

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

64501089



☒ New Submission ☐ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park (VOYA), 1880-1950

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Tourism, Recreation, and Conservation in the United States, 1880-1950
Tourism and Recreational Development in Northern Minnesota, 1880-1950

C. Form Prepared by

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Robert L. Votaw Designated FPO/ NPS May 3, 2011
Signature and title of certifying official Date

Britta L. Bloomberg 5/12/10
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government Date
Britta L. Bloomberg, Deputy SHPO, Minnesota Historical Society

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

For Edson H. Beall 6-15-11
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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Section E: Historic Context

E. Tourism and Recreational Development in Northern Minnesota, 1880-1950¹

Overview

Patterns of wilderness recreation in the United States show a distinct difference between the early period (prior to 1920) and the advent of modern tourism after 1920. In the early period, wealthy individuals and others with ample free time traveled by rail or by water to tour and recreate in America's remote scenic and wild places. After 1920, the affordability of the automobile assured that recreational travel, once confined to the privileged few in America, became accessible to the broadening American middle class. With more money and leisure time at their disposal and with the support of a tourist industry and favorable state and federal tourism policies, increasing numbers of people traveled to the interior landscapes of North America, observed the country's remote wilderness, and embarked on a truly American adventure.

Change in transportation methods was fundamental to this shift in recreation. The railroad had emerged as the primary mode of passenger transportation in the late nineteenth century, eclipsing both steamboat and canal travel. Although quick and reliable, railroads depended on fixed routes. In contrast, the emergence of the automobile in the early twentieth century freed travelers from railways and timetables and allowed greater accessibility to remote locations. More importantly, the automobile gave people of varied means more travel opportunities. The shift in transportation meant that America's upper classes would no longer monopolize tourism.

The new types of tourists transported by the automobile also contributed to a shift in recreation architecture. In and around rivers, mountains, lakes, streams, and other places of natural beauty, travel destinations changed from genteel resorts or hunting and fishing clubhouses to single family seasonal cabins and smaller, more rustic resorts. This was especially evident in the remote, wild countryside between the populated East and the grand landscapes of the West. In places like the North Woods surrounding the Great Lakes, more and more people discovered the scenic locales within America and experienced natural spaces removed from an increasingly industrial and urban way of life. Vacations to rustic campsites, cabins or small resorts became a summer phenomena for the middle classes.

¹ This nomination is the culmination of several years of effort by a number of people. Voyageurs National Park conducted a historic structures inventory from 1989-1990 and began evaluation of properties in consultation with the Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in 1992. As a result of these discussions, the SHPO felt comfortable evaluating recreational properties from 1890 through the 1930s with the assurance that a recreational context statement would be developed before evaluating other properties. In 1999 Dena Sanford (Architectural Historian, Midwest Regional Office) wrote the "Historic Context for Tourism and Recreational Development in the Minnesota Northern Border Lakes from the 1880s through the 1950s." In 2003, Matthew Reitzel (graduate student at Oklahoma State University) drafted a Multiple Property Submission for "Tourism and Recreational Facilities in Voyageurs National Park (VOYA), 1900-1950." In 2007 Quinn Evans | Architects was hired by the Midwest Regional Office of the National Park Service to complete the nomination, with assistance from Mary Graves (Cultural Resource Manager, Voyageurs National Park).

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An awareness of conservation paralleled the development of tourism and recreation. Political leaders and citizens realized the ecological importance and recreational value of scenic landscapes and the need to protect them. Good roads and the development of state and national parks were popular with conservationists and economic boosters. Federal and state governments codified these trends with the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 and the founding of numerous state park systems.

In Minnesota, as elsewhere across the Great Lakes states, urban tourists followed national trends with annual trips to the scenic lakes of the North Woods. Before the 1920s, mostly wealthy sportsmen and families of the leisure class traveled to hunting and fishing clubhouses, luxury resorts, or summer homes on the northern lakes. A significant recreational fishing industry developed on Minnesota lakes where small-scale entrepreneurs established fishing resorts with clubhouses and rental cabins to support the urban tourists. Many outdoorsmen, including Native Americans of the region, offered guide services to sportsmen. During the 1920s and subsequent decades, tourists of the upper middle class and middle class invaded the North Woods in automobiles. Like many of their wealthier counterparts they often aspired to owning a scenic lakefront summer home. More cabins began to dot the lakes across Northern Minnesota.

The beautiful land and water of what became Voyageurs National Park shared these recreational trends, although the trends lagged chronologically behind the rest of Minnesota and America in general. Dominated by the expansive Rainy, Kabetogama, and Namakan lakes and hundreds of remote islands, Voyageurs had miles of rugged shoreline and abundant forests and wildlife but remained a difficult place to reach. As a result, the lakes of Voyageurs developed a reputation as an even more pristine wilderness than much of the more intensive recreational development across the rest of northern Minnesota. It was a place where, up until the 1960s, people could still feel distant from the populated urban civilization.

Urban sportspersons and tourists made their way to fish, hunt, and boat these remote scenic lakes, yet difficulty of access limited the nature of the recreational development. Often accessible only by boat, small fishing resorts and individually owned Rustic style cabins stood nestled on the rocky, wooded shores. Over the years they underwent little change and became examples of the recreation architecture and landscapes of the early twentieth century of the North Woods. For some, the people and the stories associated with these properties reflected the reputation of Voyageurs as a distant wild place. The recreation resources defined in this Multiple Property Documentation are associated with this early twentieth century historic recreation context as it took shape in northern Minnesota and, in particular, in the area of Voyageurs National Park.

By the 1950s, a new wave of mass recreation began to move into the lakes of Voyageurs. As more leisure time and disposable income became available to all classes of visitors, an increasing number of people purchased small parcels of land and constructed affordable cabins around the lakes. As the unique architectural style of the North Woods was gradually replaced with large numbers of generically-designed cabins, the wild and isolated quality of the place declined. The establishment of Voyageurs National Park sought to halt this development and preserve the special beauty and wild quality of this place once traveled by American Indians and fur traders.

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National Context: United States, 1880-1950

1880-1920: Wealth, Leisure Time, and the First Tourists

Between 1880 and 1920, the average urban American worked a ten-hour day and a six day work week. The long work week offered little time for recreational or leisure activities for many Americans and left long-distance travel to those who did not work long hours, chiefly the upper class.² Social status, therefore, defined the first American tourist. In these early years, tourism "acquired the trappings of status," and prosperous vacationers "expected a level of pampering that was foreign to all other travelers." Class lines separated those who traveled for leisure and those who stayed at home.

For those who had the time and the wealth, tourism emphasized a newly redefined relationship between work and recreation. John Jakle commented that "recreation, once merely the antithesis of work, became in the early twentieth century its necessary complement." Jakle argues that leisure time developed into an accepted part of work and not necessarily its opposite.³ Roderick Nash, however, theorizes that problems in society created a need for recreational liberation. For Nash, "a society must become technological, urban, and crowded before a need for wild nature makes economic and intellectual sense." The author makes an ironic comparison between the difficulties of the modernized world and how they generated a desire for rugged, old-fashioned simplicity.⁴

The transportation system that took wealthy travelers on their long distance trips were the railroads, which by 1880 reached across the nation. Well-to-do passengers traversed the continent on either the Wagner Palace or more popular Pullman railroad cars.⁵ The Pullman cars offered comfort and exclusiveness to rich passengers. Pomeroy describes the Pullmans as "the most luxurious of sleeping-cars into the wilderness...fit settings for their expensive patrons." Elite passengers requested private cars or even private trains with a full complement of maids, cooks, nurses, and porters and special indulgences such as carpeted floors, stained glass windows, seat cushions, marble and walnut washstands, curtains, and mirrors. These luxurious railroad cars "allowed affluent Americans a combination of comfort and mobility." Early tourist destinations for prominent Americans included some of the more dazzling sites in the country including Yellowstone National Park, Glacier National Park, and the Grand Canyon.⁶

There were limits, however, to extravagant rail travel. The tracks led to populated areas or specific destinations and trains moved quickly past the adjacent scenery. The railroad tourists followed a set itinerary and inevitably took the same route back to their homes. Schaffer explains, "they [affluent tourists] became observers, not participants, willing or otherwise, in all that rolled by outside their train window." Nevertheless, while only a few tourists traveled the

² Michael Chubb and Holly Chubb, *One Third of Our Time? An Introduction to Recreation Behavior and Resources* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1981), 28-29.

³ John Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 1.

⁴ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* 3d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 343.

⁵ Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargain: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 38-39.

⁶ Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 9-12.

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lavish railroads around the turn of the century, the notion of recreational travel emerged as a constant in the minds of many wealthy Americans.⁷

A parallel trend was the development of elite recreation in conjunction with industrial expansion. This was especially visible in the booming agrarian and urban Midwest, where in the countryside between the Alleghany and Rocky mountains, recreation often followed logging crews. Large scale industrial railroad and logging interests moved into the scenic out-of-the-way North Woods, western Great Lakes, and Ozark Mountains to provide lumber for the farms and cities of the treeless prairie states. Along the way, the railroad and timber men and their wealthy associates took advantage of the rail access to hunt and fish and enjoy these relatively wild places. They often established hunting and fishing clubs and built lodges or individual cabins in the woods on the shores of scenic lakes or rivers. These wealthy sports persons also developed relationships with backwoods cultures that provided guides such as the Ozarkers in the hills and rivers of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas or the Ojibwe people near the lakes of the North Woods.

Elite tourism intensified during the first two decades of the twentieth century, as a distinctive philosophy of American tourism emerged. World War I discouraged European tourism, both on a practical and philosophical level. Travel to Europe was difficult during the period, and the war inspired fervent nationalism and patriotism, causing affluent Americans to look to their own country's historic and natural locations for intellectual and recreational fulfillment. The ideology of "national tourism" surfaced and publicity for America's scenic attractions rose substantially.⁸

In addition, an emerging ethic of conservation had developed during the nineteenth century, intensifying interest in America's natural heritage. Early conservationists such as Washington Irving, John James Audubon, George Catlin, James Fenimore Cooper, Francis Parkman, Fredrick Law Olmsted, and John Muir observed with dismay the ever-increasing modern industrial country, whose expansion threatened to envelop the remote and untamed wilderness and cultures of early America. The words and actions of these conservationists influenced others in the country toward a philosophy of conservation.⁹ As a result, environmental conservation continued to develop and intensify throughout the early twentieth century. John Jakle calls this response a "back-to-nature movement" that celebrated natural places for "their picturesque and romantic qualities." Travelers who had visited wilderness areas became concerned about the effects of encroachment on the wilderness and developed a growing sense of obligation to preserve their country's places of natural beauty.¹⁰

Aesthetics was not the only reason to conserve scenic areas. Michael Chubb comments that "during this period [1900-1920], the recreational value of the national forests began to be recognized." Boating, fishing, hunting, hiking, and

⁷ Marquerite S. Schaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 42-63.

⁸ Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 25; Graham, *Man's Dominion*, 200-206; Jakle, *The Tourist*, 31; Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, 157; Schaffer, *See America First*, 100-101.

⁹ Lee Clark Mitchell, *Witness to a Vanishing America: The Nineteenth-Century Response* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 25-63.

¹⁰ Jakle, *The Tourist*, 64-65.

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other recreational activities revitalized travelers and presented a tranquil diversion from the crowded city streets. Not only did tourists enjoy the visual aspects of nature, but they actively participated in it.¹¹

Concurrent with the development of a private conservation ethic was the increase in federal and state owned lands available for recreational use. Governments reclaimed unwanted, tax-forfeited, and barren lands in America that were agriculturally unproductive, creating parks in these seemingly useless lands, and in the process supporting and expanding the mass conservation of wilderness areas. Consequently, both the federal and state governments directly intervened and promoted tourism, the preservation of scenic places, and the recreational use of leisure time.¹²

The birth of the National Park Service in 1916 exemplified the early twentieth century trend toward governmental responsibility for natural, scenic, and historic places. Yellowstone National Park, created in 1872, was the first national park, but before 1900 only five national parks were in existence. By 1916, the Department of the Interior held jurisdiction over 12 national parks and 19 national monuments, and the War Department managed many of the national war monuments. Bills to create a unified National Park Service to oversee this system had emerged in both the Senate and House as early as 1911. The bills had few friends in Congress, however, and garnered heavy opposition from the Forest Service, who believed a national park system would encroach on the national forest's domain. The need for an organized park system, however, was clear. Pre-1916 park management was highly disorganized and in need of guidance and better protection policies for parks and monuments, as a workforce of only ninety-nine individuals oversaw more than three hundred thousand visitors per year and 4.6 million acres of parklands. The military controlled some parks while in other areas employees were often untrained local residents who only worked in the park during summer months.¹³

The National Park Service founding legislation of 1916 "was an act of sparing places, of letting natural scenery remain relatively untouched, and of tolerating nature for nature's sake."¹⁴ National parks were "the people's playgrounds," which "together with their greater accessibility made possible by automobiles and improved roads, greatly increased their popularity." Visitation to national parks grew in popularity because of their increased accessibility, updated living quarters, and improved recreational facilities.¹⁵ These tourists turned from their urban, cosmopolitan setting and experienced a vigorous adventure within the American wilderness. As time progressed, the protection of places of scenic beauty reintensified the philosophy of conservation. Tourism gradually materialized as a

¹¹ Chubb, *One Third of Our Time*, 29.

¹² Ronald Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1984), 13-14; Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 80.

¹³ Horace Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-33* (Chicago: Institute of the American West, 1985), 32-35; Frank Graham, Jr., *Man's Dominion: The Story of Conservation in America* (New York: M. Evans and Company, Inc., 1971), 168-178.

¹⁴ Jakle, *The Tourist*, 68.

¹⁵ Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 32; Chubb, *One Third Our Time*, 29; C. E. Doell, *A Brief History of Parks and Recreation in the United States* (Chicago: The Athletic Institute, 1954), 39; Jakle, *The Tourist*, 67; Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, 149; H. Douglas Sessoms, Harold Meyer, and Charles Brightbull, *Leisure Services: The Organized Recreation and Park System*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975), 102-104; Jesse F. Steiner, *Americans at Play: Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time Activities* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), 37-38.

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part of American society. Yet before 1920, constraints on leisure time and transportation continued to hinder the birth of middle-class tourism.

1920-1950: The Middle-Class and the Automobile

After 1920, an increasing number of middle-class Americans assumed their rich predecessors' role and ventured out into the American wilderness. Tourism and recreational travel grew in intensity as the social makeup and mode of transportation for tourists changed dramatically. In 1933, Jesse Steiner noted, "Recreation has become so securely entrenched in the habits and folkways of the people that it is now a dominating force wielding strong influence in many directions." Partly driving the expansion of tourism was the increase in leisure time. Between 1920 and 1940, the average American work week declined to five and a half nine-hour days, and the emergence of the two-week vacation brought leisure time benefits to the middle-class world. Steiner wrote, "The opening of the doors of recreation to the mass of the people strengthens their determination to attain a standard of living that will include ample provision for the enjoyment of leisure."¹⁶

The middle-class family embraced the opportunities inherent in leisure time and recreational travel. Rothman, discussing the recently found liberation of the middle-class worker of the 1920s, writes, "travel for the express purpose of leisure became possible and necessary for more people than a privileged elite," and "the cultural dimensions of tourism shifted from the tastes of the elite...and toward the more common taste of ordinary people, often oriented toward recreation." The eyes of middle-class vacationers observed the same scenic views and landscapes that only decades earlier were the exclusive playgrounds of the upper class.¹⁷

Middle-class tourism in the 1920s was driven not by the railroad, but by the automobile. Automobiling was initially a sport for the rich, due to the automobile's high price and scarcity. After World War I, the increased availability and affordability of the automobile allowed Americans to purchase vehicles and travel with their families out of the cities and into the hinterlands. With a general lack of paved highways, early motorists maneuvered their vehicles across the open countryside, followed railroad right-of-ways, or shipped their cars via railroad. Although many individuals were still dependent on the railways in the early decades of the century, automobile travel increasingly allowed a new type of freedom for Americans. Warren Belasco asserts that, unlike the train, "a huge machine that belonged to a distant corporation... the car belonged to the tourist and was in fact the trip's focal point." Furthermore, the car allowed travelers more choices in their vacation itinerary, allowing them to make their own schedules and stop wherever they wanted, for as long as they wished. Middle-class travelers and the automobile altered the configuration of American recreation.¹⁸

The impact of the automobile on travel and tourism was significant. Pomeroy summarizes, "now the tourist came in his own car, bringing his family, [and] had interests that extended outside the city." The open spaces of the West and

¹⁶ Steiner, *Americans at Play*, 12.

¹⁷ Jakle, *The Tourist*, 1; Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, 127; Rothman, *Devil's Bargain*, 31, 148.

¹⁸ Rothman gives nationwide numbers concerning automobile ownership, "in 1910, 458,000 automobiles were registered nationwide; by 1920 the number reached 8 million, rising again to 23 million by 1930." Rothman, *Devil's Bargain*, 146; Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 22-24, & 35; Chubb, *One Third of Our Time*, 28-29; Jakle, *The Tourist*, 10, 101-107, & 120.

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the underdeveloped wild lands of the nation's interior were newly accessible to middle-class workers and their families. Miles of improved roadways appeared and further encouraged automobile purchases. Maintained roads and paved highways replaced unmarked paths and trails and eased the traveler's journey. Overall, Pomeroy maintains, "there is no doubt that the age of the automobile was the age in which the average American vacationer first found the West within his reach."¹⁹ Concurring with this statement, Steiner notes that it became possible for people "to go even farther afield in their search for recreation." Furthermore, he notes that people "readily travel long distances during weekends and vacations to places of scenic interest where their favorite forms of outdoor life may be enjoyed." Despite frequent breakdowns and roads that, although improved, continued at times to be impassable, many individuals were able to travel greater distances and for longer time periods. The automobile provided freedom of action, a kind of sociability, and a direct interaction with the landscape unknown to passengers of trains or ships.²⁰

There were several recreational choices for American automobilists in the 1920s. Autocamping comprised the earliest form of motorist recreation. As the name suggests, autocampers stayed in their cars and camped along the roadway while bypassing hotels, resorts, and other refined accommodations. Popularly known as "sagebrushing," autocampers parked their cars at suitable locations and simply set up their camp. Autocamping allowed for a very mobile and unfettered type of travel and suited the "tin-can tourists" of the 1920s and 1930s.

Organized campgrounds and cabins followed the emergence of autocamping. Campgrounds channeled tourists into specific locations and assembled a hodge-podge of travel enthusiasts. The popularity of campgrounds grew along with the need for improved accommodations such as running water and bathrooms. Belasco declares that campgrounds were the haven for middle-class tourists who "wanted more comfort and efficiency, [yet] did not necessarily want a modern hotel." Cabins comprised a middle ground between campgrounds and elaborate resorts, adding more amenities at a lesser cost than most hostelries. In addition, cabins were more personalized than campgrounds and allowed the traveler to reside in and revisit familiar locations. Autocamping, campgrounds, and cabins brought money into local communities. The traveler's money pointed to the regional economic possibilities of a burgeoning tourist industry.²¹

The Great Depression of the 1930s altered the dynamics of tourism as the inflated economic prosperity of the 1920s collapsed abruptly. The Depression affected many people (and tourism) in different ways. Jesse Steiner's work on the social aspects of the Great Depression focused on recreation in the era of economic downturn. With the emergence of the Depression, "it soon became apparent that the era of extravagance in the pursuit of pleasure had for large numbers of people come at least temporarily to an end." Steiner continued, "Many people were compelled to reduce dramatically their expenditures on leisure." Consequently, tourism again existed chiefly for travelers with abundant

¹⁹ Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, 125-127, 136, & 149.

²⁰ Steiner, *Americans at Play*, 34.

²¹ Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 137-140; Jakle, *The Tourist*, 164; Orvar Lofgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 60-61; Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 157; Steiner, *Americans at Play*, 42-47.

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wealth. Widespread participation in various facets of tourism and recreation slowed and certain recreational activities "tended to become symbols of class privilege as was formerly the case."²²

Nevertheless, Americans continued to use their automobiles during the Great Depression. According to Belasco, "Americans spent almost as much on gas, oil, and other vacation car operation expenses in 1933 as in 1929," and further, "automobile travel fared spectacularly well." Although American automobile travel persisted, the use of hotels, restaurants, travel supply stores, and other businesses connected to recreation fell dramatically. Campgrounds and modest cabins survived by offering similar comforts at a considerably cheaper price. Although the country was deep in an economic depression, with approximately 15 million Americans unemployed, travel for recreational enjoyment was still possible, only at a lesser scale. During the 1930s, those who had the economic means traveled to scenic locales and spent liberally. Conversely, those with lesser incomes traveled within their own means to autocamps and campgrounds or built small inexpensive cabins.²³

Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal" and the federal appropriation of public works compensated for some of the economic downturn during the Great Depression. "Alphabet agencies" such as the CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) and the PWA (Public Works Administration, later the WPA (Works Progress Administration)) aimed at improving and creating recreational facilities along with performing various conservation projects. The CCC infused money into federal, state, and local park systems. The construction of picnic shelters, roads, bridges, campgrounds, trails, cabins, fire trails, bridges, dams, water and sewer systems, signs, roads, and ranger stations progressed in both state and national parks and forests. The expanded use of automobiles produced the need to widen, straighten, and pave roads and highways. The agencies hired hundreds of unemployed workers and constructed recreational facilities still used by Americans today.²⁴

The Second World War also had a dramatic impact on tourism. The war severely hindered recreational travel and tourism in the United States in the early 1940s. Americans not fighting in Europe or the Pacific worked within the mobilized American economy. Furthermore, the military used parks, forests, and other recreational areas as training grounds. The tourist trade quickly increased, however, toward the conclusion of the war. American vacationers, with their wartime savings and victory enthusiasm, flooded the nation's roads and ventured to state and national parks. Hotels, resorts, and roadside commerce accelerated as Americans traveled in their automobiles to enjoy their lives and leisure time. By the late 1940s, tourism had again transformed into a national industry.²⁵

The heightened popularity of driving and camping within the national parks did not always bring positive effects, as mass tourism began to take a toll on parklands. As the once secluded regions of the country were found, seemingly all at once, "the United States was rapidly losing its wild aspect, a process which was accelerated by the coming of the automobile." As observed by Pomeroy, "the efficient engines that gave Americans the income, the automobiles, the

²² Jesse Steiner, *Research Memorandum on Recreation in the Depression* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 39.

²³ Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 142-144; Chubb, *One Third of Our Time*, 29-34; Runte, *National Parks*, 170-171.

²⁴ The CCC had 118 camps in the National Park System in 1935. Chubb, *One Third of Our Time*, 32; Forestra, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 43-44; Jakle, *The Tourist*, 72; Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, 155-158.

²⁵ Chubb, *One Third of Our Time*, 34-37; Jakle, *The Tourist*, 185-189.

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leisure time, and the hunger that they needed for the West, also took the West away." The automobile, the vehicle creating recreational opportunities, intruded on the parks' natural surroundings. Pomeroy continues, "It [the automobile] brought him into the wilderness, but it also brought him out again in a hurry, and in a cloud of dust." Tourism also sometimes had a negative impact on local communities adjacent to the national parks.

Parks responded to the threat with several measures. In the established parks, for the safety of the tourists "roads restricted motorists to certain sections of every park, concentrating them physically in constricted areas." Specific roads channeled visitors within the national parks and absolute freedom was no longer possible. These measures ensured the sanctity of the park and promoted its preservation. In contrast, several regions within the interior of the country, places similar to the future Voyageurs National Park region, remained untouched by modern road networks and accessible only by water or other forms of primitive transportation.²⁶

By 1950, tourism habits had changed considerably in comparison to 1900. The thrill of travel remained and many tourists took lengthy weekend trips on a regular basis. Tourists in the early 1950s had increased mobility and freedom to enjoy extended leisure time. The increase in automobile travel fostered road development, not only within cities, but also in once remote and inaccessible locations throughout the country. With the Great Depression and Second World War over, tourists regained their economic independence and traveled the nation. The national parks became centers of travel throughout the United States. They preserved and protected the natural landscapes of America and opened the wilderness to all her citizens.²⁷ Ironically, the immense popularity of these formerly inaccessible "wild" places meant that many National Parks became overused."

Regional Context: Minnesota, 1880-1945

Voyageurs National Park embodies, yet in many ways is distinct from, the national trends seen in tourism and recreation. The development of tourism and recreation in the area can be separated into three distinct periods, reflecting the general evolution of tourism. The early development period, dating from the 1880s and peaking in the 1920s, resulted in seasonal homes and cabins for wealthy tourists and outdoor adventurers taking prolonged vacations in northern Minnesota's remote areas. In the 1930s and 1940s, the types and numbers of vacationers shifted to include those of moderate incomes and a variety of recreational interests. These recreationalists, attracted to the area by local promotional efforts and homesite leasing programs, found easier access to the formerly remote areas of the state due to road improvements, automobile ownership, and increased leisure time. The period after 1945, in contrast, reflects the influence of more mass-scale tourism and the encroachment of generic "cookie-cutter" architecture and activities into the formerly distinct "North Woods" experience.

²⁶ Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, 185 & 210. For further discussion see, Doell, *A Brief History*, 34-37; Forestra, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 14; Jakle, *The Tourist*, 71, 80; Runte, *National Parks*, 160, 167-168.

²⁷ Jakle, *The Tourist*, 53, 120; Lofgren, *On Holiday*, 63; Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, 216.

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1880-1929: Early Tourism

Minnesota as a whole attracted a number of recreationalists and health-seekers before its statehood. These tourists, like those nationwide, were generally wealthy and utilized mass transportation networks to reach their destinations. In the mid-nineteenth century, excursionists on the "Fashionable Tour" rode steamboats up the Missouri to the St. Paul area. The vacationers toured locations at White Bear Lake, Lake Minnetonka, Lake Elmo, Prior Lake, Frontenac, and the Dalles in the St. Croix Valley. Resort areas developed in the Twin Cities region, and railroad companies extended tracks to nearby lakes, where urbanites established weekend cottages. Duluth evolved as a jumping off point for recreationalists, and by 1871, the Nebraska and Lake Superior Railroad connected Duluth with St. Paul. From Duluth, steamboats carried visitors up and down the north shore of Lake Superior. Accommodations for tourists varied from hotels in urban areas like Duluth to remote cabins built by commercial fishermen.²⁸ Transportation to the region, however, remained difficult until road construction commenced to the north shore in the early 20th century. Even with expanding road systems, some businesses continued to be accessible only by water.²⁹

Also during this early period, Minnesota tapped into the current of health-conscious tourism. In the 1830s, progressive ideals regarded nature as a salvation and cure for urban ills. By the turn of the twentieth century, this coincided with the promotion of health, physical fitness, out-of-doors exercise, and a nostalgic appeal of rural life.³⁰ Developments in medical and nutritional research and findings of the importance of physical fitness and exercise strengthened this perception. Elaborate health resorts developed nationwide at such spas as White Sulphur Springs, Saratoga, and in the Adirondacks. These spas utilized the high style architecture of their era and coincided with a new era of wealth, ambition and higher standards of luxury. Minnesota's wilderness developed a reputation as a restorative climate, attracting flocks of health-seekers. By the mid-nineteenth century, Minnesota and Florida vied for the title of preeminent location for relief of malaria and consumption.³¹ Resorts of this period in the southern portion of the state were elaborate developments and offered genteel relaxation in a highly designed and manipulated setting.

While most of the early travelers chose well-heeled destinations in the greater Twin Cities area and along the North Shore of Lake Superior, a few hardy devotees of outdoor recreation traveled to extreme northern Minnesota as early as the 1890s. Early outdoor adventurers explored the lakes with packsacks and tents and followed the traditional canoe routes of the voyageurs. Early tourists came for the wilderness scenery, the wildlife, and water related activities such as fishing and boating.

By 1894, residents of the defunct gold rush town of Rainy Lake City and the new village of Koochiching (renamed International Falls in 1907) recognized the new income possibilities of large scale tourism. The local inhabitants promoted the natural beauty and recreational advantages of the area. One early enthusiast wrote glowingly in 1894,

²⁸ Timothy B. Knopp and Uel Blank, "The North Shore Experience, Research Report No. 8," Minnesota SEA Grant Program (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1983), 14.

²⁹ George B. Hall, *Hall's Illustrated Tourist: An Illustrated Descriptive and Statistical Account of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: G.B. Hall, 1880), 9.

³⁰ Clifford E. Clark, Jr., *Minnesota in a Century of Change, The State and Its People Since 1900* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1989), 5.

³¹ Helen Clapsattle, "When Minnesota was Florida's Rival," *Minnesota History* (March 1957): 214-221; "The Tourist Trade," *Gopher Historian* (Winter 1960-61): 18.

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"one may go where he wills, but once the scene here is fixed in mind there will be a desire to return to drink the beauties of nature...pleasure seekers come here from all quarters to enjoy life to its fullest extent and breathe the very breath of life by inhaling our pure air, laden as it is with the balsamic qualities of the conifers."³² Rainy Lake City saw new life as a popular picnic spot for wealthy travelers who arrived via tourist launches. By 1908, the community published illustrated booklets to invite visitors north. That same year, a group of Minnesota businessmen planned the construction of a "mammoth resort" at Rainy Lake and envisioned the location "to be the hayfever cure for the whole country."³³

Early tourism was not confined to the Rainy Lake district. Ottertail (in west central Minnesota), Hubbard (near the headwaters of the Mississippi), and Grant (western Minnesota) counties attracted recreational fishermen long before 1900. Hunters and fishermen frequented the towns of Bemidji in north central Minnesota and Walker on Leech Lake by 1890. Lake Vermilion had at least one sporting club in the 1890s.³⁴ The Ely newspaper reported in 1897 that large numbers of tourists enjoyed their local lakes. On the Canadian side of the Rainy Lake area, Rat Portage (Kenora) and Keewatin on Lake of the Woods became known as a summer resort areas for wealthy Winnipeg citizens in the 1880s. Recreationalists called this location the "Newport of Canada" and traveled to the area via the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Local entrepreneurs advertised the lake by 1899 and solicited the aid of the Canadian Pacific Railway to transport tourists to the region. After the turn of the century, launches carried visitors for tours of Lake of the Woods. Local residents also began construction of seasonal cabins and resorts.

Despite the early interest in touring northern Minnesota, the remoteness of the area kept the volume of recreational travel comparatively low during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From the late 1800s to early 1900s, travel to the area was chiefly by water, confining all but the hardiest tourists to the summer months. Summer travel was over waterways, canoe portages, and a few tote roads built by early loggers. From Tower, the nearest railroad point to Koochiching, travelers crossed Lake Vermilion on a steamboat to the Vermilion Dam, then rode 26 miles by stagecoach or wagon on the "Crane Lake Portage" to Crane Lake. Here they boarded another steamboat, crossed Sand Point and Namakan lakes, portaged to Rainy Lake at Kettle Falls, and boarded yet another steamboat which took them to Koochiching. Travelers broke the two and a half day journey at the tent hotel at Kettle Falls, replaced in 1910 with the Kettle Falls Hotel. Alternatively, travelers could embark from Duluth and cross Lake Superior to Port Arthur, Ontario (now Thunder Bay), then take the Canadian Pacific Railway to Rat Portage (now Kenora) and cross Lake of the Woods on a steamer, finally traveling up the Rainy River to their destination at Fort Frances.

Although the Iron Range Railroad from Duluth connected with Ely and a rail line connected Ely and Tower in 1888, rail lines offering passenger service did not reach the International Falls area until 1907.³⁵ That year, the Duluth,

³² "Manifold Panorama," *Rainy Lake Journal* (12 July 1894).

³³ *International Falls Border Budget* (10 October 1908).

³⁴ "The Tourist Trade," *Gopher Historian*, (Winter 1960-1961): 18; O.C. Carlson, "History and Growth of the Tourist Business on Lake Vermilion," (1926), Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul. Lake Vermilion, near Tower, Minnesota, was a more accessible location than lakes further north. Before the development of tourism, it had been a launching area for miners and homesteaders. By 1912, the lake had its first resort. By 1926, the community boasted 19 resorts and 412 private homes.

³⁵ Frank A. King, *Minnesota Logging Railroads* (San Marino, CA: Golden West Books, 1981), 121.

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Rainy Lake, and Winnipeg Railroad offered passenger service to Ranier, a town located a few miles east of International Falls on Rainy Lake. Simultaneously, the Minnesota and International, a subsidiary of Northern Pacific, reached International Falls.

Before the turn of the century, only short stretches of road connected local towns and villages, with no improved roads into the Superior National Forest region.³⁶ High cost and difficult construction over rock outcrops and bogs hindered road development in northern Minnesota. Short roads connected farms along rivers and lakes and followed the river drainage.³⁷ The U.S. Indian Service laid out the Nett Lake-Kabetogama Road in 1887 for delivery of annuity payments to Nett Lake band members living on Kabetogama Lake. Some locations, such as Ely and the south end of Lake of the Woods, gained accessibility to the outside world by the rail lines initially used by lumber companies.

After 1900, the road situation somewhat improved. In the 1910s, the Crane Lake Portage upgraded to a corduroy or timbered road. The first county road built to Orr from Cook, Virginia, and Hibbing appeared in 1914.³⁸ Construction of remote post roads in the state and within various counties emerged in 1916 with the passage of the Federal Highway Act. The act granted that state construction costs for post roads and other highway projects received matching funds from the federal government.

Short connector roads existed between International Falls and Ray (and from there to Littlefork, Orr, Baudette, and Gemmel) before the 1920s. However, anyone who owned an automobile in International Falls shipped the vehicle by rail. An improved road connected International Falls and Ray in 1912. In 1922, the route from Ray to Orr was graded and graveled.³⁹ The first automobile to travel by road from Duluth to International Falls arrived in 1923 with the opening of State Highway 11 (now U.S. Highway 53). The highway had a section between Ray and International Falls

³⁶ J. Wesley White, "Historical Sketches of the Quetico-Superior," vol. 4 (U.S. Department of Agriculture, Superior National Forest, May 1967, photocopy), 1.

³⁷ "Excellent Roads Lead to Border Vacationland," *The International Falls Daily Journal, 1939 Tourist Edition* (International Falls, MN, Border Publishing Company, 1939), 16; J. William Trygg, "Composite Map of United States Land Surveyor's Original Plats and Field Notes," Minnesota Series 6 (Ely, Minnesota), Sheet 23. Surveys were conducted from 1881-1907.

³⁸ Leslie R. Beatty, "A Forest Ranger's Diary," *Conservation Volunteer*, part 10, vol. 27, no. 155 (St. Paul: Department of Natural Resources, March-April 1964): 58.

³⁹ By 1911, other connector roads in the northern Minnesota area included a stretch between Baudette and Pelland, the western boundary of Koochiching County to Pelland, and Pelland south to Gemmel (a corduroy road). In 1912, Koochiching County had 108 miles of road, the longest stretch extending 31 miles from Northome to Big Falls. They were primarily corduroy roads. By 1913, 47 miles of township roads existed in the county, all corduroy. In 1917, a gravel road extended between International Falls and Warroad to the west. Leslie R. Beatty, "A Forest Ranger's Diary," *Conservation Volunteer*, part 18, vol. 28, no. 163 (September-October 1965): 60-62; Minnesota State Highway Department, "Minnesota Trunk Highways, Improvement Progress Map," 1 January 1922, reprinted in the "Good Roads Section," *Minneapolis Journal* (5 February 1922), Minneapolis Historical Society Archives, St. Paul; Ray P. Chase, State Auditor to the 1923 Minnesota Legislature, "State of Minnesota Map," (photocopy at Voyageurs National Park); "The Playground of the Nation," (Duluth: The Arrowhead Specialty Printing Company, 1926), Northeast Minnesota Historical Center, Duluth; Hiram M. Drache, *Taming the Wilderness: The Northern Border Country 1910-1939* (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Publishers, Inc., 1992), Voyageurs National Park library.

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listed as "maintenance only" and open only to fair weather traffic. State Highway 11 was one of only three major highways, graded and graveled, leading to the border lakes region.⁴⁰

To the east, the Ely-Finland road (State Highway 115) was the only road across Superior National Forest in 1922, with three points at Ely, Buyck and Grand Marais being auto accessible. State trunk highways operated year round for the first time in 1926. The main roads leading to International Falls, however, remained impassable from mid-March to mid-June. The worst stretch was between Ray and International Falls and east to Ranier. No hard roads existed until the 1940s.⁴¹ Limitations for auto accessibility remained even after the establishment of all-weather roads.

Tourism from the Canadian side of the Rainy River District was severely hampered throughout the period of significance. Until the completion of a highway between Atikokan and Thunder Bay in 1955, automobiles were unable to travel to the greater boundary lake area. Before that, 500 times as many Americans vacationed in the Rainy River district than Canadians, during a period when tourism and the vacation industry became the second most important income source for local Minnesota communities.⁴²

With the lack of good roads constricting the development of automobile tourism, alternate methods of reaching the area continued to be utilized into the twentieth century. Many vacationers traveled by railroad or bus. Railroad companies such as the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Northwestern & Wisconsin included tourist information brochures along their lines in the northern lakes areas and other scenic and recreational locations. Promoting scenic destinations generated business for the railroads' passenger service in addition to providing advertisements and free publicity for northern communities. Bus service, which reached International Falls in the mid-1920s, was initially sporadic and dependent on the condition of roads.⁴³ Buses, such as Greyhound Lines, provided similar services and bus tours. By the late 1930s, buses regularly traveled State Highways 11 (53) and 4 (71) with additional service to smaller communities along the way.⁴⁴

Despite the relative inaccessibility of the region compared to more developed areas, Minnesota did see a modest statewide increase in traffic in the late teens and early 1920s. The activities of a number of promotional organizations contributed to the boost in numbers. In 1916, 13,000 tourists visited Minnesota. The next year, the Ten Thousand Lakes Association formed to promote tourism in the state. It brought together communities and recreational property owners throughout the state to cooperate in "exploiting" recreational resources through advertising and publicity. The

⁴⁰ Both State Highways 11 and 4 (now U.S. Highways 53 and 71 respectively) generally followed the same route as the earlier rail lines. Highway 11 from International Falls to Tower, paralleled the Duluth, Winnipeg, and Pacific line. Highway 4, from Gemmel/Bemidji to Pelland and International Falls, followed the Minnesota International Railway. State Highways 8, 22 and 35 likewise followed rail routes.

⁴¹ Drache, *Taming the Wilderness*, 159.

⁴² "Quetico Park," *Fort Frances Times* (18 August 1954), in "Tourism in the Rainy River District: From Outpost Camp to Cottage on Wheels," Project P.E.O.P.L.E. (Fort Frances, Ontario, 1973, school project, photocopy): 3.8.

⁴³ "Hub O' the North Bulletin," vol. 1, no. 2 (International Falls, MN: International Falls Commercial Club, February 1927): 2; Drache, *Taming the Wilderness*, 167-168.

⁴⁴ "Motor Bus Time Table, Northland Greyhound Lines," (n.p., July-August 1930, photocopy on file at Voyageurs National Park).

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association's "Come to Minnesota" campaign attracted 40,000 tourists in 1918, increasing to over 300,000 by 1921.⁴⁵ The Ten Thousand Lakes Association operated on funding appropriated by the state legislature throughout the 1920s. So successful was the promotion of recreational resources that in the early 1930s the state took over functions of the association and established a tourist bureau within the Department of Conservation.⁴⁶

The Minnesota Arrowhead Association (MAA), originally established in 1924 as the Civic and Commerce Association of Northeastern Minnesota, solicited funding from participating organizations to promote the northeastern portion of the state. Funds originated from participating communities within the boundaries extending from Grand Marais to International Falls and south to Aitkin. Like other booster organizations, the MAA promoted the area as a recreational center and encouraged summer hotel construction, resorts, and later, the amusement of winter sports. Notably, the MAA chose not to emphasize fishing or hunting in its early literature. They believed instead that, "the scenery and outdoor life alone [were] quite sufficient to pull the people into this territory."⁴⁷ It also forwarded requests on resorts and property purchases to participating commercial and development organizations. The MAA also worked with Canadian tourism organizations in the area. Other tourist promotional organizations in the state included the Minnesota Land and Lakes Attractions Board, the Minnesota Scenic Highway Association, the Northern Minnesota Development Association, and the Automobile Association of America.

Promotional organizations recognized that improved roads were critical to attracting tourists since the majority of vacationers traveled by car or bus. Minnesota established the Babcock Plan in 1921 to improve and upgrade county roads and state highways, justified by the increased tourism revenues improved roads brought into the center and southern portions of the state.⁴⁸ In 1926, the Ten Thousand Lakes Association reported that concrete-paved roads in the state amounted to 823 miles, with over 5600 miles graveled and 7,000 miles of "maintained earth." Paved sections advanced throughout the state every summer at a rate of five to twenty-seven miles. A banner year occurred in 1929, when an all-paved road stretched from the Twin Cities to Chicago. By 1932, another 504 miles of paved roadways extended across the state with nearly 800 miles of road finished with bituminous covering.⁴⁹

Recreational development in central and southern Minnesota in the early decades of the twentieth century catered to a clientele interested in less rugged pursuits than those undertaken in northern Minnesota. Advertisements denoted the

⁴⁵ Clark, *Minnesota in a Century of Change*, 4; J. Wesley White, ed., "Historical Sketches of the Quetico-Superior," vol. 4, (U.S. Department of Agriculture, Superior National Forest, May 1967): 2.4-5.

⁴⁶ Clark, *Minnesota in a Century of Change*, 4.

⁴⁷ M.E. Stewart to Mathias N. Koll, 26 April 1926, Mathias N. Koll Papers 1880-1971, Box 7, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁴⁸ Before the establishment of the program, only 112 miles of paved surface existed within the 7000-mile trunk highway system. In eight months, there were 109 paved miles and 1262 miles graded or graveled. "Minnesota Trunk Highways, Improvement Progress Map" 1922.

⁴⁹ H.C. Hotaling, "Annual Report of H.C. Hotaling, Executive Secretary, Ten Thousand Lakes - Greater Minnesota Association," (Minnesota Land and Lakes Attractions Board, 15 December 1926): 20; Hotaling, "Annual Report of H.C. Hotaling, Executive Secretary, Ten Thousand Lakes - Greater Minnesota Association," (Minnesota Land and Lakes Attractions Board, 12 December 1929): 23; Hotaling, "Annual Report of H.C. Hotaling, Executive Secretary, Ten Thousand Lakes - Greater Minnesota Association," (Minnesota Land and Lakes Attractions Board, 12 December 1932): 15.

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south and central regions as the "Playground Districts." Promotional literature of the 1920s described the outdoor experience in each region in entirely different terms. The center, St. Croix-White Bear, and the Lake Park Region offered a variety of options for all family members. Vacationers traveled well-maintained roads and enjoyed sightseeing, beaches, fishing, hundreds of resorts, dancing parties, golf, horseback riding, movies, picnic and campsites. Minnetonka, one of the best-known summer resort areas in the state, boasted palatial summer residences only ten miles from Minneapolis. Excellent road systems awaited travelers to the "Mississippi Headwaters" and the "Mille Lacs District" which were more rugged than the Lake Park area. The region presented the comforts of sand beaches suitable for bathing, easily accessible hotels, cottages, and hunting and fishing resorts. In the north, only Lake Vermilion offered competition at a scale with the southern areas. In addition to fishing and hunting, promotional literature promoted billiards, dancing, barbershops, golf, and electricity.

The development of recreational resorts catered to the growing tourist trade. The establishment of the state's first resorts appeared in the 1920s in the central lakes district between Brainerd and Bemidji.⁵⁰ The largest numbers of recreational businesses in the 1920s surrounded the Twin Cities and Duluth. A 1920 map listed twelve resorts at Annandale, thirteen at Lake Minnetonka, and ten at Park Rapids.⁵¹ This concentration of resorts in the south continued throughout the following decades. In 1926 for example, the Ten Thousand Lakes Association reported that out of the roughly 600 resorts in the state, "only Minnetonka, White Bear, Bald Eagle and Chisago Lakes have so far been much utilized as summer resorts."⁵² Railway services connected these areas for many years and the region was among the first to benefit from improved roadways. Conversely, the largest sales in lakeshore property originated in the northern part of the state the same year.⁵³

Throughout the 1920s, the northern communities had only a tiny fraction of the state's resorts. In 1920, Lake Vermilion, benefiting from its easier accessibility to the highway, led the northern communities in resort development, with eight resorts. Bemidji listed three resorts and four hotels; Ely had three resorts and two hotels, while Baudette listed one resort and two hotels.⁵⁴ The Voyageurs area had a similarly small percentage of resorts. Of the 673 hotels and summer resorts throughout the state in 1924, the International Falls area had only 5, with 2 near Orr and the Island View Lodge at Ranier. Around 67 cottage summer resorts were located in the area, but the closest summer camps, canoe outfitters and guide services were in the Ely area.⁵⁵

While the southern part of Minnesota, with its genteel attractions, greater accessibility, and numerous resorts, still attracted a larger proportion of the tourist trade, a growing number of tourists, sportsmen, and summer residents traveled to the northern lakes once the border region was more accessible by road. The majority of travelers came

⁵⁰ Thomas J. Baerwald, *Minnesota in a Century of Change, The State and Its People Since 1900*, ed. Clifford E. Clark, Jr. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1989), 46.

⁵¹ Ten Thousand Lakes of Minnesota Association, "Minnesota - Land of Ten Thousand Lakes," map, (n.p., 1919-1920), Mathias N. Koll Papers, Box 10, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁵² Hotaling, "Annual Report," 1926, 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵⁴ Ten Thousand Lakes of Minnesota Association 1919-1920 map.

⁵⁵ Ten Thousand Lakes of Minnesota Association, "Minnesota's Ten Thousand Lakes: The Nation's Summer Playground," (St. Paul, MN: McGill Warner, Co., 1924).

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from the Twin Cities, Chicago, southern Minnesota, northern Iowa, and Sioux Falls, SD. Northern Minnesota became renowned for its rugged setting and appealed to the canoeist, camper, and fisherman, "who delights in leaving the beaten paths."⁵⁶

One of the magnets for wilderness tourism in the area was the Superior National Forest. The forest became a popular canoeing destination by the late teens and received 12,000 visitors in 1922. The nearby community of Harding (renamed Crane Lake) was reachable by the creation of an improved highway in 1925. The town gained a reputation as the access point to some of the greatest inland canoeing waters on the continent. A report to the International Joint Commission on the use of the international waters stated, "these lakes already possess quite a reputation as summer resorts and are visited annually by thousands of tourists."⁵⁷ In 1926, the appeal of the boundary waters area became so great that a decision was made to ban future road construction in some areas in order to maintain the wilderness appearance of the forest.⁵⁸

A frontier mystique existed in the "untamed" northern regions of the state. Most views sprang from the romantic (and anachronistic) image associated with the legends and culture of Native Americans. Local businessmen employed Native Americans in their "traditional dress" to entertain tourists. The performers supplemented their income by displaying their culture and heritage through dances and pageants. They also created craft items to sell as souvenirs.⁵⁹ Both businesspeople and private property owners promoted this mystique. The Minnesota Arrowhead Association directly connected its name to the historic wilderness area it promoted. Property owners frequently personalized their property with phonetic spellings of Native American words, or invented whimsical titles in imitation of the native languages, such as "Kwitchergrowlin," "Bide-A-Wee," and "Tepeetonga." Others recreated their own versions of local legend. Bror Dahlberg's "Redcrest" estate on Rainy Lake in the Voyageurs area included an elaborate cedar and birchbark "Indian Lodge" in the style of a wigwam. Likewise, the exuberant owner of Ellsworth Rock Gardens on Kabetogama Lake embellished his private rock garden with teepees and arrowhead sculptures.⁶⁰

In the Kabetogama area, tourism increased markedly following the establishment of timber baron E.W. Backus' Minnesota and International Railroad and passenger service to International Falls in 1907. Hopeful local residents predicted that the Rainy Lake area would transform into a tourist mecca.

Travelers to the Voyageurs area during the early tourism development period were typically wealthy Midwesterners, primarily sportsmen interested in adventure, small game and bird hunting, in addition to canoeing and fishing. The scenery, natural features, and the healthful, temperate summer climate drew individuals who could afford to reach the

⁵⁶ "Vacation Trips and Playgrounds, The Call of the Summer Lands," *The Literary Digest* (June 1922): 66.

⁵⁷ Adolph F. Meyer and Arthur V. White, *Report to the International Joint Commission Relating to Official Reference Re: Lake of the Woods Levels, Text* (Government Printing Office: Washington D.C., 1917), 5.

⁵⁸ Leslie R. Beatty, "A Forest Ranger's Diary," *Conservation Volunteer*, part 20, vol. 29, no. 165 (January-February 1966): 61-62; "A Needs Assessment of Tourism Firms Serving the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Vicinity," (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service, May 1980), 11.

⁵⁹ Eileen Walsh, "Building a Tourist Industry in Northern Minnesota: The Use of Popular Imagery" (paper presented at the Northern Great Plains History Conference, St. Paul, MN, September 1994), 7.

⁶⁰ *International Falls Press* (7 July 1921); Drache, 265.

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area. Some visitors to the International Falls and Rainy River District stayed in newly constructed resorts, camped out, or purchased lots for their summer homes. E. W. Backus and his partner Brooks escorted prominent Twin Cities and Chicago visitors throughout the region. H.I. Bedell, a homesteader on Rainy Lake, was one of the first individuals to exploit the area for development of resorts and summer homes. In 1905, Bedell operated two resort cottages on Rainy Lake and over the next ten years constructed summer vacation homes at Crystal Beach, Jackfish Bay, Lake Park, and Forest Point. In 1908, R.H. Bennett constructed a hunting lodge on Rainy Lake called Island View Hotel (now called Island View Lodge). The lodge was the first of its type on the lake, and featured a log, two-story main building measuring 24' x 40'. That same year, a group of thirty Minneapolis "elitists" traveled beyond the more developed lake areas near the Twin Cities in search of a summer vacation site in the International Falls area. This endorsement of the recreational benefits of the border lakes was not lost on local boosters. In 1909, the Koochiching Development Company and Falls Commercial Club published a guide promoting the commercial future and scenic beauty of the International Falls area. Organizers claimed that "400 men of wealth" purchased islands for summer homes because of the promotion.⁶¹

One of the first areas developed in the Voyageurs National Park region was Rainy Lake. Showplace summer homes built by prominent businessmen dotted the area. Owners built their homes on islands and peninsulas accessible solely by water transportation. In 1910, E.W. Backus constructed his summer estate on Red Sucker (later called Curtice) Island. Other members of the locally known "Rainy Lake Aristocracy" joined Backus. The "Aristocracy" (a name attributed later) included a small group of wealthy families who built grand summer homes on Rainy Lake to entertain friends and business associates. These personalities transferred the social cliques established in their home states to recreational properties in the north. Horace Roberts, owner of a Davenport, Iowa sash and door factory, built "Atsokan" in 1913. He acquired the Rainy Lake property through his friendship with Ernest Oberholtzer, writer, conservationist, and Davenport native. Bror Dahlberg, former Backus employee and founder of the Celotex business, constructed "Redcrest" in the 1920s. Dr. Frederick Dunsmoor constructed "Dunsmoor" on Home Island in 1922. Henry French, millionaire industrialist from Davenport, constructed "Green Mansion" in 1935. Other private clubs emerged, such as the Minneapolis and Rainy Lake Outing Club, composed of twenty-five wealthy members who purchased land on Rainy Lake in 1914.⁶²

Border lake regions south of Rainy Lake also had their wealthy summer residents. W.P. Ingersoll, Illinois philanthropist and associate of the International Harvester Company, built a summer estate on Sand Point Lake in 1928. Ted Zollner, developer of the aluminum piston, built a summer home on Kabetogama and a hunting outpost near Kettle Falls in the 1940s. C. Francis Coleman, of the camping equipment company, constructed a private retreat on Cruiser Lake during the 1920s. Jeno Paulucci, president of the Chun King Corporation, purchased his summer home on Kabetogama Lake from the owner of Gensko Steel. The development of lakeside cabins increased along the shorelines of the area's four major lakes. Wealthy individuals acquired more islands and peninsulas as locations for their summer cottages. Improvements in outboard motors allowed for quicker and safer access to more remote areas. A handful of people including Omaha banker Henry Neely, Hibbing dentist, Dr. William Monroe, Chicago

⁶¹ Drache, *Taming the Wilderness*, 263-268.

⁶² Ibid.

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photojournalist Jun Fujita, and wealthy Iowa rancher Carl Lenander built summer cabins by the 1920s in the current park area.

By the mid-1920s, there was at least one business serving tourists at each of the major access areas surrounding the park: Watson's Lake View Resort constructed in 1918 on Kabetogama; Borderland Lodge started on Crane Lake in 1920 by Bill and Kate Randolph; Clark's Resort on Sand Point Lake; Island View Hotel on Rainy Lake; and Palmer's Frontier Lodge on Ash River. Although advertised as "resorts" they gained a reputation for being overcrowded and lacked amenities desired by many visitors, while most early cabins had no plumbing.⁶³ The publicity director for the MAA noted in a letter to the secretary of the Cass Lake Commercial Club, "your region for many years has been from the beaten line of path from the Twin Cities and Duluthians and other residents of the Eastern Arrowhead have had so much to see and do around home that lamentably few have gone into your section."⁶⁴ In addition, the area's modest accommodations could not compete with the well-established eastern resorts. A Chicago traveler noted this fact in 1927: "In my opinion," he said, "the greatest mistake that has been made by all the people who hoped for a greater resort business in your territory is that they have failed to divide the summer tourist into the proper classes." He further noted that the area did not offer the higher-class resorts such as Mackinac Island, Michigan, which drew a different clientele.⁶⁵ Tourism boosters repeatedly bemoaned this perceived weakness in the northern Minnesota tourism industry.

1930-1945: The Nation's Playground

The early 20th century American tourist trade peaked at the national level in 1929. Northern Minnesota, however, did not see a significant rise in tourism until the middle to late 1930s.⁶⁶ At least one reason was the lingering impact of the timber industry on the region. In the early years, before 1930, timber was the foremost industry along the Canadian border, and loggers at that time viewed tourism as detrimental to their business efforts. After the demise of big timber operations, many logging companies abandoned the cut and burned-over lands and the state acquired a large amount of tax-forfeited land. Minnesota reconsidered the best uses for its northern lands as interest increased nationwide for forest vacations. Efforts arose to find an effective way to "make the beauties of the lake country open to the largest number of people without thereby spoiling the charm of the lakes."⁶⁷ In the Voyageurs area, logging company Boise Cascade, rather than abandon its lands, became the developer of recreational property, leasing lands for hunting lodges and summer homes and providing public recreational areas for hiking, camping, snowmobiling, and other activities. As a fringe benefit to property management, the company was able to market its building products (siding, roof decking, wall paneling, etc.) to its new tenants.⁶⁸

⁶³ Beatty, "A Forest Ranger's Diary," part 19, vol. 28, no. 164 (November-December 1965): 58.

⁶⁴ M.E. Stewart, "President's Report to the Members of the Minnesota Arrowhead Association," 11 July 1927, Mathias N. Koll Papers 1880-1971, Box 7, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ "Arrowhead County Abounds With Vacation Opportunities," *The International Falls Daily Journal*, 1939 Tourist Edition (International Falls, MN: Border Publishing Company, 1939): 20; Larson, 142.

⁶⁷ E.G. Cheyney, "The Kabetogama Project," (Minnesota Department of Conservation, ca1930), Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁶⁸ Boise Cascade Informational Pamphlet, circa 1965-66, provided by Mary Graves, Voyageurs National Park.

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The Depression had a further dampening effect on the tourist trade. Traffic counts slumped and fewer travelers wandered through remote roadways. Furthermore, vacation opportunities in the neighboring states of Wisconsin and Michigan repeatedly challenged the Minnesota tourism industry. However, informal surveys by booster organizations suggested that the resort industry grew incrementally during the early 1930s. In 1930, the demand for recreational facilities supported about 1,040 resorts and 392 tourist camps. By 1932, resort numbers increased to 1,312, although total tourist camps fell to 317.⁶⁹

Although International Falls experienced a consistent number of out-of-town visitors in the 1930s, the volume was never as great as at locations near the Twin Cities or Duluth. Traffic counts noted ninety-six out-of-state cars on the highway south of International Falls in 1930—the third lowest number of twenty communities reporting to the MAA that year.⁷⁰ This marked a great increase, however, for International Falls. The importance of tourism to the local economy in the 1930s warranted publication of an annual tourist edition of the local newspaper. The special editions advertised the region from Rainy Lake west to Lake of the Woods; and from Kenora, Ontario, to Orr, 100 miles south of International Falls, as the “Gateway to the Greater Outdoors.”⁷¹ The special editions advertised the infinite opportunities for water recreation including sunning on the numerous sand beaches, aquaplaning, swimming, fishing, canoeing, sailing, and boating.

The bridge between International Falls and Fort Frances provided the only vehicular and pedestrian access to Canada between Baudette and the Pigeon River near Superior. The proximity to Canada generated an international appeal. Indeed, the volume of traffic over the river required the construction of a bridge in 1909. Tourists stopped at the historic fur trade city of Fort Frances and purchased English china, Hudson Bay blankets, Irish linens, English tea and toffees, and pure fruit jams. The Native American mystique continued its appeal as many American Indians found employment, with their knowledge of the lake and “exotic” appeal, as guides for tourists.

Despite the challenges of the Depression, accessibility, and a less than perfect reputation, the area had a number of positive aspects that proved helpful to the expansion of the tourist trade. Even though logging had decimated much of the landscape, visitors still perceived northern Minnesota as virgin wilderness. The area’s reputation as a restful destination “among the sighing pines” included the opportunity to see and hear uncommon wildlife such as moose, bears, and loons. The region presented a release from city pressures by way of lazy days and quiet evenings in front of the fire. This portion of the state continued its appeal in pre air conditioner days for providing relief from the sun-scorched heat of the Midwest and from the polluted and pollen-laden air of industrial cities. One pamphlet described the region as a place with a healthful, invigorating climate where “sneezes are unknown.”⁷²

⁶⁹ Hotaling, “Annual Report,” 1930, 4; Hotaling, “Annual Report,” 1932, 6.

⁷⁰ “1930 Annual Tourist Report, Minnesota Arrowhead Association,” 12 November 1930, Mathias N. Koll Papers 1880-1971, Box 7, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁷¹ Falls Chamber of Commerce, *This Year, Come Up to International Falls, Minnesota, Gateway to the Greater Outdoors* (International Falls: Border Publishing Company, 1938), 1; “Holland’s’ Jewelry Firm, Fort Frances, Established in 1904,” *The International Falls Daily Journal, 1939 Tourist Edition* (International Falls, MN: Border Publishing Company, 1939): 31.

⁷² Advertisements and promotional brochures throughout the 1930s for the Kettle Falls Hotel emphasized the healthful, hayfever-free qualities of the border lakes.

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Access and business development was also creeping closer to the Voyageurs area in the early 1930s. A 1935 land-use report concluded that the lake areas in the north central portion of the state (Crow Wing, Cass, Hubbard, and Beltrami counties) were easily reachable. Furthermore, all desirable lakeshore property was under private ownership and even the most remote beach properties could be reached on good roads. Private, non-profit camps, church camps, and tourist courts likewise increased, and other businesses developed to profit from the abundance of vacationer traffic, including souvenir shops, service stations, eateries, and taverns. In contrast, Northern St. Louis, Lake, and Cook counties, which included areas currently in Voyageurs National Park, remained as wilderness areas, "accessible only by canoe. Cottages [were] built only on the outer fringe of lakes. The charm of the region is enhanced by its remoteness, and there are many who oppose the building of roads to make the area accessible to motor cars."⁷³ In the Voyageurs area, business development was creeping closer, with resort development expanding ahead of individual cottage ownership. In the 1935 land-use study, eleven of twenty-six private property owners on Lake Kabetogama owned resorts or worked as fishing guides. The two property owners on Rainy Lake were both resort owners, as were three of four property owners in the Namakan Lake area and the two at Sand Point Lake.

Tourist-related business development in the Voyageurs area as well as the rest of Minnesota was significantly impacted by the widespread availability of the automobile, which brought both tourists and economic incentives to Minnesota. By 1930 there were nearly 6000 automotive support businesses in the state, such as sales rooms, filling stations and garages, employing nearly 28,000 workers. In the Voyageurs area, St. Louis County employed 3,058 (1,449 outside Duluth) and Koochiching County 123 individuals in these jobs. The restaurant and hotel trade also benefitted from the increased numbers of motor tourists. Again, by 1930, Koochiching County employed 237 workers and St. Louis County employed 2,648 (909 outside of Duluth) of Minnesota's total of 9,034 employees working in restaurants, cafeterias, and eating places. Minnesota had 433 operating hotels of the 13,328 in the United States, employing a yearly average of 6,030 full and part time employees.⁷⁴

State and local organizations continued to promote tourism throughout Minnesota, aimed specifically at automobile owners. In 1936, with the effects of the Depression beginning to slacken, the MAA established "auto circle" tours and printed booklets describing five tour options for motorists. The extreme northern counties continued to cater to fishermen, canoeists, and hunters.⁷⁵ The border lakes were famous for their prize-winning fish, record-breaking catches, and the chance to battle the "Mighty Muskie." Furthermore, promotional literature addressed the possibilities of family vacations. For example, a 1933 resort directory published by the MAA carefully noted "modern conveniences" for the resorts listed. These conveniences included electricity, heat, baths, showers, telephones, inner coil mattresses, and ice. The resorts in the southern portion of the state continued to present a diverse selection of

⁷³ Oscar B. Jesness and Reynolds I. Nouell, "A Program for Land Use in Northern Minnesota: A Type Study in Land Utilization," University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1935, 35.

⁷⁴ United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Volume III, *Reports By States Showing the Composition and Characteristics of the Population for Counties, Cities, and Townships or other Minor Civil Divisions, Alabama - Missouri* (Washington: Government Printing Press, 1932), 1225, 1227 - 1228; United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, *Census of Hotels: 1930* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), 37.

⁷⁵ Minnesota Arrowhead Association, *Minnesota Arrowhead Association: 1924-1974, 50 Years of Service to the Vacation Travel Industry* (Duluth: The Association, 1974), unnumbered page.

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activities and emphasized family excursions and activities beyond fishing. An appeal to the entire family continued with the offering of special children's discount rates.⁷⁶

The 1930s work of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) crews also improved the area's reputation. The CCC constructed roads in the Kabetogama area, cleaned up beaches and shorelines, and constructed several campgrounds in the state forest including Woodenfrog.⁷⁷ The Minnesota Forest Service responded to the demand for recreational facilities and built campsites as a method of fire control by preventing indiscriminate camping. The CCC constructed thirty-six campgrounds in Kabetogama State Forest during the 1930s as well as a number of small lake-access campsites in the Voyageurs area. Unfortunately, a lack of funding for continued maintenance forced the state to abandon twenty of the campgrounds by 1948.

The state also aided the boating and fishing trade through the introduction of infrastructure and policies favorable to tourists. Prior to the mid 1910s, lake traffic was chiefly industrial, with only a few adventurous tourists exploring the lakes via canoe. Gasoline powered motors were not yet on the lake. A decade later, recreational fishing dominated lake traffic and outnumbered commercial boats. Responding to the increased traffic, the state initiated a program to make the lakes safer by charting reefs on Kabetogama, Namakan, Sand Point, and Crane Lakes. By 1939, the state had installed navigational aids and channel lights on Rainy Lake.⁷⁸ Responding to competition between recreational and commercial fishing interests, and the perception by recreational fishermen that commercial fishing cut into their sport, state regulations increasingly limited commercial fishing operations, and by the early 1920s, the state stocked the lakes with fish raised in hatcheries. By 1948, Minnesota allowed fishermen to troll with motors, a luxury not permitted in Michigan, Wisconsin or California.⁷⁹

Although some individuals perceived the recreational potential of the area, the region received very little statewide advertising before 1940. The general mindset that the region was inaccessible and remote continued. The WPA tourist guide described the area from Ash River to International Falls in very unflattering terms, "...a terrain rendered stark by deforestation and consequent erosion... Villages are infrequent; small, fragile buildings seem to lean upon each other for support; tarpaper shacks are common... Bleached piles of sawdust and rusted hulks of old steam engines add to a general appearance of desolation and abandonment."⁸⁰

It was only with the advent of improved roads in the late 1930s that the border lakes attained nationwide prominence as a summer vacation spot. In 1936, the completion of the Black Bay road (State Highway 11 East) to the Island View Hotel opened a large section of Rainy Lake shoreline to development. That year there were 26 resorts on

⁷⁶ Minnesota Arrowhead Association, *Minnesota Arrowhead Country, The Arrowhead Resort Directory* (Duluth: The Minnesota Arrowhead Association, 1933), Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁷⁷ L.R. Beatty to Grover M. Conzet, Commissioner of Forestry, 30 June 1931, associated Kabetogama State Forest map: "Kabetogama State Forest, State Forest Land Acquisitions 1931-1934," Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁷⁸ Beatty, "A Forest Ranger's Diary," 1965, 56.

⁷⁹ Mid-Continent Surveys, "1948 Tourist Survey," Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁸⁰ Federal Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration, *Minnesota: A State Guide* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938),

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Kabetogama.⁸¹ By the time paved U.S. Highway 53 opened from Virginia to the Canadian border in 1939, the International Falls area promoted itself as the "Playground of Two Nations." The unsurpassed scenery and ideal climate provided endless opportunities for "roughing it." In particular, Kabetogama prevailed as the source of the largest freshwater fish in North America and as a popular destination for big game hunters.⁸² State Highway 11 extended east to Sha Sha Point in 1949 with plans to push the road all the way to Kettle Falls. That year, there were forty-two camps, hotels, and resorts on Kabetogama.⁸³

Greater numbers of private and non-profit camps surfaced in the Voyageurs National Park area in the 1920s and 1930s. The Northwestern Minnesota Development Association claimed in 1926 that Cass Lake was "the most favored place in the state of Minnesota for Boys and Girls' Camps." The association further asserted that the Cass Lake Commercial Club, in existence for twenty-two years at that time, owned more property per capita than any other town of its size in the state. Several churches organized camps for their young members, along with the establishment of privately run camps.⁸⁴ In the Voyageurs area, Iowa State University at Ames instituted a summer engineering school at Brown's Bay on Rainy Lake. Later, St. Thomas College in St. Paul established Bassett's Boys Camp on Kabetogama, the Boy Scouts had a camp on Sand Point Lake, and the YMCA built a camp on Kabetogama.

The vacationers who populated the northern lakes of Minnesota in large numbers beginning in the 1930s were people of more modest means. These tourists and their families wanted simple weekend and summer vacation retreats, accessible by car. Rather than the season-long residents, these vacationers stayed for a shorter amount of time, an average of ten days.⁸⁵ They did not have the financial resources of their predecessors and stayed in tourist camps, modern resorts, or constructed their own modest, vernacular cabins. Their property usually consisted of a small frame, log or log-sided cabin, a privy, and a dock. Some individuals occupied properties built by miners, fishermen, lumber companies, or past homesteaders. The arrival of the middle class corresponded with the break-up of the "Rainy Lake Aristocracy" in 1931, when E.W. Backus went bankrupt.⁸⁶ Although the names have changed, wealthy cabin owners continue to vacation on Rainy Lake outside the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park to the present day, perpetuating the concept of the "Aristocracy."

Another factor in the growing number of lower-income tourists was the state's homesite leasing program. Many of the summer vacationers traveling to the future Voyageurs National Park area were summer lease cabin owners. The concept of leasing state (and federal) property for the construction of summer recreational cabins was a useful tool in the conservation and use of public land in Minnesota. The leased land was also an important source of revenue subject to personal property taxes. The leasing program remained under the control of the State Auditor until 1931, when the newly formed Department of Conservation assumed the responsibilities of supervising state leases. The state

⁸¹ Map of Kabetogama Lake (Virginia, MN: Fisher Co., 1936).

⁸² Falls Chamber of Commerce 1938; "Border Wilds Echo Vacation Call," *The International Falls Daily Journal*, 1939 Tourist Edition (International Falls, MN: Border Publishing Company, 1939): 1, 16.

⁸³ *International Falls Daily Journal*, 13 August 1949.

⁸⁴ Mathias N. Koll to Milo Westbrooke, 27 March 1926, Mathias N. Koll Papers 1880-1971, Box 9, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁸⁵ Hoteling, "Annual Report," 1932, 7.

⁸⁶ Drache, *Taming the Wilderness*, 267.

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developed area lakeshores for recreational use immediately after the establishment of state forests. This included picnic and overnight campgrounds, private summer homes, portage trails, and a few commercial enterprises such as lunch counters, boat concessions, and rental cabins. In the 1920s, the state leased property on three lakes within St. Louis and Itasca counties. By 1927, 3,000 tracts were available for lease.⁸⁷

The leasing of lakeshore cabin sites on state-owned land in the Voyageurs area started around Lake Vermilion in 1917. The Gappa's Landing area on Kabetogama was platted shortly after the establishment of the program. Sand Point Lake had nine lots platted by 1922. The Namakan Lake and Ash River areas were platted in the 1940s. A survey of land use on state-owned land in 1931 in the Kabetogama State Forest listed seventy-two summer home sites and campgrounds in the Kabetogama Lake area and fifty-two at Sand Point Lake. There were sixty-six summer home sites listed in the Vermilion area. Lake Vermilion surfaced as an area of "highly developed resorts with ample roads," used by farmers and other local inhabitants. Leased sites in Superior National Forest climbed, with at least thirty private resorts constructed in the region by 1935.⁸⁸

Kabetogama was the most popular lake in the homesite program, totaling 116 plats between 1922 and 1973.⁸⁹ The cabins at Kabetogama Lake (the most sought-after location) were larger, more elaborate, and more expensive than other summer lease cabins at other locations. As the most popular seasonal cabin lease area, Kabetogama Lake plats emphasized zoning recreation areas. This led to continued development for public use, and was responsible for the CCC-era developments at Gappa's Landing and Woodenfrog campgrounds.⁹⁰ The lake had a high number of both local and out-of-state leases. Of the total, fifty-one percent of the leaseholders that participated in the lease program were from northeastern Minnesota. A majority of the remaining leaseholders came from the Twin Cities area or south and central regions of the state. Most of the other lakes had less than sixty homesites platted, some plats without buildings.

Despite its popularity, the state leasing program had its detractors, including state personnel. In a 1930s report, a state employee decried the popularity of the Kabetogama Forest/Cass Lake area and described the Kabetogama, Namakan, Sand Point, and Rainy Lakes as the most beautiful in the state, still largely inaccessible by road. "The leasing of beauty spots on these lake shores for summer homes will destroy, for many, the beauty of the lakes, for the benefit of a very few."⁹¹ Contrarily, critics called for the construction of new roads into the state forest as the state endeavored to maintain the wilderness appearance and regulated available lease sites to areas with extant road accessibility.⁹²

⁸⁷ Anne Slakey, "Minnesota's Lakeshore Leasing Program, or Forestry Re-defined," (17 August 1993) manuscript, National Park Service, Voyageurs National Park, 20-21, 36.

⁸⁸ Beatty, "A Forest Ranger's Diary," 1931 map.

⁸⁹ Kabetogama Lake had 120 state leases in 1934, 40 of those were resort leases within the present Voyageurs boundary. In 1973, the state passed a law prohibiting the issuance of leases on any new state lakeshore. J. H. Hubbard, "Memorandum of the Establishment of the Kabetogama State Forest," (n.p., 7 January 1935), Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul; Slakey, 36, Appendix B.

⁹⁰ Slakey, "Minnesota's Lakeshore Leasing Program," 56, Appendix D.

⁹¹ E.G. Cheyney, "The Kabetogama Project," 1930, Minnesota Department of Conservation records, Minnesota Historical Society Archives (photocopy on file at Voyageurs National Park.), 4.

⁹² Hubbard, "Memorandum of the Establishment of the Kabetogama State Forest," 3.

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It was also during this period that the "North Woods cabin" was popularized in Minnesota, modeled after the Rustic style then widespread in the National Parks. The rustic style had its antecedents in the mid-nineteenth century country houses designed by Andrew Jackson Downing. In the later decades of the nineteenth century, the rustic design ethic evolved through such movements as the Shingle style of Henry Hobson Richardson and the Adirondack camps of New York. By the early twentieth century the Arts and Crafts tradition, exemplified in Gustav Stickley's Craftsman style and the bungalows of California's Greene and Greene, had solidified into a ethic of naturalistic design emphasizing the use of native materials that harmonized with the natural environment. The Rustic style adopted by the National Park Service for its structures in the 1910s and 1920s evolved from this tradition and had a significant influence on other public and private structures constructed in wilderness settings.

In the North Woods, the more formal Rustic style was most evident in the architect-designed cabins and main seasonal homes of the wealthy, which adapted the high style designs and amenities of the urban dwelling for the rustic setting of the North Woods. A less formal application of the Rustic style was the family cabin, modeled after vernacular designs of a previous era, utilizing native materials and evolving into a personalized dwelling as successive generations adapted it for their own use. A third type of cabin, the kit home imported from a big-city manufacturer, fell somewhere in between – an architect-designed cabin that was usually personalized by the owner.

The typical Rustic style cabin in the North Woods was distinguished by its use of natural materials – true log construction (or log siding) on a stone foundation with a stone chimney, and simple wood floors and furnishings. Individuals who constructed cottages often used inexpensive, readily available building materials, either from the Boise Cascade company in nearby International Falls or second-hand materials salvaged from old buildings or leftovers from home (especially doors and windows). Windows were large and numerous along the lakeside elevation, and porches were almost a requirement. Outbuildings were of similar construction and could be functional (outhouses, boathouses) or recreational (gazebos). Setting was as important as style in the North Woods cabin; cabins along the lakes were typically oriented toward the lake but set back some distance, allowing the occupants to view the lake from beneath the intervening trees.⁹³

By 1940, tourism had gained enough economic importance that the Census Bureau devoted an entire volume of its 1940 census to the growing tourist industry entitled "Service Establishments, Places of Amusement, Hotels, Tourist Courts, and Tourist Camps, 1939." The census counted 13,521 establishments throughout the United States. The Census Bureau defined 'establishments' as those "primarily engaged in furnishing temporary lodging accommodations to tourists, in cabins or other similar structures." In addition, there were 136,202 cabins used for tourism throughout the United States, employing 8,460 workers. The census counted 765 establishments in Minnesota with 291 employees and 5,056 cabins. Other information given by the census includes the number of employees by month in tourist courts and tourist camps in 1939. In both the United States and Minnesota the main employment period for tourist courts and camps were the summer months when employment grew in May, peaked in July and August, and fell in September. Included with tourist courts and camps were hotels. In 1940 the state of Minnesota had 804 hotels holding a total capacity of 36,685 guestrooms and employed 7,547 individuals. The census performs a

⁹³ Kathryn Strand Koutsky and Linda Koutsky, *Minnesota Vacation Days* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2006); Paul Clifford Larson, *A Place at the Lake* (Afton Minnesota: Afton Historical Society Press, 1998).

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thorough breakdown of hotels in Minnesota by amount of annual receipts and number of guest at each hotel. Interestingly, 347 of the 804 hotels in Minnesota, 43 percent, had the capacity to hold twenty-five guests or less. Only eight of the 804 Minnesota hotels had the capacity to hold three hundred or more guests.⁹⁴

With the state's economy relying heavily on the tourist industry in the 1940s, the onset of World War II, with its nationwide gas and tire rationing, caused the industry to sag alarmingly. The Minnesota Resort Association, created in 1942, was composed of resort owners concerned about the reduction of the tourist industry. Attempts to bolster tourism included shifting 1941 airline promotions to fishermen along with the announcement of improved bus services. Airline passenger service discontinued roughly a year after the promotions first appeared, but after the war ended, Republic Airlines provided daily roundtrip service to the new International Falls Airport and Virginia.⁹⁵ Several seaplane bases in the area provided another avenue for those seeking access to the wilderness.

Post 1945: Mass Tourism

The post World War II period saw tourism reach critical mass in northern Minnesota as yet another class of tourists arrived in the North Woods and the character of recreational travel in the area altered. The number of tourists and the construction of vacation industry-related buildings skyrocketed after the war. Travel to Europe remained limited immediately following the war, so citizens "traveled America," an action similar to the period around the First World War. In 1946, International Falls experienced the heaviest tourist traffic since gas rationing in 1942.⁹⁶ By 1949, 62 percent of all Americans took vacations. Many lower class workers had paid vacations for the first time, due to new clauses in union employment contracts. Before WWII, only 25 percent of all workers had vacation time. After the war, this number increased to 85 percent.⁹⁷

Tourist numbers in northern Minnesota reflected the boom of resort development. For example, in 1946, Superior National Forest had thirty private resorts and fourteen private developments on roadless areas. There were seventy-one developments in roadless areas in a thirteen-lake area comprising the La Croix and Kawishiwa Districts. Floatplanes were the main transportation, offering access to many of the newly developed remote sites. On Kabetogama Lake, there were forty-two camps, hotels, and lodges by 1949. While there had been a settlement at Crane Lake since the late nineteenth-century, it did not become a popular recreational center until after World War II.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Volume III, *Service Establishments, Places of Amusement, Hotels, Tourist Courts, and Tourist Camps, 1939* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), 586-589, 592-593, 623, & 626-630. The census records for monthly employment for tourist courts and camps in Minnesota are as follows: May - 368, June - 628, July - 758, August - 727, and September - 453.

⁹⁵ Minnesota Arrowhead Association Annual Report 1942. Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul and *History of Koochiching County*, Taylor Publishing, Dallas (1983).

⁹⁶ *International Falls Daily Journal*, 1 July 1946.

⁹⁷ Minnesota Arrowhead Association Annual Report 1946, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁹⁸ The construction of remote resorts serviced by airplanes began in the early years after World War II. In early 1949, Ely, Minnesota, became the largest fresh-water seaplane base on the continent. The Quetico-Superior Foundation, "Recent Events That Have Shaped the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness," *Wilderness News* (Winter 1994): 1; Valentine and J.W. Trygg, "Developments Within the Superior Roadless Area in the La Croix and Kawishiwi Districts," (29 April 1946), associated with letter of Galen W. Pike, Forest

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The post-war resort boom in northern Minnesota included many small resorts owned and operated by returning servicemen and women.⁹⁹ Resorts established by returning servicemen were generally modest, and developed as finances allowed. Amenities varied widely between resorts. In an effort to try to improve the accommodations, the Governor's Tourist Advisory Council instigated the "Veteran's Resort Training School," a training program on the "proper" methods of operating a recreational business, including development of modern facilities.¹⁰⁰

Minnesotans had viewed their lakes as summer recreation havens since the 1920s, an attitude that continued into the latter half of the twentieth century. Increased discretionary income and the creation of the interstate highways system in the 1950s made it more feasible to have a second home. Retirees in the 1970s and 1980s made northern cabins their permanent homes, reflected in population increases in some counties.¹⁰¹

The latter half of the century also saw northern Minnesota become a more year-round recreational area. Before the 1960s, there was little promotion of winter recreational activity. The first mass-produced, one-man snowmobiles appeared by 1959, although various over-the-snow vehicles roamed through the area as early as the 1890s.¹⁰² By the late 1960s, snowmobiling in Minnesota transformed into an added recreational attraction for an economy dependent on tourism. Resorts also provided a greater variety of summertime services such as camping, houseboat rental, outfitter services, and fly-in fishing opportunities.

By mid-century, the vacation and tourist industry had become so important to Minnesota's economy that it prompted the first recreation study of its kind in the state. Richard O. Sielaff performed a comprehensive survey of nineteen northern Minnesota counties in 1958. His study concluded that of all the money spent in Minnesota by tourists, Cass, Crow Wing, St. Louis, Itasca, and Hubbard counties drew the greatest number of resort vacationers. Counties in the northeastern part of the state contained the greatest number of hotels and motels. Although the number of buildings varied by county, the average resort had 7.2 cabins. Clearwater County had roughly 17 cabins per resort, Koochiching County averaged 6.2, and St. Louis County averaged 10.7. Only three other counties in the survey had the same or fewer developments per ten thousand acres than did Koochiching. Interestingly, the study also determined that after World War II the construction of motels, hotels, and courts/camps for the first time outnumbered resort development. Koochiching County, however, experienced more resort development from 1945 to 1950. No other county in the survey experienced the same amount of resort growth in the post-war period. Northern Minnesota drew tourists from

Supervisor, to Chester S. Wilson, 3 May 1946, Kabetogama Boosters Club, Lake Kabetogama Collection, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul; Chester S. Wilson to J. H. Price, 9 July 1945, Kabetogama Boosters Club, Lake Kabetogama Collection, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

⁹⁹ Report from Galen Pike to H.W. Crosbie, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

¹⁰⁰ Similarly, the Governor's Tourist Advisory Board suggested a continuous training program for resort owners and managers in 1947. *Tourist Industry*, (1946) Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul; "Second Biennial Report 1949-1951," (Minnesota Department of Business Research and Development) Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul, 25.

¹⁰¹ Baerwald in Clifford E. Clark, ed., *Minnesota in a Century of Change, The State and Its People Since 1900*, 9-10.

¹⁰² Morten Lund and Bea Williams, *The Snowmobiler's Bible*, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1974) 19.

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several Midwest states, primarily from Illinois, Iowa, and Indiana.¹⁰³ For all the development however, the northern tourist and vacation industry still retained many of the characteristics established in the first decades of the twentieth century. As late as 1958, the "roughing it" tradition of the northern border lakes area continued. Only half of the resort cabins in the northern counties had indoor toilets. Still fewer cabins offered both hot and cold running water.¹⁰⁴

Sielaff's study included a random survey of seasonal cabin owners. He found that the principle reasons for vacationing in the northern border lakes area changed little over the last fifty years. Cabin owners cited physical well being along with rest and recreation, followed closely by relief, health, fishing, and hunting. A secondary reason included escaping the heat.¹⁰⁵ Sielaff performed a follow up study of Minnesota recreation in 1964. He found that within the proposed Voyageurs area (excluding east Namakan and Sand Point Lakes) there were 138 summer cabins (49 of which were leased from the state), five resorts, seven commercial properties, and five homesteads.¹⁰⁶ Demand for state-leased properties had grown by 1956, and to meet this demand, the state platted and leased five hundred additional lots between 1958 and 1961.¹⁰⁷ In the future Voyageurs area, the greatest influx of seasonal inhabitants came in the 1960s with the emergence of over two hundred summer use cabins. With this influx of more small and affordable private cabins, the unique North Woods character of architecture gave way to a more generic, mass-produced design ethic. The use of modern materials and house forms turned away from the more traditional use of native stone and wood and vernacular forms appropriate to their surroundings.

Ironically, during the same period, the late-1950s through the mid-1970s, there was a general decline in the Minnesota resort industry overall due to competition and changing recreation patterns. An average of one hundred resorts closed in Minnesota per year.¹⁰⁸ Concurrent with the decline in tourism was the movement to protect locations designated as wilderness areas. Private and state government activities in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area (BWCA) resulted in the removal of dozens of recreational buildings and structures. The Superior National Forest and the BWCA had been among the first areas of Minnesota developed by resort entrepreneurs, and private cabin use in this area—because of the region's remoteness and policy forbidding development of permanent roads—was spotty and generally light, except at Crane and Sand Point Lakes. There were few privately owned cabins in Canada's Quetico Provincial Park.

¹⁰³ A similar study in 1968 again focused on resorts, as they constituted the majority of accommodations. Motels/tourist courts, camping courts, and hotels followed. Fishing, swimming, and boating continued to be the most popular activities in the northern counties, as was driving and sightseeing. The more family-oriented camping and picnic activities were more popular in the south and central portions of the state. Richard O. Sielaff, *Economics of the Vacation and Travel Industry in Nineteen Northern Minnesota Counties*, (Duluth: Minnesota Arrowhead Association, 1958), 5-32; Midwest Research Institute, "The Who, How Much, What and Where of Tourism in Minnesota," Project No. 3084-D Final Report, vol. 2, appendices (November 1968). See also Minnesota Arrowhead Association, Richard O. Sielaff, director, "Minnesota Arrowhead Association Vacation Travel Survey 1958-1959," cooperative project with the Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Department, 1959.

¹⁰⁴ Sielaff, *Economics of the Vacation and Travel Industry*, 18-19.

¹⁰⁵ Sielaff, *Economics of the Vacation and Travel Industry*, 95-100.

¹⁰⁶ Richard O. Sielaff, Cecil H. Meyers, and Philip L. Friest, "The Economics of the Proposed Voyageurs National Park," (Duluth: University of Minnesota, 1964), 3.

¹⁰⁷ H. Ostergaard, "Recreational Development, Building Construction and Maintenance, and Conservation Area Work," (1956), Minnesota Department of Conservation records, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul.

¹⁰⁸ Quetico-Superior Foundation, "Recent Events That Have Shaped the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness," *Wilderness News* (Winter 1994), 1.

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Distant resorts in both Superior National Forest and Quetico Provincial Park were accessible by seaplane after the war. By 1949, Ely became the largest freshwater seaplane base in the continent.

To control the development and preserve the wilderness aspect of the BWCA, the Thye-Blatnik Act of 1948 called for the acquisition and removal of private buildings and structures in the BWCA. Oberholtzer's Izaak Walton League of America established a fund to purchase private tracts, which they then resold to the United States Forest Service. By the 1970s, the government had acquired and removed forty-five resorts and ninety-one cabins in the BWCA. The largest concentration of buildings – from commercial and large resort type developments to personal, year-round, recreational or outpost facilities – resided at Basswood, Big Saganaga, and Trout Lakes. These three lakes had secondary road access. Most often, individuals purchased and removed properties from each of the twenty-nine lakes. Most of the owners were from Minnesota, living in Minneapolis, Duluth, Tower, Ely and Virginia.¹⁰⁹ Only three resorts remain in the BWCA.¹¹⁰

Government interest in preserving the wilderness of northern Minnesota was not confined to the BWCA. Although the idea of creating a National Park in Minnesota had first occurred as early as 1891, it was not until the late 1950s that the State of Minnesota requested that the Federal Government evaluate the Kabetogama area for National Park status. The government conducted the first field investigations in 1962 and, after many lengthy debates, authorized the formation of Voyageurs National Park in 1971. The park officially came into existence in April of 1975.

The resort industry in Minnesota peaked around 1960 with more than 3,500 resorts operating in the state. The tourist industry has declined ever since. This trend intensified the economic troubles northern Minnesota was already experiencing, with high land prices, high interest rates, low profitability, market changes, and an increased interest in RV camping contributing to the decline. New technology reduced travel costs to more distant locations. The appeal of northern Minnesota's natural cooling air dwindled with the development of air conditioning.¹¹¹ Minnesota lost half of its resorts during the 1960s, a trend that continued through the 1970s. In 1968, there were forty resorts on Kabetogama, thirteen on Rainy, and ten on Ash River. There were three year-round inhabitants, 120 seasonal cabins, and 32 cottages. Today there are twenty-nine resorts on Kabetogama, ten on Rainy and four on Ash River. There are currently 51 recreational properties under lease or other agreement along with fifty privately owned properties with recreational cabins.

The characteristics of the resort industry are in a period of transition in northern Minnesota. At one time, most resorts were family owned operations. Today, when the owner dies or retires, the resort is frequently divided up for lake homes. Those resorts that do survive typically change from the traditional "ma and pa" operations to larger recreation

¹⁰⁹ "Some History Relative to the Acquisition of Land in the Superior National Forest, With Particular Emphasis on the Acquisition of Developed Properties in the BWCA," undated, Minnesota Historical Society Archives, St. Paul; Robert C. Lucas, "Recreational Use of the Quetico-Superior Area," United States Forest Service Research Paper LS-8 ((U.S. Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, Lake States Forest Experiment Station, April 1964), 15, 35.

¹¹⁰ Quetico-Superior Foundation 1994, 1-4.

¹¹¹ "Recreational Concepts for Northeastern Minnesota," (University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service and Design Consortium, Inc. April 1981) 12.

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centers. Large year-round resorts offering luxurious accommodations are slowly replacing traditional, small, seasonal, rustic housekeeping resorts for fishermen. Bed and breakfast inns and new full facility motels appear in the region and reflect an increasing change in clientele and vacation interests.

As visitation to Voyageurs National Park increases, the type of recreation experienced has changed from a focus on hunting and fishing to one that is more family oriented. The resorts surrounding the park will enter the transition period, making the preservation of information about resorts/vacation cabins in the park more significant. Private local groups composed of resort and business owners promote tourism locally, and a greater number of resorts are open during the winter to accommodate snowmobilers. New services and amenities are offered for non-fishermen and owners feel a renewed confidence in the tourism industry.

Voyageurs National Park depends on adjacent resort communities to provide services and accommodations to park visitors. In turn, resort communities are dependent on park visitors for the success of their businesses. The influence of the park is evident in more subtle ways. The word "voyageurs," in all its variant spellings, appears in advertisement and in the names of a host of businesses and services throughout northern Minnesota. The narrative of the Voyageurs National Park area offers a fascinating retrospective on the historic trends of tourism and recreation in the first half of the twentieth century. This region of the country stood as a unique recreational locale opened to a broad group of travelers. The associated properties portray the impact of tourism and recreation along with the numerous options available to tourists who traveled to Minnesota throughout the twentieth century.

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Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park

F. Associated Property Types

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type I: Seasonal Estates

F-II. Description of Seasonal Estates

Seasonal Estates associated with the theme of tourism and recreational development in Voyageurs National Park include properties developed between 1880 and 1950 that contain seasonal home complexes built for wealthy tourists and outdoor adventurers who took prolonged vacations in northern Minnesota's remote areas.

Many of the summer homes and hunting lodges were constructed in the Rustic style that was popular for the "North Woods" cabins of northern Minnesota. They include buildings designed to enhance the relationship between the scenic aspects of the site and the interior functions and spaces. The main buildings are located near the water on islands or peninsulas and situated to enhance views of the water. The relationship between the interior and outdoor scenes is further augmented by porches, porte-cocheres and terraces that emphasize views and vistas. Local building materials including stone and timber help unite the building with its setting. Massive interior stone fireplaces and chimneys, low-pitched gabled roofs, and large porches are common. They are seasonal dwellings, designed for use in the summer. The main cabins associated with the seasonal estates vary in size from 600 to 1200 square feet. The more elaborate facilities feature buildings with amenities such as indoor water and electricity.

In addition to the primary structure, associated outbuildings and landscape features play an important role in portraying the self-reliance and isolation of the properties. Some of these features at seasonal estates were quite elaborate. Typical outbuildings include caretaker's cabins, lodging for staff or servants, boathouses, privies, bathhouses, shower houses, dock houses, sheds, pump houses, saunas, guest cabins, ice houses, fish cleaning houses, floatplane hangers, and light plants/generator buildings to provide interior water and electricity. Landscape features may include docks, paths, trails, stairs, terracing, retaining walls, cisterns, hand pumps, generators, water tanks, fuel tanks, formal gardens, flower beds, flagpoles, terraces and outdoor fireplaces. Recreational amenities included golf courses, tennis courts, croquet, bocce ball, and other popular activities.

The multiple buildings and landscape features were utilized as one unit to provide a comfortable environment for the seasonal residents. The remote locations of the properties required a system for transporting people, food and materials via boat to the seasonal estates. Once on site, lacking large facilities with multiple services, each small structure or landscape feature served a specific purpose to enable the overall seasonal resort to run smoothly. In addition to the buildings that directly served the needs of the seasonal residents, including the main cabin, guest cabins, privies, docks, ice houses, etc..., the property included structures to house caretakers, staff, or servants, whom were necessary to enable the seasonal residents to relax and enjoy themselves despite the large amount of manual labor necessary to operate the properties.

Seasonal estates are eligible under Criterion A because of their association with early recreational patterns enjoyed by wealthy vacationers and outdoor adventurers in northern Minnesota's remote areas. They are eligible under Criterion C as representative examples of the Rustic style North Woods cabin construction.

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F-I. Name of Associated Property Type I: Seasonal Estates

F-III. Significance

Seasonal Estates are significant as they reflect the northern Minnesota variation on national tourism and recreational development that emerged during the period of Wealth, Leisure Time, and the First Tourists described in Section E. The northern border lakes region remained a highly inaccessible area through the 1920s, available mainly to those individuals who could afford to travel to isolated areas and build seasonal retreats. The lack of established roadways kept the area remote and limited access by middle-class tourists during this early development period. Although improved access opened the area to other types of development following the 1920s, Seasonal Estates reflecting the characteristics described herein, and constructed before 1950, may be historically significant. 1950 has been selected as the end date for the period of significance in order to reflect the historical context.

Northern Minnesota attracted wealthy visitors in search of outdoor adventures, hunting, fishing, healthy exposure to nature as a cure for urban ills, relief from the heat of the cities, outdoor exercise, and experiencing the nostalgic ideal of rural life. In the Voyageurs area the wilderness character, scenery, wildlife, and water related activities such as fishing and boating were of particular interest. Seasonal Estates were developed by affluent travelers to ensure that their rugged adventures included all the comforts possible. Many were built by prominent individuals from the Twin Cities and Chicago. They included elaborate summer homes and hunting lodges, situated on isolated islands or peninsulas accessible solely by water transportation. Their owners purchased large tracts of land, often entire islands, in order to ensure their privacy when entertaining friends and business associates at their idyllic wilderness havens.

Often, the landscape of the estate was integral to the significance of the property. Buildings were situated to take advantage of natural features including views of the rocks, shoreline, lakes, and tree lines that presented a picturesque backdrop for each property. Environmental elements, including rock outcrops, landforms and specific trees, often became touchstones within the landscape that held special meaning for residents. The natural landscape provided a setting for relaxation and contemplation of the natural environment. Changes to the sites were generally undertaken to achieve one of two purposes. Landscape features were added to enhance the enjoyment of residents by increasing recreational opportunities, or fulfilling functional needs. The former incorporated gardens, saunas, and outdoor fireplaces. Examples of the latter include the addition of privies, docks, steps, paths, root cellars, and boathouses.

Although a variety of materials and designs were used in their construction, many of the buildings reflected the Rustic architectural design style. They utilized naturalistic principles to achieve harmony between structures and their settings while building homes in rugged and scenic places. By the 1870s the Shingle style of architecture was well established and in 1889 the Adirondack style of log building was popularized with the publication of William S. Wicks' book *Log Cabins: How to Build and Furnish Them*. The style was nationally known by 1910, and associated with the "Great Camp Style" of wealthy Adirondack estates that were developed beginning in the 1880s. Scholar Vincent Scully described the Shingle style as utilizing native materials, rustic craftsmanship and environmental

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adaptations while also incorporating vernacular forms and features drawn from the homes of indigenous peoples, early settlers, and pioneers.¹

In northern Minnesota, most "North Woods cabins" were constructed in some variation of the Rustic style. Characteristics of the style included a flexible system for massing buildings to enhance the relationship between the scenic aspects of the site and the interior functions and spaces, emphasis on indoor-outdoor relationships and views, use of local building materials, large fireplaces and chimneys, and low-pitched gable roofs. While some of the Seasonal Estate cabins were designed by architects, others were constructed utilizing architectural patterns, kits, pre-cut materials, and prefabricated structures. These approaches were all utilized to ease construction at sites that were tricky to access and to enable wealthy land owners to construct buildings that were in tune with current styles and the latest technology, as they could afford to have the materials shipped across long distances. In addition, use of kits, pre-cut materials, and prefabricated structures helped to simplify the difficulty in transporting building materials and skilled workers to the remote properties.

Although each of these properties exists within the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park, the historic context of tourism and recreation in northern Minnesota does not reside specifically within the park boundaries. This allows for further investigation into other historical structures associated with the context of tourism and recreation outside the park boundaries. Voyageurs National Park was established well after the end of the period of significance, adding an organizational boundary to the area that does not directly relate to the historic resources. Properties exist outside the park boundary on the shores of Crane Lake, Kabetogama Lake, and Ash River that were developed at the same time and with the same characteristics as the historic properties within the park. The criteria set forth within this nomination could be used to evaluate associated properties outside the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park.

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type I: Seasonal Estates

F-IV. Registration Requirements

Seasonal Estates in Voyageurs National Park can be both historically significant and architecturally significant. Architecturally significant properties require a greater amount of physical integrity of the design features for which they are important. Historically significant properties may sustain a greater degree of alterations and still be eligible if the property clearly represents the historic theme of Seasonal Estates.

Criterion A:

To qualify as a Seasonal Estate, a property must retain the main summer home in its original location. The building must have a construction date between 1880 and 1950 and must contain its historic characteristics. Although not required for a Seasonal Estate to be eligible, the presence of associated outbuildings and landscape features can enhance the property's portrayal of the overall historic character. When present these elements may be included as contributing features if they are related to the historic use of the property and were constructed between 1880 and 1950: caretaker's cabins, lodging for staff or servants, boathouses, privies, bathhouses, shower houses, dock houses,

¹ William S. Wicks, *Log Cabins: How to Build and Furnish Them*, 7th ed. (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Company, 1920), Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 91-92 and Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 71-112.

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sheds, pump houses, saunas, guest cabins, ice houses, fish cleaning houses, floatplane hangers, and light plants/generator buildings to provide interior water and electricity. Landscape features may include docks, paths, trails, stairs, terracing, retaining walls, cisterns, hand pumps, generators, water tanks, fuel tanks, formal gardens, flower beds, flagpoles, terraces and outdoor fireplaces. Recreational amenities included golf courses, tennis courts, croquet, bocce ball, and other popular activities.

The main summer home does not need to retain its significant historic function, but it must retain historic integrity as described herein:

- Integrity of design: The overall historic form and style of the building must be evident. If additions or exterior alterations were made after the period of significance, they must reflect the original proportion, scale and details of the original building to be eligible. If additions or exterior alterations were made after the period of significance, they must be compatible with the historic structure in terms of massing, size, scale, and architectural details and not detract from the historic character of the original for the building to be eligible.
- Integrity of materials: The materials originally used to construct the building must be extant and visible. If alterations have included substantial changes or relocation of windows, door openings, or exterior details, the building cannot be eligible.
- Integrity of workmanship: The methods originally used to construct the building must be evident and cannot be hidden by new building materials.
- Integrity of feeling: The physical features that characterize the historic style of the building must be intact.
- Integrity of association: The building must maintain a majority of the physical features present when the historic activity occurred, in order to represent the historic association. Integrity of association can be enhanced by the presence of outbuildings and landscape features that were present during the period of significance. Under Criterion A, the building must also retain a connection to the history of the site, through associations with extant outbuildings or landscape features.
- Integrity of location: The main summer residence building must be located on its historic site. If secondary or outbuildings were moved during the period of significance for a historically associated use, the property retains integrity.
- Integrity of setting: The historic setting of the property must remain intact. This may include its isolated site, views of natural features, or close proximity to the water. Any additions must be compatible with the historic characteristics of the property and not detract from the historic building. If additions, buildings, or other features have been added to the site to an extent that they change the historic character of the setting, the property is not eligible. If native vegetation has grown to obscure historic views, the property can still be eligible if the property continues to retain a strong connection between the building and the lake.

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Criterion C:

The main seasonal home can qualify under Criterion C if it was constructed between 1880 and 1950, is located within Voyageurs National Park, and is an important example of the Rustic style or an important example of a pattern, kit, pre-cut, or prefabricated building. To be eligible as an example of the Rustic cabin style, the building must include sufficient features to clearly identify it with this style. Characteristics of the style include a flexible system for massing buildings to enhance the relationship between the scenic aspects of the site and the interior functions and spaces, emphasis on indoor-outdoor relationships and views, use of local building materials (in particular stone and timber), large fireplaces and chimneys, and low-pitched gable roofs. To be an eligible pattern, pre-cut, or prefabricated building, there must be clear physical evidence that indicates the building is directly related to the aforementioned approach.

Although a building does not need to retain its historic function to be eligible under Criterion C, it must retain historic integrity as addressed by the aspects of integrity that follow.

- **Integrity of design:** The overall historic form and style of the building must be evident in the proportion, scale and details of the building's exterior. If additions or exterior alterations were made after the period of significance, they must reflect the original style of the building for the building to be eligible. If the historic exterior of the building is covered with siding that post dates the period of significance, the building cannot convey its architectural significance and is not eligible.
- **Integrity of materials:** The materials originally used to construct the building must be extant and visible. If alterations have included substantial changes or relocation of windows, door openings, or exterior details, the building cannot be eligible.
- **Integrity of workmanship:** The methods originally used to construct the building must be evident and cannot be hidden by new building materials.
- **Integrity of feeling:** The physical features that characterize the historic style of the building must be intact.
- **Integrity of association:** The building must maintain a majority of the physical features present when the historic activity occurred, in order to represent the historic association. Integrity of association can be enhanced by the presence of outbuildings and landscape features that were present during the period of significance.
- **Integrity of location:** The building must be located on its historic site.

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F-I. Name of Property Type II: Lakeside Summer Cottage Properties

F-II. Description of Lakeside Summer Cottage Properties

A lakeside summer cottage property is defined as a seasonally used recreational property located within the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park and associated with tourism and recreational development in Voyageurs National Park from the 1920s to 1950. These seasonal cottages and their associated landscapes are typically smaller when compared to those constructed as part of seasonal estates. The cottages range in size from roughly 350 to 1000 square feet. The cabins reflect the modest financial capacity of their original owners.

The cottages were constructed simply of a variety of materials, including log, log veneer, clapboard or lap siding, wide cedar boards, and asphalt shingles. Some cottages contain better materials including log siding, rough-cut cedar, or masonite siding. Interiors are either unfinished or finished with pine paneling or painted wallboard. The cottages are generally small and one story, of frame or log construction, and often built with a screened porch and expansive windows on the lake side of the building. Many of the buildings are vernacular structures. Others include those constructed according to pattern designs, kit and pre-cut structures, and prefabricated buildings. These approaches were utilized to ease transportation to and construction at sites that were difficult to access. Individuals who constructed cottages often used inexpensive, readily available building materials, either from the Boise Cascade lumber company in nearby International Falls or second-hand materials salvaged from old buildings or leftovers from home (especially doors and windows).

Many lakeside summer cottages have several small additions that were added in phases. The foundations of most cottages are concrete block or stone piers; a few have concrete slab or continuous stone foundations. Most cottages have rolled roofing, although a few have asphalt shingles. The majority of the cottages have gabled roofs; some have shed roof porches. The outbuildings have a larger variety of roof types including gabled, pyramidal, and shed.

Heat systems are typically wood stoves (most commonly made from 50-gallon barrels), heatilator-type stoves (post 1950s), or native stone fireplaces. Massive stone fireplaces and chimneys are common. Often, a small, simple frame cottage will be nearly overwhelmed by a large stone fireplace.

In addition to the primary structure, the associated site, including outbuildings and landscape features, plays an important role in portraying the self-reliance and isolation of the properties. At a minimum, most properties included a cabin, privy and dock situated on the landscape to take advantage of natural features and views. Privies and docks tend to be ephemeral structures, and they are frequently replaced as needed and are the first structures to disintegrate when a property is abandoned. Other typical outbuildings include boathouses, dock houses, sheds, pump houses, saunas, guest cabins, ice houses, fish cleaning houses, shower house/boathouse, and light plants/generator buildings. Landscape features may also include paths, trails, stairs, terracing, retaining walls, cisterns, hand pumps, generators, water tanks, fuel tanks, flower beds, yard ornaments, flagpoles, and outdoor fireplaces. The multiple buildings and landscape features were utilized as one unit to provide for the needs of the summer residents. The remote locations of the properties required systems for transporting people, food and materials via boat to the lakeside summer cottages. Once on site, lacking large facilities with multiple services, each small structure or landscape feature served a specific purpose to enable the property to run smoothly. The buildings and landscape features directly served the needs of the

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summer residents, providing shelter and comfort in the form of cabins and boat houses, basic amenities such as privies and fish houses, and special features to enhance the rustic appeal of the properties, including views, trails, and gardens.

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type II: Lakeside Summer Cottage Properties

F-III. Significance

Lakeside summer cottage properties are significant as examples of local and regional tourism and the growing trend of middle class recreational travel in the upper Midwest. Lakeside summer cottage property owners generally included residents of local communities who spent weekends "up at the lake." Most travelers were from major Midwestern cities and spent their weekends or summer vacations at their cottages. Cottage sites were small and typically consisted of a few acres with a cabin located on a breezy point facing the lake, tucked in among the trees. Alternately, many cottages were built on leased state owned land. Access to the cottages could be via water or road although most early properties were only reachable by watercraft; the second option occurred with later developments and was indicative of increased accessibility by automobile.

Beginning in the 1930s, a wider array of Americans, mostly the middle class, inhabited the shorelines of the northern border lakes region and built summer cabins. Americans continued to travel in the early 1930s amidst a full blown economic depression. Lavish hotels and resorts were no longer affordable and Americans sought less expensive ways to enjoy their leisure time. As a result, the number of tourists in America increased while the amount of money spent in local economies fell. Campgrounds and lakeside summer cottages emerged as an option for a growing number of middle-class vacationers. In the Voyageurs National Park area, the first generation of seasonal-vacationers who utilized automobiles emerged in the 1930s. Paved roads and automobiles opened once secluded countryside and wilderness areas to more American travelers. Northern Minnesota became one of the areas flooded with a growing number of local residents and visiting tourists. Even in the midst of economic depression in the 1930s, more cabins appeared in the future Voyageurs National Park region than during the previous two decades.

The Second World War deterred Americans from pursuing recreational retreats in the first half of the decade. The war's end saw a continuation of the rising influence of the tourist industry. The strides made in road improvements and government initiated recreational programs of the 1930s maximized the tourism and recreational possibilities for many Americans in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Travelers of the 1940s used their automobiles to visit recreational areas where they could enjoy activities such as hunting, boating, and fishing. Vacationers arrived within the future Voyageurs National Park area and constructed buildings and other features to add to their North Woods experience. The increased development of recreational facilities and improved accessibility aided northern Minnesota in becoming a prominent tourist destination. 1950 has been selected as the end date for the period of significance in order to reflect the historical context.

Lakeside summer cottage properties are eligible under Criterion A as they reflect changes in recreation and tourism due to the availability of automobiles and the growing middle class. The remoteness of the area was an essential selling point for many individuals. Travelers came to the area to get away from their busy workday lives. Feelings of solitude were a main ingredient to a vacationer's North Woods experience. The rustic appeal of the area catered to the

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mindset of many visitors. In addition, the remoteness and isolation of these lakeside summer cottage properties helped to retain the historic and architectural integrity of each property, making them excellent examples of the North Woods Minnesota recreational experience.

Building interiors were often unfinished, or finished with second-hand materials. The interior eclectic furnishings of the lakeside summer cottage properties continued the "salvaged" theme. Owners brought second-hand furniture to the cabins when they were no longer used at home. The landscape of the cottage was often integral to the significance of the building itself. Properties were situated to take advantage of natural features including views of the rocks, shoreline, lakes, and tree lines that presented a picturesque backdrop for each property. Environmental elements, including rock outcrops, landforms and specific trees, often became touchstones within the landscape that held special meaning for residents. The importance of the natural landscape to these sites, as a setting for relaxation and contemplation of the natural environment, meant that changes were often limited, and generally undertaken to achieve one of two purposes. Landscape features were added to enhance the enjoyment of residents by increasing recreational opportunities, or fulfilling functional needs. The former incorporated gardens, saunas, and outdoor fireplaces. Examples of the latter include the addition of privies, docks, steps, paths, and boathouses.

Although each of these properties exists within the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park, the historic context of tourism and recreation in northern Minnesota does not reside specifically within the park boundaries. This allows for further investigation into other historical structures associated with the context of tourism and recreation outside the park boundaries. Voyageurs National Park was established well after the end of the period of significance, adding an organizational boundary to the area that does not directly relate to the historic resources. Properties exist outside the park boundary on the shores of Crane Lake, Kabetogama Lake, and Ash River that were developed at the same time and with the same characteristics as the historic properties within the park. The criteria set forth within this nomination could be used to evaluate associated properties outside the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park.

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type II: Lakeside Summer Cottage Properties

F-IV. Registration Requirements

Lakeside summer cottage properties eligible under criterion A must be associated with the theme of tourism and recreational development in Voyageurs National Park. To qualify as a lakeside summer cottage, the main cottage must be extant. The cottage must have a construction date between 1880 and 1950 and must contain its historic characteristics. Building design and materials should reflect the original construction—which varies for each property. Additions must be compatible with the historic characteristics of the property and not detract from the historic cottage. Although not required for a lakeside summer cottage property to be eligible, the presence of associated outbuildings and landscape features can enhance the property's portrayal of the overall historic character and portray the self-reliance and isolation of the cabins. When present these elements may be included as contributing features if they are related to the historic use of the property and were constructed between 1880 and 1950: privies, boathouses, dock houses, sheds, pump houses, saunas, guest cabins, ice houses, fish cleaning houses, shower houses, and light plants/generator buildings. Landscape features may include docks, paths, trails, stairs, terracing, retaining walls, cisterns, hand pumps, generators, water tanks, fuel tanks, flower beds, yard ornaments, flagpoles, and outdoor

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fireplaces. To contribute to the significance of the property these features must be associated with the use or activities that occurred at the property during the historic period.

The property does not need to retain its significant historic function, but it must retain historic integrity as described herein:

- Integrity of design: The overall historic form and style of the building must be evident. If additions or exterior alterations were made after the period of significance, they must reflect the original proportion, scale and details of the original building to be eligible. If additions or exterior alterations were made after the period of significance, they must be compatible with the historic structure in terms of massing, size, scale, and architectural details and not detract from the historic character of the original for the building to be eligible.
- Integrity of materials: The materials originally used to construct the cottage must be extant and visible. If alterations have included substantial changes or relocation of windows, door openings, or exterior details, the building cannot be eligible.
- Integrity of workmanship: The methods originally used to construct the cottage must be evident and cannot be hidden by new building materials.
- Integrity of feeling: The physical features that characterize the historic style of the cottage must be intact.
- Integrity of association: The building must maintain a majority of the physical features present when the historic activity occurred, in order to represent the historic association. Integrity of association can be enhanced by the existence of outbuildings and landscape features that were present during the period of significance. Under Criterion A, the building must also retain a connection to the history of the site, through associations with extant outbuildings or landscape features.
- Integrity of location: The building must be located on its historic site. If secondary or outbuildings were moved during the period of significance for a historically associated use, the property retains integrity.
- Integrity of setting: The historic setting of the property must remain intact. This may include its isolated site, views of natural features, close proximity to the water, or the presence of outbuildings and landscape features. Any additions must be compatible with the historic characteristics of the property and not detract from the historic building. If additions, buildings, or other features have been added to the site to an extent that they change the historic character of the setting, the property is not eligible.

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F-I. Name of Associated Property Type III: Resorts (all subtypes)

F-II. Description

Resorts associated with Tourism and Recreational Development in Voyageurs National Park include properties developed prior to 1950 that contain a central building that serves as an office, administrative building, lodge, or other main gathering building and one or more outlying cabins. Throughout this section, the structure will be referred to as the "central resort building."

Central resort buildings were constructed to serve as gathering, recreation, and dining areas for guests. Some include interior rental rooms for guests, and many include quarters for the owner/operator as well as a kitchen utilized for preparing guest's meals. The buildings range from large, rustic buildings reminiscent of the Adirondack lodges found in the east to more humble structures. The more elaborate central resort buildings are lodges constructed in the Rustic style. Many include large native stone fireplaces and some contain rustic details such as bark-covered interior walls.

Cabins are small structures, generally 300 to 600 square feet, constructed of a variety of materials. Some are constructed of logs, but because of the expense and time required for log construction, cabins were more likely to be of frame construction and have rustic touches such as log or cedar siding. Interiors tend to have one large cooking, eating and living space with sleeping areas partitioned or curtained to accommodate four to six people. Interior rustic details include pine or cedar paneling.

Resort cabins and central resort buildings are generally sited along the edge of the lake to optimize views and access to the water. Docks are either centrally located near the central resort building, or individual docks provide private access to each cabin. When automobile access is present, the roads are located behind the cabins. Utilitarian outbuildings and elements are located farther inland when possible, or close to the road.

In addition to the central resort building and cabins, most resorts include numerous outbuildings and landscape features. These include privies, ice houses, boat houses, workshops, garages, storage sheds, tool sheds, fish cleaning houses, laundries, stores, generator buildings, pump houses, water tanks, cisterns, saunas, root cellars, and employee quarters. Other landscape features include water tanks, cisterns, docks, breakwaters, ramps for lake access, paths, driveways, flag poles, beaches, fire circles, and informal play areas.

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type III: Resorts (all subtypes)

F-III. Significance

Resort development in Minnesota began in the central lake district in the 1920s. Initially, resorts arose within remote scenic locations and railroads carried the privileged elite to various recreational destinations. As time progressed, resorts diversified and catered to the growing number of middle-class travelers. Smaller, family owned and operated resorts offered recreational opportunities for the new tourist class. The resorts served the growing number of tourists who traveled to experience the natural environment. They offered an escape from the cities, but not a complete separation from contemporary technologies and amenities. Resorts are significant within the context of tourism and recreational development in Northern Minnesota, as they represent the diversifying tourist industry and its

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transformation to accommodate the growing number of individuals and families who stayed for shorter lengths of time and had fewer connections to the surrounding community. The resorts had a specific function, somewhat different from the lakeside summer cottages. The tourist experienced the same remoteness and relaxation of the lakeside summer cottages, yet did not own the buildings or any property in the area. The tourists who came to resorts could not or chose not to buy land or construct a personalized lakeside summer cottage. Instead, they traveled to resorts similar to the Kettle Falls Hotel, Pine Cove, Meadwood, and Monson's Hoist Bay to experience the natural setting of northern Minnesota.

The majority of resorts in the Voyageurs area started as small collections of tourist cabins built by local residents. During the 1920s, the typical resort included a central resort building with several outlying cabins and numerous outbuildings and landscape features. Often, the landscape of the resort was integral to the significance of the property. Buildings were situated to take advantage of natural features including views of the rocks, shoreline, lakes, and tree lines that presented a picturesque backdrop for each property. Environmental elements, including rock outcrops, landforms and specific trees, often became touchstones within the landscape that held special meaning for residents. The natural landscape provided a setting for relaxation and contemplation of the natural environment. Changes to the sites were generally undertaken to achieve one of two purposes. Landscape features were added to enhance the enjoyment of residents by increasing recreational opportunities, or fulfilling functional needs. The former incorporated gardens, saunas, and outdoor fireplaces. Examples of the latter include the addition of privies, docks, steps, paths, root cellars, and boathouses.

Visitors could choose between the American Plan (in which meals were provided in the central resort building) or "Housekeeping Cottages," equipped with beds and kitchen supplies. The size and range of activities in many resorts increased after mid-century, as resort owners sought to attract more customers by providing swimming pools, beaches, playgrounds and campgrounds.

The central resort building was often the principal gathering place for the resort, where guests could read, relax, play games, visit, and dine. Although vacationers talked about "roughing it," many still wanted the luxury of eating a good meal at the central resort building. Before the 1940s, central resort buildings were lodges that were large buildings designed to be the showplace of the resort, constructed of logs or clad in log siding in high Rustic style. A large native stone fireplace and other decorative touches such as handmade furnishings, game displays, and bark-covered interior walls added to the rustic feel. These early lodges often included interior rental rooms. After 1940 the emphasis of architectural character shifted from the central resort buildings to the cabins, and the central resort buildings became smaller and more utilitarian in character. While many still served as gathering, recreation, and dining areas, the later central resort buildings generally did not have rooms to rent, only living quarters for the owner/operator. By the late 1950s indoor plumbing became more common and privies became less widespread. 1950 has been selected as the end date for the period of significance in order to reflect the historical context.

Housekeeping cottages or cabins were built and furnished to provide a "home away from home" that would contribute to the rest and relaxation guests were seeking, yet give the feeling that they were truly isolated from civilization. These were small, cozy, individual cottages located in a cluster facing the lake. The cabins were set sufficiently apart and screened porches gave a sense of seclusion and privacy. Generally, three to seven cabins were nestled in the trees,

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close to the lake. Like the central resort building, cabins had a rustic appeal. They were typically constructed of materials that were available locally.

These properties are significant under criteria A because they represent a recreational use pattern that is defined by a shorter duration of stay, revolving use by residents, and a focus on use by families. Although each of these properties exists within the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park, the historic context of tourism and recreation in northern Minnesota does not reside specifically within the park boundaries. This allows for further investigation into other historical structures associated with the context of tourism and recreation outside the park boundaries. Voyageurs National Park was established well after the end of the period of significance, adding an organizational boundary to the area that does not directly relate to the historic resources. Properties exist outside the park boundary on the shores of Crane Lake, Kabetogama Lake, and Ash River that were developed at the same time and with the same characteristics as the historic properties within the park. The criteria set forth within this nomination could be used to evaluate associated properties outside the boundaries of Voyageurs National Park.

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type II: Resorts

Subtype I: Resort Complex

F-IV. Registration Requirements

Resort Complexes eligible under criterion A must be associated with the theme of tourism and recreational development in Voyageurs National Park. To qualify as a resort, a property must retain its central resort building and at least one cabin (if the property included cabins during the period of significance) in their original locations. A central resort building represents a building use, rather than a type of structure. This is where people would go to pay their bill, recreate, purchase necessities, have a beverage or meal, etc. The building is where the business part of the operation occurred. All contributing buildings must have construction dates between 1880 and 1950 and must contain their historic characteristics.

The arrangement of the buildings and landscape features at the property should reflect historic spatial organization, providing insight into the daily activities at the resort. Building design and materials should reflect the original construction. Additions, outbuildings, and landscape features must correspond to the historic characteristics of the property and not detract from the historic features.

The presence of associated outbuildings and landscapes features can enhance the properties portrayal of the overall historic character. When present these elements may be included as contributing features if they are related to the historic use of the property and were constructed during the period of significance: boathouses, privies, dock houses, sheds, pump houses, saunas, guest cabins, ice houses, fish cleaning houses, shower house/boathouse, and light plants/generator buildings. Landscape features may include docks, paths, trails, stairs, terracing, retaining walls, cisterns, hand pumps, generators, water tanks, fuel tanks, flower beds, yard ornaments, flagpoles, and outdoor fireplaces.

The property does not need to retain its significant historic function, but it must retain historic integrity as described herein:

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- Integrity of design: The overall historic form and style of the buildings must be evident in the proportion, scale and details of the building's exterior. If additions or exterior alterations were made after the period of significance, they must reflect the original style of the building for the building to be eligible.
- Integrity of materials: The materials originally used to construct the buildings must be extant and visible. If alterations have included substantial changes or relocation of windows, door openings, or exterior details, the building cannot be eligible.
- Integrity of workmanship: The methods originally used to construct the buildings must be evident and cannot be hidden by new building materials.
- Integrity of feeling: The physical features that characterize the historic style of the buildings must be intact.
- Integrity of association: The buildings must maintain a majority of the physical features present when the historic activity occurred. Integrity of association can be enhanced by the presence of outbuildings and landscape features that were present during the period of significance.
- Integrity of location: The central resort building must be located on its historic site. If secondary or outbuildings were moved during the period of significance for a historically associated use, the property retains integrity.
- Integrity of setting: The historic setting of the property must remain intact. This may include its isolated site, views of natural features, or close proximity to the water. Any additions must be compatible with the historic characteristics of the property and not detract from the historic building. If additions, buildings, or other features have been added to the site to an extent that they change the historic character of the setting, the property is not eligible.

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type II: Resorts

Subtype II: Resort Lodge

F-IV. Registration Requirements

A resort lodge may be eligible under Criterion C if it was constructed between 1880 and 1950, is located within Voyageurs National Park, is an important example of the Rustic style, and contains its historic characteristics reflecting the original construction. The building must include sufficient features to clearly identify it with the Rustic style. Characteristics of the style include a flexible system for massing buildings to enhance the relationship between the scenic aspects of the site and the interior functions and spaces, emphasis on indoor-outdoor relationships and views, use of local building materials (in particular stone and timber), large fireplaces and chimneys, and low-pitched gable roofs. Many are constructed of logs or are clad in log siding and some may contain rustic details such as bark-covered interior walls. A resort lodge is a distinct type of central resort building that served as a gathering, recreation

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and dining area for guests. Some included interior rental rooms for guests, and many included quarters for the owner/operator as well as a kitchen utilized for preparing guest's meals.

Although a building does not need to retain its historic function to be eligible under Criterion C, it must retain historic integrity as addressed by the aspects of integrity that follow.

- Integrity of design: The overall historic form and style of the lodge must be evident in the proportion, scale and details of the building's exterior. If additions or exterior alterations were made after the period of significance, they must reflect the original style of the building for the building to be eligible. If the historic exterior of the building is covered with siding that post dates the period of significance, the building cannot convey its architectural significance and is not eligible.
- Integrity of materials: The materials originally used to construct the building must be extant and visible. If alterations have included substantial changes or relocation of windows, door openings, or exterior details, the building cannot be eligible.
- Integrity of workmanship: The methods originally used to construct the building must be evident and cannot be hidden by new building materials.
- Integrity of feeling: The physical features that characterize the historic style of the lodge must be intact.
- Integrity of association: The lodge must maintain a majority of the physical features present when the historic activity occurred, in order to represent the historic association. Integrity of association can be enhanced by the presence of outbuildings and landscape features that were present during the period of significance.
- Integrity of location: The building must be located on its historic site.
- Integrity of setting: The historic setting of the property must remain intact. This may include its isolated site, views of natural features, or close proximity to the water. Any additions must be compatible with the historic characteristics of the property and not detract from the historic building. If additions, buildings, or other features have been added to the site to an extent that they change the historic character of the setting, the property is not eligible.

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F-I. Name of Associated Property Type IV: Youth Camps

F-II. Description

Similar to resorts, these properties included structures that provided lodging, necessary outbuildings, and outdoor environments for activities. During the 1920s and 1930s a number of private and non-profit camps were established in the Voyageurs National Park area. Several churches organized camps for their young members, and several privately run camps were begun. In the Voyageurs National Park area, Iowa State University at Ames instituted a summer engineering school at Brown's Bay on Rainy Lake. St. Thomas College in St. Paul established Bassett's Boys Camp on Kabetogama, the Boy Scouts had a camp on Sand Point Lake, and the YMCA built a camp on Kabetogama.

An extant example of a Youth Camp in Voyageurs National Park is the Camp Marston Polaris Cabin. The Polaris cabin is a one-story wood framed building constructed in 1930 with a side-gabled roof and stone chimney. This was the faculties' cabin, known by the students as "the home of the brain trust" and had the only screened-in porch at the site. It is also the only intact cabin on the Camp Marston site. The property also contains many visible ruins and foundations of other buildings associated with the camp. The overall layout of the camp property is apparent due to a large number of landscape features that remain evident. These include paths, dock remnant, root cellar, the foundations and chimneys for each of the cabins, the foundation of the kitchen, and a flag pole. Also, the area that was used for campfire programs is intact. This natural feature includes bare rock that was utilized as an amphitheater.

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type IV: Youth Camps

F-III. Significance

During the early years of the 20th century, a national movement encouraged youths and families to embrace the benefits of outdoor recreation. Youth organizations began to provide camping facilities and programs to enable citizens from all walks of life to participate in outdoor experiences that were previously only available to members of the elite classes. Outdoor recreation grew in importance in the United States as urbanization and industrialization increased. Prosperous city residents flocked to rustic mountain resorts and the first summer camps for young people began operation. Camp Chocorua in New Hampshire was founded in 1881 and is recognized as one of the country's earliest organized summer camps. The YMCA's first organized summer camp opened in 1885.²

During the first decades of the 20th century organized camping flourished. Between 1900 and 1920 over one-hundred camps were established. By the early 1930s, approximately one million children annually participated in more than 7,000 organized camps across the country. Camping thrived because the benefits attributed to the activity were numerous. Outdoor recreation advocates claimed that recreation was a basic human need and a necessity of civilized life. Camping was believed to enrich the inner life of people, and the development of social skills and an understanding of the natural environment were emphasized. Camps were believed to help children develop physical, emotional, mental, moral and social values, resulting in a personally enriched individual that would be capable of intelligently participating as a citizen in a democratic society.

² Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, "Camp Ouachita Girl Scout Camp Historic District, Lake Sylvia, Perry County," www.arkansaspreservation.org/historic-properties/search_nomination_popup.asp, accessed September 2009.

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Standards for organized camping were developed and popularized by organizations like the Girl Scouts. Minimum physical standards covered issues such as camp size, soil conditions, water supply, and sanitation. It was believed that the physical arrangement of camps affected the physical and emotional health of campers and an approach to camp planning was deemed the "unit plan." The unit plan provided an approach to clustering camp units in an effort to avoid the earlier practice of patterning organized summer camps after military installations with straight lines of tents or cabins arranged in a quadrangle. The unit plan typically consisted of an administrative and basic services area, caretaker's residence, director's cabin, shower house, well house, ice house, infirmary, several camper units, each with several tents or cabins and a unit shelter or cabin.³

The landscape of the youth camp was often integral to the significance of the property. Buildings were situated to take advantage of natural features including views of the rocks, shoreline, lakes, and tree lines that presented a picturesque backdrop for each property. Environmental elements, including rock outcrops, landforms and specific trees, often became touchstones within the landscape that held special meaning for campers. The natural landscape provided a setting for relaxation and contemplation of the natural environment. Changes to the sites were generally undertaken to achieve one of two purposes. Landscape features were added to enhance the educational experience of the campers by increasing recreational opportunities, or fulfilling functional needs.

Camp Marston was a camp for Iowa State University civil engineering students. The topography of the region offered the students diverse challenges and intense training to hone their engineering skills and techniques. The setting for this particular area was for education, although recreation held an important, yet secondary purpose. Further investigation and research may fit Camp Marston into another historic context more closely related with its individual purpose – that of wilderness education. 1950 has been selected as the end date for the period of significance to reflect the historical context.

The Polaris cabin is associated with criterion A under the tourism and recreation historic context of the Voyageurs National Park area. No specific dates or geographical location classifies this property type. Camp Marston served to educate engineering students from Iowa State University who employed the areas rugged terrain to practice their surveying skills. The property sheltered specific individuals, particularly engineering students from Iowa State University. Each year the students at the camp constructed a cabin. Although the cabins are not extant, the masonry chimneys remain. Each chimney includes the construction date impressed in the concrete.

F-I. Name of Associated Property Type IV: Youth Camps

F-IV. Registration Requirements

Youth Camp facilities eligible under criterion A must be associated with the theme of tourism and recreational development in Voyageurs National Park from 1880 through 1950 and must contain their historic characteristics. To qualify as a group facility, a property must retain at a minimum one major building and enough outbuildings or landscape features to clearly convey the historic characteristics of the property. All contributing buildings must have construction dates between 1880 and 1950.

³ Ibid.

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The arrangement of the buildings and landscape features at the property should reflect historic spatial organization, providing insight into the daily activities at the property. Building design and materials should reflect the original construction. All additions, outbuildings, and landscape features must correspond to the historic characteristics of the property and not detract from the historic features.

Contributing outbuildings and landscape features portray the self-reliance and isolation of the resorts and may include: a central kitchen area, central education facility (open air shelter or other structure), bunkhouses, multiple privies or a latrine, showerhouses, dock houses, sheds, pump houses, docks, paths, trails, stairs, retaining walls, hand pumps, generators, water tanks, propane tanks, root cellar, plants used for screening and directing views, flagpoles, fire circles, outdoor fireplaces, and recreational amenities. To contribute to the significance of the property these features must be associated with the use or activities that occurred at the property during the period of significance.

The property does not need to retain its significant historic function, but it must retain historic integrity as described herein:

- Integrity of design: The overall historic form and style of the building must be evident in the proportion, scale and details of the building's exterior. If additions or exterior alterations were made after the period of significance, they must reflect the original style of the building for the building to be eligible.
- Integrity of materials: The materials originally used to construct the building must be extant and visible. If alterations have included substantial changes or relocation of windows, door openings, or exterior details, the building cannot be eligible.
- Integrity of workmanship: The methods originally used to construct the building must be evident and cannot be hidden by new building materials.
- Integrity of feeling: The physical features that characterize the historic style of the building must be intact.
- Integrity of association: The building and landscape must maintain the spatial organization and physical sense of the layout of the camp. Integrity of association can be enhanced by the presence of outbuildings and landscape features that were present during the period of significance.
- Integrity of location: The building must be located on its historic site.
- Integrity of setting: The historic setting of the property must remain intact. This may include its isolated site, views of natural features, or close proximity to the water. Any additions must be compatible with the historic characteristics of the property and not detract from the historic building. If additions, buildings, or other features have been added to the site to an extent that they change the historic character of the setting, the property is not eligible.

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Section G. Geographical Data

This nomination applies to the designated properties located within the 218,055-acre boundary of Voyageurs National Park, located in northern Minnesota.

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H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The Multiple Property Documentation Form entitled "Tourism and Recreational Facilities in Voyageurs National Park (VOYA), 1880-1950" originated in order to analyze the broad context of tourism and recreational facilities within present day Voyageurs National Park. The Voyageurs National Park personnel have been aware of the potential historic significance of cabins and other properties within the park area and have collected pertinent documentation relating to properties within the park. Initial investigation for this multiple property submission started by examining secondary sources related to tourism and recreation in the United States and Minnesota. A trip was made to Voyageurs National Park, to visit some of the nominated cabins and to research the primary sources at the Voyageurs National Park headquarters.

In 2002, the National Park Service prepared a document entitled "Historic Structures Management Plan and Environmental Assessment." This document evaluated the potential impacts of alternative treatments for twenty-four properties with ninety-four structures either listed or determined eligible to the National Register of Historic Places. All buildings within this nomination were analyzed in the 2002 document along with other properties in Voyageurs National Park.

"Historic Context for Tourism and Recreational Development in the Minnesota Northern Border Lakes from the 1880s through the 1950s" written by Dena Sanford and Mary Graves in 1999 outlines the context of tourism and recreational development in the Voyageurs National Park area. Along with developing a historic context, Sanford and Graves list and describe the property types and buildings associated with the context. The report listed all recreational properties within the Voyageurs National Park region.

A Historic Structures Survey was conducted on the recreational buildings within Voyageurs National Park from June 1989 to November 1990. Mary Graves, Catherine Wovcha, and Bill Harlow surveyed the buildings.

Matthew Reitzel (former NPS seasonal historian) drafted a Multiple Property Submission for "Tourism and Recreational Facilities in Voyageurs national Park (VOYA), 1900-1950" in 2003.

Other surveys determined the eligibility of structures throughout the park region. Of the twenty properties listed in this multiple property submission the Ingersoll Cabin, Casareto Cabin, Levin Cabin, Monson's Hoist Bay Resort, I.W. Stevens Pine Cove Resort, Meadwood Resort, Indiana Northwoods Club, Camp Marston, and the Ellsworth Rock Garden were deemed eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The Jr. Island Cabin, Gruner Cabin, Palmer/Luce Cabin, Peterson/Garrett Cabin, and Zollner Outpost were potentially eligible. These five cabins have since been determined eligible.

The Fujita Cabin was listed to the National Register of Historic Places in 1996. The Ellsworth Rock Garden was evaluated for the National Register in 1980 and determined ineligible. The property was reevaluated in 1998 and determined eligible. A Preservation Treatment Plan was approved for the Ellsworth property in 1998. The Kettle Falls Hotel was added to the National Register in 1976. Kettle Falls Historic District was listed to the National Register in 1978, incorporating the Kettle Falls Hotel, Kettle Falls Dam, and the 1910 damtender's cabin.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

REQUESTED ACTION: COVER DOCUMENTATION

MULTIPLE Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyagers National Park
NAME: (1880-1950) MPS

STATE & COUNTY: MINNESOTA, Multiple Counties

DATE RECEIVED: 05/06/11 DATE OF PENDING LIST:
DATE OF 16TH DAY: DATE OF 45TH DAY: 06/21/11
DATE OF WEEKLY LIST:

REFERENCE NUMBER: 64501089

REASONS FOR REVIEW:

APPEAL: N DATA PROBLEM: N LANDSCAPE: N LESS THAN 50 YEARS: N
OTHER: N PDIL: N PERIOD: N PROGRAM UNAPPROVED: N
REQUEST: Y SAMPLE: N SLR DRAFT: N NATIONAL: N
NEW MPS: Y

COMMENT WAIVER: N

☒ ACCEPT ☐ RETURN ☐ REJECT 6.15.11 DATE

ABSTRACT/SUMMARY COMMENTS:

RECOM./CRITERIA Accept

REVIEWER Ethan Beall

DISCIPLINE History

Phone _____

Date 6.15.11

DOCUMENTATION see attached comments Y/N see attached SLR Y/N

If a nomination is returned to the nominating authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the National Park Service.

Voyageurs National Park
3131 Highway 53
International Falls, Minnesota 56649
218-283-6000

TO: Keeper, National Register of Historic Places

FROM: Voyageurs National Park

DATE: September 24, 2010

NAME OF PROPERTY:

I.W. Stevens Lakeside Cottage
William Ingersoll Estate
Adolph Levin Cottage
Monson's Hoist Bay Resort

COUNTY AND STATE: St. Louis County, Minnesota

SUBJECT: National Register:

- ☒ Nomination
- ☒ Multiple Property Documentation Form (1)
- ☐ Request for removal
- ☐ Nomination resubmission
- ☐ Boundary increase/decrease
- ☐ Additional documentation

DOCUMENTATION:

- ☒ Original National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (4)
- ☒ Multiple Property Documentation Form (1)
- ☒ Continuation Sheets (for each of 4 properties)
- ☐ Removal Documentation
- ☒ Photographs (for each of 4 properties)
- ☒ CD w/ image files (for each of 4 properties)
- ☒ Original USGS Map (for each of 4 properties)
- ☒ Sketch map(s) (for each of 4 properties)
- ☒ Correspondence (letter to St. Louis County)

STAFF COMMENTS:

H32 (MWRO-CR)

The purpose of this form is to track the progress of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination cited below, and to provide the Midwest Regional Office an official notification of any NRHP listing.

Name of Midwest Region Properties:

Multiple Property Documentation Form: Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park, 1880-1950

National Register Nominations for:

Monson's Hoist Bay Resort
Adolph Levin Cottage
William Ingersoll Estate
I.W. Stevens Lakeside Cottage

Name of Midwest Region Park: Voyageurs National Park

ACTION:

This nomination was signed by the State Historic Preservation Officer on May 12, 2010, and forwarded to the National Park Service Federal Preservation Officer on September 24, 2010

ACTION:

This nomination was reviewed and signed by the National Park Service's Federal Historic Preservation Officer on _____.

(signature of NPS FHPO)

ACTION:

This nomination was reviewed and signed by the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places on _____.

(signature of Keeper of NRHP)

ACTION:

This property was listed on the National Register of Historic

Places on _____.
(date, if different from above)

**PLEASE RETURN TO THE ADDRESS LISTED AT THE TOP OF THIS FORM;
ATTENTION: SENIOR HISTORIAN DON STEVENS**



United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Voyageurs National Park

3131 Highway 53
International Falls, Minnesota 56649-8904

IN REPLY REFER TO:

H32

September 24, 2010

Memorandum

To: Federal Preservation Officer/Associate Director for Cultural Resources

From: Superintendent, Voyageurs National Park

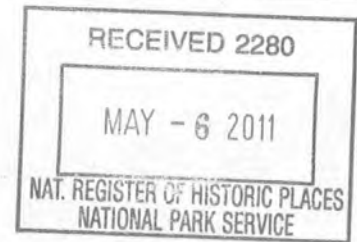
Subject: Multiple Property Documentation Form: Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park, 1880-1950, National Register of Historic Places Registration Forms (Ingersoll, I.W. Stevens, Hoist Bay, Levin)

We are submitting a Multiple Property Documentation Form and four National Register nominations for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer of Minnesota has indicated her agreement with the Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) and nominations. The forms were also sent to Saint Louis County (where the properties are located) for 45-day review and no objections were received. Please forward the MPDF and nominations to the Keeper of the National Register for processing.

We've also attached a form that our Midwest Regional Office uses to track progress of nominations, as well as a form listing the contents of the package we are shipping. Questions about the MPDF and nominations may be directed to Chief of Cultural Resources Mary Graves at 218-283-6674 or mary_graves@nps.gov.

Michael M. Ward

Enclosures





United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20240



Memorandum

To: Interim Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places

From: Chief Historian, National Park Service, Designated to act for the Federal Preservation Officer *5/3/2011*

Subject: Multiple Cover and nominations, Voyageurs National Park

Enclosed is the multiple documentation cover, Tourism and Recreational Properties in Voyageurs National Park (VOYA), 1880-1950, and four related nominations; I.W Stevens Lakeside Cottage, William Ingersoll Estate, Adolph Levin Cottage, and Monson's Hoist Bay Resort. I and the Superintendent of VOYA request listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

The Park did an excellent job creating a national context for tourism and recreation properties in national parks and then created an equally as good local context for Minnesota's recreational areas.

Enclosure