



National park gateway land use evolution : a case study of Glacier National Park, 1890-2001
by Lisa Marie Baracz Lamoreux

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in
Earth Sciences

Montana State University

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Abstract:

This study of national park gateway communities focuses on the Glacier National Park setting. It examines the evolution of landscape changes in Glacier's gateway communities as they were created by various public and private institutions. The study also investigates the gateway communities through changing patterns of land use and landscape because cultural and historical geographers agree that such changes can tell a great deal about a locality's changing cultural values and economic base.

Multiple objectives were addressed by the study. The first objective was to reconstruct the evolution of the past land use in the gateway communities of West Glacier and East Glacier. The key years of reconstruction were 1910 (the establishment of the park), 1930 (the rise of automobile tourism), 1960 (the post war era) and 2000 (the present day community). The second objective was to reconstruct how the cultural landscapes of these communities changed and how those landscape features contributed to distinctive place images. The third objective was to identify the key issues that face gateway communities as they enter the twenty-first century. The final objective was to use the Glacier case study to develop a regional and local model of national park gateway community development and evolution.

The results of the study will be useful in future land planning and development of national park gateway communities. The impact of technology has been a significant part of the evolution of the gateway landscape. Therefore, the regional and local evolution models will be an asset to gateway community evolution.

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A CASE STUDY OF GLACIER NATIONAL PARK
1890-2001

by

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MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
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February 2002

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William Wyckoff

Will Wyckoff
(Signature)

2/5/03
(Date)

Approved for the Department of Earth Sciences

Dave Lageson

Dave Lageson
(Signature)

2/6/03
(Date)

Approved for the College of Graduate Studies

Bruce McLeod

Bruce R. McLeod
(Signature)

2-21-03
(Date)

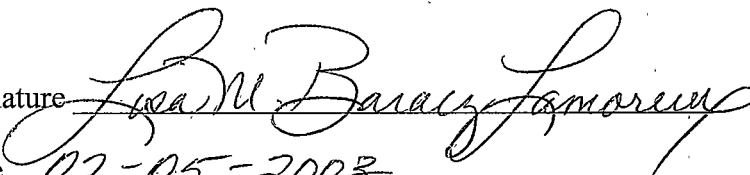
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ABSTRACT

This study of national park gateway communities focuses on the Glacier National Park setting. It examines the evolution of landscape changes in Glacier's gateway communities as they were created by various public and private institutions. The study also investigates the gateway communities through changing patterns of land use and landscape because cultural and historical geographers agree that such changes can tell a great deal about a locality's changing cultural values and economic base.

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The results of the study will be useful in future land planning and development of national park gateway communities. The impact of technology has been a significant part of the evolution of the gateway landscape. Therefore, the regional and local evolution models will be an asset to gateway community evolution.

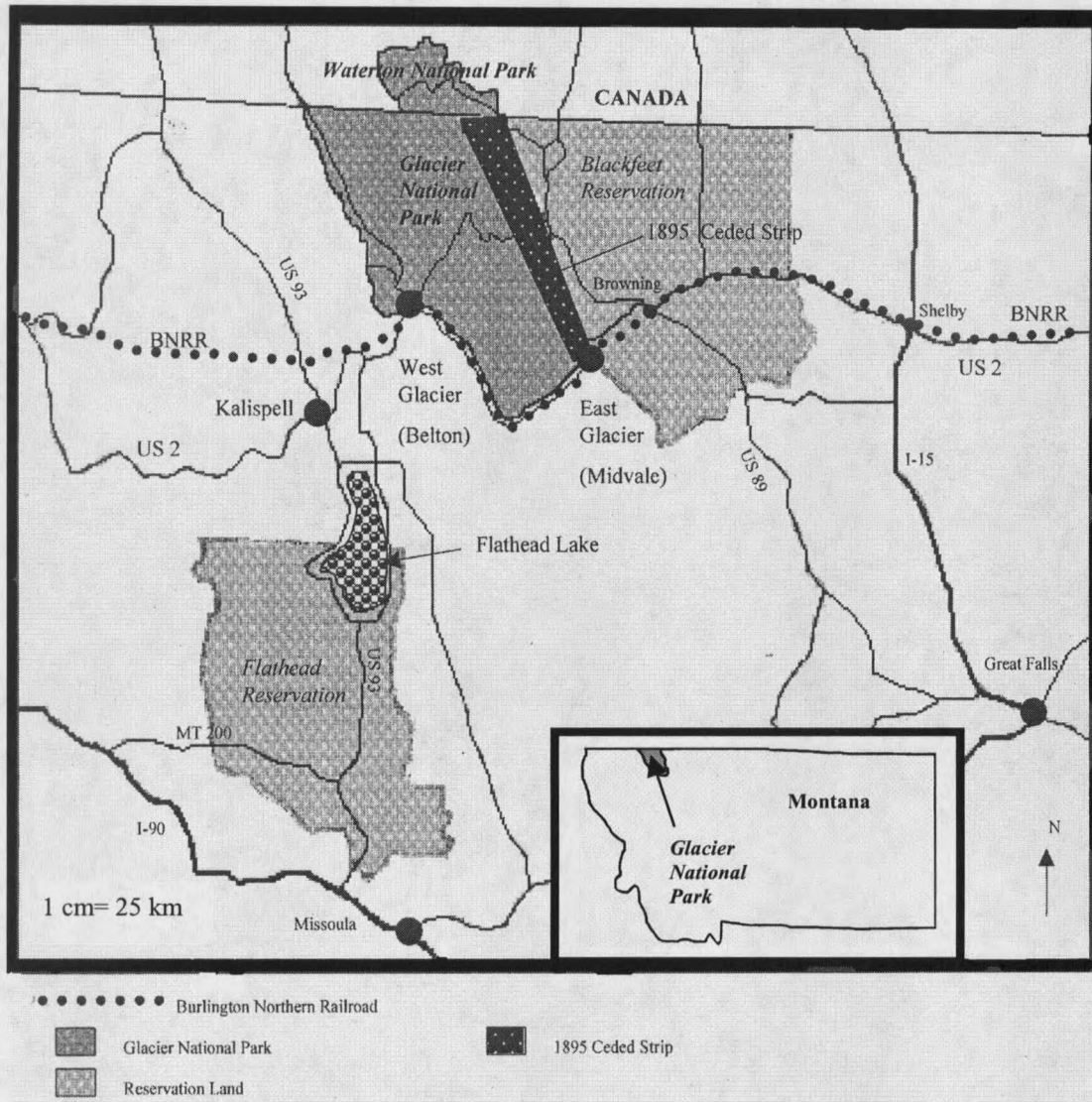
THE GATEWAY SETTING

Introduction

The gateway communities of Montana's Glacier National Park witnessed powerful changes between 1910 and 2000, as tourists began to rely on automobiles rather than the railroad to reach the park, and as evolving park policies conflicted with the interests of gateway residents (Fig. 1). Since the early establishment of East Glacier and West Glacier, land use patterns and landscape appearance were often the centers of conflict and tension between different agencies of government, businesses (including the railroad), and local residents including Native American populations. This study of national park gateways focuses on the Glacier Park setting and examines the evolution of landscape changes in Glacier's gateway communities as various public and private institutions created them. The railroad, the government, the residents and the Native Americans each marketed different images of the Glacier landscape in these gateway centers.

The community of West Glacier is located in the secluded Middle Fork of the Flathead River canyon (Fig. 2). The west-side landscape is rugged country with thick, lush vegetation that surrounds the community. In comparison, East Glacier is located on the boundary of the plains of eastern Montana and the Rocky Mountains (Fig. 3). The community is nestled along the Midvale Creek area with the spectacular mountains of Glacier rising above the town. Gateway land use patterns and landscape evolution help

Figure 1. Regional Location Map



The Northwestern United States and the location of Glacier National Park and its gateway communities. [Montana State Highway Commission 2001-2002]

Figure 2. West Glacier Aerial View



The community of West Glacier is nestled into the Middle Fork River Valley. West Glacier is located near the bottom right of the photograph. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1930).]

Figure 3. East Glacier U.S. 2 Corridor



The town of East Glacier is located near Midvale Creek and the edge of the Rocky Mountains. [Author photo (2001).]

define the character of the region, the changes in transportation technology and the shifting demands by tourists over time.

Objectives

Multiple objectives were addressed in this thesis. The first objective was to reconstruct the evolution of past land use in Glacier National Park's two gateway communities of West Glacier and East Glacier. The key years that were reconstructed were 1910 (the establishment of the park), 1930 (the rise of automobile tourism and the completion of the Theodore Roosevelt International Highway (later known as U.S. Highway 2 or U.S. 2)), 1960 (the post World War II era and rapid development of concessions), and 2000 (the present day gateway community). Land records, plat maps, photographs and oral histories were used to help in the reconstruction of these areas.

The second objective was to reconstruct how the cultural landscapes of these communities changed and how those landscape features contributed to distinctive place images. Railroad brochures and literature, automobile brochures and literature from state tourism promotions, auto clubs and tours such as the Glidden Tours and the "See America First" campaign, specific literature from West Glacier and East Glacier, photographs of the gateways and other types of correspondence were examined to determine the evolution of place imagery and the changes of the visual landscape over time.

The third objective was to identify the key issues that face gateway communities as they enter the twenty-first century. In the past, a gateway community was the entrance

to a national park, monument, seashore or lakeshore that provided the tourist with amenities. Now, gateway communities represent more, and they face many challenges because of their relative position to some of America's most beautiful parks. People are moving to these communities for a better quality of life. The result has been a multitude of problems such as overcrowding, traffic congestion, land use planning conflicts and development and habitat competition. Some of these concerns are illustrated by land planning and development issues within Glacier's communities. There are various agencies that oversee land planning in these settings. West Glacier land use planning and development is regulated by the Flathead County Planning Department. Development within West Glacier has also been limited because only a few families own the land. However, along U.S. 2 from Hungry Horse to West Glacier, is an area of unregulated development of tourist attractions such as campgrounds, hotels, restaurants, souvenir shops, go-cart tracks, funhouses, rafting companies and helicopter rides. The Blackfeet Indian Reservation regulates East Glacier development. Many of the buildings and land use patterns have not changed since 1930.

The final objective was to use the Glacier case study to develop a regional and local model of national park gateway community evolution. The data suggest several evolutionary stages: Phase I- the pre-park setting, Phase II- railroad development and park establishment, Phase III- the rise of the automobile, Phase IV- contemporary evolution. The general model includes examples from West Glacier and East Glacier gateway development. Other national park gateways can be examined, as well, and these can be used to assess the proposed models for Glacier.

Sources and Methods

Many secondary sources on Glacier National Park, tourism in the American West, national park development, the Great Northern Railway, automobile transportation, and imagery in the American West were consulted to provide a strong foundation of resources in nineteenth century and twentieth century western history and culture. These sources are essential in forming the base of this study and understanding the larger picture of American culture from 1890 to 2000.

Additional primary data were gathered from local sources, the Glacier National Park Archives and Library, the Montana State Historical Society (Helena), and Flathead County, Teton County, and Glacier County planning offices and libraries. In addition, The Daily Inter Lake, The Whitefish Pilot and The Hungry Horse News provided important newspaper information. Primary data from the Glacier National Park Archives included ranger reports, superintendent reports, director of national parks correspondence, Blackfeet Indian Agency correspondence, travel reports, and development plans. Other sources such as general correspondence from concessionaires, and letters with local, state and federal agencies, foreign officials, and individuals were useful for reconstructing boundary issues and determining the local issues of the gateway communities. Sources from concessions, advertising and publication data provided information about the railroad, the "See America First" campaign and automobile travel associations. The Montana Historical Society provided travel promotional information from the railroad and automobile travel brochures. County records from Flathead, Teton and Glacier were helpful in searching for land records, plat maps, and Sanborn maps.

The local newspapers provided documentation of events and provided local opinion on the establishment of the park, local and federal controversies, and advertisements from the railroad, local concessions, and automobile travel promotions.

Land use and landscape data were reconstructed for four key years, 1910, 1930, 1960 and 2000, both for West Glacier (Belton) and East Glacier (Midvale). Travel promotion literature, railroad and automobile pamphlets and brochures, and concession information helped reveal the marketing strategies and the visual landscape of the gateway communities. Oral histories, travel correspondence, and community newspapers provided perspectives of visitor experiences, concerns of the gateway residents and park relations with the communities. Photographs, oral histories, travel reports, development reports, Sanborn maps, plat maps and land records were used to aid in the reconstruction of land use in West Glacier and East Glacier.

Conceptual Framework

This study examined the gateway communities through changing patterns of land use and landscape because cultural and historical geographers agree that such changes can tell a great deal about a locality's changing cultural values and economic base. Technological changes were also revealed. For example, in the case of the Glacier gateways, the era of the railroad was signified by the dominance of the East Glacier Hotel and the Belton Chalet. Today, however, the impact of auto tourism is a more significant part of the landscape. The historical landscape and land use patterns can aid in the recreation of the past, but they also can help us understand contemporary issues.

A "gateway" is a strategically positioned entrance into a city or region (Burghardt 1971). Larger gateway cities often are associated with a focused network of transportation lines and the provision of wholesaling services. According to Burghardt's study of gateway cities, gateways develop along the moving frontier of settlement or close to a boundary between areas of differing intensities (Burghardt 1971). The evolution of the gateway city can be affected by improved technology and transportation. In nineteenth century America many gateway cities developed along railroad lines. This spatial structure was redefined by the coming of the automobile, which freed the traveler from the fixed structure of the rail network. National park gateway communities thus evolved as the need for more specialized, service-oriented tourist towns grew.

The national park gateways are specialized, unique communities providing the tourist with services such as food, accommodations, guide service, and souvenirs. Gateway communities are a significant part of their associated park. However, they are also small towns with their own sense of community. Local gateway residents often thought their small towns would remain unaffected by increasing tourism, but many of these communities have changed dramatically due to overcrowding, increased traffic and high property costs. Places such as Gettysburg and Gatlinburg have developed into tourist landscapes of Disneyland proportions. Gettysburg is an example of the confrontation between a nineteenth century battlefield and a twentieth century technology, where the commercial development of the area has reached metropolitan proportions (Patterson 1974). The dilemma that faces many gateways is how to expand and develop without creating an amusement-like visual landscape, since communities

contend with the pressure of development while their associated parks are focused on conservation (Leighton 1985 b).

The evolution of western national park gateways is intimately tied to their associated parks as well as to the nationwide expansion of the railroad and the automobile. Places such as Yellowstone, Grand Canyon, Yosemite and Banff would have been inaccessible without the railroad or automobile. William Cornelius Van Horne, president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, said, "If you can't export the scenery, you have to import the tourists," concerning the development of the community of Banff (Leighton 1985 a, 9). Gateway communities traditionally utilize the scenery, the most profitable resource they have to exploit, to bring settlement and tourism to their towns.

The study of western national park gateways also offers an opportunity to examine larger changes in western tourism (Pomeroy 1957, Shaffer 1994, Rothman 1998). The late nineteenth century railroad companies marketed the western image of cowboys and Indians, incredible scenery and a frontier of wildness that easterners craved. The railroads portrayed the West as a region of mythic characters and a place where ordinary people could do extraordinary things (Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1997). For example, marketing strategies of the Great Northern Railway utilized Fredrick Jackson Turner's idea of savagery meeting civilization. As tourists arrived at East Glacier (Midvale), they were greeted by the savage members of the Blackfoot tribe in the civilized gardens of the grand, Swiss-style, East Glacier Hotel, all set against the background of the alpine-like Rocky Mountains. The west side of Glacier Park portrayed an image of the unconquered frontier. As visitors ended their adventure across the Great

Divide, usually on the west side, they felt they were pioneers of the great American frontier amid the landscapes of Apgar and West Glacier (Belton). The study of place images creates explicit cultural, social, political and economic contexts that help us understand how the West evolved as a distinct American region (Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1997). Each of these two gateway communities can reveal clues about the development of western tourism.

This study addresses several themes within the context of the Glacier Park gateway community settings. First, changes in transportation technology from the railroad to the automobile initiated changes in gateway landscapes, land uses and the experiences tourists had in such localities (Runte 1979, Stilgoe 1983, Fifer 1988). Modes of transportation, because of speed, distance, safety and comfort, had an enormous impact on the perceptions of the observer (Fifer 1988, Hyde 1993). Initial travel to the West in luxury rail cars took the wildness out of the wilderness for the traveler. It also redefined the spatial context of land and time. The railroad provided a fast, safe, and comfortable trip across the wide expanse of the continent (Hyde 1993). The western railroads also played a pivotal role in national park development and promotion by advertising the romantic side of tourism (Runte 1979, Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1997).

The invention of the automobile energized the sense of adventure of the tourist and encouraged more travel to the West (Belasco 1979). The car permitted travelers to be in control of their destination and freed them from the constraint of the timetable and structured network of the railroad. Increased use of the auto transformed the visual landscape with road improvements, motels and garages in these gateway communities

(Jakle 1987, 1994, 1996, Witzel 1998). Also, the auto allowed the traveler to seek out other accommodations and services at the larger city centers that were associated with the gateway communities and their park. The invention of the train, auto and plane changed the perceptions and the perspective of tourists as they moved across large expanses of land in a short amount of time.

Second, this study also examines shifting place images in these gateway settings. The West has held many place images of hope, intrigue, romance and wildness for Americans since the Civil War, and many of these images are revealed in the changing cultural landscapes of Glacier's gateway communities. During the nineteenth century, newspapers, journals, and magazines enhanced the scenic, romantic, rustic images of the newly settled West. What distant Americans read and saw determined perceptions of the West and how they interpreted the information (Hyde 1993). The railroad and automobile tourist brochures promoted spectacular places to travel in America (Belasco 1979, Runte 1979). James J. Hill persuaded the American Automobile Association to schedule the Glidden Tour in 1913 along the route of the Great Northern Railway to Glacier National Park and he provided Pullman cars and diners as accommodations for the drivers (Pomeroy 1957). The "See America First" campaign was sponsored to encourage Americans to explore their own nation during World War I.

The healing and economic recovery of our nation after World War II relied on the spiritual rejuvenation of the West. Millions of tourists flocked to the region in search of the romantic West, the untouched wilderness and the solitude of nature. The National Park Service responded with the ambitious Mission 66 program that was dedicated to

modernizing park infrastructure. The architecture and public improvements of the Mission 66 project are still obvious in park visitor centers, campgrounds, lodging, roads and some gateway development. Therefore, as tourism increased, gateway communities became key points of contact between local residents, the tourists and the national park. Over the past decade, East Glacier and West Glacier residents and interest groups have restored many of the buildings that had fallen into disrepair.

Third, this study of gateways explores the changing relationship between park policy/management issues and the economic base and local politics of the gateway communities themselves. There are many stresses and conflicts that can occur between communities and agencies. Examples of conflict among agencies are the eastside boundary disputes and hunting rights conflicts involving the Blackfeet Reservation and the national park. The east side community is located near the park boundary, although unlike West Glacier, it does not have direct connections with park service infrastructure. However, the community is still directly affected, economically and politically, by Glacier National Park as well as by the Blackfeet Reservation. National park policy influences more issues on the west side of the park because of its close proximity to West Glacier and United States Forest Service lands. Also, the main headquarters for Glacier is now on the west side of the park and are close to the gateway. Therefore, many park employees live in the gateway community in addition to living in nearby government housing. Land use developments in West Glacier are monitored closely, not only by its local government but also by the park. Debates over land holdings and government policy are issues that are of concern to the residents of West Glacier. The most recent

park-related economic issue facing both gateway communities is the anticipated repairing of the Going-to-the-Sun Road. The problem that has to be examined is the impact on tourism in the gateway communities when the road is closed for repairs. Once again, the issue highlights the intimate ties which bind gateway communities to their nearby national parks.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GATEWAY LANDSCAPE, 1890-1910

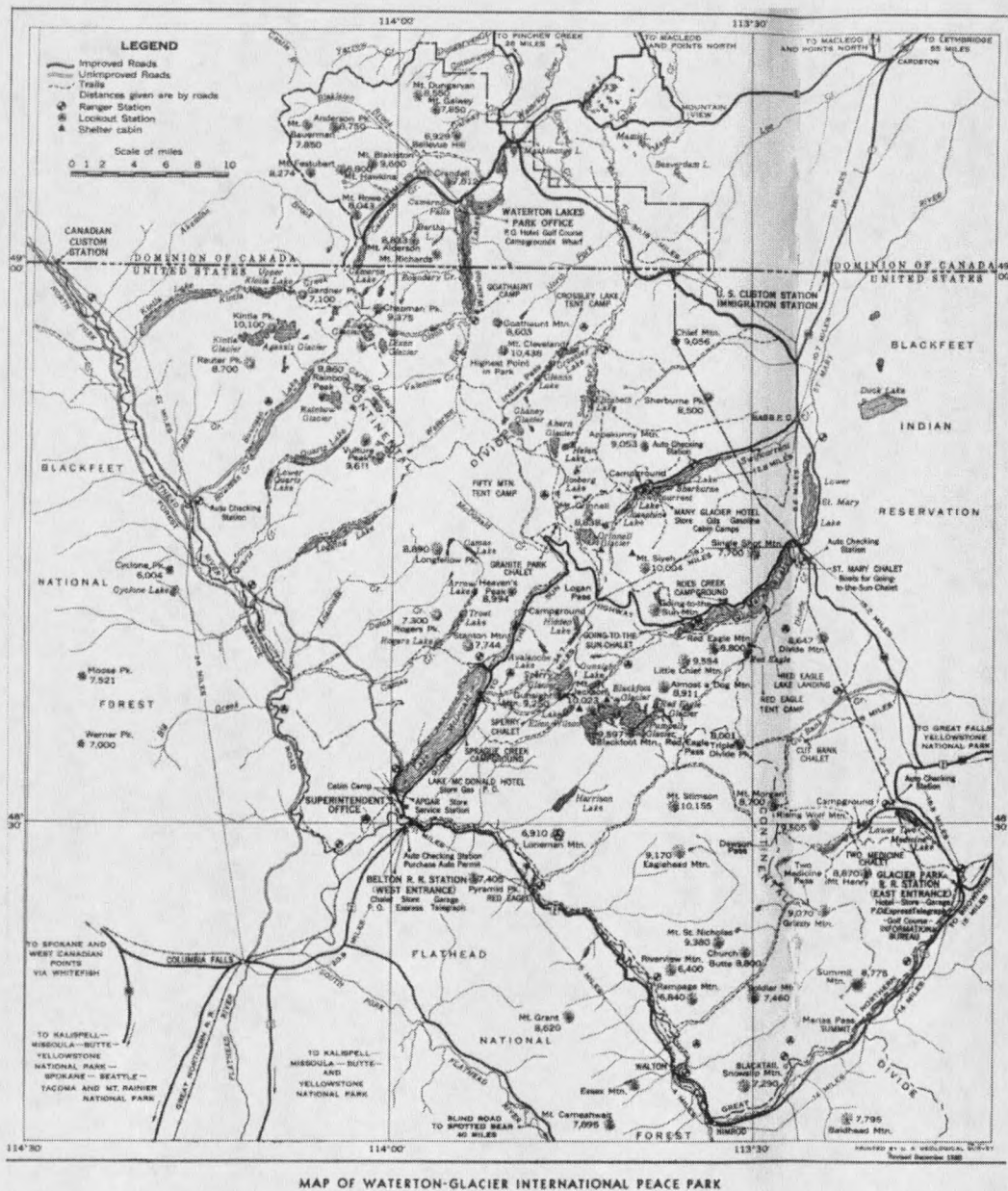
Landscape changes in the Glacier area accelerated between 1890 and 1910.

Before the park was created in 1910, railroad settlement, mining and early tourist resorts and camps shaped the incipient gateway communities. The Great Northern Railway dominated early landscape changes. The patterns of land use and landscape change over time can tell us a great deal about the changing cultural values and the economic base of these gateway communities. The landscapes of the Glacier gateway communities evolved as the need for more specialized, service-oriented tourist towns grew because a larger number of travelers were visiting the area.

Pre-park Landscape

Before the park was created in 1910, the Great Northern Railway initially shaped the location, function and landscapes of future gateway communities in the Glacier region. The locations of the future gateway communities were designated railroad stations on the east to west line between Browning and Columbia Falls, beginning with Midvale (Glacier Park) on the east and Belton on the west (HRS 1980) (Fig. 4). Stops along the Great Northern fostered settlement in the nearby mountain valleys. The Midvale and Belton stations became the obvious points of entry into the Glacier territory because they were situated closest to the major east and west facing valleys (HRS 1980). The west side gateway community grew faster than the east side partly because of the nearby settlement in the Upper Flathead Valley. However, there was no link between the western gateway and the Flathead Valley except for the Great Northern right-of-way.

Figure 4. Local Scale Map of Glacier National Park



The location map of Glacier National Park and its gateway communities reveals the geographic challenges of west and east side development. [Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1940).]

Thus, the west side settlers followed the railroad construction roads that led to the Lake McDonald Valley, the North Fork Valley and the Middle Fork Valley.

The completion of the Great Northern Railway in 1893 opened an isolated country that lay between the Canadian Pacific rail corridor on the north and the Northern Pacific rail corridor on the south. James J. Hill knew the key to the Great Northern's success lay in the development of agriculture, industry and commerce in the country that adjoined the railroad. The Great Northern was not a land grant railroad, which meant the company did not receive large blocks of land to subsidize the construction of their line such as the Northern Pacific Railroad (Malone 1996). Therefore, the company was dependent on freight shipment and settlement to finance their railway. In addition, the spectacular scenery of the Glacier area enticed visitors to the region, resulting in a demand for better transportation networks and accommodations. But primitive tourist facilities were limited to the Lake McDonald Valley, and access to the mountainous portions of the region remained minimal. The fledgling gateway communities were not equipped to handle the increasing numbers of visitors to the area. Therefore, the railroad invested millions of dollars in the development of transportation networks, accommodations and promotions of the Glacier region in the years prior to 1930 (HRS 1980).

Activities such as mining and tourism generated pre-park demands for gateway communities along the new rail line. The west side settlement was mostly based on subsistence homesteading. A few settlers supplemented their income by finding seasonal jobs in the Flathead Valley. A small mining boom of oil and minerals also sparked

interest in the North Fork Valley and Kintla Lake regions. The spectacular scenery of Glacier created a demand for tourist accommodations and facilities at Belton Station and Apgar. The residents of the Lake McDonald region gradually found their "gold strike" in tourism. In the early 1890's, a few homesteaders settled at the foot of Lake McDonald. Harvey Apgar, an early settler, built the first tourist cabin resort in 1895, and began the concession business in the Glacier region.

On the other hand, the east side development was slower because of the area's isolation and the railway stop was on the Blackfeet Reservation, which discouraged much early white settlement. In addition, the semiarid setting of the eastern slope was difficult to ranch or farm. There were a few ranches established by the early 1890's in the Midvale area such as the Dawson Ranch, the Jennings Ranch, the Brewster Ranch and the Ralston Ranch (Murphy 1982). They were mostly subsistence operations that also outfitted hunting and fishing trips into the Glacier territory for eastern adventurers. However, most of the initial east side settlers were attracted to the Swiftcurrent District because of mining. Copper and traces of other minerals were found on the eastern slope of the Rockies and prospectors pressured the government to buy the land from the Blackfeet Indian Nation. On September 26, 1895, the government purchased the land for \$1.5 million and it was opened to settlement about a year later (Butte Daily Inter Mountain 1896). Still, the large-scale demand for tourist facilities did not emerge on the east side until after the creation of the park.

The first appeal for preservation of the Glacier region was by G.B. Grinnell in 1885. The region became part of the Lewis and Clark Forest Reserve in the early 1890's.

As tourism in the area became well established by the turn of the century, the government's attention toward the area began to change (Buchholtz 1976). Most of the mining in the area ceased by 1906 and G.B. Grinnell turned toward James J. Hill, the president of the Great Northern, for help in creating park legislation. Hill's political influence could help pass the legislation, but he [Hill] also remarked that, "conservation does not mean forbidding access to resources that could be made available for present use. It means the forests and [their] largest development... consistent with the public interest and without waste" (Buchholtz 1976). Other park advocates such as Montana Senator Thomas Carter believed that the conservation movement prohibited the full development of resources and might impede the industrial growth in Montana (Buchholtz 1976). Still, Carter appreciated Hill's position on the park and the Senator realized how the Park improved accessibility to the region's resources. He became a staunch advocate for the creation of the park and proposed the Glacier bill to Congress. By December 1907, the first bill to organize a Glacier National Park was introduced to Congress, even though there was still opposition to its establishment. After two and a half years of local and federal controversy, an Act of Congress created Glacier National Park on May 11, 1910.

Establishment of the Western Gateway

In the years prior to 1910, the west side landscape reflected the growing demand for more visitor facilities. Initially, the western gateway of Belton was established as a railroad stop along the Great Northern. The first homesteaders that arrived in the region

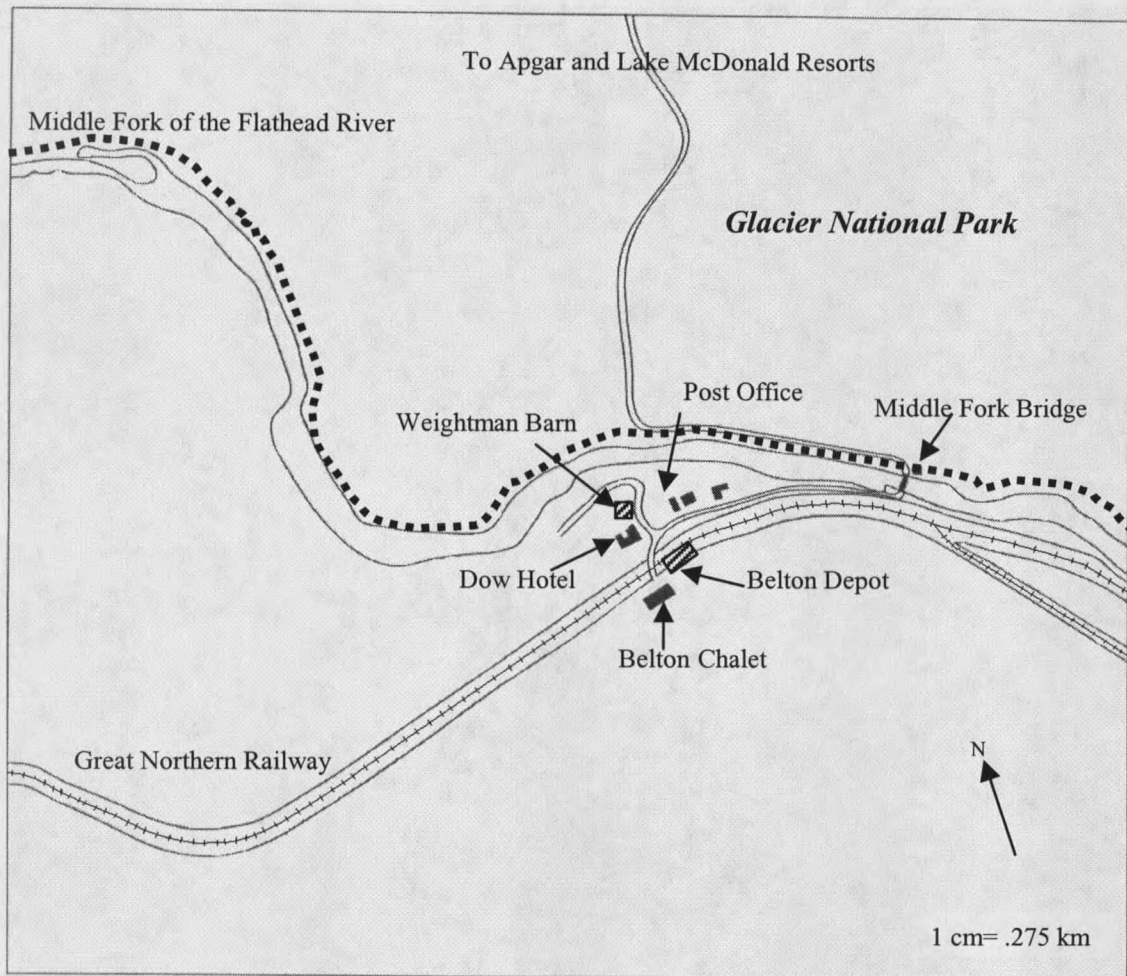
followed the railroad construction roads to Belton Station and to the west side valleys. Some of the first settlers to the region were Milo Apgar, Charlie Howe, George Snyder and Frank Gedhun, who constructed camps at the foot and head of Lake McDonald. Near the Belton Station boxcar, Edward Dow constructed a hotel, store and community hall. The town of Belton was formally surveyed and platted by 1904 (Pierce 1909). Thereafter, the settlement was increasingly shaped by the Great Northern Railway and by the creation of Glacier National Park in 1910.

Land Use Patterns of Belton in 1910

Land use in Belton in 1910 can be classified as commercial, residential or transportation-related (Fig. 5). The commercial development was centered primarily near the railroad depot and also followed the main road connecting Belton to Apgar. Edward Dow built a general store and hotel in 1895 that were the first service facilities in Belton. The post office, built in 1900, was located to the east of the Dow Hotel. There were additional social/community buildings such as the billiard hall and the dance hall.

The construction of the nearby Belton Chalet was a significant change to the Belton landscape. In 1909, the Great Northern authorized the construction of a new depot as well as a hotel. The pending creation of Glacier as a national park made Louis Hill think about the trickle of visitors that could be turned into a large number of railroad travelers. Hill's purpose for the Chalet was to provide luxury services for the increasing numbers of Great Northern passengers on the west side. The Belton Chalet opened on June 27, 1910 about a month and a half after Glacier became a national park. The modernized chalet provided extravagant accommodations for rail visitors that ventured to

Figure 5. Land Use Reconstruction Map—Belton 1910



- Commercial Land Use
- Transportation Land Use [railroad and gas stations]
- Park Boundary

[Source: U.S. Forest Service Map 1907, Reed 1909, Harrington 1957, Buchholtz 1976].

the wilderness of the Park and the primitive tent camps along the lake.

Belton's population remained small in 1910. The residential district was located on the west side of the town and other residences were adjoined to the family businesses. Most residents of the area lived near Apgar, including the Apgars, the Howes, the Gedhuns and others who operated the tourist facilities along the lake. Around 1910, Helen Apgar and Bob Greenwalt were the only children in Belton and Apgar (Harrington 1957). The Belton and Apgar families stayed year round, unlike the many seasonal residents that owned vacation homes on the shores of Lake McDonald.

Transportation-related land uses included the depot, the livery and the Belton/Apgar road. The railroad station was located directly north of the Chalet and directly south of Dow's Hotel. The livery barn was behind the store and hotel. The road from the depot turned east. It followed the tracks of the Great Northern and crossed the Middle Fork of the Flathead River at the wooden bridge. A wall tent was set up as an entrance station, which was located near the bridge on the park side of the river. The entrance road turned west off the bridge and followed the river for a little more than a half-of-a-mile. It went up a hill and past George Snyder's hotel and saloon (1906) through the thick, cedar forests to Apgar and the lake resorts (Great Falls Tribune 1963). Prior to 1910, the road was little more than a trail that cut through the thick timber to the lake (Harrington 1957).

Landscape Change in Pre-Park Belton

An analysis of early photographs and oral histories of Belton reveals significant landscape change as it was shaped over time. Belton Station was nestled among the

densely forested hills of the Middle Fork River Valley. The Dow Hotel and general store as well as the boxcar depot dominated the 1890 landscape. Another boxcar housed the Great Northern Railway agent near the depot boxcar (Harrington 1957). Jack Wise built a wooden bridge before the turn of the century over the Middle Fork of the Flathead River that connected Belton to the concessions at Apgar (HRS 1980) (Fig. 6). The construction of the bridge ended visitor travel across the river in rowboats and connected Belton to the concessions at Apgar. Ed Dow provided the stage service that operated three times daily between the Belton depot and the facilities at the foot of Lake McDonald, even though the Belton/Apgar road was nearly impassable most of the time. Visitor numbers were on the rise to the west side resorts. However, the early Belton landscape stayed relatively undeveloped prior to the creation of the park.

The landscape of 1910 changed with the growing dominance of the Great Northern Railway and the increasing numbers of tourists visiting the west side (Fig. 7). The immediate townsite was cleared of timber and the surrounding hillsides were heavily forested. The Dow Hotel and general store were the center of the developed landscape on the north side of the tracks. The post office was located to the east and in close proximity to the hotel and store (Fig. 8). Behind the hotel was the livery barn that provided transportation for tourists to the concessions at Lake McDonald. The white-washed fences, the groomed lawns and the well-kept pathways revealed a small mountain tourist primarily served the railroad passengers. The placement of the Chalet allowed travelers easy access from the depot to their accommodations when they arrived at Belton. The structure was styled after a Swiss chalet. The most modern technological amenities of the

Figure 6. The First Middle Fork of the Flathead River Bridge



The new wooden bridge ended the crossing of the river by rowboat. Early tourists traveling to the Lake McDonald resorts could now take a stage. A wall tent served as a check station. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1890).]

Figure 7. Belton During its Heyday



The focus of the town is the depot, the Dow Hotel and the Belton Mercantile. The dirt path connected the town to the Belton Chalet. [Marble Studio, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1910).]

Figure 8. Belton Post Office



The Belton post office was a social place during the early 1900's. Today it is the only remnant of the town of Belton. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1915).]

Figure 9. Belton Chalet in 1910



The Belton Chalet was an impressive change to Belton's visual landscape in 1910. [Marble Studio, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1910).]

day were also available for guests. The landscaping resembled the intricate gardens of Europe. The Chalet became the first of the Great Northern's concessions and the only one on the west side of the Park.

Perceptions of Pre-Park Belton

An evaluation of early railroad brochures, local newspapers, letters and diaries can assist in understanding how Belton was perceived by early visitors and residents. Visitors to the Glacier region found primitive accommodations and facilities on the west side before the construction of the Belton Chalet. Railroad travelers spent two to three days on the train traveling from the east. They spent another day traveling by stage between Belton and Apgar after they arrived at the west side depot. Tourists who did venture to the mountains of Glacier stepped off the train at Belton. A photograph from 1908 shows what the rail traveler would have seen as they arrived Belton on the eastbound train (Fig. 10). As the traveler descended from the train at the Belton depot, they saw a cabin and a canvas tent nearby. On the north side of the tracks was the Dow Hotel and general store that was fronted by a white-washed fence. One traveler wrote about the simplicity of the Dow Hotel, "There was no one about, but a candle was lit and the register was open with a note saying which rooms were unoccupied" (Harrington 1957, 1). The next day the visitor would take the Dow or Weightman stage to the tourist resorts at Apgar. The trip from Belton to Lake McDonald was rough with stumps and rocks (Harrington 1957). Sometimes the road was full of holes from blasting stumps. One traveler described the railroad trip from Chicago to Belton and the role played by the small gateway center:

The Great Northern is the only railroad which takes you to Lake McDonald. You can leave Chicago on your through ticket by any one of three routes to St. Paul. The trains that leave at 6:55 reach St. Paul in time for breakfast. Then you connect with the Oriental Limited, the best train of the Great Northern which leaves about ten o'clock a.m. from the same station. This train has the usual Pullmans and very good tourist cars, with a very nice observation car at the rear. It takes two days and the intervening night to reach Belton, the jumping-off place for Lake McDonald. Thus we left St. Paul about 10:00 Thursday morning and reached Belton at 11:30 Friday night. The dining car service is a la carte and very much more expensive than good. At Belton arriving at that hour one goes to a clean, plain, small country hotel near the track, has a good sleep and breakfast for fifty cents, departing thence by "stage"--an open, bouncy wagon--four miles through better and better woods to the Lake itself (Reed 1909).

Other visitors that arrived at Belton often brought their own provisions for their camping trip. A memoir from 1897 described how early travelers took their camping supplies and provisions on a lumber wagon through the heavy cedar trees to a row boat that transported them to the lake camps (Kalispell Daily Inter Lake 1953). Mrs. E.C. O'Neil also recalls a 1903 camping trip to the Glacier region where they had all their provisions, tents and baggage transported to Apgar via the stage, then everything was loaded on the steamboat to be carried to the head of the lake (Kalispell Daily Inter Lake 1953). Many of these were the first visitors to pitch tents where later chalets would stand over the glaciers. Others were some of the first women to climb mountains in the region.

The residents of Belton and Apgar also appreciated the beauty of the Glacier region. Roderick Houston, an early resident of Apgar, first saw Lake McDonald in 1901 and was attracted to the area by the unsurpassed scenery of the mountains (Harrington 1957). Most of the early residents were captivated by Glacier because of its beauty, even though they originally came to the area because of the hunting, fishing, and mining. Accounts from residents and seasonal vacationers describe the smells of the cedar forests, the abundance of game and the beautiful wild flowers (Harrington 1957). Many of the

Figure 10. Eastbound View of the Great Northern Railway



The view of Belton in 1908 reveals a small western railroad town with few services. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (1908).]

people who first visited Glacier either stayed or returned every year to the West.

The Great Northern did not begin heavily publicizing the region until after the park's establishment in 1910. Therefore, the number of tourists that entered the area was based entirely on word of mouth, articles written by travelers, and the spectacular scenery that had already lured people to the region. In the early 1900's, a new tourist movement was beginning to grow across America. The "See America First" campaign was built on the ideology of the West as being a place that represented nature and economic opportunity. It offered freedom for migration from the urban, industrialized East that was linked closely to Europe (Shaffer 1994, 1996). The Great Northern launched the

campaign in 1908-1909 that promoted the Glacier region as well as encouraging travel along the "See America First" National Park Route.

The construction of the Belton Chalet began the railroad company's promotion of the west side. The Chalet was built for the comfort of traveling railway passengers and it also became a key west side resort destination. The Chalet "represented the most spacious and sophisticated facility on the park's west side" (Kalispell Daily Inter Lake 1911 a). Great Northern passengers would step off the train at the Belton depot. Within a few steps of leaving the depot, they would walk through a beautiful flowering arbor of Virginia Creeper and up the log steps of the lodge. The atmosphere portrayed the image of the European Alps, a perception that Louis Hill and the Great Northern would promote and build on over the next decades.

Establishment of the Eastern Gateway

Unlike the tourist economy of the west side, east side development was based on mining and ranching. Early residents consisted of a variety of ranchers, business owners, dude ranchers, railroad workers, trappers, bootleggers, wood hawkers and ice cutters (MacCarter 1984). The first families in the area were Horace and Margaret Clarke and Thomas and Isabel [Clarke] Dawson. The Clarke Family arrived in 1888 and ranched land grants until they bought property on the north west side of the Great Northern tracks. Shortly after, in 1893, the Dawson family followed the Clarkes to Midvale. They established and operated the 4/X Ranch on the south side of the Great Northern Railway. The other resident was Mr. Bland, the Great Northern depot agent.

Midvale became a temporary stop for miners traveling to the Swiftcurrent District. Minerals were discovered along the eastern slope near the Canadian border and similar to most mining areas, development was quick and short-lived. A minor gold strike occurred near Midvale around 1900, but it was also abandoned. In the end, the east side was left with ghost towns and some lingering miners (Buchholtz 1976). A formal plat of Midvale was created in 1907. The Secretary of the Interior authorized "not less than eighty acres of land to be set aside for town-site purposes, at or near the present settlements of Browning and Babb" (McCabe 1910). The government wanted to establish a route of commerce through the east side and the Blackfeet Reservation. Thus, the first plat of Midvale was created along the Great Northern Railway. The original plat surveyed by the Department of the Interior Land Office was recorded in 1910. However, the pre-park landscape of Midvale amounted to really nothing more than the Great Northern tracks until after the establishment of the park (Buchholtz 1976).

Land Use Patterns of Midvale in 1910

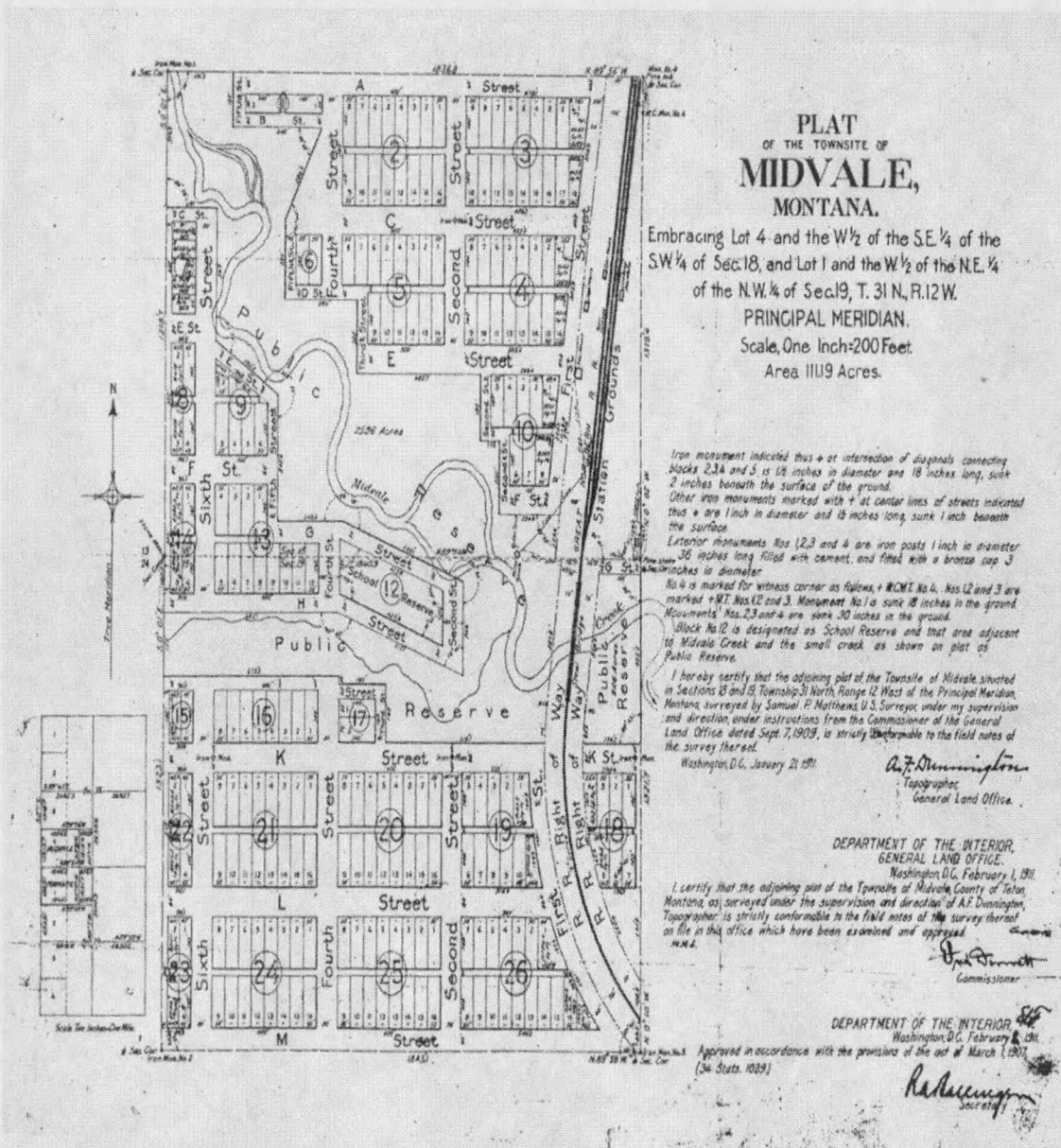
The original map of Midvale was surveyed and platted in 1907 (Fig. 11). The townsite was designed to straddle Midvale Creek along the tracks of the Great Northern. However, the land for the townsite was sold to the railroad and the land use patterns were changed from the original plat map. Activities in the area were split between three different sites. These included the Great Northern hotel site (original plat of Midvale (1907)) and the nearby Clarke (1914) and Dawson (1920) Townsites (Fig. 12). Each nucleus of activity had its own cluster of commercial, residential and transportation land uses. However, the initial divisions of land use in each section were not necessarily clear

until later years. For example, the original Midvale site was a tent camp site along Midvale Creek at the turn of the century until the land at Lot 1, T30N, R12W and Lot 4, T31N, R12W, was purchased by the Great Northern Railway in 1912.

The section that later became the Clarke Townsite (1914) or the "Glacier Park Original" was located northwest of the Midvale (1907) plat site. The Horace Clarke Family had a ranch house and outbuildings. The Clarke and Dawson families had built identical two-story houses with a front veranda and a lean-to-kitchen. The ranches were situated a half a mile away from each other near Midvale Creek. There were a few logging cabins north of the Clarke land. A wagon road cut through into the northern mining districts of the Swiftcurrent Valley. There were also game and Indian trails established along the eastern front.

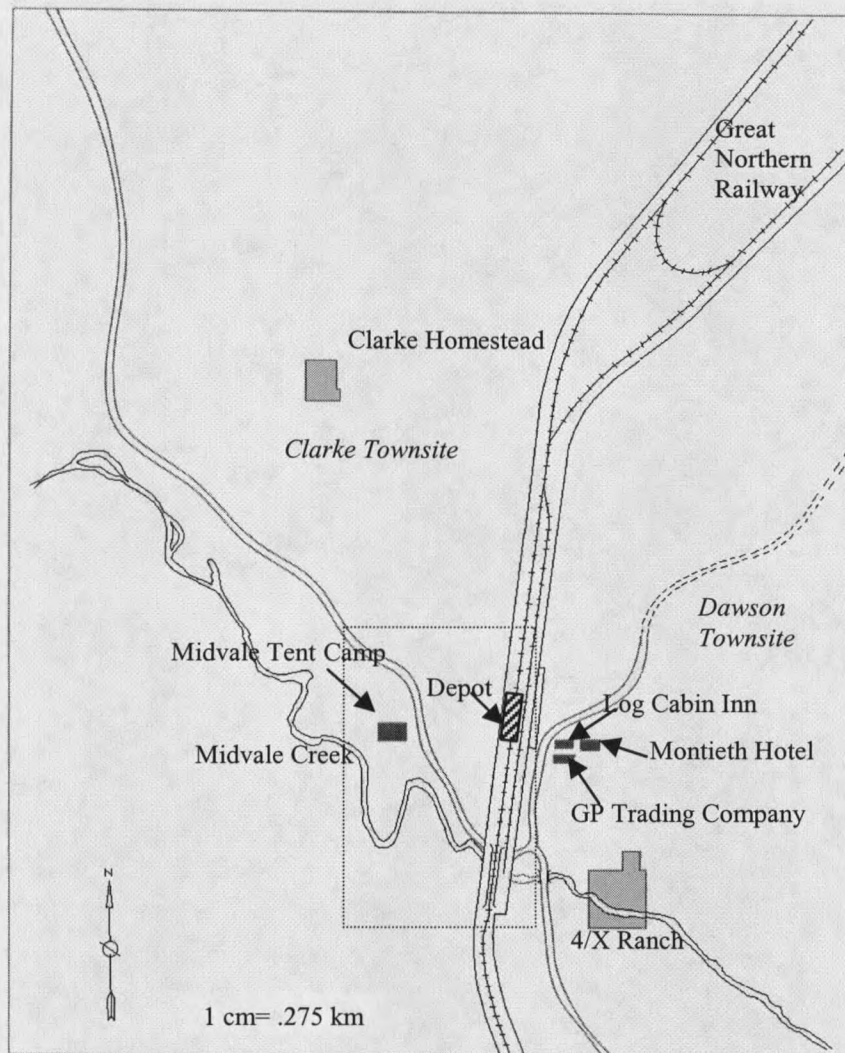
The Dawson ranch, the 4/X Ranch, was located a quarter of a mile southeast of the Great Northern Railway, near Midvale Creek (Fig. 13). A portion of the ranch later became the Dawson Townsite (1920). The original Dawson house burned at the turn of the century. Two early commercial buildings were constructed on the Dawson site near the railroad tracks, including the Montieth Hotel (1910-11) and the Glacier Park Trading Post Company (a general store)(1910-11). Dawson contracted out his carpentry skills to build these buildings. Across the street from the general store and next to the hotel, he built a cabin for his family in 1909. A crude wagon road paralleled the railroad tracks through the future Dawson site. The wagon road crossed under the railroad bridge and continued to the future site of the hotel and the Clarke ranch (Fig. 14). A bridge

Figure 11. The Original Plat Map for Midvale in 1907



The land was never developed according to the plat because it was sold to the railroad for the construction of the Glacier Park Hotel. [Courtesy of GNP Archives (1907).]

Figure 12. Land Use Reconstruction Map—Midvale 1910



- Commercial Land Use
- Transportation Land Use [railroad and gas stations]
- Residential Land Use
- Original Plat of Midvale

[Source: Buchholtz 1976, Murphy 1982, MacCarter 1984]

paralleled the railroad trestle at the bottom of the hill behind the present school that connected to the continuing westbound rail wagon road (Fig. 15).

Landscape Change in Pre-Park Midvale

Documents, maps and photographs reveal the pace of landscape change in early Midvale prior to the 1910 establishment of the park. The original settlers in the region discovered a lush valley at the base of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. Tom Dawson thought the area was a good place because it had a lot of timber, good cattle range, plenty of water and the railroad was already built (MacCarter 1984). The accessibility into the Glacier region from the east side, however, was much more limited than from the west. St. Mary's Lake was the east side's version of Lake McDonald.

Figure 13. The Dawson 4/X Ranch Site



The old barn in this photograph is located near the original Dawson Ranch site.
[Author photograph (2000).]

Figure 14. Original Road Connecting the Clarke and Dawson Townsites



The scars of the old roadbed are still visible from the Midvale Creek Bridge. The dirt road connected the two townsites until U.S. 2 was completed in 1929. [Author photo (2001).]

Figure 15. Wagon Road Westbound



The roadbed from earlier days reveals the transportation route from Midvale to the west. [Author photo (2001).]

However, it was much farther from the depot than the west side lake resorts. Therefore, guided hunting and fishing trips into the eastern mountain valleys were more appropriate.

The landscape of early Midvale changed little between 1890 and 1910. At the turn of the century, there was the depot, section crew dwellings, and a few scattered shacks that were located across Midvale Creek (MacCarter 1984). There was no school in the area and the post office was operated out of the Dawson Ranch. The grassy, rolling hills of the east side were suitable for the large ranches that raised cattle and horses. Only a few buildings changed the landscape in 1910. These were constructed close to the railroad depot, the Montieth Hotel and the Glacier Trading Post Company (Fig. 16). The hotel and general store serviced adventurers heading into the Glacier territory. Before the hotel and general store were built in Midvale, the Sherburne Mercantile, near St. Mary's, provided a variety of goods for miners. The mercantile also set up "grub stakes" for those who wished to do assessment work on claims they had staked out in the Swiftcurrent area (MacCarter 1984). The early Midvale buildings were hewn from rough-cut lumber from the surrounding area and typified the western style of architecture of the period (Jordan 1997). Western railroad companies first experimented with "moveable canvas hotels", such as those used by the Northern Pacific in Yellowstone National Park. Great Northern agent W.J. Hillogoss set up the Midvale "tent" camp near the depot and the creek in 1910, until the opening of the magnificent Glacier Park Hotel in 1913. He also established the line of tent camps along the east side that later would be sites for the Great Northern chalets. Hillogoss constructed and maintained many of the trails and routes through the area. These initial travel routes

Figure 16. Glacier Park Trading Company



The Glacier Park Trading Company was the meeting place in Midvale at the turn of the century. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1910).]

later became roads for automobile travel.

The Blackfoot Indian residents also influenced the landscape on the east side. The Fort Laramie Treaty defined the Blackfoot Territory in 1851. Earlier many of the regional tribes lived on the Plains. However, the Blackfoot forced tribes such as the Flathead, Kutenai and the Kalispel into the mountains and to the west side of the Glacier region. The dominance of the Blackfoot kept settlers out of the region for decades. The Baker Massacre in 1870 ended the organized Blackfoot resistance along the eastern front. A Catholic missionary wrote in his journal about the Blackfoot, "In the summer of 1874, I was traveling amongst the Blackfoot. It was painful to me to see the state of poverty to

which they had been reduced. Formerly they had been the most opulent Indian in the country, now they were clothed in rags without horses and without guns" (Buchholtz 1976, 29). The nomadic Plains tribe failed to adopt cattle ranching or farming and by 1910, the Blackfeet population deteriorated to only a few local camps.

Perceptions of Pre-Park Midvale

An analysis of letters, newspaper articles and oral histories aid in describing the perceptions of travelers and residents of early Midvale. James Willard Schultz and G.B. Grinnell in Forest and Stream recorded some of the first traveler accounts to the region. Grinnell described the east side landscape on one of his Glacier adventures:

The lower St. Mary's Lake is about seven miles long and in places, a mile wide. On the west side of the lake an immense flat-topped mountain comes down to the water's edge, and on the east rises a high, steep ridge—it would be called a mountain in the East—thickly wooded with fir. From this ridge one can get glimpses of the upper lake, much larger than this one and walled in by stupendous mountains. Beyond rise peak after peak of jagged mountains, some of them with sheer cliffs thousands of feet high (Grinnell 1885, 362).

He also wrote about the spectacular fishing and hunting of the Glacier region in many of his articles. In the St. Mary's area, Grinnell recorded different types of fish, such as lake trout, whitefish, one with a "red throat" [cut throat], and another slim trout with red spots [western brown trout] (Grinnell 1885). Big game hunting was profitable for those who wanted to journey high into the mountains. However, hunting parties were not always successful. After a long hunting trip into the mountains Grinnell recorded his findings:

Here we were well repaid for our arduous climb. Never in my life did I behold such grand scenery. Below us several thousand feet, lay the lake..., its unruffled surface dotted with several small islands...I could not describe it better than to say that it is an immense canon party filled with water...

On the opposite side, and on our side of the lake across the canon, the mountains rise to a great height, some of them shaped like a needle. Beyond the head of the lake is a long, wide, densely, timbered valley, and on the upper left hand side of this valley is a mountain, the top of which is a true glacier... We could see large fissures in it, and in one place a large mass had apparently lately broken off. A large stream of water which comes from this glacier dashes over a perpendicular cut on the face of the mountain at least 250 feet in height.... (Grinnell 1885, 362-363).

James Willard Schultz also guided hunting expeditions into the Glacier region. One of his clients was a British banker, who remarked, "I have been in the Alps of Switzerland, the Himalayas in India, but in neither of those ranges have I seen any setting of lake and mountains that can compare with this..." (Fraley 1998, 7). Schultz invited Grinnell to experience the region and live with the Blackfeet tribe one summer. Both were advocates for the Blackfeet people and assisted with government relations over the years. Other writers such as Mr. Baker and Dr. Phillips also wrote books about big game hunting in Glacier (Murphy 1982). Louis W. Hill and his family also traveled to the region in their own private rail car for fall hunting expeditions.

Until the Great Northern Railway built the lodge and the chalets, the east side was quite isolated. Early travelers and settlers described the isolation in letters and journals. Schultz and Grinnell wrote in their journals of the solitude and beauty of the east side. Wealthy easterners such as the Rockefellers visited the Glacier region during the summer months to rejuvenate from the mad rush of the city. According to Helene Dawson Edkins, "everyone stayed at their ranch because there was no were else to stay" (Murphy 1982). Even though there were many visitors to their ranch, Helen Dawson Edkins described the solitude of being a child on the east side during its first years:

There were no children to play with. But my parents took time off. We had horses to ride. Everything was an occasion. We had picnics. Every birthday, even the

horse, the animals' birthdays were celebrated with a cake or something. My memory is very happy memory of childhood because I can never remember of having missed anything. They made a great ado over birthdays, all holidays, and Christmas, it seemed, would never come, was really an occasion (Murphy 1982).

The few homesteading families of early Midvale entertained each other and made occasions for just about everything. The events included the visitors staying at the ranch and often the local Blackfeet residents were involved. The isolation continued into the beginning of the twentieth century with only the depot, hotel and general store buildings, and crew dwellings located near the Midvale stop and some across the creek (MacCarter 1984).

Blackfeet stories and histories were passed orally through the generations.

Therefore, many of their perceptions of the changing landscape and early settlement on the east side were either lost, recorded by early explorers such as Schultz and Grinnell or documented by Midvale residents. The Blackfeet people had been in the Glacier region for over a century. Many of their stories and legends included settings within or near Glacier. The majestic Chief Mountain is a rugged outlier on the eastern front. The story of the Wise Man of Chief Mountain narrates the legend of how Blackfeet Indians became known for their handsome and colorful dress (Welker 1998).

Wise Man and his wife packed their travois, which was drawn by dogs, and moved to the base of the Inside Lakes [St. Mary's Lake]. There they made their camp. He hunted and killed enough game for him and his wife and their dogs before beginning work on his plan (Welker 1998).

The story explains the purpose of each ornament, decoration and dye, as well as how they were acquired by Wise Man in the Glacier region. The legend also goes on to explain the

teachings of Wise Man to the people near Chief Mountain in creating these new beautiful decorated clothes.

Ten years after the Fort Laramie Treaty created the Blackfeet Reservation, the boundaries were reduced, even though Congress did not ratify it. The homesteaders flocked to the region and conflict increased in the territory. The Sweetgrass Hills Treaty of 1888 again split the northern Montana reservation into the three present day reservations of Fort Peck, Fort Belknap and the Blackfeet (Ewers 1958, Farr 1984).

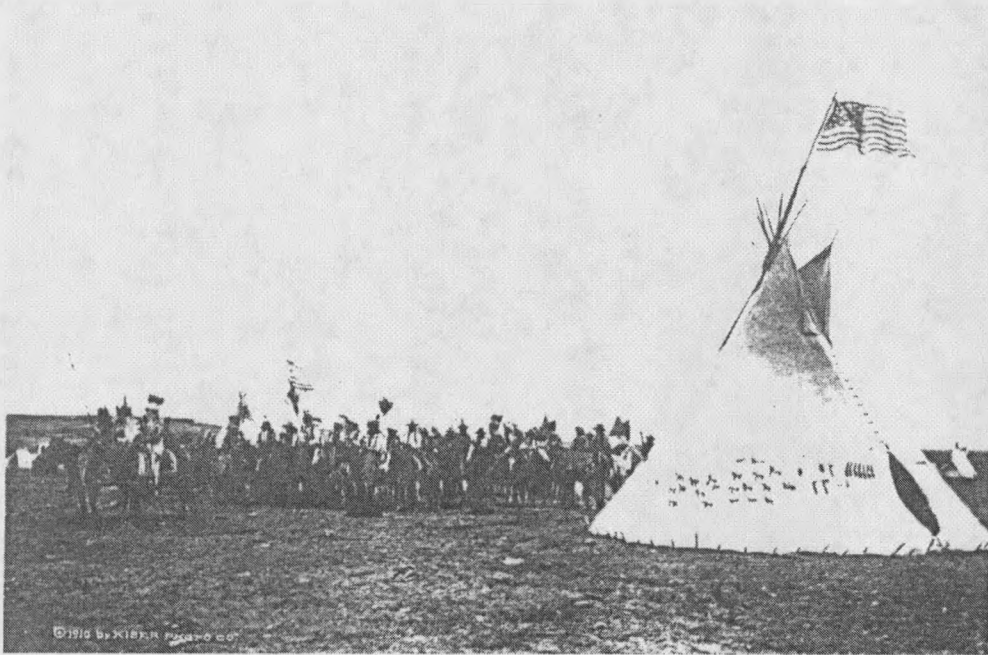
When Schultz and Grinnell entered the region, the Blackfeet were already a downtrodden people. Schultz and Grinnell became advocates for the Blackfeet people around the turn of the century. The regal people that were painted and photographed by Edwin Deming were those who had survived disease and starvation. The Blackfeet watched helplessly at the end of the nineteenth century as the government tried to make the nomadic tribe a sedentary people. The railroad cut across their land bringing white settlers and prospectors to the sacred areas of Glacier.

During the early years, there was a mutual respect between the local settlers and the Blackfeet people. Homesteaders such as the Clarkes and Dawsons were of Indian descent and could speak the Blackfeet language. Thomas Dawson, Horace Clarke and his sisters, Isabel and Helene, were children of a white father and a Native American mother (MacCarter 1984). Horace J. Clarke was a Blackfeet Tribal Leader from 1890 to 1900. He was one of the signers on the 1887 agreement that again revised the boundaries of the reservation (MacCarter 1984). He also married a Blackfoot woman named Margaret. Helen P. Clarke, Horace's sister, was an interpreter and mediator for the

Blackfeet. She is credited as one of the few women who helped manage the federal Indian program by assisting her people in land allotments and framing the clauses for the Treaty of 1895 (MacCarter 1984). There were also Indian celebrations that some residents near Midvale attended (Fig. 17).

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked the initial exploitation of the Glacier region. The completion of the Great Northern Railway in 1893 opened a region of the Northwest that had only been accessible by foot or horse. The explorers and adventurers that traveled to the Glacier region encountered rugged terrain, spectacular scenery and incredible fishing and hunting. Some tourist merchants followed the railroad wagon roads on a quest to find their "gold strike" in the Glacier scenery. The railroad was pivotal in shaping the initial function and landscapes of the west and east side communities. Belton was the popular gateway and established community because of the location of the Lake McDonald tourist resorts. Visitors traveled by rail to Belton, stayed at the Dow Hotel or the Belton Chalet and ventured into the wilderness of the Glacier territory by stage to lake camps. The need to provide tourist services encouraged faster growth on the west side. In contrast, the east side community located on the Blackfeet Reservation only had a few residents who ranched, and guided hunting and fishing trips into the Glacier region. The most temporary of all the residents were the miners that traveled into the North Fork Valley and the Swift Current Valley in search of the fabled "gold strike" of Glacier minerals.

Figure 17. Blackfeet Celebration



The Blackfeet and early residents shared celebrations such as pow-wows, dance ceremonies, and other events. [Kiser, Courtesy of GNP Archives (1910).]

GATEWAY EVOLUTION, 1910-1930

Between 1910 and 1930, Glacier's gateways continued to evolve, shaped by the growing popularity of the Park, the dominance of the Great Northern Railway and the emergence of the automobile. However, other events also influenced the growth of the gateway communities between 1910 and 1930. World War I began in Europe in 1914 and the United States entered the conflict in 1917. The nation's economy stayed strong during the war years. Glacier visitation increased because Americans were looking for the sanctuary and security that the West offered. The traveling American public also had more money and leisure time. The ratification of the 18th Amendment (prohibition) in 1919 produced an era of "speak easies", under-ground clubs, and bootlegging at the Glacier Park dance halls. Many Americans enjoyed prosperity until the stock market crashed in 1929 and the Depression began. Even though America experienced a variety of events between 1910 and 1930, these were the golden years in which Glacier's gateways grew rapidly and became important parts of the region's economy and landscape.

Early Park Development

The authorization by Congress to set aside land for Glacier National Park in 1910 determined the future of the western and eastern gateways. An important landscape change on the west side was the permanent construction of park headquarters near Belton. The gateway was an established town in 1910 and a logical choice for the headquarters. The new park administration also created and enforced a complete set of

rules and regulations for concessionaires and private landholders within the park. However, the east side gateway was still undeveloped. Louis Hill was eager to begin building his legacy on the east side of the park. Park officials welcomed the monetary investment for improvements and construction. In 1910, the railroad began their long-term Glacier project, building chalets, trails and roads inside and outside the park boundaries. Furthermore, the number of Glacier travelers increased after the creation of the park. In 1914, over 14,000 visitors passed through the park gates. Almost 19,000 visitors entered the park by 1919, even though visitation dropped temporarily during World War I. The Great Northern Railway was the leading promoter of the ambitious Glacier Park advertisement campaigns. The government became involved in advertising as well, after the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916. These agency promotions usually encouraged automobile travel rather than rail travel because they focused on the west side of the park. The changes that occurred after the establishment of Glacier, the creation of a park infrastructure and a landscape shaped by the railroad transformed the gateway communities from railroad stops to tourist destinations.

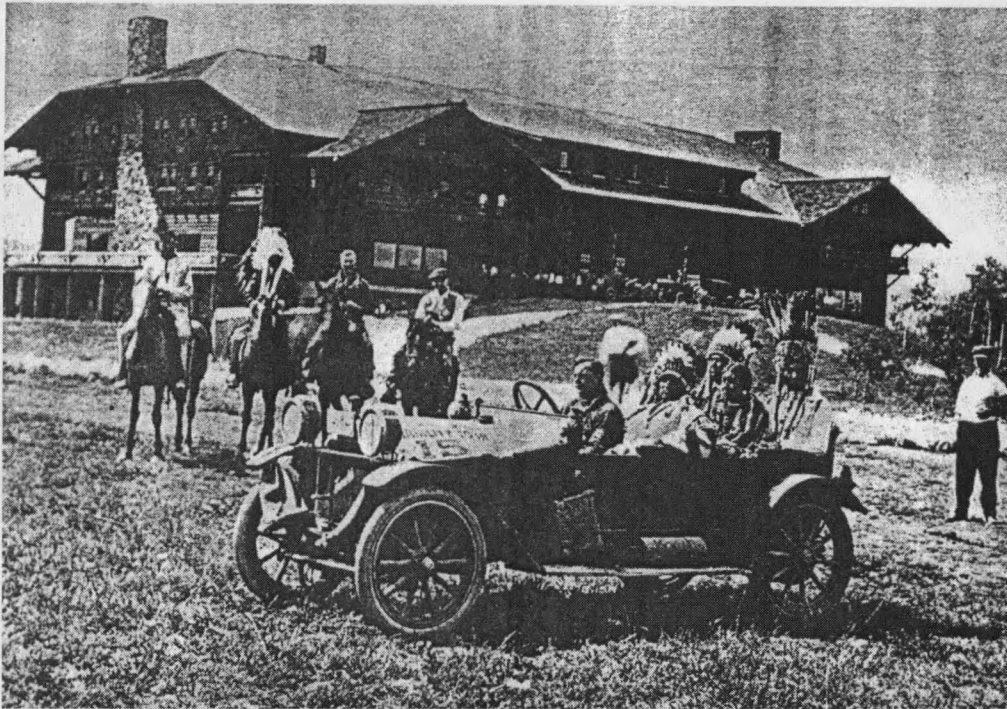
The Great Northern Railway profoundly shaped the landscapes of the early gateway communities. The railroad invested \$1.2 million in the initial park development. By 1929, Hill spent another \$1.1 million of Great Northern money on park facilities (Diele-Taylor 1997). Between 1910 and 1930 the railroad built their Glacier holdings. These included the Belton Chalet (1910) (the only west side holding), the Glacier Park Hotel (1913), the Many Glacier Hotel (1915), and park chalets at Two Medicine, Cut Bank, St. Mary's, Going-to-the-Sun, Gunsight, Sperry and Granite Park. Auto cabins

were built at Roes Creek [present Rising Sun] and Swiftcurrent in the late 1920's. Hill's plans for park facility expansion also included the establishment of an efficient transportation system (HRS 1980). The Great Northern Railway built trails connecting the chalets within the park as well as contributing to the construction of the east side roads. The large railroad investment plan also included an extensive promotion and advertising campaign of the Glacier area.

The railroad pinpointed the destinations, facilitated the transportation, and provided the advertising in a concerted effort that was intended to spur travel to Glacier (Moylan 1995). For example, the railway sponsored a "See America First" campaign that began in 1908. It was one of the most successful marketing slogans of the time. The campaign was produced to support American travel and spending during a time when European vacations were fashionable. Glacier represented the rejuvenative quality of the American West in contrast to the urban, industrialized East (Shaffer 1994, 1996). In addition, the 1913 Kitchell Lecture Series, focused on the scenic wonders of the Park. Great Northern passenger agents presented it to various civic organizations throughout the country. Great Northern Railway President, Louis Hill, sponsored the Glidden Tour, a long distance auto race that was provided a "rolling hotel" by the railroad. The drivers began their journey in Minneapolis, crossed the Great Plains, and completed the adventure in front of the Glacier Park Hotel in 1913 (Fig. 18).

Great Northern passenger agents were ultimately in charge of the Glacier promotions. Hill and his promotional agent, Hoke Smith, created a vigorous advertising

Figure 18. The Great Northern Railway sponsored Glidden Tour in 1913



The marketing strategies of the Great Northern began to include automobiles as their popularity increased. [Brown Studio, Courtesy of GNP Archives (1913).]

campaign that let the American people know what the new park had to offer visitors (Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1997). There were very few advertising channels that were overlooked in promoting the park and the gateways. These included brochures, postcards, and paintings in eastern depots, advertisements in magazines, exhibitions, travel shows and motion pictures. However, most of the Great Northern promotions were directed toward the east side and the railroad investments. The early railroad brochures boasted that the Great Northern was the only transcontinental railroad to reach the borders of Glacier National Park (Great Northern Railway 1912). Other brochures such as the *Burlington Northern Escorted Tours: Vacations Without a Care*, helped

prospective visitors plan summer vacation tours. The railroad advertised these tours as "the best way to travel" without a waste of time or money because everything was paid for in a lump sum (Burlington Northern Railroad 1928). With the co-operation of Glacier Park personnel, pictures for brochures, newspaper articles and advertisements were provided to the railroad (Kenney 1930). The railroad made suggestions to the park about creating artist colonies, placing bells in the mountain passes, building bear feeding facilities, importing Swiss mountain guides and having wranglers dress in gaudy cowboy outfits to attract visitors to western America's own version of the Alps.

During the early years, tensions began to grow between park officials and the railroad. Many of the early superintendents felt the pressure of Louis W. Hill's constant demands and political influence. For example, Congress withheld a significant amount of money for construction in Glacier because of the large amount of inholdings on the west side (Schene 1990). This disgruntled Hill who had already made plans for the money to construct east side trails and roads. Railroad interference in park issues disturbed many government officials. The resolution of this issue by the government was to appoint Stephen T. Mather to manage park operations in 1914. Mather wanted cooperation between the government and the railroad so that a larger percentage of the American people could use the park (Mather 1915). The formation of the National Park Service in 1916 added the support the government needed to regulate development and concessions in and around the park. The Great Northern and the government signed a twenty-year concessions contract in 1917. The railroad's development agenda was now subject to the director of the park and regulations pertaining to protection and management of the park

(Ober 1973). Thereafter, the war years slowed park visitation and efforts of the railroad were increasingly eclipsed by auto-related tourism.

The emergence of the automobile had a fundamental impact on Glacier Park development and the evolution of the gateway communities. In just a decade, the numbers of automobiles in the United States increased from 78, 000 in 1905 to 2.33 million in 1915 (Soulliere 1995). The need for good roads became a major concern for auto tourists and tourist-oriented businessmen across America. The Good Roads Convention held in 1910 promoted and encouraged the construction of good roads for the "See America First" campaign. The western national parks became a part of the Good Roads Movement. The Park-to-Park Road, sponsored by many western communities, connected several national parks of the West. Boosters of this road movement considered the Flathead County roads to be all in good condition. Stephan Mather, head of the National Park Service after 1916, also promoted the use of the automobile within the Parks as the best possible means to increase tourism quickly and economically (Runte 1979). Many of the auto club magazines gave detailed descriptions of drives through the parks, and they often-included information on regulations as well as suggested itineraries (Soulliere 1995).

As a result of the auto-tourist demand for better roads and access to areas, Congress appropriated funds for a transmountain road (Going-to-the-Sun Road) within the park as well as the Theodore Roosevelt Highway (U.S. 2) along the southern boundary of the park. Crews began work on surveying and constructing the two east-west connecting roads in the early 1920's. The opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Road from

Belton to Logan Pass in 1929 brought over 23,000 people through the west gate.

Motorists could view the spectacular scenery and witness the natural wonders of Glacier from their auto. The 1930 completion of the Theodore Roosevelt Highway (U.S. 2) represented the beginning of a new era and landscape for the gateway communities of Glacier.

Automobile travel furthermore shaped the landscape of the gateway communities. New auto-oriented land uses created a distinctive pattern of roadside services and facilities. Local entrepreneurs on both the west and east side built gas stations, service garages, convenient-type grocery stores, tourist cabins and campgrounds to accommodate the middle-class auto tourist. However, auto-oriented land use in Belton and on the west side of the Park was established and accepted earlier than on the east side. The independent Glacier Park businessmen provided auto services and facilities for auto travelers between 1910 and 1930. However, the dominance of the Great Northern Railway and its east side facilities overshadowed the significance of the growing auto-related land use in that gateway. By 1930, the land use of the west and east side gateways reflected the importance of the automobile as the primary source of transportation for the American tourist.

Growth of the Western Gateway

Between 1910 and 1930 the growing number of travelers to the new park, the establishment of the west side headquarters and the emergence of auto travel shaped the Belton landscape. The only railroad facility on the west side was the Belton Chalet that

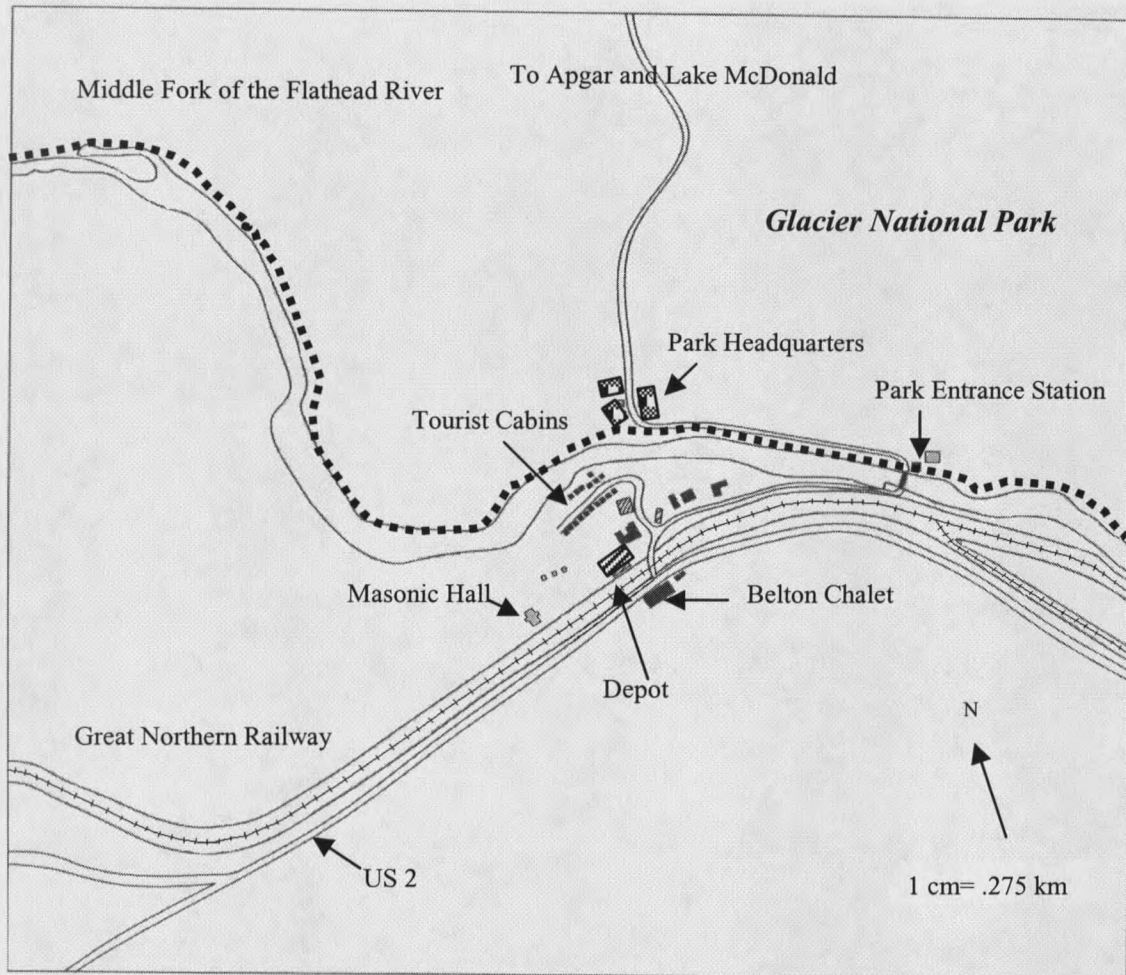
provided overnight accommodations for railroad passengers who were destined for the independent tourist camps at Lake McDonald. The west side also became home to the main park headquarters, first at Fish Creek, then near Belton. The popularity of automobile travel diversified the land use patterns in early Belton. Unlike other tourist towns, Belton also enjoyed the benefits of a permanent population because it stayed open all year.

Land Use Patterns of Belton in 1930

Land use patterns in Belton in 1930 did not change dramatically from 1910, but they did reflect growth in park-related tourism, especially in auto-related services (Fig. 19). Prior commercial land patterns included the Dow Hotel and general store north of the depot. On the south side of the depot were the Belton Chalet and a few cottages. A studio was added to the Chalet lot in 1911. The lodge was enlarged two years later and a dormitory for the Chalet staff was added. Other commercial properties on the north side of the tracks included an automobile garage and a laundry behind the Dow Hotel, as well as the Weightman barn and chicken coops. A gas station was built north of the depot and east of the Dow Hotel. East of the depot, visitor services included a small new curio shop, the post office, and a billiard hall, dance hall and liquor store. Plans for new tourist cabins along the river were made for the early 1930's. The land use patterns described on the map represent the impact of the auto and the increasing numbers middle class travelers on the gateway.

Belton's residential population remained small in 1930. According to the 15th Census of the United States, the population of Belton Township was 758 (United States

Figure 19. Land Use Reconstruction Map—Belton 1930



-  Commercial Land Use
-  Transportation Land Use [railroad and gas stations]
-  Residential Land Use
-  Government Administration Land Use
-  Park Boundary

[Source: U.S. Forest Service Map 1929, 1938]

Department of Commerce 1930). Many residents either lived on the west side of town or had a residence that was adjoined to their businesses. A few homes were constructed along the road leading to the park. The community Masonic Hall (1914) and a school were built near the Belton residential area (Fig. 20). There were a few houses near the bridge. Many residents either lived on the west side of town or had a residence that was adjoined to their businesses. A few homes were constructed along the north side of the park entrance road such as the large Goldberg house (Fig. 21). Many other permanent residents lived at or near Apgar. Seasonal residents usually acquired summer homes along the lake. A grade school was established in nearby Apgar.

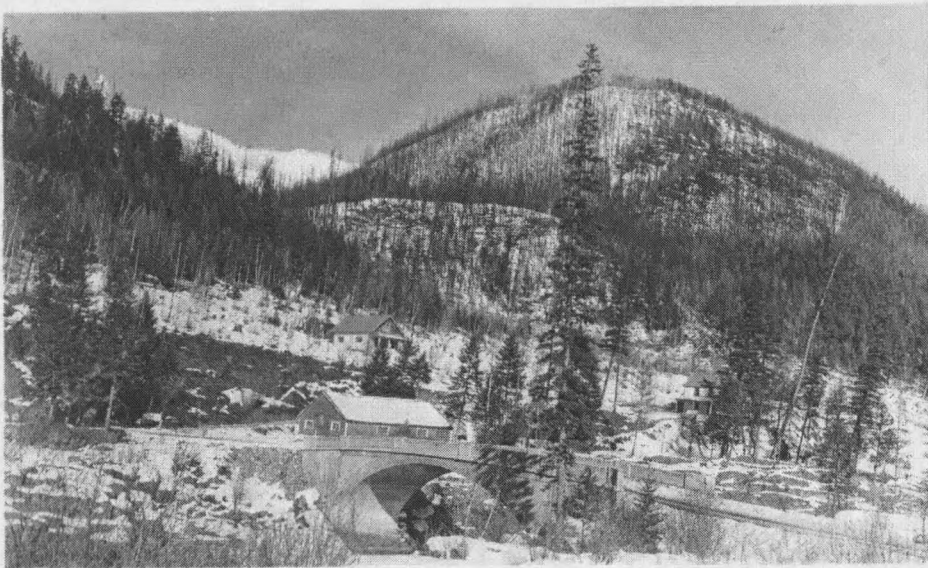
The depot was still the center of Belton development, even though auto travel was changing the transportation landscape by 1930. Before the completion of the Roosevelt Highway, automobiles were shipped from one side of Glacier to the other side on the Great Northern Railway. Near the depot were the loading docks to transport automobiles across the pass. A concrete arch replaced the wooden bridge across the Middle Fork River in 1920. Located on the north side of the bridge was a small park check station operated by Meva Goldberg (Harrington 1957). Slowly, the automobile was reshaping land use in Belton. After 1929, the pace of landscape change quickened when the first part of the transcontinental road opened from Belton to Logan Pass as well as the completion of the Theodore Roosevelt Highway (US 2) in 1930, that connected the west and east sides of the region.

Figure 20. Belton Masonic Hall



The Masonic Hall served as a social gathering place in Belton. It later was moved to Coram and established as the Tamarack Lodge. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1914).]

Figure 21. New Middle Fork River Bridge and Local Homes



The new concrete bridge was built in 1920. Looking toward the northeast, the Goldberg's owned the white house in the background. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1920).]

Landscape Change in Early Belton

The landscape changes of Belton can be assessed over a period of time with photographs, maps and other documents. By the end of the 1920's, the typical tourist that entered the west side was traveling by automobile. Travel figures from 1929 indicated that 23,097 automobiles entered the West Entrance versus 5,643 autos that entered through the St. Mary's Entrance on the east side of the Park (HRS 1980). The automobile began to shape a different kind of Belton landscape by 1930. For example, automobile tourism became increasingly visible within Belton as gasoline stations, curio shops, laundry facilities and tourist cabins appeared on the scene.

The necessity for better roads and bridges changed the gateway landscape. The original Glacier entrance road that followed the Middle Fork River was a typical example of the lack of good roads or maintenance in the early years (Fig. 22). Slumping, large stumps, rocks and deep ruts also hindered early park motorists. The Park Service improved the Belton to Apgar road between 1912 and 1914. The new bridge across the Middle Fork River also was an improvement for auto travel. The Belton-Apgar road was extended to the head of Lake McDonald by 1922. The construction was then continued from the head of Lake McDonald to Logan Pass on the west side. Along the southern boundary of the Park, the Theodore Roosevelt Highway (U.S. 2) was completed in 1930. It was finished only four years after the start of its construction. Funded by Congressional appropriations, U.S. 2 followed the Great Northern right-of-way and provided the first transcontinental opening of the Rocky Mountains for autos in northern Montana (HRS 1980). The 1929 opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Road on the west side,

from Belton to Logan Pass, increased the number of visitors entering the Park from the West Entrance. The transcontinental access to Glacier increased the travel numbers again in 1930. Such improvements created easier access to the park that further increased the popularity of automobile travel.

Figure 22. Original Glacier Park Entrance Road



Early roads were subject to the harsh conditions of mother nature. Auto travel was an adventure in itself for many visitors. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1920).]

The patterns of government land use near the western gateway were more apparent after 1918. Park Service Director, Stephan Mather bought George Snyder's land, hotel and saloon, located on the north side of the Middle Fork River along the entrance road. Mather donated the land to the government for their park headquarters (Hungry Horse News 1963). The purchase of the land changed the park boundaries to include the present day administration area. The saloon and the hotel were converted into

the administration buildings (Fig. 23). A few homes were constructed for park personnel near the headquarters building. The entrance road extended directly through the government area. This allowed officials to monitor travel numbers entering the park. However, the park check station was actually located on the north side of the Middle Fork River Bridge. The government also had the opportunity to purchase a 330-acre tract of land from the Belton Mercantile Corporation that would have given the park control of both sides of the river (Glacier Park Transport 1930). However, neither the government nor the Glacier Park Transport Company had the funds to purchase the land.

Figure 23. Park Headquarters (formerly George Snyder's Hotel)



The former saloon and hotel served as the Park Administration building until 1924. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1914).]

The Half-Moon Fire changed Belton's landscape dramatically in 1929. The fire started at the Half-Moon sawmill south of Columbia Falls two weeks before it reached the park (Harrington 1957). As it reached the Belton area, it jumped the Middle Fork of the Flathead River and entered the park boundaries. The park headquarters were spared. However, the thick, cedar forests on the flats, the Belton Hills, and land along the park entrance road were devastated as the fire raged through the west side of Glacier. The scenic values of the west side, as well as habitation and transportation patterns were significantly altered (HRS 1980). Still, the fire's devastation did not diminish the number of tourists visiting the park.

Perceptions of Early Belton

An analysis of documents, oral histories and journals revealed the experiences of travelers and residents between 1910 and 1930 in Belton. The railroad's imagery of the western gateway's wild frontier origins remained important. The Belton Chalet dominated the west side. The visual images of Glacier that the Great Northern promoted in their campaigns continued to bring many visitors to Belton. The west side was considered the "natural gateway to Glacier" (Buchholtz 1976). Between 1910 and 1922, many visitors still arrived by train and were greeted by the exquisite Chalet gardens that were kept by the Swiss gardener named Hauser (Fig. 24). According to long time resident Gonhilde "Bud" Henderson, Mr. Hauser was an excellent gardener and kept the grounds beautifully trimmed. There was a hedge all along the wall by the railroad tracks and many varieties of trees were planted in the well-kept lawns (Harrington 1957). However, after the decrease of travel during the war (1918), Belton's landscape became

increasingly shaped by motor travel. Automobile tourists did not seek out places such as the Belton Chalet, but rather the inexpensive campgrounds and tourist-type cabins. By 1923, the railroad considered selling the Belton Chalet because of the lack of patronage (Diele-Taylor 1997). The Great Northern also contemplated dismantling the Chalet and moving it within the park boundaries to have a concession on the west side. Ultimately, the railroad acquired the Lewis Hotel in the early 1930's and left the Chalet at its Belton location.

Figure 24. The Belton Chalet Gardens



The gardens of the Belton Chalet were exquisitely immaculate and tidy. The Chalet landscape was always a pleasure for those visiting the west side. [Marble Studio, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1912).]

Park administration also understood the importance of Belton. The first superintendent of the park, Major William R. Logan, said Belton was the natural gateway

of the park because 95% of the tourists traveled through the west side entrance (Buchholtz 1976). During his 1916 visit to the park, Mather said the headquarters of the park were quite inadequate and "hidden in the woods" at Fish Creek. Mather thought it was important for park headquarters to be visible, therefore, it should be located closer to the park entrance and the gateway. He purchased 160 acres from George Snyder that was close to Belton. The land became the new location of the headquarters site because the "intolerable situation could not wait throughout another budget year" (Hungry Horse News 1963). The administrators built new residences for park employees and used the hotel-saloon as the headquarters building until the new two-story log building was built in 1924 (Fig. 25). The proximity of park administration to independent concessions within the park boundaries allowed better monitoring of rules and regulations. Stephan Mather supported road construction and improvements such as the Belton to Apgar road, motor facilities and services, and auto-related accommodations such as the tourist cabins at Belton or the campgrounds at Apgar. He stated, "Roads... had to be developed and expanded because cross-country motoring was just then developing and motorists were urging parks to be opened to automobiles" (Buchholtz 1976, 58).

Auto-tourists developed their own images of the Belton area that were recorded in journals, diaries and other publications. The Kalispell Bee News had several articles on the conditions of the roads between Kalispell and Belton as well as the Park-to-Park Road that connected several western national parks (Kalispell Bee 1911 a, 1911 b, 1911 c). An official representative of the publication the *Motor Age* commented on his impression of roads within Montana:

Figure 25. The New Park Administration Building in 1924



The new headquarters building served administration until mid-1960 when the new Administration Building was constructed. It now is the West Glacier Ranger Station. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1924),]

Montana has awakened to its opportunities. A tourists paradise, with two of the great national Parks at its borders needing only good roads to bring eastern motorists to its gates, the people of the state have seen the chance for development offered in the beauty of its mountains and frosts. Without the slightest aid from the state funds, the citizens are spending more than a half million dollars of county money in making motor roads. This sum is augmented by funds voluntarily subscribed by the people themselves, thru (sic) their local commercial and motor clubs (Kalispell Bee 1911 c, 1).

Hatch went on to describe the newly created Glacier Park, the progressive citizens of Montana, the rapid road development in the region and the role played by Kalispell citizens in their interests in road improvements. The article also discusses the Kalispell to Belton road:

The eight-mile portion of the park-to-park road from Kalispell to Belton was built thru (sic) practically untouched forest at a cost of \$10,000. ...under the direction of the Flathead Motor Club, \$1,500 was donated by the members of the club, while the remainder was from the county funds.

Other towns and counties of the state are accomplishing as much, particularly where, like the Flathead road the new motor roads are to become a part of the proposed

park-to-park highway across Montana, which is to connect the Yellowstone park with the Glacier park (Kalispell Bee 1911 c, 1).

The official opening of the new road to Glacier Park in September 1911 brought many auto enthusiasts to the Flathead Valley to celebrate the event (Kalispell Daily Inter Lake 1911 b). The auto trip to Glacier from Kalispell included local residents as well as Louis Hill and a group of his friends (Kalispell Bee 1911 b). Hill commented on the condition of the road noting, "I am sure indeed surprised by the work which has been done on this end of the road. It does not take the Flathead County long to do things" (Kalispell Bee 1911b). A few weeks before, the arrival of the first automobile to the west side community brought every Belton resident rushing to see. However, the cavalcade of over fifty autos hardly made them blink an eye (Kalispell Daily Inter Lake 1911 b).

While the road between Kalispell and Belton was in good condition, it did not necessarily mean the rest of the region's roads were even in acceptable shape. Most roads in the 1920's were under construction and hardly "improved" for the auto tourist. Auto travel was considered to be an adventure in itself. Mrs. Mildred Huhne traveled to Glacier in 1923 with two other young ladies and one of their thirteen year-old brothers. They drove the road trip in a new Ford Model T. She recalled the roads from Spokane to Kalispell were "terrible and to make matters worse they were under construction" (Great Falls Tribune 1963). They traveled the last twenty-six miles to Belton on good roads, then another twelve miles to a campground at Lake McDonald. The young group of motorists were ready to move on and encountered the problem all motorists were facing as they tried to travel west to east or east to west across the continental divide. As Huhne notes:

We drove back to Belton and were greatly disappointed when we learned there was no road through the park. The car would have to be shipped to Glacier Park Station ...on the east side of the park.

Our car left Belton via freight train about 5:30 p.m. We left on the same train, hobo express. The brakeman told us we'd be in Glacier Park Station about midnight. After thoroughly castigating us, he said he would watch the car in which we were riding and would not allow anyone to molest us.

That sounded all right until the dark of night overtook us. Everything looked so strange and weird. We longed for the comfort and safety of home. The hours seemed endless as we watched the snake-like shadows crawl up the mountain sides. We rebuked ourselves for not waiting until the next day for a passenger train (Great Falls Tribune 1963).

Growth of the Eastern Gateway

The golden era of the Great Northern Railway was between 1910 and 1930. The increasing use of the automobile by the traveling public by 1930 began to change the landscape of the railroad-dominated east side. Growth on the east side boomed after the Park bill was signed in 1910. The Great Northern Railway had the ideal situation for developing the east side of Glacier. The primary reason was the west side location of the main park headquarters. The other was the physical geography that ultimately separated the west and east sides. The location of the headquarters allowed administrators to be less concerned with the east side and gave the railroad more freedom for development. The government welcomed Louis Hill's financial investment into the development of the new park as well as recognized that the large corporation would abide by the government regulations unlike the independent businessmen of the west side. By the mid 1920's, the automobile made it affordable for the middle class tourist to visit Glacier Park.

Automobile travelers and their vehicles required fewer and less expensive facilities

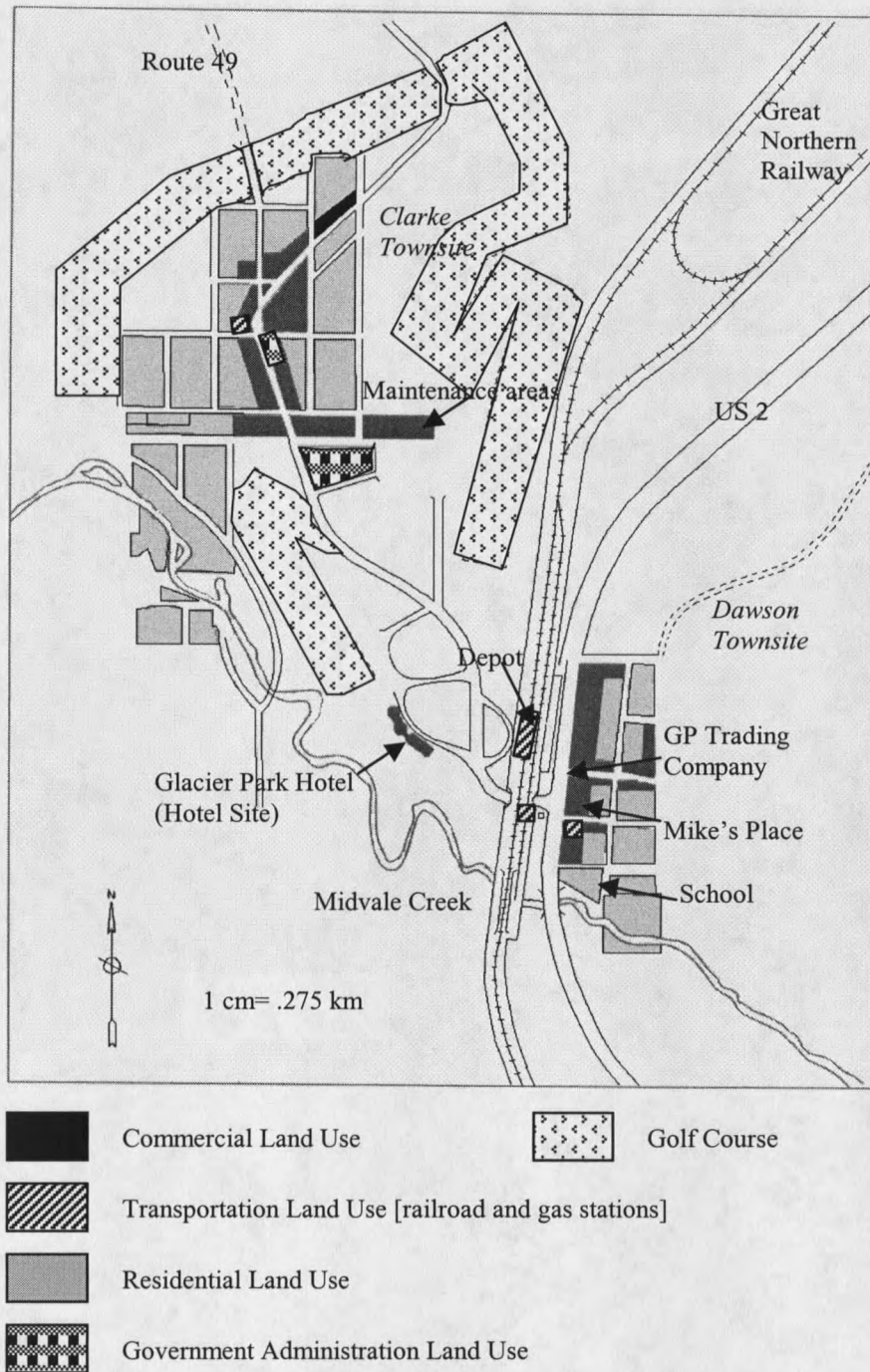
compared to the wealthy rail passenger. The Glacier Park businesses were more than willing to provide these auto-related services.

Land Use Patterns of Glacier Park in 1930

The eastern gateway developed quickly after the establishment of the park (Fig. 26). Early land use activities had been split among three different sites that included the Great Northern Hotel site (the original site of Midvale), as well as the Clarke and Dawson Townsites. Each of these sites had their own cluster of commercial, residential and transportation land uses. The original townsite of Midvale was sold to the Great Northern for the construction of the hotel in 1912. During the two years prior to the purchase, the Great Northern utilized tent camps (as the Northern Pacific had done in Yellowstone) to assess the levels of tourism to the area (Fig.27). The tent camps were quite profitable for the railroad. Hill was enthusiastic about developing a scenic and recreational area near the main line of the Great Northern. Hill viewed the development of Glacier as his legacy. During his visit to the park, he personally selected the sites and designs for the hotels and chalets that were to be constructed (Ober 1973).

An act by Congress authorized the sale of land "within or near the townsite of Midvale for hotel purposes to Louis Hill for not less than twenty-five dollars per acre and not more than one hundred and sixty acres" from the Blackfeet Tribe (United States Department of Commerce 1910). The central location of the hotel was ideal for travelers arriving at the east side gateway and embarking on hiking, camping or trail riding adventures into Glacier Park. The gateway community's name was changed by the railroad from Midvale to Glacier Park in 1913. The Great Northern anticipated the name

Figure 26. Land Use Reconstruction Map—Glacier Park 1930



[Sources: Sanborn Fire Insurance Clarke Townsite Map 1929, Sanborn Fire Insurance Dawson Townsite Map 1929].

Figure 27. Midvale Tent Camps

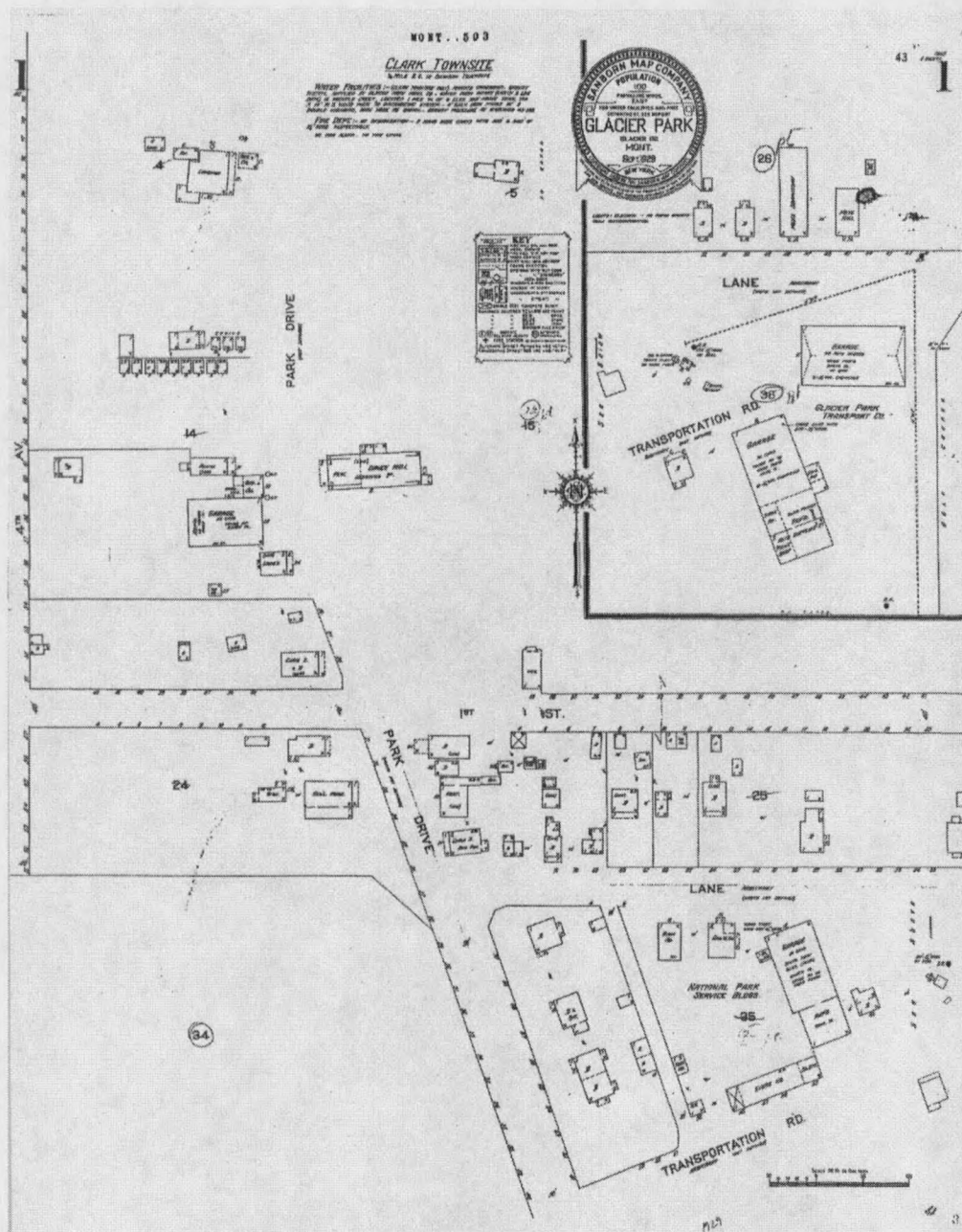


The Great Northern operated tent camps at Midvale prior to the construction of the Glacier Park Hotel. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1910).]

change would help passengers associate the town with the park. The Glacier Park Hotel lot included the lodge, (built in 1912-1913) as well as an Indian encampment behind the lodge. The Glacier Park Transport Company buildings included two garages, a dormitory, a mess hall and a servicing area for the lodge automobiles. Surrounding the grounds of the hotel, a nine-hole golf course was built in 1928 as another guest activity at Glacier Park.

The Clarke Townsite was platted by Horace and Helen Clarke in 1914. When Clarke sold part of his land to local businessmen in the mid 1920's, he stipulated that no purchasers could sell liquor or operate a "cat" house on the lots. By 1930, the

Figure 28. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1928—Clarke Townsite



The Sanborn insurance map shows all the structures in the Clarke Townsite.
[Courtesy of GNP Archives (1928).]

commercial buildings in the northwest site included a curio and souvenir shop, a restaurant with lodging, a dance hall, a general store, tearooms, and cabins (Fig. 28).

Clarke built the general store on the north end of town that included a dance hall and café called Clarke's Hall. It was operated between 1919 and 1924 until a man named McKinnon bought the lot and built a new dance hall and café with rooms over the dance hall. The owners of the Barre Hotel, across the road from the hall, "jacked up" their hotel and garage and moved them to the back of the lot because McKinnon's operation was such a wild place. The park service buildings on the south side of the Clarke site included a few residences, an office, bunkhouse, auto garage, storehouse and a servicing area for park vehicles. The residential lots on the Clarke side were located off the main street. Other residents lived in buildings that were connected to their businesses because many lived there only seasonally. A few gas stations and other motor service facilities were the only auto-oriented land uses that were located on the north side of the Clarke site.

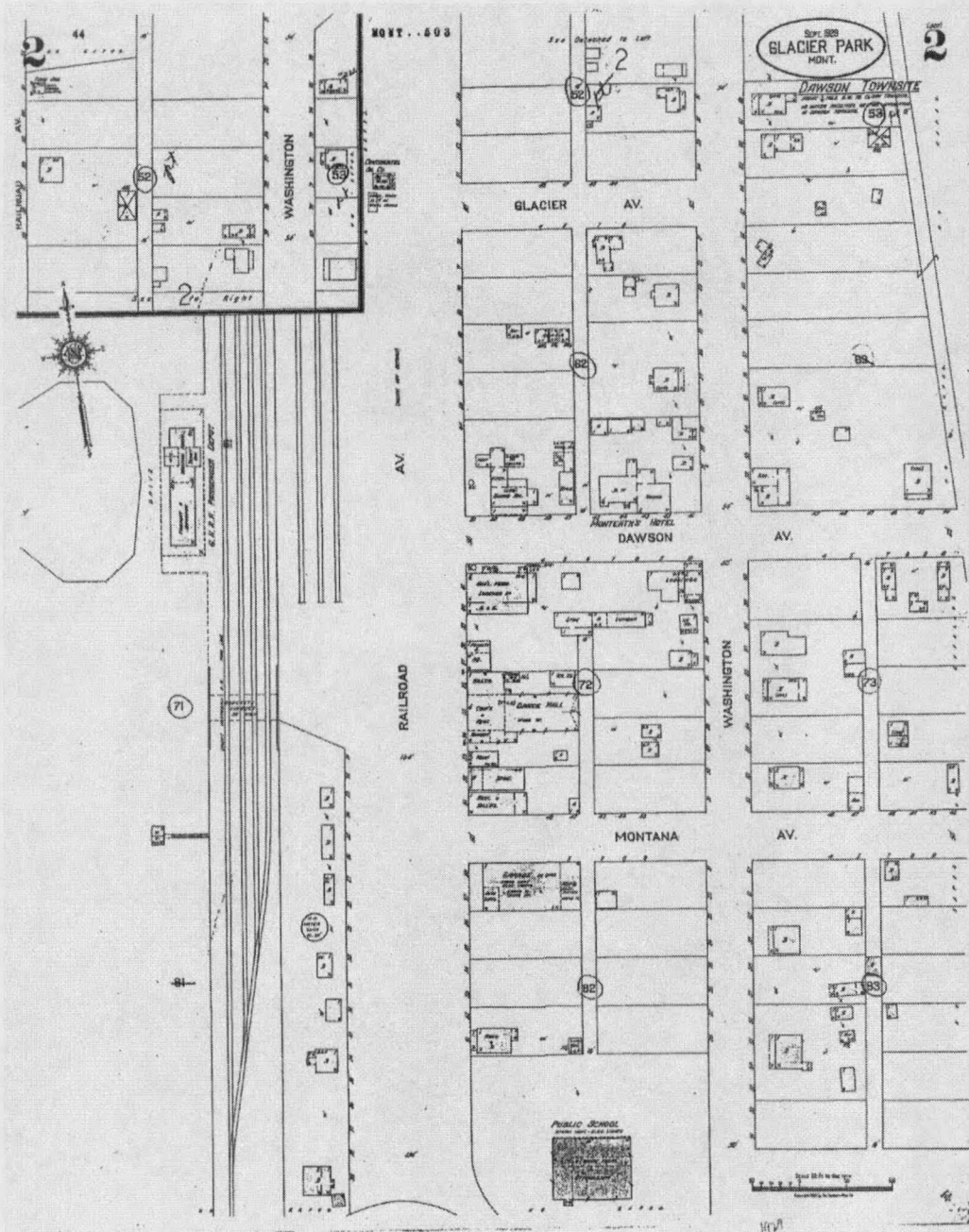
On the southeast side of the tracks, Isabel Dawson platted the Dawson site in 1920. The lots were sold to local residents and businesses. The commercial development was predominantly located on Railroad Avenue, which paralleled the tracks of the Great Northern. By 1930, services clearly were shifting to the needs of the auto-tourist (Fig. 29). The original Dawson house (1909) was the first restaurant in Glacier Park. It was converted into the Log Cabin Inn in 1920. The new owner, Dan Boyington, added motor tourist cabins in the early 1920's. The Log Cabin Inn was sold in 1927, but operated under the same name until the mid 1930's. The Glacier Park Trading Post (1911) was across the street from the Log Cabin Inn. John F. Lindhe and Ed Tenner operated it for

many years. The strip of buildings that paralleled the railroad included a novelty store, the post office, a barber, a butcher, a few billiard rooms, restaurants, a garage and service station and the school, which were built over several years. One business along the strip, the La Plante Pool Hall, was purchased from John Lindhe by Mike Shannon in the early 1920's and renamed Mike's Place. It included a variety of facilities such as a restaurant, a dance hall, a card room and a billiard room.

During the years of prohibition (1919 to 1933) Glacier Park's bootleg economy thrived. Mike's Place marked the bootleg center of the east side. Along with the illegal booze, the dance hall also provided gambling and roller-skating for its customers. The dance halls of Glacier Park attracted tourists and became the social gathering places for both residents of the region as well as tourists. Some evenings there were more than 200 couples at the hall (Fraley 1998). The isolation of the community and its location at the border of Glacier Park provided the ideal conditions for bootlegging. The residents of Glacier Park were also involved in bootlegging rings of the region as well as the businesses. The town was sometimes visited by the "revenueurs" but they never seemed to find anything unlawful (Fraley 1998). Many businesses, residents and tourists believed the bootlegging was ignored because of the railroad's influence.

Other commercial buildings located on Dawson Avenue included the Montieth Hotel (1911), a small hotel across the street from the Montieth, and Smiley's grocery store on the corner of Dawson Avenue and Washington Avenue. Across the road from the grocery was a shack where the railroad and the hotel workers could eat. Glacier Park

Figure 29. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1928—Dawson Townsite



The map reveals an auto-oriented strip of services along Railroad Ave. [Courtesy of GNP Archives (1928).]

of course was not complete without the jail that was located on the far north end of the Dawson townsite.

Residential areas included streets east of Railroad Avenue in the Dawson site. Many of the region's permanent residents lived in this area of Glacier Park. In 1920, the year-round population was only around 300 to 400 residents, but it rose to more than 1,000 during the summer (MacCarter 1984). Between 1921 and 1923 there were two schools in Glacier Park, one at the old Clarke Hall and the other at the Lindhe cabins near Midvale Creek. The Glacier Park Elementary School was built in 1923 and was located on the south side of town in the residential area.

The land use in all three Glacier Park sites became increasingly "automobile-oriented" as auto tourism became popular in the late 1920's. Prior to the construction of the underpass in 1926, the road that connected the two sections crossed from the Dawson site under the south end of the Midvale Creek railroad bridge to the Hotel and Clarke sites. The northbound road went directly to the lodge, through the present parking lot and straight north by way of the Clarke site. The concrete underpass built in 1926 was strategically positioned by the railroad. Therefore, auto tourists had the same experience as they traveled under the underpass and saw the Glacier Park Hotel and the Glacier scenery as did the rail traveler. The auto tourist was welcomed to Glacier as they entered the European-styled grounds of the Glacier Park Hotel via the underpass. As they exited the hotel area by way of the underpass, the tourist encountered the western building facades of the Dawson townsite.

The northbound road cutting through the Clarke Townsite was changed to its present location when the golf course was surveyed in 1927. The railroad financed the construction of the road from Glacier Park Station to McDermott Lake. By 1917, the Glacier Park Transportation Company was servicing passenger travel by touring buses or cars to St. Mary's Lake and Many Glacier. The road was usually in poor condition and travel was treacherous at times. After World War I, Congress funded the relocation and construction of Montana Highway 49 and the Blackfoot Highway (U.S. Highway 89) (HRS 1980). By then, there were two gas stations and garages in the Clarke site, as well as the park service facilities. The Dawson site had an additional gas station and garage on the south side of town.

Landscape Change in Early Glacier Park

Landscape change within the east side gateway can be analyzed by early photographs, maps, oral histories and other documents. The Great Northern initially wanted to assess how well tourism would do on the east side. Instead of investing large amounts of money on permanent tourist facilities, the railroad set up tent camps from Midvale to Lake McDermott. In 1911, W. J. Hillogoss, an outfitter, was funded by the Great Northern to construct a series of tent camps, one at Midvale Creek and others along the east side of the park (Ober 1973). The six camps each had twenty wooden tent structures and a dining and kitchen tent. These camps were connected by trails constructed by railroad crews that allowed horse-touring parties to explore the east side of the Park. The first successful season at the camps encouraged Louis Hill to build a permanent lodge near the railroad station.

Soon thereafter, the railroad laid out the plans for Midvale, which included a new depot, and a large new hotel providing accommodations for more than 150 people. The intended structures to be built were styled after the European flair of Swiss Alpine chalets. The Great Northern investment in construction of the buildings and laying out the grounds at the eastern gateway was estimated at \$100,000, which enthralled Stephan Mather (Great Northern Railway 1912). Hill also noted the importance of the Hotel design in his Park development plans:

In laying out the work of constructing camps in the Glacier Park, we should prepare to get as much as possible done this fall and winter. The principal work will be the hotel at Midvale, which will probably be patterned after the Forestry building at Portland. For this it will be necessary to obtain permission from the Park and Forestry departments to cut and carry logs by train from near Belton or Nyack to Midvale, as we shall want to use for this hotel three or four feet logs, some sixty feet long, with bark on (Hill 1911).

Hill's architects designed the hotel after the Forestry building at the World's Fair in Portland. They outlined the amount and type of materials needed to build the hotel. The trees in the Glacier area were not large enough for the structure, therefore, lumber was brought from Oregon and Washington. They had the Douglas fir logs cut to the correct dimensions and sent to Midvale. It took fifty flat cars to transport the timber to Midvale because some of the logs were so enormous they could fit only two per car. The largest trees were used in the lobby of the hotel (Fig. 30). The log construction that Hill admired became a distinctive feature of all the buildings in Glacier National Park and its gateway communities.

As the Great Northern train arrived at the Glacier Park depot, the passenger's central focus was directed to the European gardens and the Swiss-style Glacier Park

Hotel, framed by the majestic Rocky Mountains. The surroundings of the gateway were influenced by the railroad and the demands of its rail passengers. The Great Northern heavily invested in the development of the gateway as well as its promotion. According to the Historic Resources Study compiled in 1980, Hill intensely promoted the east side

Figure 30. Glacier Park Hotel—1912



The construction of the Glacier Park Hotel in 1912. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1911-1912).]

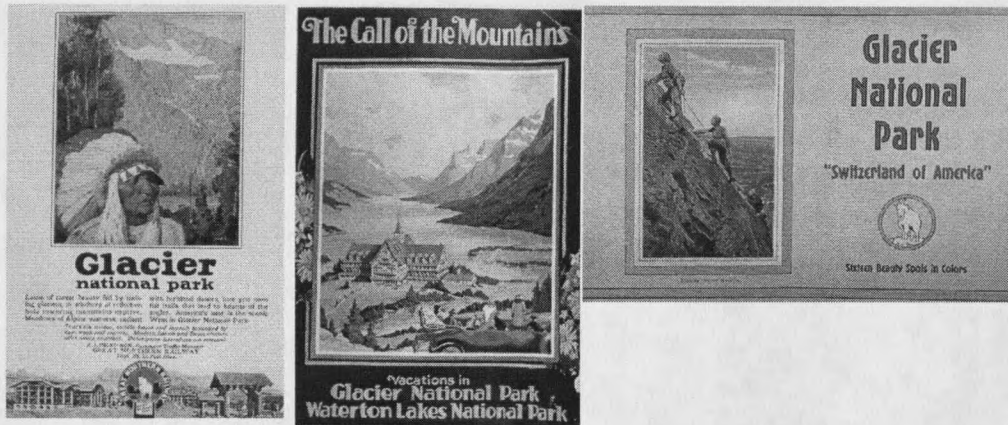
because it was served exclusively by the Great Northern and the railroad had little concern for the west side (HRS 1980). The promotional literature featured lengthy descriptions and photographs of the hotel (Fig. 31). The Swiss-style hotel and its European gardens created the imagery the Great Northern needed to promote the “See America First” and the “Alps of America” advertising campaigns. However, the gateway

community that was associated with the hotel and the railroad portrayed a different perspective and imagery for Glacier Park tourists.

The structures at Glacier Park were characteristic of most western towns. The visual landscape was quite different between the Dawson site and the Clarke site. The structures of the Dawson site were typical of the "cowboy" West. The construction of the buildings that lined Railroad Avenue was similar to the cow towns of the West. The landscape was treeless, it had dusty streets, and the walks were planked in front of the false fronted shops with colorful signs. Many of the buildings on the site were wood-framed structures. However, the new school was a two-story brick building. On the other hand, the Clarke site had intermixed structures within a dense pine and deciduous forest. The buildings were mostly of rustic log construction that was associated with the mountain wilderness. These included the Clarke home, the Log Cabin Inn, the McKinnon dance hall, and a few other residential cabins. The creators of the east side gateway landscape thus utilized visual landscape elements that had wide appeal to western tourists of the time.

The railway's predominance was evident in the company-sponsored activities that accompanied the growth of tourism at the Glacier Park gateway. Railroad travel remained a convenient way to see the park. Hill's European travel plan was designed around a network of rail lines, roads and trails that funneled visitors to the east side gateway and then into the park (HRS 1980). The Company provided a growing list of gateway diversions for the arriving tourist. A subsidiary of the Great Northern, the Glacier Park Hotel Company, was created in 1915 to operate the park holdings. The

Figure 31. Great Northern Promotional Literature



Promotional literature by the Great Northern Railway. (Peterson 2002)

Company built a nine-hole golf course around the hotel grounds and a pool was constructed to provide all the luxuries for the Glacier Park Hotel visitor. A number of small horse outfits began the Park Saddle Horse Company in the summer of 1915 that was operated by W.N. Noffsinger. While the Park Saddle Horse Company was not a subsidiary of the railroad, they did provide outfitting services (trail rides, backcountry campouts, etc...) for the tourists at the hotels. Another subsidiary, the Glacier Park Transportation Company, organized in 1914, monopolized passenger travel and hauling supplies on the east side. The Glacier Park Transportation Company's new White touring buses replaced the horse stages of the early Brewster Company. By the early 1920's rows of White buses lined up in front of the Glacier Park Hotel to take passengers north to St. Mary's and the Swiftcurrent Valley (Fig. 32).

Figure 32. Glacier Park Hotel and Touring Cars



The White Co. touring cars transported Hotel guests on the east side of the Park from Glacier Park to the other chalets and hotels. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1913).]

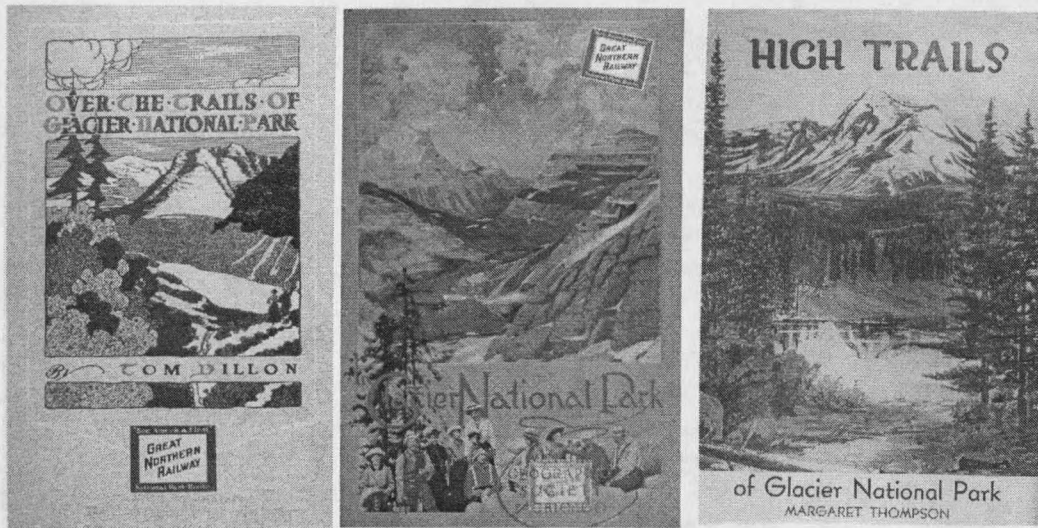
The increasing use of the automobile as a mode of travel also shaped the east-side landscape. Local businessmen took advantage of the opportunity to provide services for the motor traveler. A strip of auto-related facilities developed along the gateway's roadside between 1920 and 1930. Signs advertised new auto-related businesses in Glacier Park and added color to the local commercial landscape. Gus Smith built a gas station on the southwest of the Dawson site in 1913. Other service stations were later built in the Clarke site. Both the Dawson and Clarke sites had a variety of restaurants available for auto-tourists such as the Log Cabin Inn, Mike's Place, LaPlante's café and a couple of other restaurants. Auto camps provided low cost accommodations for the auto

traveler. The owner of the Log Cabin Inn, Stan Boyington, added cabins for motorists to the inn in 1920. Many of the first occupants were railroad employees, loggers and boarders. They complained the rooms were so cold that the inn became known as the "Frozen Dog" (MacCarter 1984). Some old logging cabins were located on the far north side of the Clarke site and newer cabins were built near the gas station and the dance hall in the mid 1920's. Small curio and souvenir shops were constructed along Railroad Avenue and Park Street. There were also other types of entertainment for auto tourists such as tearooms, movie houses and dance halls.

Perceptions of Early Glacier Park

Several journals, articles, and documents from travelers, local businesses, residents and Native Americans assisted in analyzing the perceptions of the Glacier Park gateway from 1910 to 1930. Before the construction of the hotel, Midvale was a rustic railroad town without amenities. However, the spectacular scenery usually made up for what was lacking in modernization. Early travel books described the east side gateway as a "town that straddled the tracks of the Great Northern and was tucked in a green valley with a few buildings" (Dillon 1912) (Fig. 33). After the Glacier Park Hotel opened and Midvale's name was changed to Glacier Park, the east side gateway developed into a tourist resort. Westbound rail travelers crossed the flat Great Plains until the train started to descend into the valley of Glacier Park Station. Their excitement increased as they saw the spectacular Rocky Mountains jutting up into the sky like the Swiss Alps as they arrived at the depot (Duncan 1985).

Figure 33. Early Travel Guidebooks

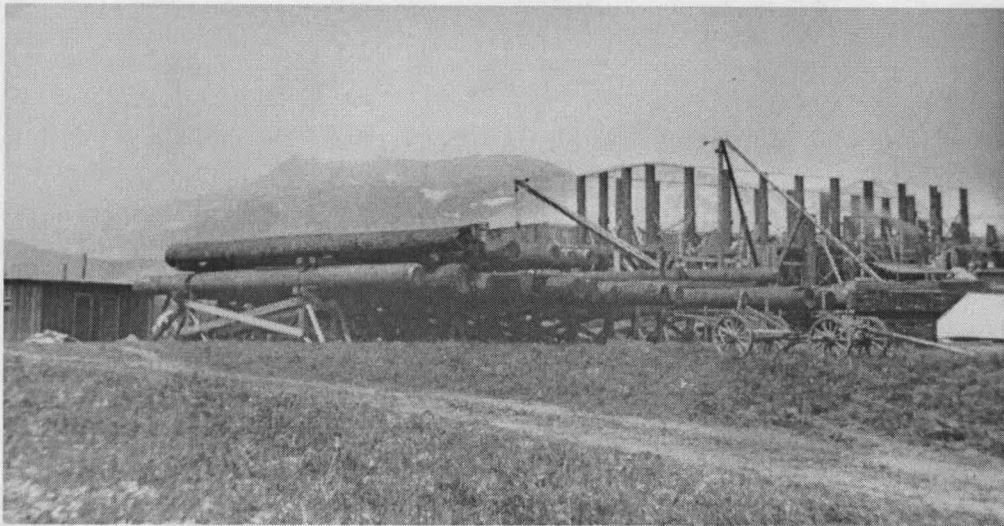


Early travel guides stirred the interest of the eastern traveler. The western frontier was still wild and Americans were looking for adventure. (Peterson 2002)

Accounts by permanent residents, the Blackfeet, and seasonal workers describe the character of the community. Residents of Glacier Park such as Helen Dawson Edkins remembered the years during the lodge construction when “they (the railroad) brought all the huge trees in from Oregon, each tree on a flatcar” (Murphy 1982) (Fig. 34). The Blackfeet watched in awe as the huge trees were transported to the hotel site and named the hotel “Big Tree Lodge.” Over the next several years Glacier Park became increasingly popular not only for visitors but for seasonal employment. During the mid 1920’s Doris Huffine came to work at Glacier Park with her cousin. In her first season (1925), she worked at the “Big Hotel” (Glacier Park Hotel), the T.J. Hileman photography studio, and as a waitress for Mike’s Place (Fraley 1998). Montana was still a rough and tumble place during the 1920’s as Doris found out:

They had a dance hall at Mike's. The dudes from all around and the cowboys came in. Sometimes they had gang fights. In the morning when I went to work I had to step over a big puddle of blood to get in the door. A lot of times when I had to go home at 2 or 3 in the morning the deputy sheriff would say, 'Don't go alone tonight because there's a gang in town. We'll take you home tonight.' Those kinds of things made you shiver (Fraley, 1998, 52).

Figure 34. Glacier Park Hotel Construction



The Blackfeet called the hotel "Big Tree Lodge" because of the massive logs used for construction. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1911-1912).]

Between 1910 and 1930, most visitors traveled by rail to the east-side gateway of Glacier Park. Therefore, the Glacier Park hotel was the focus of the traveler. The passenger arrived at Glacier Park Station and descended the train to the depot. They were greeted by Blackfeet Indians, European-style gardens, and a Swiss-style chalet, all set at the foot of the beautiful Rocky Mountains (Fig. 35). Doris Huffine and co-worker Marie Stepan, often "strolled down to the train depot for something to do" to watch the 9:00 p.m. train arrive and to see the Blackfeet Indians in full costume perform on the depot

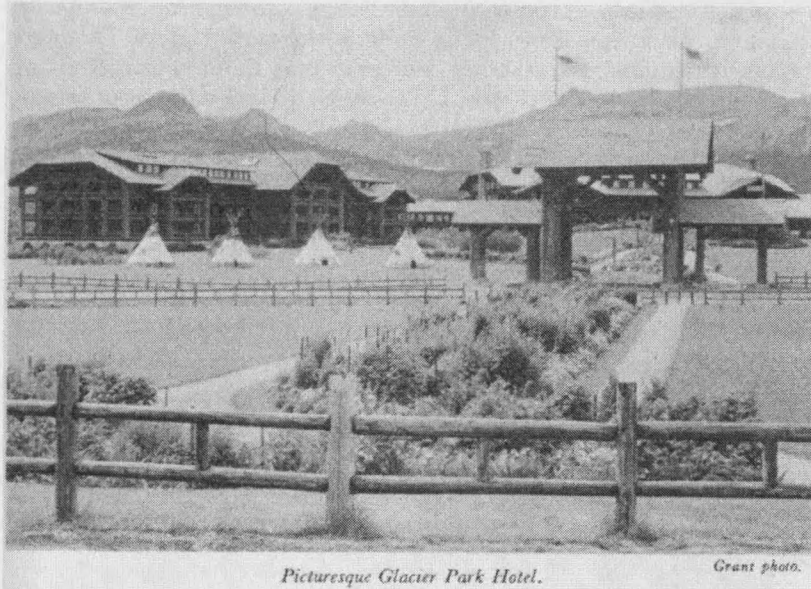
platform for the passengers, as part of their "tourism promotion" work for the Great Northern (Fraley 1998)(Fig. 36). Around the hotel, horses lined up at the hitching rails and people paraded around on horseback before beginning their adventure into the Park (Duncan 1985). Inside the hotel, Hill spared little expense on diversely decorating the hotel with Japanese lanterns hanging in the main lobby, and animal hides hung on the banisters (Fig. 37). In the evenings a group of Blackfeet captivated the hotel lobby guests by performing dances and songs. O.R. Barnett recalled the routine:

Although the songs and costumes of the Indians are exceedingly interesting, it was frequently felt by those who were staying several days or longer at the hotel, that these songs and dance occurring every evening were possibly a little too much of a good thing, for it was impossible to play cards, read, sleep or otherwise occupy oneself while they were going on (Barnett 1913).

Hill's goal was to monopolize tourism on the eastern side of Glacier. He had little or no concern about the west side, since it was the residence of the park administration. For example, the park administrators saw the construction of roads as a way to communicate and manage, whereas, Hill saw roads as a way to increase the number of tourists (HRS 1980). He also believed that the scenery of the east side was more spectacular and it was easily marketed to perspective Glacier visitors. Glacier Park, in Hill's mind, was a Great Northern creation, as did its many visitors because the railroad did not credit the government with actually possessing the park land.

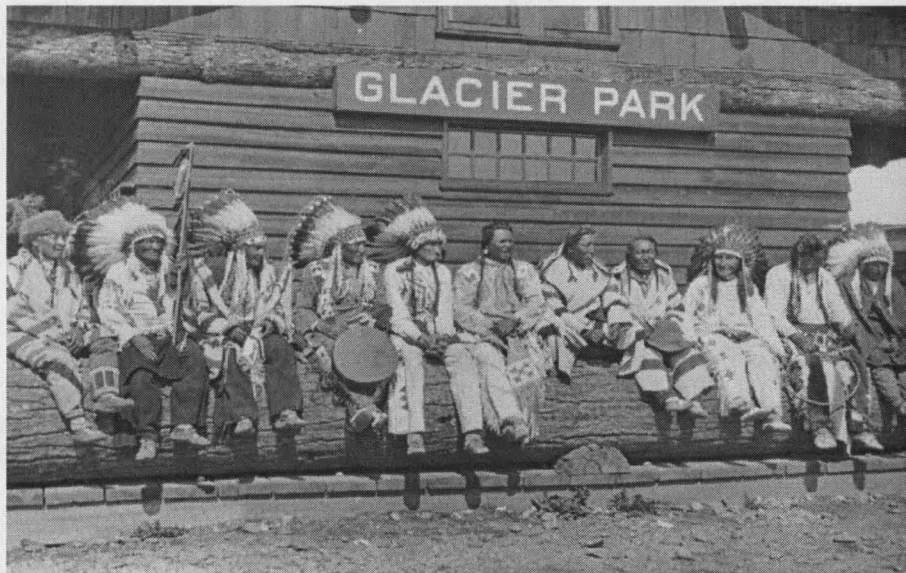
The Blackfeet Indians were pivotal to the Great Northern's east side promotional strategy. The railroad utilized the mystery and intrigue of the Blackfeet to promote the primitive nature of the Glacier region (Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1997). Groups of Blackfeet traveled on special trains to cities in the east to promote the Park and the Great Northern

Figure 35. Glacier Park Hotel



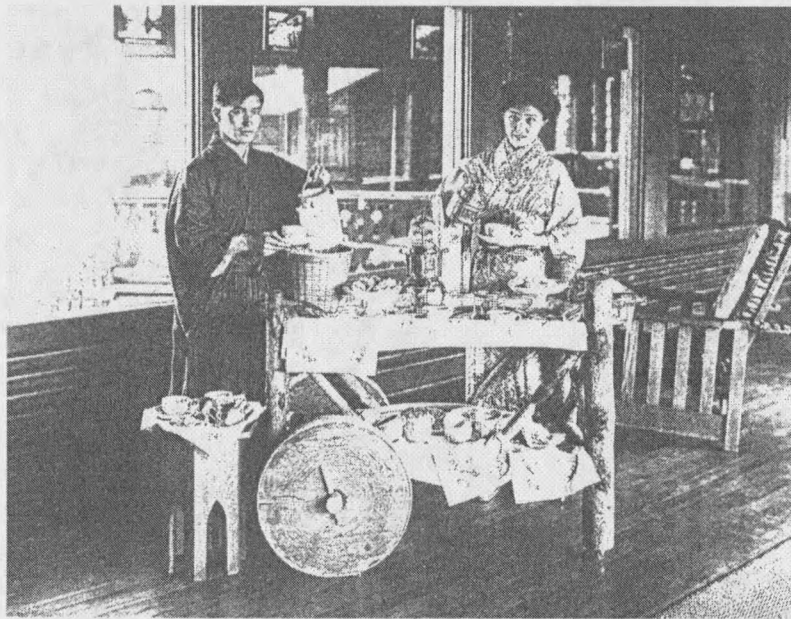
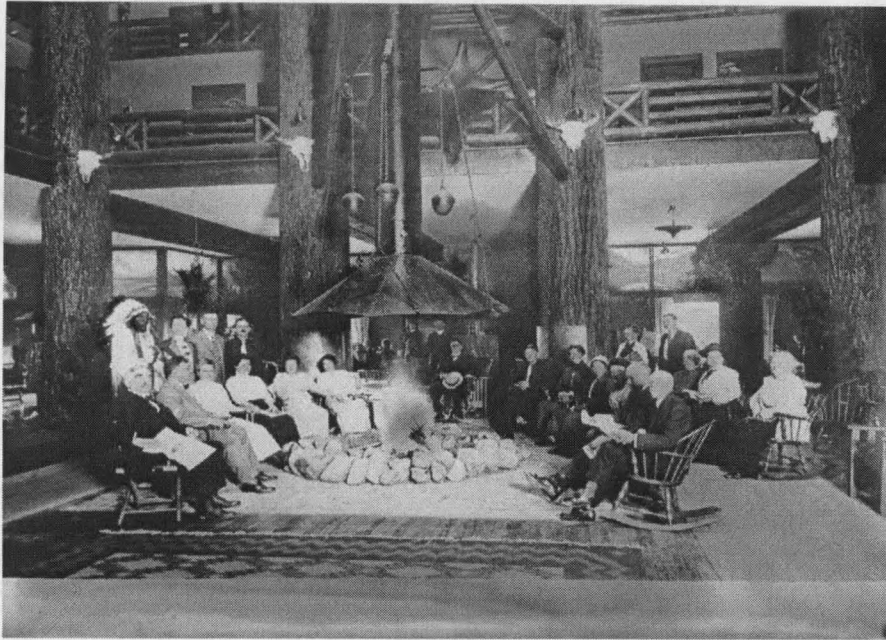
The completion of the Hotel began the Golden Era of the Great Northern Railway.
[Grant, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1915).]

Figure 36. Blackfeet at the Glacier Park Depot



The Blackfeet were hired by the railroad to greet and perform for Hotel guests.
[Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1920).]

Figure 37. The Cultural Décor of the Glacier Park Hotel

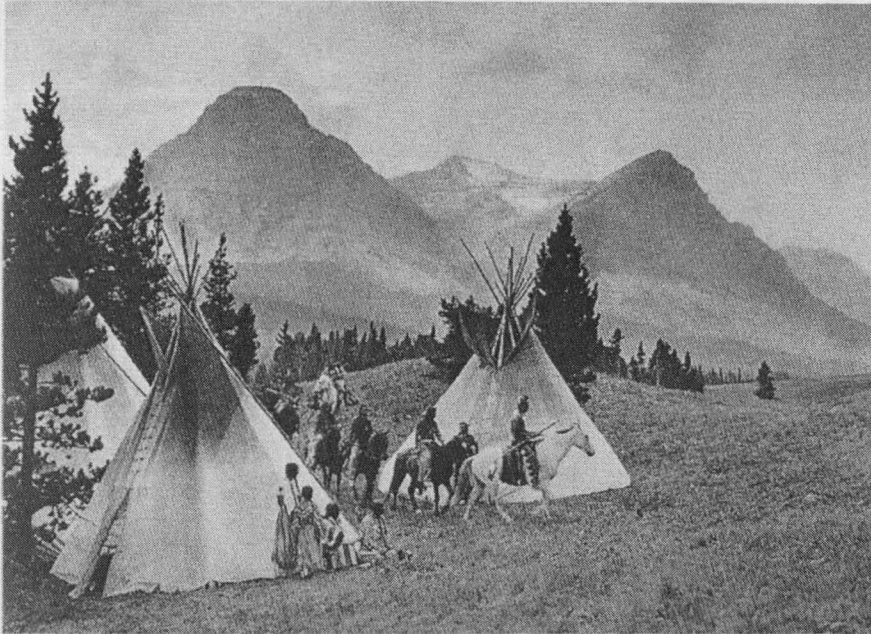


Louis Hill personally decorated the interior of the Hotel as well as chose vegetation for the gardens. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1915).] [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of the GNP Archives (circa 1920).]

hotel and chalets (Fraley 1998). The Blackfeet had their camps and traveled the east side of Glacier (Fig. 38). Scenes of braves crossing the Two Medicine River, for example, allowed the visitor to imagine the savagery of the untamed country of the Park. The savagery of the Blackfeet Indians and the untamed land of the Glacier region contrasted with the exquisite and civilized accommodations of the Glacier Park Hotel (Shaffer 1994)(Fig. 39). The hotel provided tepees and food for Blackfeet families in return for dancing and entertainment (Fraley 1998). There were times that over 200 Blackfeet lived on the hotel grounds, drawn there by the large tips provided by wealthy hotel guests (Fraley 1998).

Promotional literature, paintings and photographs of the Blackfeet Indians also were used to entice easterners to Glacier Park. Guidebooks such as *The Tourist's Northwest* by Ruth Kedzie Wood (1916) described the Blackfeet wardrobe as "gorgeously feathered and beaded," and the visitor could sometimes see the Indians at the Glacier Park Hotel (Wood 1916, 287). A promotional pamphlet by the Great Northern, *Historic Adventure Land of the Northwest*, stated "The traveler will find many parts of Glacier Park almost unchanged from those days when the evil spirits of the Blackfeet spoke in thunder from the mountain peaks" (Great Northern Railway n.d.). Artists such as Winold Reiss painted images of the Blackfeet during the 1920's and the 1930's (Fig. 40). Many of these portraits were reproduced in Great Northern calendars in the late 1920's. Photographers also captured the essence of the Blackfeet Indian (Fig. 41). T. J. Hileman, contracted by the Great Northern during the mid 1920's, took promotional and scenic photos for the railroad. During the 1925 summer season Doris Huffine worked at

Figure 38. Blackfeet Camp on East Side



The Great Northern had Blackfeet moved their teepee camps along the east side of the Park so that tourists could see them. [Kizer photograph, Peterson 2002 (1910).]

Figure 39. Glacier Park Hotel Blackfeet Teepee Encampment



The Great Northern paid Blackfeet to camp on the front lawn of the Hotel. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of Flathead County Library Montana Collections (circa 1920).]

the photography studio printing, finishing and colorizing [tinting black and white photos with colored oil paint] for Hileman (Fraley 1998). As Fraley notes:

Doris's work for Hileman provided her with inside access to important events in the park. She attended a pow-wow where the Blackfeet adopted into the tribe the son of Mr. Simpson, president of Chicago's Marshall Field and Company. She mounted dramatic photos of Blackfeet chiefs performing the ceremony. She also mounted a photo of Lone Wolf, or Hart Schultz, the Blackfeet son of James Willard Schultz (Fraley 1998, 51).

James Willard Schulz wrote a number of books on Glacier and the Blackfeet Indians.

The books were highly publicized and good for the Great Northern business. Louis Hill provided Schultz a room at the hotel every summer so he could research and write.

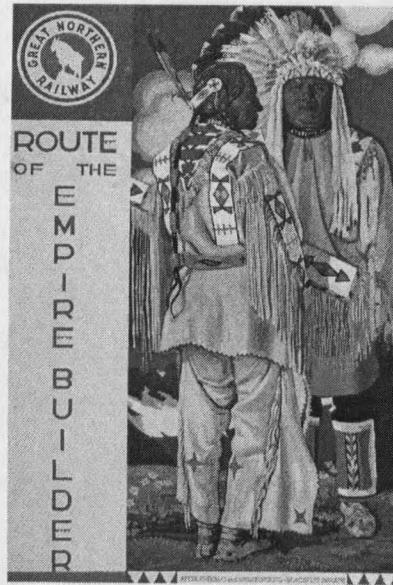
Schultz and Winold Reiss incorporated their talents in a book called The Sun God's Children (Schultz and Donaldson 1930).

The perceptions of the eastern gateway were further recorded by auto-tourists.

Travel brochures represented the east side of the Park more for railroad travelers than for the auto traveler between 1910 and 1930. However, the few adventurous motorists that arrived at the gateway found some auto-related services but not a transmountain road to the west side of the Park. Before the completion of either east-west road, there were train-side loading docks on each side of the park that transported autos across the divide while their owners explored the Park (Fig. 42). For westbound travelers, their vehicles would be waiting for them to continue their western adventure at Belton Station.

Eastbound travelers following the Park to Park Road found sufficient accommodations on the west side for auto tourists, but opportunities were slimmer on the east side. During the summer of 1923, Mildred H. Huhne recalled the adventure she and her friends had as they traveled to Glacier and across the pass from Belton to Glacier Park with their car:

Figure 40. Winold Reiss Painting



Winold Reiss painted for the Great Northern Railway during the 1920's and the 1930's. [Reiss artist, Peterson 2002 (circa 1930).]

Figure 41. Blackfeet Indian



Photographers were hired to take portraits of the Blackfeet to sell to tourists. However, very few took photos of the Blackfeet outside of the Hotel area. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy MSU Special Collections (circa 1920).]

We huddled together on some fresh sawdust. We became miserably cold, and more and more apprehensive. The mountains looked silent and foreboding—the death-like solemnity of the night was broken only by the laborious puffing of the locomotive. Tears welled in our eyes and little rivulets rolled down our cheeks.

At last the train came to a stop and we were told we had arrived at Glacier Park Station. But horror of horrors! The hotel was closed. Everything was black. What could we do? The car, our only retreat, would not be unloaded until morning. A chill wind caused us to huddle more closely together on the depot platform.

The train stayed there for the night. The conductor said the crew would give us something to eat after they finished work, and we could sleep in the caboose. He took us to the caboose to wait, but we grew panicky and imagined all sorts of things. We dashed out into the night before the crew returned.

We met a lone man who said we could find lodging about two blocks away. We followed him, and what he had to offer was no rooming house by any stretch of the imagination. One glance at all those bodies on the ground, wrapped [sic] in their bedrolls, and we turned like startled deer and raced back to the depot (Great Falls Tribune 1963).

The ever-increasing popularity of motoring pushed Louis Hill to cater to the auto tourist. One change was the transportation of automobiles across the pass. The other was to provide some cabin-type accommodations for auto travelers. This led Hill to contemplate a "Driveyourself" Movement in the late 1920's. This movement would have provided transportation for those rail travelers who otherwise could not afford to pay the park rates. Hill considered putting in cheap-rate tourist accommodations in the form of one and two room cottages. These were to be separated from the hotel and used by those who would ordinarily go to the store and buy supplies, cooking their meals in a community kitchen (Noble 1926). However, in the end, the railroad and the government squashed the plan. Neither was enthralled about the automobile as a primary way to explore Glacier. The railroad-sponsored motor lodges were planned later after the completion of the Going-to-the Sun Highway and the Theodore Roosevelt Highway.

Figure 42. Glacier Park Loading Docks



The Great Northern Railway used the loading docks until the opening of the Roosevelt Highway in 1929. [Author photograph (2001).]

The landscape of the Glacier gateways experienced drastic changes between 1910 and 1930. These golden years of the Great Northern and its dominance were particularly noticeable upon the east side. The landscape of the eastern gateway changed minimally between 1930 and 2000. Development became hindered when the government began to enforce the rights of the Blackfeet allotment holders. Therefore, land development literally came to a halt until the 1970's. On the west side, the railroad promoters built the Belton Chalet in 1910, but then allowed it to decline because they were more focused on their east side holdings. Louis Hill monopolized east side development and created a Great Northern playground for more than two decades. His legacies were the Glacier Park Hotel, Many Glacier Hotel and the Swiss-style chalets within the park, as well as the creation of the railroad subsidiaries. Local entrepreneurs, a growing number of residents and government park policies, also shaped the landscape. The government headquarters

area that was established on the west side of the park also allowed more freedom for the railroad to develop and control the east side gateway. Finally, the period from 1910 to 1930 witnessed the dramatic appearance of the automobile, and it increasingly redefined the form and function of Glacier's gateway communities.

THE SHIFTING LANDSCAPE OF THE GATEWAY COMMUNITY, 1930-1960

Glacier's gateways continued to evolve between 1930 and 1960. The gateways increasingly provided services for the growing numbers of automobile travelers to the region. The golden era of the railroad was slowly slipping away from the Great Northern, as the automobile brought more Americans from all classes of society to the Park. Many other pivotal political and economic events also shaped the futures of the gateways between 1930 and 1960.

The Emergence of Political Infrastructure

While the gateway communities grew during the 1920's, the years following the stock market crash of 1929 saw fewer visitors to the Glacier region. Annual visitation dropped from 74,000 to 53,000 between 1930 and 1932 (Emmert 1946). However, the 1932 creation of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park ushered in a slight increase in travel, especially from the Canadian side. By the mid thirties, a gradual recovery of tourism began to revive the economy of both west side and east side gateways.

The completion of the Roosevelt Highway (U.S. 2)(1930) and the dedication of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway (1933) further stimulated landscape change within the gateway communities. These new transportation corridors allowed the tourist to individually experience transmountain travel by automobile. The west side gateway had already seen a growing array of automobile services and facilities prior to the completion

of the new roads. However, the east side still depended heavily on railroad tourists for business.

The Park's Five Year Plan also stimulated the growth of the gateways. In 1929, the Park Service required the concessions to submit a Five Year Plan to improve public facilities. The Glacier Park Hotel Company complained that it was impossible to issue a tentative building plan because the government had not finished their projects such as the transmountain road. The corporation's response to the plan only increased the tensions between the Glacier Park Hotel Company and the government. Even though the anxiety continued, the company signed another twenty-year contract with the Department of the Interior in 1932 to provide accommodations within Glacier. The government suggested that more moderately priced cabins be built for the increasing numbers of auto tourists entering Glacier. Again the request was ignored by the Glacier Park Hotel Company, which created more animosity between the park, the concessions, and the local communities. The hotel company kept the prices high at the lodges and auto travelers had nowhere to stay. Therefore, the lack of auto facilities within the park made many motorists leave the Park boundaries in search of affordable auto-oriented accommodations in the gateways.

In 1932, the Roosevelt administration entered the White House and a number of new federal policies further shaped the gateways thereafter. Roosevelt wanted "to lift the country from financial insolvency" and created the New Deal (HRS 1980). The New Deal programs were designed to financially aid Americans and construct beneficial items for the country such as dams, bridges, roads, and trails. Two New Deal programs that

directly affected Glacier's gateways were the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Work Project Administration (WPA). The CCC established camps that employed young men from around the country. The permanent base camps were located in the Park near both of the gateway communities. The arrival of the CCC camps in Glacier created a channel to accomplish work that was greatly needed but could not be completed with normal appropriations (Ober 1976). There were four types of work that were initiated by the CCC groups including (1) the cleanup of "unsightly" roadside areas, (2) the expansion of campgrounds, (3) the construction of fire trails, and (4) simple road maintenance (HRS 1980). The CCC appointed local men known as "LEM's" (Local Experienced Men), to mid-level and sub-altern positions as well as to positions of camp superintendents, project foremen and technical assistants. This allowed the appointee to remain in the park longer (Ober 1976). The CCC achieved two goals by hiring local residents. The primary objective was to ease objections that CCC members were non-residents and the other objective was the placement of experienced woodsmen in supervisory positions (Ober 1976). The camps also stimulated the local economies as purchase orders were sent to local businesses for supplies.

The WPA also affected Glacier's gateways. Local work programs assisted gateway residents by offering jobs close to their homes. Superintendent Scoyen observed that the skills of the local population fit the type of work that was being done (Scoyen 1934). The WPA Federal Writers Project began in the fall of 1935 and it was another program offered to local "white-collared" workers in the Glacier area. The writers were to prepare a guide book of the United States, keep regular progress reports on the WPA,

prepare an encyclopedia of government functions and write a limited number of special studies (Davidson 1935).

In 1941, the United States entered World War II. Gateway expansion slowed tremendously as tourism was curtailed to the Glacier region between 1942 and 1945. Visitation numbers declined dramatically from 176,000 in 1941 to 64,000 in 1942 (Emmert 1946). There were restrictions throughout the country on civilian travel and the purchase of automobiles, tires and gasoline. Many national parks became training grounds for troops or a refuge for service men. The decrease in travel forced the park concessions to close between 1942 and 1945. The Great Northern closed its Glacier holdings and curtailed its Glacier advertisement campaign. The Park kept the trails open and only the East Glacier Cabin Camp remained open as an "emergency service" for auto travelers in July and August. The railroad did not service Glacier Park or Belton in 1943 because the towns were not incorporated and the train was needed for troop transport. At no other time in Glacier Park history was there such little activity in and around the park.

The end of the war and the release of service personnel from their duties in 1945 ensured renewed travel to Glacier. As the summer of 1946 arrived, the park and the gateway businesses prepared for the sudden resumption of visitation. The Glacier Park Hotel Company anticipated the future visitation impacts on the park concessions. The decision was to provide better concession distribution by park administration and the Hotel Company (Hays 1945). Gateway residents and businesses prepared by building new motels, cabins and camp courts and many of the older facilities were expanded. However, the number of rooms and camping facilities within the park and at the

gateways were still insufficient for the number of travelers entering the region.

Conditions for auto travel were good since many of the roads and bridges in the area were improved just before the war.

On the other hand, the numbers of rail passengers declined. Therefore, the number of hotel guests declined. More visitors were traveling to Glacier by automobile and demanding more reasonably priced accommodations than were provided by the railroad's hotel company. These demands directly impacted both the railroad holdings and the gateways. The Great Northern restructured their subsidiary and changed its name in 1943 from the Glacier Park Hotel Company to the Glacier Park Company. After the war, there was a slight upswing in railroad travel, but by the 1950's the Great Northern was again losing travelers. Also their twenty-year Glacier contract was coming to an end and they did not want to renew it with the Park. However, the government pressured the company to remain as the Glacier Park concession. The hotel company finally agreed to renew their contract in 1952 on an annual basis each season until they could find a buyer for the concession. The National Park Service bought the Granite Park and the Sperry Chalets from the Great Northern for \$1 each in 1954 (HRS 1980). Two years later the Great Northern subcontracted the renovation of their existing Glacier facilities to the Knutson Hotel Corporation and began preparations for a package sale of their holdings. In 1960, as Glacier National Park celebrated its 50th anniversary, the Great Northern sold its Glacier holdings to Don Hummel, an Arizona attorney with prior experience in national park concessions.

Visitation continued to grow during the 1950's. The Park Service was encouraged to improve and invest in the national parks. After the war, tourists encountered the rustic nature centers and museums that were built by the CCC groups in the thirties, and the primitive campgrounds and administration buildings that were in need of improvement. National Park Director Conrad Wirth initiated the Mission 66 program in 1956, in preparation of the 50th anniversary of the Park Service in 1966. The ten-year project was designed to improve visitor facilities and administration areas. As the Mission 66 project was implemented, the gateway communities thrived with the growing numbers of tourists. However, the small tourist communities located west of West Glacier were developing their own visitor services that in the future would challenge the role of the western gateway. Overall, the railroad's influence on the gateway landscape continued to ebb during the 1950's.

The Shifting Landscape of the Western Gateway

The landscape of the western gateway was initially shaped by the railroad and by local businesses that exploited Glacier's west side scenery. The new underpass and entrance road built in 1938 were shaped by the increasing demands of auto travelers for better services and facilities and Park administration. Along the new corridor, the Belton Mercantile, owned by Ed Dow, bought land and established auto-related services and facilities. The bypass of the original townsite caused Belton business owners to close their doors. However, the monopolization by the Belton Mercantile along the new

corridor pushed other businesses west on U.S. 2, thus spurring an extended commercial strip west of town.

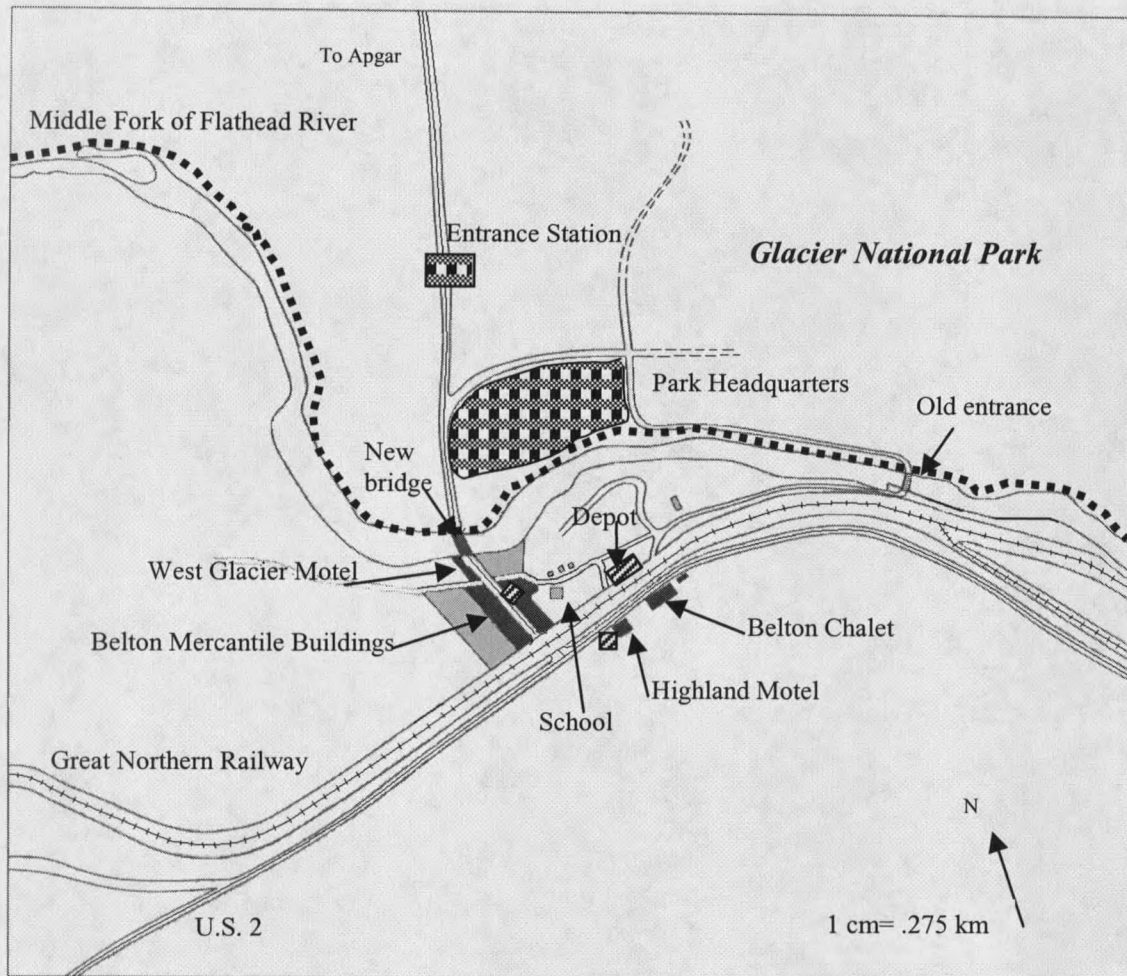
Land Use Patterns of West Glacier in 1960

The land use patterns in West Glacier in 1960 were thoroughly altered from the previous years at the old Belton site. The commercial landscape of the west side in 1960 was divided between old Belton and the new commercial and transportation corridor (Fig. 43). The new West Glacier entrance road was built because Park administration wanted to tie the construction with other Park improvements that were underway at that time (Carnes 1935). The relocation of the road created opportunities for tourist services and facilities along the new corridor in West Glacier. However, the new road by-passed Belton and the old town failed even as the new corridor prospered.

The once bustling gateway community of trains, horse stages and White's tour buses that transported thousands of tourists to the Lake McDonald summer resorts was now a scar of foundations and deteriorated buildings upon the landscape. By 1960, the site of old Belton became a story for old timers to talk about. The opening of the new entrance road in 1938 redirected traffic away from the original gateway site. The Belton businesses had closed and the buildings had been razed by 1960.

The new corridor of West Glacier was a thriving commercial landscape. The Belton Mercantile complex moved to the new West Glacier location in 1938. For many years the Mercantile had operated across the tracks from the depot and next to the Dow Hotel. Ed Dow discontinued the operation of his store and soda fountain at Apgar and moved the building to the new West Glacier entrance to function as the gift shop.

Figure 43. Land Use Reconstruction Map—West Glacier 1960



- Commercial Land Use
- Residential Land Use
- Transportation Land Use [railroad and gas stations]
- Government Administration Land Use
- Park Boundary

[Source: U.S. Forest Service 1938, Montana Electric Company 1955]

However, after forty-six years of service to residents and tourists, Dow sold the Belton Mercantile in 1946. The Lundgren family (Dan Sr., Conrad and Everett) and David Thompson assumed the operation of the business. This purchase carried on the family business through the Lundgren and Thompson families. The new commercial buildings built in 1938 on the west side of the road included a souvenir and gift shop, the Belton Mercantile Company building and the fountain and café as well as a new post office. On the east side of the road was the gas station and a liquor store. The West Glacier Motel was also added near the bridge on the west side of the road (Montana Electric Company 1955)(Fig. 44).

Figure 44. West Glacier Motel



The West Glacier Motel offered auto travelers inexpensive accommodations. [Author photograph (2001).]

Tourist expansion in the post war years drew hundreds of thousands to Glacier, especially to the west-side gateway. The park and its concessions did not have the facilities to accommodate the numbers of automobile visitors. Local businesses located

near the gateway were encouraged to build lodging and camping facilities. In the late 1940's, the towns of Hungry Horse, Martin City and Coram were established west of West Glacier because of the construction of Hungry Horse Dam. These new towns also offered auto tourist services and facilities that extended west of the gateway.

Along U.S. 2, the commercial landscape grew with the boom of auto tourism. Travel numbers to the Park increased from 73,783 visitors in 1930 to 724,500 in 1960. The 1951 Glacier National Park Tourist Survey revealed that 483,923 passenger cars entered the gates of the park (Montana State Highway Commission Planning Survey 1951). Still, many of these travelers did not stay at the western gateway. With the increased use of automobiles and with highway improvements, Kalispell and Missoula were increasingly selected as the most used overnight spots, followed by West Glacier (Montana State Highway Commission Planning Survey 1951).

The Belton Chalet had been opened only periodically and on a limited seasonal basis since 1930. The hotel company and the government jointly purchased the Lewis property on Lake McDonald in 1930. Therefore, their future west-side promotions focused on their new holding at Lake McDonald Lodge instead of the Belton Chalet. By 1946, the Glacier Park Hotel Company stated they had "no further utilization of the property and it is of no service to the operations of this company" (Ober 1973, 147). The Hotel Company did not believe the Chalet was essential because it mostly catered to the auto tourists outside the Park. The Park supported the Company's decision to sell the Chalet and on May 15, 1946 bids were solicited. Only two months later the Chalet was sold to William A. Murrill, a resident of Belton, for \$25,550 and renamed "Murrill's

Chalet" (Ober 1973, HRS 1980). While Murrill wanted to operate a summer hotel, the facilities continued another fifty-year roller coaster ride of use and decline.

Residential land use also shifted and followed the new travel corridor. The permanent population of West Glacier actually fell over the thirty-year period, reaching 160 people by 1960 (United States Department of Commerce 1960). There were few homes left on the old Belton side of West Glacier. The homes that were on the park side of the river were razed during the 1930's because of deterioration. The three cabin-type houses near the old hotel and mercantile were occupied by permanent residents (Fig. 45). A house near the river was owned by one of the Lundgren brothers. The new school was built in 1955 near the old site of the Masonic Lodge (Fig. 46). The West Glacier School and Apgar School were then consolidated in 1957 and served all local residents. The new residential development occurred on the west side of the new corridor behind the commercial buildings. Initially only a few homes were built for local residents and business owners. However, as the park hired more permanent employees, they too bought lots and built homes.

The transportation landscape of 1960 evolved tremendously over the thirty-year period. The most dramatic land use change was the relocation of the entrance road to the Park. In 1935, Chief Architect W. G. Carnes wrote a letter to Superintendent Scoyen discussing different approaches for the new entrance road to the Park. Three potential routes were presented in Carne's proposal. The upper route passed through Belton and park headquarters, the lower route bypassed the headquarters area by a road and bridge downstream, and the other option was to build a bridge over Belton that dropped into

Figure 45. Old Belton Homes



A few of the old Belton homes escaped deterioration. [Author photograph (2001).]

Figure 46. West Glacier Elementary School



The Apgar School and the West Glacier School incorporated in 1955. [Author photograph (2001).]

park headquarters, by-passing the town altogether (Carnes 1935). The park decided to relocate the new entrance road downstream. The landscape angle for the new approach followed the philosophy of the Park that wanted to keep Glacier as the "primitive wilderness park" and concealed the physical development down to just the check station (Carnes 1935). The Belton depot was moved to its present location, remodeled and enlarged in 1936. The new underpass was built in 1937 by the joint effort of the Bureau of Public Roads, Great Northern Railway and the Montana Highway Commission. The next year the new concrete bridge (1938) over the Middle Fork River was completed and opened for traffic. By the late 1940's and early 1950's, the west side roads needed further improvement due to the number of vehicles traveling to the region. Road conditions in the park were also improved including the asphalt surfacing of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway in the early 1950's (Holden and Hufstetler 1997).

The park headquarters were located near the boundary of the park and the gateway community. Therefore, it was only fitting that the government operated Civilian Conservation Corps Camps (1932 to 1940) and the Civilian Public Service Camp (1942) were close to the administration complex. The CCC camps were located within the park boundaries, west of the headquarters area. The Civil Works project began with 155 workers. Most of the workers lived near or in their homes during the project (Scoyen 1934). The CCC and the Civil Work groups cleaned up the dead timber from the 1929 fire. It was of no use to the Park, so it was shipped to the Blackfeet Reservation. During World War II the Civilian Public Service Camp was located in Belton. Under the direction of the national Service Board for Religious Objectors, the men were assigned

and retained in camps in accordance with the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1942). The work of the group "consisted of construction, improvement and maintenance of the park, parkway and recreational facilities... and the restoration, conservation and protection of natural resources..." (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1942).

Landscape Change in West Glacier

The landscape of West Glacier was increasingly shaped by automobile transportation from 1930 to 1960. Photographs, maps and other records can help to assess these changes. The years of the Depression and the war also began to take their toll on the gateway. Many buildings of the original town were either deteriorated or torn down by 1940. Others were closed for periods of time. The small numbers of tourists demands from the local CCC camp members, and the occasional bootlegging business allowed some financial support for the community during these years. However, in the mid and late 1930's, the landscape of the gateway changed dramatically as the new entrance corridor was built and utilized. During the war years, the lack of park activity was hard on the gateway. However, the post war tourism boom again began to shape the west side's landscape. The automobile was the proven choice of travel by the American vacationer and the tourist relied on the gateway to provide services and facilities.

A 1929 photograph of Belton revealed a thriving town established at the entrance of one of the nation's leading national parks (Fig. 47). The entrance road was located east of the depot by Ed Dow's hotel and store. A decade later, a Forest Service map of

Figure 47. Aerial View of Belton in 1929



The next decade brought significant change to the thriving town of Belton shown in this photograph. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (1929).]

Belton in 1938 revealed the new underpass and the use of the old entrance road through Belton and the headquarters area. The map located many of the buildings in the 1929 photograph of the town. However, along the river north of the town site, twenty new tourist cabins were added for auto travelers. On the west side of town, a section of land was added to the Belton plat as the Town of West Glacier that included the new entrance road.

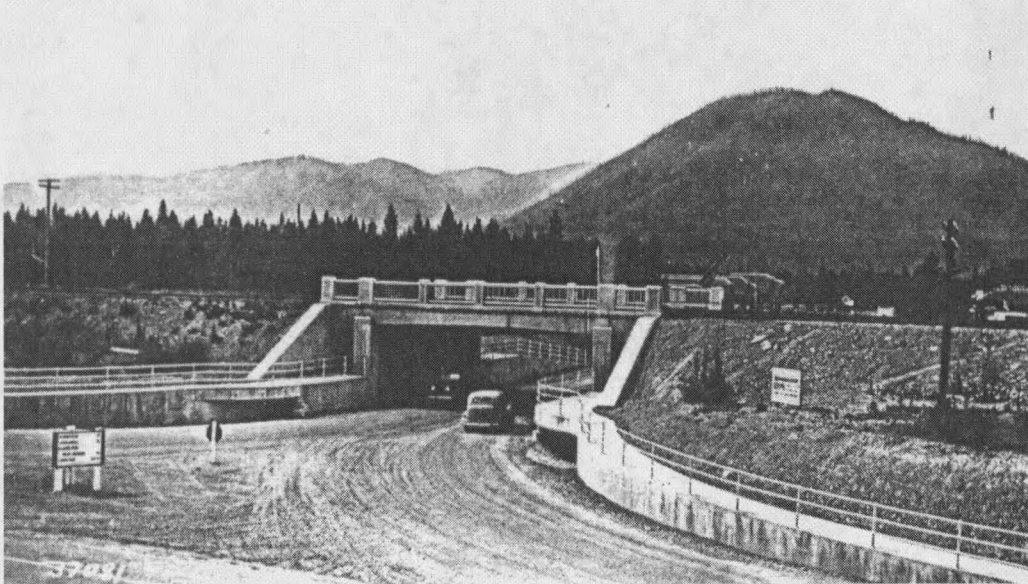
The Civilian Conservation Corps camps were located within the park boundaries near the headquarters complex. The CCC members were from all over the country and walks of life. The young men interacted with the west side community since the camps were close to the park boundary. Initially, the host communities, including West Glacier,

were concerned about the young men. An editorial from the Daily Inter Lake in 1933 calmed community apprehensions about the CCC members that had been in Kalispell recently, "[they have] a remarkable record of having committed no major offenses" (Kalispell Daily Inter Lake 1933). Most of the projects were within the Park, thus away from the community. One of the first projects for the 1932 crew was to clean the burned area between Belton and Apgar from the 1929 fire. After the arrival of the CCC groups, nothing stood still in Glacier (Ober 1976).

The transportation landscape that evolved during the mid thirties suggested the continued decline of the railroad era. Along U.S. 2, the Chalet, a motel, restaurant and gas station were available for the auto travelers (Fig. 48). The new Glacier approach road was the most significant landscape change. It was proposed by park administrators to accompany the other improvements that were being implemented. After many sets of plans, U.S. 2 was connected to the new entrance road and underpass located just west of old Belton (Fig. 49). The new placement of the approach road bypassed Belton. According to a letter from Carnes, Chief Park architect, to Superintendent Scoyen, "any possible entrance through the present Belton village would be far from esthetically or scenically inspiring as a park approach" (Carnes 1935). A new concrete bridge was built over the Middle Fork and received national recognition for being one of the most beautiful bridges built in the United States in 1938. From the first day of operation in 1941, the new west entrance station handled the largest number of visitors entering Glacier (Fig. 50). The new transportation landscape of the west side was transformed to exclusively cater to automobile tourism.

Figure 48. U.S. Highway 2

The west side landscape of the 1930's changed significantly with auto travel improvements. [Author photograph (2001).]

Figure 49. New Underpass 1939

The construction of the new underpass and entrance corridor changed the entrance corridor to Glacier on the west side. [Emery Manual, Courtesy of GNP Archives (1939).]

Figure 50. West Glacier Entrance Station



The new station at West Glacier had record numbers of tourists enter the gate in its first years. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1955).]

The Belton Mercantile complex dominated the landscape along the new corridor. The buildings were a Swiss-type design that followed in the tradition of the Great Northern and other park-style buildings (Fig. 51). The only building brought to the site was the Dow general store from Apgar (Fig. 52). The building on the south end of the road was the Post Office that drew the attention of the resident and tourist to the new corridor. The rustic theme that was portrayed by the structures at the park entrance, further enhanced the promotional materials of the past decades, and paralleled the themes and imagery of the “See America First” and the “Little Switzerland of America” campaigns.

Figure 51. Belton Mercantile Buildings



The move by the Belton Mercantile to the new corridor began the decline of Belton. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (1939).]

Figure 52. Moving the Apgar General Store



Ed Dow moved his general store from Apgar to West Glacier to add to the Belton Mercantile buildings. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1939).]

The residents also experienced landscape change first hand. The new corridor opened new residential lots for the local population. Park employees also built homes and bought land in the new residential area. The community spirit of the town was expressed in the visual landscape as well. In the early days a group of Beltonites built a ski hill near Brock's homestead (close to the Chalet). The community carried on the tradition and built and operated a ski run behind the Chalet in 1938 called the "Belton Ski Club." The town also had a number of social gathering places, such as the Masonic Hall, local bars and hotels, and the West Glacier School.

Perceptions of West Glacier

Promotional literature and accounts written by travelers and residents reveals the character of the west side as it was experienced between 1930 and 1960. Glacier promotions by the railroad included only brief references about the western gateway. However, the railroad still heavily promoted east-side tourism. The railroad encouraged train travel to the park and the use of Glacier Transport busses to tour the interior of Glacier. Package tours included prices for rail and auto transportation as well as lodging and meals. Travel books, such as Martelle Trager's National Parks of the Northwest, described the incorporation of rail and auto travel. As Trager notes, "the Great Northern Railway stops at both the east and the west entrances of the park and passengers desiring may get off the train at one side and take a bus trip through the park, getting on the train at the other side later" (Trager 1939, 80-81). Other books also encouraged rail passengers to take the Going-to-the-Sun route because, "the trip affords a glimpse of

Glacier's magnificent scenery... it is interesting to make note of vegetation differences on the opposite sides of the Park" (Butcher 1949, 41).

Oil companies, the state of Montana and the federal government's WPA state guidebooks promoted automobile tourism. Many oil companies did not promote attractions in Montana, except for their state maps. The Denver-based CONOCO Company, however, actively promoted Glacier National Park. A 1932 radio presentation by CONOCO briefly described "two entrances to Glacier National Park... On the western side of the Continental Divide the entrance to the Park is at Belton, on U.S. 2, and what a glorious drive it is from Glacier park entrance to Belton" (CONOCO 1932). CONOCO further suggested a summer vacation itinerary for auto travelers, including retracing "your way along Route 87 to Glacier Park and keep on around the loop, following U.S. 2—which is known as the Roosevelt Highway... Better fill up at Essex, and then on again to Belton... Here you will find an excellent hotel" (CONOCO 1932). Another company, ARMCO Drainage and Metal Product, Inc., published The Highway Magazine, which offered readers tourist information for auto vacations. In their October 1947 issue, M. E. Beatty wrote an article called "Glacier National Park: America's Alpine Scenic Masterpiece" that described the park (Beatty 1947). His words echo the typical travel literature of the post-war era:

The awesome ruggedness of the mountains is softened by the green carpet of extensive forests and grass covered meadows, the colorful displays of wildflowers, the intense blues of the park's 200 or more lakes, and the crystal pattern of the waterfalls, streams and glaciers (Beatty 1947, 220).

The Montana WPA State Guide was published in 1939 and offered information about the state. The guidebook included a brief description of travel services in Belton.

Other informational guides about Glacier were published by the WPA during 1935 and 1943 and included The American Guide- Glacier National Park by Donald M. Young of Coram, Montana (Young 1943). Travelers also relied on Montana Department of Transportation maps to provide information about state attractions. Different years featured general information about Glacier and its gateways such as how to reach Glacier, scenery photos, and phone numbers for the park and Hotel Company. The United States Travel Bureau also published Travel USA in the late 1940's. The September 1949 issue featured an article on Montana and the state promotional slogan, "The land between the parks" (Henry 1949).

Travel guides described the condition of the roads and towns for prospective motorists. According to National Parks of the Northwest, "the roads are wide, straight and hard-surfaced, and there is little traffic, so one can travel almost twice as far in a day as he can in the East" (Trager 1939, 77). Motorists also found better quality automobile courts and tourist cabins in the West. Along the river at Belton, "a group of attractive stucco cabins has been built in the woods along the bank of the Flathead River... Aside from their picturesque setting, they have all the modern conveniences" (Trager 1939, 78). Other post war literature described the motor services and facilities that were close to the western gateway and offered other types of attractions, such as the Sunset Dude Ranch. The ranch offered a variety of activities along with guided trips into the Park and promoted, "Even if your legs ain't bowed...you'll get a hearty western welcome" (Sunset Dude Ranch 1950).

Other sources such as books and magazine articles did not specifically address the gateway communities but enticed the tourist to visit Glacier with descriptions of scenery and adventure. The details of these publications encouraged travel to the park, therefore, increasing the amount of tourists visiting the gateway communities. A number of general national park books such as Romance of the National Parks (James 1939), Our Country's National Parks, Volume II (Melbo 1941), and Exploring Our National Parks and Monuments (Butcher 1949) usually described Glacier in one or two pages with a few photographs. The book excerpts covered an array of topics from general park and highway information to describing the "best place to see Blackfoot Indians" (Melbo 1941, 102). Many popular magazines also featured articles on Glacier. Montana: The Magazine of Western History (1957), The Naturalist (Emmert 1958), Recreation (Fenton 1934) and National Geographic Magazine (Long 1956) all featured Glacier-related material between 1930 and 1960. The summer 1957 edition of Montana: The Magazine of Western History featured four articles entitled "Glorious Glacier" and the last article was a reprint of "Return to the Beloved Mountains" by James Willard Schultz (Montana: The Magazine of Western History 1957). Multiple articles in The Naturalist described conservation and the goals of Mission 66 and hiking in Glacier (Emmert 1958). The most detailed and probably the most read article, "Many-splendored Glacierland" was published in the May 1956 issue of National Geographic Magazine (Long 1956). The author describes the family trip to Glacier on the eastbound Western Star as it reached Marias Pass:

At the last moment a gap swung open in the mountain barrier, and Western Star began the climb to Marias Pass. Incredibly, this lowest cut across the northern U.S. Rockies, hinted in Blackfoot Indian legends, was not definitely located until 1889.

The pass became the southern boundary of the park when it was created in 1910. Thus, as we climbed, a full-scale cross section of Glacier slid past our windows, a dramatic preview of the wonders to come.

We arrived in West Glacier refugees from a record-breaking eastern heat wave. The bracing mountain air reminded us of a crisp October day back home. At Lake McDonald Hotel a welcome fire crackled in the huge lobby fireplace. We soon donned tweeds and sweaters, and that night we slept under double blankets. It was a different world (Long 1956, 589).

The west-side landscape initially portrayed early in the twentieth century was an old railroad town, a place that was the entrance to a land of intrigue and adventure. However, the year 1938 marked the beginning of the new auto-oriented landscape that was portrayed to be a place of convenience and a handy gateway entrance to the Glacier adventure. Travel magazines, guides, photographs and accounts of personal visits described the conveniences for auto travelers, the splendid scenery of Glacier and the Bob Marshall Wilderness, and the family fun and adventure to be had at Glacier and its gateway (Fig. 53). The west side promotional material also included the services and facilities that were offered at Hungry Horse, Martin City and Coram. The increase in outside-the-park services such as dude ranches, souvenir shops, museums, Hungry Horse Dam and the Bob Marshall Wilderness created new opportunities for west-side visitors. By 1960, the west side landscape was a picture of relaxation, fun and opportunities for visitors of all ages to the area.

Accounts by local residents reveal the character of the gateway community to insiders. During the early 1930's before prohibition was repealed, bootlegging was a career option for many around the Glacier area. The widow of Dan Doody, one of the

Figure 53. Automobile Travel Guides



The auto travel literature began in the 1930's. After the war years, travel literature was mass-produced for prospective auto travelers. [Courtesy of GNP Archives, Professor Joseph Ashley, and University of Montana Special Collections. (1941, 1948, circa 1950 and 1957).]

first rangers in the region, lived east of Belton, within the park boundaries on the family homestead. Mrs. Doody made illegal moonshine and sold it to the railroad workers. When the train came through the area, the conductor would blow the whistle to let her know how many quarts of moonshine they wanted to purchase (Fraley 1998). After the repeal of prohibition, most of the local bars reopened. Doris Huffine's sister, Maxine, attended dances at West Glacier at Al Wright's hotel and helped close the bar on some nights (Fraley 1998). She, of course, met some colorful patrons during her evenings at the bar. As she later recalled:

This one fellow came down every night and just got so drunk on beer... Then he'd buy eggs and throw them at the wall to watch them splatter. We got smart and we sold him eggs at a dollar apiece. The next day, though, I'd had to clean up the eggs—what a mess! So I got even smarter and boiled the eggs. The next time, I charged him a dollar a piece for the boiled eggs and let him throw them; he didn't know the difference, he was so drunk. I don't even remember his name but he was some big shot who owned a cabin up on Lake McDonald (Fraley 1998, 155).

West Glacier was an interesting place with interesting people. These stories reveal some of the eccentricities of residents. During the period between 1930 and 1950, the west side was still quite isolated. The solitude often allowed area residents to think that they could create their own rules to live by in their community. After 1950, however, the road improvements between West Glacier and Columbia Falls made getting to the west-side corridor easier. The days of the mountain community's solitude had ended by 1960.

Some members of the CCC also kept journals of their experiences at Glacier. Arthur Youwen was a young CCC member stationed at the Belton camp #697, "located inside the park, about one or one-half miles from Belton just north of the Park Entrance Station and Park Service Administration and Maintenance buildings" (Youwen 1937). For recreation, the members often went swimming at Lake McDonald. However, most of the time they went to the Belton Bridge to swim. There were also "Liberty parties" to nearby towns and open houses to vary the routine (Ober 1976). A truck sometimes visited the Glacier camps from Fort Missoula that showed movies. In addition, team sports were very popular among the camps (Ober 1976). Another CCC member from Brooklyn, New York described his time at Glacier and the local residents.

We [found] a glorious country peopled with some of the most hospitable people in the world. It took a little time to become accustomed to trees instead of people. The

sighing of the wind in the great trees was a sound of mystery and at first terrifying after the roar of the densely populated cities we came from.... Coming out here was a great break for me. My muscles are hard as iron and I have gained fifteen pounds in weight.... We were given plenty of hard work, which, with regular meals, and rest, as a part of the camp discipline, we became stronger.... (Ober 1976).

The Glacier CCC camps were based in the park for almost ten years. The camp members became part of the community during their placement time before they moved to the next camp. The men of the CCC learned through their Glacier experiences the value of preservation as well as trade skills from their work. Under the disciplined schedule of the camps, many of the young men physically and mentally matured during their time at Glacier. The most valuable experience for the CCC members was to learn to work as a team during work and at play.

Beltonites and permanent park employees also experienced the isolation of winter on the west side well into the 1950's. The only connection to the outside was the train during these months because snow would close U.S. 2. In fact, in 1941, park administrators decided to move their winter headquarters to Kalispell. Only the Chief Ranger and a few other employees stayed behind to operate the Park. Head Naturalist George C. Ruhle recalls the winter isolation of the west-side gateway:

The petty jealousy, cabin fever, neighborhood squabbles and other ills incident to a snowbound community, need no expositions here. An accepted fact, they are only too prevalent at Belton. From an administrative view point they must be considered since they extend beyond the four walls of one's cabin to impair to a marked degree, quality and quantity of work done here; in this they have added the effects due to the brevity of daylight, dimmed by incessant murkiness of weather and accentuated by high mountains on all sides which effectively, for much of the brief day, shut off the light from the sun, low in the heavens during the winter months, and with a coldness of climate that is not checked by the frailty of the loose timber construction too prevalent here. By moving headquarters to Kalispell, where winter climate, light, and facilities are of much superior quality, a master stroke would be accomplished towards the upbuilding of winter morals

and better accomplishment of routine office duties. This is not the only advantage to be gained by the move tho [sic], to my mind, it is the major one (Ruhle 1939).

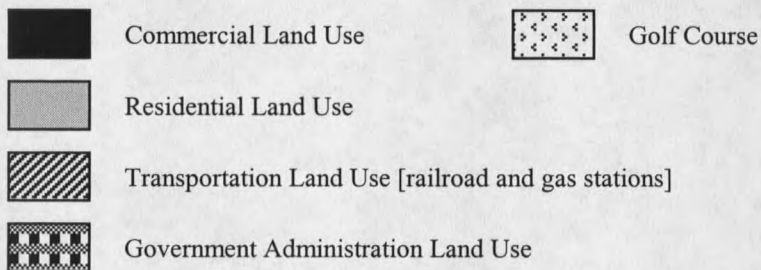
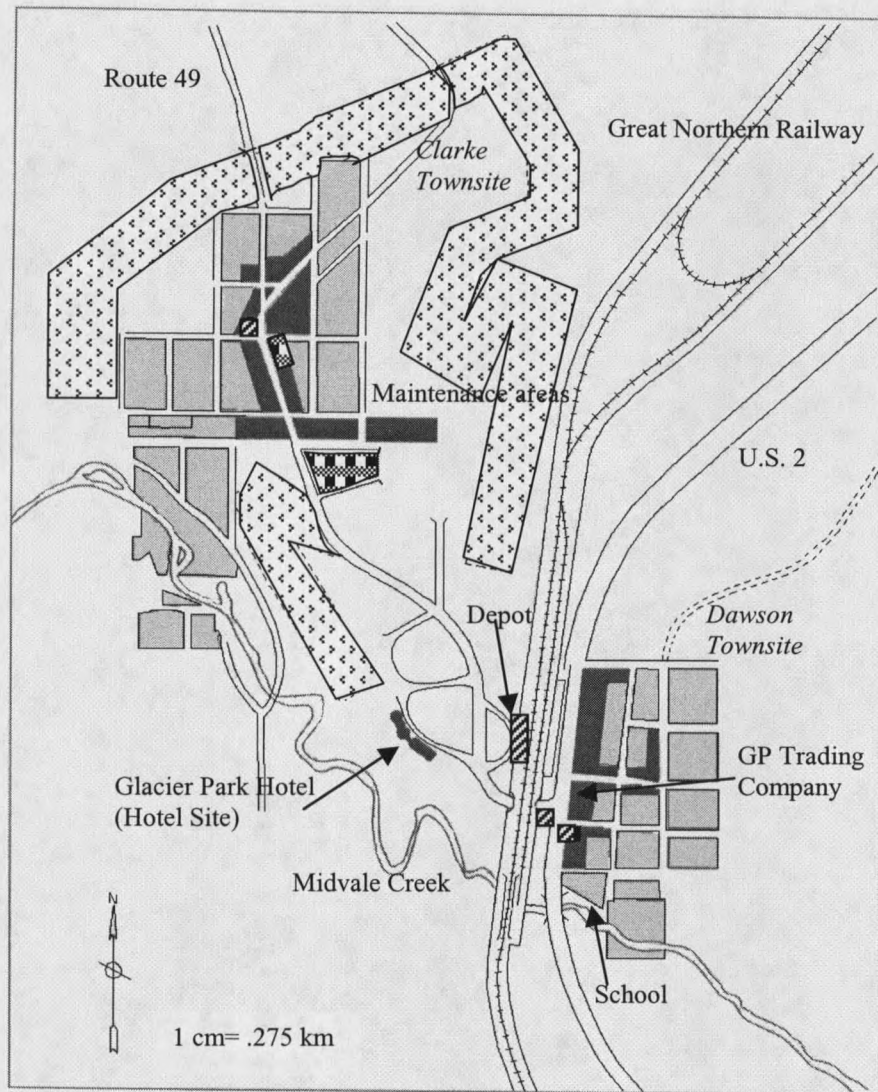
The Shifting Landscape of the Eastern Gateway

Glacier Park (East Glacier) between 1930 and 1960 experienced a gradual change from a focus on servicing railroad passengers to offering affordable facilities for automobile travelers. The railroad tried to control east side travel by keeping lodge prices high and by not providing reasonably priced accommodations for auto vacationers. Local gateway businesses took advantage of this situation and established inexpensive facilities for auto travelers at Glacier Park. In the post war years, East Glacier became an auto-oriented gateway that serviced the overwhelming numbers of tourists visiting the region. The Great Northern Railway no longer had the influence that it once did over the gateway. By 1960, the railroad legacy ended when they sold their Glacier holdings to Don Hummel and a new era of landscape change began.

Land Use Patterns in East Glacier

The land use map for 1960 suggests the gradual merger of the three individual plats of East Glacier (Fig. 54). The commercial land use of the town significantly changed to provide services for the increasing number of auto tourists. Initially, the Glacier Park Hotel dominated the commercial landscape as it had in prior decades. However, the commercial land use close to the hotel was shaped by the growing demand of tourists for reasonably priced services and facilities. The result was the commercial landscape in 1960 that included an assortment of motels, restaurants and shops located on

Figure 54. Land Use Reconstruction Map—East Glacier 1960



[Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Clarke Townsite Map 1929, Sanborn Fire insurance Dawson Townsite Map 1929, MacCarter 1984].

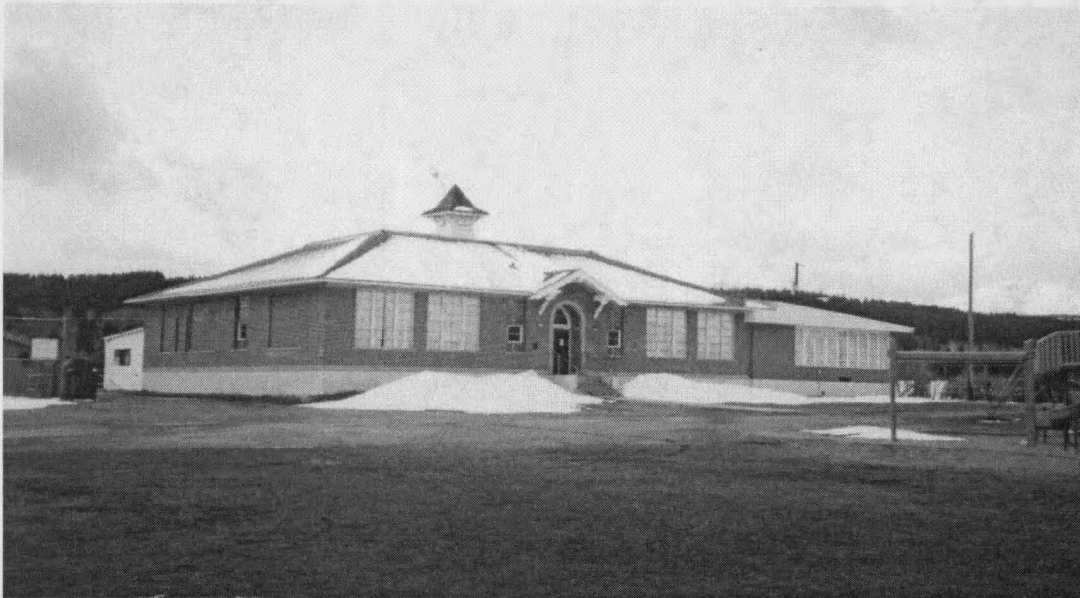
the north side of town. Indeed, by 1960 there were 10 motels in the gateway center. These included the Sherburne Mountain Pine Motel, the Sears Motel and Gift Shop, the Glacier Motel, Jacobson's Cottages and the Thimbleberry Restaurant. The Hockersmith's grocery, now Brownies, was located across the road from the Sears Motel and Gift Shop. Artist John Clarke had a studio across from the Sherburne Mountain Pine Motel. The Royal Arbogast, a fox farm operated at the original homestead of Horace Clarke from 1930 to 1942. Located on the other side of the tracks were the Conner Motel, Porters Motel, the Whistling Swan Motel and Marlowe Rink's Y Camp. The Log Cabin Inn, Montieth Hotel, Smiley's Grocery, the Glacier Park Trading Company and the Villager Cafeteria and Dining Room were located at the Dawson site.

The population of East Glacier did not change significantly between 1930 and 1960. The number of permanent residents remained just over 500, but another 1,000 people lived in the gateway when the seasonal help arrived for the summer (United States Department of Commerce 1960). The Great Northern had many dormitories for their seasonal employees. In 1954, a Great Northern dormitory was moved to East Glacier from Blackfoot to house more hotel employees (Cut Bank Pioneer Press 1954).

The residential lots were on the streets behind the main commercial corridors. The newer homes that were built filled in the open lots on the side streets. In the pre-war years a few primitive cabins and bungalows were built, some with outdoor restroom facilities. After 1946, the homes that were constructed were mostly bungalow-styled homes with indoor plumbing. Sunday services were held at the hotel during the summer and at the Community Hall in the off season because there was not a church in town. The

Glacier Park Elementary Grade School (1923) offered classes from kindergarten to eighth grade (Fig. 55). After the completion of middle school the students had to finish high school at Browning.

Figure 55. Glacier Park Grade School



The Glacier Park School was built in 1923. [Author photograph (2001).]

The transportation land use patterns changed in the early 1930's. The completion of the two transmountain roads increased auto traffic through the gateway. However, more traffic did not necessarily mean more tourists. U.S. Highway 89 became an important corridor for east side travel that bypassed the gateway to the east. However, auto travelers that continued west on U.S. 2 did pass through East Glacier. State Route 49 also connected the community to the Blackfoot Highway (U.S. 89) at Kiowa. The number of service stations increased along with the growing number of motorists entering East Glacier. The Sears Motel and Gift Shop had a couple of gas pumps that offered

travelers the last spot to fuel before they headed north on Route 49. The loop road in front of the hotel was reconstructed to accommodate the increased use of the underpass (1928). No longer did the garden path lead directly from the depot to the hotel. Now the new road severed it. Along U.S. 2, there were also more auto-related facilities, including the Shell Gas Station, the Montana Garage and the Husky Service Station.

Landscape Change in East Glacier

The analysis of photographs, promotional literature and documents help trace the changes of landscape over time. The look of the Glacier Park Hotel changed slightly between 1930 and 1960. The Blackfeet Indians continued to greet vacationers at the depot and performed songs and dances. Teepee encampments remained on the front lawn of the hotel. However, as the automobile became a dominant mode of transportation, the enduring qualities of the railroad facilities declined. The hotel activities such as the golf course (1928) and the swimming pool (1930) were not as attractive to the auto tourist as they were to the clientele of the past. No longer were visitors staying in Glacier for multi-week vacations and dependent on the time schedules of the railroad. Auto travelers wanted convenient overnight accommodations that were inexpensive. By the following day, they were off to their next destination that might be in Glacier or beyond. The Park also felt they were facing acute problems "to compete with the cabin camps which exist immediately outside the park and in the adjoining communities on the east side" because the Park lacked similar services within the boundaries (Libbey 1940).

The decline in hotel guests was financially hard on the Glacier Park Hotel Company. Many of the professional hotel employees were replaced with college students

to reduce the cost of seasonal help. Many of the chalets within Glacier were closed and later razed. Other backcountry chalets were rented to companies such as Noffsinger's Saddle Company. During World War II, the concession operations were closed and many of the buildings fell into disrepair. In 1957, the Hotel Company was in search of a contractor to help improve operations. The Knutson Hotel Corporation was brought in to help the failing company renovate their holdings in preparation for a package sale of the Glacier operation. The corporation not only changed the interior appearances of the big hotels but also changed the name of the Glacier Park Hotel to the Glacier Park Lodge. The Lodge was updated with a new convention hall, one hundred of the rooms were redecorated and refinished, and special suites were added. There were additional gift shops, coffee shops, and cocktail lounges added to the hotel and the recreational entertainment was updated.

National events such as the Depression, the New Deal and World War II also affected the landscape changes of the east-side gateway community. Glacier Park residents and businesses felt the financial hardships of the Depression in 1931. Many local residents went to work for the WPA to supplement their income. The jobs were close to the gateway, therefore, allowing the residents to stay close to home. Others were appointed to "LEM" positions for the CCC. According to the Glacier County History, there were three additional events in the 1930's that also changed the landscape of East Glacier (MacCarter 1984). The first event was the completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Highway in 1933. It's opening increased travel within the Park. However, it routed

about 90% of the automobiles around the gateway via Route 89 to Browning. The cutoff for Route 49, at Kiowa, directed tourists to East Glacier.

The second event that changed the landscape was the repeal of prohibition. The large dance halls, such as Mike's Place, began to disappear and smaller bars and liquor stores were opened in their place. During the years of prohibition, Glacier Park's dance halls were quite popular. However, after the repeal of prohibition in 1933, the large halls turned into roller skating rinks. The Barr family sold their garages and hotel business and bought seven acres west of town, where they built a tavern and liquor store (MacCarter 1984). Further west of the Barr's new place was the Rocky Mountain Inn. The Glacier Park Hotel wanted to keep bars and liquor to a minimum because "it could not do the Park any good" to have alcohol related auto accidents (Hays 1939). The Company also was concerned about who patronized these establishments including the local Indian population. Even though the Hotel Company complained about liquor, saloons and rowdy customers, it did not alter the independent business operations.

The final event was the removal of the east side park service administration in 1933. The completion of U.S. 2 allowed easier administration access across the divide. Therefore, the east side park headquarters was down-sized to a local ranger station. Only a few park service employees remained in Glacier Park as representatives of Glacier.

In addition to these changes, a fire in 1931 raged along Railroad Avenue between Dawson and Montana avenues and quickened the pace of landscape change along the frontage road. Everything was destroyed except the post office and the Glacier Park Trading Company. Local businessmen rebuilt the restaurants, gift shops, and other

facilities quickly for the next tourist season. Harry Dunn opened the Waldorf Café. Jimmie LaPlante built the Wigwam Café. Mike's Place was rebuilt by Mike Shannon and turned into a roller rink after the repeal of prohibition. Shannon later sold the dance hall to Harry Dunn in 1942.

The Glacier Park gateway prospered in the post war years. Their new owners renamed many original businesses. Mike's Place was sold to Ray Lutz in 1954, who converted it into the Villager Cafeteria and Dining Room (Fig. 56). The Glacier Park Trading Company was sold in 1945 to George and Helene (Dawson) Edkins, who also operated the Montana Garage and post office. The Hockersmiths sold their grocery to Leona and Robert "Brownie" Brown in 1948. However, the most noticeable landscape

Figure 56. The Villager Cafeteria and Dining Room



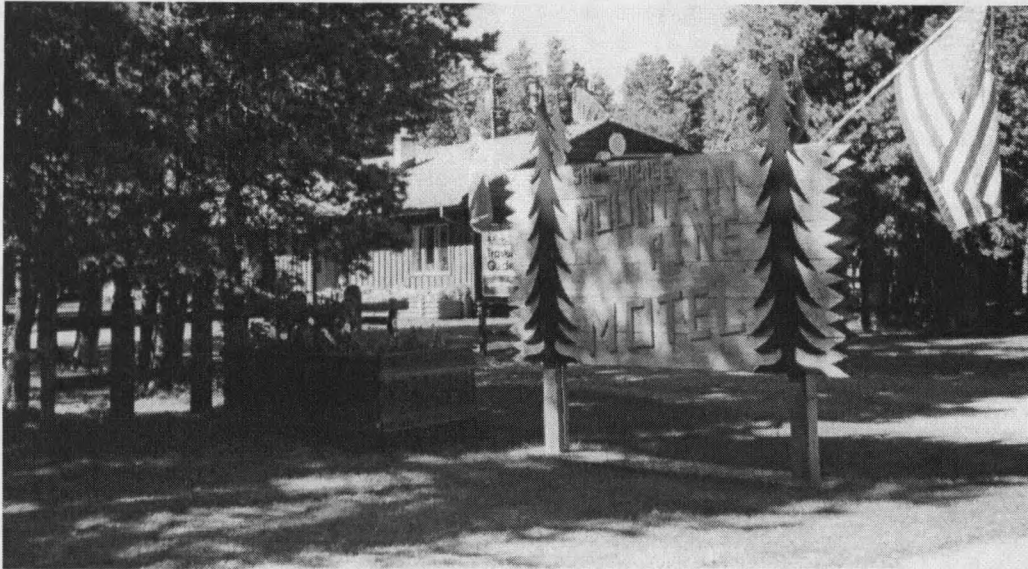
The Villager has been the center of social gatherings over the past few decades of East Glacier's history. [Author photograph (2001).]

change was the increased number of motels. There were already tourist cabins at Glacier Park such as the Log Cabin Inn and Lindhe's Cabins at the old school. However, the demand by auto tourists for accommodations opened a new landscape era for Glacier Park. Places such as the Conner Motel, Porter's Motel, the Whistling Swan and Marlowe Rink's Camp offered tourists facilities in the Dawson area. On the north side of town, the Sherburne Mountain Pine Motel, the Sears Motel and Gift Shop, the Glacier Motel and Jacobson's Cottages were available for auto vacationers.

Doris and Fred Sherburne built the Mountain Pine Motel in 1948. The motel was set back into the tall pines and included an office and 10 units built in a L-shape for an auto-court effect (Fig. 57). Upon entering the driveway, visitors stopped at the simulated log styled office to register. The units were simply built with an awning-type roof to create a porch atmosphere in front of each unit. Flower tubs, native bushes and trees and a clean, cut lawn added to the ambience of the affordable, friendly motel for auto travelers in Glacier Park.

A new airport and the establishment of Western Air Express in 1938 also shaped the landscape. According to a local news release, the "inauguration of service to the Glacier Airport on the Blackfoot Indian Reservation June 15th, was featured by an elaborate celebration in which Chieftains of the Blackfoot Tribe joined with prominent airline officials. The new Glacier Airport had the only regularly established landing field located on a Indian Reservation" (Western Air Express 1938). The air service carried about three hundred tourists to the Park in its first year of operation (Western Air Express 1938). Even though air travel to the region was growing, two years later the service was

Figure 57. The Sherburne Mountain Pine Motel



The Sherburne Family has owned and operated the motel since the post-war era.
[Author photographs (2001).]

cancelled because travelers were choosing to go to larger airports at Missoula, Kalispell and Great Falls.

Perceptions of East Glacier

An analysis of travel literature, promotional campaigns and personal accounts from travelers and residents revealed the unique identity of the eastern gateway community. Railroad promotional campaigns provided images of Glacier for tourists over the years. One of the railroad's marketing strategies continued to include the intrigue and mystic of the Blackfeet tribe (Fig. 58). In the 1930's, railroad calendars were distributed with portraits of the Blackfeet Indians painted by Winold Reiss.

Figure 58. Blackfeet Dancing with Glacier Park Guests



[Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1950).]

Trager's (1939) park guide noted that "A group of Blackfeet men and women in colorful costumes always meets the trains at the Glacier Park Station" (Trager 1939, 93)(Fig. 59). Another strategy of the railroad's promotional was comparing Glacier's scenery to that of Switzerland. Photographers such as Hileman and Grant, provided beautiful pictures of Glacier's scenic wonders for railroad brochures. Picture guides of the park were published by the railroad. The 1938 guide, Glacier Park in Pictures had pages of photographs arranged by topic to reveal the wonders of Glacier. The pictures of scenery, flora and fauna, horseback riding, hotels, chalets and camps answered the question printed on the first page of the guide, "What Makes Glacier Park So Interesting?" (Great Northern Railway 1938). Post-war promotional brochures contained material from earlier pamphlets and added updated photographs. One post-war brochure featured the slogan "Picturesque Glacier...Switzerland of America" was printed across the page of a spectacular mountain scene with an inset of a climber on Mt. Allen (Great Northern Railway 1949)(Fig. 60).

Westbound travelers experienced the geologic wonders of the West as the Plains met the Rocky Mountains. The Lewis Overthrust formed the dramatic contrast on the eastern front. An article in National Geographic described what a westbound rail traveler could expect to see as they neared Glacier:

"Look! Are those clouds? Or can they be mountains?"

For 20-some hours we had sped across the flat plains of North Dakota and Montana aboard Great Northern Railway's Western Star. Though I knew we were nearing Glacier National Park, I had to look a second time before exclaiming to my wife and two daughter, "Those are the Rockies!"

Figure 59. Blackfeet Indians Greeting Great Northern Passengers



[Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1950).]

With each turn of the wheels the vision became more real, like vapor congealing into rock and ice. We were running head-on into one of the most spectacular sights in all the United States. Before us loomed a colossal wall of snow-topped mountains, rising thousands of feet straight from the prairies. Towering, upswept peaks marched south in shining array from Canada. Clouds wreathed the tallest pinnacles; purple shadows, creeping across stony faces, lent mystery and allurements.

This bold rampart marks the eastern bounds of Glacier for some 50 eye-filling miles. It also forms an impressive introduction to the park and its Canadian counterpart just across the border, Waterton Lakes National Park (Long 1956, 589).

Many of the railroad tours used the gateways as regional jumping off spots. Therefore, the gateways became the beginning and ending destinations for the Great Northern Railway's tours for Glacier visitors. In 1941, a Glacier Park Transport Company

Figure 60. Glacier Climbing Guide

Swiss guides were hired by the railroad to guide guests through the Park.
 [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1950).]

brochure described three motor coach tours for park visitors. Two of the motor tours began at one gateway and ended at the other gateway. The popular and more complex

“Circle Tour” began only at Belton:

Growing in popular favor are the “Circle Tour” railway tickets from Chicago and other eastern points, via the Great Northern Railway, to Glacier; or from Pacific Coast points via the Great Northern Railway to Glacier—the return rail routing in either case being from Banff (via Canadian Pacific Railway) or Jasper (via Canadian National Railway). These “Circle Tours” permit passengers to visit both the Glacier National Park region and the northern Canadian Rockies resorts using one rail ticket. These round-trip rail tickets read direct to Glacier Park (Belton entrance), returning from Banff, Lake Louise or Jasper Park to starting point.

...Tours start daily *only* from Belton, Montana (Glacier Park Transport Company 1941).

The vacation trips provided by Glacier Park Transport Company were designated "Easy Motor Tours" because visitors could travel in comfort and ease to all the scenic points in Glacier National Park (Glacier Park Transport Company 1941). The open-topped motor coaches carried 14 passengers and were constructed with open sides and tops "to provide unobstructed sight-seeing" (Glacier Park Transport Company 1941).

After the war, the Great Northern began to promote more complex package tours that included rail travel in combination with automobile travel. The post-war tours began similarly to the pre-war the 1941 Glacier Park Transport brochure that offered motor coach tours around the Park. The 1949 "America's Most Thrilling Mountain Playground" brochure offered 6 all-expense motor tours. The west-bound tour took approximately one and one-half days and included:

Lunch at Glacier Park Hotel. Leave for Two Medicine Lake. Two hours there include launch trip and short trail hike. Dinner and overnight at Glacier Park Hotel. Next day, leave by motor coach for 85-mile trip over Going-to-the-Sun Highway. Lunch at Lake McDonald Hotel, then to Belton rail station. Eastbound tours: First night at Lake McDonald Hotel, second at Glacier Park (Great Northern Railway 1949)

A decade later the railroad offered combination railroad and motor tours that were more regional and either all-expense escorted or unescorted vacations. A 1957 brochure briefly described 10 escorted and 4 unescorted tours that included not only Glacier National Park but also Canada's Banff, Jasper and Lake Louise, the Pacific Northwest, California and Alaska. The passengers usually began and ended the tours at Glacier Park (East Glacier). The Pacific Northwest-Glacier National Park-Canadian Rockies outing was a thirteen day escorted tour that included:

A vacation bargain in coach class travel. Sightseeing motor tours and meal service as specified. Tour includes Glacier Park, Going-to-the-Sun Highway and Logan

Pass, Portland, Ore., Columbia River, Seattle, Steamer cruise to Victoria and Vancouver, B.C., Lake Louise and Banff (Great Northern Railway 1957).

The unescorted Glacier National Park tour was also described:

Where vacation time is limited we suggest a 9-day independent travel and delightful vacation in Glacier-Waterton Lakes National Parks—that scenic mountainous wonderland in the heart of the Rocky Mountains. Deluxe reclining day-nite coach seat or Pullman travel on the streamlined Western Star, finest motor sightseeing and hotel accommodations (Great Northern Railway 1957).

The presence of park rangers along with the guidance of the railroad, solidified East Glacier's "official" national park gateway role. After the Theodore Roosevelt Highway was completed, many of the park rangers and east side administrators were moved to the west side. An information ranger station was left on the east side, which the Park wanted to close in 1950. The hotel company argued against the park's decision to close the station. Even though the lodge was outside the boundaries of the park, hotel representatives noted that the majority of the tourists entering Glacier National Park via the east side were not aware of the boundary line and "fully expect to see or meet" a representative of the Park (Jefferies 1950). As manager for the Glacier Park Company Jefferies notes:

We do not wish to lose the identity of the Glacier Park Hotel and Two Medicine Valley, which has been considered by the traveling public for years as the Eastern Gateway to the Park and it would be a grave mistake if this station were abandoned and most detrimental to the best interests of this company, other concessioners, and the traveling public in general (Jefferies 1950).

Promotional material for the auto traveler was mainly provided by oil companies, the WPA Montana State Guide and state maps. Montana maps featured attractions each year on the reverse side of the state map for those traveling by automobile. CONOCO

was the primary promoter of Glacier National Park because its headquarters were in Denver, Colorado. Radio presentations were becoming a very popular way to advertise in the early 1930's. A presentation by Carveth Wells for CONOCO in 1932, described the Glacier experience, "...if you want adventure, wild and thrilling, exploration in every sense of the word, then fill up with CONOCO gas and drive over this country's magnificent highways to Glacier National Park" (CONOCO 1932). Wells, a world traveler, compared his travels in Africa to exploring Glacier by automobile, the new mode of transportation. He notes, "I merely mention this because some people seem to think that adventure, exploration and motor cars do not go together! On the contrary, your car will take you to your adventure" (CONOCO 1932).

The WPA writers published the Montana State Guide in 1939 and it contained general descriptions of Glacier National Park and East Glacier Park. The September 1949 issue of Travel USA featured an article on Montana (Henry 1949). The only picture in the article was of the Glacier Park Hotel that was taken from the depot (Fig. 61). It portrayed the relaxing landscape of the Glacier Park Hotel as a couple talked close to their saddle horse. In the background a touring bus revealed a newer mode of travel. Travel guides also offered information about Glacier and its east side gateway community. Therefore, auto travelers knew what to expect of the town and what services and facilities were provided. Trager (1939) describes the scene:

A regular little Western Village has sprung up around Glacier Park Hotel and Station. Cowboys are seen swinging down the streets and Indians in their blankets and feathers loll on street corners. Comfortable tourist cabins are available in the little village for these not wishing to stay at the big hotel. There are a number of eating houses with local color and a real Western Atmosphere.

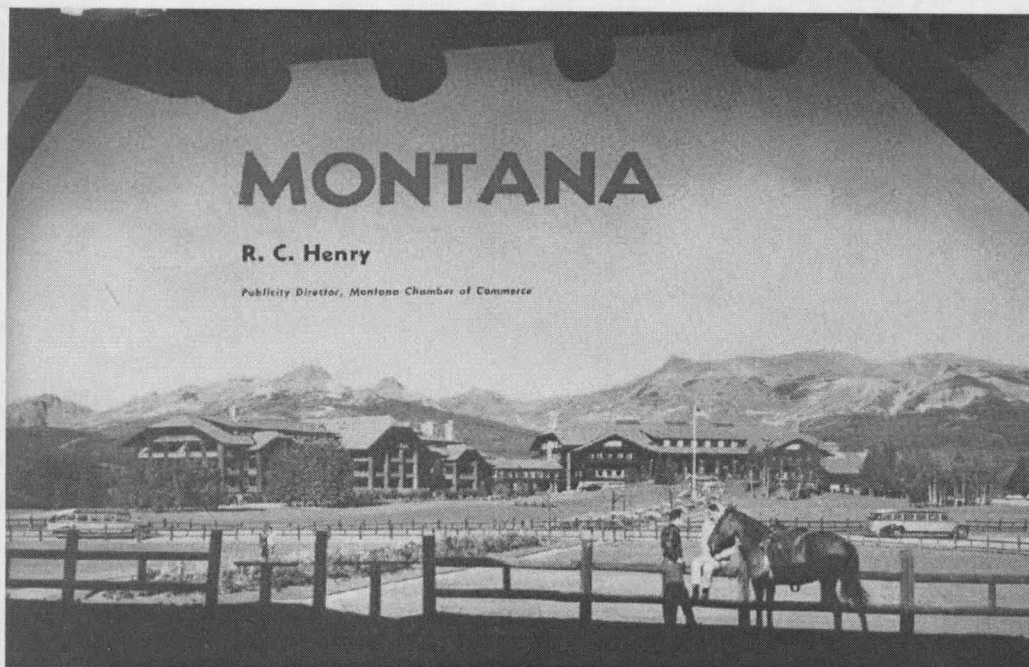
In and around Glacier is the best place in the country to see the Plains Indians in real life. Near Glacier Park Hotel is a group of colorful and picturesque tepees and there were two interesting ones across the road from the Art and Craft Shop in the summer of 1938. The Blackfeet are tall, proud and dignified. The profile of Two Guns, one of the chiefs, was used on the Buffalo Nickel (Trager 1939, 92).

An analysis of early Montana State Highway Department travel guides can reveal marketing strategies by the state to encourage travel to Glacier and its communities. The annual cover illustrations feature the Old West images of the cowboy on his horse along with images of Native Americans and the spectacular scenery of Montana. The 1935 guide entitled "Her Majesty Montana" focused on the quality and modernization of Montana's highways:

The motorist contemplating a trip to Montana may be assured of modern highways, practically all oiled, between every large community and major attraction in the entire state. There are numerous loop routes available to the visitor desiring to see points as widely separated as the old cowtowns of Miles City or Billings, in the southeastern section and Fort Peck in the northeast, as well as Glacier Park, the Flathead, Missoula, Helena, Great Falls, Butte and the Yellowstone (Montana State Highway Commission 1935).

Other guides offered a general photo and description of Glacier scenery. A post-war guide, "See Everything in Montana" printed general and specific sights along with the corresponding highway routes. The page devoted to Glacier includes a description of the Park and suggests driving U.S. 2, U.S. Highway 89 or U.S. Highway 93. It also encourages the traveler to spend a night in the Park "or in one of the towns on its outskirts" (Montana State Highway Commission 1947).

Events recorded by local residents also revealed other characteristics of the town. The gateway residents tried to establish a sense of community in their own peculiar western way. The Glacier Park Women's Club sponsored a cookbook in 1940 that

Figure 61. Travel USA Article

The photograph portrays the elegance and wilderness of Glacier. [Photographer unknown, Travel USA (1949).]

included a recipe for hotcakes using cowboy lingo from resident Joe McGregor who owned the Bison Creek Dude Ranch west of town. An article on McGregor's life was later published in a 1966 issue of The Grit Magazine (MacCarter 1984). Also, on the west side of town was the Rocky Mountain Inn, affectionately called the "Bucket of Blood" by locals. Its owner, Gussie, a ninety pound wielder of a baseball bat, kept order while her friends played piano and drums (MacCarter 1984). A former Blackfeet greeter remembered a phone call from the Hotel, "we were told to be at the station at 5 A.M., dressed in full regalia and ready to entertain a very important celebrity...Clark Gable" (MacCarter 1984 , 84). Gable visited the area in 1937 and stayed at the Jennings ranch

south of town. He also made an impression in Glacier Park when he went to the Log Cabin Inn to use the only phone in town.

The landscape of the east side included the luxury of the Glacier Park Hotel, the splendor of Glacier's scenery and the adventure of the old West town of Glacier Park. Early visitors to the gateway conveyed the appearance of elegance, wealth and prestige. However, after the war, the auto traveler dramatically reshaped the landscape. The west side landscape also became an auto serving gateway and an extension of park headquarters because of its proximity to the gateway. Increasingly, however, many of the outlying towns near West Glacier offered services for tourists, decreasing the demand within the gateway. As these shifts suggest, by 1960 gateway visitors were no longer affluent railroad passengers such as the Rockefellers and Gables. Instead, they were mostly middle-class families that chose to drive automobiles, no longer restricting themselves to the timetables and expensive accommodations of the Great Northern.

PRESERVATION AND THE GATEWAY COMMUNITY, 1960 TO 2001

Between 1960 and 2001, the landscape of Glacier's gateway communities changed more slowly than in earlier eras. Gateway development continued into the 1960's along with the Park improvements from the Mission 66 project. Increasingly by the 1970's, issues of environmental and historic preservation shaped the management of Glacier. Since 1980, the challenges that are facing the gateways include issues of development, overcrowding and controversies that involve resource use inside and outside Park boundaries. Efforts by the government, environmental interest groups, local businesses and residents indicate a movement to preserve, not only Glacier, but also its gateways and historic heritage.

A Growing Environmental Consciousness

Following World War II, the economy of the United States prospered, allowing Americans to travel extensively. Glacier visitation rose to almost 1,000,000 visitors annually in 1962 because many people were traveling through the area on their way to the World's Fair in Seattle (Great Falls Tribune 1962, Glacier National Park 1966). An article in the Kalamazoo Gazette listed Glacier National Park as one of the 'Most Popular' tour destinations in the United States (Kalamazoo Gazette 1963). In the 1960's the use of recreational trailers and campers also increased. Tent camping was on the way out and the convenience and cleanliness of trailers and other camping equipment was becoming popular (Beaty 1963). Approximately 17,000 camper trailers entered Glacier in 1960 and by 1962, 28,000 camper trailers visited the park annually (Beaty 1963). This

new camping style created a growing demand for trailer court facilities, both within and beyond Glacier. The Mission 66 program dedicated \$8 million for campground improvements over a ten year period and the results were new campgrounds that were rustic but comfortable. However, they were not equipped for the demands of the camp-trailer public. Thus, the park administration encouraged the gateway businesses to build or add trailer courts to satisfy campers.

The auto-oriented gateway economies on both sides of the Park thrived in the 1960's. The Lundgren and Thompson Families monopolized the western gateway. Therefore, many other west side services were constructed along U.S. 2. Businesses in East Glacier also prospered. Motels, RV Parks, and other auto-related services were built to serve the increasing numbers of visitors to the east side. On the other hand, the increasingly marginal Great Northern sold their Glacier holdings to Don Hummel in 1960. The new Glacier Park, Inc. provided the same elegant service that the railroad had provided at their lodges, but made the facilities motorist friendly as well. Another factor that affected visitation to Glacier was air travel. Flying became popular in the 1960's for fast, convenient, transcontinental vacations. Air passengers used tour buses or rented automobiles to reach Glacier from nearby airports in Kalispell, Missoula and Great Falls.

The 1960's also set the stage for public education programs that included a new awareness of many environmental issues. The ten year Mission 66 project replaced the old CCC visitor and administrative centers with new buildings around the park (Fig. 62). The largest center built by the project was the Logan Pass Visitor Center that was opened in 1965. Educating the public about land management issues became the foundation of

Figure 62. New Administration Building

The Mission 66 style administration building was opened in 1965. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (1965).]

many important government acts. The Wilderness Act of 1964 protected Forest Service land and Bureau of Land Management areas from further development. Glacier's wilderness counterpart to the south, the Bob Marshall Wilderness, became the first area to be protected by this act. There were also articles written about land management and overpopulation such as Garret Hardin's article "The Tragedy of the Commons" (Hardin 1968). The article discussed the lack of limitations in national parks with the increased use by the public and the affects on the environment:

The National Parks present another instance of the working out of the tragedy of the commons. At present, they are open to all, without limit. The parks themselves are limited in extent--there is only one Yosemite Valley--whereas population seems to grow without limit. The values that visitors seek in the parks are steadily eroded. Plainly, we must soon cease to treat the parks as commons or they will be of no value to anyone.

What shall we do? We have several options. We might sell them off as private property. We might keep them as public property, but allocate the right to enter them. The allocation might be on the basis of wealth, by the use of an auction system. It might be on the basis of merit, as defined by some agreed-upon standards. It might be by lottery. Or it might be on a first-come, first-served basis, administered to long queues. These, I think, are all the reasonable possibilities. They are all objectionable. But we must choose--or

acquiesce in the destruction of the commons that we call our National Parks (Hardin 1968, 1248).

Environmental pressures of the 1960's also resulted in NEPA, the National Environmental Policy Act (1969). It required government agencies to write environmental impact statements for any major land use changes such as building a parking lot or constructing new trails.

The concerns of the 1960's continued into the 1970's and began to affect the growth of the gateway communities. Many of the businesses and residents relied strongly on summer tourism for their income. In the fall, local ranchers and residents guided hunting trips into the North Fork and Bob Marshall Wilderness. During the winter the gateways provided visitor services and facilities for winter activities that became popular in the late 1960's and into the 1970's. Many vacationers discovered Glacier by skiing or snowmobiling during the winter season. In 1974, Glacier National Park became a World Biosphere Reserve by the United Nation's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. A World Biosphere Reserve is "used to study environmental changes, provide havens for plant and animal communities, and protect gene pools" (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1975). Therefore, it became an international obligation to keep the Park in a natural state. The bestowed honor to Glacier resulted in a ban on snowmobiling within the Park (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1975). The preservation of the Glacier ecosystem directly began to affect the gateway communities.

The longtime relationship between the Great Northern Railway and Glacier National Park ended in 1972 when the Burlington Northern Railroad assumed control of

the Great Northern. Amtrak continued rail service to the gateways after 1972. As the 1980's arrived, Amtrak's Empire Builder accounted for 5,000 passengers to Glacier's gateways. Glacier Park, Inc. enthusiastically provided transportation services for all the Amtrak visitors. The revival of train travel to Glacier has occurred within the past ten years. However, the railroad has not been able to achieve the numbers of passengers it once carried to the "Alps of America." Airports and car rental businesses in Kalispell, Missoula and Great Falls service an increasing number of travelers. Automobiles and air travel have replaced the luxury Pullman travel by the Great Northern Railway and now provide primary transportation to Glacier and its gateway communities. In the last decade, the desire to travel by railroad has increased once again. This has created renewed demand for accommodations at the backcountry chalets as well as a need for public transportation in the Park.

During the 1990's tensions were beginning to surface over land conservation and ownership. Many environmental groups were asking whether or not the NPS (National Park Service) and the USFS (United States Forest Service) were honestly committed to preservation. Concerns mounted over the distinct visual boundary caused by logging between Glacier and the North Fork Forest Service lands in the Flathead National Forest. By the mid 1990's, the land on the east side of Glacier became involved in another debate over land rights between the Blackfeet and the Federal government. The controversy has continued to the present. Land development proposals such as the Glacier Management Plan and the Environmental Impact Statement (1997) were designed for development within the Park and the gateways.

While environmental preservation in national parks is seen as positive, many ask where the line between preservation and playground should be drawn. Over the past few decades, environmental preservation has been the focus of park management plans. As the government reaches across the Glacier Park boundaries to work with gateway communities, the nearby west side residents have been quite receptive to Park concerns. Many of the west side buildings such as the Belton Mercantile buildings, resemble the Chalet and park buildings. Therefore, the boundary is less clear to the Glacier visitor. The east side remains a cluster of private businesses amid the splendor of Glacier's mountains. The community does have the presence of the East Glacier Ranger Station, but the local landscape also reflects its role as part of the Blackfeet Reservation. The Park boundary is more distinct because the entrance station is at St. Mary's.

The Western Gateway

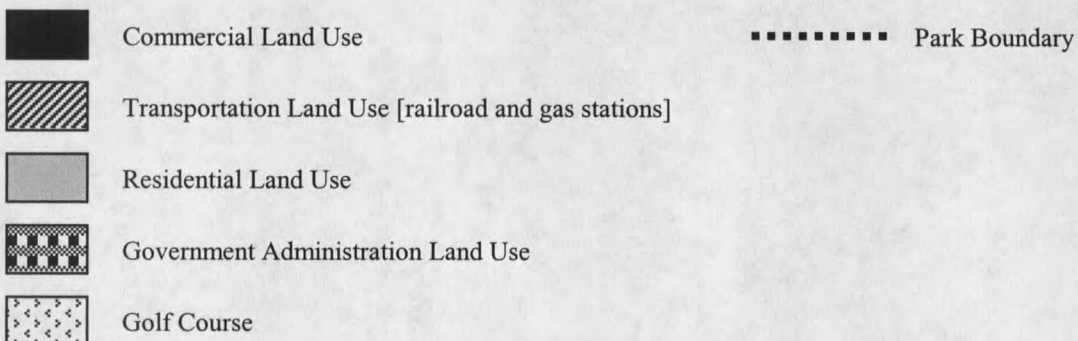
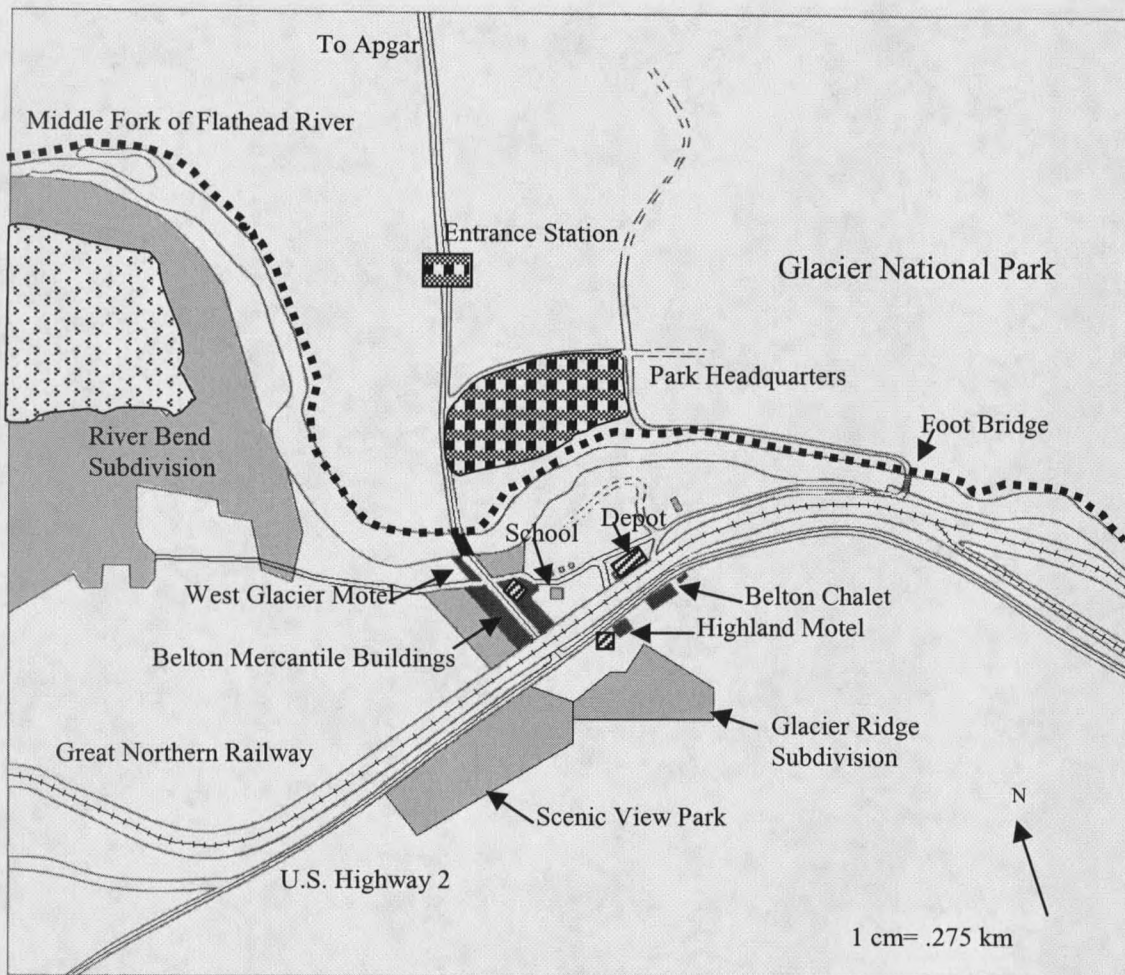
The west side gateway continued to grow as an automobile corridor from 1960 to the present. The proximity of the gateway to the larger cities of Kalispell and Missoula allowed easy access for tourists traveling to the west side. The gateway also prospered because of the nearby location of park headquarters. Many park employees started to buy homes outside the park boundaries in West Glacier. Also, more summer homes were being constructed along the Middle Fork River. West Glacier is currently a seasonal tourist town that has approximately 200 year round residents with additional residents in the summer tourist season.

Land Use

West Glacier has experienced few land use changes since 1960. However, the changes that did occur were significant, such as the establishment of new residential subdivisions, the construction of the Alberta Visitor Center, and the commercial and transportation development on U.S. 2 (Fig. 63). Commercial land uses in the West Glacier area have expanded past the boundaries of the existing gateway corridor. Most of the new businesses along U.S. 2 cater to the recreational activities of Glacier tourists. An area was clear-cut (1990) to provide a development for these businesses and was not viewed favorably by the local residents (Flathead County Planning Department 1994 a).

The motels and the Chalet that were present in 1960 are still in operation today. The Glacier Highland Motel is opposite the Amtrak station and west of the Chalet on U.S. 2. The West Glacier Motel is located near the bridge on the banks of the Middle Fork of the Flathead River. The Great Northern Chalets offer visitors 12 log homes that each include a fire place and kitchen and can accommodate 4 to 6 people (Doughtery 1999). The resort also has an indoor pool and spa, and a restaurant. The Belton Chalet has been carefully renovated. In 1997, restoration began on the rundown, unsafe structure, which included modifying the buildings and adding modern facilities (Doughtery 1999). The new owners kept the ambiance of the early 1900's and offer the tourist an authentic setting that reflects the golden years of the railway.

Other accommodations are available in Apgar and west of the gateway on U.S. 2. The Apgar Village Inn and the Lake McDonald Lodge offer visitors the convenience of staying within the park boundaries near the first Glacier resorts. Camping sites are also

Figure 63. Land Use Reconstruction Map—West Glacier 2000

[Source: Flathead County Planning Department 2000]

available for park visitors near Apgar. West of the gateway are accommodations such as the Vista Motel on U.S. 2. The Albert Family owned the Middle Fork Motel at Coram in the 1950's and the 1960's. The old Masonic Hall was moved from Belton to Coram and is now the Tamarack Lodge and Motel (Fig. 64). Further west is the Hungry Horse Motel in Hungry Horse that now is closed and for sale. The larger communities of Columbia Falls, Whitefish and Kalispell are also options for tourist lodging.

Figure 64. The Tamarack Lodge



The Tamarack Lodge in Coram was once the Masonic Hall in Belton. [Author photograph (2001).]

The Lundgren and Thompson Families owned most of the West Glacier corridor land and businesses in the 1960's and 1970's. One of the original Belton families and concessionaires, the Dow Family, sold their holdings (Lot 8) in 1967. Many businesses along the West Glacier corridor remain owned and operated by the next generation of the Lundgren Family. The restaurants and stores include the West Glacier Restaurant, the West Glacier Mercantile, the West Glacier Gift Shop and the West Glacier Shirt Company. Their Park inholdings include the Apgar Village Lodge and the Cedar Tree

Gift Shop and Deli. Thirty miles away in Kalispell they also operate the Four Seasons Motor Inn. By the mid 1970's, David Thompson sold his interest in the Belton Mercantile to the Lundgren Family. The Thompson Family went on to operate and own The Glacier Highland Resort and Motel on U.S. 2 (Fig. 65). There are different types of guides available for recreational activities such as fishing and white water rafting. The community has a new post office located on the southwest side of the corridor. Across the road from the post office is the new Alberta Visitor Center, built in the early 1990's.

Residential land use in West Glacier has changed significantly since 1960. There are approximately 115 homes in West Glacier and more than half are used seasonally (Flathead County Planning Department 1994 b). In the mid-1970's, a subdivision was planned near the Middle Fork River. River Bend Drive turns west from the Going-to-the Sun Road and is a short drive to the golf course. A partially constructed townhouse development, Glacier View Fairway Estates, and single family homes are situated around the River Bend Golf Course (Fig. 66). The River Bend Tracts and West Glacier Golf Sites consist of single family home lots. The golf course is located on a low lying area that is subject to periodic flooding (Flathead County Planning Department 1994 b). Therefore, many of the building lots cannot be developed because sanitation approval by the county has been denied due to the flood potential. Behind the commercial buildings on the west side of the corridor, many of the bungalow-styled homes were built in the 1940's and 1950's. A few residents live on the east side of the corridor in the old Belton homes. Most of the undeveloped land is privately owned. Lots included in the Scenic View Park are located on the south side of U.S. 2, west of the Glacier Highland Motel.

Figure 65. Glacier Highland Motel



The Thompson Family owns and operates the Motel and service station on U.S. 2.
[Author photograph (2001).]

Figure 66. River Bend



The golf course and housing development offer year-round living and summer homes close to the park entrance. [Author photograph (2001).]

Behind the Chalet are approximately 9 lots in the Glacier Ridge subdivision. There are approximately 200 residents that live permanently in West Glacier, including park employees and others in the immediate area. When summer arrives the number increases by another 1000 or more. The West Glacier school has approximately 200 students that attend kindergarten through eighth grade from West Glacier, park headquarters and the surrounding area.

Transportation-related land uses such as gas stations and the depot locations, have not changed in the gateway community. However, highway improvements continue along U.S. 2. The road has been efficiently upgraded to a four lane road in many areas between Hungry Horse and West Glacier. The development of passing lanes permits traffic to move easier to the Park without many restrictions. Today, the 30-mile drive from Kalispell to West Glacier takes approximately 30 to 40 minutes, compared to the several-hour drive of earlier days. The gateway has two gas stations, the West Glacier Exxon, located on the entrance road and the Conoco station located on U.S. 2 next to the Glacier Highland Motel. The railroad depot services Amtrak passengers as well as serving as the home of the Glacier Natural History Association.

The flood of 1964 encouraged both the Park and the gateway communities to develop better land use planning efforts. The flood destroyed several areas of West Glacier, structures within the Park and did a substantial amount of damage to U.S. 2. The road was rough, full of detours and one way stretches of "emergency" traffic, and most of the traffic was detoured over Logan Pass (Great Falls Tribune 1964). Repair costs after

the flood reached nearly \$3.5 million and the West Glacier bridge was the largest single item on the list (Beaty 1963).

The first Glacier management plan was created in 1977. The new Final General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement was prepared in 1998 to guide the management of the Park for the next 20 years. Outside the Park, other planning initiatives also shaped development in the region. The Canyon Plan (May 1994) for the Canyon Citizen Initiated Zoning Group was an amendment to the Flathead County Master Plan (Flathead County Planning Department 1994 a). The Canyon Land Use Regulatory System (December 1994) was also created to supplement the land regulations of Flathead County.

The Canyon Area Land Use Regulatory System (CALRUS) designated West Glacier as a planned community. The planned community designation recognized the need for future community expansion in the vicinity of the service center area. Therefore, there is an emphasis for residential land use within the community, while commercial uses are seen as subordinate (Flathead County Planning Department 1994 b). The community offers a variety of retail and service businesses for residents and tourists but not regional retail products or services. The Canyon Plan describes West Glacier:

West Glacier is a small community adjacent to the Wild and Scenic Middle Fork of the Flathead River. The townsite provides various tourist services that front along the main entrance road to Glacier National Park.

West Glacier serves as the gateway to the busiest entrance into Glacier National Park. The commercial businesses are busy with tourists in the summer but are mostly closed in the winter. More than 900,000 people entered the Park through West Glacier in 1992. "Constrained" best describes the land use pattern in the area. Development opportunities have been limited by a general lack of available [domestic] water, absence of public sewage treatment, and by voluntary constraint of major landowners in the area (Flathead County Planning Department 1994 b, IV-17).

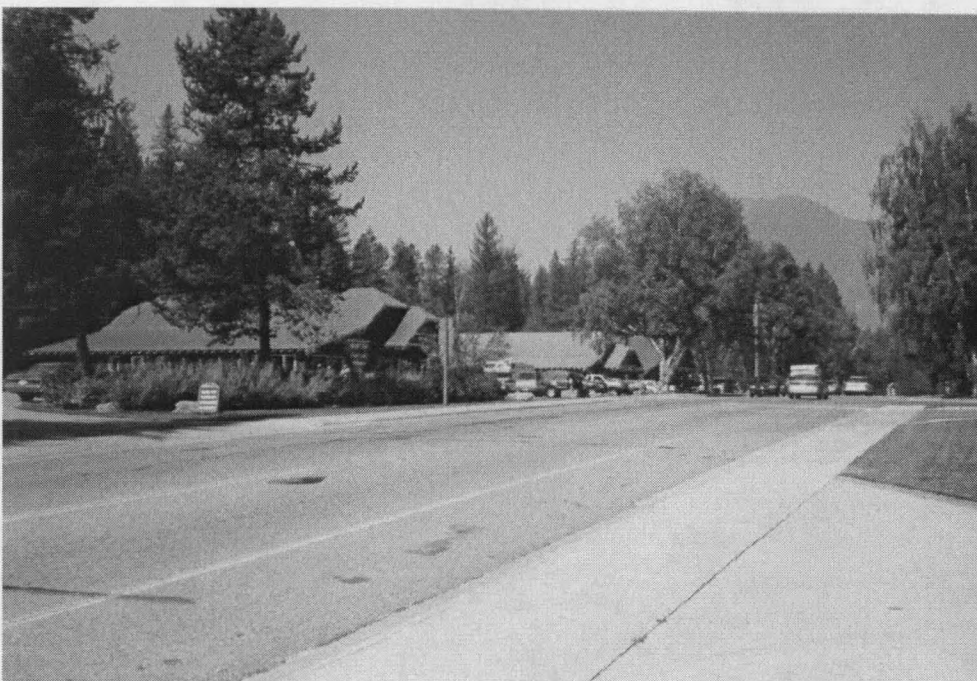
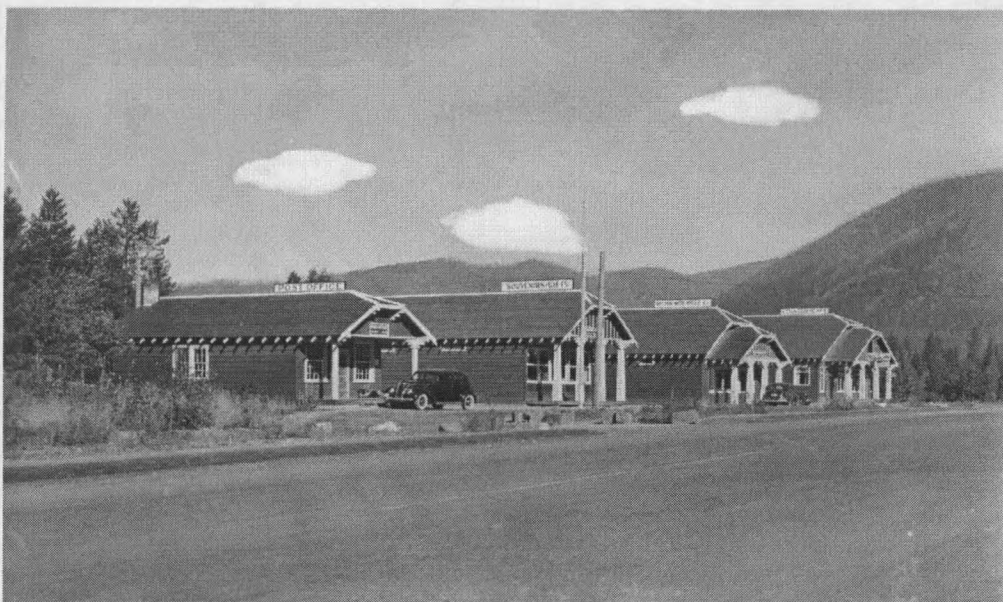
Landscape Change

Changes in the landscape can be analyzed through documents, photographs and oral histories. The west side landscape changed slowly during the 1960's. However, federal environmental policy began to change Glacier National Park and West Glacier. The years of development at the Lake McDonald resorts and West Glacier changed to more emphasis on preservation and long term planning.

In the late 1970's, construction on U.S. 2 changed the landscape of the west entrance to the gateway. The highway underwent two phases of construction to improve the quality of roads to and from the Park on the west side. The first phase of construction began in 1978 from Hungry Horse to Coram. The next project from Coram to West Glacier was started later. The proposal stirred interest groups that protested the amount of environmental damage that would be caused by the road project (Speelman 1978). Their protests did not stop construction and by 1980, Glacier tourists had a convenient, improved route to the park.

The visual landscape of West Glacier has evolved since the construction of the new corridor in 1938. The Belton Hills retain fire scars from past fire seasons. The vegetation along the corridor has significantly matured since the Belton Mercantile buildings were completed (Fig. 67). The chalet style of the mercantile buildings conforms to the construction of the depot and the Belton Chalet. The dark brown color of the buildings that are trimmed in yellow and white emphasizes the continuity with Glacier Park structures. The mercantile buildings are cleaned and updated every spring for the summer tourist season. The new Alberta Visitor Center is now the dominant

Figure 67. West Glacier Corridor Comparison



The landscape of the west side corridor has changed little since its establishment in 1939. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (1939).] [Author photograph (2001).]

structure along the corridor road (Fig. 68). The design of the building is similar to the Prince of Wales Hotel in Waterton Park. The peaked roof and the rock construction of the walls are the distinctive features of the building. The new post office is also designed as a chalet structure. The colors reflect the park buildings and it is discreetly set back into the trees (Fig. 69).

Some of the structures have been restored and renovated such as the depot and the Belton Chalet. The once bustling Belton depot is home to the Glacier Natural History Association. The "Belton" rail stop name tags hang on the east and west sides of the depot. The depot still serves Amtrak passengers arriving at the west side gateway. The Belton Chalet was bought in 1997 and the restoration began that included adding modern conveniences (Fig. 70). The interior of the Chalet has the ambiance of 1900 Belton and the grounds are again elegantly landscaped.

Figure 68. Alberta Visitor Center



The establishment of Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park increased the need for a Canadian visitor center. [Author photograph (2001).]

Figure 69. West Glacier Post Office



The new post office was designed to imitate the other Belton Mercantile buildings.
[Author photograph (2001).]

As for the original town of Belton, the only building left standing is the post office. The land is overgrown by trees and brush. The road that led to the Weightman barns and the tourist cabins along the river is a dead end that leads to private property (Fig. 71). The only building left at the old Belton townsite is the post office (Fig. 72). The dirt main street of Belton still leads to the old river bridge and the entrance road is now a foot trail to the park headquarters area. The original park entrance is used as a trail to Apgar and a maintenance road.

Perceptions of the West Side Gateway

The amount of promotional literature and material has tremendously increased between 1960 and the present. The media theme “there is something for everyone,” underlies all

Figure 70. Belton Chalet

The Belton Chalet has been recently renovated to its original glory of its Great Northern days. The interior reflects the ambiance of 1900 Belton and the gardens are manicured for those visiting Glacier Park today. For comparison photo see figure 9 [Author photograph (2001).]

Figure 71. The Site of Belton

The town of Belton is forever gone but its memory lives on in the pictures as Glacier National Park's original gateway entrance. [Photographer unknown, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1920).] [Author photograph (2001).]

Figure 72. Belton Post Office

The Belton post office is the last physical remnant of the Belton Townsite.
[Author photograph (2001).]

the marketing strategies for the Park and the west-side gateway. During the 1960's, the Great Northern Railway promoted the east-side's Glacier Park Hotel and gateway. However, West Glacier [still called Belton by the railroad] was practically ignored by railroad marketing advertisements except for being a regional jumping off spot to reach Lake McDonald Lodge. An article in the Omaha World Herald described the location of the lodge as near the western entrance and set under giant cedars in the shore of the largest lake (Holt, 1964). After 1972, the Amtrak passenger services advertised mostly by brochure. Today, rail travel to the western gateway is more nostalgic than practical. The community and businesses of West Glacier have primarily promoted auto tourism for the past 40 years. However, the numerous Glacier travel guides, brochures, magazines and books provide information for every kind of traveler.

Motor guides about the park continued to be published by oil companies as well as by Glacier Park and Flathead County. Chevron published a travel guide in 1966 entitled Pictorial Trip Guide to National Parks and Monuments in Scenicland, U.S.A. and 150 other Western Wonders that described "one highway that crosses these mountains... it is a spectacular 50 miles with the wonderful name "Going-to-the-Sun" Road" (Chevron 1966). Other guides such as The Motorists Guide to Going-to-the-Sun (Beatty 1963), National Parkways—A Photographic and Comprehensive Guide to Glacier and Waterton Lakes National Parks (Brooks 1974), Motorist's Guide to Glacier National Park (Seibel 1973?) and the Motorist and Hiker Handbook (Twohig 1979) were printed by Flathead County and the Glacier Natural History Association. The 1963 guide explained the route along the Going-to-the Sun Highway in a mile by mile log beginning at the western gateway (Beatty 1963). The other guides also included sections about what to see along the transcontinental road from the west-side to the east-side. However, there were only brief notations about the gateway services and facilities. The commentary described the gateways as visitor service centers that offered tourists a variety of facilities outside the Park boundaries.

Many guide books supported the efficiency of traveling by automobile in other ways. An article in the 1965 May issue of Motorland explained the many convenient turnouts where a traveler could pause to look upon the scenic wonders of the Park (Motorland CSAA 1965). The Glacier National Park section of a 1968 book titled, The National Parks, informed motorists, "it is true you can see gorgeous scenery in Glacier, traversing on the most spectacular roads of the world, without ever getting out of your

car" (Tilden, 1968, 282). The author goes on to write that one can travel Glacier within the comfort of their auto and "by driving in your safe but fast way you could play canasta in Spokane that night, arriving a little late with apologies for having loitered to look at the scenery" (Tilden, 1968, 282). Even today most people only see Glacier from their car windows and use the turnouts to take photographs.

The examination of additional books and articles explain alternative travel methods. Early guides include traditional modes of transportation such as the railroad and the automobile. However, a copy of George Ruhle's 1963 publication, Guide to Glacier National Park also included bus transportation as a means to reach the Park. The Intermountain Transportation Company had bus connections in Spokane, Missoula, Butte, Salt Lake City and Great Falls (Ruhle 1963). The author of a 1982 article, "The Best Bet for Summer," flew Frontier Airlines to Kalispell and described the best way to see the Park "is on foot, either short walks or long treks" and a "good drive over Going-to-the-Sun in a car or a red bus" (Thompson 1982).

Over the decades the painted and photographed images that were included in guide books, brochures, pamphlets and maps enticed tourists to visit Glacier and its gateways. The recent production of popular "coffee table" books with color photographs, easy to read captions and general information have lured amateur and professional photographers from around the world. The Eastman Kodak Company's America's National Parks (Frome 1969) included fantastic photographs and of picture taking stops in the area. Additional books that included impressive photography were National Parks of the West (Johnson 1965), Some Things Are Forever (Wright and

Penderson 1970) and Logan Pass: Alpine Splendor in Glacier National Park (DeSanto 1995). However, the western gateway was not mentioned, described or pictured in these books.

The west side gateway became elongated along U.S. 2 after the construction of Hungry Horse Dam in the late 1940's. The communities to the west of the gateway became the home of their own tourist attractions. A news article from The Kansas City Star reported:

Its shoulders are lined with tourist traps found everywhere nature has created beauty sufficient to attract sight-seers—the mystery houses, the prefab architecture, the souvenir shops with their picture postcards, cedar napkin holders and commemorative plates (Kansas City Star 1975).

Descriptions in more popular literature include Columbia Falls and the small communities along U.S. 2 as a part of the western gateway. A recent travel guide, Hidden Montana, contains an interesting insight about U.S. 2:

East of Columbia Falls, itself at the edge of the Flathead Valley only 15 miles from West Glacier, Route 2 knifes through a string of small communities: Hungry Horse, Martin City and Coram... While the settlements themselves may be charming, they come with baggage: the sort of unabashedly commercial “attractions” that are the bane of too many national park gateways (Anderson 1997, 85).

Some of the commercial “attractions” in the book include the House of Mystery—“said to be situated on a vortex,” the Great Bear Adventure—“drive-through park for ursus lovers who prefer the safety of their own car,” the Northern American Wildlife Museum—“you needn’t remain in your car—the creatures are stuffed,” and the helicopter adventures and rafting companies are also located in the area (Anderson 1997, 85). A locally distributed and funded travel magazine modestly describes the three towns with a

full range of services and businesses along the route that allow for a number of unique experiences with lots of local flavor (Hungry Horse News/Whitefish Pilot 1999 a).

The Eastern Gateway

The eastern gateway has barely grown since 1960. Over the past forty years it is evident that the automobile has been the tourist's choice for a mode of transportation to the gateway. However, the Glacier Park Lodge remains the dominant landscape feature that keeps the ambiance of the railroad's glory days. The gateway continues to have a visible park presence with the help of the East Glacier ranger station. The proximity of the community to Great Falls allows easy access for visitors traveling by air or driving Route 89 from Yellowstone National Park. The gateway also has developed into a residential community for many local area professionals and retirees, although it retains the qualities of the seasonal tourist vacation resort.

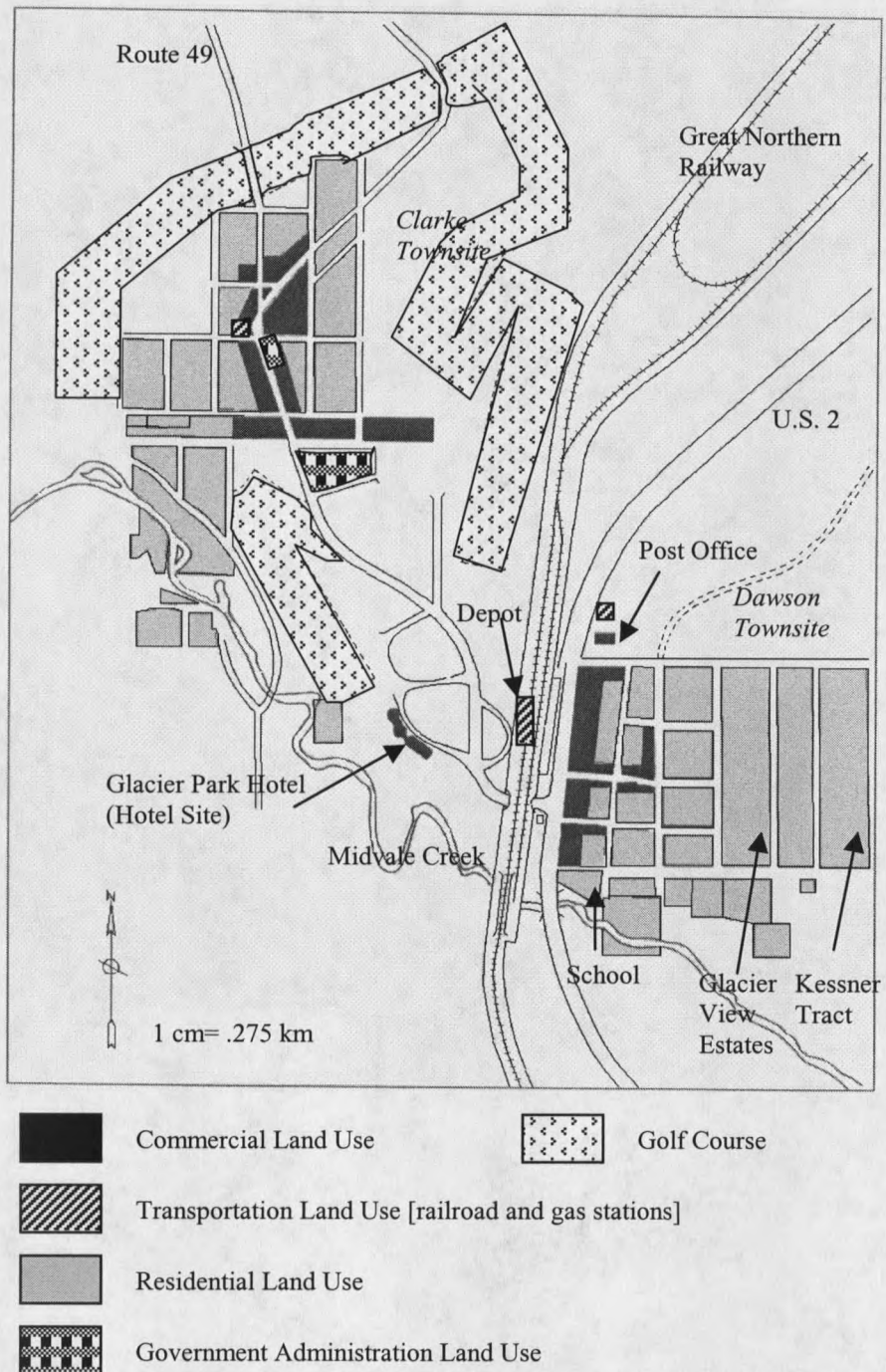
Land Use Patterns in East Glacier

Land use patterns in East Glacier have changed slightly from 1960 to the present (Fig. 73). The most significant changes have been the residential additions of the Glacier View Estates, the Kessner Tract, the construction of the Church of the Ascension and the construction of a few large summer homes. While the names of residents and a few business owners have changed over the years, the general pattern of land use has stayed relatively the same. The affordable subdivisions, accessibility to good jobs inside and outside of the Park, and road improvements now allow more people to reside in East Glacier.

The location of the commercial land use in the original Dawson townsite is mostly along U.S. 2. Traveling from the east to the west side of town, the businesses are the Whistling Swan Motel, Glacier Park Circle R Motel, High Country Gifts, Glacier Park Trading Company, Two Medicine Grill, Old Goat Traders, Glacier Village Restaurant, a small graphics business and the Waffle Stop (Fig. 3). Behind the Waffle Stop is Dancing Bear Inn. Located on Dawson Avenue are Serrano's Restaurant, Backpackers Inn, Blondie's Bar, an Arcade and Brown House Pottery. East of Brown House Pottery is Smiley's RV Park.

On the Clarke side of the tracks, the commercial land use begins with the Glacier Park Hotel on the west side of the road. The massive log hotel still is the center of attention in East Glacier. Traveling north on Route 49, the commercial landscape continues with Glacier Gateway Outfitters, Park Service buildings and an information ranger station, John L. Clarke Western Gallery, Mountain Pine Motel, Brownies Grocery and Youth Hostel, Sears Motel, East Glacier Motel, Jacobsons Cottages, the Thimbleberry Restaurant and the Whistle Stop Restaurant. There are a few other small gift shops and antique dealers along the road.

Overall, the commercial land use of East Glacier has not changed dramatically since 1960, even though some of the businesses have changed hands a couple of times over the past few decades. There are numerous motels, restaurants and merchants that sell local souvenirs. The increasing visitation to East Glacier has also encouraged construction of more motels since 1960. The restaurants of East Glacier offer the tourist a variety of food, from fast food delicatessens to elegant hotel dining.

Figure 73. Land Use Reconstruction Map—East Glacier 2000

[Source: Glacier County Planning Department 1986, MacCarter 1984)

The residential community of East Glacier has approximately 500 permanent residents and adds another 1000 to 1500 people during the summer months. Permanent residents include retirees, a few local business people, Park and railroad employees, and teachers and professionals employed in Browning. Glacier View Estates (41 lots) was added to the Dawson site in 1971 and later the Kessner Tract (22 lots) was located east of the Glacier View estates (Fig. 74). These areas of low income housing allowed more people to live in East Glacier. There are a variety of people who live in the residential area. Many of the families are Blackfeet descendants. The town has two churches. The Church of the Ascension was built on a lot donated by Helen Dawson Edkins in 1982 and a Baptist church is located in the Kessner Tract. The grade school is located a block away from the Waffle Stop and Dancing Bear Inn. After completing grade school in East Glacier, the students attend Browning High School approximately 12 miles east. The new post office building was constructed in the last two years on U.S. 2 near the edge of town (Fig. 75). On the Clarke side of town, the residential

Figure 74. Low Income Housing



The low income housing areas were established in the 1980's and 1990's. They are located behind the commercial district in the Dawson site. [Author photograph (2001).]

area is still located on the side streets behind the commercial buildings on Route 49. New and larger summer homes have been constructed along the ridge overlooking Midvale Creek (Fig. 76).

Transportation related land uses on the east side are still divided between the automobile and the railroad. There are two gas stations at East Glacier including an Exxon on U.S. 2 and a couple of pumps at the Sears Motel. Amtrak provides railroad transportation for travelers to Glacier who still arrive at the centrally located depot. The passengers either can use Glacier Park, Inc. transportation or rent an automobile at the Dollar Rent-a-Car near the Sears Motel on Route 49.

Land use at Glacier Park Hotel has changed to accommodate automobile travelers by converting the north lawn into a parking lot and by making other areas more auto-accessible. The area that was a groomed lawn with teepee encampments is now utilized

Figure 75. East Glacier Post Office



The new post office is located north of the commercial are. [Author photograph (2001).]

Figure 76. New Summer Home

Some large summer homes are being constructed in the area. [Author photograph (2001).]

as a vehicle parking lot for Hotel guests and visitors. The Glacier Park, Inc. vans are also parked in the lot. In front of the Hotel, the drive has been paved and widened slightly to accommodate two-way traffic (Fig. 77 and Fig. 31). Behind the Hotel the areas accessible by motor vehicle have also been paved.

Some Blackfeet tribal members still consider the 1895 land cession to be a lease and not a sale of land to the government. The land controversy between the Blackfeet and the government over the east side of the Park continues to cause tensions. However, the issue has apparently not created land use problems within the gateway or immediate area. The issue has been in the court systems for years, but, unless there is a ruling stating otherwise, the 1895 agreement stands.

Land use planning on the east side gateway is considerably less elaborate than on the west side, although the policy of collective ownership on the Blackfeet Reservation is

Figure 77. Glacier Park Hotel Entrance



The entrance to the Glacier Park Hotel has changed slightly over time. See comparison photograph, Figure 31. [Author photograph (2001).]

more complicated. Since East Glacier is located on the Blackfeet Reservation, much of the undeveloped land sits in so-called “allotment parcels.” The ownership of allotted land begins with a parcel given to an individual. The land remains within the family over time and is typically divided between multiple descendants. Thus, a single lot of land may have twenty or more owners. To sell or develop such a parcel, all the owners must be in agreement.

Landscape Change in East Glacier

The east-side landscape from 1960 to the present reflects the persevering qualities of the gateway community. By analyzing photographs, maps and documents, moderate

landscape changes can be detected. Changes that are inevitable in any community over time include shifts in local business ownership. The historic role that the railroad played in east-side development is ever present on the landscape of the community. The most substantial change to the east-side landscape was the addition of a government low-income housing area.

Since 1960, the Glacier Park Trading Company, the Montieth Hotel, Brownie's store and the Log Cabin Inn have changed owners several times. Georgia and Frank Krsha purchased the historic Glacier Park Trading Company in 1962. They operated the business for ten years and sold it to Winnie and Dick Greenshields. Today, the Trading Post is still a favorite place for tourists to visit in East Glacier (Fig. 78). The Trading Post is one of the oldest buildings in East Glacier. Its structure is consistent with early styled trading posts of the late nineteenth century. The first floor was the merchant area and the second floor housed the owner. Over the years the structure has changed slightly with different ownership and new signs have been the only visual change to the appearance of the building. The old Montieth Hotel was converted to a bar in the 1970's. The two-story hotel was renamed The Palomino which burned down in 1976. It was rebuilt that same year and is now a local bar named Blondie's. The building is constructed with clean peeled logs and has a rock chimney accent. The structure has been totally altered from its original appearance as the Montieth Hotel.

Formerly Smiley's Bakery and Grocery, the Brown House Pottery is now owned by the McMasters Family (Fig. 79). The retail area of the building is the original grocery room. The structure was constructed with plank boards. It has the visual appearance of

Figure 78. Glacier Park Trading Company



The Trading Company has been a favorite of many over the years. The structure has not changed significantly since its construction. [Unknown photographer, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1914).] [Author photograph (2001).]

Figure 79. Brown House Pottery

[Author photograph (2001).]

most early homestead buildings at the turn of the century. The former McKinnon Dance Hall (Brownie's grocery) was sold to Linda and Dennis Chase in 1983. The second floor of the grocery was renovated and is operated as an AYH Hostel (Fig. 80). The exterior of the building is wood that has been treated and painted. The roof is metal but sags with the probable weight of the dirt insulation or settling footers. The interior of the structure is definitely old and worn. The front grocery has been renovated over the years.

However, the private first floor area still has the original roller skating rink floor. The second floor rooms are original but have been set up to operate as the AYH Hostel.

The original Log Cabin Inn is currently Serrano's Restaurant and owned by the Shurn Family of Whitefish, Montana (Fig. 81). The cabin has been moved several times on the lot to accommodate road improvements. The original building has been slightly altered

Figure 80. Brownie's

[Author photograph (2001).]

over the years to accommodate upgrades. The structure has the appearance of a cabin with a wood plank exterior. The roof has been replaced with metal and the outside wood has been repaired and treated over the years. However, the appearance of the interior is original and it has a floating wood floor. A personal interview with Mr. Shurn also added to the history of the building (Shurn 2001). The cabin was built and owned by Tom Dawson, after the family ranch house burned around the turn of the century. Therefore, it is the oldest building in town. It was sold to numerous owners over the years such as Stan Boyington (1920), Roy and Mildred Nelson (1927), the Brinkman's (1935), the Apple Family (1960's), Natalie Edkins (1970) and Shurn's sister and brother-in-law. The Shurn family bought it in the 1990's. The building's claim to fame was the time Clark Gable came from Rising Wolf Ranch to use the telephone. The Shurn Family has

restored the main house as Serrano's Restaurant. The smaller cabins, behind the main house, are operated as the Backpackers Inn.

Figure 81. Serrano's Restaurant



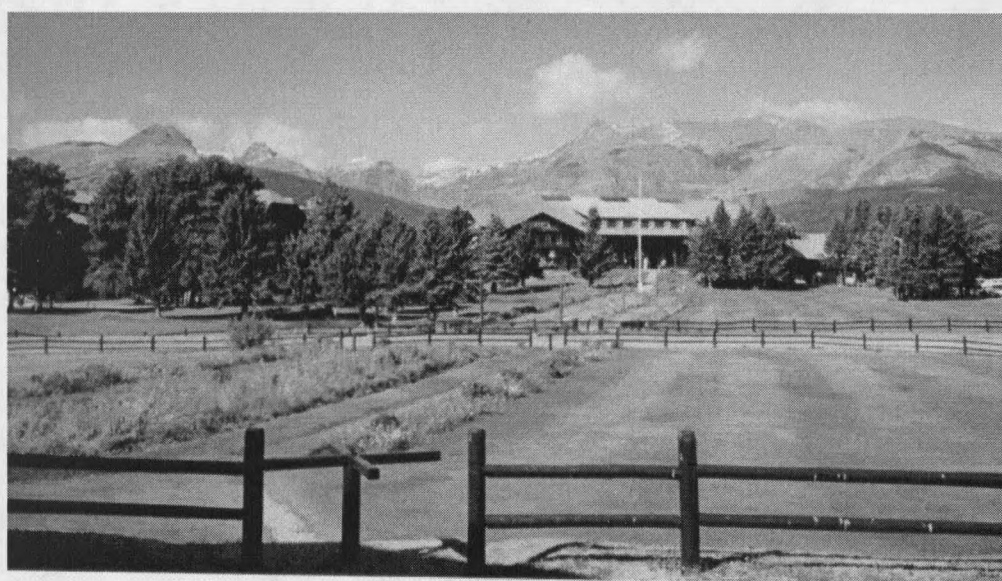
[Author photograph (2001).]

Improvements to the Glacier Park Lodge over the years have been minor. The Lodge was added to the historic buildings register in the 1980's. Don Hummel sold Glacier Park, Inc. in 1981 to the Dial Corporation. The long time Park concessionaire is presently owned by Viad Corporation in Phoenix, Arizona (Barnes 1997). The groomed European-styled gardens have been changed to a more natural setting with wild flowers and native grasses. The Blackfoot tepees no longer are clustered on the landscaped lawns as in the past. However, the Glacier Park Lodge is still an overwhelming presence in the eastern gateway (Fig. 82). Those traveling to the eastern gateway on Amtrak still arrive at the depot and walk through the garden path to the Lodge. Near the underpass,

remnants of the Great Northern's auto loading docks remain as a reminder of the heyday of the Great Northern Railway and the incredible popularity of the Glacier Park Hotel. Environmental impacts on the east side have also caused landscape change. The 1964 flood caused major destruction on the east side. The Two Medicine dam collapsed and engulfed the little ranches of the Blackfeet below. A group of 9 people drowned in an attempt to escape the flood in a truck (Hanna 1976). In the early 1990's, Highway 49 was closed between Two Medicine and the Kiowa Junction at Route 89 due to mud slides from wet weather that damaged the road and closed it for a week (Hungry Horse News 1992). The closing of the road angered the East Glacier business owners because they lost potential customers with rerouting of Glacier travelers (Hungry Horse News 1992). In 2002, the east side experienced another wet weather year, causing flooding and damage to the area.

Perceptions of the East Side Gateway Community

The changing images of the Glacier region were reflected in the promotional material for the eastern gateway. Potential Glacier travelers based their vacations on the information provided by travel guides and magazines, books, maps and photographs of Glacier and its gateways. Accounts by visitors and residents also create a picture of the character of East Glacier. The Great Northern continued to promote the Park until its takeover by Burlington Northern in 1972. The continuing service to Glacier by Burlington Northern and Amtrak did not include the promotional strategies once used by the Great Northern Railway. Only a few thousand tourists arrive on the east side by rail and stay at the Glacier Park Hotel, unlike the golden years of the railroad in the 1920's.

Figure 82. Glacier Park Hotel

The massive hotel has been the focus of East Glacier since its construction in 1912. It is a reminder of the golden era of the Great Northern Railway and the changing of the American culture. [Hileman photograph, Courtesy of GNP Archives (circa 1920).] [Author photograph (2001).]

The largest number of visitors to the gateway and the Park continue to arrive by automobile.

The center of East Glacier continues to be the Glacier Park Lodge. In the 1965 May-June issue of Motorland, an article discussed the variety of accommodations on the east side that were situated to enhance Glacier's beauty such as the elegant Glacier Park Hotel (Motorland CSAA 1965). The east side gateway section of the travel guide Hidden Montana states, "East Glacier is most noted for the historic Glacier Park Lodge" (Anderson 1997, 93). Newspaper articles from around the country comment that the Glacier Park Lodge "has the best food, and smiling service by college students" (Holt 1964). Other articles described the landscape surrounding the Hotel, noting "the grounds are a profusion of trees and flowers framed by mountains" and "the East boasts one the world's most unusual golf courses, a challenging 9 holes bordered by mountains, clouds and natural scenery" (*Baltimore Sun* 1971). The recent publication of books such as the Great Lodges of the West (Barnes 1997) and Glacier's Grandest: A Pictorial History of the Hotels and Chalets of Glacier National Park (Moylan 1995) specifically reveal the elegant history of the Glacier Park Hotel. From its opening, the Glacier Park Hotel has set the foundation for the other park hotels and achieved the rank of Glacier's host hotel (Moylan 1995). Recent additions of Adventure Magazine feature the main attractions in East Glacier as the Hotel, the Two Medicine entrance station and the depot as the main stop for Amtrak and the cross country Empire Builder (Hungry Horse News/Whitefish Pilot 1998, Hungry Horse News/Whitefish Pilot 1999 b).

Into the 1960's, the Blackfeet were still an associated tourist attraction with the east-side. The 1963 Guide to Glacier National Park characterized the close association in the minds of visitors between the Blackfeet and the Park. The author described the regular Blackfeet entertainment at the Glacier Park Hotel during the summer season. Motoring magazines and guides also closely associated Glacier and the Blackfeet tribe (Ruhle 1963). The articles and guides encouraged travelers to visit the Museum of Plains Indians in Browning for those who wanted to further investigate the Indian culture (Motorland CSAA 1965). However, after the sale of the Great Northern in 1972, the Blackfeet no longer greeted visitors at the depot platform as the Amtrak Empire Builder entered East Glacier. The visual reminders of the Blackfeet presence have not completely vanished at the eastern gateway. During the summer months a teepee or two grace the lawn of the Hotel. The interior of the Hotel has paintings and other remnants of the Blackfeet culture. The Hotel employs many Blackfeet residents seasonally and permanently. The gift shop in the Hotel and other businesses in the community offer a wide selection of Blackfeet art, such as jewelry, paintings, pottery and other crafts, for tourists to purchase.

The eastern gateway remains a curious mixture of European-styled elegance and the rustic Old West. Along Railroad Avenue, some of the buildings have an Old West facade while others were actually constructed during the era of the Old West. The community also has a keen orientation towards outdoor recreation (Anderson 1997). Adventure Magazine assures travelers that East Glacier has a variety of facilities, shops, restaurants, gas stations, auto rental and motels as well as a host of Glacier Park

personnel and local merchants to help with the visitor's specific interests (Hungry Horse News/Whitefish Pilot 1998, 1999 b).

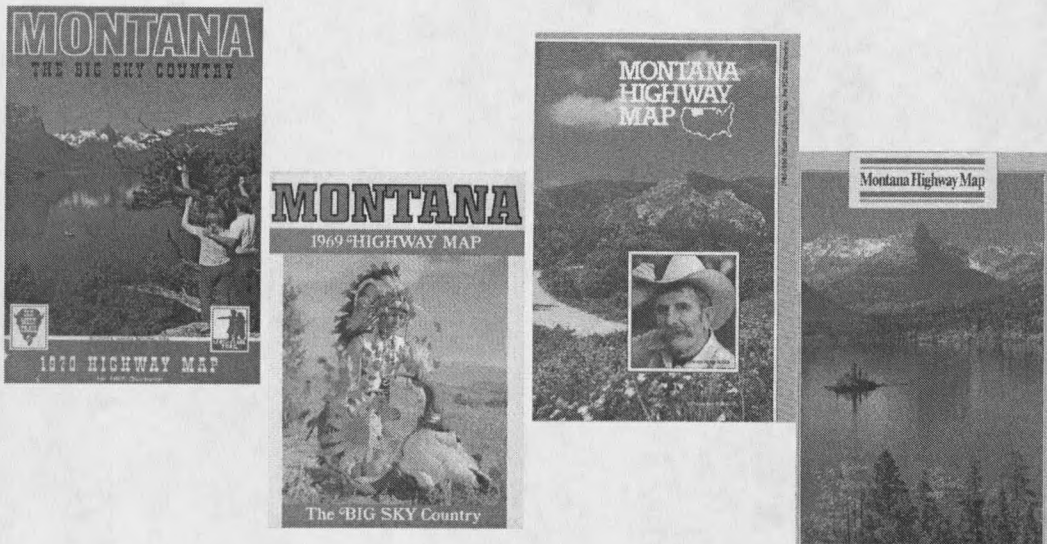
Post-1960 maps provided by the State Highway Commission of Montana and in other road guides include photographs and descriptions of Glacier. The U.S. 2 Association in Williston, North Dakota published a pamphlet in the early 1960's that began at Puget Sound and ended at Lake Huron. The guide listed towns along U.S. 2, their population and elevation, a short description of the place, and noted available services. The descriptions of Glacier National Park and East Glacier included:

Glacier National Park—The "Alps of America." 1558 square miles of the finest rugged mountain scenery in the world. A million acres of natural wonders including 60 glaciers and 200 mountain lakes among high alpine peaks. Mountain streams cascade down mountain sides and swift rivers flow through gorges and canyons.

East Glacier, Pop. 350, El. 4808—Eastern entrance to Glacier National Park. Blackfeet Indian ceremonial dances nightly. All grass golf course. Everyone gladly furnishes park, hunting or fishing information (U.S. Highway 2 Association 1960).

State of Montana maps in the 1960's described in a brief notation that, "all year around accommodations are conveniently located on the park's fringes" (Montana State Highway Commission 1969). The covers of many of the early maps have photographs of St. Mary's Lake on Glacier's east side. Maps from the 1960's to 1980 opened to a greeting from the governor and a feature photo and description of Glacier National Park (Fig. 83). After the 1980's, the state was divided into tourist regions. Glacier Park and its gateways became part of Glacier Country:

Here, in Montana's northwest corner, the magnificent Rocky mountains guard a variety of treasures... Wild rivers, jewel-like lakes, forest, wildlife, historic sites, golf courses, resorts, dude ranches—and the wonders of Glacier National Park—all beckon. ...Part of the park is accessible by car and nearly a thousand miles of trails lead deep into back country or to mountain chalets (Montana State Highway Commission 1985-1986).

Figure 83. Montana Highway Maps

[Courtesy of Joseph Ashley (1969, 1970, 1985, 1990).]

An assessment of travel literature over the last three decades reveals that gateway propaganda has not changed dramatically over time. Perceptions of the gateway communities are still based on the marketing strategies of the railroad. However, the automobile is now the main mode of transportation and marketing is focused toward auto travel. The expansion of the west side entrance corridor provides more attractions for Glacier visitors. Travel guides summarize the businesses in addition to the gateway companies. However, the traditional perceptions of the Swiss-styled chalets, the atmosphere of the Old West frontier town, the native Blackfeet Tribe, the rustic lake resorts and above all the spectacular scenery of the “Alps of America” continue to draw tourists to the adventures that lie ahead in the Glacier region.

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE OF THE GATEWAY COMMUNITY

National parks and public lands throughout the nation are beginning to work more effectively with their gateway communities. The communities are the direct links to the national park. Growth and change in such settings are inevitable because they are logical places for visitor services. However, such changes inevitably produce problems such as gateway sprawl (Greater Yellowstone Coalition (GYC) 2000). More than ever before, it is necessary to carefully plan and zone in these localities and, in the process, balance the concerns for economic growth, natural resource management, and quality of life issues.

Gateway Planning Issues

Planning issues involving gateways and their nearby parks are the focus of many community leaders and park officials throughout the nation. One key problem is gateway sprawl and rapid gateway growth (GYC 2000). Many seasonal and permanent residents are attracted to gateways because of their proximity to high-amenity national park settings. Simply put, gateway communities are desirable places to live. The availability of new technology allows more people to work in their homes and away from large cities. Improvements in transportation systems also make small gateways accessible to the world beyond. Better roads thus stimulate tourism as well as offer easier migration routes for new residents into high-amenity areas. The strong economy of the nation over the past decade also has allowed more people to travel. Some invest their extra capital in building second homes near public lands to receive tax breaks and exemptions. These

factors, combined with the lack of integrated planning, can create uncontrolled gateway sprawl.

Gateway sprawl produces both direct and indirect impacts on nearby park and boundary lands. The direct effects are associated with natural resource issues that include pollution, degraded water quality, habitat destruction, a loss of species diversity, invasive species and the loss of a buffer zone (GYC 2000). The indirect effects can include a degraded visitor experience, economic concerns for the surrounding area, and a poorer quality of life for gateway residents (GYC 2000).

The ecosystem of a national park commonly extends past its political boundaries. Therefore, resource management of a national park also extends past its political boundaries. Within the boundaries of the parks, exhaust pollution from automobiles, recreational vehicles and snowmobiles directly affects the environment, including water quality and habitat. Outside the boundaries of the park, ranches and farm land that were once the buffer zones between protected public lands and development are being subdivided. These subdivisions inhibit wildlife migration and diversity, destroy habitat, introduce invasive species and create more pollution. All the direct impacts of gateway sprawl also affects the visitor's experience. The diminished experience of the visitor then reflects on the economic concerns of the established local businesses of the gateway community. Therefore, a healthy relationship between the national park and its gateway communities involves better planning for addressing environmental issues and enhancing visitor experiences.

Several case studies illustrate examples of integrated planning efforts that involve gateways and their nearby parks. Rocky Mountain National Park and its nearby gateway of Estes Park are cooperating on several gateway planning issues. The community has taken the initiative to develop the Estes Valley Comprehensive Plan, Estes Valley Development Code, Spur 66 Corridor Management Plan, and the Estes Valley Land Trust (protects about 2000 acres). It has also completed evaluation mapping of visual sensitivity, wildlife habitat, wildland fire potential and noxious weeds in and out of the park (GYC 2000). The Estes Valley Development Code arose from a joint town and county hearing in June 1999 and was focused on making the gateway a better neighbor to Rocky Mountain National Park. Transportation issues for the area are also a major concern since Estes Park is in a constricted mountain valley. A study by the state, county, town and national park will be conducted to plan transportation solutions for the next 20 years (GYC 2000).

In Alaska, a public park transportation network in Denali National Park has been in operation for over twenty-five years. The closest urban center to Denali is Fairbanks and the towns of Healy and Cantwell offer park visitor services. However, "Glitter Gulch," a small village of shops, restaurants and hotels near the park's main entrance, offers a plethora of service options as well as the McKinley Village Resort (Uhler 1997). Within the boundaries of the park, the road is closed to private vehicles after mile marker 15. The government green buses travel the park on loop roads and structure their schedules for visitor convenience. Public transportation has been beneficial to water quality, habitat and wildlife. It has also addressed overcrowding and congestion issues.

An excellent example of a national park and its gateway working in partnership is Zion National Park and Springdale, Utah. The park and the community have implemented a working relationship that benefits both entities. The community has adopted the same mission and goals as the park which extends the park-like atmosphere into the community. Springdale promotes local businesses and discourages franchises. The public transportation system benefits the local residents as well as the tourists. The decreased amount of traffic also reduces pollution and increases safety. The additional numbers of pedestrians in turn increases activity for local businesses. Zion park officials and Springdale residents have focused on common goals of the national park and the community, the flexibility of the park service mandate, and they have looked outside the boundaries of the park for answers (GYC 2000). The park and community established a good communication system that maintained close contact between park officials and community members. Local business concerns were addressed and consulted (GYC 2000). In the end, the national park's goal is to serve and protect the visitor and the environment and the gateway community's goal is to keep the small town design and feeling.

Gateway communities that border newly established reserves and parks also face particular economic and environmental issues. Pine Lands National Reserve includes 22% of the state of New Jersey. Farming blueberries and cranberries is a substantial economic base for the area. Shell fishing and some resource extraction is also a portion of local revenue. Even so many argue that the economic plight of residents is still subordinate to the preservation of the Reserve. The Pinelands Comprehensive

Management Plan addresses five elements that include planning, zoning, performance standards, development credits, and the Pinelands Infrastructure Trust. The Pinelands Trust is essential in managing roads and sewers that are required for the growth of viable development (GYC 2000). The federal management plan has been adopted by the area's municipalities and exemplifies multiagency cooperation in the region.

These four examples reveal development of land management plans that ultimately produce coordinated results among different agencies. Pro-active planning on the part of various agencies has controlled gateway sprawl and its environmental impacts. Individuality of place makes for a unique visitor experience as well as high-quality residential areas. Therefore, the management plans were specifically designed for each particular case study area.

Glacier's Gateway Setting

Coordinated planning that involves both local gateways and nearby federal parks has become a key issue throughout the nation. But each setting has its own set of unique concerns. What challenges face Glacier's gateway communities early in the twenty-first century? The first concern of the area is gateway sprawl. In the past decade, people have been moving to the high-amenity West for a better quality of life. However, land management plans and community cooperation agreements have been designed by Flathead County to limit uncontrolled development. Meanwhile, Glacier National Park confronts overcrowding of its in-Park visitor facilities, deterioration of historic hotels, and the specific engineering problems of the Going-to-the-Sun Road. Nearby gateway

communities depend on the Park's visitor overflow and they are concerned about the closure of Going-to-the-Sun during peak season for road construction. On the Park's eastern border, unique gateway issues are associated with the land rights and location of the Blackfeet Reservation.

Gateway sprawl has been controlled on the west and east sides of the Park. The creation of the Glacier National Park Master Plan (1998) included plans for the Going-to-the-Sun Highway repair and the development of a Westside Visitor Center that essentially affect the economies of the gateway communities. The Flathead County planning department has also established a Master Plan (1994) for the county that includes a detailed amendment for the Canyon area. The Blackfeet Reservation as well as Glacier County regulates the east side community.

The west side Canyon Plan and the Canyon Area Land Use Regulatory System (CALURS) were adopted in 1994. These amendments to the Flathead County Master Plan detail development plans and regulations, discuss pertinent issues to the Canyon area and review goals and policies for the communities. The Canyon Plan seeks to minimize the threat of higher taxes by regulating location, scale and density of growth in the area. Newer developments must be able to pay their own way and be located in convenient proximity to local utilities and services (Flathead County Planning Department 1994 a). The plan argues that better transportation networks, new sanitation standards and local desires for other improvements increases pressure for development that may eliminate rural lifestyles and harm the unique natural resources to the area

(Flathead County Planning Department 1994 a). "Keeping it the way it is" will not be possible without land use constraints (Flathead County Planning Department 1994 a).

Patterns of land ownership also pose peculiar problem for each gateway. One family dominates West Glacier. Therefore, development migrated to new building sites along U.S. 2. Also, water and septic conditions limit development in the western gateway. On the east side of the Park, the community of East Glacier has changed little since 1930. Since the community resides on the Blackfeet Reservation, the intricate ownership of the allotment system created by the federal government controls development and sales of land.

The deterioration of and construction plans for the Going-to-the-Sun Highway have also created concerns within both gateway communities. The geographic area that applies to the project is the Going-to-the-Sun corridor. The management of the Going-to-the-Sun corridor is designed to and provide visitors with an opportunity to experience the spectacular scenery and the historic character of the Park through a range of visitor services, facilities and activities (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1996). The road is the only in-Park connection between the west and east sides of Glacier. Local and regional economies depend on Glacier visitation. Any dramatic change in the number of visitors to Glacier would directly affect both gateway economies. The General Management Plan addresses the road as one of the spectacular reasons many visit Glacier. Therefore, managing the road as a motor nature trail and providing public transportation is essential.

The west side gateway may also be impacted by the construction of a new visitor center. Visitors entering the west entrance during the summer season exceed 60 percent of Park visitation. The Apgar Visitor Center is small for the number of people that utilize the facility. Since 1970, the park service has pondered building a new visitor center that would include an interpretive area and a museum near the west entrance. It has not been built because of disagreements on location and funding. Glacier is special because it is a national park, an international peace park, a biosphere reserve, and a world heritage site. Therefore, a west side discovery center would "connect the people to the Park" and serve as a year-round educational facility (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1996, 74). The preferred building site for the center is near Apgar. However, locations outside the park in West Glacier also have been considered. Local reactions have been positive towards the construction of such a year-round facility.

The 1895 land cession on the eastern side of the Park allowed the Blackfeet to fish, hunt (under Montana law), and cut timber within that tract (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1996)(Fig. 1). The 1910 establishment of the national park, however, extinguished the rights of the Blackfeet. However, the Department of the Interior reopened treaty negotiations in 1999 and free entry to the Park has been agreed on for the Blackfeet. Challenging land issues now confront the Park and the Blackfeet Tribe. In cooperation, the two entities jointly manage cultural landmarks such as Chief Mountain. They also have developed policies regarding livestock trespass and wildlife management. The Park has been invited to participate in an environmental analysis of timber harvest and the leasing of gas and oil on nearby Blackfeet lands

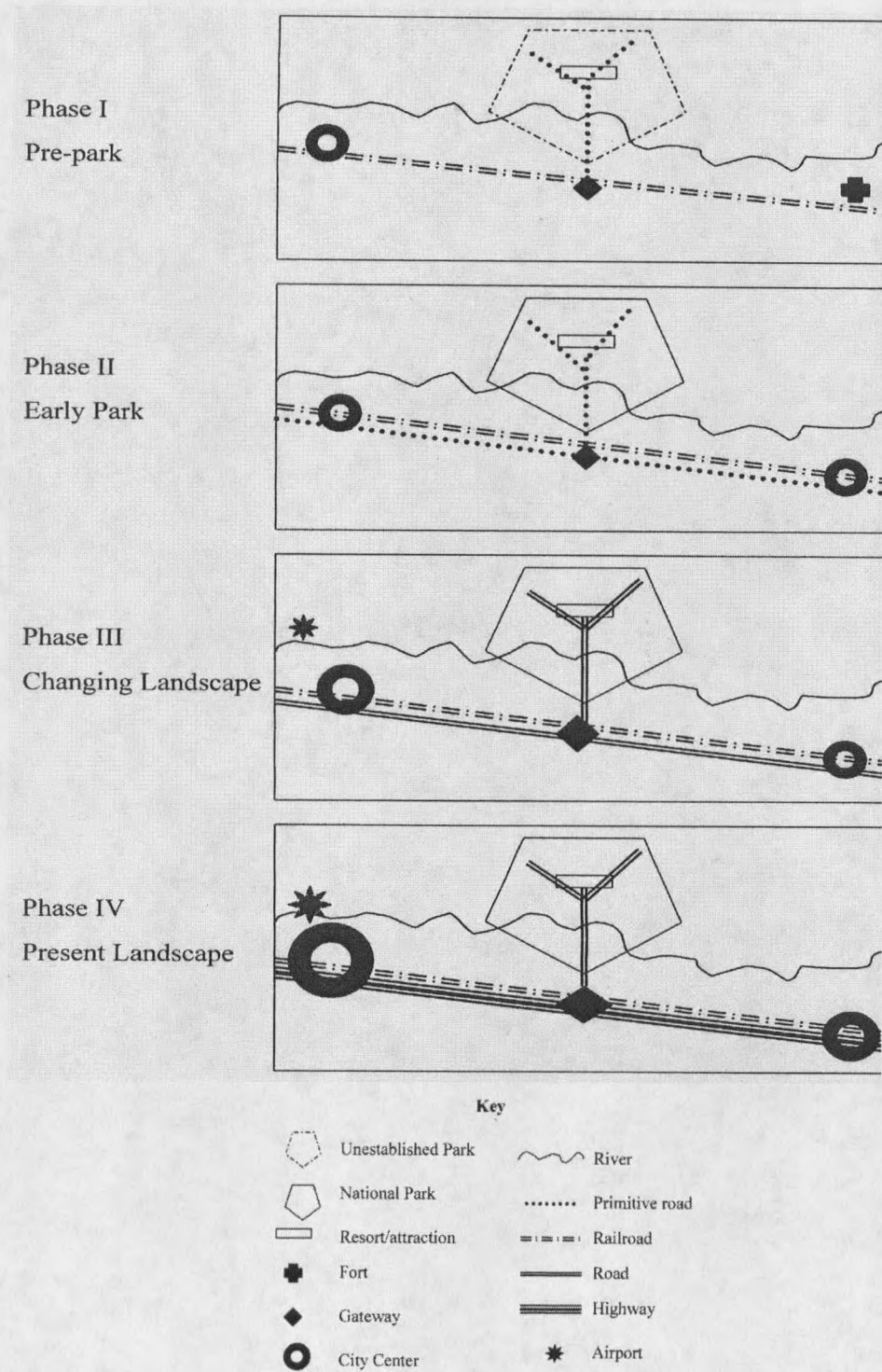
(United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1996). Tribal leaders also have expanded their cooperation in areas where there are shared concerns and values.

Regional Gateway Evolution and Development Model

The case study of Glacier National Park and its gateway community development allows for a larger discussion of national park gateway community growth and change. A simple schematic model can summarize the relationships between national park development, gateway growth, and some of the key variables assessed in this study. The gateway development model is divided into four phases of growth at different time intervals. The phases define the general evolution of national park gateways at the regional scale (Fig. 84).

The pre-park setting is Phase I. The boundaries of the park have not been established. At the regional scale, the physical features of the landscape help to define the best locations to establish forts and trading posts. Early trail networks often followed water transportation routes. In the Glacier case study, the pre-park period included trading posts on the west side near Flathead Lake and Fort Benton on the east side of the region. The physical features of the Glacier region inhibited early transregional travel. Still, during this phase, some early visitors began to recognize the special amenities of the future park area and to promote its scenic and/or historical attributes.

Figure 84. Regional Development Model



The early park years (Phase II) reveal important changes. An improved early road system paralleled the railroad line. The railroad and primitive roads connected the small trading centers and allowed more people to enter the region. Visitors returned home and publicized the scenic region, promoting even more visitation. Typically the railroad dominated transportation to the western parks and only the upper-class could afford early park travel. Railroad companies often invested in park development and promotion. As transportation networks improved, surrounding urban centers grew and provided services for travelers. More distant urban centers remained inconvenient for visitors and local gateway communities were established.

The number of railroad travelers decreased by Phase III and the land use patterns within the gateway were altered by the increased use of the automobile as the primary mode of transportation. Also within this phase, the National Park Service asserted more influence over railroad-controlled facilities inside the park boundaries. At the regional scale, the rise of automobile transportation included not only demands for more and better roads, but also more services and facilities for auto travelers. More roads were constructed within the parks as well as auto-oriented campgrounds and other services.

Phase IV represents present-day gateway evolution. Growth and development near many gateway communities have been restricted to keep the aesthetic qualities of a small town. On a regional scale, the urban centers further from the park now provide more efficient traveler services and accommodations. Improved roads and technology contribute to the accessibility of these centers. However, urban centers can be affected by differential growth that can be a factor in the quality and quantity of visitor services.

Advances in transportation technology over the past decades also allow transcontinental air travel to larger nearby urban centers. Air travelers arrive at their destination and rent cars to visit the park.

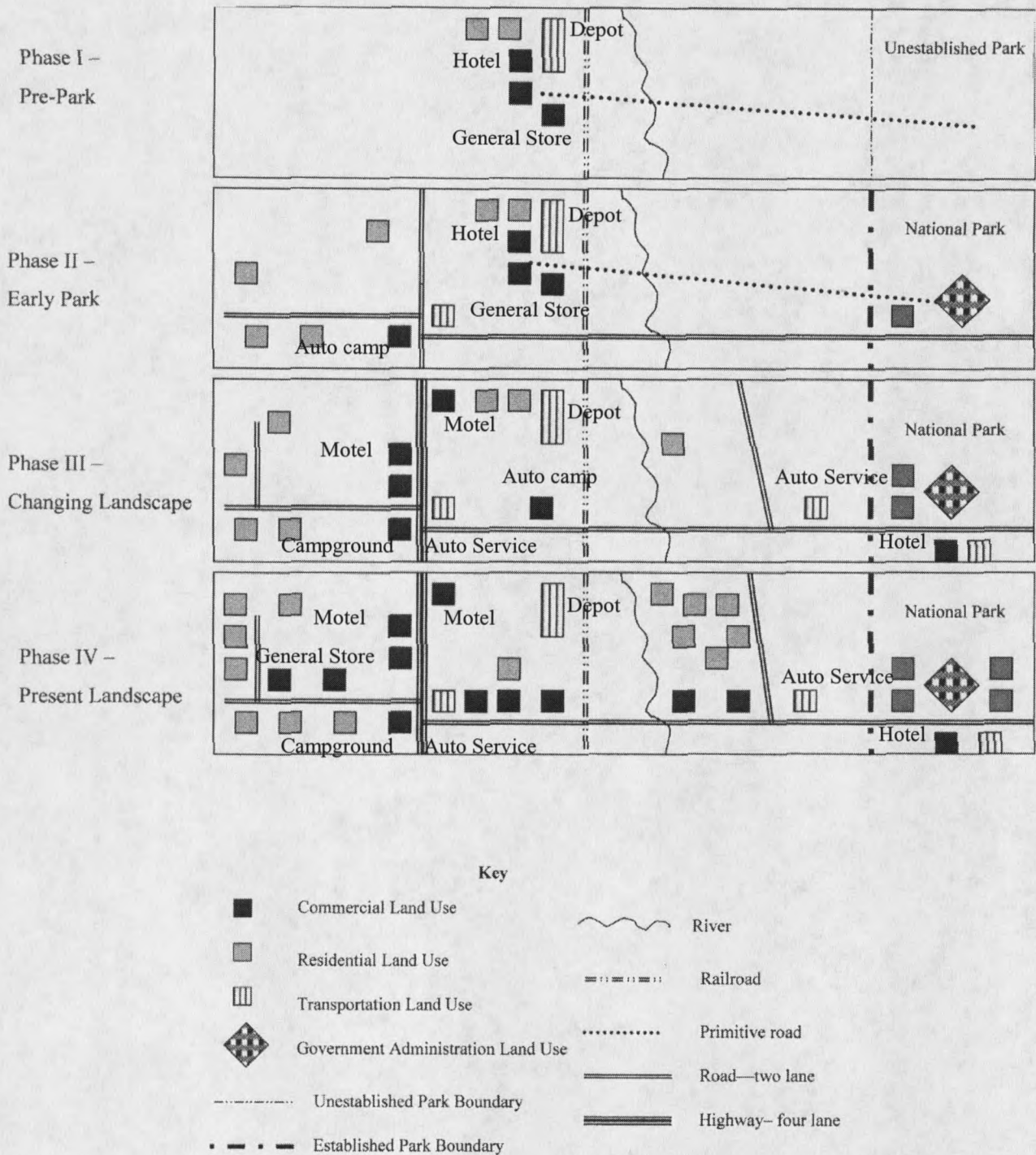
Local Gateway Land Use Development Model

A local gateway development model can summarize additional land use changes. The evolving land use changes are based on the four phases of gateway evolution. The Glacier gateway research can be utilized to study the process of local development in other gateway settings. The general west side (West Glacier) land use patterns are particularly useful in this context. East Glacier and its development are more unusual because of the restrictions of allotment ownership on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation. Still, evolving land use patterns on the east side also proved helpful in creating the model.

Phase I is representative of pre-park development and initial local settlement of the area (Fig. 85). Early settlers cleared areas close to transportation center, such as the depot, for building homes and businesses. In particular, most of the commercial buildings were located close to the transportation center. Residents usually occupied small homes near or attached to their businesses. Further from the settlement center, homesteaders began to construct trails and primitive roads to access other places in the region.

The land use patterns in Phase II focus on early park development. The creation of a park increased travel to the gateway community. Therefore, a demand for tourist services and facilities grew. The commercial district located near the railroad depot, provided services such as a hotel, general store and other essential facilities for railroad

Figure 85. Local Land Use Development Model



passengers. The residential area began to move away from the commercial center. Some residents still occupied homes incorporated into their businesses. Resorts or camps began to be established further from the gateway center for the ever increasing number of tourists.

Gateway land use patterns shift to service auto travelers instead of railroad passengers in Phase III. As the types of auto services grew, inexpensive facilities such as gas stations, auto-camps, motels, and family-style restaurants appear. The central business district elongates along park approach roads, as the automobile becomes a dominant mode of transportation. The new patterns of land use along the strip inevitably began to refashion the visible landscape (Wyckoff 1992). The residential area moves further away from the commercial center with the advancements of road and automobile technology.

The last stage of local land use development is Phase IV or the present-day landscape. The technological advancements of highway construction and automobile design have decreased travel time to gateway communities. The structure of the motel industry also changes (Jagle 1996). Motel units were relatively small in number and services close together along the entrance corridor in the 1930's into the 1960's. More recently, however, larger scale motels were built and they were fewer in number and often further from the gateway center. In addition, in-park residential land use (park employees) and commercial land use (concessions) complement the patterns seen in the gateway center.

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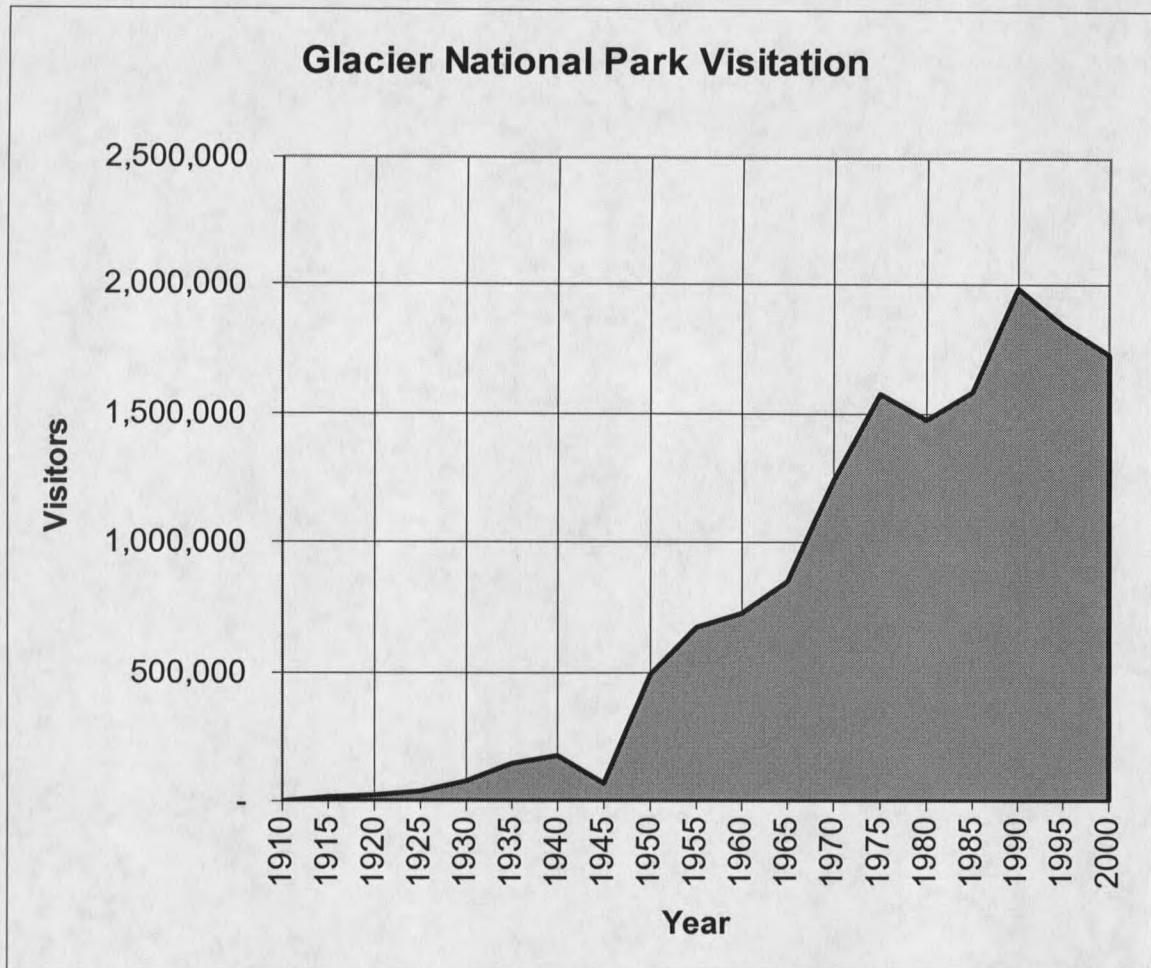
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APPENDIX A

Glacier National Park Visitation

APPENDIX A



[Montana State Highway Commission Planning Survey 1951, HRS 1980, United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 1994, United States Department of the Interior National Park Service 2000.]

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