

ROADSIDE DEVELOPMENT ON MINNESOTA TRUNK HIGHWAYS, 1920-1960

The Minnesota Department of Highway's (MHD) focus on roadside development (a field of engineering and landscape architecture that is concerned with roadway safety and aesthetics) evolved in concert with roadside development theory and practice nationwide. The growth of roadside development was influenced by several related historical events including the rise of auto tourism, the construction of the state trunk highway system, the establishment of state and national parks, and the launching of Roosevelt's New Deal, an ambitious federal initiative that offered federal relief funding, labor, and technical expertise for the construction of both highways and parks. The roadside development program has always garnered a relatively small part of the Minnesota Department of Highways' budget and, had it not been for Depression-era federal relief dollars that propelled the program forward, roadside development may have waited until after World War II, or perhaps the 1960s, to see accomplishments equal to those of the 1930s.

AUTOMOBILE TOURISM

Automobile tourism emerged during the 1910s when cars became affordable to more than the rich. During that decade, ". . . several hundred thousand middle-class families toured the countryside, camping each night in a different spot along the road, sleeping in cars or in tents, [and] cooking meals over smoky campfires" (Belasco 1979:3). Historian Warren Belasco writes that auto tourism became immediately popular because of its wonderful flexibility. Rail travelers had to follow a rigid railroad timetable, visit places accessible only by rail, and sleep in railroad hotels where they were compelled to unpack wrinkled clothes and formally dress for dinner. The auto tourist, on the other hand, could set his own schedule, eat by the roadside, and sleep under the stars (Belasco 1979:44-47). Driving for pleasure became a favorite American pastime and, with 15,150 motor registrations in 1910, Minnesota ranked ninth in the U.S. in the number of vehicles.

The need for adequate facilities for the tourist became critical as travel by car became more popular. Without today's plethora of gas stations, convenience stores, and fast food restaurants, early travelers encountered few public (or even commercial) establishments in which to find drinking water, buy food, or use a restroom. Motorists stopped to picnic in farmers' fields, built campfires in ditches, and pulled off the road to sleep almost anywhere. Belasco writes that, although the U.S. had several thousand public campgrounds and municipal parks by the early 1920s,

many rural areas had had enough. Roadsides were strewn with garbage, especially with tin cans, the autocamper's emblem, . . . tourists broke off fruit tree branches to decorate their cars or graft at home, picked flowers, corn, apples, and even milked the cows. Schoolyards [which were a popular camping spot] were left a mess (Belasco 1979:74).

Community groups began to urge state governments to pass initiatives in support of recreational highway use. Among those concerned were clubs like the American

Automobile Association (AAA) (founded in 1902) and Minnesota's Ten Thousand Lakes of Minnesota Association (founded in 1918). "Trail blazing" associations like the Minnesota Scenic Highway Association (founded in 1916) were formed to promote auto tourism and local commercial development by naming and marking highway routes in the years before highway numbering became standardized. (The Minnesota Scenic Highway was marked with blue signs with a white star in the center. Another blazed trail, the "Yellowstone Trail" (T.H. 212), was marked with large rocks painted yellow.) Local governments also spoke up. A 1922 article in *Minnesota Municipalities* warned that Minnesota's 150 tourist campgrounds, which had hosted an army of 500,000 automobile tourists during the summer of 1922, were severely short of both safe drinking water and proper waste disposal. The article argued that the state's inability to guarantee sanitary tourist camps also endangered the health of those living near them (Belasco 1979:118).

In the 1930s the State of Minnesota began to require tourist camps to provide safe drinking water and sanitation, and worked to reduce fire hazards in camps (Walsh 1994:138). At the same time, state government began to actively promote tourism and to itself provide roadside drinking water and rest areas. The Minnesota Bureau of Tourism was formed in 1931 under the auspices of the Department of Conservation (predecessor of the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources) to promote tourism and distribute information about travel and recreation in Minnesota. The Minnesota Department of Highways' Roadside Development Division, which would be established the following year, also worked to enhance Minnesota's lucrative tourism industry while improving road safety and building roadside amenities.

ESTABLISHING THE ROADSIDE DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

Local governments in the U.S. have been planting boulevard trees since at least the 1870s. It was not until 1912, however, that highways received similar attention in the country's first roadside development projects. Among the early projects that drew national recognition were roadside improvements in Westchester County and on Long Island, both in New York, and the development of Mount Vernon Memorial Highway near Washington, D.C. (Simonson and Royall 1934:1). Noted American landscape architect Jens Jensen was a "pioneer in highway beautification." Among his designs of the 1920s was a portion of the Lincoln Highway in Indiana that was landscaped with native trees and grasses and a roadside campground with parking areas, a council ring, restrooms, a gas station, and a store (McClelland 1993:36).

In Minnesota, roadside development work by cities and counties began in the 1920s as roads were "beautified" and public picnic and camping areas were created by local initiative. The State became involved in roadside improvement soon after voters approved the Babcock Plan in 1920, which established the trunk highways. The trunk highway system was a collection of 70 numbered routes, containing 7,000 miles of roadway, which was designed to link all county seats and major population centers in the state. The Minnesota Department of Highways (MHD) (established in its modern form in 1925) was at first consumed with simply building, grading, paving, and marking the new and existing roads in the system. By 1929, however, it was the MHD's practice to "preserve native trees along the roads wherever possible," to seed or sod roadside slopes, to

collaborate with the state forestry service to plant roadside trees, and to regulate public utilities within the right-of-way (Bennett 1929:207). Advertising within trunk highway right-of-way had been prohibited by the legislature since circa 1923.

The federal government, through its U.S. Bureau of Roads (precursor of the Federal Highway Administration), was also promoting roadside development by the 1920s and, by the early 1930s, was requiring it. The bureau first allowed federal highway funds to be used for roadside planting in 1928, although few states actually used their federal funds for this purpose. In 1933 the federal government *required* that a minimum of one-half of one percent of all federal highway funds be spent on roadside development. This requirement was increased to one percent the following year.

According to the Bureau of Roads, eligible roadside development in the early 1930s included such work as:

the selective cutting or pruning of existing growth, the removal of stumps, dead material, etc.; the obliteration of borrow pits, traces of old roads and other construction scars; the flattening of slopes; the rounding of slope intersections; the seeding or sodding of shoulders and slopes; and the planting of a sufficient amount of suitable material to accomplish a reasonably comprehensive roadside improvement. The planting of trees at regular intervals without regard to their environment or the composition of adequate plant growth will not be considered as satisfactory roadside improvement work (Simonson and Royall 1934:4).

The required roadside development could occur on either new or existing roadways, but the bureau encouraged the improvement of well-traveled highways near major population centers, in part so they could serve as demonstration projects of roadside development work. The use of properly trained landscape architects and horticulturists was urged by the bureau. Illustrated publications, such as the bureau's *Roadside Improvement* (1934), recommended purchasing adequately-wide rights-of-way, selectively cutting roadside trees to achieve a parklike appearance, creating shoulders with natural contours, storing roadside topsoil during construction for reuse, and softening with plants the harsh line between the road cut and surrounding vegetation (Simonson and Royall 1934).

The bureau urged state highway departments to give roadside landscaping a "regular place in highway construction." It also confirmed the link between roadside development and tourism, suggesting:

For those who desire a direct return on every [roadside development] investment, there is the tourist traffic to be considered. This traffic will seek the routes of greatest beauty, as it always has been in the past, and leave money behind in payment for gasoline, meals, lodgings, garage services, and incidental expenditures (Simonson and Royall 1934:3).

The Minnesota Department of Highways established its Roadside Development Division in 1932, anticipating the 1933 federal mandate. Harold E. Olson, an engineer who had been with the MHD for ten years, was appointed to head the new division. (See Fig.

2.) Roadside development received early support from highway officials such as S. Rex Green (Engineer of Lands and Right-of-Way), O. L. Kipp (Construction Engineer), and Walter F. Rosenwald (Maintenance Engineer). Green and Kipp, in particular, were ardent conservationists and strong champions of roadside development's mission. In 1938 the MHD stated it "subscribed wholeheartedly and looked with great favor on the federal stipulation" for roadside development (*An Appraisal* 1938:2).

At least three of the Roadside Development Division's long-standing employees were also among its original staff. Harold E. Olson, head of the division, began with the division in 1932 and worked in Roadside Development for 30 years until 1963. Engineer and landscape architect Fred Vogt joined Olson in May of 1933, and worked for Roadside Development for 22 years (interrupted by a six-year leave of absence during World War II). Similarly, Bertie Kraft, the division's head secretary, began to work for the MHD (presumably in Roadside Development) in February of 1933. She worked in Roadside Development until at least 1963, and retired from the MHD in 1966. (See Fig. 1.) (See "Individuals Associated With This Historic Context" near the end of this chapter.)

Arthur R. Nichols, a 52-year-old landscape architect with a well-established practice in Minneapolis, became Roadside Development's Consulting Landscape Architect in 1932. (See Fig. 3.) Nichols consulted frequently for the division through 1940. He is believed to have designed most of the division's scenic overlooks, picnic areas, and historical markers during the 1930s, and helped formulate the division's early policies and goals. Fred Vogt, the division's staff landscape architect, undoubtedly worked closely with Nichols. Unlike many landscape architects who worked for state highway departments in the early 1930s, both Nichols and Vogt were trained in engineering and highway design, as well as in landscape architecture. The competence of these men, as well as the accomplishments of other MHD staff including Harold E. Olson, Green, Kipp, and Rosenwald, helped integrate roadside development more completely into the highway design process and helped make Minnesota a national leader in the field.

During its first decades, the Roadside Development Division worked to improve some of the state's earliest highways, many of which had been laid out by engineers who were trained to build railroads. These early engineers typically planned roads by using the shortest and straightest distance between two points, placed the roads within narrow cuts with steep side slopes, and allowed roads to be lined with deep ditches that were not filled unless abundant fill material was readily available nearby. The result was a road system with narrow driving surfaces, blind curves, encroaching vegetation, collapsing embankments, damaging erosion, and poor drainage -- all problems that the MHD and its Roadside Development Division worked to correct.

Preferable to "repairing" existing roads, however, was the practice of integrating roadside development early into the highway design process. This coupling of early planning, good engineering, and landscaping skills helped design "beauty *into* highways, rather than adding it superficially afterward" (Comment by S. Herbert Hare in Nichols 1940:8, emphasis original). A. R. Nichols was a strong proponent of early roadside planning. He, in fact, discouraged the use of the term "Roadside Beautification" which, in his view, underplayed the field's basis in planning and engineering (Nichols 1937:270).

Minnesota's Roadside Development Division worked to bring a "balance of safety, good construction, economical maintenance, and natural beauty" to Minnesota highways, and to build roads that were in harmony with surrounding views, topography, and vegetation (Nichols 1937:169). One of its major missions was to optimize highway safety by cutting back vegetation to increase visibility, installing ground covers to reduce mud slides and erosion, flattening slopes to allow traffic to safely leave the roadway in emergencies, planting "live snow fences" to reduce blowing snow, and providing rest areas for tired drivers.

Roadside Development's second major mission was to enhance the public's traveling experience by providing attractive rights-of-way and roadside facilities. Roadside development staff worked to "erase" construction scars by naturally rounding slopes and shoulders, and by installing roadside plantings. The division enhanced scenic views by clearing trees to expose or frame vistas. The division used plantings to screen ugly buildings from motorists' view. The division also enhanced views *of* the roadway with plantings, Rustic style bridges, and landscaped bridge approaches. (Mowing and other maintenance of right-of-way landscaping was also for many years within Roadside Development's purview.) The staff encouraged the routing of highways through scenic areas and in accordance with natural topography. It promoted the purchase of rights-of-way that were 200'-400' wide, rather than the traditional 66'-100' (Olson 1933:1-2). The division safely accommodated motorists who wished to stop to experience the scenery or photograph the view by constructing scenic overlooks to bring motorists to optimal vantage points. It developed natural springs and dug wells for roadside drinking water, constructed welcoming signs at state entrances, and erected historic markers. Finally, the designers, engineers, and construction crews worked to ensure that access to all facilities was safely designed, and that the public could enjoy the roadside amenities while staying a safe distance from moving traffic (*Biennial Report 1935-1936*:28). (For more information see "Description of the Inventoried Features" in this report.)

A. R. Nichols and Harold E. Olson wrote most of the documents that survive from Roadside Development's early years and that provide a glimpse of early division philosophy. For example, a 1937 article by Nichols that was published by the Highway Research Board (and illustrated with photographs of Minnesota sites) outlines a set of principles that undoubtedly guided the work of the Roadside Development division:

1. make use of "existing scenic advantages" when determining a new highway route that is intended largely for pleasure traffic.
2. harmonize the road with natural topography.
3. conserve existing vegetation and trees where possible.
4. plant new material primarily to control erosion and to provide a "natural transition between construction and nature."
5. create "outlooks, concourses, parking spaces, picnic areas, historical marker sites, and similar strategic areas where the public can stop for rest and enjoyment."

6. promote the creation of liberal right-of-way.
7. encourage separating commercial from pleasure traffic, "thus permitting parkway emphasis and greater latitude in the design of the pleasure route."
8. control, regulate, and restrict billboards and commercial structures along the highway (Nichols 1937:169).

Nichols promoted public ownership of places of unusual natural beauty. In an article published in 1940 he warned that, "Unless acquired and protected, the areas [of outstanding scenic beauty] become congested with commercial interests completely marring the natural scenic setting." He believed that such areas "logically belong to the public" and that successful roadside development planning "should prevent private interests from capitalizing upon scenery of such public value" (Nichols 1940:4). Nichols also created a several-volume photo album that illustrates many design principles, goals, and accomplishments of roadside development. (See Appendix J.) The albums were designed to be expanded with additional photographs and topics, much like the 1938 National Park Service design guide that helped spread the National Park Service Rustic Style throughout the country (see "NPS Rustic Style" below). Nichols may have intended that the albums serve as a design guide that would help inspire the construction of similar roadside development properties in the future.

By the early 1930s, automobile tourism and park use was flourishing despite (and, in part, because of) the Depression, was creating a growing demand for safe and scenic roadside places. In 1933, for example, an estimated 800,000 visitors spent \$32 million in Minnesota, and the state ranked third in the nation in tourist travel behind California and Florida (Olson 1933:1). During the summer of 1938, approximately one million people, 25 percent of whom lived out of state, visited Minnesota's state parks. By 1938 tourism was Minnesota's third most profitable industry.

A. R. Nichols designed many of the dozens of roadside development projects completed by the MHD before World War II. (He was involved in the design of more than half of the 102 properties in this study.) Nichols wrote in 1940 that it is "more and more imperative to provide turnouts, overlooks, and roadside parking areas where the tourist may rest and enjoy the scenery with a full degree of safety," and that roadside development facilities "when carefully planned and developed, can be convenient, restful, and impressive. They become an asset to the traveling public" (Nichols 1940:4).

Several factors influenced the location of early roadside parking areas. Many were situated on oddly-shaped parcels of land that had come within MHD ownership as it acquired right-of-way for highways (Olson 1933:1-2). Many were built as part of larger roadside development projects that were designed to improve several-mile stretches of trunk highway. Such projects were frequently located on highways heavily used by tourists. The location of some roadside parking areas was chosen so that the roadside facilities supplemented rather than duplicated, state parks. Others were located near major cities where a large pool of federal relief workers was available. The location of other facilities was chosen in response to requests from community groups. (See "Partnerships With Other Groups" below.)

MARKING HISTORIC AND GEOLOGICAL SITES

The marking of historic sites in Minnesota by private and civic groups has a long tradition, and visiting markers during recreational travel has equally long precedence. Federal efforts to promote the marking and visiting of historic sites date, in part, from the Antiquities Act which was passed by Congress in 1906. During the Depression, the Historic Sites Act of 1935 strengthened federal commitment to preserving historic places for the education and benefit of future generations.

One of Minnesota's first public efforts to mark historic sites was a series of 23 "state monuments" that were erected by the Minnesota legislature between 1873 and 1929. The earliest of these monuments include *Camp Release State Memorial Wayside* (established in 1889 and built in 1894), which is in this inventory. (See Fig. 10.) Like Camp Release, most of the state monuments are tall stone obelisks. About one-half were erected in cemeteries. Many of the others were built in existing parks or on other public land, and some (like Camp Release) were built on specially-created sites. (A few of these sites, like Camp Release, became wayside rests.) Several of the monuments, like Camp Release, remember events of the U.S. Government-Dakota Conflict of 1862 and are located in the Minnesota River Valley. Others are dedicated to forest fire victims and prominent persons. (Another site in this inventory, the *Floyd B. Olson Memorial Statue*, became a state monument in 1983.)

The Minnesota Department of Highways began to mark historic sites before the Roadside Development Division was established in 1932. In 1929, the MHD joined the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) in establishing the first joint trunk highway marking program. (MHD Maintenance Engineer Walter F. Rosenwald is credited with generating the idea and organizing the program (Babcock 1930:30).) The program's first markers were a series of 3' by 5' steel signs that were white with black lettering. (See Fig. 28.) MHS chose the sites and wrote the marker texts. Approximately 40 of the markers were erected in 1930, 20 in 1931, and 21 in 1932. No markers were erected in 1933 due to lack of funding, and 27 more were erected between 1934 and 1940.

The steel markers were placed on the "edges of the right-of-way, parallel with the highway" (Babcock 1932:381). Willoughby Babcock of the MHS wrote in 1932 that "To cope with the relatively high speed of normal highway traffic, it was decided to supplement the original marker with two warning markers [reading "Historic Site Ahead"] placed perpendicular to the roadway. . . . The belief is that those who are interested will slow down sufficiently to enable them to read the principal inscription as they pass the marker" (Babcock 1932:381-382).

In 1932 the newly-created Roadside Development Division began to transform some of the marked sites into the smallest of its new roadside parking areas. The division began to widen the shoulder adjacent to the steel markers "to permit a car to draw out of the line of moving traffic and stop" (Babcock 1932:382). Some of the sites featured "a double line of white stones used to form an approach to the sign [that] makes the spot exceedingly attractive" (Babcock 1932:382).

When the Roadside Development Division began to erect large stone, shrine-like historic markers in 1937, most were built at sites that had previously been marked with steel signs. In most cases, the text of the stone marker was identical to the text of the previous steel sign. (For more information see "Markers" in the chapter entitled "Description of the Inventoried Features.")

In 1941 a Minnesota Historic Sites and Markers Commission was established to designate historic sites and to approve the subject, location, and text of proposed historic markers built on state-owned land. The committee was comprised of the state highway commissioner, the director of the State Parks Division of the Minnesota Department of Conservation, and director of the Minnesota Historical Society. For most of the commission's life span (1941-1965), the MHD was represented by Harold E. Olson. By 1962, there were 143 historical markers on trunk highway right-of-way, most of which had been jointly erected with MHS (Olson 1962). The collaboration between the MHD and MHS to erect historic markers along highways continues today.

The MHD cooperated with other statewide organizations, in addition to MHS, in at least two other marking programs. The first was a partnership with the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). The DAR erected markers between 1903 and the 1960s, including about 90 markers erected between 1903 and 1941 -- some on trunk highway right-of-way. Three markers in this study (two in Mendota and one in Browns Valley) were erected by local DAR chapters. (See Figs. 9 and 31.) Many DAR markers were brass plaques mounted either on large boulders, on flagpole bases, or on historic buildings or structures. The DAR is a hereditary patriotic society for women that was established in 1890 in Washington, D.C. The club's strict, exclusive membership standards require that its members be women who are directly descended from people who helped establish American independence.

Another MHD partnership was with the Geological Society of Minnesota. The society was organized in 1938 to stimulate and promote interest in the field of geology. In 1949 it established a marker program to interpret local and regional geological features. Approximately 35 geological markers were erected in Minnesota from 1949-1960. Dr. George A. Thiel (Chairman of the geology department at the University of Minnesota) and Dr. George M. Schwartz (Director of the Minnesota Geological Survey) served as technical editors for the markers. The geological markers generally consist of bronze plaques mounted on stone lectern-style pedestals. The plaques were manufactured by the Flour City Ornamental Iron Company of Minneapolis. Most of the markers were erected in cooperation with the MHD, the State Parks Division, or local governments. Most of those on trunk highway right-of-way are either mounted on top of scenic overlook walls or consist of free-standing stone markers in roadside parks. (For Geological Society markers in this inventory, see "General Findings" in this report.)

PARTNERSHIPS WITH OTHER GROUPS

City and county governments, civic clubs, business associations, and other local groups engaged in roadside development work across the state at the same time that the MHD's program was growing. While the scale of local efforts did not approach that

of state government, hundreds of small wayside rests were established by local groups and numerous stretches of roadway were planted and otherwise "beautified."

Civic groups began to lobby the state highway department for state-built roadside improvements beginning as early as the 1920s. In 1932 several groups lobbied the MHD to organize a statewide "Conference on Roadside Development." The conference was attended by representatives from the American Legion, Minnesota State Nurserymen's Association, Izaak Walton League, Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs, American Society of Landscape Architects, League of Minnesota Municipalities, Minnesota Department of Conservation, Minneapolis Park Board, and others. Representing the MHD in standing subcommittees formed after the conference were Harold E. Olson, S. Rex Green, O. L. Kipp, and W. F. Rosenwald.

Local organizations played a key role in determining the location of MHD-built roadside development facilities. Tourism associations, sportsmen, resorters' groups, chambers of commerce, private property owners, garden clubs, service organizations, and others requested roadside parking areas and other amenities. The Roadside Development Division depended on local civic organizations to help fund and construct these facilities, especially during its first three decades. During the 1930s through at least the 1950s, the department developed dozens of roadside parks and areas of roadside planting in cooperation with local groups. During the early years, local groups were asked to finance, install, and maintain the plantings in accordance with a planting plan approved by the department (Olson 1933:2-3). When roadside parking areas were located within the boundaries of a town or city, the MHD usually arranged for the local government to maintain the facility.

Veterans' groups, automobile associations, local governments, the state legislature, and other state agencies collaborated with the highway department to designate sections of several Minnesota highways as specially-named routes that commemorate historical figures, war veterans, or Minnesota's natural and geological features. "Floyd B. Olson Memorial Highway" (T.H. 55), for example, was designated in 1937 to commemorate Minnesota's very popular 22nd governor who died in office in 1936 at the age of 45. In the mid-1940s, "Evergreen Memorial Drive" (T.H. 23 in northern Minnesota) and "Victory Highway" (T.H. 22 in southern Minnesota) were dedicated to America's veterans. The "Great River Road" (also known as the Mississippi River Parkway) was established by a consortium of Mississippi River border states beginning in 1938. Harold E. Olson, S. Rex Green, and O. L. Kipp of the MHD all played key roles in the parkway's inception.

STATE AND NATIONAL PARKS

The roadside development movement, both in Minnesota and nationwide, was closely linked to the development of state and national parks in the 1930s. The designation of national parks in the U.S. began in 1872 when Yellowstone was established as the first national park. The National Park Service (NPS) was founded in 1916, formulated many of its policies in the 1920s, and experienced a tremendous increase in funding, staff, land area, and programs during the New Deal of the 1930s.

Minnesota was at the forefront of the state park movement in the U.S. Minnesota's first state park, Minnehaha Park, was established in 1885. (The state park designation was removed shortly thereafter.) Important early state parks also include Itasca State Park (established in 1891) and Interstate State Park (established in 1895 jointly by the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin). (*Taylor's Falls Overlook - South*, included in this inventory, is located within Interstate State Park. See Figs. 46 and 47.) By 1925, only four years after NPS Director Stephen Mather convened the first National Conference on State Parks in Iowa in 1921, Minnesota already had 23 state parks and monuments in its growing system (Anderson 1988:E12-E14).

Included among the various parcels of land that comprised the early state park system were several small parcels, located next to major roadways, that were operated as wayside rests and became known as "state waysides." *Camp Release State Memorial Wayside*, included in this inventory, is among these parcels. (There were eight state waysides in 1939.) By the mid-1930s, state park administrators were recommending that no more of these small parcels be acquired and that some be removed from the system. A few waysides such as Camp Release remained in the state park system as miscellaneous holdings. Camp Release was eventually transferred to the Minnesota Department of Highways in 1973.

Minnesota's roadside development facilities and state parks both profited from ambitious promotional campaigns by the National Park Service in the 1920s and 1930s. Attendance at all parks rose as feature articles in national magazines publicized park development, conservation, camping, and tourism. Park visitation was also advanced in the 1930s by President Roosevelt who was an enthusiastic national park visitor (Swain 1972:317-318).

Minnesota's state parks were operated by various state agencies until 1935 when the Division of State Parks was established as a separate entity within the Department of Conservation. Harold W. Lathrop, who worked closely with Roadside Development's Harold E. Olson, was the State Parks Division's first director. (See Lathrop and Olson in "Individuals Associated With This Historic Context" below.) Among Lathrop's first staff were several landscape architects.

The State Park Division's first comprehensive plan, prepared in 1938-1939 at NPS recommendation, included the Department of Highways' roadside development facilities among the public recreational holdings that the plan examined. The plan included a lengthy discussion of Roadside Development's goals. The highway department's "notable programs of roadside improvement" were "heartily endorsed" in the plan. The plan encouraged the MHD to continue to locate roadside development facilities so that they complemented the state park system, and recommended that the highway department make their park planning expertise available to local governments to encourage the development of public parks and parkways throughout the state (*Minnesota State Park and Recreational Plan* 1939:93,156).

Both the Roadside Development Division and the State Parks Division received considerable technical support and financial assistance from the National Park Service during the Depression. The NPS launched a state park assistance program in the 1930s that was headed by NPS Assistant Director Conrad Wirth, son of Minneapolis Parks Superintendent

Theodore Wirth. NPS landscape architects, engineers, horticulturists, inspectors, and other staff worked with state agencies, local governments, the CCC, and the WPA to design, construct, and improve outdoor recreational facilities across the state. (See "Roadside Development and Federal Relief Programs" below, McClelland 1993, and Anderson 1988 for more information.) Among the properties developed were several of the roadside development properties in this inventory, including those built by CCC camps that were sponsored by the state highway department. (See "General Findings" of this report.)

The design, appearance, and construction of Minnesota's roadside development facilities and state parks were influenced by the National Park Service through its technical assistance program. By the early 1930s when the Roadside Development Division and the State Parks Division were established, the National Park Service had already spent nearly 20 years grappling with how to bring large numbers of visitors in contact with pristine natural areas without unduly disrupting their flora, fauna, and scenic qualities. The NPS urged state and local parks to hire qualified landscape architects for assistance. It distributed recommendations regarding plant materials, trail and road construction, and the design and construction of public facilities. In the 1930s the NPS issued several publications that served as design guides to stimulate the construction of park structures that were sensitive to their settings, as described below. (See also the section on the CCC at the end of this chapter.)

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RUSTIC STYLE

". . . The absolute foundation of all inspirational outdoor recreation lies in the beauty of the landscape" -- Landscape architect Frank Waugh, 1935 (quoted in McClelland 1993:264).

The "rustic" style of architectural and landscape design that characterizes national park, state park, and roadside development design of the 1930s and 1940s had been in evolution since the 1850s. It drew inspiration from pioneer log cabins, European "folk" or vernacular architecture, lodges and camps built in the Adirondack Mountains in the 1880s and 1890s, and several architectural styles including the Shingle style and the Richardsonian Romanesque. Architects and landscape architects such as A. J. Downing, F. L. Olmsted, Sr., Jens Jensen, and many others worked in the style as it emerged. It became preferred for park structures and landscape work in wilderness areas, and was favored, in part, as a reaction to previous park buildings built in styles like the Classical Revival that had been designed with little regard for their natural setting.

The Rustic style of park design was born of the need to make wilderness or natural park land accessible to large numbers of people, while at the same time preserving its inherent qualities. Rustic style landscape design was predicated on the belief that man-made construction of any type was an intrusion into a natural or wilderness landscape, and so the objective was to "hold these intrusions to a minimum" and to subordinate the structures to the environment (McClelland 1993:258). In 1935 Albert Good of the National Park Service defined "rustic" as a style that,

through the use of native materials in proper scale, and through the avoidance of rigid, straight lines, and over sophistication, gives the feeling of having been executed by pioneer craftsmen with limited hand tools. . . . It achieves sympathy with natural surroundings and with the past (quoted in McClelland 1993:258-259).

National Park Service publications such as *Park Structures and Facilities* (1935) and the three-volume *Park and Recreation Structures* (1938) were important to disseminating the style. These volumes describe and illustrate hundreds of park structures including picnic shelters, drinking fountains, council rings, fireplaces, scenic overlooks, guardrails, and signs and markers. They were intended to illustrate Rustic style design principles and to inspire the work of the newly-hired NPS landscape architects, as well as local park planners in each state. The books also served as an "honor roll" of good designs, and include illustrations of several Minnesota state park structures.

The NPS recommended the "intelligent use" of the materials that nature's bounty had provided. Designers recommended that materials be "native" in character, but the NPS did not dogmatically suggest that strictly local materials be used, or that they had some inherent value just because they were indigenous (McClelland 1993:260). Locally-quarried stone was often employed, and federal relief programs in Minnesota sometimes reopened quarries that had closed during the Depression (Anderson 1990/1993:E60-E61). Stone was usually combined with logs and timbers in forested regions. The NPS recommended that logs and timbers be peeled (to reduce moisture retention), but not planed. The use of local materials not only harmonized structures with the environment, but also reduced a project's material costs.

Rustic style designers recommended using masonry techniques that gave stone structures naturalistic shapes and uneven, textured surfaces. Straight lines and strongly geometric shapes were discouraged. It was recommended that masons avoid perfectly cut ashlar or concrete blocks of an even, regular size. Stones were not to be too small or too regular in size and shape. It was recommended that stones be laid in a random, rather than coursed, pattern. Long, horizontal mortar joints were avoided, and joints were generally raked deeply to give the walls shadow lines and interest. Battered walls, buttresses, and foundation plantings were used to create the appearance that structures had grown or arisen from the ground (McClelland 1993:126-127, 260).

Within a single park, all structures, objects, and signs were designed to be stylistically compatible. Buildings were designed to serve multiple functions to avoid cluttering the landscape with too many structures. Rustic style structures were designed to be viewed from all sides. They were to be scaled so that they were an integral, not dominant, part of their setting. The structures were generally low-lying, with horizontal design emphasis, and had no extra ornamentation. Roofs on stone and timber buildings were given a heavy appearance with deep overhanging eaves, thick shingles, and heavy purlins. To blend with the environment, paint and stain colors were usually confined to warm browns and grays, with small amounts of light tan (McClelland 1993:260-263). Rustic style park structures, whether they were elaborate buildings or simple guardrails, were designed to be durable and to be maintained at low cost.

Landscapes in the NPS Rustic Style were designed to be experienced in all seasons. The designers conserved existing vegetation where possible and used new plantings that were compatible with existing plants to give the appearance that the vegetation had always naturally grown there. Existing plants were inventoried and growing conditions studied before a planting plan was devised. Plantings were used to integrate structures with their setting, as well as to screen them from view (McClelland 1993:264).

Like buildings and other structures, trails and roads in Rustic style parks were kept to a minimum. They were laid out in response to, and in sympathy with, existing topography. Ideally, trails were designed so that important views were encountered at turning points in the trail, on rising grade, and when the visitor was facing straight ahead. Trail switchbacks were used so that a scenic feature could be encountered several times. Benches were sometimes placed where visitors could rest and contemplate a view (McClelland 1993:264).

During the Depression, the National Park Service Rustic Style was implemented by hundreds of architects, landscape architects, engineers, and others working throughout the U.S. on federal relief-sponsored park development. Prior to the beginning of the New Deal, landscape architects were rarely used in national and state park design. During the New Deal, the National Park Service became the "largest employer of landscape architects in the history of the profession" (Anderson 1988:E2; Cutler 1985:84-85).

Use of the National Park Service Rustic Style declined in the mid- to late-1940s when a massive federal relief work force was no longer available to carry out the hand-built, labor-intensive designs.

ROADSIDE DEVELOPMENT AND FEDERAL RELIEF PROGRAMS

Roadside development in the U.S., as well as all highway construction in general, was advanced considerably by the Depression. The mileage of surfaced highways in the U.S., for example, doubled between 1930 and 1940, thanks to federal road building. Nearly 80 percent of all federal expenditures on roads during the 1930s came from relief funds and other money designated for Depression recovery (Jakle 1985:126-127). As described above, federal relief programs -- particularly those in which the National Park Service participated -- strongly influenced the number, type, and character of Minnesota's early roadside facilities on these highways.

The federal relief work programs of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" began in 1933 when Roosevelt was elected president, and ended in 1943, two years after the U.S. entered World War II. Through its numerous federal programs, the New Deal started a flow of money, labor, and technical expertise to the states. The Minnesota Department of Highways, like other state agencies, energetically participated in the programs and became the "sponsoring agency" for many New Deal federal relief projects.

After the stock market crash of 1929, economic and social conditions in the U.S. had immediately deteriorated -- and then grew even worse. Unemployment had sky-rocketed from roughly 3 percent before the crash of 1929, to 16.3 percent two years later.

HISTORIC CONTEXT NARRATIVE

By 1933 when Roosevelt took office, 14 million people were unemployed, representing one-fourth of the entire U.S. labor force and 37 percent of the industrial labor force. To make matters worse, approximately 30 percent of those who had a job in 1933 were only working part-time. In agricultural states like Minnesota, there had been serious rural poverty since farm prices fell at the end of World War I. Poverty became pandemic after 1929 and, by 1933, unemployment in Minnesota was 29 percent statewide, and 70 percent on the Iron Range.

Prior to the New Deal, "charity work" in the U.S. had been handled by private institutions, like churches and charitable organizations, and by local government programs, which generally limited their work to operating county "poor farms." By 1932, after nearly three years of struggling to feed and clothe the poor, local governments were completely overwhelmed.

In 1932 under the Emergency Relief and Construction Act, the first federal money was sent to the states. Most went to direct relief, that is, the distribution of food, clothing, fuel, money, and other necessities. Work relief, or creating jobs for the unemployed, was an early and increasingly important part of the federal initiative, however. Roosevelt and many in Congress recognized that most of the millions of Americans who were on "the dole" were able-bodied citizens who wanted to work, but -- through no fault of their own -- were being thwarted by the stagnant economy. The founders of the New Deal were convinced that meaningful work would preserve the recipients' dignity by reducing the stigma of "charity," and would prepare the country for recovery by preserving morale, teaching and conserving work habits and job skills, and stimulating the economy (Tweton 1988:55). At the same time, work relief would allow a tremendous, positive, unprecedented national investment in public infrastructure.

There were dozens of federal relief (or "alphabet") programs. Some were administered by the federal government in partnership with state and local governments, and a few passed funds and control more completely to the local level. Under most federal relief programs, a sponsoring agency (usually an office of state or local government) would apply for federal funding, provide matching resources like materials, and provide most of the planning and supervision. The Minnesota Department of Highway's newly-formed Roadside Development Division, like the rest of the highway department, became an immediate participant in these programs.

The partnership between roadside development and federal work programs was ideal. New Deal work programs were prohibited from competing with private industry and, therefore, could not manufacture, distribute, or sell goods and services. Instead, such programs engaged in work that "would not otherwise be done" such as replacing schools and hospitals, highway grading and paving, laying sewers and sidewalks, modernizing bridges and culverts, conserving soil and forests, and building roadside parks and scenic overlooks (Bremer 1992:208). Highway construction and roadside development were well-suited for the programs because they generally required large numbers of relatively unskilled workers who could be used with little advance training. Such labor-intensive work often meant that most of a project's costs went directly for wages, rather than to purchase materials. Roadside development projects also fit the New Deal's emphasis on public parks and other recreational facilities. Outdoor recreation and physical activity

were seen by New Deal proponents as positive, healthy, leisure-time activities that would help the country overcome the feelings of despair and hopelessness that the Depression had caused.

Four of the dozens of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps that were established in Minnesota during the New Deal were sponsored by the MHD. The work of all four camps was devoted entirely to roadside development. The four 200-man camps, located on the North Shore, Mille Lacs Lake, and Leech Lake, were supervised by the National Park Service and the highway department's Roadside Development Division. Nine of the properties in this inventory were built by those camps. (See CCC near the end of this chapter for more information.)

Most of Minnesota's roadside development sites have well-built structures of excellent quality. The quality of the work was apparently related largely to the competence of local experienced men (LEMs), foremen, supervisors, and inspectors, rather than to the experience of the CCC, WPA, or NYA crew. During the New Deal, some landscape architects from the National Park Service directed CCC or WPA crews by having them build a sample wall section for the crew to reference when the landscape architect or inspector was no longer on site. In an article on CCC-built structures in Minnesota state parks, C. B. Bylander of the Mn/DNR states, "C's didn't cut corners. They didn't have to. They had plenty of time . . ." (Bylander 1995:26). Bylander also quotes Itasca State Park historian Ben Thoma who explains:

The local experienced men [LEMs] deserve a lot of credit for the craftsmanship and quality of the buildings. . . . The C's would recommend changes or improvements to [National Park Service Landscape Architect Edward] Barber. And Barber claims he never objected to a one. Why? Because he said the LEMs were usually right. Many were engineers or architects themselves, smart men who due to the Depression were now a dime a dozen (quoted in Bylander 1995:26).

Hundreds of thousands of Minnesotans ultimately participated in New Deal federal relief work programs. For example, 84,000 Minnesotans served in the CCC and, at the peak of the program in 1935, Minnesota ranked ninth in the nation in the number of operating CCC camps (Anderson 1988:E26). Approximately 600,000 Minnesotans worked for the WPA during the program's eight years. In Minnesota alone, 84,000 youth enrolled in the NYA. In April of 1935, one of every five Minnesotans was receiving some form of government relief. Once the federal relief programs were installed, unemployment declined nationwide from 22 percent in 1934 to 14.3 percent in 1937. By 1943, after World War II had begun, unemployment was 1.9 percent (Rose 1994:15-19; Anderson 1990/1993:E11-E12, E41; Bylander 1995:21).

A 1938 highway department report was generally positive in its summary of the department's use of work relief, stating:

The State of Minnesota, Department of Highways . . . has striven for a balance between the worth of the program to the state in light of both

present and future needs, and its relative worth to needy unemployed people who are given relief work.

. . . it is felt that . . . there has been a minimum of sacrifice of economy and, in the main, a work of lasting and enduring nature has resulted.

. . . the guiding thought of the executives and the departmental policy has been good workmanship, plus substantial construction, plus the giving of work to the able bodied and needy unemployed. To be sure, in work where skill is required, it has not been the easiest thing in the world to combine business with sentiment . . .

. . . there is a positive, permanent, value and worthwhileness in the program (*An Appraisal* 1938:1-2).

Seven major federal work relief programs in which the highway department participated are briefly described at the end of this chapter.

SNAPSHOT OF THE 1938 CONSTRUCTION YEAR

In 1938 the Roadside Development Division produced an "annual report" that described the accomplishments of the division during the year. The division issued a second annual report in 1939. (These are the only two annual reports known to have been completed in the pre-World War II era.) These typewritten manuscripts contain detailed information about Roadside Development's projects, and provide a snapshot of the division's workload at the height of the New Deal.

The 1938 report briefly describes more than 60 separate projects on which substantial work was completed in 1938. About 11 were built in cooperation with the CCC, 22 with the NYA, approximately 11 with the WPA, 10 as "regular Federal Aid Projects," and 7 as State Direct Labor Projects (projects for which no relief labor was available). The approximately 60 projects had an estimated value of \$501,325, which gave the State of Minnesota a three-to-one return on its expenditures, according to the report.

The Roadside Development Division's job of planning, designing, and supervising the construction of the 1938 workload, plus completing all of the follow-up paperwork required by federal and state agencies, must have been staggering. The 60 projects were scattered throughout the state from Orr (about 30 miles south of the Canadian border) to Preston (about 15 miles north of the Iowa state line). Most were located in the eastern half of Minnesota where, presumably, the demand for facilities was high and the need to provide relief work for the unemployed was greater than in the less-well-populated western portion of the state.

The 1938 projects included about 33 roadside parking areas (some with scenic overlooks, historical markers, or spring enclosures), about 17 areas of roadside landscaping without standing structures, and the construction and landscaping of several weigh stations, highway retaining walls, and small bridges and culverts. The 1938 work included the building of more than 9,000 cubic yards of stone wall, nearly 29,900 cubic yards of

flagstone walkway, and more than 7,000 linear feet of stone curbing. The projects required 36 stone picnic tables, 71 wooden picnic tables, nine stone and concrete benches, 77 fireplaces, 10 footbridges, eight council rings, two bathhouses, and nine latrines. Nearly 30,000 trees and shrubs were planted in addition to various ground covers. Approximately 25 of the 102 properties in the current inventory are cited in the 1938 annual report (*Annual Report 1938*).

WORLD WAR II

After Pearl Harbor was bombed in December of 1941, pleasure travel in the U.S. decreased dramatically as the country shifted all available resources to the war effort. The New Deal's eight years of continuous building ended as all non-essential highway construction, including the building of roadside development facilities, was stopped. Work on at least one of the roadside development projects included in this study, ***Whipholt Roadside Parking Area***, ended abruptly when the war began in 1941. (See Fig. 53.) Construction of the Whipholt site had begun in 1941, but the WPA was only able to build a gravel parking area, complete the central section of an overlook wall, and to lay a few courses of the outer wall sections before being ordered to stop. When work ceased in 1941, the wall was only 20 percent complete. The highway department completed the site circa 1951, but abandoned A. R. Nichols' original plan for the wall in favor of a simplified version.

After the U.S. entered the war, employees of federal relief work programs, such as the WPA and the NYA, were transferred to tasks that supported defense. Eventually, federal work programs became unnecessary as Americans either entered military or naval service or found jobs in the once-dormant factories that had retooled for defense production. Congress ended the CCC on June 30, 1942, and ended the WPA and the NYA one year later, in June of 1943.

Roadside development work all but ceased during the war. A. R. Nichols had apparently stopped consulting for the Roadside Development Division in late 1940, but may have continued to monitor the construction of projects through 1941. In 1942 the division's staff landscape architect Fred Vogt, like many MHD employees, began a leave of absence to work on defense-related projects. During the next six years Vogt designed site plans and landscaping for army bases, air fields, ordnance plants, housing units, and other (mostly public) facilities. He did not return to Roadside Development until March of 1948.

POST-WORLD WAR II

In 1946 the federal government suspended its requirement that a portion of all federal highway funds be spent on roadside development. The State of Minnesota, however, continued to support the roadside development program without the federal mandate.

Despite this commitment, however, little roadside development work occurred immediately after the war. Instead, the MHD shifted nearly all of its attention to maintenance and construction that had been postponed. Many trunk highways had cracked, worn, 25- to 30-year-old pavement, or were still surfaced with gravel and had not yet been paved.

The highway system needed not only repair, but also immediate improvement to support the increasing traffic being projected. During this period, the Roadside Development Division was restricted to the repair and renovation of existing facilities, and was prohibited from developing any new sites (Love 1998).

After World War II, the automobile's dominance in transportation became unquestioned as railroads continued their pre-war decline. Traffic volume rose steadily and Minnesota began to build an increasing number of divided highways. In 1950 the trunk highway system, now comprised of 11,890 miles, carried 49.5 percent of the state's traffic. Pleasure travel flourished as more and more Americans took regular family vacations, in part to recover from the stresses of the war. Tourism in Minnesota after World War II "became a cultural norm of significant economic impact" that was built upon the foundations laid in the 1920s and 1930s (Walsh 1994:60-61). Tourism continued to influence transportation planning. The Highway Commissioner's 1950-1952 *Biennial Report*, for example, stated: "The state's tourist business, constituting as it does one of Minnesota's largest and most widely distributed industries with a valuation placed at some \$200 million a year, is virtually 100 per cent dependent upon the serviceability and dependability of the highways it travels" (*Biennial Report* 1950-1952:25).

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, the design traditions that had been established during the federal relief era still guided the construction of the relatively few roadside development facilities that were built by the MHD. The Roadside Development Division built some wayside rests, such as the **Wrenshall Overlook** and a reconstruction of the **Browns Valley Historical Marker**, from plans that had been drawn during the federal relief era but never executed. (See Fig. 9.) (Browns Valley was designed by A. R. Nichols and Veterans Memorial is attributed to Nichols.) Other roadside parking areas built in the early 1950s, such as the **Burns Avenue Overlook** and the **Birch Coulee Historical Marker**, closely resembled sites from the federal relief era.

Nationwide, the concept of roadside development had become "second nature" to many highway engineers by the early 1950s, but in some states roadside development activities were still minimal. Many roadside development units were still lobbying for the purchase of adequately-wide rights-of-way. The 1950s saw very heavy traffic loads on some highways, increased congestion at access points, and unexpectedly heavy use of some roadside development facilities. Many roadside development units nationwide were promoting ordinances that protected the scenic qualities of highways by restricting excessive billboards and other blight and by controlling appropriate commercial activities near rights-of-way. In 1952 a national survey of motorists conducted by the Highway Research Board found that roadside development facilities such as wayside rests and scenic overlooks were strongly supported by the public. Eighty-three percent of motorists considered roadside scenic turnouts and rest areas to be a "good or very good idea" and only 3 percent considered them a poor use of tax money (Highway Research Board 1954).

Around 1952 the Roadside Development Division began to construct several new roadside parking areas. The design of both the landscaping and structures of the 1950s sites was simpler and more standardized than the work of the federal relief era. Retired Roadside Development personnel Bob Bobleter, Godfrey Love, and Ken Madole recall

that, after the war, Fred Vogt was Roadside Development's sole landscape architect until 1952 when Bill Chapman joined the division. (See Fig. 1.) Love recounts the division's design and construction process in the early 1950s:

There was a roadside development foreman on the job. . . . Ken [Madole] and I went and got the contractors. The monuments themselves were built by [our] Roadside people. . . . Fred Vogt was the head landscape architect, and Bill Chapman was an architect in the department. Fred or Bill drew up the plans. The concept was always by them, we probably added to the plans with curbing, gutter, etc. (Love 1998).

Ken Madole provides further details:

After the [Roadside Development] office drew up the plans, I went out to the site to stake out the job, and to help the foreman working for the department get set up with the right equipment. The project foreman really built the site.

. . . We had field crews, six or seven at that time, employees of the Roadside Development section. We would also hire people locally to help. We had stonemasons within the department because it was difficult to find experienced stonemasons in the area. One was Rudolph Leuer, from Minneapolis. . . . (Madole 1998).

Love describes the work of the division's masons, who included Rudolph Leuer and Edward Dressen (see Fig. 1):

Those guys cut stone during the winter time and built the decorative monuments. Roadside Development had a shop near Highway 7, and the stonemasons worked there all winter. There were four or five different foremen -- a couple of whom were masons -- all within the unit. . . . They got the limestone from southern Minnesota. The stonemasons picked the pieces that were throw-away in the yards. . . . They would cut shapes out of them and, in the spring if we had a monument project, they would build the monument with the stone they had cut during the winter. It was Kasota stone, soft yellow limestone (Love 1998).

During this period, some of Roadside Development's attention was directed to the development of the Mississippi River Parkway, also known as the Great River Road, which had been designed to be North America's longest scenic parkway. Initiated in 1938-1939, it was planned that the parkway stretch 2,000 miles along the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada. About 27 per cent of the projected route was in Minnesota. Roadside parking areas were to be located at 50-mile intervals and overnight camping areas at 100-mile intervals. In the fall of 1956, Minnesota became the first state to survey its entire section. Harold E. Olson had been active in the planning since 1938. He had become a charter member of the Mississippi River Parkway Planning Commission when it formed in 1939, and was secretary beginning in 1956. (S. Rex Green and O. L. Kipp also held leading offices for the northern section of the

parkway in 1938-1947 and 1947-1955, respectively.) In 1958 Minnesota established a state version of the Commission. Olson served as Secretary from 1958-1963 and then became the commission's first Executive Secretary in 1963. (Mn/DOT is still collaborating today with various state, federal, and local agencies to mark and interpret sections of the Great River Road.)

In the mid-1950s -- at the same time that Roadside Development moved from the MHD's previous headquarters on University Avenue into the new MHD central office building on John Ireland Boulevard -- all resources of the highway department became focused on interstate highway construction. The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 allocated money to build the system of interstate highways that Congress had directed in the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944. The 1956 bill also substantially increased all money to the states for federal aid highways, launching the largest road-building program ever undertaken in the U.S. The interstates became part of the Minnesota trunk highway system in 1957. By November 1963, 38 percent of the national system was open. By 1968, Minnesota had 914 miles of interstate highway. Minnesota's interstate system was substantially completed by the early 1980s.

The Roadside Development Division was reduced in size while the highway department worked closely with the federal government to build the interstate system. Like in the 1930s, outside consultants were used to design many facilities. The care of roadside development properties was decentralized, and responsibility for the repair of each roadside parking area and the maintenance of right-of-way landscaping was placed in the hands of the MHD's nine maintenance districts. With diminished funding for trunk highway rest areas and no centralized program, many of the state's wayside rests were allowed to deteriorate during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

MHD roadside development work in the 1960s tapped a state work program called the Youth Conservation Commission whose initials -- YCC -- are reminiscent of the federal programs of the 1930s. Enrollees of the YCC work program were youth who were on parole or probation from the Red Wing Correctional Facility. A plan to use YCC labor to construct 35 roadside parking areas was launched in 1960, with the construction of 10 sites to be completed that year. Two YCC-built sites are included in this inventory, the *Taylors Falls Overlook - North* and the *Clifton-French River Historical Marker*.

In 1963, Harold E. Olson left Roadside Development after leading the division for 30 years. Landscape Architect Dale T. Wriesner, who joined the MHD circa 1963, became the next head of the reorganized Roadside Environment Section. In January of 1968, Roadside Environment was placed within a newly-created Environmental Services Section headed by Lawrence E. Foote.

In 1965 federal funding for roadside development increased with the passage of the Federal Highway Beautification Act, which provided 100 percent federal funding for constructing new rest areas and improving existing facilities, controlling outdoor advertising, and enhancing highway landscaping. The act was championed from the White House by the First Lady, Claudia "Lady Bird" Johnson, who widely promoted highway beautification. The MHD surveyed its roadside facilities in 1965, documenting approximately

385 wayside rests on trunk highways in the state. The MHD also maintained 45 lake, river, and stream access areas; 138 historical, geological, and state line markers; and 94 scenic overlooks ("A Summary" 1965:1-2).

By 1965 the MHD had begun to construct rest areas on interstate highways. It was originally planned that they would be spaced approximately 30 miles apart. The primary goal was to create safe stopping points that would offer the traveler a comfortable location to rest and relax, thereby reducing driver fatigue. The selection of sites was based on factors such as spacing intervals, natural and topographical site qualities, traffic capacity needs, and desired levels of service. Sites were chosen to exhibit and interpret the natural and cultural scenic beauty adjacent to Minnesota roadsides. The rest area design process included a sequence of site studies, preliminary design work, and final design for parking areas, roadways, site development, user circulation, buildings, structures, and landscaping. In 1967 the MHD decided to construct combined interstate rest areas and tourist information centers at state border entry points. In 1968 the first completed interstate rest area was opened to traffic, and in 1969 the first combined rest area and travel information center was completed. To date, 29 interstate rest areas and six combined interstate rest areas and travel information centers have been built (Reierson 1998).

In 1966 as part of the Federal Highway Beautification program, the MHD also began a program to upgrade selected existing rest areas on trunk highways and to add new rest areas to the system. The new program included 57 rest areas that were scheduled for preliminary design and development. Thirty-five of the 57 were existing rest areas, most of which were scheduled to receive vault or flush-type toilets, new or improved drinking water, and new or improved parking areas and access roads. The first projects were completed in 1969 and 1970 at six sites, five of which are in this study: ***Baudette Rest Area, Daytonport Rest Area, Frontenac Roadside Parking Area, Garrison Rest Area, and St. Croix Boomsite Roadside Parking Area.***

By 1991, the highway department -- which had been known as the Minnesota Department of Transportation (Mn/DOT) since 1979 -- operated more than 270 rest areas. Most of the responsibilities of the former MHD Environmental Services Section were divided between the Office of Environmental Services and the Office of Technical Support. The rest area program, which had been placed within the Office of Technical Support about 1980, was led by Landscape Architect James Reierson, who had been with the MHD since 1967.

■ INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS HISTORIC CONTEXT

The following is a list of early roadside development staff, engineers, landscape architects, and others who may be significant to this historic context. The list was developed during background research for this study, and is not meant to be exclusive.

MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS STAFF**Bobleter, Robert**

Robert Bobleter was on the staff of the Roadside Development Division in the 1950s. (See Fig. 1.) Bobleter worked for the MHD a total of 35 years, from 1950-1985. He began his MHD career in Roadside Development as a stonemason, installing stone curb and gutter and repairing stonework at several roadside parking areas. Among the many sites that Bobleter worked on are *Blazer Park*, *Christmas Lake Roadside Parking Area*, *Garrison Concourse*, *Garrison Rest Area*, *Graeser Park*, and *St. Croix Boomsite Roadside Parking Area*. Bobleter helped expand the *Dickinson Spring Roadside Parking Area* (another site included in this study), and also helped carve several of the division's wooden "Roadside Parking Area" signs. (See Fig. 5.) In 1958, he left Roadside Development for highway maintenance. He retired in 1985 as Maintenance Superintendent for District 5 (Bobleter 1998).

Bobleter's father, Joseph W. Bobleter, was a general foreman for the Roadside Development Division. Bob Bobleter indicates that his father worked as general foreman during the original construction of the roadside parking areas on T.H. 100 west of Minneapolis in the 1930s, working closely with Carl Graeser, who was instrumental in the design and construction of the "Lilac Way," as T.H. 100 was called. Bob Bobleter relates that many years later, as Maintenance Superintendent for District 5, he was in charge of closing some of the same T.H. 100 roadside parking areas that his father had helped build (Bobleter 1998).

Chapman, Bill

Bill Chapman was a landscape architect with the Roadside Development Division from October of 1952 to May of 1956. (See Fig. 1.) Engineers Godfrey Love and Ken Madole recall that Chapman worked under the supervision of Fred Vogt. After he left the MHD, Bill Chapman became a planner for the City of St. Paul's Housing and Redevelopment Authority. He eventually became a principal in the landscape architecture and planning firm Nason, Wehrman, Knight, and Chapman (later Wehrman, Chapman Associates) (Kachelmyer 1998).

Graeser, Carl F.

Civil engineer Carl F. Graeser (1875-1944) was the "individual primarily responsible for the building of T.H. 100" (the "Lilac Way") and was called the "Father of the Belt Line." Graeser "developed the concept, promoted funding, and supervised construction" of T.H. 100, which was patterned after autobahns in Graeser's native Germany (Meyer et al. 1995:79). Graeser had become a Project Engineer with the MHD in 1922. He took several of the historical photographs of T.H. 100 roadside development sites that appear in the historic photo albums maintained by the Roadside Development Division (see Appendix J).

Green, S. Rex

S. Rex Green (b. 1885) was one of the highway department officials who strongly supported the creation and early work of the Roadside Development Division. As head of right-of-way acquisition for the MHD, Green was influential in choosing sites for wayside rests. Green had attended Iowa State College. He worked for the MHD for more than 40 years (from 1918-1951), primarily as Engineer of Lands and Right-of-Way. During the 1930s Green visited many of the department's roadside development facilities as they were being constructed, and many of the historic photographs of roadside development structures in the division's historic photograph albums were taken by Green (see Appendix J). He was a leader in the planning and construction of T.H. 61 along the North Shore from Duluth to Grand Portage in the 1920s and 1930s, and in the formation of the Mississippi River Parkway (also known as the Great River Road) in 1938. He was co-chair of the Mississippi River Parkway Commission from 1938-1947. Like his personal friends O. L. Kipp, Harold E. Olson, Harold W. Lathrop, and Theodore Wirth (Superintendent of the Minneapolis parks system), Green was an avid outdoorsman and conservationist. He was a member of the Minnesota group Conservation Unit No. 1, the Engineers' Society of St. Paul, the Mississippi River Parkway Commission, and other organizations. Green retired to the town of Lutsen on the North Shore in the 1950s ("Biographical Sketch" Green Papers, MHS).

Kipp, Orin L.

Orin L. Kipp (1885-1958) was an early advocate for roadside development within the Minnesota Department of Highways. A civil engineer, he attended Cornell College and Iowa State College. He began working for the MHD in 1916 and, in the 1930s, he was Construction Engineer. He was a leader in the formation of the Mississippi River Parkway (also known as the Great River Road) in 1938 and, from 1947-1955, was vice chairman of the Mississippi River Parkway Commission. Kipp retired from the MHD in 1955 as Assistant Commissioner and Chief Engineer. He was a member of the Engineers' Society of St. Paul, the Highway Research Board (serving on the Executive Committee in 1954), the American Association of State Highway Officials, and other groups. O. L. Kipp State Park, located on T.H. 61 in Winona County, was established in his honor in 1963 (*Minneapolis Star*, Feb. 18, 1958; Meyer 1991:262-265).

Kraft, Bertie

Bertie Kraft was the longtime secretary for the Roadside Development Division. (See Fig. 1.) She began working for the MHD in February of 1933, probably in Roadside Development. Kraft worked closely with Harold E. Olson, head of Roadside Development, for many decades. She retired in April of 1966 as an Executive I.

Leuer, Rudolph

Rudolph "Rudy" Leuer was a stonemason for the Roadside Development Division from 1950-1963. (See Fig. 1.) Engineer Ken Madole recalls that Leuer worked on the stone entrance marker at Pipestone National Monument and several of the state line entrance monuments (Madole 1998; Love 1998).

Love, Godfrey

Godfrey Love was an engineer in the Planning and Design department of the MHD from 1949 to circa 1952, and then transferred to Roadside Development. (See Fig. 1.) Love indicates that few new sites were developed during his tenure in Roadside Development in the 1950s because most highway funding was being channeled into the development of the interstate system. Love helped supervise construction of at least one site included in this study -- the *Vineland Historical Marker*. (See Fig. 52.) He also recalls working on the Knife Lake Public Boat Landing near Mora. After working in Roadside Development, Love left the MHD and joined the Walter Butler Company of St. Paul around 1956 (Love 1998).

Madole, Kenneth

Kenneth Madole was a field engineer for the Roadside Development Division from 1948 to 1956. (See Fig. 1.) He helped supervise construction of at least two sites included in this study -- the *Vineland Historical Marker* and the *Split Rock Lighthouse Overlook*. (See Figs. 43 and 52.) He also helped repair the *Gooseberry Falls Concourse* and worked on modifications to the *Frontenac Roadside Parking Area/Maiden Rock* site. He also recalls working on projects such as a spring outlet near Hokah, a curved wall near a cemetery in Albert Lea, the entrance to Pipestone National Monument, the Knife Lake Public Boat Landing near Mora, and a rest area at Baptism River. In 1956, Madole was promoted to Project Engineer and, in 1965, to Office Engineer in the Construction Division. He was transferred to the Right-Of-Way Division in 1968 and, in 1970, to District 8 in Willmar where he served as District Engineer until his retirement in 1986 (Madole 1998).

Olson, Harold E.

Harold E. Olson, the Minnesota Department of Highway's first Roadside Development Engineer, began his long career with the department circa 1922 as a project engineer. (See Fig. 1.) In 1932, he was appointed head of the newly-created Roadside Development Division, a position he held for 31 years until 1963. During his tenure, over 170 roadside parking areas and nearly 150 historical markers were erected, and hundreds of miles of right-of-way were landscaped for erosion control and beautification.

As head of the division at the time when new roadside development offices were being established in state highway departments across the country, Olson was active in the emerging roadside development field. He was an active member of the Roadside Development Committee of the Highway Research Board of the National Research Council, for example. Olson worked to garner support for the roadside development movement within the MHD and across the state, and became a key spokesman representing roadside development to public officials, local governments, civic groups, the business community, and members of the public.

In 1933, in addition to establishing a new department (i.e., hiring personnel, establishing policies, and long-range planning), Olson was soon immersed in negotiating with the various New Deal federal agencies with which Roadside Development would collaborate

over the next ten years. Olson joined officials of the National Park Service, the Minnesota Department of Conservation's State Parks Division, various federal relief agencies, and local governments and civic groups to plan and construct dozens of roadside development facilities during the New Deal.

Olson was the division's primary ambassador to national and state conservation groups, civic groups, local governments, tourism organizations, and other state agencies with whom the MHD cooperated to establish wayside rests and other roadside development initiatives. For example, in 1947, the Roadside Development Division, several community groups, World War II veterans, and others lobbied the legislature to designate a portion of T.H. 23 in northern Minnesota as Evergreen Memorial Drive (now Veteran's Evergreen Memorial Drive). (It was billed as one of the most scenic highways in the state.) Olson was a member of the Minnesota Historic Sites and Markers Commission (established in 1941), which was a committee of representatives from the state highway department, state historical society, and state parks department that approved the siting and text of historical markers in the state. Olson was also instrumental in planning and developing the Great River Road (Mississippi River Parkway) beginning with its inception in 1938. Olson was secretary of the Mississippi River Parkway Commission from 1956 to at least 1963. In 1958 he was one of the founding members of the Minnesota's Mississippi River Parkway Commission and, in 1963, became its first Executive Secretary.

Olson served on many committees and received numerous awards for his involvement in the field of roadside development. In 1958, he received a distinguished service award from the Mississippi River Parkway Planning Commission, the first such award ever presented. He received the St. Paul Kiwanis Club's Public Service Award in 1963 for his contributions to the development of roadside parking areas in Minnesota, and for his involvement with garden clubs and other organizations that supported and promoted highway beautification. Olson served as president of the Minnesota Society of Professional Engineers, and as a director of the National Society of Professional Engineers. He was also active in organizations such as Keep America Beautiful, Keep Minnesota Green, the Metropolitan Area [Twin Cities] Park Planning Committee, the White House Conference on Children and Youth, the American Legion, the Minnesota Chapter of the American Youth Hostel Association, the Minnesota Motorists Service Committee, and several highway engineering and professional organizations.

In 1963, Olson retired from Roadside Development and became a special staff assistant to the Commissioner of Highways where he apparently worked on special projects such as the Great River Road. Olson retired again in November of 1963, and then consulted with the MHD on special projects until January of 1968.

Rosenwald, Walter F.

Walter F. Rosenwald was Maintenance Engineer for the MHD in 1929 and was apparently one of the early proponents of roadside development work within the department. In 1929 he was cited in J. M. Bennett's early book *Roadside Development* which briefly surveys progress in roadside development in various states. Rosenwald is credited with conceiving and organizing the first joint trunk highway marking program with the Minnesota Historical Society. He also participated in the MHD's first Conference on

Roadside Development in 1932 and was a member of three standing committees that were formed to further the work of the conference.

Vogt, Fred O.

Fred O. Vogt (b. 1903) was a landscape architect and engineer for the MHD for 34 years, from 1933-1942 and 1948-1973. (See Fig. 1.) Vogt attended the University of Minnesota from 1921-1923, studying Agricultural Engineering. He returned to the university in 1927-1928 where he majored in Civil Engineering and Architecture. From 1928-1931, Vogt attended Iowa State College in Ames, Iowa, from which he graduated in Landscape Architecture.

Vogt worked in the Roadside Development Division during two separate periods. The first was May 1933 through May 1942, when he was Landscape Architect. This was the period during which the division built its first major collection of sites using labor supplied by New Deal federal relief work programs. Vogt would have worked closely with Consulting Landscape Architect Arthur R. Nichols during this decade. Engineer Godfrey Love indicates that Fred "did a lot of the landscape work on the old Highway 100 interchanges" during this period (Love 1998). Vogt also took several of the historical photographs that appear in the historic photo albums maintained by the Roadside Development Division, including photographs of *Cold Spring R.P.A.*, *Garrison Concourse*, *Redwood Falls Retaining Wall*, *St. Croix Boomsite R.P.A.*, *Stillwater Overlook - North*, and *Stillwater Overlook - South* (see Appendix J).

In 1942, Vogt took a six-year leave of absence from the highway department to engage in World War II defense work. Vogt worked for the U.S. Engineers in Omaha as an Associate Landscape Architect where he planned airfields and cantonment areas, and designed ground cover programs for the bases in the Omaha district. Later that year, he worked for Ellerbe and Company in St. Paul as an Engineering Draftsman. With Ellerbe, Vogt prepared site, grading, and outside utility plans for modifying the hangars at Holman Airport in St. Paul. Early in 1943, he worked for Toltz, King, and Day in St. Paul as an Engineering Draftsman where he helped prepare site plans and detailed drawings for outside utilities for the Twin Cities Ordnance Plant. During the next five years, Vogt also designed housing units for the armed forces on the Azores, worked as an Engineer for the Federal Cartridge Corporation in New Brighton, worked for the Walter Butler Company in St. Paul as a Landscape Architect, and worked again for Toltz, King, and Day.

When he returned to the Roadside Development Division, Vogt worked as a Landscape Architect II from March 1948 to October 1961. Engineer Ken Madole recalls that Vogt was the division's only landscape architect when Madole joined the division in 1948 (Madole 1998). Love also recalls that Fred Vogt was the "head landscape architect" in the 1950s and that "There are still pieces of landscape design around that Fred Vogt put in. . . . [He] was with the department for many, many years . . ." (Love 1998). Among Vogt's other (apparently private) consultations were site and landscaping plans for some of the first public housing units (McDonough, Roosevelt, and Mount Airy) in St. Paul, as well as planning and landscaping the Federal Building at Robert St. and Kellogg Blvd. in downtown St. Paul. In 1961 he left Roadside Development and became

a Civil Engineer III within the highway department where he was responsible for the preparation of highway construction plans and the supervision of highway technicians and other civil engineers. When Vogt retired from the MHD in July of 1973, he was a Principal Engineer in the Office of Road Design.

Vogt was a member of the Minnesota Government Engineers Council, Keep Minnesota Green, Inc., and other organizations. He was also a strong advocate for landscape design in his neighborhood and community (Dorothy Vogt 1998, Fred Vogt Papers).

OTHER INDIVIDUALS

Barber, Edward W.

Edward W. Barber was Chief Architect for the Minnesota Central Design Office of the National Park Service, which was located in St. Paul. This office provided designs, plans, technical expertise, and supervision for state and local parks and roadside development facilities that were built in Minnesota by the CCC. A graduate of the University of Minnesota, Barber designed several important roadside development facilities including the *Gooseberry Falls Concourse*. (See Fig. 21.) He was also the "major designer of Minnesota's rustic style [state] park buildings" (Anderson 1988:E10).

Donnelly, Leo W.

Leo W. Donnelly was the first superintendent of the Spruce Creek CCC Camp, which was the first of four CCC camps in Minnesota that were sponsored by the highway department. (All were devoted to roadside development.) Donnelly served at Spruce Creek between July 1934 and February 1935, and would have been involved in the planning and implementation of the camp's extensive roadside development work on the North Shore.

Hella, Udert W.

In February of 1935, U. W. "Judge" Hella (b. 1908), who had trained as a civil engineer, became superintendent of the Spruce Creek CCC Camp, one of the four CCC camps that were sponsored by the Minnesota Department of Highways. In his job at Spruce Creek, he was active in the planning and implementation of the Roadside Development Division's work on the North Shore. Hella had previously worked for the MHD as a draftsman and surveyor. He then worked for the National Park Service from 1933-1937, first as civil engineering foreman for the Scenic State Park CCC Camp. In addition to directing the Spruce Creek CCC Camp, he was superintendent of the Sibley State Park CCC Camp, and a traveling inspector for the Omaha Regional Office of the NPS. Hella was the first Northern District Supervisor for the State Parks Division of the Minnesota Department of Conservation. Among his principal duties was inspecting the work of CCC crews in state parks. Later in his career, from 1953-1973, he was director of the State Parks Division. During this period he was a member of the Minnesota Historic Sites and Markers Commission (Anderson 1988:E10-E11, E15-E16; Meyer 1991:178-179).

Lathrop, Harold W.

From 1935-1946, Harold W. Lathrop (1901-1961) was the first director of Minnesota's state park system (known as the State Parks Division of the Minnesota Department of Conservation). During his tenure he worked closely with Harold E. Olson, who was his counterpart at the MHD's Roadside Development Division. Lathrop collaborated with the MHD in the planning of construction of many roadside development facilities that were built in or near state parks. Prior to heading the new State Parks Division, Lathrop had been park consultant for SERA projects in Minnesota and a supervisor of CCC work in state parks. (See FERA/SERA and CCC below.) Lathrop had also been an apprentice to Theodore Wirth, superintendent of the Minneapolis park system and an important figure in Minnesota's landscape architecture movement. Lathrop had attended Dunwoody Industrial Institute and the University of Minnesota (Meyer 1991:142).

Lasey, Ed

During the 1930s Ed Lasey served as one of the National Park Service inspectors that helped supervise the work of CCC camps in Minnesota. Lasey's name appears on most of the roadside development plans for sites in the Garrison area that were constructed by the Mille Lacs Lake CCC Camp at Garrison, one of Minnesota's four CCC camps that were sponsored by the highway department. Lasey took a few of the historical photographs that appear in the historic photo albums maintained by the Roadside Development Division (see Appendix J).

Law, Reuben W.

Reuben W. Law was a landscape architect who worked as an inspector of CCC work in roadside development and state parks in the 1930s. He began his career in the mid-1920s by working for the St. Paul parks department. By the late 1920s Law was working for Morell and Nichols. He apparently left the firm (or perhaps took a leave of absence) during the 1930s while he worked for the National Park Service and the State Parks Division of the Minnesota Department of Conservation. His position within the State Parks Division in 1935 was called Southern District Supervisor. In 1936 he was an alternate procurement officer for the National Park Service. In 1939 he was an inspector for the State Parks Division, and in the early 1940s he was Deputy Director. By the mid-1950s he had returned to Morell and Nichols, and was president of the firm. By 1962 Morell and Nichols had become Nason, Law, Wehrman, and Knight. (It later became Nason, Wehrman, Knight, and Chapman after MHD Roadside Development landscape architect Bill Chapman became a principal.) Law continued with the firm through at least the mid-1960s.

Law's name appears as CCC inspector on plans for the roadside development work in the Garrison area that was carried out by the Mille Lacs Lake CCC Camp, one of the four CCC camps in Minnesota that were sponsored by the highway department. Law also took several of the historic photographs of roadside development structures in the division's historic photograph albums (see Appendix J). Included among them are photographs of *Cascade River Overlook*, *Gooseberry Falls Overlook*, *Red Wing R.P.A.*, *Spruce Creek Culvert*, and *Temperance River R.P.A.*

Nichols, Arthur R.

Arthur R. Nichols (1880-1970) served as Consulting Landscape Architect to the MHD from 1932-1940. As the principal designer during the Roadside Development Division's first decade, Nichols had a tremendous impact on the appearance of the state's roadside development work that can still be seen today. Nichols' prolific career as a landscape architect in Minnesota spanned many decades and resulted in hundreds of projects that bear his mark. Historian Jane Price McKinnon characterizes Nichols as one of "four masters" who established the field of landscape architecture in Minnesota (McKinnon's list also includes H. W. S. Cleveland, Frederick Nussbaumer, and Theodore Wirth) (McKinnon 1969). McKinnon also refers to Nichols as ". . . the most productive landscape architect in the history of the state" (McKinnon 1969:36).

Nichols strongly influenced the landscape of Minnesota highways, roadside development facilities, and state parks with his comprehensive planning and accomplished designs. He served as consultant to the Roadside Development Division from 1932-1940, where he helped establish and articulate the division's mission, and for whom he designed hundreds of miles of right-of-way and numerous wayside rests. (Nichols worked on more than 60 of the 102 properties in this inventory. See "General Findings" of this report.) While consulting with Roadside Development, Nichols also participated in the development of Minnesota's first comprehensive park planning document, the *Minnesota State Park and Recreational Plan* of 1939, which includes roadside development facilities within the state's array of public park and recreational systems. Even after Nichols stopped formally consulting for the highway department in 1940, the Roadside Development Division continued to follow the design principles he helped establish and to use his designs (Madole 1998).

During the 1930s and 1940s, Nichols was also a leading figure in the new highway roadside development movement nationally, as well as being a spokesman for roadside development within Minnesota. A civil engineering background, combined with landscape architecture training, gave him the practical training and technical understanding to design safe and efficient roadways that preserved and enhanced the existing scenic qualities of the landscape. He published several articles on roadside development in journals such as *Landscape Architecture* in the 1930s and 1940s. He spoke frequently at national conferences (even after he left the highway department).

Originally from Massachusetts, A. R. Nichols attended Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) where he studied engineering, architecture, and landscape design. He was the first to graduate from MIT's newly-formed landscape architecture program. From 1902-1909, Nichols and his future partner Anthony Morell (d. 1927) worked for landscape architect Charles W. Leavitt, Jr., in New York City. For Leavitt's firm, Nichols prepared plans for Monument Valley Park in Colorado Springs, where he also supervised construction. In 1906-1908, he and Anthony Morell prepared landscaping plans for the Chester and Clara Congdon Estate ("Glensheen") in Duluth for Leavitt's firm. This may have been Nichols' first major work in Minnesota.

In 1909 Nichols and Morell formed a partnership and moved to Minnesota. The offices of Morell and Nichols were located in the Architects and Engineers Building in downtown

Minneapolis. This prolific firm's list of achievements is lengthy and includes master plans for cities (including Lake City, LeSueur, and Rochester), "civic centers" in Duluth and Stillwater, residential subdivisions, and a dozen college campuses within and outside Minnesota (including Gustavus Adolphus, Carleton, Luther, Macalester, and Wartburg). The firm also landscaped many private estates (including commissions for some of Minnesota's wealthiest families), and designed country clubs (such as Woodhill Country Club), and cemeteries (including Sunset Memorial Park and a portion of Lakewood Cemetery, both in Minneapolis).

Morell and Nichols' extensive park and parkway experience may have begun in the City of Duluth, where the firm started to work in 1910. In Duluth they designed parks such as Lester Park, Central Park, Washington Square, Lakeshore Park, and Snively Park, as well as parkways like Skyline Drive, Seven Bridges Road including its stone bridges, and Congdon Boulevard (which extends along the North Shore from Duluth to the St. Louis County line, now called Scenic North Shore Drive). In 1926, Morell and Nichols consulted on the landscaping, location, and grading of proposed highways and roads in Glacier National Park, as well as designing the grounds of the spectacular Glacier Park Hotel. Morell and Nichols' park designs also include parks in Minneapolis, Thief River Falls, and Albert Lea, and elsewhere. In 1935 Nichols (as MHD consultant) collaborated with Theodore Wirth on a master plan for parks in the western Twin Cities area.

For most of his career, Nichols was involved in consulting work for the State of Minnesota. From 1910-1925, Morell and Nichols was retained by the Minnesota Board of Control, which administered all charitable, correctional, and educational institutions. In this capacity the partnership planned and landscaped dozens of hospitals, schools, prisons, and teachers colleges. From 1910-1952, Morell and Nichols consulted for the University of Minnesota where they planned at least five campuses and dozens of other large and small projects. From 1932-1940, Nichols alone (rather than the firm) was consultant to the Minnesota Department of Highways where he worked primarily for Roadside Development. From 1944-1950, Morell and Nichols was consultant to the State of Minnesota for the design of the State Capitol Approach. (Cass Gilbert had planned an approach after the state capitol was built, but the Gilbert plan was never executed.) Nichols regarded the capitol approach as one of his proudest accomplishments (McKinnon 1969:38). Finally, from 1953-1960, Nichols served as consulting landscape architect to the State Parks Division of the Minnesota Department of Conservation (handwritten resume ca. 1960, Morell and Nichols Collection).

Nichols entered retirement for the first time in 1953 at the age of 74, after a 50-year career (McKinnon 1969:40). However, U. W. Hella, Director of the State Parks Division, called Nichols out of retirement in 1953 to continue the state park planning work that had begun during the New Deal (McKinnon 1969:40-43). From 1953-1960, Nichols worked as Consulting Landscape Architect for the State Parks Division, preparing the first comprehensive site plans for state parks that had been prepared since the 1930s. U. W. Hella said of Nichols in an interview in the late 1960s, "He has left his footprints all over Minnesota" (McKinnon 1969:46).

After his first partner Anthony Morell had died in 1927, Nichols continued as president of the firm. During his career he was joined by several other landscape architects.

George L. Nason, Sr. (d. 1949) and Harvey H. Cornell, for example, were members of the firm in 1932. Reuben W. Law had begun to work there in the late 1920s, apparently left to work for the National Park Service during the 1930s, and was again active after World War II. Law eventually become president of the firm. George W. Nason, Jr. was also among the members. After Nichols initially retired in 1953, the firm became known as Nason, Law, Wehrman, and Knight. It was later known as Nason, Wehrman, Knight, and Chapman (after Roadside Development's Bill Chapman joined) and was still later known as Wehrman, Chapman Associates.

A. R. Nichols retired again in 1960 at the age of 80.

Thompson, Agge

Agge Thompson was superintendent of the Mille Lacs Lake CCC Camp at Garrison, one of the four CCC camps that were sponsored by the MHD. The camp operated at from 1935-1940, and was the most active of the four highway department camps. (Thompson was apparently superintendent during the camp's entire existence.) As superintendent, Thompson would have participated in project planning, and was responsible for implementation of the plans through the work of the CCC crew. (See Figs. 18-20, 25-26, 54.)

■ FEDERAL RELIEF PROGRAMS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS CONTEXT

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (CCC) / EMERGENCY CONSERVATION WORK (ECW)

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was the first work relief program established by Roosevelt and was founded on March 31, 1933, the same month that Roosevelt took office. It was also probably the most popular of the New Deal work programs and was one of the president's "pet" projects. One reason for the CCC's popularity among some citizens and politicians was that it required no state matching funds, unlike the FERA program that was operating at the same time (see FERA/SERA below). Historian Rolf Anderson writes that the CCC was also "considered one of the great conservation programs in the history of Minnesota" (Anderson "Mille Lacs" Oct. 9, 1990:8-1).

(Note: the CCC was known officially by the name Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) until June of 1937 when the name was formally changed to the CCC. Highway department plans, Roadside Development Division documents, and other sources generally use the term "ECW," rather than CCC, prior to mid-1937.)

The CCC was designed to provide Depression relief while preserving natural resources (e.g., through forest management, fire prevention, soil conservation, and flood control) and providing recreational benefits (e.g., through park development). Much of the CCC's work was focused on the improvement of forests and parks that were under either national, state, or local jurisdiction.

CCC workers were recruited by the Department of Labor and trained by the U.S. Army. Fort Snelling, home of the 7th Army Corps, served until 1937 as the state headquarters

of the CCC where the men were registered and trained. The enrollees were single men between the ages of 18 and 25 who joined for a six-month-long period (with the option of re-enlisting). Unlike most other federal relief work programs, the CCC was a resident program in which CCC workers lived away from home in work camps located near the job site. CCC camps, which were operated by the U.S. Army, each housed about 200 men. (CCC camps in Minnesota were racially segregated. The program's relatively few African American and Native American enrollees lived and worked in separate, specially-designated camps.) CCC workers received clothing, room, board, and \$30 per month (\$25 of which was sent home to their families). They attended classes and received on-the-job training to increase their chances of finding private work after their CCC stint.

CCC camps were led by a superintendent and several foremen. Work projects were planned and supervised by various federal and state agencies. The work of CCC camps that were established in state parks, for example, was supervised by the National Park Service (NPS), in cooperation with the Minnesota Department of Conservation. To increase the success and quality of CCC projects, most CCC camps also enrolled several Local Experienced Men (LEMs) who were often older than age 25. LEMs often included experienced stonemasons, building tradesmen, and men who were familiar with the local climate, weather conditions, and plant propagation (McClelland 1993:243).

The National Park Service was one of the original federal agencies that were designated by Roosevelt to receive and supervise CCC workers. When it became apparent that projects in the national parks could not use all of the CCC manpower available to the Park Service, the NPS began an aggressive program to help establish and improve state, county, and metropolitan parks with CCC workers (Anderson 1988:E4). Through this supervisory system, many of Minnesota's state, county, and local parks, as well as several roadside parking areas were strongly influenced by National Park Service expertise (Anderson 1990/1993:E11-E26).

The National Park Service's supervisory staff at the state park CCC camps included inspectors, landscape architects, engineers, architects, foresters, naturalists, and geologists. An important NPS official was the traveling CCC inspector who reviewed plans, helped direct the foremen, and inspected the camps' methods and progress to ensure a high degree of workmanship. NPS inspectors in Minnesota included Udert W. Hella, Ed Lasey, and Reuben W. Law, among others. The NPS technical staff in Minnesota also included the staff of what was known as the Minnesota Central Design Office of the NPS. The Central Design Office was established in 1933 and was located in the Federal Courts Building (now Landmark Center) in downtown St. Paul. The office staff included Edward W. Barber (Chief Architect), V. C. Martin (Architect), N. H. Averill (Landscape Architect), Oscar Newstrom (Engineer), and designer H. O. Skooglund, among others. Minneapolis native Conrad Wirth (son of Theodore Wirth, supervisor of the Minneapolis Parks Department) was the assistant director of the National Park Service during the New Deal era and head of the NPS's State Parks Division (Anderson 1988:E4-E7; McClelland 1993:47, 200-201; Anderson 1994).

The Minnesota Department of Highways sponsored four of Minnesota's CCC camps, all of which were devoted entirely to roadside development. All four camps were supervised

by the National Park Service, working in cooperation with the Roadside Development Division. The four are listed below:

<u>Number</u>	<u>Camp Name</u>	<u>Location</u>
SP-13	Spruce Creek	TH 61 at Cascade River on the North Shore
SP-15	Mille Lacs Lake	TH 169 at southern edge of Garrison
SP-16	Leech Lake	TH 200 near Whipholt on Leech Lake
SP-19	Lakeshore	TH 61 near Knife River on North Shore

The four highway department camps were operated in conjunction with Minnesota's numerous state park CCC camps. (Hence the camp numbers of the highway department camps contain the letters "SP", referring to "state park".)

Nine properties in the current inventory were constructed by the four highway department CCC camps. (See "General Findings" in this report for a list of the sites.)

The earliest of the four camps was the Spruce Creek Camp, which was established in 1934 at the Cascade River on the North Shore. Its first superintendent was Leo W. Donnelly, who was succeeded by U. W. Hella. The largest structure built by the Spruce Creek Camp was the ***Cascade River Overlook***. This structure is especially significant as the state's first example of a scenic overlook incorporating natural rock outcroppings within highway backslopes. The Cascade River Overlook served as a demonstration project of these roadside development techniques at a state level, and possibly, nationally (Anderson 1990/1993:E23; Hella 1990). The success of the Spruce Creek Camp led to the establishment of the other three highway department camps one year later in 1935. (Note: the Leech Lake camp operated for only six months.)

CCC workers at the four camps improved landscaping along the right-of-way; planted trees, shrubs, and ground covers; and built bridges, culverts, drainage ditches, retaining walls, scenic overlooks, and roadside parking areas. Plans for most of the four CCC camps' roadside development work were drawn by the highway department, but some plans were drawn by the NPS's Central Design Office. Staff from the State Parks Division of the Minnesota Department of Conservation, including the Division's first director Harold W. Lathrop, also participated in the planning of most of the camps' roadside development projects. The most extensive work was completed by the Mille Lacs Lake CCC Camp at Garrison, which was supervised by Superintendent Agge Thompson (Anderson "Mille Lacs" 1990:8-5). (See Figs. 18-20, 25-26, 54.)

At the peak of the CCC program in 1935, there were 74 CCC camps operating in Minnesota. This placed Minnesota ninth in the nation in the number of CCC camps (Anderson 1988:E26). By the time the CCC ended in June of 1942, more than 120 CCC camps had been established in the state. Most had been sponsored at the federal level by either the National Park Service (about 22 camps), the U.S. Forest Service, or the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and at the state level by the State Parks Division of the Department of Conservation. Minnesota's CCC camps included 49 camps that were located in national forests, 31 in state forests, 22 in state and municipal parks, 14 that were operated as Soil Conservation Service camps, four camps devoted specifically

HISTORIC CONTEXT NARRATIVE

to state highway department improvements, plus others. Roughly 84,000 enrollees had served in Minnesota CCC camps, and approximately \$85 million had been invested in the state during the CCC's nine years of operation. Nationwide, 3.4 million young men had enlisted, including about 80,000 Native Americans and about 200,000 African Americans (Anderson 1988:E25-E26; Anderson 1990/1993:E11-E26; Tweton 1998:101-110).

The properties in the current inventory that were constructed by the CCC are discussed in the "General Findings" of this report.

CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION (CWA)

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was established in November of 1933 as a five-month-long, emergency work program to carry the nation through the first critical winter of Roosevelt's administration while the FERA and other New Deal programs were being organized. The CWA operated entirely as a federal agency and did not pass money through to state control.

Because jobs were needed immediately, the CWA focused on projects that could be launched quickly without a long planning phase. More than 50 percent of the CWA work in Minnesota involved the repair of highways and streets. It is not known whether any CWA funds were spent for roadside development projects in the state. When the CWA expired in March of 1934, unfinished projects were transferred to the FERA/SERA. (See FERA/SERA below.)

Although the CWA was short-lived, it was the largest New Deal federal relief work program in terms of the number of persons employed at one time. In January of 1934 -- the program's peak -- 4.3 million were employed by the CWA nationwide. The psychological impact on the nation was as positive as the monetary relief, despite the fact that approximately seven million people who had applied for CWA jobs were not able to be helped by the program (Anderson 1990/1993:E44; Tweton 1988:55-59; Rose 1994:47).

FEDERAL AND STATE EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (FERA AND SERA)

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) was created in May of 1933, just two months after Roosevelt took office. It was the New Deal's first major work relief agency, and was organized to pass federal money to local governments for poverty relief, with an emphasis on work programs. Between May of 1933 and the end of 1935, the FERA was the New Deal's major tool in the fight against unemployment. Several roadside development projects in Minnesota were built by the FERA/SERA between the summer of 1933 and the summer of 1935.

The FERA granted federal money to a State Emergency Relief Administration (SERA) in each state, which in turn passed most funds on to the local level. The FERA required that its funds be matched with state money. The Minnesota Board of Control (the agency that administered the state's charitable and educational institutions) served as the state's SERA. Many FERA/SERA workers were drawn from the unemployed who

registered at National Re-employment Service offices. Projects that used FERA funds were generally referred to as either FERA, SERA, or ERA projects (Tweton 1988:57).

The FERA's work program took nearly a year to organize. In the meantime, the CWA (see CWA above) was established as an emergency, five-month-long work program to carry the nation through the winter of 1933-1934. The FERA work program was fully operational by the spring of 1934. Most FERA/SERA projects used workers to build and improve streets, highways, sewers, sidewalks, bridges, public buildings, athletic fields, parks, and waterworks, as well as to complete conservation projects. Roadside development projects were included within the highway work. At its peak, the FERA employed 2.5 million workers nationwide. The FERA completed over 235,000 projects in the U.S. during the length of the program.

Funding for FERA workers was sometimes combined with other federal New Deal programs. For example, in 1934 and 1935 funds from the Minnesota Department of Highways were combined with a FERA/SERA work program and a federal Drouth Relief Program to employ drought-stricken farmers to grade and surface highways. The program stipulated that wages be credited against the farmers' feed and seed loans. Some FERA money was also channeled through the National Recovery Work Relief Program (NRWR). (See NRWR below.)

Most work programs operated with FERA/SERA funds ended in May of 1935 when the Works Progress Administration (WPA) -- soon to become the country's major work relief program -- was established. In December, eight months after the WPA was founded, the FERA was abolished. Minnesota's SERA continued to operate, however, becoming the agency that certified the eligibility of workers for the WPA. Minnesota's SERA was renamed the State Relief Agency (SRA) in January of 1936 and was finally discontinued in 1939 (Tweton 1988:55-59; Anderson 1990/1993:E46; Rose 1994:64).

(Note: some early highway department construction plans contain the initials "EWRP" or "RRP." The Emergency Work Relief Program (EWRP) channeled FERA funds to the unemployed in cities, while the Rural Rehabilitation Program (RRP) channeled FERA funds to rural areas and small towns.)

Transient Workers. The FERA became the first New Deal relief program to address the tremendous problem of "transients," or the homeless, during the Depression. The FERA Transient Division was established in July of 1933 after the Roosevelt administration believed that a special program was needed to directly help transients. This group of citizens tended to be excluded from other FERA/SERA relief efforts which were locally-administered and which tended to help local residents first (and to ignore transients) (Olson 1985:177). The transient program was transferred to the WPA when the WPA began to assume most of the FERA's responsibilities in the latter half of 1935.

The properties in the current inventory that were constructed by the FERA/SERA are discussed in the "General Findings" of this report.

NATIONAL RECOVERY WORK RELIEF (NRWR)

The National Recovery Work Relief Program (NRWR) was apparently established early in the New Deal. Beginning in January of 1935, the Minnesota Department of Highways used relief labor hired under the NRWR. In 1935-1937, for example, some highway projects were financed by a combination of PWA, FERA, WPA, and state highway department funds (*An Appraisal* 1938:15). (The initials NRWR appear on some highway department construction plans from the 1930s.) Highway department projects completed in 1935-1937 include 88 miles of "roadside improvement," as well as an erosion control project, clearing and grubbing, grading, gravel surfacing, the widening of a bridge, and the improvement of a railroad underpass (*An Appraisal* 1938:15). The current inventory includes one wayside rest that was apparently built using NRWR funds -- the ***Pomme de Terre Roadside Parking Area*** in west central Minnesota.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION (NYA)

The National Youth Administration was established in June of 1935, at the same time that the WPA was established. The NYA was at first administered as a subsidiary program within the WPA, and was later operated separately. Minnesota's first NYA director was George A. Selke, who was also serving as president of St. Cloud State Teachers College (now St. Cloud State University). A state NYA advisory board consisted of business leaders; university, vocational school, and public school teachers and administrators; and members of the public.

The NYA was designed to help alleviate the despair that poverty, unemployment, and economic collapse had created among youth, and to counteract rising juvenile delinquency and homelessness. Until its establishment, adolescents had largely been ignored by New Deal programs. In addition to providing work experience, the NYA encouraged adolescents to remain in school, both to preserve for the nation a well-educated and well-trained future work force, and also to discourage youth from competing in the labor market for jobs being sought by adults.

The NYA programs served young people between the ages of 16 and 25, most of whom were from families that were receiving relief. The relatively few African American and Native American youth who served in the NYA in Minnesota were integrated into NYA programs with white workers. The NYA provided part-time, after-school jobs for high school, college, and graduate students; full-time work for those who had quit high school; job training and counseling; and meaningful leisure-time activities. NYA projects were cosponsored by units of state or local government or by nonprofit agencies. The sponsor usually supplied materials, supervision, transportation, and skilled labor to guide and assist the NYA workers, most of whom were unskilled.

NYA work projects included professional and clerical work (e.g., working in health clinics, libraries, and government offices), homemaking, public service, recreational leadership (e.g., supervising at playgrounds), conservation (e.g., tree planting), and production work (e.g., metalwork, woodwork, and sewing). Construction activities were added to the NYA program in 1937. Typical NYA construction projects improved playgrounds, swimming pools, and other public facilities that were used by children. A significant

part of the NYA construction program in Minnesota focused on highway landscaping (e.g., planting trees for live "snow fences") and building historic markers, scenic overlooks, and roadside parking areas, all for the highway department's Roadside Development Division. The state's first four NYA construction projects, in fact, included two roadside development facilities. These first four NYA construction projects were the ***Christmas Lake Roadside Parking Area***, a bathhouse at Bemidji State Park, the Chisholm City Tourist Cabins, and the ***St. Cloud Historical Marker***. (See Fig. 13 and 39.) The Christmas Lake and St. Cloud properties are included in this inventory. (The NYA also built approximately 14 of Minnesota's pre-1955 state line markers for the Roadside Development Division. See Appendix K of this report.)

Many NYA projects provided enrollees with general education, technical instruction, and on-the-job training, as well as work experience. When the NYA built a stone wall, for example, the youth were instructed in the geology and uses of various types of rock; in stonecutting and dressing techniques; in the design and construction of various types of walls, footings, and drainage systems; and in the task of estimating the labor and materials required by a job (*Final Report* 1943:100).

Most NYA workers lived at home and reported to a job site each day. However, beginning in 1938, the NYA established a series of resident camps or NYA centers in which youth lived for relatively short periods of time. (Most of these youth were from areas where there was no ongoing NYA project close to home.) About one dozen residential centers were established in Minnesota. Most were located on the campuses of existing public facilities such as colleges. The centers offered room and board as well as educational and vocational courses and job training.

The NYA also operated vocational training workshops where participants practiced skills like woodwork, metalwork, and sewing. NYA workshops assisted the Roadside Development Division by constructing signs and other furnishings for roadside parking areas. In 1938, for example, NYA shops built 190 combination picnic tables and benches (presumably wooden), 123 refuse containers, 72 fireplace grates, six "project stoves," and three "project signs" for the Roadside Development Division. In 1939, the workshops built 210 picnic tables and benches, 65 refuse containers, 50 fireplace grates, two "project markers," 98 directional markers, four sod cutters, and three "tree knives."

After Pearl Harbor was bombed in December of 1941, most NYA workers were shifted to defense work, some even out-of-state. During the first year and a half of World War II, the NYA was considered useful to the war effort as a means to vocationally train youth who were too young for combat (*Final Report* 1943; Anderson 1990/1993:E68-E71; Tweton 1988:110-113).

Minnesota's average monthly enrollment in the NYA varied due to enrollment policies and the availability of funding. In March of 1937, for example, there were 4,360 youth enrolled, and in December of 1938 there were 6,179. At other times enrollment was less than 2,000. During the summer of 1941, over 1,100 "separate project units" were operating in Minnesota (*Final Report NYA* 1943:100). In all, during the NYA's eight-year history, approximately 184,500 Minnesota youth were given full- and part-time

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jobs and about \$14 million were invested in the state. Nationwide, about 4.8 million youth were employed. The NYA ended on June 30, 1943.

The properties in the current inventory that were constructed by the NYA are discussed in the "General Findings" of this report.

PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA)

The Public Works Administration (PWA) operated for six years, from June of 1933 to July of 1939. It was a long-range, large-scale relief program that was designed to boost the economy by stimulating the private construction industry. Most PWA projects were major undertakings that required many months of preliminary planning, engineering studies, architectural services, and a bid-letting process. The emphasis of the PWA was not on work relief for the average unemployed worker, but on giving work to private construction firms that, in turn, would employ skilled building tradesmen (which comprised the third-largest segment of the U.S. labor force) (Tweton 1988:63). Most PWA projects required that unskilled positions be filled by local unemployed workers.

Most PWA projects constructed large buildings such as courthouses, city halls, sewage plants, hospitals, and schools. Between 1933 and 1939, PWA funds helped build 70 percent of the nation's educational buildings, 65 percent of its courthouses and city halls, and 35 percent of its hospitals (Tweton 1988:63).

PWA funds were also used on some projects that were sponsored by the Minnesota Department of Highways. Work programs that operated under the National Recovery Work Relief (NRWR) program (see NRWR above), for example, were partially funded by the PWA. This highway work included some "roadside improvement" (*An Appraisal* 1938:15). The current inventory was not able to identify with certainty any specific roadside development projects that had received PWA funds (Anderson 1990/1993:E1-E10; Tweton 1988:63-69).

WORKS PROGRESS ADMIN. (WPA) / WORK PROJECTS ADMIN. (WPA)

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was established in May of 1935, at the same time that the NYA (see above) was established. The WPA became the federal government's largest work relief program in both funding and scope after the expiration of the FERA in December of 1935 (see FERA above). (The WPA assumed most of the unfinished projects of the FERA when the FERA ended six months after the WPA was founded.)

The WPA actually consisted of two consecutive programs, both of which were known by the initials "WPA." The first program, the Works Progress Administration, operated from May 1935-July 1939. The second program, the Work Projects Administration, ran from July 1939 until June 1943. The organization, goals, and accomplishments of the two programs were similar. With the exception of the homeless (see Transients below), WPA workers lived at home and reported to a job site each day. Minnesota's relatively few African American and Native American workers served on racially-integrated WPA crews. WPA transient camps, described below, were racially-segregated, however.

The emphasis of the WPA was on long-term economic recovery rather than emergency help, and on work relief rather than direct relief (i.e., money, food, or clothing). In most states, the administrative framework of the WPA was built upon the personnel that had been running the FERA since 1933. Federal, state, and, most often, local government agencies served as sponsors for WPA projects. The sponsors supplied materials while the WPA paid the workers. Unlike some programs such as the CWA (see CWA above), it was not required that federal WPA funds be directly matched with state dollars.

During its eight-year history, about 77 percent of WPA funds nationwide were spent on construction projects, particularly on roads, public buildings, and public utilities. However, the scope of the WPA was the most broad of the New Deal work programs and, in addition to construction jobs, WPA enrollees worked in white collar fields such as education, health care, social services, homemaking, government administration, recreation, and the arts.

Because one of the goals of the WPA was to improve the nation's roads, streets, and bridges, the Minnesota Department of Highways acted as the sponsor for many WPA construction projects. Included were several projects designed and supervised by the Roadside Development Division. By the end of the WPA's first 18 months, 700,000 people had been given jobs on local, county, or state road projects, and 8,731 miles of roadway had been landscaped. By the end of the WPA's eight years, 37.9 percent of the WPA funds spent in Minnesota had been used to build highways, roads, and streets (Anderson 1990/1993:E54).

Peak WPA enrollment occurred in the fall of 1938. After Pearl Harbor was bombed in December of 1941, the WPA program began to support the war effort by shifting workers to defense-related projects, and the program continued for another year and a half. By the time the WPA program was ended on June 30, 1943, an incredible 8.5 million people -- or one-third of the nation's unemployed -- had worked for the WPA. In Minnesota, 600,000 people had been employed by the program for wages totaling one-quarter of a billion dollars (Anderson 1990/1993:E67; Tweton 1988:70-87).

Transient Workers. In 1935, the WPA assumed the operation of the FERA Transient Division, which provided assistance to the nation's huge homeless population (see Transient Division in FERA/SERA above). The WPA (like the FERA) operated resident transient work camps (also sometimes called treatment centers) that were organized somewhat like CCC camps. The camps provided work, lodging, food, and clothing specifically for homeless men. In June of 1935, Minnesota had 25 transient WPA camps. Many were located near the Twin Cities or in northern Minnesota. One of the camps, Mendota Work Camp No. 1, served for many months as the state's sole transient camp for African Americans. In 1937, after African Americans had been transferred to a camp in northern Minnesota, a new group of residents at Mendota Work Camp No. 1 built the *Mendota Overlook* in cooperation with the highway department's Roadside Development Division. (See Fig. 32.)

The properties in the current inventory that were constructed by the WPA are discussed in the "General Findings" of this report.

