Service designers and engineers were in a unique position to offer technical support for New Deal programs. Since 1927, the closely knit group of up to 16 professionals had been growing in number and refining its procedures. The Landscape Division's authority within the Park Service had been steadily enhanced as Park Service Director Horace Albright and other officials came to recognize the usefulness and efficiency of the park "master planning" process. The compilation of master plans proved a particularly significant activity in the early 1930s. Besides safeguarding parks from excessive or poorly coordinated road construction and other development, the master plans also detailed at a six-year program of prioritized construction activity.
Updated annually, by 1933 the master plans completed or underway represented a considerable reservoir of schematic and partially developed designs that could be quickly converted into construction projects if the opportunity arose. After Horace Albright's resignation as director of the Park Service in the summer of 1933, his successor, Arno B. Cammerer, remarked on what seemed his predecessor's most salient achievement since 1929: "Extension of the landscape architectural activities and development of the six-year master plans for all national parks received special attention from [Albright]. Had not this advance planning been done, the National Park Service would have been unable to take part so quickly and competently in the emergency conservation and public-works program."

No program would have a greater impact on Park Service organization and operations than the CCC. Within days of his arrival at the White House, Roosevelt instructed his new secretary of the interior, Harold L. Ickes, to coordinate an advisory committee that would draft legislation to create the CCC. Ickes named Albright to represent the Department of the Interior; Albright in turn brought Thomas Vint, Frank Kittredge, and his chief forester, John D. Coffman, to Washington to help determine what the new army of youths could accomplish in the national parks. The CCC legislation was introduced on March 21 and was signed into law 10 days later. The Department of Labor screened and selected recruits; the War Department transported, fed, clothed, and housed the volunteers, organizing them into camps of up to 200 men apiece. The Forest Service provided technical and planning assistance for the hundreds of erosion control, fire suppression, and afforestation projects planned for national and state forests all over the country.

For its part in the "emergency conservation work," the Park Service was asked to plan, design, and give other technical assistance for all the park and recreational developments undertaken by the CCC outside of national forests. This of course included the work contemplated for the national parks themselves, but it also entailed the planning and design of hundreds of state, county, and even large municipal parks in almost every state and territory. Over 70 percent of the CCC work subsequently supervised by the Park Service was done in

the over 560 non-federal park areas the bureau helped plan and develop during the 1930s. To accomplish this, the Park Service cooperated and provided direct technical assistance to state park and other planning agencies in 47 states, 26 counties, and 69 cities.

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2Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1933 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 153. Beginning in 1933, National Park Service Annual Reports were reduced in length and integrated with reports from the other bureaus of the Department of the Interior.

2Horace M. Albright and Robert Cahn, The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-1933 (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), 289-290.

The implications of engaging in this national recreational planning transformed the Park Service. Until then, the bureau had remained relatively small, dedicated to the preservation and management of about two dozen parks almost all located in the 11 Western states. By the end of the summer of 1933, however, the Park Service had acquired responsibility for over 50 new historical parks and monuments (mostly transferred from the War Department), it operated 70 CCC camps in national parks, and it helped supervise 105 camps in non-federal (mostly state) parks in 35 states. By the end of the next summer, there were 102 national park CCC camps and 268 state park camps in 40 states. 4

The Park Service quickly regionalized portions of its operations to meet the new requirements placed on it. Four "districts" were created by Albright in May 1933 to handle the huge administrative burden of cooperating with scores of state and local governments in the development of new parks. Dividing the country geographically from east to west, "district officers" set up their regional administrations in Washington, Indianapolis, Denver, and San Francisco. By 1935, as the number of CCC camps continued to grow, the number of districts (renamed "regions" that year) had expanded to eight. That year the Park Service, in cooperation with individual state park authorities, was responsible for planning, design, and construction in 475 state park CCC camps. 5 Other divisions of the Park Service (those not involved with state park activities) were not yet regionalized, but discussions were already underway regarding the desirability of unifying the national and state park CCC programs, a change which implied such a reorganization of the entire bureau.

Bureaucratic growth and regionalization were necessitated by a huge expansion of staff and responsibilities. Before the spring of 1933, the Park Service had about 700 permanent and 373 temporary employees. Of these, fewer than 150 worked in the Washington office or in the eastern and western field headquarters. 6 By 1935, over 13,000 people were employed with the Park Service, and at the peak of New Deal activities the number was closer to 14,000. This number was inflated by employees who maintained the public buildings of the nation's capital (one of the many responsibilities transferred to the Park Service in the 1933 reorganization); but even when this function was divested to another agency in 1940, permanent Park Service personnel still numbered over 7,300. The Park Service "branch of plans and design," as Thomas Vint's division was now known, went from 16 design and engineering professionals in 1933, to 120 in 1935. In 1936 the total rose to 220, but that number still did not include professionals working in the national park CCC camps as supervisors and foremen, or the hundreds of professionals working in the Park Service's state park CCC program. 7 Annual appropriations for the Park Service rose steadily as well, from about $10 million in 1933 to

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4 Department of the Interior, 1933 Annual Report, 155-158; idem, 1934 Annual Report, 168-169.


6 Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s (Denver: Government Printing Office, 1983), 236-238. Unrau and Williss point out that there was some confusion over the exact number of Park Service employees in 1933, but they feel these figures best indicate pre-New Deal staffing levels.

7 James F. Kieley, A Brief History of the National Park Service, unpublished report (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, Main Interior Library, 1940), 23.
over $25 million in 1939 (before returning to $10 million in 1941). 8

The expansion and diversification of Park Service activities quickly gave the bureau what the historian Donald C. Swain calls "the earmarks of a New Deal agency." 9 But of course the Park Service was not an invention of the New Deal; to some degree, in fact, the reverse was true. The programs, plans, and technical expertise that the first two Park Service directors, Stephen Mather and Horace Albright, had assembled since 1917 had made the bureau a unique national authority on outdoor recreational planning by 1933. And planning for recreational uses of public lands assumed greater significance during the Roosevelt administration than it had ever before in the United States, and possibly ever has since.

The outdoor recreation movement had been flourishing since before World War I; the creation of the Park Service, as well as numerous state and local park commissions, was evidence of the growing influence of mostly middle class tourists, mostly in automobiles, getting "back to nature" in the early 20th century. The "astonishing increase in motor travel" to national parks described by Albright in 1917 had shaped the activities of the Park Service from its inception. 10 During the 1920s the popularity of outdoor recreation continued to broaden and expand, and the popularity of these activities greatly influenced the growth of the national park system. Just as significant, however, was the contemporary expansion of state park systems across the country.

In 1921, Mather helped organize a National Conference on Parks in Des Moines, bringing together dozens of prominent park advocates from all over the country. The Park Service director was motivated in part by the desire to protect the standards and integrity of the national park system, since by encouraging the creation of state parks he hoped to avoid substandard properties from being forced on the Park Service. But there were far more ambitious goals for state park planning being expressed by other park advocates at the national conference. The group officially proclaimed that outdoor recreation was a basic human need, and that the national parks were often too far from centers of population to meet that need consistently. More accessible municipal parks, for their part, were insufficient to provide the desired experience of "the great outdoors." A complete, nation-wide park system needed to include a full typology of parks, including what J. Horace McFarland described as "broad areas that will give opportunity to enjoy the great outdoors as well as to preserve and make available the characteristic scenery of any particular state." Speaking at the second National Conference on State Parks held in 1922 at the Bear Mountain Inn, McFarland declared, "No American family should have to travel a thousand miles or more to reach a great open space." What was needed was a fully developed, national system of parks, including national parks certainly, but also including far more numerous state and county scenic reservations, which if less

8More than half of all Park Service employees were being paid out of emergency appropriations, however, and not out of these annual budgets. Department of the Interior, 1940 Annual Report, 203; idem, 1941 Annual Report, 319.


spectacular than national parks, were far more accessible to urban populations.11

A growing number of park advocates in the early 1920s were calling for coordinated, national outdoor recreational planning that would assure that a full range of recreational opportunities—from neighborhood playgrounds to national parks—would be available. The rapidly organizing state park movement brought together many different park promoters who advocated the coordinated expansion of different park systems. In 1924, Calvin Coolidge recognized this trend by convening the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation, which assembled 28 national organizations and scores of local groups to discuss how, in Coolidge's words, "to expand and conserve throughout the country our recreational opportunities."12 The conference resulted in the creation of a cooperative association of national, state, and local groups working together to coordinate "national policy" on recreational planning for all categories of public lands. But the creation of such policy remained far beyond the mandate of any federal bureau. Mather's encouragement of state park planning, like the formation of the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation, relied on the spirit of cooperation for effectiveness and on private charity for most funding. Individual planners, such as Benton MacKaye or Warren Manning, who advocated their own national recreational plans in the early 1920s, did so largely at their own expense. By 1933, no truly coordinated policy for national recreational planning yet existed. Individual state and federal land management agencies pursued park plans independently, without the benefits or drawbacks of a centralized planning authority.

By the late 1920s, however, certain states had produced individual state-wide recreation plans that later influenced the course of New Deal national planning. In several states, what had been scattered collections of scenic reservations and historic sites were being consolidated and enlarged as state park systems. Many of these park systems, such as the Forest Preserve Districts around Chicago or the Westchester County parks outside New York, included areas that served large crowds of urbanites looking for picnic groves, swimming pools, and hiking trails within day-tripping distance. But no state park plan proved more significant than the State Park Survey of California completed by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., in 1929. In 1927, the California state legislature established a state park commission and authorized it to undertake a comprehensive survey to determine the "ultimate development of a comprehensive, state park system" as a means of "conserving and utilizing the scenic and recreational resources of the state."13 The commission immediately hired Olmsted, already well-known in the state for his advocacy of national and state parks and as the planner of Palos Verdes Estates (1923). Olmsted's California survey demonstrated a standard procedure for planning a diverse park and recreation system over a large and geographically varied area, and

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It was not immediately clear in the spring of 1933, however, that New Deal programs (particularly the CCC) would emphasize recreational planning to the degree they eventually did. The CCC "tree army," for example, was at first expected to concentrate mainly on forestry and soil conservation activities. Most CCC camps were planned for national and state forests, where the Forest Service would oversee them. The CCC boys, in their late teens and early twenties, generally had few or no skills, and it was expected that they would be occupied mostly in constructing fire roads, fighting forest fires, reforesting cutover land, and stabilizing eroded slopes. At the Park Service, Albright at first placed his chief forester, John Coffman, in charge of national and state park CCC activities, anticipating that forestry projects would be the main work of the CCC program.\footnote{Several summaries of Park Service CCC activities have been published by the Park Service. See John C. Paige, The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985); Harlan D. Unrau and Frank G. Williss, Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s (Denver: Government Printing Office, 1982); Linda Flint McClelland, Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916-1942 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1993), 195-268.}

Once the CCC camps were operational, however, it was soon evident that the recruits would be able to successfully undertake demanding construction and park development projects, in addition to their forestry activities. Trepidations regarding the quality of masonry and wood construction the young men would be capable of soon were assuaged, and the Park Service began to employ CCC labor in more ambitious park projects. There were a number of reasons why the CCC program was so successful. A number of "local experienced men," for example, were hired at each camp and provided vital guidance and training while laboring with the recruits. The construction projects, like the camps themselves, were also extremely well supervised. The silver lining of the Depression was soon revealed: the unemployed condition of thousands of professionals, scientists, and educators made them available and eager to participate in the CCC and other New Deal programs. Landscape architects, in particular, were hired to work in state and national park CCC camps, but many other unemployed professionals were hired as supervisors and foremen as well. In a CCC camp in Keosauqua, Iowa, landscape architect Kenneth F. Jones worked as a "landscape foreman," supervising work crews of about 20 boys apiece. Each crew, he reported, had a "working foreman" with professional training: a landscape architect, an architect, a civil engineer, an agricultural engineer, a forester, a forest pathologist, and an entomologist.\footnote{Kenneth F. Jones, "Emergency Conservation Work," Landscape Architecture 24, no. 2 (January 1934), 29-30.} Higher up in the organization, a network of regional inspectors, including many well-known landscape architects and architects, relentlessly enforced uniform high standards for design and construction in national and state parks. Under these circumstances, difficult and complex construction could be successfully undertaken by the CCC. If the CCC program was originally intended to reclaim a generation of unemployed youths by employing them in forestry activities, the great potential
of using their labor to build national, state, and local parks became clear within the first months of the program. The political rewards of building new parks for hundreds of local communities also obviously exceeded those of less functional forestry projects. As Herbert Evison later observed, "From the moment it was realized that the CCC could legitimately be utilized to perform Emergency Conservation Work on State parks, the State park situation underwent, for good or evil, the most radical change in its seventy-year history."18

Another reason for the success of CCC camps in the case of national parks were the master plans that Thomas Vint and his colleagues had already developed for virtually every national park and monument by 1933. The plans outlined many useful and carefully designed improvements that were waiting to be implemented. In the fall of 1933, Vint relocated from San Francisco to Washington, and his title was changed from "chief landscape architect" to "chief architect."19 By 1934, the landscape architecture division had been renamed the "branch of plans and design." In the rapidly growing San Francisco office, Vint's assistant William Carnes took over as head of the "western division" of the branch of plans and design; the "eastern division," which remained under Charles Peterson, moved to Washington as it also took on dozens of new staff.20 As Vint's design division grew to many times its former size, the procedures and policies he had instituted remained in effect. Experienced Park Service landscape architects, such as Ernest Davidson, Merel Sager, John Wosky, Kenneth McCarter, Harry Langley, Herbert Krellenkamp, and Howard Baker were ready to supervise scores of fresh recruits, many of whom were well qualified but had no experience in park planning. In 1933, Vint assigned each of these veterans responsibility for a "district" (a cluster of national parks), assuring that in every area of the park system new design staff would be supervised by someone he had personally trained in San Francisco.21

Established master planning procedures continued to guide the park planners of Vint's branch of plans and design as the CCC and other New Deal Programs, especially the Public Works Administration (PWA) invested unprecedented labor and capital in the national park system. In state park design, as well, Park Service landscape architects adapted Vint's master planning process to guide state and local park developments. In this case, Park Service planners created state park master plans that mimicked the larger national park master plans in their basic format. There were differences in the state plans, of course, besides their scale. Scenic

27Tweed, et al., Rustic Architecture, 88-89; Newton, Design on the Land, 576-585; Wirth, Parks, Politics, and the People, 114. Wirth tells of being personally instructed by Franklin Roosevelt in the fall of 1933 to undertake more ambitious state park development projects with CCC labor.


29In 1938, Vint's title changed again to "chief of planning." Thomas C. Vint, Personnel Information Sheet, United States Civil Service Commission, July 1, 1940. Thomas C. Vint Collection, Papers of Charles E. Peterson.


preservation remained a major goal for state parks as it was for national parks; but state park
design, done in cooperation with local park authorities, naturally incorporated a wider and
more varied range of recreational uses within a smaller area. If the basic procedures of
national park master planning were easily adapted to state parks, different policies determined
how much and what type of landscape development would be deemed appropriate in the state
reservations. State park design was also administered separately within the Park Service.
While chief forester John Coffman remained in overall charge of Park Service CCC programs,
state park CCC "planning and cooperation" was supervised out of the "branch of lands" at the
Park Service. Vint's new branch of plans and design remained primarily concerned with work
related to federal properties; the branch of lands, located in a parallel position on the Park
Service organizational chart, took responsibility for all state and local park planning. In 1934,
the branch was renamed the "branch of recreational land planning," and in 1936 it became the
"branch of recreation, land planning, and state cooperation," indicating the growth and
development of its activities. After 1934 it was usually referred to simply as the "branch of
planning." The assistant director in charge of the branch was a young landscape architect
named Conrad L. Wirth, who had joined the Washington office in 1931.

Wirth was the son of the famous Minneapolis park superintendent, Theodore Wirth, and
through his father he had many contacts with prominent figures in the American park
movement. He had graduated from Frank Waugh's landscape program at the University of
Massachusetts, and later went into business with a partner in New Orleans. When the Gulf
Coast real estate market collapsed in 1927, the landscape architect was thrown out of work.
Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., subsequently arranged for him to be hired by the National Capital
Park and Planning Commission, where Wirth was in charge of investigating and reporting on
potential additions to the Washington park system. Three years later, when the position of

\[22\] Olsen, Organizational Structures of the National Park Service, 53.
assistant director in charge of land planning opened up at the Washington office of the Park Service, Horace Albright asked Wirth to transfer and take over similar planning responsibilities for the national park system.  

Wirth's position as the chief land planner at the Park Service made him a logical choice to organize state park planning efforts in 1933. At that time, many states did not yet have state park systems or even a single state park. In order to capitalize on federal work relief programs (especially the CCC), the first requirement for many states was to draft a recreational land use plan to guide the acquisition of new parkland. Wirth's experience investigating and reporting on potential national park areas would serve him well while he assisted in planning the expansion of dozens of state park systems after 1933. Managing CCC state park planning nationwide was a daunting organizational task, and Wirth also proved to be a capable administrator. He quickly established official relationships with local governments that made it possible for the Park Service to "cooperate"—that is, provide extensive planning and design assistance—without ever suggesting that local authorities were being bypassed or overruled by a federal bureau. This was a massive and sometimes delicate bureaucratic feat, which Wirth performed with great aplomb and enthusiasm over the next eight years.

Herbert Evison, the executive secretary of the National Conference on State Parks, was enlisted to assist Wirth, and together they administered CCC state park planning through the regional administrations established in 1933. The "district officers" of this shadow park service included leading figures from the state park movement. Lawrence Merriam, the California forester, headed the Western district office in San Francisco. Paul V. Brown, an important figure in Indiana state parks, led a Midwestern district in Indianapolis. John M. Hoffman, who had been commissioner of Pennsylvania state parks, ran the Eastern district in Washington. Perhaps most significantly for the subsequent history of Park Service design, Herbert Maier, the architect of the Yellowstone trailside museums, was hired as the regional officer for the Rocky Mountain district in Denver. They were an impressive group, and with the resources of the Park Service and CCC behind them, they were prepared to implement what would have only recently seemed visionary state park plans.

Over the next several years the CCC was acclaimed as an unqualified success of the New Deal. New state parks all over the country were particularly convincing evidence of the value and permanence of the work being done by the CCC boys. The state parks were designed by scores of planners and landscape architects who, whether supervised by state park departments ("local park authorities") or directly by the Park Service regional offices, were paid through federal funds and met standards for their work imposed by Conrad Wirth and his associates. Wirth insisted that the arrangement was "an extension of the understandings that were

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23 Wirth, _Parks, Politics, and the People_, 11-15, 32.

24 Wirth, _Parks, Politics, and the People_, 76-78.

25 According to Herbert Evison, Wirth himself established "central design offices" within state park departments, staffed by landscape architects, engineers, and planners on his CCC payroll. Although they technically were state park employees, they answered directly to Park Service officials who paid them and oversaw their work. Herbert Evison, "Civilian Conservation Corps in the National Park Service," transcribed interview, University of California, Berkeley: Forestry, Parks and Conservation Oral History Collection, No. 14, 1963, p. 41.
developed in 1921 when the National Conference on State Parks was organized," based on a purely voluntary "exchange of ideas"; but the desirability of CCC state park camps and funding gave the Park Service far greater leverage with local governments than Wirth acknowledged.

Local park authorities submitted applications for the assignment of CCC camps based on state recreational land use plans--usually part of an overall state plan--that identified desirable state park areas based on a statewide survey of land suitabilities and characteristics. The Park Service district offices reviewed the applications, supervised park planning, and assigned the camps. State park departments (where they already existed) hired professionals to prepare park plans, procured all supplies and materials, and generally were in direct control of their park projects. Of course they did all this with the federal money disbursed to them as part of the CCC program, and the Park Service oversaw and supervised every aspect of park planning and development. Wirth's state park CCC program hired regional inspectors (just as the national park CCC program did) who were usually professional designers or engineers of some standing. Very early in the state park program, when Wirth felt that "the planning and development operation was not up to standard" in many states, he reminded his inspectors (and indirectly state park officials) that failure to meet design and construction standards would result in the loss of CCC state park camps. It was an effective if indirect threat, and Wirth reported receiving excellent cooperation from both his regional inspectors and local park authorities once the point was made.26

As chief of state park planning and cooperation at the Park Service, Wirth instituted far-reaching policies in 1933 and 1934. At the 15th annual National Conference on State Parks, held at Skyland, Virginia in 1935, Wirth summarized his planning policies. He felt that state parks (and for that matter all parks) should be considered in two categories: those set aside for "conservation," and those set aside "primarily for recreation." The two types, he added, might be joined or separated, and "one might even completely surround the other, forming a multiple-use area." But Wirth also warned his planners that they should "always bear in mind the distinction" between conservation and recreational areas, and "forever seek a means of separating these two types." Inappropriate or poorly sited recreational development would simply degrade conservation areas, he explained, something which too often occurred because of public and official pressure to develop recreational facilities. In either category, proposed state parks were also required to meet certain standards that would distinguish them from county or municipal parks. For the conservation category, proposed state reservations should contain "the outstanding natural scenic areas of the state." The plants, wildlife, and geologic features of the area also should "attract State-wide recognition." Areas suitable for recreational development, on the other hand, were often more difficult to select since they did not possess the obvious scenic features that qualified an area in the conservation category. To know where state recreational developments were needed, extensive statistical and demographic information needed to be compiled for surrounding populations. Selecting recreational areas also required imagination to "visualize how . . . barren land," which otherwise might be overlooked, "could be transformed to serve good recreational purposes"
near cities and towns in need of such areas.  

If the task of national recreational planning was huge, tremendous resources had been made available. Herbert Evison estimated that in 1934, 700 landscape architects, architects, and engineers, working for various local park authorities but paid through CCC funds administered by the Park Service, were engaged in state park planning. This total did not include the 220 professionals employed by Vint's branch of plans and design by 1936, or those working as supervisors and foremen in national park CCC camps. Thomas Vint's assistant, William Carnes, later recalled that of the 1,000 or more design and engineering professionals directly or indirectly supervised by the Park Service during the mid-1930s, about 400 were landscape architects—a figure that suggests more members of the profession were working for the Park Service at the time than were not. By 1934, five states that previously had no state parks had acquired between one and six, and 20 other states had acquired new parks and added to existing ones. By 1935, 600,000 acres of state parkland had been added to the national total. That summer, 90,000 CCC boys were at work building state parks in 475 camps. The CCC was either already developing or planned to develop one half of the total of 3.5 million acres of state parkland in the country.  

For all the state parks developed by the CCC, the Park Service oversaw the production of detailed master plans, reviewed planning decisions, and inspected park construction. Conrad Wirth's Washington office was directly involved with design reviews, as were the regional office staff and regional inspectors. The state park master plans were miniature versions of national park master plans, and as such they graphically illustrated the degree to which Wirth was building on the landscape architectural practice developed by Thomas Vint. Like the national park plans, the state park master plans typically were composed of a series of maps and more detailed drawings which together showed the full extent and character of all development for a park. Certain areas, especially of larger state parks, were intended to remain undeveloped "conservation" areas, analogous to the "wilderness" zones of national park master plans. Roads, fire roads, and trails would be kept to a minimum, but would allow access to the most important scenic and other features of interest in the park. Developed areas in the park, drawn at more detailed scales, were divided between overnight campgrounds, day use areas, and other specialized uses.  

Among significant differences between the state park and national park master plans was the relative proportion of developed areas in each. More activities were considered appropriate for state parks and they were planned for a smaller total area. Swimming, boating, and fishing

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28 William G. Carnes, "Landscape Architecture in the National Park Service," Landscape Architecture 41, no. 4 (July 1951), 145-150. Intense demand created what were sometimes called "instant landscape architects," and at least some of those counted as landscape architects by Carnes must have been originally trained as engineers or architects.

29 The five states that previously had no state parks were Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Virginia, and South Carolina. Herbert Evison, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in State Parks," in American Civic Annual, Harlean James, ed. (Washington, DC: The American Civic and Planning Association, 1934), 181-185; Newton, Design on the Land, 580; Department of the Interior, 1934 Annual Report, 168-169.
were among the most popular outdoor recreations, and so the creation of at least one lake was often the centerpiece of state park plans, whereas dam construction would have been anathematized in a national park plan. If swimming pools, ball fields, and other recreational facilities figured prominently in state park plans, however, such recreational areas were often juxtaposed to significant tracts of woodland developed only with hiking and bridle trails. And as in national park plans, development was concentrated in limited areas, along a road corridor for example; the two types of parkland Wirth described were kept as separate as possible.

Within the first two years of the beginning of the CCC program, Wirth's state park organization within the Park Service influenced the operations of the Park Service as a whole, and the entire project of national recreational planning began to coalesce in the aggregate activities of the Park Service and the over 140 state, county, and municipal authorities with which it eventually cooperated. As the state park CCC program grew, it became desirable to combine all Park Service CCC planning rather than continue with parallel organizations to administer state park and national park CCC projects. Considering the size and scope of the state park operations, Director Cammerer decided in 1936 that Conrad Wirth should assume the administration of both state and national park CCC work, taking over chief forester John Coffman's responsibilities. All CCC planning (for national as well as state parks) would then be administered out of the CCC regional offices Wirth had set up. One implication of this consolidation was to effectively regionalize most of the Park Service; 70 percent of the bureau's personnel—the proportion involved in CCC related work—were brought under the supervision of the regional offices by this action. While Arno Cammerer was consolidating the Park Service CCC programs, he was also proposing a complete regionalization plan that would further consolidate Conrad Wirth's recreational planning division with the rest of the Park Service. Four new Park Service regional offices were proposed to replace and absorb the CCC regional offices; all Park Service operations were to be brought together in a consolidated, but regionalized, administration.

The Park Service, at the center of so much New Deal activity, had rapidly assumed new and expanded responsibilities in direct response to the social and environmental policies of the Roosevelt administration. The New Deal had remade the Park Service into an instrument of "national planning"; the Park Service, in turn, articulated defining policies for that national plan. The integration of national and local recreational planning and the increased emphasis on the recreational uses of land in general were unique opportunities to realize the full potential of park planning in the United States.

The substantial role of Park Service officials in New Deal "national planning" had begun during the Hundred Days of 1933. When Secretary of the Interior Ickes assumed the administration of the PWA, he knew that the plans for public works prepared in advance by groups like the Park Service would only go so far. To guide massive public works spending efficiently, some form of national planning authority was needed to coordinate the projects.

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20 In January 1936, the number of CCC state park regions was reduced from eight back to four, in part because of a reduction in the number of CCC camps. Paige, The CCC and the National Park Service, 48-51.

21 Wirth, Parks, Politics, and the People, 118-119; Unrau and Williss, Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s, 252.
proposed by federal, state, and local organizations. Ickes therefore organized the National Planning Board within the PWA. Chaired by Frederic A. Delano, then president of the American Civic Association, the new group found an energetic executive director in landscape architect Charles W. Eliot II, who transferred from the National Capital Park and Planning Commission. The national board, which changed its name several times over the next 10 years, immediately encouraged states to initiate coordinated state plans, including the plans for expanded state park systems that became the basis for state park CCC work. Although the National Planning Board could no more than suggest such cooperation from state governments, it was understood that future work relief spending might be influenced by such plans, and within one year 35 states had initiated state planning efforts. By 1936 every state (except Delaware) had at least begun a state plan.32

From its beginning, the National Planning Board relied on the Park Service as the best available source for information and advice on the recreational needs and trends of the nation. In 1934 the board, now renamed the National Resources Board, asked the Park Service to begin a comprehensive national study of "national and state parks and related recreational activities." To undertake the study, a "recreation board" was set up within the Park Service, headed by Herbert Evison and George M. Wright, chief of the wildlife division.33 The report was presented that fall, but in the words of one of the planners, "It was evident, from our first considerations, that the requisite information was not available. The time allotted . . . was all too brief."34 The only definitive conclusion in 1934 was that a more comprehensive national survey of recreational resources was indeed needed, and that year Secretary Ickes began pressing Congress for legislation that would allow the Park Service to undertake such a project. In June 1936, Congress passed the Park, Parkway and Recreational-Area Study Act, which effectively validated and extended the role the Park Service had already assumed as the nation's recreational planning agency. The law authorized the Park Service to undertake a truly comprehensive national survey of all types of recreational areas, and to use that information to assemble a plan that would coordinate the activities of federal land agencies and local park authorities to meet the future recreational needs of the country. The bill also

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32 Mel Scott, American City Planning Since 1890 (Berkeley: University of California, 1969), 300-310.


contained provisions which allowed the Park Service to fund the planning activities of local park authorities, and which gave consent for two or more states to cooperate in completing regional surveys of recreational resources.\(^{35}\)

The 1936 Park, Parkway and Recreational-Area Study Act marked the high point of the CCC's promise, and therefore of the Park Service's role as a national recreational planning authority.\(^{36}\) Once the bill became law, Arno Cammerer appointed Conrad Wirth as chairman of a special Park Service "recreation committee," and Wirth also replaced Secretary Ickes as the Interior representative on the CCC advisory council. Wirth's renamed "branch of recreation, land planning, and state cooperation" compiled the ambitious plan, and CCC emergency conservation work appropriations paid for it.\(^{37}\) The National Resources Board, now called the National Resources Committee, provided assistance and advice. In January 1937, the Park Service recreation committee distributed a procedural manual instructing state and local governments on what the national recreational survey was intended to be and how they could help assemble the needed information. The committee described the "problem of recreational land use" in the United States: although there had been stunning growth in state park systems since 1933, much of it had, "of necessity been based on inadequate planning," resulting sometimes in "unhealthy growth" and "ill-suited and unneeded development of available lands." Wirth suggested that each state conduct a comprehensive survey of "existing park, parkway, and recreational facilities," and of "potential areas . . . for acquisition and development." These surveys could then be compiled by the Park Service and become the basis of a "comprehensive report on a Nation-wide basis."\(^{38}\)

States responded quickly to the call to organize recreational planning efforts. In 1938, 43 states arranged to participate in the study, and seven states completed tentative final reports. By 1941, when the Park Service published the completed study, 34 states had contributed finished surveys which were condensed and published as an index of national recreational resources. The final report, titled *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States*, summarized the philosophy of New Deal recreational planning. As Secretary Ickes wrote in its forward, "The proper use of leisure time is a fundamental problem of modern society . . . Outdoor recreation answers this need." The secretary described the fundamental goal of the Park Service planning activities: "To establish the basis for coordinated, correlated recreation land planning among all the agencies--Federal, state, and local--having...

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\(^{36}\)In his memoirs, Wirth claims that the 1936 act "plays a key role in the history of parks in the United States." Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 166-172.

\(^{37}\)Kieley, *A Brief History of the National Park Service*, 37.

\(^{38}\)Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Procedure for Park, Parkway and Recreational-Area Study*, 3-5.
responsibility for park and recreational developments.\textsuperscript{39}

The physical results of unified, national recreational planning soon appeared. A plethora of new parks--and new kinds of parks--were planned and developed to meet outdoor recreational needs at every level. The national park system acquired some of its most extensive "wilderness" parks during the 1930s, including Everglades, Big Bend, Kings Canyon, and Olympic national parks. At the same time, the bureau created new categories of national parks that were unlike earlier scenic reservations. The typological expansion had already begun under Horace Albright with the creation of new historical parks at Yorktown, Virginia and Morristown, New Jersey; the 1933 transfer of national military, battlefield, and historic sites, monuments, and memorials accelerated the process. Conrad Wirth's planners, however, backed by the CCC, 47 state park departments, and other New Deal agencies and programs, introduced whole new categories of national and state parks. They were aided in these efforts by the federal acquisition of vast areas of land beginning in 1933. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), for example, was authorized to provide funds to buy out farmers who were cultivating "submarginal land" at a loss to themselves as well as the environment. The land was to be put to other uses, and in some cases it was suitable for recreational purposes; thousands of acres were transferred to Wirth's branch of planning at the Park Service, which developed the areas as "demonstrations" of recreational planning and use. Most of these demonstration areas were later turned over to local park authorities; other remain today part of the national park system. The Bureau of Reclamation, building new dams in the West with New Deal funds, created hundreds of miles of new lakeshore, which the Park Service made plans to develop for boating, swimming, and other recreational uses. In the Appalachians, national parkway projects connecting the new Eastern mountain parks similarly opened up opportunities for outdoor recreational activities. By 1941, the Park Service had built or was planning at least four distinct new kinds of national parks, called recreational demonstration areas, national recreation areas, national parkways, and national seashores.\textsuperscript{40}

But of all contributions made by professional landscape architects to the manifold social and economic experiments of the New Deal, no physical expressions more completely captured the aspirations, innovations, and characteristic spirit of the era to a greater degree than the hundreds of state and local parks built by the CCC and designed by the Park Service in cooperation with local park authorities. This field of park design--state park and recreational planning--was not so much expanded by the New Deal as created by it. To this day, many states owe the origins of their state park systems and the majority of facilities in them to the labor of CCC recruits and the landscape design and planning of Park Service professionals. National recreational planning at this scale consummated the long and mutually influential relationship between the Park Service and American


\textsuperscript{40}Department of the Interior, National Park Service, \textit{A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem}, 52; Mackintosh, \textit{Shaping the System}, 58-59.
landscape architecture. The state parks produced through this partnership remain today among the most potent symbols of New Deal idealism.

Among the hundreds of examples of many different kinds of state parks this partnership produced, however, none were more charged with the social ideals of New Dealers than the "recreational demonstration areas." This was in part because these demonstration projects, developed on federal land acquired mostly through FERA programs, not only represented the ideals of scenic preservationists and landscape architects, they also embodied the aspirations of "group camp" advocates, who for decades had sought to make summer camps and other organized camps an integral aspect of the larger state park movement.

The movement to promote group camping, or "youth camping," had been growing since before World War I. The camping movement also drew on an older tradition of bible camps and summer camps organized by various religious groups in the decades after the Civil War. National organizations, especially the Young Men's Christian Association, had become important advocates for group camps since that time. By the 1880s, organized camps for both boys and girls had been established by private groups in New York and in several New England states. But in the early 20th century, many of the Progressive reformers who had advocated playgrounds for children in crowded cities also were soon organizing "fresh air" camps to bring the same children out of the city altogether at least for a few weeks. When the Boy Scouts of America was founded in 1910, the organization (like its British predecessor) made group camping a fundamental experience for young scouts; the Campfire Girls (1910) and the Girl Scouts (1912) also made summer camps essential parts of their programs.

By 1924, L. H. Weir, the field secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, reported at the annual meeting of the National Conference of State Parks that "organized groups or massed camps for boys and girls and for adults have increased very rapidly within the past ten years." Weir estimated that up to a million campers--mostly children--were taking part in 5,000 to 6,000 organized camps being operated nationwide that summer. Most of these camps were conducted on property owned or leased by the camping organizations themselves; but Weir foresaw the day when this inherent limitation on the size and number of group camps might be overcome. "There is no question that large State Park and Forest reservations are destined to play an important part," he predicted, "in providing opportunities for that splendid form of outdoor life represented by the organized camp."41

But state park advocates and group camp organizers, at least up to this point, were not always the same people. The state park movement had mostly emphasized the preservation of historic sites and scenic areas outside of cities. Group camp organizations had concentrated on social issues in the cities, and especially on improving the lives of urban children. Much as municipal park departments embraced the playground movement in the first decade of the century, however, state park officials had begun to welcome camping organizations into state parks by the 1920s, even if concerns were expressed over the intensive use such arrangements would entail. The great precedent for the state park as a site for group camping was Palisades Interstate Park (in New York and New Jersey), where by 1924 the park's superintendent, Major

William A. Welch, provided sites for no fewer than 81 "fresh air" organizations from the New York City region.

Major Welch began this wholesale embrace of group camp organizations in 1913, and the Palisades quickly became the national center and exemplar for park development of this type. Among Major Welch's early admirers were Stephen Mather and Horace Albright, both of whom were very familiar with Bear Mountain and the other units of the Palisades park system. The group camp movement expanded rapidly during the 1920s, as "recreational specialists" and social workers brought their increasingly professional attentions to the cause. Many aspects of the operation and design of group camps were worked out at this time and have remained fundamentally unchanged since then. By the mid-1920s, the peculiarly American institution of the summer camp had taken shape. No less an authority on education than Charles W. Eliot, who died in 1926, suggested that the "organized summer camp is the most significant contribution to education that America has given the world." 42

But the group camp phenomenon, if it remained limited mostly to private or leased property, would never achieve the dimensions it could as an integral part of the larger state park movement. Many state park systems were also expanding rapidly in the 1920s, and Palisades Interstate Park offered a tantalizing example of how state parks could accommodate group camps on a far larger scale than would otherwise be possible. Besides Major Welch's success in accommodating such camps, however, there had been few major collaborations between state park managers and group camp organizations.

After 1933, however, the expansions of state park systems underway all over the country were recognized by many officials within the New Deal—and by Conrad Wirth in particular—as an unprecedented opportunity to provide sites for private non-profit groups to expand their organized camping operations. The development of new kinds of parks specifically suited for these activities, however, did not get underway until February 1934, when FERA made $25 million available for the acquisition of submarginal agricultural lands. Other New Deal programs, including the CCC, were not empowered to acquire land for new parks. But the FERA "Land Program," begun in 1934 and directed in part by the secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture, was intended to identify and acquire submarginal agricultural lands and, hopefully, to put the lands to more beneficial uses. Farmers and their families, trapped on farms that could not turn a profit, were to be relocated as part of the program. Soil erosion and other destructive effects of inappropriate land uses were to be abated; "land use planning," based on soil, climate, and other conditions, was to be implemented.

If in some cases crop land was converted into range or planted with forests, in other cases recreational land uses were recognized as appropriate. Here the Park Service planners, specifically Conrad Wirth's branch of planning, were asked to take responsibility for identifying and developing new federal "recreational demonstration areas" (RDAs), which would demonstrate various types of new park development, and hopefully encourage states to undertake similar efforts. In April 1935, the FERA Land Program was reorganized and folded into Rexford G. Tugwell's Resettlement Administration, which assumed control over the

money for land acquisitions, including the land for new RDAs. By November 1936, however, Wirth's planners (who chafed under this arrangement) assumed complete control of the acquisition and development of RDA projects. By 1941, the Park Service had acquired nearly 400,000 acres in 24 states for RDAs, most of which were developed by the CCC. Harvard landscape architecture professor Norman T. Newton, who was himself a regional CCC inspector at this time, later suggested that the RDAs were "perhaps the most remarkable collateral product of CCC days."43

The generic term "recreational demonstration project" at first referred to a number of different demonstrations the Park Service established with the help of the FERA funds for acquiring land. Pieces of land as small as 20 acres were acquired for highway "wayside" parks, while in other cases tracts of land up to 20,000 acres were acquired as extensions to existing state and national parks. But the type of demonstration project that quickly caught the imagination of the New Dealers (and which became known specifically as the "recreational demonstration area") was the large park of 5,000 to 20,000 acres devoted specifically--but not exclusively--to the accommodation of group camp organizations. These projects were not, according to the Park Service in 1936, "national parks, state parks, county parks, metropolitan parks, or forests of any technical classification. They are newcomers to the recreation field--part of a recreational awakening." The RDAs were not intended to compete with or replace existing park systems, in other words, they were "vitaly needed adjuncts to these parks, providing facilities for low-cost recreation in the form of organized camps--a special service to the cities' lower-income groups."44

One of the first of these new parks to be completed opened in the summer of 1937, south of Washington, DC, in Virginia. Known as Chopawamsic, the area has been retained as a federal property today known as Prince William Forest Park (in part perhaps because it is surrounded on three sides by the Quantico U.S. Marine Reservation). The Park Service and Resettlement Administration planners who collaborated on the project reported that more than 100 families had been living in the 15,000-acre project area around the Town of Joplin. The farmland, however, was exhausted, local businesses were dying, and many of the families in question "had suffered extreme poverty" and were on various forms of relief. Some of the families were relocated to new farms, some remained, others left the area on their own after being bought out. The land was then developed with artificial lakes, and three large, well separated sites for group camp operations: a boys' camp, a girls' camp, and an area for "family groups." The planners insisted that "a program of dual value is thus being perfected... . The people of the cities are to have, without cost, a share of the good earth and the health and


happiness that goes with it; and poverty stricken farmers are to have a new chance.\textsuperscript{45}

Perhaps no other type of New Deal project more fully exemplified the ambitious social goals of many planners within the Park Service, the Department of Agriculture, and other federal agencies. Chopawamsic was soon joined by dozens of other RDAs all over the country, many of which began receiving campers in 1938 and 1939. It was soon apparent, however, that not all the social goals for the RDAs were compatible. At the Park Service, for example, the criteria for locating new parks was based primarily on the topographic, demographic, and scenic qualities of proposed areas. As a result, the "dual value" that had been pressed as a goal in 1935 and 1936 (mostly during the year and a half the RDA program was under Tugwell's authority) was rarely achieved. "Submarginal" agricultural land with appropriately impoverished inhabitants simply could not be counted on to meet Park Service requirements for new state parks. Adequate group camp sites required low-lying areas, for example, with substantial streams running through them that could be impounded to create lakes for swimming and boating. But such sites often included the most fertile and productive land in a given region; the exhausted soils of subsistence farms were more often located on higher slopes, away from the rich bottomlands. The higher elevations of a site might be acquired, but they would be of limited use for recreation without the lakes that could be created below.\textsuperscript{46}

Scenic preservation also remained a concern for Park Service landscape architects, who were naturally interested in at least considering the visual interest of different areas when determining the locations of new RDAs. The criteria of professional park planners in selecting and developing new projects simply did not coincide with the goals of agricultural reformers, such as Tugwell. The conflicts made the collaboration between the Park Service and the Resettlement Administration untenable. In 1936, when the Park Service assumed complete control over the RDA projects, it also secured the power to make land acquisitions based on the desirability of the land for recreational purposes, not just on the pretext of its "submarginal" usefulness for agriculture.

If Conrad Wirth found that the purposes of park development and those of agricultural reform frequently crossed, a more harmonious relationship soon developed between the Park Service and the professional educators and social workers who had advocated organized group camping over the previous 20 years. In this case, the goals of group camps and those of state parks could be successfully combined in the design of a new kind of state park that would accommodate camping organizations in some areas, and day use visitors in others. Recreational specialists, like L. H. Weir, had described in detail how state parks could accommodate group camps already by the mid-1920s. In order "to function effectively as centers for organized camping," Weir wrote in 1924, the new parks should provide "a source of pure water for domestic purposes, . . . an area of such size to permit the orderly layout of the camp, . . . water for swimming, boating, canoeing, etc. . . . [and] a site that is not too far from the home communities of the campers." Again drawing on the Palisades as the best example of such a park, Weir also described the specific types of buildings that ideal group camps would require, including the dining hall, the recreation building, sleeping tents or cabins,

\textsuperscript{45}Department of the Interior, National Park Service, \textit{Recreational Demonstration Projects as Illustrated by Chopawamsic}, 6.

\textsuperscript{46}Newton, \textit{Design on the Land}, 589.
latrines, and wash houses.\textsuperscript{47}

For Weir and other social reformers, the ultimate goal of organized camps was to give children the experience of "outdoor life" that (it was felt) was essential to build physical health, moral character, and social skills. The layout and design of the camps therefore expressed, at least to some degree, ideal social relationships. "The planning of camp-sites is city planning in miniature," as Weir put it. The size of camping groups, the relationship of buildings to one another, and the overall layout of the camps were all the subject of careful consideration based on their perceived effects on the physical and emotional health of the children that would inhabit—and perhaps be shaped by—their experience in these ideal cities.

It is interesting to note, therefore, that many group camp advocates were not sure at first that Park Service landscape architects would be able to contribute in constructive ways to the design of the RDAs. Julian H. Salomon, a camp advocate who became a "recreational specialist" at the Park Service in 1933, recalled in 1936 that "I never realized that a landscape architect could ever contribute anything to a camp until I went down to Washington and sat next to Lou Croft [Park Service landscape architect Louis P. Croft] ... I have learned a great deal from him." In fact, Salomon (who went on to become a leading expert on group camp management and design for decades) and other recreational specialists hired by the Park Service participated in a remarkable period of collaboration with Conrad Wirth's planners between 1933 and 1936. During that time, dozens of state parks designed specifically to accommodate organized camping associations were designed for sites all over the country.

In May 1936, the planners held their first significant national conference on the subject of organized group camps and state parks. The conference was held at the Girl Scouts training center, Camp Edith Macy, in Briarcliff Manor, New York. The location was a recognition of influence not only of the Girl Scouts, but of the other national organizations (many of which were headquartered in nearby New York) that had led the group camp movement since before World War I. At the conference, Salomon gave a detailed description of Park Service policies for "camp layout and structures" as they were being implemented at Chopawamsic and dozens of other sites. The policies Salomon described were the fruitful hybrid of state park design as practiced by Conrad Wirth, and group camp philosophy as described by L. H. Weir and others.

Salomon began by noting that up until 1933, state parks had not in fact provided as many opportunities for group camps as they might have. This was understandable, since without careful planning, the activities of day use visitors potentially would detract from the successful operation of camps, which needed privacy and some isolation. Salomon continued by reporting that according to the surveys and other research that he and the branch of planning had done, camp operators preferred camps of about 80 to 100 campers apiece. In making typical plans for camps of that size, the Park Service also had decided on a "unit type layout," which permitted the children of a large camp to be divided into smaller groups, based on age and interests, and which also allowed closer contact between children and camp counselors.

The "camp units" Salomon described recalled the contemporary city planning ideal of the "neighborhood unit," advanced by the architect Clarence S. Stein and others. But in the case

\textsuperscript{47}L. H. Weir, "Group Camping," 166-169.
of the organized camp, the unit was to consist of 16 to 32 campers; the camp itself would therefore be comprised of three to four units. The distance between units might vary, according to Salomon, but the general rule was to allow about 600 feet, so that they would be "out of sight and hearing of each other." Privacy, in other words, was "the first requirement of a unit site just as it was the first factor to be considered in selecting a camp site." Salomon went on to describe the required dimensions and other features of campers' cabins and other buildings. Counselors' cabins were to be located near the center of each unit. A "unit lodge," which was "the living room, recreation hall, and all purpose shelter" of the unit, was also a "most important building." A small outdoor kitchen could be attached to the exterior of the unit lodge. Each unit also had its own wash house and latrine.

The camp itself was arranged, at a larger scale, along the lines of the individual units. The camp administration building, Solomon advised, "should be the first one to be reached in approaching the camp," with a nearby parking area that would handle most vehicular traffic arriving at the camp. Although functionally the center of operations for the camp, the building did not need to be at its physical center; it should however be roughly equidistant from the three or four units that made up the camp, and within walking distance from each. Nearby the administration building, the dining hall and kitchen complex also served the entire camp. An infirmary, staff quarters, a recreation hall, and a craft shop also were part of the central administrative group, around which the units of the camp were evenly clustered. 48

The plans Solomon described were the result of intensive collaboration between landscape architects and recreational planners. The two groups had been brought together on an unprecedented scale within Conrad Wirth's branch of planning. Wirth attended the conference at Camp Edith Macy, where he was received warmly and given great credit for the recent advances in both state park design and organized camping. Wirth himself (typically) deflected the credit back to his audience. The RDAs, he insisted, represented "an accumulation of study and effort of people who were never in the Park Service." His planners and administrators had "analyzed those [efforts] and picked out what we thought were the best." 49 In his later memoirs, however, Wirth clearly regards the organized camps of the RDAs among his most significant contributions to the New Deal state park effort. Without the Park Service planners and programs, the camping organizations never would have been able to exploit the opportunities of the New Deal as effectively. Wirth credits in particular Matthew C. Huppuch, his deputy, who supervised the RDA program. The other chief RDA planners in Washington included Peter DeGelleke, Charles H. Gerner, Julian Salomon, and Fay Welch. 50

The power and funds to acquire large tracts of land (a power that neither the CCC nor the PWA programs possessed) made the RDA program the locus of some of the most important planning decisions made by the Park Service during the New Deal. By 1937 Wirth was


50Wirth, Parks, Politics, and the People, 189.
overseeing the construction and operation of 32 RDAs devoted specifically (if not exclusively) to organized group camping. All of these were intended to be given to state park departments as they were completed and states agreed to take them on. The lands acquired through the RDA program also were used to create Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park, Hopewell Village National Historic Site, and the Kings Mountain National Military Park; they also extended areas of the Blue Ridge Parkway, Acadia National Park, and state parks all over the country.

There were a total of 46 projects described as RDAs in 1937, but nine of these were in fact simply additions to the national park system--either new parks or additions to existing ones. Two more of the RDAs were demonstrations of highway "wayside" parks, a popular idea that never achieved substantial success, although state and federal highway designers later incorporated "rest areas" into limited access highway design. Five large state parks were expanded through the RDA program, including Pine Mountain, in Georgia, and Lake Guernsey, in Wyoming. The remaining 31 RDAs were completely new RDA projects, intended to become state parks eventually.

Of the total of 46 RDA state park projects, 34 had planned group camp facilities, and the term RDA eventually was used specifically to describe these 34 group camp/state park developments. As Conrad Wirth recalls in his memoirs, "the RDAs were the main purpose of the larger [RDA] program," meaning that it was the large state parks with organized camping facilities that received the most attention from Wirth and the RDA program. By 1941, over 200,000 acres had been acquired to build the 34 group camp/state parks; beginning in 1942, all but two were given to their respective state park departments. (In addition to Chopawamsic, a portion of the Catoctin Mountain RDA was retained in the federal system; a portion of the park had been developed as the presidential retreat FDR called "Shangri-La" and which Eisenhower renamed Camp David.) The RDAs were all intended to be located within 50-100 miles of major metropolitan populations. Wirth also wanted the RDAs to be at least 10,000 acres, because in addition to their role as sites for organized camps, he wanted them to be large enough to function as state parks for the general public as well. Ten thousand acres generally meant enough land for both purposes, with the opportunity ideally to develop substantial lakes for both groups of users.\footnote{Wirth, \textit{Parks, Politics, and the People}, 176-192.}

Today, the RDAs developed by the Park Service, working with CCC or WPA labor, have survived with various degrees of integrity. Almost all have remained state parks, although many have retained only a portion of their original buildings, and others no longer serve the group camp organizations that had been the original impetus for the parks. The RDAs that remain intact, functioning, and in good condition, however, have a startling power to recall the social idealism of the New Deal.

Of the 34 RDA sites with group camps, however, two are outstanding for the artistic significance of their original design and planning, combined with extraordinary integrity and excellent condition. These two RDAs also continue to serve their original functions--as organized camps and public day use areas--and have done so virtually without interruption since the late 1930s. The first, St. Croix State Park in Minnesota, was the largest of all the
RDAs and one of the most beautiful in terms of its setting. It was built by the CCC and the WPA. The other, Mendocino Woodlands, was one of only two RDAs developed for the West Coast. It too has an extraordinary setting, but it also is the most significant remaining example of the WPA "transient camps," the adult work camps that worked extensively (like the CCC) in the RDA program. Both are being nominated as NHLs as part of this study because of their significance as the finest remaining results of the RDA program.

The State of Minnesota, unlike many other states, already had a long state park history in 1933. In fact, the acquisition in 1885 of Minnehaha Falls (technically Minnehaha State Park, although in fact a Minneapolis municipal park) makes the Minnesota state park system one of the oldest in the country. In 1891, Itasca State Park was established to preserve the source of the Mississippi at the center of what became by the early 1920s a 32,000-acre reservation. The Douglas Lodge (1905) at Itasca State Park was one of the great state park lodges that influenced early Park Service planning. In the summer of 1923, over 4,500 automobiles carrying over 18,000 people registered at the massive inn built of peeled logs at the southern end of Lake Itasca.52

By 1925, when a state Department of Conservation was created, Minnesota already had a significant though eclectic state park system consisting of 22 properties. Many of these parks were of 50 acres or less and served essentially as municipal parks; others, including Itasca, Scenic, and Interstate state parks, were major scenic reservations. Minnesota's state park system entered a period of relatively slow growth after 1925. In 1933, however, park planning in Minnesota, as elsewhere, quickly assumed new proportions. Beginning in 1933, the Minnesota Department of Conservation began cooperating with Conrad Wirth's branch of planning at the Park Service to expand the state's park system in many ways. The largest of the new state parks planned for Minnesota was to be an RDA: the St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area along the banks of the St. Croix River that separates Minnesota and Wisconsin.

The land to be acquired for the new Park lay entirely in Pine County, Minnesota, near the Town of Hinckley. The region had once been covered in magnificent forests of white pine. A vigorous and unregulated logging industry, however, had cut over millions of acres of north and central Minnesota since the late 19th century. The St. Croix River, flowing due south, had been a principal conduit for the logs. By the 1890s, the region had attempted to make a transition to agriculture, but thin forest soils had not proved particularly adaptable. And then on September 1, 1894, a huge forest fire erupted in Pine County. Fueled by the abandoned slash and resin soaked stumps from decades of logging, the fire swept across entire counties of east-central Minnesota, centering around the Town of Hinckley. Over 400 people were killed, and half a dozen towns were completely obliterated.

Over the next 30 years, the landscape devastated by the Hinckley Fire of 1894 began to recover. In 1934, as the FERA Land Program planners in the state began looking for large tracts of land that would be available and suitable for park purposes, they quickly settled on the St. Croix region around Hinckley as a perfect example of an area that would be adaptable to

recreational purposes. Since 1894, a second growth forest of pine, spruce and hardwoods had grown up on the land that had been clear cut by loggers. Relatively flat, with an average elevation of 1,000 feet above sea level, several streams and small rivers flowed through the area into the St. Croix. Clearings in the forests marked the sites of farms, some of which remained active, but many of which had been abandoned since most forms of agriculture had never proved to be lucrative. And a virtually unlimited amount of land along the upper St. Croix was either in public possession or available for purchase at bargain prices. Finally, the area around Hinckley was strategically located about 75 miles from both the Twin Cities area and Duluth, the two principal metropolitan regions in the state. These factors together made the region ideal for the purposes of the RDA planners.

And of course, the St. Croix River itself, and its surrounding woodlands, were extremely scenic. The high bluffs along the St. Croix and Kettle Rivers, in particular, offered some of the finest scenic vistas available in the region. The rivers also offered the potential of various forms of recreation. The scenic qualities of the St. Croix were recognized again in 1972, when Congress established the St. Croix National Scenic Riverway through Minnesota and Wisconsin. These qualities made the St. Croix River around Hinkley even more attractive for an RDA development.

In 1934, Park Service planners began consulting with Minnesota officials in connection with proposed FERA Land Program acquisitions for RDAs. Conrad Wirth's inspectors, working out of what were then the District II headquarters in Indianapolis, initiated the survey of potential sites. The Minnesota officials consulted included the Governor, the State Planning Board, Minneapolis Park Superintendent Theodore Wirth (Conrad's father), and P. H. Elwood, the Iowa State professor of landscape architecture who now served as a federal advisor for state park planning in several Midwestern states. Regional Inspector Amos B. Emery, in a April 1934 report to Park Service District Director Paul V. Brown summed up the advantages of the site for what would become the St. Croix RDA: "The area is a combination of submarginal land and agricultural land and burnt-over timber land . . . . It has high recreational value [and] excellent camp sites . . . . Here is a wonderful project to combine all phases of conservation, forests, wild life, and parks." 53

By the following spring, the acquisition of approximately 19,000 acres of the new RDA had been approved. But the first CCC recruits began arriving already in the fall of 1934, preparing their camp (Minnesota SP-6, CCC Company 2706) in advance of the final land acquisitions. Their camp was located on a commanding riverside bluff known as the Yellowbanks. Reputed to have been the site of an Indian village, more importantly, perhaps, it was near the point where an old railroad right-of-way met the St. Croix River. The Fleming Railroad had been built in the 1890s to haul white pine logs down to the river to be floated to mills to the south. Parts of the abandoned railroad grade would eventually become the main entrance road to the new park. But as the process of acquiring the "submarginal" land dragged on, the boys were only able to undertake limited work within the park site. By the following fall, they had built  

53Quoted in Rolf T. Anderson, "National Register Nomination for St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area," 1996, p. 48. National Register nominations are available at the National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, 800 North Capitol Street, Washington, DC. Anderson made extensive use of the National Archives records pertaining to RDAs in his National Register nomination for this park. Lengthy quotations from those records are provided in his text.
the first six miles of road in the park, and cleared 15 acres for the first camp site.\textsuperscript{54}

In the meantime, Park Service landscape architects and planners organized themselves and went to work preparing a master plan for the St. Croix RDA. Architectural Historian Rolf T. Anderson reconstructs the master planning process for St. Croix, and his work provides a particularly detailed look at how such master plans typically were produced. In St. Paul, the Park Service created a "Minnesota Central Design Office," which functioned as a design office for the Minnesota Department of Conservation, but was in fact a satellite of the Park Service District Office in Indianapolis. (After a 1935 reorganization, Minnesota became part of the new Region VI, headquartered in Omaha.) The principal figures of the St. Paul design office, which subsequently produced master plans for St. Croix and other Minnesota CCC parks, were chief architect Edward W. Barber, architect V. C. Martin, landscape architect N. H. Averill, and engineer Oscar Newstrom. Park Service regional inspector George Nason, Sr., would assume a particularly important role for the state of Minnesota, instructing the St. Paul design office in policies and procedures, using portfolios and photographic handbooks of Park Service work as examples.\textsuperscript{55}

Of particular interest, however, is the extent of the involvement of the Washington office as the plans developed. The plans being made in St. Paul and sent to Indianapolis for approval were immediately forwarded to Matthew Huppuch, Wirth's deputy in charge of the RDA program, in Washington. Huppuch and Wirth himself personally reviewed the master plan for St. Croix, and insisted on many changes in the overall layout and in specific details of design. The comments were written up in Washington by Louis Croft, the landscape architect that Julian Salomon worked with in devising general design policies for the RDAs. In December 1935, Croft returned the master plan for St. Croix to the district office with attached instructions for design changes. The revisions were based on the comments of Wirth and his staff, including Herbert Evison and every member of the RDA planning team headed by Huppuch.

Croft's summary annotations drove home the policies for RDAs that the Park Service branch of planning would insist on nationwide. The day use area and the organized camp areas, for example, needed to be entirely separate, since "privacy and isolation are absolutely essential to a well planned and successful organized camp . . . which is the primary objective of recreational demonstration areas." A road that was proposed to pass completely through the park site was unacceptable, since single entrances and dead end (or loop) roads were the rule, generally, in state park master plans. Through roads would again bring unnecessary and intrusive traffic into the vicinity of the group camps, and would in general make controlling access to the park more difficult.\textsuperscript{56} Conrad Wirth, Herbert Evison, and their staff in Washington all gave detailed review to every particular of the St. Croix plan, including the


\textsuperscript{56}Quoted in Rolf T. Anderson, "National Register Nomination for St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area," pp. 58-60.
grouping of individual cabin "units," and they sent extensive written comments to the field. The comments were acted upon by the designers in Indianapolis and St. Paul, and the new plans showed the results. There is no reason to believe that this level of attention was in any way atypical of the state park planning procedures implemented by Wirth.

Furthermore, the oversight of the St. Croix RDA project continued with careful supervision of construction in the field. The Yellowbanks CCC camp by the spring of 1936 had a full complement of Park Service designers who were overseeing the construction that was finally underway. The Yellowbanks CCC camp was particularly fortunate in having an excellent camp newspaper, The St. Croix Leader, and on April 1, 1936, the paper ran an amusing story on the "gentlemen of the Park Service personnel," who were supervising construction in the camp. In a jocular tone appropriate to the date, the editors described "the fair features of the Yellowbanks Royal Family . . . the men who have guided the destinies of Camp SP-6 since for the last year and a half." The story suggested some of the skills required of these professionals, who were praised for being "regular guys" as well as competent and efficient. Part camp counselors, part construction supervisors, the Park Service staff participated in camp life, including sports teams, holiday meals, musical groups, and other rituals and activities.

In charge of the professional staff at St. Croix was the landscape architect A. G. Nussbaumer, who received his degree from the University of Minnesota and was the son of the St. Paul municipal park superintendent. His senior foreman was Ernest DeWald, a landscape architect graduated from Ohio State, who had transferred from the regional office (which by that time was located in Omaha). The other Park Service technical staff included engineers, foresters, and another recent graduate from the landscape program at Minnesota.57

Within the state government at St. Paul, the Department of Conservation also rapidly took on increased responsibility for state park planning and management. In the summer of 1935, a State Parks Division was finally created within the Department of Conservation. Named to head the new division was Harold W. Lathrop, a native of Minneapolis who graduated from the Minnesota landscape program. In 1934 he left his position working for Theodore Wirth and the Minneapolis park board, and went to work for Conrad Wirth in the Park Service branch of planning in Washington. There the younger Wirth soon advanced him to his deputy in charge of state park planning.58 The fact that Lathrop returned to the Twin Cities area in 1935 to assume supervision over Minnesota state parks is another indication of the great influence the Park Service was having, typically, on the planning and administration of state park systems all over the country. By 1939, Lathrop had completed The Minnesota State Park and Recreational Area Plan, a model state park plan completed with the extensive "cooperation" of Wirth's branch of planning, through the provisions of the 1936 Park, Parkway, and Recreational-Area Study Act. The plan was endorsed not only by Lathrop and the Minnesota conservation commissioner, but by Park Service regional director Thomas J. Allen, Jr., and by Park Service director Arno Cammerer.

57The newspapers printed by every CCC camp vary greatly in quality, but are an invaluable resource for information on camp life. The St. Croix Leader and other camp papers are available through the Center for Research Librarians, 6050 South Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637.

58Meyer, Everyone's Country Estate, 142.
In the meantime, by 1936 portions of the master plan for St. Croix had been amended and approved, and at least the first portions of the FERA land acquisitions were completed. Work by the CCC boys on park buildings, roads, and campsites proceeded quickly that summer. In addition, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) also contributed heavily to the construction effort. About 300 WPA workers were organized into a WPA "transient camp" that went to work on the "girls' camp," or St. John's Landing Camp, early in 1936. The WPA hired local unemployed laborers and craftsman who were organized into work camps for the duration of their construction activities on a given project. The development completed by the WPA at St. Croix was also administered by the Park Service.

By July 1936, the WPA workers had completed the first group camp, and girls aged nine to fourteen were in the cabins, participating in an organized summer camp. The St. John's Landing Camp was one of the first of the new group camps to open, and the St. Croix RDA was on its way to becoming the largest and one of the most successful RDAs in the country by the end of the summer of 1936. Other construction by both WPA workers and CCC recruits continued throughout the park. In the fall of 1936 WPA workers began construction on the "boys' camp," or Norway Point Camp. Again, in both overall layout and the architectural design of specific buildings, the group camp was an ideal illustration of Park Service RDA planning. Completed in 1938, the Norway Point Camp received high praise from the Washington office. 59

The CCC boys and the "local experienced men" who worked with them were busy in the meantime mostly with the construction of the day use area and the Riverview Campground, which was to be a public camping area near the day use area. But in December, 1937, the CCC camp was discontinued due to a national reduction in the CCC program. Some of the larger construction projects in the day use and administration areas had not yet been finished, and were picked up by WPA laborers. A third group camp was also undertaken in 1938, the Head of the Rapids Camp. This project, and several of the buildings in the day use area, were only completed in 1940-1942, when a "veterans' camp" (a CCC camp of World War I veterans) was started in the area known as the Fleming CCC camp; this area was later converted into the All Seasons Trail Center. The veterans completed numerous projects in the camp, including the Head of the Rapids Group Camp, before the entire CCC program ended in 1942. 60

The St. Croix RDA project had involved a wide variety of planners, designers, and builders between 1934 and 1942; the result was one of the finest developments of its type. Since 1942, the group camps have been used almost continuously, as have the day use and public campgrounds, which, as the planners hoped, remain well separated and do not encroach on the group camps. Scores of charitable, religious, and other agencies have exploited the affordable opportunity to conduct summer camps that otherwise would never have existed—or at least never would have existed in the heart of what was eventually a 34,000-acre reservation in the heart of one of the most scenic regions in the Midwest.


St. Croix RDA became St. Croix State Park in 1943 when Minnesota and its Department of Conservation (now the Department of Natural Resources) agreed to accept jurisdiction over the completed park. Since then, the state has conscientiously maintained St. Croix, while making very few significant alterations to its original design and facilities. Overall, the park has a higher degree of integrity than any other RDA project, with the exception of Mendocino Woodlands (California), which is also being nominated as an NHL.

Few parks built by the Park Service, the CCC, and the WPA during the New Deal are as expressive of the ideals of the era as the RDAs. "City planning in miniature," the group camp facilities combined the social philosophy of a generation of urban reformers with the refined state park planning and design procedures of Conrad Wirth's branch of planning at the Park Service. St. Croix is one of the two finest examples nationally of this unique chapter in American park history.
9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES


Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- Previously Listed in the National Register.
- Designated a National Historic Landmark.
- Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #________
- Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #________

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other (Specify Repository):
10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 34,037 acres

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Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary of the St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area is shown as the heavy line on the accompanying USGS maps. It is defined by the park's statutory boundary, excluding any privately owned lands or those not administered by the park.

Boundary Justification:

The boundary is based on the historic boundary, which was determined by the park's master plan as developed by the National Park Service during the period of significance. Land purchases continued into the modern era to acquire all the lands within this boundary. However, the park has reached its mature form and no plans exist to purchase additional lands in the foreseeable future. For this reason, all privately-held lands within the statutory boundary (all of which are located on the park's perimeters) are excluded from the nomination. In addition, a parcel along the northern boundary which is owned by the Mille Lacs Indian Reservation is also excluded. Moreover, these lands are not administered by the park nor may visitors access them.

The St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area National Historic Landmark District encompasses five historic developed areas: the Park Headquarters Area, the Riverview Campground Area, the St. John's Landing Group Camp Area, the Norway Point Group Camp Area, and the Head of the Rapids Group Camp Area. The approximate limits of these historic developed areas within the NHL District are shown on the accompanying plans of each area.
11. FORM PREPARED BY

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS SURVEY
December 5, 1997