

GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES ON STATE-DIRECTED HERITAGE
PRODUCTION IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY MONTANA

by

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DEDICATION

To my mother and brother, Anne S. Briwa and Taylor S. Briwa, who kept things in perspective. And to my father, John T. Briwa, who taught me glacial erratics a lifetime ago.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW	1
Introduction.....	1
Making Heritage in Montana: A Geographer's View.....	3
Chapter Overviews: Conceptual Moorings and Research Contributions	5
Chapter 2: Making Heritage Through Montana's Official State Highway Maps, 1914-2000.....	5
Chapter 3: The Changing Terrain of Heritage at a Montana State Park	8
Chapter 4: Preserving Big Sky Country: State-Directed Historic Preservation in Montana and the Urban West, 1966-2017	11
Chapter 5: Common Lessons	14
References Cited in Chapter One.....	16
2. MAKING HERITAGE THROUGH MONTANA'S OFFICIAL STATE HIGHWAY MAPS, 1914-2000	23
Contributions of Authors and Co-Authors.....	23
Manuscript Information	24
Abstract	25
Methods.....	27
Making Montana Legible.....	29
Tourism, Highway Maps, and the Montana Highway Department	30
Territorial Identity.....	33
Mythic West.....	34
Natural Wealth	36
Outdoor Recreation	39
Hospitality.....	41
Montana Highway Maps at the Millennium	43
Notes	45
References.....	45
3. THE CHANGING TERRAIN OF HERITAGE AT A MONTANA STATE PARK.....	48
Contributions of Authors and Co-Authors.....	48
Manuscript Information	49
Highlights.....	50
Abstract	50
Connecting Research Perspectives on Parks and Heritage	52
The Making of the Montana Parks System.....	57

TABLE OF CONTENTS CONTINUED

The State Parks Movement in the United States, 1900-1925	57
Montana's Early State Parks	58
Bannack.....	61
Early Heritage at Bannack and Prelude to a State Park, 1900-1953.....	62
Creating Bannack State Park, 1953-1954	64
Neglect of Bannack Heritage	66
Consolidation of State Heritage at Bannack, 1972-1989.....	68
State Personnel at Bannack.....	69
Special Events and the Advent of Bannack Days, 1976.....	73
Public-Private Partnerships at Bannack State Park, 1989-2000	75
Bannack State Park and the Contemporary Heritage Landscape, 2001-Present.....	79
Bannack in its North American and International Contexts	81
Figure Captions	84
 4. PRESERVING BIG SKY COUNTRY: STATE-DIRECTED HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN MONTANA AND THE URBAN WEST, 1966-2017	92
Contributions of Authors and Co-Authors.....	92
Manuscript Information	93
Abstract	94
Introduction.....	94
Geographic Perspectives on Historic Preservation	95
Montana's Historic Preservation Prior to 1966	96
Federal Historic Preservation Efforts.....	96
Private and Civic Group Preservation in Montana	97
State Agencies and Preservation.....	99
Laying the Foundation to SHPO Preservation.....	99
Creating the SHPO System, 1966.....	100
The Montana SHPO and Statewide Preservation Plans.....	101
Federal Heritage Narratives in Fish and Game Commission Plans, 1970-1977	101
Decentralizing Preservation through SHPO Planning Processes, 1977-1994	104
Reconciliation of Preservation Planning, 1995-2017	107
Historic Preservation in Practice: Bozeman, Montana	108
SHPO Preservation in Bozeman, 1966-1987.....	109
Community Preservation, 1987-2003	111
Development Pressures, 2003-2017.....	113
Lessons from Montana's Preservation Movement	115
Acknowledgments.....	118

Endnotes.....	118
5. COMMON LESSONS.....	126
Geographical Perspectives on Montana Heritage	126
The Common Lessons of Montana’s State-Directed Heritage	127
Taking Leave of Montana Heritage	139
References Cited in Chapter Five	143
REFERENCES	144

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1. 1914 edition of the Montana map	30
2.2. Back and front cover of the 1939 Montana map.....	35
2.3. Back and front cover of the 1942 Montana Map	38
2.4. Detail from the promotional side of the 1970 Montana map.....	41
2.5. Detail from the promotional side of the 1985-1986 Montana map	42
3.1. A bird's eye diagram of Bannack State Park	86
3.2. The Daughters of the American Revolution Bannack dedication in 1925.....	87
3.3. Parking at Bannack during its 1954 inauguration as a state park	88
3.4(a). The Meade Hotel at Bannack State Park.....	89
3.4(b). Bannack's Masonic Lodge and Schoolhouse.....	90
3.5. Bannack Association members and park visitors engaging in panning for gold at Bannack State Park.....	91
4.1. Daughters of the American Revolution commemorative plaque.....	122
4.2. Scene from Bannack State Park.....	123
4.3. Story Mansion in Bozeman, Montana	124
4.4. Bozeman's historic districts and Neighborhood Conservation Overlay District (NCOD)	125
5.1. The roadside park at Bridger, Montana	140

ABSTRACT

Heritage produces deeply entrenched understandings about places across a range of geographic scales. Heritage is a deliberate framing of identity, actively constructed to promote ties binding history to place. This research interrogates the intersections of heritage, landscape, and state government in twentieth-century Montana. It examines how selected Montana state institutions produced heritage. The Montana Department of Transportation (MDoT), Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks (FWP), and the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) direct heritage production through numerous practices, including cartography (MDoT), state park management (FWP), and historic preservation (SHPO). This dissertation draws from conceptual frameworks of place identity and heritage and employs qualitative methods—principally archival research and document analysis—to examine how these state institutions produce Montana heritage. Between 1914 and 2000, the MDoT used its highway map program to anchor Montana heritage around five themes: territorial identity, mythic west, natural wealth, outdoor recreation, and hospitality. Montana's state park system, particularly Bannack State Park, demonstrates federal and local influences in evolving state visions of heritage at a Montana ghost town. National narratives centered on Euro-American westering experiences evolved to a more culturally inclusive heritage at Bannack. Montana's historic preservation movement under the direction of the SHPO shows a trend towards a decentralized planning model that increasingly emphasizes preservation outcomes grounded in regional and more inclusive perspectives. In Montana's urban landscapes, however, local contexts and generative forces weaken state-directed preservation. These case studies offer six common characteristics of state-directed heritage production in the American West. 1) States shape heritage production in a variety of ways and these diverse institutional drivers evolve over time. 2) State-directed heritage production reflects an evolving dynamic existing across institutional and geographic scales. 3) Key individuals matter in heritage production and they have the ability to shape long-term narratives of state-produced heritage. 4) Sufficient funding from state and federal sources consolidates states' abilities to produce heritage, while insufficient funding from state and federal sources weakens states' abilities to produce heritage. 5) The evolving content of heritage production reflects changing cultural values and related political mandates. 6) State-directed heritage in Montana relies on dispersed heritage governance.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Introduction

In the American West, myth, landscape, and history are bound tightly together, producing deeply entrenched place identities. One dimension of place identity currently receiving critical examination is heritage, broadly defined as contemporary use of the past (e.g., Graham 2002) or as an ideological framing of identity (e.g., Johnson 1996). Atkinson (2005) suggests heritage is “mobilized increasingly as [an] important cultural, political, and economic resource in our contemporary world,” (141). Heritage is a slippery social construct prone to change over time, and it can be leveraged as a tool of power and as a consolidation of identity. Mechanisms underlying heritage construction are diverse and range from performances and practices, to memorials and historic landscapes, to representations in myriad forms, including literature, advertisements, and maps (Atkinson 2005; Tunbridge et al. 2013).

Heritage studies are inter- and trans-disciplinary. Geographers are well positioned to examine how heritage intersects with place. Within Anglo-American geography, heritage studies began developing in the early 1990s, though some notable exceptions, such as David Lowenthal’s 1985 magnum opus *The Past is a Foreign Country*, offer pioneering examples (Hardy 1988; Tunbridge et al. 2013; Waterton and Watson 2015). Since 2000, scholarship situated at the nexus of heritage and geography coalesces around five interrelated themes. These include commemoration and memorialization (e.g., Del

Pozo and Gonzalez 2012; Dittmer and Waterton 2017), social memory and its construction (e.g., Pollock and Sharp 2007; Johnson 2012), dissonances and plurality of heritages (e.g., Johnson 1996; Dennis 2006; Pollock and Sharp 2007; Alderman 2010 and Alderman 2012), museums and the presentation of heritage (e.g., Tolia-Kelly 2017), and how heritage shapes place images and marketing (e.g., Ducros 2014a and Ducros 2014b).

The geographic scale of heritage is variable. Atkinson (2005) suggests that the use of heritage as a means of economic revitalization occurs at the scale of localities, patterning the world with a “mosaic of spaces—representing certain, selected versions of heritage and eliding others” (142). This mosaic has been explored within a variety of geographic contexts (e.g., Atkinson 2005; Inwood 2010). Robertson and Hall (2007), however, suggest most heritage studies examine heritage as part of national and transnational identity (e.g., Johnson 1995; Munasinghe 2005; Crowley 2007; Maddern 2007; Hagen 2009; Viejo-Rose 2013). Between these two scalar extremes lies the region. Heritage at the regional scale is a field of enquiry largely untitled. Despite increased awareness of the value geographical perspectives bring to heritage studies, the intersections of these two fields has room to grow.

This dissertation interrogates the intersections of heritage, landscape, and state government in twentieth-century Montana. It asks the following overarching question: **how have Montana’s state institutions promoted and shaped ideas about the state’s heritage through time?** To answer this question, I identify how selected state institutions and their historical predecessors communicate heritage. These include the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks (FWP),

and the Montana Department of Transportation (MDoT). Each promotes and constructs heritage through a range of practices, including cartography (MDoT), state park management (FWP), and historic preservation (SHPO). I investigate how these practices shape heritage over time and contend that they are significant means of promoting state-supported visions of Montana's heritage.

Making Heritage in Montana: A Geographer's View

I approach my dissertation with a geographer's eye. My view of Montana heritage is grounded in place-based perspectives. As a cultural geographer, I am interested in how state institutions shape visions of Montana heritage through cultural landscapes and place-defining texts. Both have consolidated Montana heritage in ways essential to the formation of place identity, or the collective meanings of place (Blake 2008). As a historical geographer, I am interested in examining how mechanisms and outcomes of heritage construction have changed over time, which reflects the historical geographer's imperative of reconstructing past landscapes (Darby 1983) and forms of geographic knowledge (Offen 2012). Furthermore, I use this dissertation to embrace recent calls within historical geography to explore connections between identity and heritage (Driver 2013).

My view is fundamentally a humanistic gaze, for it focuses on investigating human meanings, values, and attitudes towards the places they inhabit (Tuan 1979). This perspective informs the types of questions I ask and the methods I employ. The questions I ask about heritage construction in Montana are exploratory, interpretative, and inductive. To answer them, I employ qualitative methods. These include document

analysis of archived materials, including newspaper clippings, government documents, letters, and plans; site visits and participant observation; and qualitative content analysis of varied texts and imagery.

My dissertation examines the ways selected state government institutions, including the MDoT, Montana FWP, and the Montana SHPO helped construct heritage in twentieth-century Montana through practices of cartography, state park management, and historic preservation. I select these institutions as case studies for several reasons. The practices these institutions conduct—the MDoT’s highway map program, Montana FWP’s management of state parks, and the Montana SHPO’s role in historic preservation—can be understood as sources and shapers of knowledge about Montana and its past. The geographies and histories conveyed by these institutions are selective, carefully edited to establish Montana’s place identity across a range of geographic scales. Considered singly, each sheds light on a different aspect of heritage construction and has wider contributions to scholarship in cultural and historical geography. Considered collectively, they reveal how Montana state institutions shaped popular perceptions of Montana and its heritage as a state, as part of the American West, and as part of the United States. Furthermore, considering the case studies as an ensemble suggests broader lessons transferrable to understanding how state institutions across the United States construct heritage. My synthesis of the case studies positions them as illustrative microcosms of broader histories of state institutions and the creation of heritage in the twentieth-century American West.

Chapter Overviews: Conceptual Moorings and Research Contributions

Chapter 2: Making Heritage through Montana's Official State Highway Maps, 1914-2000

The article “Making Heritage through Montana’s Official State Highway Maps, 1914-2000” examines how the Montana Department of Transportation (MDOT) and its predecessors used its highway map program to promote Montana landscapes to twentieth-century motorists. Through archival research at the Montana Historical Society Research Center (hereafter MHS), this article reconstructs the historical contexts surrounding Montana’s highway map program. Our subsequent qualitative content analysis of fifty-five different map editions draws on previous work in critical cartography to deconstruct the maps and identify five persistent themes that frame Montana place identity and heritage: territorial identity, mythic West, natural wealth, outdoor recreation, and hospitality. This article is accepted for publication in the peer-reviewed journal *Geographical Review*.

The conceptual frameworks and contributions of this enquiry are threefold. First, it draws on contemporary literature in heritage studies through exploring the concept of affective technologies. Recent work by Tolia-Kelly (2017) and Dittmer and Waterton (2017) define affective technologies as those technologies deliberately employed to channel users’ perceptions, behaviors, and emotional attitudes towards a phenomenon by manipulating the ways that phenomenon connects to notions of heritage. Contemporary scholars typically examine affective technologies within the contexts of museums and other fixed heritage sites. Our examination of highway maps makes the argument that affective technologies need not be restricted to fixed displays. Instead, we draw on

concepts in cultural geography, including James Shortridge's (1991) concept of the place-defining novel and critical cartography's assumption that maps reify ideology and understandings of place and region (e.g., Wyckoff 1988 and Wyckoff 2016), and apply them to highway maps. By dint of their large print runs, eminent portability, their deliberate design for promotional purposes, and ability to reach a far-flung audience, we suggest that highway maps are illustrative of affective technologies deliberately designed to promote particular ideas about Montana. Their selective representations of Montana in text, images, and cartography channel users' attitudes towards the state's landscapes and heritage. Montana highway maps are an example of a source and shaper of heritage best understood as a semiotic text, deliberately produced to be "read" by its users (Dittmer and Waterton 2017).

Second, this case study contributes to literature in cultural geography and critical cartography. As a work of cultural geography, the article illuminates the power of promotional materials in developing place identity. It builds on precedent within cultural geography (e.g., Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1997; De Bres 2003) and deepens the field through adding another case study that examines the construction of place identity in North American contexts. More significant are its contributions to critical cartography. Critical cartography assumes that maps, far from being neutral representations of reality, instead produce and reproduce hegemonic narratives and ideologies. Maps are sites of power, producing deeply entrenched notions of geographical space and place. Through critical analysis of the interplay between cartography, texts, and images, critical cartographers deconstruct maps to reveal the subtle ways they promote a specific set of

values and ideas (Harley 1989a and 1989b; Monmonier 1991; Del Casino and Hanna 2000; Wood 2010). Most critical cartographers examine maps produced within a short period of time (e.g., Wyckoff 1988) or overlook change over time as a central point of analysis, though notable exceptions exist (e.g., Tyner 2005). Through examining fifty-five maps produced over nearly eighty-five years, our examination of Montana highway maps offers methodological guideposts appropriate for critical cartographers interested in examining how maps and their meanings change over time.

Third, this article draws from and contributes to historical and geographical perspectives on place promotion in the twentieth-century American West. Exemplary works by Rothman (1998), Wrobel and Long (2001), and Wrobel (2002) use historical perspectives to examine the intersections of tourism promotion, collective memory, and regional identity in the American West. Numerous case studies in collected volumes and essays bolster these efforts (e.g., Davis 1992; Padget 1995; Rothman 1996; Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1997). Geographers and historians also examine American West tourism promotion at smaller geographic scales. Christensen (2002), for example, uses Red Lodge, Montana to display how American West communities tap into larger tropes of American West regional identity to re-imagine themselves for the tourist's eye. These studies inform our analysis of Montana highway maps as tools of place promotion.

Scholars on place promotion in the American West, however, overlook how state government institutions encouraged tourism through visual and textual rhetoric (Waggener 2003 and Rugh 2006 are notable exceptions). Our research highlights the changing uses of highway maps from tools of state administration to premiere tools of

tourism promotion. Our longitudinal analysis reveals how the narratives the maps project about the American West evolve over time. By analyzing how maps project place during the late twentieth century, we extend the range of analysis of previous literature, which largely considers place promotion prior to World War II (e.g., Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1997), or in the immediate post-war period (e.g., Rothman 1998).

Chapter 3: The Changing Terrain of Heritage at a Montana State Park

The article “The Changing Terrain of Heritage at a Montana State Park” examines Montana’s state park system and its roles in producing state-directed heritage. I employ archival research to document the early development of Montana’s state park system. I then consider the historical development and evolution of heritage at Bannack State Park. Site visits, archival research, and document analysis reveal the evolving production of heritage at Bannack State Park between 1900 and the present. I identify six distinct phases of heritage production at Bannack, each with its own set of actors, mechanisms, and funding sources. Prior to Bannack’s acquisition as a state park in 1954, heritage production relied on an array of local mechanisms and actors, including storytelling by pioneers and commemorative events by civic groups such as local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). Local advocacy and fundraising allowed the creation of Bannack State Park, heralding a shift towards state-directed heritage production that was heavily reliant on the ebbs and flows of funding from state and federal sources. Increased state and federal funding permitted consolidated visions of state-directed heritage, while decreased funding drove public-private funding structures and more dispersed authorship of heritage. The article is currently under peer review.

This article draws on and contributes to heritage studies and historical and cultural geography. It is conceptually grounded in geographical heritage scholarship addressing commemorative landscapes and sites of memory. Sites of memory, first theorized by Pierre Nora in his seven-volume edited study *Lieux de Memoire*, take many forms and classifications, but recent heritage scholarship defines them as those physical sites where commemorative acts take place (Schwarz 2010; Winter 2010, 312). Monuments (Johnson 1995; Donohoe 2014), historic buildings and districts (Hodder 1999; Cudny 2017; Kisiel 2017), museums (Cooke and Frieze 2017; Munroe 2017), battlefields (Chronis 2012 and 2015), and even streets (Azaryahu 1996) are all sites of memory. My investigation into the evolution of heritage production at Bannack positions state and other forms of regional parks as an overlooked category of sites of memory and commemorative landscape. Bannack demonstrates that state park landscapes connect to heritage at the scales of community, state, region, and nation.

Relatedly, the article contributes to historical geographies of state and regional park systems in North America. Geographic scholarship on North American regional parks is relatively light on the ground and requires expansion (Dilsaver and Young 2007; Byrne and Wolch 2009; Keeling and Wynn 2011; Wynn et al. 2014). Existing state park scholarship attributes park development to twentieth-century actions by state and federal actors, including state forestry and wildlife conservation departments, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the National Park Service (e.g., Coggins 1984; Cox 1988; Henneberger 2000; Mielnik 2011; Brandimarte and Reed 2013). This top-down approach to understanding parks overlooks the roles local actors have in the creation and

management of park landscapes. Montana's state park system and Bannack State Park illuminate how cash-strapped state governments frequently relied on local advocacy, fundraising, and donation to acquire and manage park units.

Third, through examining the production of heritage at state parks, the article contributes to cultural geography's goal of understanding how cultural landscapes are laden with ideological meaning. Peirce Lewis (1979) famously calls cultural landscapes "our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, values, aspirations [and] fear" (1). More recent work reframes cultural landscapes as discourse materialized (e.g., Schein 1997; Dwyer and Alderman 2008). As ubiquitous parts of twentieth-century American cultural landscapes, state parks are rich palimpsests to deconstruct. Geographers examining state parks focus on their role as lodestones of national identity and as sites where racial identities are constructed and reinforced (e.g., DeLyser 1999; O'Brien 2012; Smith 2013; O'Brien 2018). O'Brien (2012 and 2018), for example, examines how site management and material assemblages shape park use and produce racial identities. DeLyser (1999) examines how the management practice of arrested decay consolidates a curated sense of authenticity at a California ghost town. Smith (2013), meanwhile, focuses on the ideological significance of state parks at the national scale, suggesting they materialize a democratic impulse in twentieth-century American society. My examination into the way heritage is constructed at Bannack State Park draws on and blends the theoretical foundations offered by these previous works and applies them at the scale of state and region. My research demonstrates that heritage construction at Bannack reflects wider ideological impulses of the twentieth-century American West, including settler-

colonial discourses of early Euro-American settlement, nationalist narratives supported and developed by the DAR, and a turn towards regional and state identity to foster tourism.

Chapter 4: Preserving Big Sky Country: State-Directed Historic Preservation in Montana and the Urban West, 1966-2017

The article “Preserving Big Sky Country: State-Directed Historic Preservation in Montana and the Urban West, 1966-2017” examines Montana’s historic preservation movement and identifies heritage themes made legible through diverse historic preservation practices and policies. I employ archival research and document analysis, reviews of newspaper sources, and correspondence with preservationists and preservation advocates to document the trajectory of two related historic preservation movements in Montana. First, the article reconstructs the evolving preservation philosophies and heritage themes of the Montana SHPO from 1966 to 2017. Three eras of SHPO preservation stand out. From 1970 to 1977, SHPO preservation philosophies emphasized strong adherence to federal guidelines and used preservation to solidify Montana’s ties to national heritage narratives. Between 1977 and 1993, SHPO planning decentralized and incorporated social sciences perspectives in the determination of historic sites. The resulting heritage narratives were more culturally inclusive and better developed a sense of a distinct Montana regional identity. These plans, however, never received full federal approval and subsequently struggled to be implemented. From 1997 to 2017, SHPO planning again adhered more closely to federal guidelines while retaining many of the regional perspectives offered by the plans produced between 1977 and 1993. Changing

funding structures, however, led to a new reliance on state partnerships with local governments and non-profits to achieve preservation outcomes. Collectively, reconstructing SHPO efforts document how inter-scalar dynamics—including federal and state government as well as key individuals and civic organizations—shaped state-directed preservation outcomes.

I then interrogate to what extent SHPO preservation guidelines impact the urban landscape of Bozeman, Montana, between 1966 and 2017. Archival research and reviews of newspaper documents reconstruct the evolving preservation landscape of Bozeman and identifies three distinct eras of preservation. The first, from 1966 to 1987, bears the strongest imprint of SHPO action through SHPO-funded surveys and documentation of Bozeman's historic structures. Numerous historic districts were established within Bozeman's city limits, often fitting within national contexts of historic significance. From 1987 to 2003, community-driven preservation built on these early efforts and was strengthened by key individual action and the creation of pro-preservation city ordinances and staffing. Preservation advocates during this period sought to use preservation as a means to preserve a local sense of place and to retain a robust tax base. High turnover rates among city staff, reduced budgets, and pressure from developers, however, eroded the momentum of Bozeman's preservation movement from 2003 to 2017. This period was characterized by controversial developments in Bozeman's historic residential and business cores, proposed changes to local preservation ordinances, little direct SHPO involvement, and a lack of consistent city enforcement of preservation policies. Bozeman's preservation movement offers an example of one possible trajectory of

preservation in the urban West and exemplifies the roles that key individuals have in developing and galvanizing historic preservation in the United States. This article is prepared for submission to peer review.

This article's main findings suggest that state-directed historic preservation and on-the-ground preservation outcomes are often disconnected or have an ambiguous relationship, confirming and contributing to findings from previous scholarship on historic preservation (e.g., Del Pozo and Gonzalez 2012; Renne and Listokin 2018). It also identifies generative forces of heritage construction in the American West, particularly by underscoring the deep roots of state-directed preservation movements in Montana. This finding connects this research to a broader sphere of American West cultural and historical geography concerned with understanding the sources and shapers of geographic knowledge in the American West (e.g., Rothman 1998; Wrobel and Long 2001).

Chapter 4 also exemplifies how historical geography's perspectives and methods can be applied to issues of historic preservation. Much historic preservation scholarship focuses on broad administrative histories of historic preservation (e.g., Scarpino 1992; Potter 2016a and 2016b), while others focus on economic impacts of preservation (e.g., DuCros 2014a and 2014b; Baldwin 2016). Historical geographers' use of archival document review and analysis, their attention to how processes and landscapes change over time, and their ability to construct narratives that connects geographical concepts and theories to empirical evidence all has much to contribute to historic preservation scholarship, particularly in the ways historic preservation supports evolving heritage over

time. In this article, I use archival evidence to suggest that heritage construction through historic preservation—whether by state institutions such as the SHPO or by individual communities—is prone to change by the influences of inter-scalar dynamics (such as those of federal and state policies and preservation philosophies), relies on and is shaped by key individuals, and that preservation outcomes are intimately related to the availability of funding.

Chapter 5: Common Lessons

Chapter 5, “Common Lessons,” reflects on how these articles, when considered together as an ensemble, collectively contribute to understanding the role of state institutions in heritage construction in the twentieth-century American West. After reviewing reasons why I chose to pursue these case studies, I propose that the articles demonstrate five transferrable lessons about the construction of state-directed heritage. These five lessons establish requisite conditions to initiate state-directed heritage and outline a trajectory of how state institutions go through the process of developing programs to consolidate heritage. Furthermore, they articulate trends and characteristics of state-directed heritage that have their analogues in state institutions across the United States. In brief, Chapter 5 suggests that:

Lesson 1) States shape heritage production in a variety of ways and these diverse institutional drivers evolve over time.

Lesson 2) State-directed heritage is produced out of an evolving dynamic that exists across institutional and geographic scales. Both national-scale and local

influences prove critical in constructing various narratives of heritage at the state level.

Lesson 3) Key individuals matter in heritage production and they have the ability to shape long-term narratives of state-produced heritage at key moments in time.

Lesson 4) Money matters in heritage production: sufficient funding from state and federal sources consolidates the state's ability to construct heritage; and when funding from state and federal sources is tightened, the ability of the state to direct heritage production is weakened.

Lesson 5) The changing content of heritage production over time reflects changing cultural values and related political mandates. Finally,

Lesson 6) Montana's processes of state-directed heritage production demonstrate the dispersed nature of local state authority and governance, especially as it relates to state's abilities to frame place-based identities.

Chapter 5 expands on and supports these common lessons by citing evidence from Chapters 2 through 4.

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CHAPTER 2

MAKING HERITAGE THROUGH MONTANA'S OFFICIAL STATE HIGHWAY

MAPS, 1914-2000

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MAKING HERITAGE THROUGH MONTANA'S OFFICIAL STATE HIGHWAY MAPS, 1914–2000*

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ABSTRACT. We assess Montana highway maps produced between 1914 and 2000 to identify how the Montana Department of Transportation and its predecessors used maps to frame Montana's place identity and heritage for promotional purposes in the twentieth century. After 1934, we document how Montana's official state maps became a key source and shaper of tourist knowledge about the state, its history, and its attractions. Five persistent map themes—territorial identity, mythic West, natural wealth, outdoor recreation, and hospitality—are used to define Montana landscapes and heritage and to shape perceptions of the state. The normative and persuasive powers of Montana highway maps reveal them as premiere examples of a portable and place-defining affective technology used to promote tourism within the twentieth-century American West. *Keywords:* American West, heritage, highway maps, Montana, Tourism.

In the American West, history, myth, and landscape are bound together, producing deeply entrenched place identities. Place identity is multifaceted, with material, ideological, and temporal dimensions (Hanna and others 2004; Blake 2008; Antonisch 2010). A central temporal dimension of place identity is its past, which when selectively edited, packaged, and harnessed to the needs of the present, becomes heritage (Graham 2002; Hanna and others 2004). Place identity and heritage are constructed and disseminated to a public stage through cultural texts, including landscape, literature, and, significantly, maps. Whether pulled from a glove compartment for consultation during a road trip or pinned to a wall at home, maps are cultural texts that do several kinds of work. For millions of modern motorists, highway maps became widely embraced navigational tools (Akerman 2002). Through the visual and textual rhetoric of their cartography, imagery, and text, however, highway maps also convey hegemonic narratives about the places they depict. In that sense, the work of maps is persuasive, channeling the forms and framings of place (Del Casino and Hanna 2000).

From 1914 to the present, the Montana Department of Transportation (MDOT) and its predecessors published and distributed the state's official highway maps. These maps made their way into the hands of millions of Montana residents and tourists, playing a significant role in framing Montana place identity. This article explores how these maps helped construct Montana's place

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identity during the twentieth century. It does so through examining how maps produced from 1914–2000 convey Montana heritage, and proposes five themes central to the construction of Montana heritage. The years 1914 and 2000 bracket this study because they illuminate the uses of highway maps as promotional tools in the twentieth century American West. Furthermore, they carry symbolic weight in Montana’s cartographic history: 1914 marks the first year the state of Montana produced a highway map, and 2000 is the first year Montana maps were made using computerized geographic information systems (GIS). By taking a historical perspective, we illuminate key actors involved with the highway map program critical in developing these themes.

Following Vincent Del Casino and Stephen Hanna (2000), we recognize the power of maps to produce normative geographical spaces and extend this logic to understand maps as producers of heritage spaces, or those spatial framings that package and repackage dimensions of the past to serve particular agendas. Montana’s highway maps serve as tools of tourism promotion by projecting prepackaged visions of Montana to a wide audience.

Understanding maps as emergent cultural texts has produced a burgeoning literature. Since the 1980s, scholarship in critical cartography questions map neutrality and assumes its role as a semiotic text imbued with political agendas (Harley 1989a, 1989b; Monmonier 1991; Wood 2010). Our research engages with critical cartography’s focus on emergent processes of identity formation and the map (Del Casino and Hanna 2000). Furthermore, we also contribute to ongoing discussions on promotional maps as forces of twentieth-century economic development in the American West (Wyckoff 1988, 2016; Waggener 2003). Our examination of Montana highway maps is a unique case study contributing to understanding the sources and shapers of Montana place-based heritage. It examines maps as a form of visual culture often overlooked in defining the American West as a tourist destination. It extends previous work in western tourism promotion by emphasizing how government institutions engaged in promoting western landscapes and places (Rothman 1998; Wrobel and Long 2001; Wrobel 2002). Our longitudinal approach to Montana maps produced throughout the twentieth century offers a methodological and thematic road map for further studies into government-directed promotion in the American West and beyond. Finally, in examining how Montana’s official state highway maps use cartography, imagery, and text to present selective visions of Montana and its heritage, we contribute to recent scholarship in heritage studies because we consider maps as affective technologies (Tolia-Kelly 2017; Dittmer and Waterton 2017). We examine how Montana’s official state highway maps appeal to and guide tourists’ affective encounters with Montana, thus revealing the state’s hegemonic hand in shaping human experience and perception towards Montana’s past and its cultural landscapes.

Our examination of Montana’s state highway map program reveals three key findings. First, it reveals the maps as tools of tourism promotion that

consistently reached a large and geographically far-flung audience. This makes Montana's maps cartographic analogues to James Shortridge's concept of the place-defining novel (1991) in their ability to shape understandings of place.¹ Montana maps thus matter in how their users understood Montana and the West. The millions of tourists who received Montana highway maps were exposed to imagery, text, and cartography conveying deliberately crafted messages about Montana heritage at a variety of scales, including those of state, region, and nation. Second, map production and distribution incorporated and projected the views of numerous state agencies as they promoted Montana to the public. The visual and textual rhetoric of the maps was heavily influenced by contemporary agendas within state institutions. Thus, changes in the maps reflect shifting goals within Montana's state agencies and should be understood as part-and-parcel of the state's larger project of promoting its own socioeconomic development. Finally, the maps consistently present Montana in ways inviting map users to engage with selected activities, places, and landscapes. The maps thus deliberately attempt to channel tourist activities in, and perceptions of, Montana, making them examples of what Dittmer and Waterton (2017) term affective technologies. Heritage scholars have focused on fixed museum displays as affective technologies capable of changing museum visitors' perceptions and behavior (for example, Tolia-Kelly 2017; Dittmer and Waterton 2017). We suggest that official state highway maps are designed to perform similar roles. Unlike museums, maps are cheap to produce and eminently portable, and their taken-for-granted status as utilitarian tools makes them highly normative in their ability to subtly shape place perceptions.

METHODS

Our research employs several methodologies, including document analysis of archival materials and content analysis of the maps and associated promotional materials. These techniques are supported by literature reviews in critical cartography, heritage studies, and histories of tourism and transportation in the American West.

Archival research at the Montana Historical Society Research Center (MHS) in Helena document Montana's official state highway map program from 1914–2000. Correspondence with employees within the MDoT, the Montana Chamber of Commerce, and the Montana Department of Commerce further document the map program's historical evolution. Archival research establishes historical contexts surrounding map production and establishes how Montana highway maps become place-defining texts.

We also examined official Montana highway maps produced between 1914 and 2000. We selected fifty-five maps for analysis based on availability in archives, including the MHS Research Center and the Merrill G. Burlingame archives at Montana State University; maps that were a part of the authors' collections; and maps scanned and made available to the public as high-quality

.pdf documents through an online repository at the MDoT website. While some maps are missing from analysis, the primary gaps occur for maps produced in years prior to public distribution (1915-1921, 1924-1925, and 1927-1933). Another gap occurs from 1980-1984. Despite these gaps, we examine maps produced across a significant time frame, which allows us to draw insights about their role in constructing Montana place identity in the twentieth century. Our primary method of engaging with the maps is content analysis.

Content analysis describes a range of techniques used to analyze cultural texts and can be quantitative or qualitative. In quantitative content analysis, researchers identify themes within a text and count their occurrences (Cope 2011). William Wyckoff and Lary Dilsaver (1997), for example, employ quantitative content analysis to consider railroad company promotional imagery of Glacier National Park. Their content analysis identifies seven themes appearing frequently across railroad promotional imagery. Wyckoff and Dilsaver (1997) demonstrate the utility of quantitative content analysis in the clarity of their thematic findings.

Stephen Schnell and Joseph Reese (2003) note drawbacks of quantitative content analysis. Their findings illustrate how thematic trends within cultural texts overlap, making categorization and quantification difficult. They document the struggle to distinguish between modes of presentation within a single cultural text such as a beer label, citing the difficulty of interpreting all the label's aspects as equal in their ability to present a particular theme. Their solution employs a qualitative content analysis, recognizing the role of subjectivity when engaging with cultural texts.

Montana's highway maps are complex cultural texts, with cartographic and promotional dimensions. Cartographic dimensions include the state map, inset maps, and standard cartographic elements. Promotional dimensions include assorted texts and visual materials, including cover art, governors' letters, photographs, and inset texts describing everything from traffic regulations and recreational opportunities to Montana history and contemporary industries. During initial analysis, questions arose surrounding the practice and efficacy of quantitative content analysis on highway maps. Is the text of a governor's letter equally able to convey a theme as a full-color photograph adorning the map cover? Should an inset map be as central to analysis as the map of the state in its entirety? Furthermore, in Montana maps many themes are overlapping and difficult to categorize. Does a painting of a man fishing a mountain stream better represent Montana's natural wealth or its outdoor recreation? Given these challenges, this research follows precedent established by Schnell and Reese (2003) and others (Tyner 2005; Alderman and Modlin 2013) in using qualitative content analysis to engage with Montana highway maps. Our methods—quantitative content analysis to document the maps' major themes followed by a more subjective and reflective qualitative content analysis that identifies how

these themes change over time—are transferrable to considering other cultural texts produced over long-term time scales.

Our initial content analysis identified major themes within the maps through the frequency of their appearance. Our subsequent approach took a more qualitative turn and embraced the subjective nature of content analysis. To understand how these themes change over time, we examined design elements of the maps, including covers, symbols, slogans, inset maps, and promotional texts and imagery, and we documented how changes to presentation and content shape ways the themes are expressed.

MAKING MONTANA LEGIBLE

The creation of the Montana Highway Commission in 1913 began formal regulation of the state's road network. Assigned with overseeing and managing highways, bridges, and vehicle registration, the Commission's task was daunting. In 1913, Montana's road system was a sparse network of county-maintained mud and gravel tracks (Axline 2012, 2013). Road construction lacked standards; signage was nonexistent or varied according to local governments; and despite their charge of highway management, the Commission had no single map documenting Montana roads.

The Commission's early years standardized Montana's road system. Discussions of signage, vehicle registration, road construction, and funding dominate early Commission reports. These reports establish the Commission's overarching goal: making Montana's roads legible to government employees and the traveling public. A primary tool to achieve this goal was the map. In June 1913, the Commission met with representatives from Montana's counties to collaborate on a state road map. Early county resistance to this effort and delayed data submissions slowed map production. Nonetheless, the Commission's first road map was produced in 1914 with a 15,000-print run during its first two years.

The maps served as reference tools for the state's burgeoning bureaucratic structure. Their print runs parallel those of internally circulated engineering pamphlets produced between 1914 and 1916, suggesting that these maps were first circulated amongst state and local government agencies. From 1914–1933, the Commission kept print numbers and circulation restricted and only distributed to the public on a first come, first serve basis. As late as 1925, public inquiries for highway maps were rebuffed when supplies ran dry. The Commission referred inquirers to private map companies, including Rand McNally (Sullivan 1925).

Early map design suggested they were for internal circulation, not public use. Lacking decorative flourishes, covers, texts, points of interest, or inset maps, maps produced between 1914 and 1933 are no-frills presentations of Montana's road system. Despite spartan appearances and internal circulation, these maps were foundations of the state's highway map program (Figure 1).

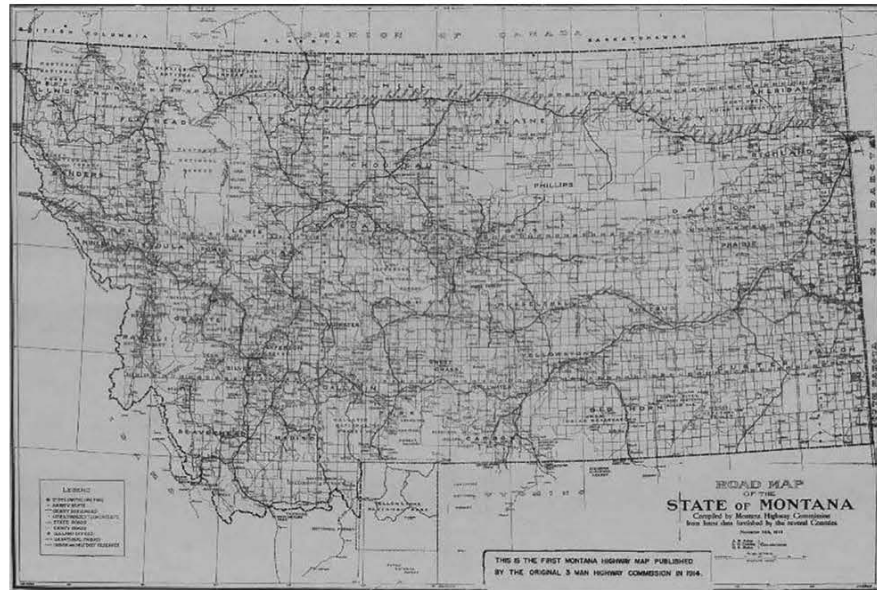


FIG. 1—1914 edition of the Montana map. Reproduced courtesy of the Montana Department of Transportation.

TOURISM, HIGHWAY MAPS, AND THE MONTANA HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT

Lean times, federal largesse, and innovative Highway Department personnel during the 1930s contributed to shifts within Montana's map program and its intended audience. Depression-era Montana was hard-hit by widespread unemployment and drought in its eastern regions. In response, Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs implemented changes to Montana landscapes at unprecedented scales. Montana's Fort Peck Dam was the single largest federal initiative of the New Deal era; Montana's embryonic state park system benefited from Civilian Conservation Corps labor; and Works Progress Administration road construction literally blazed trails for economic opportunities (Axline).

New Montana roads enticed American travelers. Increased automobile tourism paved the way for the Commission to become the principal state agency of tourism promotion, reflective of wider state initiatives in the American West (Akerman 2002). Montana's initial tourism promotion was the responsibility of a few Highway Department personnel. By 1933, highway engineer and amateur historian Robert Fletcher led Highway Department tourism promotion. Fletcher's formative role in promotion took three forms.

First, Fletcher established Montana's historical highway marker program. Beginning in 1933, Fletcher proposed constructing large, visible highway markers to present bite-sized episodes of Montana history. Granted Commission

approval, Fletcher and two other Highway Department employees, including western artist Irvin Shupe, researched, wrote, constructed, and installed large wooden markers that became perennially popular features of Montana's transportation landscapes.² Second, Fletcher established Highway Department port-of-entry stations, where friendly young Montana men welcomed tourists with smiles and promotional materials. From 1935 until their closure in 1958, courtesy station attendants introduced Montana to some seven million tourists (Erickson 1958). Finally, Fletcher recognized opportunities to project Montana beyond its territory through mass distributions of highway maps and other promotional materials (Axline 2008, 2011). Persuaded by Fletcher, the Highway Department contracted with the Chicago-based H. M. Gousha Company to print fifty thousand copies of Montana's first official state highway map for public use.

Archival evidence suggests the map's new promotional elements. In a 1934 meeting the Commission noted that "these maps are similar to those that are published by oil and gas companies but will have no advertising and be changed to suit our needs [...] the Commission emphasized their desire that this supply of maps, when received, would be distributed widely over the state at Chambers of Commerce and commercial clubs, and perhaps with the help of the Montana Automobile Association" (Montana Highway Commission 1934). The Commission copied oil company maps by implementing cover art and promotional text for the first time, deliberately expanding the maps' uses to include place promotion.

Fletcher's and Shupe's authorial voices dominated Commission tourism promotion and the highway map program from 1934–1941. Under their supervision maps became tools promoting Montana. Pamphlets authored by Fletcher and illustrated by Shupe further bolstered promotional efforts. From 1936–1938, Fletcher and Shupe collaborated on promotional booklets celebrating Montana, its landscapes, and its history, including *The New Trail* (1936), *Headin' for the Hills* (1937), and *Picture Writing* (1938). In 1937, the two produced a pictorial "historical map" of Montana history. These were all packaged with highway maps and distributed through mail and at local chambers of commerce.

World War II suppressed Montana tourism. Only one map was produced between 1942 and 1947. After the war, Highway Department tourism promotion gained a formal bureaucratic structure. The 1947 Montana State Legislature funded a State Advertising Unit within the department, tasked with managing tourism promotion programs, including Montana's highway maps.

The State Advertising Unit brought two key changes to the map program. First, it professionalized personnel. New advertising unit hires had formal training in radio, print advertising, and journalism. Early Advertising Directors Rad Maxey, Al Erickson, and Jack Hallowell all had professional backgrounds in advertising, as did early Assistant Directors Doris Stalker and Josephine Brooker. Furthermore, the unit consulted advertising agencies to make

recommendations and expanded operations in accordance with marketing research. Thus, expert input shaped Montana maps beginning in 1948.

Second, the advertising unit developed new outlets for promotion, including film, photography, expositions, pamphlets, and magazine and newspaper articles. One effective media outlet was the Outdoor Writers' Project, a collaborative effort between the advertising unit and the Montana Chamber of Commerce. The project chauffeured outdoor writers and editors on all-expenses-paid tours that included fishing, camping, fine dining, and guided hikes. Their positive experiences appeared in a variety of national and international publications, including *National Geographic*, *Time*, and *Sunset* magazines (Montana Chamber of Commerce 1958). These outlets' messaging complemented the maps and encouraged map distribution through increasing tourist inquiries. The advertising unit consistently saw maps as foundational to promotion efforts. This was reflected in ever increasing map production and distribution. In 1959, the Highway Department produced half a million maps, distributed through mail, at small businesses, and through advertising agencies. By 1964, annual print runs reached three-quarters of a million. By 1966, print runs of one million maps filled mailboxes and appeared at over fifteen hundred venues nationwide.

The advertising unit remained within the MDoT until 1981, when it transferred to the newly created Montana Department of Commerce and was rechristened the Montana Office of Tourism and Development (Iverson 2018). This bureaucratic shuffling led to new structures and practices that shaped map production and distribution. The MDoT remained responsible for updating map cartography and for distribution, but in 1980 private businesses no longer acted as distributors unless they specifically requested maps. Beginning in 1981, maps were produced on a biannual schedule, with one million copies printed the first year and an additional order made the second year if public demand warranted it (Montana Department of Transportation 1980). The MDoT produced maps through traditional cartographic methods until 2000, when it adopted geographic information systems to make more accurate and more easily updated maps (Dye 2000).

This chronological narrative describes the Montana highway map program as a collaborative effort, reflecting inputs from numerous agencies and actors. Private companies like Rand McNally and H. M. Gousha were contracted by the Highway Commission to print materials when demand outstripped the department's printing capabilities. Major state agency collaborators included Montanans, Inc. (a Montana Chamber of Commerce predecessor), the Montana Department of Commerce, Montana governors, the Montana Department of Fish and Game, and the Montana Historical Society (MHS), all of which helped develop the promotional sides of the maps. Their input ranged from authorial contributions, such as governors' letters and photographs, to advisory roles, such as MHS recommendations relating to historical sites. This

chronological narrative also illuminates contexts surrounding the major themes appearing on the maps from 1914–2000.

TERRITORIAL IDENTITY

The most foundational theme in Montana highway maps is their establishment of the state's territorial identity. Montana maps present the state and its relation to other places in ways establishing its territorial boundaries and geographical space. The 1914 map centers Montana, its road networks, and its cartographic elements—such as title and scale—which are conventionally placed and cover the neighboring states of Wyoming and Idaho. The map also includes detailed mapping of all of Yellowstone National Park, most of which lies within Wyoming.

Later maps expand and strengthen Montana's territorial identity through symbols, inset maps, and imagery. In 1934, Montana's state seal appears on map cartography for the first time in six different locations: the compass rose, the legend, and each corner. This perennial motif literally stamps the state's territorial identity on the map. The 1934 map is also significant because it includes the Canadian side of Glacier-Waterton International Peace Park, cartographically connecting Montana to western landscapes crossing international boundaries.

Yellowstone's integration into Montana is reinforced through inset maps and photography depicting park landscapes. Between 1934 and 1956, large inset maps of Yellowstone and Glacier National parks appear on the promotional side of the maps. Montana's state seal serves as a centerpiece to the compass roses shown on inset maps. Beginning in 1952, Montana's ties to Yellowstone National Park are further developed through including photographs and textual descriptions of its spectacular landmarks, including Yellowstone Falls and the Old Faithful geyser, both of which are located in Wyoming.

Depictions of national park landscapes shifted during the 1970s with changes in the visual and textual rhetoric on the promotional side of the map. By 1974, as part of state-wide tourist initiatives spearheaded by the Montana Chamber of Commerce, the promotional side of Montana maps began delineating five distinct "countries" within the state: Glacier, Yellowstone Treasure, Custer, Missouri, and Charlie Russell. Yellowstone National Park and Glacier National Park are presented as defining features of two of these countries—Yellowstone Treasure and Glacier—cementing their integration as quintessential parts of Montana landscapes. Distinct Montana countries were map staples from 1974 until 1999–2000, when they were dropped from the promotional side in favor of large scale inset maps of selected Montana communities.

The theme of territorial identity contributes to Montana heritage because it produces a geographical space that frames the "where" of Montana's heritage. The map frames geographical space within the state and also includes geographical space beyond state boundaries, most notably Yellowstone National

Park and Glacier-Waterton International Peace Park. In doing so, the maps suggest that the national parks are geographical spaces symbolically integral to Montana heritage and establishes them as critical parts of Montana's economic sphere of influence. Additionally, other major heritage themes conveyed by the maps become narratives territorially bound and defined by the state's borders.

MYTHIC WEST

Fletcher and Shope established many heritage themes of Montana highway maps, but one of their clearest contributions was authoring a Montana mythic West. Although the mythic West has many dimensions, the one developed by Fletcher's evocative writing and Shope's colorful and romanticized landscapes fits with nostalgic visions of a disappearing Wild West commemorated in novels, films, and theatrical productions between 1890 and 1930 (Athearn 1986; Christensen 2002; Taylor 2004). Fletcher's status as a prolific amateur historian and western poet are well documented (Axline 2008). These passions converged in writing histories of Montana's Native Americans, explorers, trappers, miners, and pioneers, and in describing Montana as where old timers still tell tall tales. Many historical highway markers reflect these themes, but Fletcher's West is most fully developed in supplementary pamphlets, such as *Headin' for the Hills*, which extolled the virtues of Montanan landscapes, history, and people:

The way to get the local history is to dig up some of the old timers [...] They are getting scarce and they aren't talkative as a rule. [...] The Indian is a Blackfoot, named Lazy Boy. The picture writing on his teepee records battles and brave deeds in which he took part. Lazy Boy doesn't speak English, but like most old time Indians, he can make a deaf mute look like a man in a straightjacket when it comes to sign language. (Montana Highway Commission 1937a, 11)

Fletcher introduces several subthemes of the mythic West found in subsequent maps. Significantly, the mythic West—one defined by individualistic pioneers and miners, stoic Native Americans, and boom-and-bust Wild West towns—is alive but disappearing: Montana old timers persist as relicts of an earlier, more colorful past. Later editions produced through the 1980s echo this sentiment through slogans, including "Montana—out where the West lives on," and Montana as "The Last, Best Place." Fletcher's Native Americans followed established film and dime-novel tropes, presenting them as silent, taciturn, and possessing a reserved warrior ethos. Native Americans appear as guides, a popular trope for promotional maps throughout the American West (Wyckoff 2016).

Language invoking western iconography, including imagery associated with cowboys, robbers, and Indian conflict, permeated promotional texts of maps produced between 1936 and 1941. Governors' letters, first appearing in 1936, identify Montanans as cowboys, prospectors, and old timers; they describe

“throwing a lariat” around Montana scenic beauty; and they proclaim the slogan that Montana is “out where the West lives on.” Shope’s art reflected this language. Between 1936 and 1941, Shope painted mythic West icons and figures, including stagecoaches, covered wagons, and gun-slinging cowboys and Indians (Figure 2).

Clearly, Montana promoters and state officials saw value in commodifying a Romanticized western past as they considered ways to develop and cultivate tourism in the state.

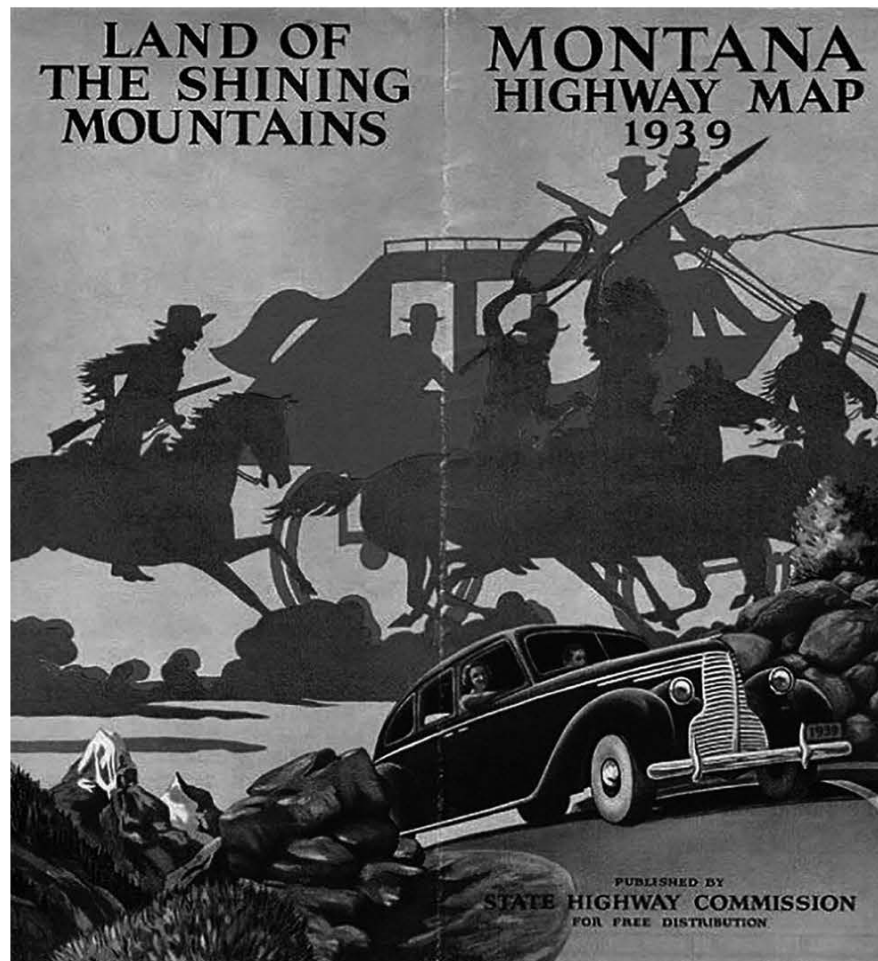


FIG. 2—Back and front cover of the 1939 Montana map. Reproduced from the authors’ collection.

With renewed map production in 1948 mythic West representations took on more subtle characteristics. Between 1948 and 1958, it was represented in photographs of Fletcher's historical highway markers, renowned for presenting historical vignettes colored with Old West flair. By the 1960s, western artist and Montana resident Charles Russell and his paintings and bronzes depicting western landscapes and historical events make frequent appearances on the promotional sides of maps. Russell's works epitomize a mythic frontier experience. Russell's paintings and bronzes are dominated by men, often present Euro-American and Native Americans encounters as a clash of cultures, and his wide open and austere landscapes invoke the visual promise of free land available to the enterprising and rugged American settler. In 1974, Russell, like the national parks, was literally inscribed into Montana's territories through the designation of Charlie Russell Country. Russell's art becomes the primary representation of the mythic West well into the 1980s and 1990s.

The Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806 is a perennial subtheme of the mythic West. Centennial edition maps are most effective at presenting a celebratory vision of the expedition. The 1964 Territorial Centennial cover, for example, is a full color reproduction of Russell's *Lewis and Clark Meeting the Flatheads*, while the 1976 national bicentennial edition features Lewis and Clark in bronze sculpture and incorporates images of their portraits overlooking a Missouri River scene. Their presence in centennial and bicentennial years is significant because their appearance helps situate Montana's past as significant parts of regional American West and national heritage in the United States.

After 1975 the main map adopted cartographic symbology referencing a mythic West. Beginning in 1978, for example, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is blazed across the map through the iconic silhouettes of Lewis and Clark. Blake (2004) suggests that the silhouette—two men, gazing west with one pointing the way as though blazing a trail—is an image that obscures the realities of the expedition. In particular, it hides the reality of indigenous contributions to the Corps' success, and presents North American exploration in white, masculine terms that fails to fully articulate the mosaic of indigenous ethno-linguistic groups who had long occupied the lands the Corps was exploring. Additional historic trails and selected symbols also populate the map. The Nez Perce Historic Autoroute is shown by a lone Native American rider beginning in 1998, while the 2000 map captures historical Montana with ghost town symbols. Ghost towns are iconic features of the American West, often preserved in ways that privilege a boom-and-bust western narrative attractive to visitors seeking an "authentic" western experience (Delyser 1999). Such cartographic conventions make the mythic West persistently legible and normative on Montana landscapes.

NATURAL WEALTH

Attitudes towards nature in the American West are wide ranging, from views that the region's natural resources drive unlimited economic growth to views

that western nature is a unique cultural wellspring helping define American identity (Rothman 1998, 15). Montana maps present a complicated view of nature via images, slogans, descriptions of the state's scenic beauty and charismatic wildlife, and through descriptions of the state's primary industries, most prominently mining and agriculture. These visions present Montana landscapes as a source of broadly defined natural wealth that appeals to an array of map-users, including everything from tourists seeking scenery to would-be Montana entrepreneurs.

Fletcher- and Shope-era maps promoted scenic mountain beauty and mineral wealth through cover art and slogans. Shope set towering mountain peaks as backdrops to map covers. Between 1934 and 1941, scenic beauty is positioned within the western half of the state's geography and is presented as a key place-defining feature. Governor's letters and slogans declare Montana "The Land of Shining Mountains," and tourists are invited to view scenery as though it can be packaged and taken away. The 1941 map declares "We have more scenery than we can handle by ourselves—COME ON OUT AND HELP US LOOK AT IT!" Montana's mineral wealth, meanwhile, is developed through governors' letters alluding to the boom-and-bust cycles of Montana's prospecting past. These references promote Montana's natural wealth in ways that attract tourists seeking intermountain West landscapes and a taste of a frontier past.

Only one map was produced during World War II, but its messages about natural wealth stand out as a spectacular divergence from the maps of the 1930s. The 1942 map is Shope's last art for the Highway Commission (Figure 3).

Lady Liberty stands armed and armored, one hand readied on the hilt of a sword and the other resting on the shoulder of a tall, straight-backed man wearing a trooper's campaign hat. At her feet are miners, ranchers, and engineers. She gazes towards storm clouds topped by armored divisions and battle-ships, and behind her are the iconic headframes of Butte's copper mines and smokestacks. The 1942 map celebrates Montana's heavy industries and suggests the state's central position in providing men and materiel for the war effort. In doing so, it positions Montana within a wider discourse of national patriotism. In this representation of Montana's natural wealth, Montana's raw material wealth—most prominently represented through references to mineral wealth, but also expanded to include Montana men and industrial capabilities—is presented to attract the war-time tourist who seeks to find respite and assurance in Montana landscapes.

The post-war years expand Montana's natural wealth through representing the eastern half of the state and through elaborating on the importance of its primary industries. In the mid-1950s, for example, cover art incorporated photographs of central and eastern Montana landscapes, including Fort Peck Reservoir (1951) and the Judith Basin (1954). These years stand out as exceptions to the trend of presenting Montana's mountains as key examples of the state's

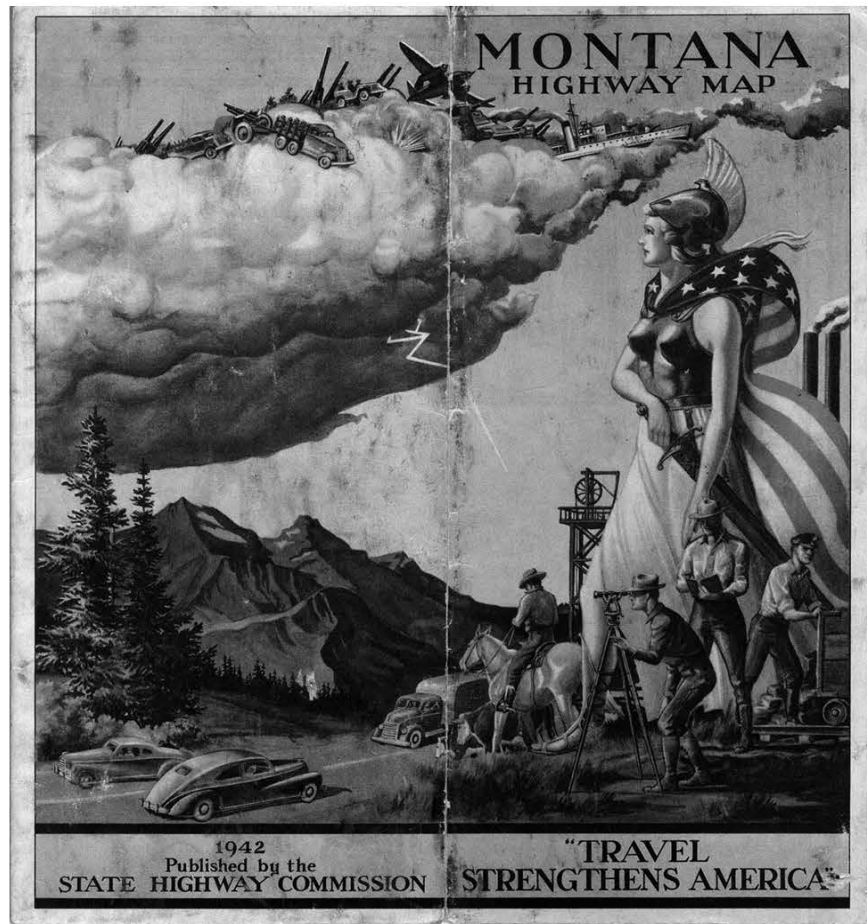


FIG. 3—Back and front cover of the 1942 Montana map. Reproduced from the authors' collection.

scenic beauty. Mountains remained staples of post-war map covers and key features of Montana's place-defining promotional imagery into the 1990s.

The post-war era is notable in its expanded textual descriptions of Montana's major industries and its focus on commoditizing natural resources. Between 1955 and 1978, inset texts titled "The Treasure State" provided overviews of Montana geography, history, and primary industries. Unchanged save for updating the monetary value of industrial output, this inset text endowed Montana with astonishing reserves of valuable natural resources:

In addition to millions of acres of ideal range and cropland, other prominent commodities being utilized for the nation and world are water, copper, timber,

coal, lead, oil, and natural gas. Livestock is by far the most important agricultural product...but Montana is also a leading producer of wheat, barley, hay, and sugar beets. Cash receipts from agricultural production is \$1,168,500,000 while the estimated value of mineral production is \$576,116,000. (Montana Highway Commission 1976)

Descriptions like these suggest and make legible a different type of visitor to Montana landscapes. Rather than invite the vacationing tourist seeking beautiful landscapes, descriptions of Montana industries instead entice the post-war entrepreneur looking to find a suitable location for home and business.

From the late 1970s to the 1990s, inset texts again shifted understandings of natural wealth from its economic dimensions to the value of Montana's scenery. The elimination of the "Treasure State" inset text in 1980 allowed for expansion of the inset tourist regions. In contrast to the earlier focus on mountain landscapes as representative of the entire state, however, each tourism region is presented with its own place-defining attractions. Many are scenic: Glacier and Yellowstone Countries are endowed with national park wonders; Gold West Country is lauded for its mountain passes; Charlie Russell Country celebrates the upper Missouri; Custer Country emphasizes geologic wonders and badlands at Makoshika State Park; and Missouri Country invites visitors to Fort Peck Reservoir. Through emphasizing unique features within each region, Montana's scenic beauty is made more diverse and contrasts with earlier, more selective depictions of the state's mountainous regions. The increased emphasis on diverse Montana landscapes reflects wider impulses towards recognizing the value of vernacular landscapes across the United States and American West.

Natural wealth helps develop Montana's heritage in two ways. First, by presenting Montana's scenic beauty as a central component of the state's natural wealth, it suggests the place-defining beauty of Montana landscapes are distinct from those of other western states. Second, Montana's natural resources are consistently linked to wider economic contexts. Montana's heritage of mining, agriculture, and forestry are persistently presented as critical forces underlying the position of the United States as an economic and geopolitical player on the world stage.

OUTDOOR RECREATION

The theme of outdoor recreation expands on the fundament of Montana's natural wonders. Several subthemes characterize Montana's outdoor recreation, including dude ranching and outdoor sportsmen, family activities, state lands, and four-season vacation opportunities. Each subtheme was developed through cover imagery, slogans, and inset images on the promotional sides of the maps.

Fletcher- and Shope-era maps portrayed fishing and dude ranching as place-defining outdoor recreation opportunities. Shope's cover art prominently featured fishermen and equestrian riders clad in western clothes and Fletcher's promotional pamphlets invite readers to fish Montana waters or learn to ride

horseback with ranch hands. These maps used imagery to cater to a young, white, and affluent middle class. Fishermen, riders, and automobile tourists are depicted as thin, fit, immaculately coiffed and dressed, and driving sleek automobiles.

The post–World War II era heralded changes in ways outdoor recreation was marketed. Maps produced between 1948 and 1952 were devoid of any promotional imagery beyond their cover art, but the 1953 map incorporated inset images on the promotional side depicting landscapes, fishermen, hikers, sightseers, and Montana state parks. Although several of these images were already central motifs of Montana’s outdoor recreation, the addition of hikers and state parks were the first images catering specifically to families and children.

Inset texts bolstered promotional imagery and developed linkages between outdoor recreation and state parks. Inset texts frequently noted fishing and hunting opportunities, and in 1955 three were devoted to discussing hunting, fishing, and state parks. Hunting and fishing information celebrated public lands and their bountiful fish and big game opportunities. State parks, meanwhile, were presented as accessible, fun, and as camping and picnicking areas. Flagship state parks—notably Lewis and Clark Caverns, Missouri Headwaters, and Makoshika—made regular photographic appearances between 1955 and 1973. These changes—catering to families and emphasizing hunting and fishing opportunities, state park lands, and their associated amenities and activities—illustrate how Montana maps kept pace with changing demographics of American tourists. For a rapidly growing, increasingly wealthy, and leisure oriented middle class, shifts in map designs were intended to act as visual guideposts for family vacations in the postwar era (Rothman 1998) (Figure 4).

Another shift in visualizing Montana’s outdoor recreation opportunities occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, when the Highway Department enthusiastically embraced a “Four Season Vacationland” tourism initiative (Brooker 1974). Between 1963 and 1975, the map’s promotional side revolved around a central four-petaled rosette of images, each corresponding to a season. Skiing, riding, and sightseeing across spectacular landscapes are central to the Montana experience. Inset imagery and cover art produced during this period further expanded on these activities by depicting people at play in the Big Sky Country. The change to a year-round tourist season as exemplified by skiing’s position as a centerpiece of Montana maps is reflective of changes to wider rhythms of American West tourism. By the 1960s, ski industries and resorts had expanded beyond early centers such as Sun Valley, Lake Tahoe, and Aspen; the sport’s popularity had risen alongside the United States’ success in winter Olympics events; and technological innovations in ski equipment and infrastructure bolstered the sport’s popularity, explaining its increased presence in the maps’ promotional imagery (Rothman 1998).

Outdoor recreation imagery waned during the late 1970s and into the 1990s as internal tourist regions developed and appeared on the maps. A principal



FIG. 4—Detail from the promotional side of the 1970 Montana map, illustrating Montana's "Four Season Vacationland" tourism initiative. Reproduced from the authors' collection.

cause can be attributed to design changes: outdoor recreation images shrank to accommodate expanded textual descriptions of regions, and images that remained returned to generalized depictions of outdoor activities (Figure 5).

HOSPITALITY

Understanding Montana highway maps as affective technologies is best considered through how a distinct Montanan hospitality is writ onto the maps. Dittmer and Waterton (2017) define affective technologies as those designed to provoke particular affective experiences and shape users' behaviors. Through hospitable invitations, the maps call for engagement with Montana, its landscapes, and people in selective ways. These invitations and depictions of hospitality are taken for granted by map users but nonetheless are central to branding Montana.



FIG. 5—Detail from the promotional side of the 1985-86 Montana map, showing both the state's tourist regions and outdoor recreation. Reproduced courtesy of the Montana Department of Transportation.

Hospitality was first expressed through Fletcher's maps, who considered it a primary way to encourage tourism. Fletcher used the port-of-entry program and highway maps to convey hospitality. At ports-of-entry, young attendants welcomed visitors and offered promotional materials, information, and conversation—often opened with jovial western greetings (Axline 2011). From 1934–1958, station attendants welcomed millions. Their messaging complemented the welcome conveyed by the maps.

Fletcher-era maps and promotional materials reference courtesy stations and Montana hospitality. Fletcher's *Headin' for the Hills* (1937) is a tourist narrative describing the port-of-entry experience, noting its unique welcome. Shope's 1937 cover depicts a smiling cowboy standing at a cabin door, and his welcoming "Come on in Stranger! It's nice to see you!" is emblazoned across the cover. Early governors' letters reify the Montana welcome, declaring it the best feature of Montana life (Montana Highway Commission 1937b). "Real western hospitality" was elaborated by extolling Montana as where "the latch-string is out," where visitors "are not strangers [but] neighbors," and where

ranchers and old timers are “at your service [and] get to know them, and you’ll know the West” (Montana Highway Commission 1936, 1937b, 1940). The hospitable and polite cowboys and old timers depicted in prewar maps deepen Fletcher’s development of a nostalgic mythic West, where a “pastoral past ruled by guns, horses, and chivalrous men [had] the apotheosis of the cowboy as an American knight” (Taylor 2004, 148).

Although the colorful language of Fletcher- and Shope-era maps fades in the postwar era, the welcome remained a part of Montana maps, particularly in governors’ letters and on covers. Governors’ letters welcomed visitors with phrases like “Montana Welcomes You,” and “Welcome to the Big Sky State” (Montana Highway Commission 1958, 1970). The letters’ text, meanwhile, invited users to “appreciate the beauty and solitude of our state,” and to “share our warm western heritage” (Montana Highway Commission 1964, 1970, 1985). These letters contributed towards projecting hospitality, but also consolidated and reified other heritage themes, like those positioning Montana as part of a mythic West imbued with natural wealth.

While governors’ letters are a fixture in many state maps produced in the United States, their presence in Montana highway maps reflects a deliberate MDoT agenda encouraging hospitality as a place-defining aspect of Montana heritage. In a 1958 MDoT meeting, former State Advertising Director Al Erickson stated the power of hospitality to shape tourist perceptions and sell Montana and its history:

[Fletcher and others] tried very desperately to get across to the people coming to the state of Montana the feeling that they were in the old west, that here was a unique state because it wanted you to come and stay and have a good time. And that was the idea I tried to carry out.

Here is a state in the old west that is glad to have you in Montana, HOWDY PARDNER, WE’RE GLAD YOU CAME AND HAVE A GOOD TIME. I know that costs money, but nonetheless how many states have this bit of the old west left, not very many, California has lost it, and all of the coast states have lost it. [...] But in the tourist business you’ve got to see something that the other fellow hasn’t. [...] And we always felt this business of friendliness, friendly state, friendly people, was an ace in the hole, that you can sell friendship as much as you can sell scenery. (Erickson 1958)

In making hospitality place-defining to Montana, highway maps sought to channel Montana tourist perceptions, activities and itineraries—underscoring and reinforcing the persuasive power of the map.

MONTANA HIGHWAY MAPS AT THE MILLENNIUM

By 2000, paper highway maps across the United States saw new competition in GPS units and online mapping services, thus changing their position as tools of place promotion. Paper maps in all forms—from road atlases to oil company

maps to official state highway maps—saw declines in sales and distribution (Akerman 2002). The heyday of the highway map was over, and they thus relinquished some of their ability to shape place identity to other forms of visual media.

In Montana, the spring of 2000 heralded another change. The MDoT published an article in several Montana newspapers announcing that its map was stepping into the twenty-first century by adopting GIS mapping. It noted other changes—including the map's background color, elimination of poorly maintained feeder roads (minor unpaved dirt roads allowing access to remote public and private land), and deleting eighteen dead towns—that would make Montana maps more user-friendly for road tripping tourists.

Montanans responded with passionate rage. Dozens of editorials decried the changes and struck out against the perceived tyranny of the map and its erasure of local history and identity. "It may be immaterial, but somebody is sitting there at my expense and telling me I'm not important enough to identify," one former ghost town resident told the *Great Falls Tribune* (Wilmot 2000, 1a). Another likened the map's routes, edited to eliminate feeder roads, to varicose veins disconnected from surrounding tissue (Lutey 2000). Still others made wry comparisons between the MDoT and authoritarian regimes (Gibson 2000).

In response, the MDoT published apologetic editorials and made map drafts available for public commentary and review. Eventually, four of the initial eighteen towns were restored and several thousand miles of feeder roads retained cartographic legibility. The restoration mollified some—and left advocates for the other now-vanished communities wanting more (Tollefson 2000).

The controversy in 2000 showcases the power of maps in shaping place perception through the rhetoric of cartography, text, and imagery. This episode reveals that highway maps—historically aimed at shaping tourist perceptions towards Montana, its landscapes, and its past—were also intimately linked to Montanans' understandings of home, history, and identity.

Our research identifies the place-based heritage themes Montana highway maps conveyed to twentieth century tourists. The affective technology of the map conveyed five themes—Montana's territorial identity, its ties to a mythic West, its natural wealth, its outdoor recreation, and its hospitality—as consistent place-defining features that channel tourist perceptions of, and engagement with, Montana landscapes.

Our findings also contribute to understanding how heritage is constructed in the American West, because Montana's heritage themes tie into wider regional discourses. Prior to World War II, Montana maps capitalized on images of a nostalgic mythic West and montane beauty. During wartime, maps presented the American West's wealth as key contributors to a patriotic war effort, connecting the West to heritage at the national scale. Following the war, the rise of a booming middle class, which put a premium on leisure, led to increased emphasis on outdoor recreation industries.

Printed in the millions and distributed widely, Montana maps are an informative case study in understanding how American West state governments promoted tourism through the deliberate construction of place identity. All western states in the twentieth century made and distributed highway maps and they all served a similar purpose: to fuel tourist imaginations, to invite and guide travelers through the state, and to help consolidate a sense of shared heritage.

NOTES

¹ Shortridge defines place-defining novels as those meeting one or more of the following criteria: 1) popularity amongst a large audience, 2) critical acclaim, and 3) approval amongst people living within the region the novel presents. Montana highway maps meet the first two criteria.

² The first marker was installed in 1935 near Helena. The program expanded rapidly. By 1959 approximately one hundred markers dotted Montana's western mountainous region. Inactivity during the 1960s and 1970s gave way to the program's full resurrection in 1984. Today there are 251 markers. Historian Jon Axline documents the markers in *Montana's Historical Highway Markers*, 4th ed. (2008).

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CHAPTER 3

THE CHANGING TERRAIN OF HERITAGE AT A MONTANA STATE PARK

Contribution of Authors and Co-Authors

Manuscript in Chapter 3

Author: Robert Briwa

Contributions: Conceived the study, conducted research, and wrote the manuscript.

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HIGHLIGHTS

- Meets calls for North American regional park scholarship in historical geography.
- Documents Montana state park system development and Bannack State Park acquisition.
- Identifies mechanisms and actors of heritage production at Bannack from 1900—Present and connects them to wider national and international contexts.
- Uses Bannack as a case study to understand regional state park development.

ABSTRACT

State parks are an understudied feature of United States cultural landscapes. This article documents the early development of Montana state parks and explores evolving heritage production at Bannack State Park between 1900 and the present. Bannack heritage evolved in six phases, each with a different set of actors, mechanisms, and funding sources. Prior to Bannack's acquisition as a state park, heritage production relied on local mechanisms and actors, including storytelling and commemorative events by civic groups. Local advocacy and fundraising allowed the creation of Bannack State Park, heralding shifts towards state-directed heritage production, heavily reliant on ebbs and flows of funding from state and federal sources. Increased state and federal funding permitted consolidated visions of state-directed heritage that demonstrate processes of symbolic accretion. Decreased funding drove formal public-private partnerships and more dispersed processes of heritage production. This research demonstrates how North American regional park systems are bound into the construction of place-based heritage.

KEYWORDS: state parks; heritage; ghost town; Montana; American West.

Bannack ghost town is a flagship unit in Montana's state park system. Even prior to its acquisition by the state government in 1954, Bannack was a landscape around which place identities coalesced. After its acquisition and incorporation into Montana's

state park system, Bannack is best understood as an institutionalized heritage site, where heritage experiences are rendered through deliberate landscape management practices and interpretative efforts to convey a privileged narrative.¹ At Bannack, this process occurred through the actions of diverse actors throughout the twentieth century, all of whom invested the site with overlapping meanings through mechanisms such as stories, commemorative plaques, performances, and park management and interpretation. I investigate how these mechanisms represent strategies of heritage production, a historical process that creates and maintains ownership over a selectively edited version of the past.² Heritage is foundational to creating and maintaining identity, belonging, and citizenship, and it is malleable to wider socioeconomic impulses, for actors in the present select “an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future.”³ Bannack’s imagined past consistently revolves around the site’s symbolic and historical significance as a boisterous, boom and bust mining community with deep ties to the earliest days of Montana Territory.

This paper seeks to explain the historical roots of Bannack’s symbolic and historical significance and its development as a key heritage site within the Montana state park system. To do so, it reconstructs the historical contexts of Montana’s state park system and considers processes of heritage production at Bannack State Park. A literature

¹ D. Crouch, Affect, heritage, feeling, in: E. Waterton and S. Watson (Eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, London, 2015, 177—190.

² D. Harvey, Heritage pasts and heritage presents: temporality, meaning, and the scope of heritage studies, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, 4 (2001) 319—338; A. Grydehøj, Uninherited heritage: tradition and heritage production in Shetland, Åland, and Svalbard, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, 1 (2010) 77—89.

³ J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester, 1996; L. Di Pietro, R.G. Mugion, and M.F. Renzi, Heritage and identity: technology, values and visitor experiences, *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 13, 2 (2018) 97—103.

review places this work within its larger research contexts found at the intersections of parks and protected lands research and heritage production. Archival research reconstructs the development and management of Montana's state park system and connects it to its wider national contexts. The bulk of the paper employs archival research, site visits, and correspondence with park employees to document and reflect on changing mechanisms and actors at work in processes of heritage production at Bannack State Park. The paper proposes that Bannack State Park demonstrates six interpretative eras. Each era highlights a particular mode of actors and mechanism of heritage production. These interpretative eras (1900—1952; 1953—1954; 1955—1971; 1972—1989; 1989—2000; 2001—present) are reflective of wider North American socioeconomic impulses, political mandates, and heritage production mechanisms, but also demonstrate the vital role of local actors in park management and heritage production. This research presents an empirically rich case study to highlight how a particular form of park landscape—the state or regional ghost town park—contributes to the formation of regional identity in the American West.

CONNECTING RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES ON PARKS AND HERITAGE

Recent parks and protected lands research is a broad and eclectic arena. Diverse fields, including landscape architecture, tourism and leisure studies, urban studies, public history, cultural resource management, environmental history, and geography meet in parks' common grounds.⁴ Parks offer exemplary case studies in developing new insights

⁴ Focused on national parks, the publication *George Wright FORUM* demonstrates the interdisciplinary breadth of parks research, bringing together voices ranging from public historians and cultural resource managers to environmental historians and geographers. See, for example, R. Kimmel, The value of historic and cultural resources in public parks, *The George Wright FORUM* 19 (2002) 57—62; and L. Ostola, Park

about crosscutting research themes. Geographers conduct diverse parks research at scales ranging from individual parks in urban areas to entire national park systems.⁵ This article draws on, and contributes to, research themes within historical geography examining the origins, management, and meanings of rural parks and protected lands.⁶

Bannack State Park offers transferrable insights to other geographic and conceptual settings and contexts. First, Bannack is a form of parks landscape—the state or the provincial park—found across North American international boundaries. Canada possesses a robust provincial park system, while all fifty U.S. states administer diverse state park systems. Collectively, these state and provincial park landscapes are often framed as second tier to national parks systems.⁷ Nonetheless, they draw millions of

Canada's national historic sites: past, present, and future, *The George Wright FORUM* 27 (2010) 161—169; M. Fiege, Toward a history of environmental history in the national parks, *The George Wright FORUM* 28 (2011) 128—147; and T. Young, “Green and shady camps”: E.P. Meinecke and the restoration of America's public campgrounds, *The George Wright FORUM* 31 (2014), 69—76.

⁵ On reviews of, and calls for, urban park research, see J. Byrne and J. Wolch, Nature, race and parks: past research and future directions for geographic research, *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (2009) 743—765; for national parks research, see L. Dilsaver, Research perspectives on national parks, *Geographical Review* 99 (2009) 268—278. In an introduction to a special issue, L. Dilsaver and T. Young, U.S. parks and protected areas: origins, meanings, and management, *Historical Geography* 35 (2007) 7—11 consider U.S. parks landscapes more broadly. G. Wynn, C. Colten, R. Wilson, M. Melosi, M. Fiege, and D. Davis, Reflections on the American environment, *Journal of Historical Geography* 43 (2014) 152—168, meanwhile, summarize parks and protected lands scholarship within the context of North American historical geography and environmental history.

⁶ L. Dilsaver and T. Young, U.S. Parks and protected areas. Representative works by scholars examining the origins of state park systems include A. Culverwell, State parks are rich in history, *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 45 (1954) 85—90; F. Tilden, *The State Parks: Their Meaning in American Life*, New York, 1962. E. Richardson, The civilian conservation corps and the origins of the New Mexico state park system, *Natural Resources Journal* 6 (1966) 248—267; A.R. Coggins, The early history of Tennessee's state parks, 1919—1956, *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 43 (1984) 295—315; T. Cox, *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest*, Seattle, 1988; ; T. Cox, Before the casino: James G. Scrugham, state parks, and Nevada's quest for tourism, *Western Historical Quarterly* 24, 3 (1993) 332—350, 333; T.M. Mielnik, *New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks*, Columbia, 2011; and N.C. Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America: A Critical Review*, Columbia, 2004.

⁷ See, for example, R. Conrad, The national conference on state parks: reflections on organizational genealogy, *The George Wright FORUM* 14, 4 (1997) 28—43 for a discussion of how initial planning for state parks envisioned them as ‘second tier’ sites to the U.S. national parks system. Within Canadian

visitors annually and are a critical yet sporadically examined form of cultural landscape, particularly in North American settings.⁸ This paper contributes to a growing literature on state and provincial parks in two ways. First, it examines and documents the rise of the Montana state park system and frames it within its development within wider national and North American contexts.⁹ Second, it contributes to a growing literature found within historical geography and cognate fields, including history and environmental historical geographies, that considers ways state and provincial parks consolidate identity.¹⁰

Bannack's wealth of empirical data relating to parks management and heritage production make it a particularly legible case study in identifying how larger

contexts, see A. Keeling and G. Wynn, "The park...is a mess": development and degradation of British Columbia's first provincial park, *BC Studies* 170 (2011) 119—150.

⁸ Canada's provincial park system has sporadic coverage, and scholars note a dearth of literature on the historical development and significance of provincial parks and equivalent systems, including the United States' diverse state park systems. See, for example, J. Clayton, B. Bradley, and G. Wynn, Introduction: One hundred years of struggle: the ongoing effort to establish provincial parks and protected areas in British Columbia, *BC Studies* 170 (2011) 5—15, where the authors note that Canada's provincial system is "not the focus of a great deal of academic scholarship" (5). A. Keeling and G. Wynn, The park is a mess, suggest the lack of provincial parks scholarship is mirrored by literature on United States' state parks system.

⁹ Representative works by scholars examining the origins of state park systems include A. Culverwell, State parks are rich in history, *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 45 (1954) 85—90; E. Richardson, The civilian conservation corps and the origins of the New Mexico state park system, *Natural Resources Journal* 6 (1966) 248—267; A.R. Coggins, The early history of Tennessee's state parks, 1919—1956, *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 43 (1984) 295—315; T. Cox, *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest*, Seattle, 1988; ; T. Cox, Before the casino: James G. Scrugham, state parks, and Nevada's quest for tourism, *Western Historical Quarterly* 24, 3 (1993) 332—350, 333; T.M. Mielnik, *New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks*, Columbia, 2011.

¹⁰ G. Hoskins, A place to remember: scaling the walls of Angel Island immigration station, *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004) 685—700; W. O'Brien, The strange career of a Florida state park: uncovering a Jim Crow past, *Historical Geography* 35 (2007) 160—184; W. O'Brien, State parks and Jim Crow in the decade before *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Geographical Review* 102 (2012) 166—179; L. Smith, Democratizing nature through state park development, *Historical Geography* 41 (2013) 207—223 and G. Hoskins, Gold vs grain: oblique ecologies of hydraulic mining in California, in: G. Buckley and Y. Youngs (Eds), *The American Environment Revisited: Environmental Historical Geographies of the United States*, Lanham, 2018, 217—234.

socioeconomic and political forces influence park landscapes as well as to how North American state and regional parks serve as regional heritage spaces.

As a state park, Bannack is also a protected ghost town. Like parks, ghost towns attract an inter- and trans-disciplinary community of scholars. “Ghost towns,” broadly defined, are completely depopulated communities. They have many forms, ranging from Chinese ghost cities to emptied Newfoundland fishing villages to abandoned mining communities. Bannack represents a mining ghost town, which constitute key tourist destinations and are distinct cultural landscape features found in various international settings. This paper focuses on the cultural significance of mining ghost towns, a topic explored by geographers and others in the American West; North America; and in Australia.¹¹ Tourism scholar Warwick Frost suggests that ghost towns associated with gold rushes (such as Bannack) exhibit shared characteristics of heritage interpretation that focus on a colorful, optimistic, and exhilarating 19th century past.¹² Bannack State Park reflects some of these wider international trends in its mechanisms of heritage production, but it also provides a legible example of wider heritage themes, such as settler-colonial claims and the creation of Euro-American political spaces in indigenous territories.

¹¹ Representative examples of this literature include D. DeLyser, Authenticity on the ground: engaging the past in a California ghost town, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 (1999) 602—632, who examines how North American ghost towns are made ‘authentic’ in tourist experiences through state-directed management; P. Ballantyne, Unsettled country: reading the Australian ghost town, *Journal of Australian Studies* 25 (2001) 33—38, who examines the place of ghost towns in Australian national identity and as tourist sites; and B. Prideaux and D. Timothy, From mining boom towns to tourist haunts: the ghost town lifestyle, in: M.V. Conlin and L. Jolliffe (Eds) *Mining Heritage and Tourism: A Global Synthesis*, London, 2010, 227—238 explore how mining communities are transformed into ghost towns and/or re-developed as tourist sites.

¹² W. Frost, From diggers to baristas: tourist shopping villages in the Victorian gold fields, *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 13, 2 (2006): 136-143.

Diverse actors invest state and regional park landscapes with selective historical significance, and Bannack State Park is no exception. Investigating this process and documenting its changes intersects with post-2000 scholarship situated at the nexus of heritage and geography, which coalesces around five interrelated themes. These include museums and the presentation of heritage; dissonances and pluralities of heritage; how heritage shapes place images and marketing; commemoration and memorialization; and social memory and its construction.¹³ This article draws on and contributes to geographical work in heritage studies examining research themes in commemoration and memorialization and social memory and its construction. Following work by Derek Alderman and Owen Dwyer, it understands Bannack as a commemorative landscape, where histories and ideologies are given voice through the inscription and re-inscription of memory into place through processes of heritage production.¹⁴ Bannack's heritage production begins with local actors but ultimately becomes representative of a state government-directed heritage production, mobilized as one part of a larger project of consolidating Montana identity. My finding suggest state-directed heritage production at Bannack consistently relies on alliances with non-state government actors to do the work of investing the site with meaning. Bannack State Park how demonstrates how dominant, conservative ideological impulses such as American exceptionalism or Euro-American

¹³ E. Waterton and S. Watson, Heritage as a focus of research: past, present, and new directions, in: E. Waterton and S. Watson (Eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, London, 2015, 1—17. Each of these five themes have rich literatures. For a representative sample of recent discussions on these five themes, see the edited volume of essays by D.P. Tolia-Kelly, E. Waterton, and S. Watson (Eds) *Heritage, Affect, and Emotion: Politics, Practices, and Infrastructures*, London, 2017.

¹⁴ See O.J. Dwyer and D.H. Alderman, Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors, *GeoJournal* 73, 3 (2008) 165—178 for an overview of the different conceptual lenses geographers and others have used to analyze commemorative landscapes.

settler colonialism are inscribed into institutionalized heritage sites. These findings contribute to recent discussions within historical and environmental geographies and heritage studies by documenting the processes underlying the transformation of Bannack from a deindustrialized mining landscape into a heritage landscape.¹⁵

THE MAKING OF THE MONTANA STATE PARKS SYSTEM

The State Parks Movement in the United States, 1900—1925

The opening decades of the twentieth century were a critical era for formation of North American provincial and state park systems.¹⁶ Demands for park development cut across North American society. Progressive conservationists were particularly vociferous in calls to connect increasingly mobile urban working classes to scenic, wild landscapes.¹⁷ Demands for parks came from populous regions far removed from national parks.¹⁸ Within the United States, federal institutions such as the National Park Service (hereafter NPS), viewed state parks serving as second tier to national parks. Early NPS director Stephen Mather, for example, saw state parks as a way to absorb the influx of

¹⁵ See J. Peyton, Abandonment issues: producing industrial heritage landscapes at the São Domingos mine, *Arcadia* 32 (2017) for a discussion of the possibilities of producing many visions of industrial heritage at mining sites; see G. Hoskins, Gold versus grain for alternative discourses at a California state historic park.

¹⁶ R. Conrad, The national conference; J. Clayton, B. Bradley, and G. Wynn, One hundred years of struggle.

¹⁷ Early twentieth-century conservation grew out of the confluence of a variety of factors, including (but not limited to) the new and rapid expansion of automobile ownership, social welfare reform movements, and the alliance of Progressive-era elites with urban working classes. See, for example, R. Chiles, Working-class conservationism in New York: Governor Alfred E. Smith and ‘The property of the people of the state,’ *Environmental History* 18 (2013) 157—183 for an overview of the rise of United States’ conservation movements in first decade of the twentieth century. In Canada, conservationists were more concerned with rapid deforestation and mining operations, and sought to commodify forested landscapes for an affluent middle class. See, for example, P. Young, Creating a “natural” asset: British Columbia’s first park, Strathcona, *BC Studies* 170 (2011) 17—39.

¹⁸ F. Tilden, *The State Parks*; N.C. Landrum, *The State Park Movement*.

national park proposals from local and state actors that inundated the service. For Mather, state parks offered a way to accommodate advocacy for parks that, if accepted, undermined the grandeur and significance of the national park system. In both Canada and the United States, meanwhile, provincial and state governments saw parks as opportunities to appease the public and to exert stronger control over natural resources, including lumber, water, and wildlife.¹⁹

The first U.S. national conference on parks in 1921 drew an eclectic group of state, federal, and local actors. Organized by the NPS and held in Iowa, its central discussions included rationales for state parks and their implementation, and the intended role of the NPS in developing state park systems. By 1925, nearly every state had state parks or voices raised in support of establishing them, though western and southern states lagged behind.²⁰

Montana's Early State Parks

Montana's early state park system followed western and southern patterns of late development and found its nucleus in local advocacy and federal largesse.²¹ Select groups across Montana clamored for state parks. Local Kiwanis Club chapters sought parks for their perceived health benefits, while local chambers of commerce saw potential economic gains from close proximity to parks. Within Montana state government, state forester Rutledge Parker saw parks as a means to expand recreation on Montana public

¹⁹ See R. Conrad, the national conference; J. Henneberger, State park beginnings, *The George Wright FORUM* 17, 3 (2000) 10—19. Parallel movements and rationales were occurring in Canadian contexts: see P. Young, Creating a “natural asset.”

²⁰ Conrad, The national conference; For western states' late development, see T. Cox, Before the casino: James G. Scrugham; for southern states, see T.M. Mielnik, *New Deal, New Landscape*.

²¹ D. Conklin, *A History of the Development of the State Park Idea: The Montana Experience*, Helena, 1977.

lands. Parker organized the political weight of local groups behind his own advocacy. By 1929, their combined voices resonated with the state legislature and succeeded in creating the legal framework of Montana state park system. The governor appointed Parker as the first state parks director. Montana law made state parks a possibility, but their establishment was far from assured. Parks received no state funds, land, or personnel. For the next eight years, Montana parks were Parker's goal but not a reality.

National and local impulses converged in producing Montana's first state parks. Like other states, the Great Depression devastated Montana's economy, but conditions worsened when drought in eastern Montana exacerbated widespread unemployment. In response, Roosevelt's New Deal programs transformed Montana landscapes at unprecedented scales. New Deal initiatives built Montana roads, allowing improved access to public lands and connecting rural communities to larger markets and tourism opportunities. The Works Project Administration (WPA) sank over \$100 million into constructing Fort Peck Dam on the Missouri River. Upon completion in 1940, the dam and its reservoir were ripe for outdoor recreation. Furthermore, Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps established across Montana expanded the state's public infrastructure. By 1936, nearly two thousand young men worked in twenty-one Montana CCC camps.²² For Rutledge Parker, CCC labor and continued local advocacy refreshed the Montana state parks movement.²³

²² Margaret Best to Governor Holt, 26 May 1936, Montana Governors' Records, 1865—1962, Montana Historical Society Research Center, Helena [hereafter MHS].

²³ Rutledge Parker to Commissioner Brandjord, 27 May 1936, Montana's Governor's Records, 1865—1962, MHS. In this Parker followed typical patterns of park development. A rich body of popular and academic publications emphasizes the role of the CCC in developing state parks. See, for example, J. Henneberger, *State park beginnings*, which emphasizes the transformative role of the CCC in state park systems across the United States. For selected book length case studies highlighting individual states and

Parker pushed parks in at least six sites near CCC camps, including Beaver Creek, Bad Lands, Piney Buttes, Missouri Headwaters, Fort Benton, and Morrison Caves. Morrison Caves, a site in southwest Montana managed by the NPS and Northern Pacific Railroad, was transferred to state control. Rechristened Lewis and Clark Caverns, it became Montana's first state park in 1937.²⁴ The creation of Lewis and Clark Caverns State Park sparked further local advocacy for parks across the state. The Montana State Park Commission (established by the 1939 Montana Legislature) reviewed numerous applications for parks. At the Commission's first meeting in December 1939, for example, delegates from Fort Benton in central Montana, and Virginia City and Three Forks (both in southwest Montana) clamored for state parks.²⁵ A lack of funding and the United States entry to World War II, however, temporarily stymied acquisition and development.

Following the war, the State Park Commission acquired several parks across the state in quick succession. In northwest Montana, residents at Flathead Lake donated two units. In northeastern Montana, local communities at Fort Peck Reservoir donated two more. In north central Montana, Havre's Chamber of Commerce worked with the State Park Commission in developing Beaver Creek as Montana's largest state park to that date. Seven thousand Montanans showed up for Beaver Creek's inauguration, suggesting the increasing visibility of the park system as a whole. Despite rapid expansion, the State

park systems, see T.M. Mielnik, *New Deal, New Landscape* for South Carolina; and C.A. Brandimarte and A.S. Reed, *Texas State Parks and the CCC: The Legacy of the Civilian Conservation Corps*, Austin, 2013.

²⁴ K. Karsmizki, The Lewis and Clark Caverns: politics and the establishment of Montana's first state park, *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 31 (1981): 32—45.

²⁵ State Parks Commission meeting minutes, 4 December 1939, Montana's Governor's Records, 1865—1963, MHS.

Park Commission faced financial obstacles in acquiring and managing parks. By 1952, for example, the Commission faced budgetary crises so acute that it reduced staff from nineteen to four and withdrew several park units from operation.²⁶ In 1953, the Montana Legislature dissolved the State Parks Commission when its budget hit rock bottom. Its responsibilities transferred to the Highway Department, where revenue streams from state gasoline taxes would facilitate financing park development.²⁷

Montana's early state park development articulates the challenges facing many state park systems across the United States, especially in the American West. In cash strapped states such as Montana, New Deal federal largesse aided early state park acquisition, but ultimately financial difficulties meant the first state park units represented advocacy and donations by private citizens and local community groups. Bannack State Park is a particularly legible example of local advocacy playing a critical role in the establishment of state parks.

BANNACK

Located twenty miles west of Dillon, MT, Bannack was the setting for three interrelated episodes in Montana's early Euro-American history. In 1862, a gold strike on Grasshopper Creek sparked astonishing population growth typical of boomtowns across the American West. Two years later, Bannack became the first capital of Montana Territory (Figure 1). Later that year, Bannack saw widely publicized vigilante lynching

²⁶ State Park Commission Report to the Governor, October 1950, Montana's Governor's Records, 1865—1963, MHS, 3.

²⁷ D. Conklin, *A History of the Development of the State Park Idea: The Montana Experience*, 1977.

made in response to bandit assaults along stagecoach routes linking early white settlements in Montana and Idaho Territory. Once the placer gold played out, Bannack's boom days ended, and the population peaked in 1864. Despite short-lived population revivals thanks to minor mining activities throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Bannack was largely defunct by the opening decade of the twentieth century.²⁸

Early Heritage at Bannack and Prelude to a State Park, 1900—1952

The earliest form of heritage production associated with Bannack included Dillon-based storytelling groups and recurring newspaper columns that published Bannack stories. Former Bannack residents were key players contributing to these efforts. They recounted memories of Bannack during the boom days and connected these memories to Bannack history. Tropes of these tales included conflict with indigenous peoples, the hanging of accused robbers, or striking it rich in placer mining. These stories serve two purposes. First, they articulate how local impulses drove heritage narratives surrounding Bannack that are foundations to subsequent interpretative efforts. Transmitted orally or in newsprint, these local stories represent a foundational yet selective narrative reified and built upon in subsequent interpretative efforts at Bannack. Second, close reading of published versions of these stories reveal heritage narratives representative of settler colonial claims to territory in the American West.²⁹ Many stories positioned pioneers as authentic and original inhabitants of southwest Montana, solidifying their claims to the

²⁸ M. Sherfy, Bannack State Park, a gate in time, *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 49, 3 (1999) 92—93.

²⁹ See D. Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West*, Lawrence, 2002 for an expanded discussion of the role of memory in the creation of pioneer identity.

region while simultaneously erasing any historical recognition of indigenous peoples within the region.

By 1925, another set of actors contributed to heritage narratives at Bannack. Members of Dillon-based chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) placed a series of historical markers and a bronze plaque at Bannack. These markers highlighted Bannack's role as territorial capital, its mineral wealth, and the vigilante arrest and lynching of Bannack sheriff Henry Plummer, a suspected outlaw accused of numerous murders. Furthermore, they represent a material form of heritage production that helps establish Bannack as an official commemorative landscape.³⁰ At the D.A.R. dedication ceremony, the historical markers and plaque framed Bannack in ways that presented its heritage as a larger expression of American nationalism. American flags provided backdrop to the unveiling of a bronze plaque while the national anthem played. State legislators and historians made speeches that identified Bannack as a place where Montana's patriotic pioneers transformed a chaotic and lawless wilderness into American civilization (Figure 2).³¹ The D.A.R.'s interpretative efforts present Bannack as integral to westward frontier expansion and identify this process as foundational to the triumphal construction of American empire. In positioning Bannack history as an essential part of

³⁰ See S. Fuchs, History and heritage of two Midwestern towns: a toponymic-material approach, *Journal of Historical Geography* 48 (2015) 11—25 for a discussion of how monuments, even those constructed by civic groups such as New Ulm's Sons of Hermann lodge, are representative of official historical discourses. At Bannack, D.A.R. actions reveal a parallel process of coalescing a common, triumphalist narrative through the medium of commemorative plaques.

³¹ *The Dillon Examiner*, Historical old Bannack is marked, 2 September 1925, 1, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn85053034/1925-09-02/ed-1/seq-13> last accessed 1 February 2019.

national heritage, the interpretative efforts of the Dillon D.A.R. reflect larger patterns and rationales behind similar D.A.R. commemorations across the United States.³²

(Fig. 2)

Creating Bannack State Park, 1953—1954

Throughout the 1940s, Dillon civic groups discussed acquiring and preserving Bannack as a historic site and memorial tribute to Montana's pioneers. Plans stalled due to continued mining by the I.B. Mining Company. In 1953, the company declared bankruptcy and put its Bannack properties up for sale. The company sold much of the town site to Bannack resident C.W. Stallings for \$1100. The sale sparked renewed calls for Bannack preservation.

The Dillon D.A.R., led by Elfreda Woodside, saw the sale as an opportunity to acquire Bannack for the state. Woodside, also founder of the Beaverhead History Museum, approached Stallings with the offer to purchase Bannack. Stallings agreed and sold twenty-six structures to the Museum Association for \$1100, secured on loan from a local bank. Collective donations of some one hundred and fifty Dillon residents, businesses, and civic groups repaid the loan within the year.³³ Its debts paid, the Beaverhead Museum Association donated its Bannack properties to State Park Director Ashley Roberts. Bannack's inaugural celebration and formal entry to Montana's state park system occurred between 13—15 August 1954 (Figure 3).

³² See F. Morgan, Regions remote from revolutionary scenes: regionalism, nationalism, and the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution, 1890-1930, *The Annals of Iowa* 56, 1 (1997) 46—79 for an examination of how the DAR participated in the construction of national identity in interior U.S. states. See N. Johnson, Cast in stone: monuments, geography, and nationalism, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13, 1 (1995) for a broad overview of the role of monuments in the formation of national identity.

³³ Museum Association meeting minutes, November 1953, Beaverhead Museum Association Records, Beaverhead County Museum.

(Fig. 3)

The three-day inauguration celebration is a significant episode in heritage production at Bannack. The Museum Association invited D.A.R. chapters from across the state and extended invitations to pioneer residents who were living in Montana in 1868. Dillon residents held an inaugural ball; hundreds volunteered in eight episodes of a historical pageant performed at Bannack; local university groups wore nineteenth century costume and served concessions to Bannack visitors; and Montana governor Hugo Aronson and assorted state bureaucrats gave speeches citing Bannack's critical role in establishing Montana government. Dillon newspapers reprinted stories first published in the opening decades of the twentieth century and featured articles on the few surviving Bannack residents.

These inauguration activities display heritage production as it occurs through performance. Performances at heritage sites immerse both performers and audience into experiencing a meaningful heritage experience, and they highlight the historical identity of places.³⁴ The performances at Bannack, particularly the historical pageant and speeches, are representative of a form of public drama designed to consolidate a sense of identity grounded in a sense of a shared and moral historical past. The Bannack pageant (performed by students and professors from Dillon's Western Montana College of Education) and speeches focused on themes of Euro-American exploration and settlement

³⁴ See J. Tivers, Performing heritage: the use of live actors in heritage presentations, *Leisure Studies* 21 (2002) 187—200 for a discussion of how performances immerse both actors and audience into heritage experiences. See O.J. Dwyer and D.H. Alderman, Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors, for a discussion of various conceptualizations of performances. I employ performance in the literal sense, where bodily performances serve as a display of collective memories.

of a wilderness landscape and the transformation of lawless landscapes into an ordered and just society. Moreover, these performances—dominated by local elites and state-level bureaucrats and leadership—represent a continuation of conservative heritage narratives that reify the status-quo of those heritage narratives of the early twentieth century.³⁵

Bannack's acquisition also highlights the critical role local advocates played in the United States state park movement. At Bannack, local civic groups such as the D.A.R. and Beaverhead Museum Association and individuals such as Elfreda Woodside were driving forces behind acquiring the site and donating it to a cash strapped state park commission. Other Dillon businesses and residents were critical sources of funding for park acquisition. Furthermore, the acquisition and inauguration demonstrate a form of commemoration that geographer Owen Dwyer calls symbolic accretion.³⁶ At Bannack, state-directed visions of Bannack's significance in the formation of Montana as a political entity built on, and were appended to, heritage themes developed by earlier actors, including those told by former Bannack residents and the patriotic narratives developed by the D.A.R.

Neglect of Bannack Heritage, 1955—1971

Numerous issues at Bannack challenged cohesive state management during the park's early years. These included complications associated with private ownership of properties within park boundaries, funding deficits, and a lack of personnel. Their

³⁵ See M. Woods, Performing power: local politics and the Taunton pageant of 1928, *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, 1 (1999) 57—74 for a discussion of the role pageants had in consolidating national identity in Britain. Woods cites the use of pageants by local elites to retain their position in rural British communities.

³⁶ O.J. Dwyer, Symbolic accretion and commemoration, *Social and Cultural Geographies* 5, 3 (2004) 419—435.

cumulative impact was the neglect and physical deterioration of Bannack's historic structures, which impeded the state's early efforts at management and interpretation. Together, these challenges stymied the site's role as a source and shaper of Montana heritage.

Private inholdings within the town site meant that Bannack was a complex mosaic of public and private lands with no clearly demarcated boundaries. In the absence of clearly defined ownership, some historic structures rapidly deteriorated. Other parts of Bannack fell prey to vandals, litter, and looters. Artifact hunters dug beneath houses, desecrated graves, and stole doorknobs; the town dumpsite filled with Dillon and Bannack trash; litter and junked cars lined Bannack streets.³⁷ For some, unguarded structures were both resource and entertainment. Bannack and Dillon residents broke down structures for firewood or carted off furniture left *in situ*. Uncontrolled vandalism and looting occurred across the park, especially at buildings and mineshafts.³⁸ Bannack residents established business sites associated with the park. At least one operated a concession stand, and others rented historic structures to overnight guests.

By 1965, responsibility for state parks transferred from the Highway Department to Montana Fish and Game, but many past issues plaguing parks continued. At Bannack, acute funding problems prevented hiring park managers to control and protect the park. From 1954 to 1971, Bannack's sole protector was C.W. Stallings, who agreed to act as

³⁷ *The River Press*, Modern road agents nab Bannack knobs, 21 January 1970, 5, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn85053157/1970-01-21/ed-1/seq-5/> last accessed 20 March 2019; J. Greidl, Historic Bannack—Montana's first capital and what the tourist sees, *The Dillon Tribune Examiner* 28 July 1971, 1, Ephemera, Beaverhead County Museum; R. Schuetz, Letter to the editor, *The Dillon Tribune Examiner*, 30 July 1971, 2, Ephemera, Beaverhead County Museum.

³⁸ *The Dillon Examiner*, Burglary and vandalism reported from Bannack, 23 May 1956, 10, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn85053034/1956-05-23/ed-1/seq-10/> last accessed 24 March 2019.

park manager on a volunteer basis. His tasks — including fire management, greeting tourists, and preventing vandalism — were difficult to implement without salary or assistants. Development at Bannack struggled in the face of wider state park budgetary issues. Fuzzy boundaries, limited funds, and no employees meant uneven management and state control at Bannack.

Between 1955 and 1971, heritage construction at Bannack took a back seat to preserving the site for posterity. Despite recognition that ghost towns ‘reminiscent of a vivid epic of Montana’s past’ were key tourist sites, Bannack was conspicuously missing as a component of the 1967 Montana Fish and Game outdoor recreation plan, which was the state’s first comprehensive guide for outdoor recreation and state park management.³⁹ Instead, the report cited the privately managed ghost town at Virginia City as the premiere example of ghost town tourism sites in Montana.⁴⁰ Montana Fish and Game personnel in Helena summed up state management Bannack as ‘holding the line against further deterioration’.⁴¹

Consolidation of State Heritage at Bannack, 1972—1989

Legislation enacted at state and federal levels during the late 1960s and early 1970s heralded major changes for state parks across the United States.⁴² In Montana, increased funding enabled Montana Fish and Game to consolidate and expand state

³⁹ Montana Department of Fish and Game, *1967 Montana State Outdoor Recreation Plan*, Helena, 1967, 17.

⁴⁰ Montana Department of Fish and Game, *1967 Montana State Outdoor Recreation Plan*, 69, 178, 198.

⁴¹ A. Darr, Bannack tortured by time, neglect, *The Montana Standard* 12 June 1971, 8.

⁴² See, for example, S. Flader, Building a constituency for state parks: the Missouri experience, *The George Wright FORUM* 17,3 (2000) 31—39, which documents the critical role of federal funding towards developing Missouri’s system.

parks.⁴³ At Bannack, diverse federal and state legislation including the Land Water Conservation Fund (LWCF) (1964), the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) (1966), the Montana Coal Tax (1975), and state levies on snowmobile gas taxes (1977) earmarked money for state parks development and raised Bannack's relative importance within the park system. Bannack State Park benefited from this funding windfall because increased funding helped consolidate park property through purchase and enabled development of interpretative efforts. These efforts established Bannack as a premiere heritage site within the state parks system. Furthermore, increased funding enabled the hiring of state personnel and the advent of special events at Bannack. These initiatives enabled consolidation of state-directed heritage at Bannack.

State Personnel at Bannack

At Bannack, a key outcome of increased legislation and funding was the hiring of state employees. This process began during the 1970s. In 1972, Montana Fish and Game hired Roy Herseth as Bannack's first park ranger. Herseth, a Bannack resident, policed the site, guided tours, and managed site resources and park communications. Increased funding also meant that the state acquired additional private plots within the state park's boundaries through direct purchase. Consolidation of the park's territorial integrity meant its structures had greater protection from vandalism and deterioration.⁴⁴

Funding and personnel permitted a consolidated state vision of heritage to take root at Bannack State Park. Herseth's key responsibilities and contributions as park

⁴³ Montana Department of Fish and Game, *Design for Tomorrow: 1977—1990*. Bozeman, 1978, 5.

⁴⁴ J. Simon, Bannack history is as good as gold, *The Dillon Tribune Examiner* 8 June 1985, 35, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn85053037/1982-06-08/ed-1/seq-35/>, last accessed 27 March 2019.

ranger were his efforts at reconstruction and restoration of deteriorated structures within the site. Herseth used old photographs of Bannack to track down missing artifacts, including the bell for the building that housed Bannack's Masonic Lodge and schoolhouse. Furthermore, Herseth removed twentieth century renovations found on a number of structures. Herseth then restored these structures to match late nineteenth-century photographs.⁴⁵ In other instances, Herseth completely rebuilt structures, employing a combination of original local materials, salvaged materials from other sites across the state, and modern construction materials.⁴⁶ Other restoration efforts used modern materials, including concrete foundations and new wood. Clever use of salvaged materials or deliberate weathering hid these modifications to match the rest of the building and present an aura of age.⁴⁷ Material changes made to Bannack under Herseth's tenure helped make its status as a nineteenth-century boom and bust gold mining community more legible in the park landscape (Figure 4).

(Fig. 4)

Herseth's lived experiences of park landscapes and an awareness of local history informed his role as site interpreter. His interpretations also represent a continuation of previous narratives about the park, for his local knowledge relied in part on recollections of former Bannack residents and his ongoing efforts to collect and pore over historical

⁴⁵ Restoration based on historical photographs is a common practice at gold mining heritage sites internationally. See W. Frost, Making an edgier interpretation of the rushes: contrasting perspectives from Australia and New Zealand, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11, 3 (2005) 235—250. See also D. Delyser, Authenticity on the ground.

⁴⁶ *The Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Bannack restoration is preserving history, 9 July 1974, 3, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn85053037/1974-07-09/ed-1/seq-3/>, last accessed 27 March 2019.

⁴⁷ T. Brossart, He's put Bannack back together, *The Dillon Tribune Examiner* 24 July 1984, 7, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn85053038/1984-07-24/ed-1/seq-7/>, last accessed 27 March 2019 .

imagery. By 1977, interpretative pamphlets authored by Montana Fish and Game bolstered Herseth's guided tours. These pamphlets guided visitors through the old ghost town at their own pace. During this period, pamphlets and state documents defined Bannack as a historical site of key industrial and political heritage for the state of Montana. The pamphlet provided by Fish and Game reflected these impulses by mentioning many newly restored structures, including the Meade Hotel (the first courthouse in Montana), the rows of miner's homes, and the sites of Henry Plummer's cabin and the gallows where he hanged.

In 1983, Dale Tash replaced Roy Herseth as Bannack's park ranger. Tash's hire represents further consolidation of state-directed heritage at Bannack. Montana Fish and Game hired Tash for a number of reasons, including his professional credentials (Tash was a history professor at Western Montana College in Dillon), his informal collaborations with Herseth in managing the site, his status as a well-known and popular Dillon citizen, and his familial ties to Bannack residents during the boom days.⁴⁸ Tash continued Herseth's efforts at restoration and made several changes to Bannack interpretation. In particular, Tash drew on his professional background at Bannack to perform and guide historical research, including the establishment of an oral history program and the expansion of the on-site archival collections that focused on Bannack's boom days in the 1860s. Furthermore, Tash coordinated increased communications between Montana Fish and Game and other state government institutions, such as the

⁴⁸ *The Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Dale Tash named Bannack manager, 24 July 1984, 6, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn85053038/1984-07-24/ed-1/seq-6/>, last accessed 8 March 2019; *The Dillon Tribune*, Tash resigns as Bannack manager, 24 June 1992, 1, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/2015269516/1992-06-24/ed-1/seq-1/>, last accessed 8 March 2019.

Montana Historical Society, that enabled improved day-to-day management at the park.⁴⁹

Through these measures, Tash developed a Bannack interpretative program that helps solidify Bannack's heritage as associated with the industrial and political history of the site and raised its legibility in the state park program.

Tash also played a key role in making local heritage legible in ways connecting Bannack to notions of haunting. Tash drew on local knowledge and folktales to weave together historical events with ghost tales in guided tours of the site.⁵⁰ As Tash himself noted, taking artistic license with Bannack history "made the past come alive" and was a popular way to engage visitors with the site.⁵¹ Tash's fireside ghost stories were fixtures of heritage production at Bannack, and he continued to hold these events even after his retirement in 1992.

The addition of park rangers is a critical part of the production of state-directed heritage at Bannack State Park. On site managers help protect the site from vandalism and they coordinate state efforts at restoration and site management. They also serve the role of authority figure, and their presence and interpretative efforts in park landscapes reifies state narratives about the significance of Bannack to Montana history as a hub of political and industrial activity in the intermountain West. Moreover, as illustrated by

⁴⁹ *The Dillon Tribune*, Tash resigns, 1; C. Straszak, Dale Tash: forever a part of Bannack, *The Dillon Tribune*, 1 July 1998, 13, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/2015269156/1998-07-01/ed-1/seq-13/>, last accessed 1 March 2019; Bannack Association, Dale Tash memorial fund, <http://bannack.org/dale-tash-memorial-fund> last accessed March 11 2019.

⁵⁰ *The Dillon Tribune*, Community bids farewell to a part of its heritage with final goodbyes to its teacher, historian...Dale Tash, 1 July 1998, 13, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/2015269156/1998-07-01/ed-1/seq-13/>, last accessed 1 March 2019.

⁵¹ C. Straszak, Dale Tash: forever a part, 13.

Herseth's restoration efforts and Tash's addition of haunted elements to Bannack's interpretation, individual managers shaped interpretation at the site in enduring ways.

Special Events and the Advent of Bannack Days, 1976

Special events also shaped Bannack heritage production. Most notable of these is the Bannack Days event, first held in 1976 as part of the national bicentennial celebration movement.⁵² Spearheaded by the Beaverhead Bicentennial Committee, Bannack Days remains significant as a performance that solidifies heritage, and its success reverberated throughout the Montana state park system.

Bannack Days both deepened a sense of local heritage and revitalized connections to a wider national consciousness. Local advocates in the Bicentennial Committee included individuals, community organizations, and clubs. They worked closely with Herseth and Helena-based Fish and Game employees to plan a two-day celebration at Bannack for August 1976. Bicentennial committee members envisioned a pioneer-themed living history event for the public, one run by a mixture of local volunteers and Fish and Game staff.⁵³ Similar to previous inauguration events, the planned living history days immersed both those performing within the events and those observing them into a heritage experience.

⁵² The American Revolution Bicentennial Commission was established by the United States federal government in 1971 and reorganized in 1974 to coordinate state bicentennial celebration efforts. Geographical examinations and reflections of the Bicentennial as a commemorative act include D. Lowenthal, The bicentennial landscape: a mirror held up to the past, *Geographical Review* 67 (1977) 253—267; and R. Stump, Toward a geography of American civil religion, *Journal of Cultural Geography* 5 (1985) 87—95. The Montana Bicentennial Administration oversaw a variety of local bicentennial committees within Montana from 1974—1977. Beaverhead County applied for and established a bicentennial commission in the spring of 1975. *The Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Bannack celebration may get state boost, 21 March 1975, 1.

⁵³ *The Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Celebrate the bicentennial at Bannack days, 11 August 1976, 1.

Bannack Days unfolded over two days in August 1976. After weeks of advertising and planning, nearly 1,500 people from across Montana and neighboring states visited Bannack. Participants watched blacksmithing, horseshoeing, black powder shoots, pioneer living reenactments, cattle roping demonstrations, and a wedding in nineteenth century garb. Masonic lodge members and Fish and Game employees offered local history lessons and oversaw hands-on gold panning activities and square dances. Approximately a dozen local clubs provided concessions. Pilots in small aircraft organized flights from Dillon airport, carrying passengers above former stagecoach routes.⁵⁴ The events paralleled similar Bicentennial celebrations across the United States. A heavy reliance on national symbolism — including the sale and distribution of three thousand red, white, and blue bumper stickers and the use of paper bunting adorning many of the newly restored Bannack buildings — imbued the event with a patriotic air.⁵⁵ Through reenactments, the inaugural Bannack Days presented Bannack as an icon of a broadly defined Old West. Square dances, powder shoots, and cattle roping demonstrations all brought to life a stereotyped and lighthearted vision of the West, one reliant on invoking cowboy tropes and eliding the realities of historical life in Bannack.

Bannack Days became a fixture of Bannack heritage production and it continues annually to draw thousands to the park. These large audiences are significant because they suggest Bannack's prominent role as a site around which collective memory coalesces. Furthermore, Bannack Days visitors experience a shared suite of activities and events. Bannack Days activities—reenactments, demonstrations, local history

⁵⁴ *The Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Celebrate the bicentennial, 1.

⁵⁵ *The Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Bannack celebration may get state boost, 1.

interpretations, food and souvenir vendors—are all performances that help consolidate a sense of Bannack heritage through emphasizing the boom days of the 1860s.

Bannack Days also gave rise to a host of additional special events during the 1980s and 1990s, including a speaker series, annual ghost walks, gold panning demonstrations, and more in-depth guided tours by volunteers. Bannack Days has also shaped heritage production at the level of the state parks system. As one of the first and most popular special events of the park system, the event became the model for other units within the state park system. By 1996, numerous parks within the system developed over sixty recurring special events to draw in visitors.⁵⁶ Special events and their related performances have become a premiere mechanism through which Montana state parks convey visions of state-directed heritage.

Public-Private Partnerships at Bannack State Park, 1989—2000

By 1989, changes to federal and state funding had major impacts at Bannack that led to new players in the site's management and interpretation. A number of federal funding streams earmarked for park development atrophied, including a tightening of Land Water Conservation Funds (LWCF) funds.⁵⁷ Similar state funding sources also dried up. The 1987 Montana State Legislature eliminated general funds for parks, and cuts in revenue greatly reduced coal tax severance funds.⁵⁸ In response, Montana Fish

⁵⁶ Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, *2020 Vision for Montana State Parks*, Helena, 1998, 77.

⁵⁷ This pattern cut across state park systems in the United States. See, for example, J. Henneberger, *The state of state parks*, 19. See also P. Myers, *State Parks in a New Era, Volume 2—Future Directions in Funding*, Washington D.C., 1989. Others discuss parallel late twentieth century budget cuts to Canada's provincial park system, suggesting that tightening budgets in state parks or their equivalent systems has international parallels. See J. Clayton, B. Bradley, and G. Wynn, *One hundred years of struggle*, 14.

⁵⁸ State Parks Futures Committee, *The State Park System: Montana's Legacy—a New Growth Industry: A Report to Governor Stan Stephens and the 52nd Legislature*, Helena, 1990, 17.

Wildlife and Parks (F.W.P.) increased fees at park sites and expanded park funding by attaching fees to vehicle registration.⁵⁹

Tightened funding reduced expenditures at individual park units. Montana F.W.P. responded by closing some of the lesser used parks to redistribute existing funds.⁶⁰ This initiative allowed focused investments at key parks throughout the system, including Bannack, by now a flagship cultural park. As a key Montana park, Bannack received a suite of site management plans completed between 1994 and 2000.⁶¹ These management plans developed state-directed heritage production along several lines. First, state plans called for diverse preservation and restoration practices for Bannack buildings. Park management preserved structures in ways that presented Bannack's landscapes as a window into understanding white settlement of the 1860s. The plans also emphasized Bannack's role as a territorial capital. In addition, they highlighted the town's gold mining history and its critical economic role as an urban center and transportation hub in an otherwise isolated frontier setting.⁶² Management plans formalized the use of historic preservation practices as a primary mechanism to tie Bannack's heritage into wider narratives of the frontier and western American expansion.⁶³

Historic preservation practices solidified Bannack's heritage by linking it to the late nineteenth-century, but they also aimed to project a sense of authenticity, solitude,

⁵⁹ Phippen, B., Fees help support parks, *The Choteau Acantha* 12 June 1991, 10. *The Dillon Tribune Examiner*, Watch for fee thieves, 4 November 1992, 12.

⁶⁰ Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, *2020 Vision*, 17.

⁶¹ Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, *2020 Vision*, 67.

⁶² Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, *Bannack: Interpretative Plan and Conceptual Design*, Lewiston, 1995, 8, 30-33.

⁶³ Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, *Bannack: Interpretative Plan*, 32-33.

and discovery.⁶⁴ Several management practices achieved this goal. First, the 1995 Bannack master plan continued earlier policies of removing landscape features that were anachronistic to the nineteenth century, including power lines and modern construction materials such as concrete, siding, and rebar. Second, the interpretative plan emphasized a self-guided experience of park landscapes, though visitors could still receive guided interpretation at the visitor center, through a printed guidebook, or optional tours with park staff. The open-ended nature of visiting Bannack allowed visitors space to enjoy solitude, to piece together a sense of the past, and to imagine on their own terms what life in Bannack was like.⁶⁵

Montana's 1980s funding crisis parallels other park systems throughout the United States. Like other state parks systems, the Montana F.W.P. sought alternative funding streams and labor pools by developing public-private partnerships.⁶⁶ At Bannack, collaborative efforts between local Dillon residents and Bannack ranger Dale Tash produced the Bannack Association in 1990. The Bannack Association served a number of purposes in the construction of heritage at Bannack.⁶⁷ First, the Association became a source of financial support and volunteer labor for the park. The association raised money through fundraising events, membership dues, and sales at the park visitor center. Bannack received these funds directly rather than spent through the state's general funding pool. The Association also provided volunteer labor to maintain the park and to

⁶⁴ Ghost town state parks across the United States are managed to consolidate a sense of authenticity. See, for example, D. Delyser, *Authenticity on the ground*, for an expanded and in-depth discussion of how management practices cultivate a sense of authenticity at the ghost town of Bodie, California.

⁶⁵ Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, *Bannack: Interpretative Plan*, 36-38.

⁶⁶ See, for example, J. Morgan, *Resources, recreationists, and revenues: a policy dilemma for today's state park systems*, *Environmental Ethics* 18 (1996) 279-290.

⁶⁷ Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, *2020 Vision*, 23, 93.

serve at park special events, freeing state-allocated funds earmarked for labor. While no specific statistics are available for Bannack volunteer hours, the input of volunteers is profound: in 1998 alone, nearly five hundred volunteers contributed 7,500 hours of labor in planning Region Three, which includes Bannack State Park.⁶⁸

Second, the Association developed special park events that shaped the trajectory of how heritage is inscribed and enacted on park landscapes. Many of these events reflect wider patterns of heritage production found at other ghost towns in North American and international settings. Association volunteers reenact dramatic moments in Bannack history, including the lynching of Sheriff Henry Plummer by vigilante citizens in 1864, and they participate in Bannack Days. Additionally, Association volunteers offer hands-on demonstrations of gold panning activities, which invite visitors to experience the excitement and optimism of striking it rich in a 19th century boomtown (Figure 5).⁶⁹

(Fig. 5)

One especially successful Association event that continues today is the Bannack ghost walk, held every October since 1990. The annual walk attracts hundreds of visitors. Guided through the town at night, they encounter volunteers dressed in nineteenth century costume and made up to appear spectral. The ghosts often sport grisly wounds. At each stop along the ghost walk, the actors play out a violent, scripted scene in Bannack history, including the murder of a Native American man, the death of a

⁶⁸ Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, *2020 Vision*, 85.

⁶⁹ See, for example, W. Frost, *Making an edgier interpretation*. His examination of gold rush heritage tourism identifies general trends of heritage production centered on conveying the optimism and excitement of heritage sites' boomtown days.

prostitute, and allusions to the lynching of Henry Plummer and other road agents.⁷⁰

Bannack ghost walks reflect a wider trend towards the commodification of death in tourist landscapes and represent a turn towards revealing the seedy side of boomtown life.⁷¹ In contrast to ghost walks occurring within semi-regulated public spaces (such as streets), however, those at Bannack occur within the bounded, curated space of the park as a regulated heritage space and follow a tight script. Like dark tourism events at other bounded or “enclavic” heritage spaces, Bannack ghost walks convey a regulated, shared sense of place.⁷²

The ghost walks’ content represent a stark contrast to Bannack’s state management plans as they relate to interpretation and offer a set of dissonant messages of the site’s heritage. While the state plans emphasize Bannack’s daily life and try to capture the social history of the site, the ghost walks present a vision of Bannack that is bloody and violent. Through ghost walk spectacles, visitors experience chaos, violence, and the seedy side of the Wild West in Bannack’s heritage landscape.

Bannack State Park and the Contemporary Heritage Landscape, 2001—Present

Since 2000, many management practices in the Montana state park system and at Bannack continue to evolve. Several state initiatives influence heritage production at

⁷⁰ Bannack Association, “*Bannack ghost walk scripts, October 2002*,” Dillon, MT, 2002.

⁷¹ Previous geographical work on ghost walks as a part of a wider literature on dark tourism suggests that ghost walks as a form of heritage tourism are on the rise globally. See, for example, G. Gentry, Walking with the dead: the place of ghost walk tourism in Savannah, Georgia, *Southeastern Geographer* 47 (2007) 222—238 for an examination of ghost walks as a form of dark tourism. Reviews of dark tourism and the related field of thanatourism suggest these phenomena are best understood through the lens of heritage studies. See D. Light, Progress in dark tourism and thanatourism research: an uneasy relationship with heritage tourism, *Tourism Management* 61 (2017) 275—301.

⁷² For a discussion of the effects of bounded versus unbounded space in dark tourism, see G. Gentry, Walking with the dead, 223.

Bannack in the twenty-first century. First, documents devoted to planning for the future of Montana state parks articulated several goals that the system needed to address:

[State parks need to] more accurately reflect the natural, cultural, historic, and recreational diversity of Montana, with a broader geographic and cultural representation than at present. [...] The system will also offer a broad range of facilities, experiences, and programs which meet an assortment of changing visitor needs and interests, including more educational and interpretative opportunities [with] enhanced connections and communication with other programs outside Montana F.W.P. [...] Overall, the state park system will be a more integral part of everyday existence in Montana; state parks will be affordable places where Montanans and their visitors from all walks of life feel comfortable and welcome.⁷³

Beginning in 2001, collaborative efforts between the Montana Office of Public Instruction (O.P.I.) and Montana F.W.P. increased visibility of indigenous histories at state park sites through primary school education. At Bannack, the Montana O.P.I. produced a series of lesson plans comparing indigenous and white settler landscapes and their respective ecological knowledge. In these lessons, Bannack serves as a geographical case study, and lesson plans compare indigenous Salish perspectives with those of gold seeking Euro-American populations.⁷⁴ This is the first time state management plans

⁷³ State Parks Futures Committee II, *Report and Recommendations for the Montana State Park System — A Report to Governor Judy Martz and the 58th Legislature*, Helena, MT, 2002, 4.

⁷⁴ Montana Office of Public Education, *Indian Education for All: Lesson Plans Featuring Montana State Parks*, Helena, MT, 2009, 4—11.

articulate indigenous perspectives, though individual rangers involved in park interpretation often drew on their historical training to communicate frontier-era histories of indigenous dispossession and the violence leveled against indigenous peoples at Bannack.⁷⁵ Increased collaboration between Montana F.W.P. and Montana O.P.I. expands the scope of heritage production at Bannack State Park by bringing it into the space of public education systems.⁷⁶

BANNACK STATE PARK IN ITS NORTH AMERICAN AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS

This article examines the development of a North American state park system and explored ways diverse actors invest Bannack State Park with meaning through mechanisms of heritage production. A complex mosaic of local actors, state entities, and federal inputs created the Montana park system and established Bannack State Park as a key commemorative landscape within the Montana park system. Montana parks offer a particularly legible example of the role local actors played in establishing North American regional park units. Furthermore, Bannack's heritage production relied on a variety of actors with regional analogs across North America. Bannack's old timers nostalgically reminiscing about the town's boom days can be easily imagined filling the

⁷⁵ Personal communications with F.W.P. ranger John Phillips, February 2019. Inclusive interpretative efforts that articulate marginalized perspectives have clear parallels at ghost town heritage sites around the world. See W. Frost, Marking an edgier interpretation for parallel 21st century developments at Australian and New Zealand gold mining heritage sites.

⁷⁶ An extensive geographical literature explores ties between education and identity and identifies public education as a key mechanism driving the notions of citizenship. See, for example, *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, 4 (1996), a special issue with the theme of geographical education and citizenship. In that volume, see R. Wexford, Geographical education and citizenship: afterword, *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, 4 (1996) 440—442.

seats of Pioneer Society meetings across the American West and Midwest. Dillon's local Daughters of the American Revolution have their parallel chapters everywhere from Albuquerque, New Mexico to Zanesville, Ohio. Many national contexts that shaped the trajectory of Montana's park system, such as federal funding initiatives and their ebb and flow, also shaped other North American park systems, particularly those of U.S. state parks and Canadian provincial parks.⁷⁷ Funding is an essential but often understated input in heritage production at park sites. Montana's state park system is a window into the development of state parks across the United States, and the story of the changing mechanisms and actors underlying the construction of heritage at Bannack State Park displays the role state and provincial parks have in consolidating state-directed heritage at regional scales.

Bannack State Park also represents a ghost town that demonstrates practices of heritage production common to boomtown heritage sites in wider international contexts. Like other gold boomtowns that have become heritage sites in North America and Australian settings, Bannack State Park conveys heritage themes surrounding the boom-and-bust narrative of 19th century mining days. The color, optimism, and excitement of the boom days typical of gold mining communities are a persistent theme in Bannack's heritage production, as are Bannack's state-directed preservation efforts that seek to convey an "authentic" experience to ghost town visitors. Bannack diverges from typical ghost town narratives, however, through processes of heritage production that emphasize its political history and transformation of wilderness into Euro-American civilization. As

⁷⁷ P. Young, *Creating a "natural asset,"* explores parallel connections between funding and provincial park management at Strathcona.

both an example of symbolic accretion and state-directed heritage production in regional park spaces, this finding highlights the role that state and regional parks have as tools of statecraft in the consolidation of regional identity in the North American West.

FIGURE CAPTIONS

Fig. 1 A bird's eye diagram of Bannack State Park. Numbers correspond to significant structures and locations within the park. The inset map at bottom right marks the approximate location of Bannack, Montana, with a black X. The approximate location of Dillon, Montana is marked with a black star. Source: Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, 2017.

Fig. 2. The Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) Bannack dedication in 1925. Held in front of the Meade Hotel on the north side of Bannack's main street, the dedication event was attended by nearly one hundred local residents and delegates from throughout Montana. United States flags, speeches by Montana legislators, and the bronze plaque commemorating the Lewis and Clark expedition and pioneer experience connected Bannack history to a wider national heritage. The bronze plaque is now located by the state park's main parking area. Source: Image reproduced courtesy of the Beaverhead County Museum archives.

Fig. 3. Parking at Bannack during its 1954 inauguration as a state park. Hundreds participated in the three-day event, which included music, a pioneer convention, speeches by local and state dignitaries, and a seven-episode historical pageant theatrically reenacting selected aspects of the Lewis and Clark expedition; the discovery of gold at Bannack; Bannack's 1860s boom days; and the organization of both the Road Agent bandits and the Vigilante committee. Bannack's status as a state park meant that it became bound into processes of state-directed heritage construction. Source: Image reproduced courtesy of the Beaverhead County Museum archives.

Fig. 4. (a) The Meade Hotel at Bannack State Park. The Meade Hotel served many purposes in Bannack during its boom days. Prior to becoming a hotel, it served as Beaverhead County Courthouse. It was one of several structures that underwent restoration under the guidance of Roy Herseth. (b) Bannack's Masonic Lodge and Schoolhouse. Herseth is credited with its complete rebuild, using both modern and salvaged materials during restoration and making use of historical photographs as reference throughout the process. Restoration efforts make historical eras legible in state park landscapes. At Bannack, the boom days of the 1860s are brought to the fore. Source: Images reproduced courtesy of William Wyckoff.

Fig. 5. Bannack Association members and park visitors engaging in panning for gold at Bannack State Park. The Bannack Association is a non-profit that raises funds for Bannack and provides a core of volunteer labor at the park, especially during special annual events such as Bannack Days and ghost walks, as well as recurring events such as this panning activity. Source: Image reproduced courtesy of William Wyckoff.

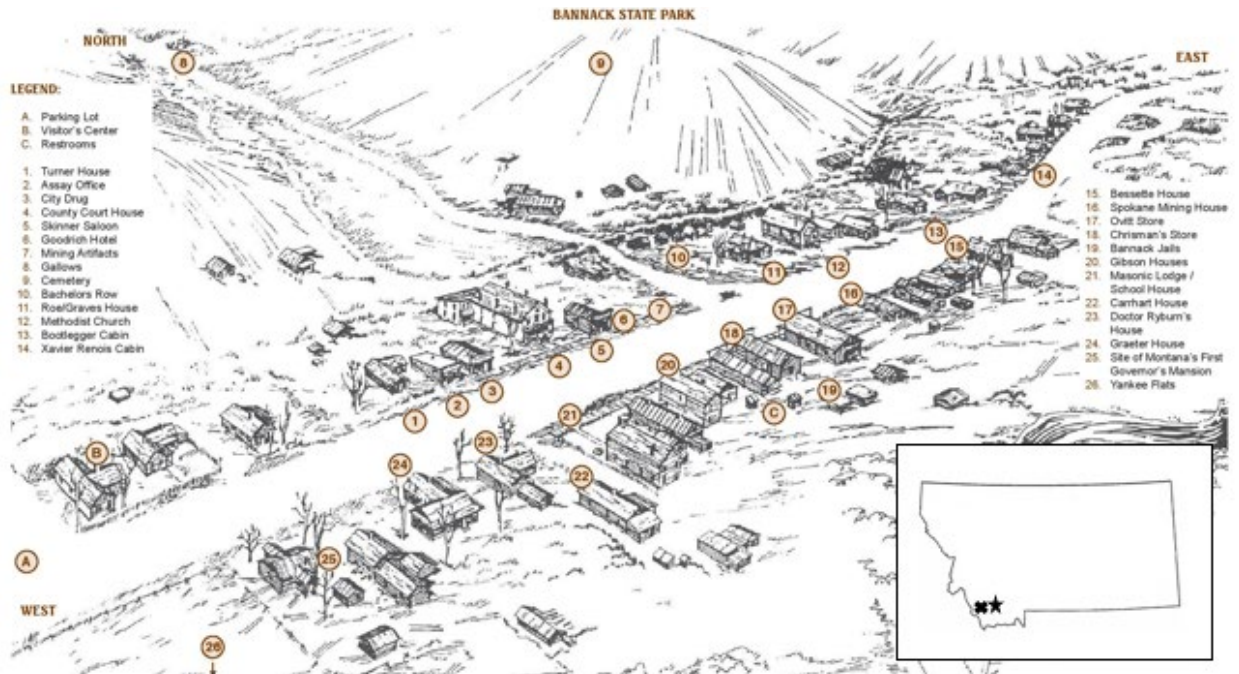


FIGURE 3.1. A bird's eye diagram of Bannack State Park. Numbers correspond to significant structures and locations within the park. The inset map at bottom right marks the approximate location of Bannack, Montana, with a black X. The approximate location of Dillon, Montana is marked with a black star. Source: Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, 2017.



FIGURE 3.2. The Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) Bannack dedication in 1925. Held in front of the Meade Hotel on the north side of Bannack's main street, the dedication event was attended by nearly one hundred local residents and delegates from throughout Montana. United States flags, speeches by Montana legislators, and the bronze plaque commemorating the Lewis and Clark expedition and pioneer experience connected Bannack history to a wider national heritage. The bronze plaque is now located by the state park's main parking area. Source: Image reproduced courtesy of the Beaverhead County Museum archives.



FIGURE 3.3. Parking at Bannack during its 1954 inauguration as a state park. Hundreds participated in the three-day event, which included music, a pioneer convention, speeches by local and state dignitaries, and a seven-episode historical pageant theatrically reenacting selected aspects of the Lewis and Clark expedition; the discovery of gold at Bannack; Bannack's 1860s boom days; and the organization of both the Road Agent bandits and the Vigilante committee. Bannack's status as a state park meant that it became bound into processes of state-directed heritage construction. Source: Image reproduced courtesy of the Beaverhead County Museum archives.



FIGURE 3.4(a). The Meade Hotel at Bannack State Park. The Meade Hotel served many purposes in Bannack during its boom days. Prior to becoming a hotel, it served as Beaverhead County Courthouse. It was one of several structures that underwent restoration under the guidance of Roy Herseth. Source: Image courtesy of William Wyckoff.



FIGURE 3.4(b). Bannack's Masonic Lodge and Schoolhouse. Herseth is credited with its complete rebuild, using both modern and salvaged materials during restoration and making use of historical photographs as reference throughout the process. Restoration efforts make historical eras legible in state park landscapes. At Bannack, the boom days of the 1860s are brought to the fore. Source: Image courtesy of William Wyckoff.



FIGURE 3.5. Bannack Association members and park visitors engaging in panning for gold at Bannack State Park. The Bannack Association is a non-profit that raises funds for Bannack and provides a core of volunteer labor at the park, especially during special annual events such as Bannack Days and ghost walks, as well as recurring events such as this panning activity. Source: Image reproduced courtesy of William Wyckoff.

CHAPTER 4

PRESERVING BIG SKY COUNTRY: STATE-DIRECTED HISTORIC
PRESERVATION IN MONTANA AND THE URBAN WEST, 1966-2017

Contribution of Authors and Co-Authors

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PRESERVING BIG SKY COUNTRY: STATE-DIRECTED HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN MONTANA AND THE URBAN WEST, 1966—2017

ABSTRACT: The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 mandated state-directed historic preservation across the United States to preserve national historic and cultural heritage. This article reconstructs the trajectory of Montana’s state-directed historic preservation movement from its early twentieth-century roots to 2017 to identify the generative forces underlying changing preservation philosophies and heritage themes that the state privileged in preservation efforts. It then considers the historic preservation movement of Bozeman, Montana, to assess how state-directed historic preservation is inscribed into the urban landscapes of the American West. This research finds that changing state-directed preservation philosophies and heritage themes reflected wider federal initiatives and expert input. Preservation outcomes in Montana’s urban spaces, meanwhile, depended in large part on key individuals operating at local scales and reflect the support of local and city government action rather than the state.

INTRODUCTION

In 2016 the Montana State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) celebrated the 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA). The celebration campaign highlighted a special website dedicated to shedding light on the NHPA, a ten-minute video illuminating the role of the NHPA in preserving Montana landscapes and archaeological sites, and a deck of commemorative playing cards and an accompanying promotional poster titled “Playing for Keeps,” which depicted one property listed on the National Register from each of Montana’s fifty-six counties. The selection of 56 National Register sites to appear in the SHPO’s celebration of the NHPA highlights how state-mandated historic preservation brings selected aspects of Montana history into high relief and transforms it into heritage.

In this article I explore the intersections of historic preservation and heritage within the context of the urban American West. I use Bozeman, Montana, as a case study to understand the generative forces underlying preservation. Specifically, I examine the evolving role of the Montana SHPO in shaping historic preservation outcomes in Bozeman between 1966 and 2017. Two lines of enquiry frame this research.

I reconstruct how Montana's SHPO utilized changing preservation philosophies and historical themes to identify and preserve cultural landscape features in the state. In contrast to standard administrative histories of SHPOs, I examine how state institutions such as the Montana SHPO privileged particular narratives about the past and I highlight the role it plays in the production of state-directed heritage.

I then examine how SHPO guidelines impacted preservation outcomes in Bozeman, Montana between 1966 and 2017 by employing archival research and document analysis of relevant SHPO, municipal, and newspaper records. Three eras of urban preservation outcomes in Bozeman emerge (1966—1987; 1987—2001; 2002—2017), each with distinct characteristics that define to what extent Bozeman's heritage is made legible through historic preservation. Examining the generative forces underlying preservation in Bozeman reveals to what extent the SHPO's state-directed preservation efforts shape local landscapes.

GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES ON HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Historic preservation includes numerous practices and strategies, including the selective preservation, restoration, and re-use of sites and landscapes.¹ Preservation scholarship is interdisciplinary. Some reconstruct administrative histories of preservation programs.² Others examine preservation's economic benefits and its related commodification of cultural landscapes.³ Historic preservation's ties to gentrification are hotly contested. Some condemn

preservation's role in displacement, while others suggest its impact is negligible.⁴ Recent work promotes alternative preservation strategies enabling more inclusive cultural landscapes.⁵

Like monuments and memorials, historic preservation constructs place-based identities through selective preservation of landscape features. Historic preservation privileges certain historical narratives at the expense of others.⁶ Historical geographers are particularly well suited to exploring preservation by examining how preservation changes cultural landscapes over time and consolidates curated messages about history and place.⁷ Del Pozo and Gonzalez, for example, document the rise of industrial heritage in Spain as a means of economic revitalization.⁸ Hagen, meanwhile, demonstrates the generative forces and ambiguous attitudes towards historic preservation in Nazi Germany.⁹ The perspectives and methods of historical geography—including the use of archival materials and document analysis, an attention to inter-scalar dynamics, and a focus on change over time—reveal the evolving trajectories of historic preservation philosophy and outcomes that become inscribed in past and contemporary cultural landscapes.

MONTANA'S HISTORIC PRESERVATION PRIOR TO 1966

Montana's early historic preservation movement relied on a complex web of state and federal legislative initiatives and agency actions. Individuals and civic organizations also memorialized and preserved selected aspects of Montana's past. Collectively, these efforts provided legislative frameworks for later SHPO action and solidified heritage themes that the SHPO privileged as critical parts of Montana history.

Federal Historic Preservation Efforts

The federal government initiated historic preservation within Montana. Even prior to statehood, federal actions protected selected Montana landscapes. In 1872, for example,

Yellowstone National Park was established and managed by the U.S. army, and in 1879, part of the battlefield at Little Bighorn was set aside through the 1867 National Cemetery Act. After Montana acquired statehood in 1889, federal agencies and presidential actions preserved a handful of Montana sites, including Morrison Caves (1908) and Big Hole National Battlefield (1910).¹⁰ In its focus on natural and geologic wonders and battlefields, early federal preservation in Montana presented a microcosm of federal action across the United States.¹¹

The creation of the National Park Service (NPS) in 1916 had profound effects on historic preservation. In 1935, the Historic Sites Act organized federal sites and made historic preservation an NPS responsibility. Surveying, documenting, preserving, and protecting sites became national prerogatives. The NPS saw historic sites as a means to construct national heritage.¹² In Montana, the Historic Sites Act led to surveys coordinated between federal and state agencies and through the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). Surveys identified and documented structures of historical significance.¹³ Additionally, the Act established the National Historic Landmark (NHL) program, which standardized federal commemoration of historic sites across the United States. Montana saw more than a dozen National Historic Landmarks established between 1935 and 1965, including the mining ghost towns of Virginia City and Bannack in southwest Montana; several sites associated with the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804—1806; at Fort Benton and Butte-Anaconda; and at several sites of archaeological significance.¹⁴

Private and Civic Group Preservation in Montana

Beyond these federal mandates, numerous public and private organizations within Montana also produced heritage and engaged in preservation. These preservation advocates were typical of wider preservation efforts in the American West.¹⁵ By 1930, the Daughters of the

American Revolution (DAR) placed markers at Bannack, Bozeman, the Bear Paw Mountains, Armstead, and several other historic sites across the state. Similarly, the Montana Society of Pioneers marked several mining camps and placed markers commemorating the Lewis and Clark expedition. These efforts followed typical twentieth-century patterns of commemoration. By concentrating on Euro-American historical sites, these organizations consolidated visions of heritage that solidified national identity and tied local events to dominant frontier narratives of the period.¹⁶

(Figure 1)

Montana preservation also reflected wider national trends by its ties to philanthropy. Like their eastern counterparts, wealthy Montana citizens used preservation to proclaim social status and reify conservative historical narratives.¹⁷ Copper magnate and Montana senator William Clark, for example, donated several DAR bronze plaques to connect Montana to an American westering experience. Similarly, Butte millionaire James Murray donated \$1000 to mark Henderson Gulch, an early gold camp in southwest Montana.¹⁸

Local civic groups selectively restored or protected sites across Montana. For example, the Fort Benton Ladies Improvement Association encased the ruins at Fort Benton in cement, and Northern Pacific Railroad engineers placed a heavy iron grate over William Clark's engraved signature at Pompey's Pillar by 1930.¹⁹ Local and county historical societies also advocated for preservation. The Beaverhead Museum Association of Dillon, Montana, for example, led the way in preserving Bannack ghost town and donated it to the state government in 1953.²⁰

State Agencies and Preservation

State agencies were a third generative force in Montana preservation. For example, some Montana state parks purposely preserved selected historical landscapes. Agencies in control of state parks acquired historical sites through purchase, land exchange, or donation.²¹ Bannack and Missouri Headwaters became early examples of Montana state parks created to preserve Montana history. Bannack State Park emphasized Bannack's role as a mining boomtown and political hub, while Missouri Headwaters highlighted the Lewis and Clark expedition, indigenous histories, and the early agricultural frontier. Later units expanded and deepened historic themes made legible by state parks. Parks at Fort Logan, Rosebud Battlefield, Madison Buffalo Jump, and Anaconda Smokestack all solidified a sense of Montana heritage.

(Figure 2)

Another significant preservation agency is the Montana Historical Society (MHS). By 1951, director K. Ross Toole re-centered MHS responsibilities around curating the state museum, managing state archives, acquiring western art, and increasing public outreach and collaboration with universities. Toole positioned the MHS as an advisory body for historic preservation. Beginning in 1957, an MHS Historic Sites Committee worked with state parks personnel in the documentation and protection of historic sites.²² The MHS remained in this role until 1977, when the SHPO was transferred to the agency.²³

Laying the Foundations to SHPO Preservation

These early federal, state, and local preservation efforts in Montana informed subsequent SHPO development. Federal legislation enabled state-directed historic preservation efforts. Furthermore, federal surveys through programs such as HABS provided initial inventories that comprised the core of later state-directed documentation of historic structures. Other federal

initiatives—including national monuments and the NHL program—articulated early themes of Montana heritage. These themes later shaped SHPO guidelines and publications. State parks and local civic organizations further solidified themes of historical significance. Finally, the complex mosaic of players involved is a persistent characteristic of Montana preservation.

CREATING THE SHPO SYSTEM, 1966

American landscapes changed rapidly after World War II. Sprawl transformed urban hinterlands into residential suburbs, while urban renewal programs destroyed decaying downtown districts.²⁴ This transformation threatened thousands of historical sites across the United States. Public outcry and a federal commission that examined threats to historic landscapes led Congress to pass the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966.

The NHPA created the National Register of Historic Places (NR), which documented sites of national historic significance. It also established a federal council for historic preservation to advise the federal government's executive and legislative branches on historic preservation issues. Furthermore, it provided regulatory frameworks for preservation that mandated the creation of state historic preservation offices and an attached historic preservation advisory committee in each state.

SHPOs and advisory committees coordinate as intermediaries between federal, state, and local preservation initiatives. The committees determine which historic sites are eligible for National Register status. Federal funds earmarked for preservation pass through state SHPO offices for distribution to local projects. Additionally, SHPOs collect and record surveys of historical sites within state boundaries, educate the public and other state agencies about preservation, and produce statewide preservation plans. These functions position SHPOs as generative forces underlying the construction of state-directed heritage through preservation.

THE MONTANA SHPO AND STATEWIDE PRESERVATION PLANS

Federal Heritage Narratives in Fish and Game Commission Plans, 1970—1977

The first Montana state agency to house the SHPO was the state's Fish and Game Commission. Fish and Game controlled the majority of state-owned historical sites through the state park system. Furthermore, the commission had legislative precedent and funding to survey, acquire and restore historical sites.²⁵ Endowed with substantial funds through federal and state appropriations, the SHPO's responsibilities included rehabilitation projects and surveys of historical sites.²⁶ In addition to the SHPO, Montana governor Forrest Anderson appointed a seven-member advisory committee to review nominations for the National Register and assist in drafting statewide preservation plans.²⁷

The Fish and Game SHPO published its first statewide historic preservation plan in 1970. The plan included an inventory of Montana's historical sites, identification of the significant historical themes they represent, and a preservation philosophy. The inaugural planning document illustrates several hallmarks of Fish and Game SHPO planning and demonstrates wider patterns of state-directed preservation planning during the 1970s.²⁸

One key characteristic of Fish and Game planning was a heavy reliance on previous work by federal personnel and expert input that conducted earlier surveys, declared preservation priorities, and codified dominant historical themes of special significance.²⁹ The initial inventory listed 310 sites across southeastern, north-central, and southwest Montana, with the majority compiled from federal and state surveys. The initial inventory was already outdated: by the time the plan went to press, several sites listed were already demolished.³⁰ State employees and professional historians on the advisory committee collaborated on drafting the plan. The

significant historical themes in Montana landscapes included “The Original Inhabitants,” “Political and Military Affairs,” “Westward Expansion 1763—1898,” “America at Work,” and “Society and Social Conscience.” NPS categories and major themes and subthemes provided a template for site categorization.³¹ Consequently, SHPO planning positioned state history within the framework of national heritage narratives.

Specifically, the 1970 SHPO plan derived its preservation philosophy from an earlier federal survey (1955) of the state’s upper Missouri River basin.³² According to this earlier report, preservation’s goal was to “build our loyalty around that part of America which is the home state or community of the original citizen,” and that “[n]ational ideals and aspirations” are “made tangible through Montana’s historic sites”. Preservation served as a bridge between local places and national historical narratives: the 1970 report again drew verbatim from its 1955 predecessor when it suggested “All our great national ideals and institutions have local roots [...] No great event in national or Montana history is without a local setting of local personalities in some community area”.³³ Furthermore, the preservation philosophy emphasized sites tied to traditional historical narratives. This was reflected in the accompanying inventory of historic sites privileging what later critics called “landmark” or “great men” preservation.

The Montana Fish and Game SHPO produced two additional plans in 1974 and 1975. Strikingly similar to the first edition, these adhered strongly to NPS guidelines, contained updated inventories of historic sites, and identified a list of historical themes. Differences between the 1970 plan and the 1974—1975 editions stand out. The preservation philosophy shifted from its explicit concern with reflecting national heritage to one that sought to use preservation as a means to solidify a “comprehensive and full scope of history [through] an objective view that captures both the good and the bad”.³⁴ This “full scope” of history relied on

reference to works and perspectives of pre-eminent Montana professional historians, including MHS-affiliates such as Michael Malone, Richard Roeder, William Lang, and Merrill Burlingame.³⁵ The 1974—1975 plans also re-categorized national historical themes to better fit Montana's state and regional contexts while still adhering to NPS frameworks. Themes from the 1970 plan irrelevant to Montana—such as “Development of the British Colonies”—were eliminated in favor of eleven national categories with sub-regional themes more appropriate to Montana contexts. These included Aboriginal Americans, The Arts, Conservation, Education, Exploration and Settlement, Military Affairs, Political Affairs, Recreation, Science/Society, and Technology.³⁶ This reframing towards regional contexts was ostensibly further strengthened with development of the State Register of Historic Places in 1973, a short-lived Fish and Game initiative designed to be a repository of sites relevant to Montana heritage and a clearinghouse for National Register nominations.³⁷ In practice, however, sites included on the state register paralleled the themes of National Register nominations. In a 1975 Fish and Game Historic Sites and Antiquities meeting, for example, newly listed national and state register sites were discussed together. Among the new additions were archaeological districts and a buffalo jump site, (corresponding to the theme of Aboriginal Americans), ranger stations and superintendents' homes (Political Affairs), miners' union halls, and a Lewis and Clark campsite (Exploration and Settlement).³⁸

The 1974—1975 plans suggest changes to Montana's preservation goals. In practice, however, the re-framed plans reinforced many earlier preservation themes. New additions to the state inventory reflected this trend. Despite new categories, the expanded lists continued privileging preservation of landmarks associated with Euro-American settlement between 1800 and 1900; they persistently overlooked sites significant to indigenous histories; and their

historical themes presented a progressive and nationalist view of Montana history.³⁹

Furthermore, planning remained concentrated in the hands of a few Fish and Game employees working in consultation with the original small cohort of professionally trained historians.

Adherence to NPS guidelines and reliance on the same individuals as sources of institutional knowledge meant that state-directed historic preservation planning was consistent throughout the 1970s. Planning during this period principally tied Montana landscapes to national identity, with a secondary goal of highlighting the state's Euro-American heritage.

Decentralizing Preservation through SHPO Planning Processes, 1977—1994

In the mid-1970s, SHPO planning shifted to a more decentralized model thanks to a number of changes within both federal and state institutions. Changes and additions to federal preservation policies gave state SHPOs increased autonomy in preservation planning. At the state level, changes made to the SHPO organization, its use of contracted professionals to develop plans, and its ability to fund historic sites surveys led to plans enabling communities and other preservation groups to engage in flexible preservation planning.

In December 1976, governor Thomas Judge transferred the responsibilities and funding of the SHPO program from Montana Fish and Game to the Montana Historical Society.⁴⁰ The transition was smooth, with the SHPO officially joining the MHS in January 1977. Archival evidence of preservation planning in the new SHPO, however, is scant.⁴¹ No new plans appeared between 1975 and 1984. Nonetheless, the SHPO engaged in activities that directly shaped preservation outcomes across Montana, including extensive survey work and continued processing of NR nominations through the associated Historic Preservation Advisory Board.

By 1980 changes in federal preservation policy initiated a new period of decentralized preservation efforts. By this time NPS archaeologists and preservationists recognized pitfalls of

the preservation guidelines put forth during the 1970s, including a perceived disconnect between SHPO preservation plans and preservation outcomes. There was also a growing sense that SHPO plans were static and could not adjust to meet communities' needs and some critics cited an overemphasis on top-down preservation planning reliant upon federal expertise.⁴² In response, the NPS developed the Certified Local Government (CLG) program, which ensured state and federal preservation funds for communities that developed municipal preservation plans. It also developed new guidelines in the *Resource Protection Planning Process*, or RP3.

RP3 planning decentralized preservation planning by giving states and local governments more leeway. RP3 eliminated NPS-mandated inventories fitting into clearly defined historical themes. It broadened preservation's scope by drawing on social sciences perspectives in the identification and documentation of historic resources and by advocating landscape preservation. Finally, RP3 encouraged state SHPOs to develop flexible planning determined by geographic region, themes that united related groups of historical sites, and relevant time periods within which themes could be identified.⁴³ Montana's RP3 planning was drafted by public historian Carroll Van West, who completed a final draft in 1985.

Van West's draft was innovative. It effectively summarized RP3 goals and developed an open-ended conceptual framework for understanding Montana heritage by casting a wider theoretical net than previous plans. Van West integrated perspectives from contemporary cultural and historical geography, New Western History, archaeology, architecture, and public history. He recommended that Montana preservation be understood and managed by the state through a regional perspective and used historical contexts and physical geography to delineate eight geographic preservation regions within the state. Furthermore, he proposed themes (Using Resources of the Environment; Developing a Transportation Network within the Landscape;

Developing a Communication Network within the Landscape; Developing Commercial Networks between People; Patterns of Human Migration and Settlement; Physical Expressions of Cultural Values) and time periods that encompassed previous understandings of sites with historical significance, but remained flexible to meet contemporary social needs.

Van West's themes and time periods were generalized, with the intention that they avoid images of Manifest Destiny that characterized earlier planning documents.⁴⁴ These generalized themes made indigenous sites more legible in Montana preservation planning. Moreover, Van West recognized that many landscapes and sites across Montana have continued cultural importance to indigenous people currently living within Montana as well as those beyond the state boundaries, and he suggested these sites be incorporated in RP3 planning. Furthermore, Van West expanded the scope of Montana's historic preservation by highlighting twentieth-century sites and landscapes as critical sources to understanding Montana history.

Van West's RP3 planning was never fully approved by the NPS, but it had lasting impacts in how the Montana SHPO conceptualized Montana preservation efforts. Social history, theories, and processes first proposed by Van West shaped subsequent Montana preservation planning.⁴⁵ Van West's flexible, decentralized planning also inspired the next set of SHPO planning documents. Between 1989 and 1993, SHPO planning consisted of a series of twenty brief 'bulletins.' Designed and authored by SHPO staff, most notably Marcella Sherfy, the bulletins were designed to provide technical assistance and overviews of SHPO responsibilities and activities to non-SHPO state agencies, the general public, and other preservation advocates working within Montana.⁴⁶ Like Van West's planning, the bulletins were never fully approved as statewide planning documents by the NPS.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the bulletins clearly articulated SHPO

planning during the 1980s and early 1990s as a community-directed process advised by state agencies, and they had an enduring impact on subsequent SHPO planning.

Reconciliation of Preservation Planning, 1995—2017

From the mid-1990s to 2017, the spirit of SHPO planning as a decentralized and community-oriented process was tempered by a return to stronger adherence to NPS guidelines and planning outcomes. In addition, SHPO planning had to contend with tightened budgets that reduced the capability of the state to implement its planning.

Beginning in 1995, the SHPO began to develop a new preservation plan reminiscent of 1970s planning in its structure but updated in its scope by the work of Van West and Sherfy. The resulting 1997 plan title, “Working Together: Montana’s Historic Preservation Plan,” reflected a continuation of SHPO’s commitment to community-based rather than top-down planning. To achieve this, SHPO staff democratized planning by conducting visits to Montana communities across the state and surveying hundreds of residents, preservation advocates, historical society members, and municipal and county government staff. The results of these surveys informed the SHPO’s identification of critical preservation issues and identified public perceptions of the SHPO and its role in preservation.⁴⁸

Plans produced from 1997 to 2017 no longer included inventories of state historic sites, as Montana’s inventory had ballooned to nearly 60,000 sites and 1500 NR listings (including 200 historic districts).⁴⁹ However, the plans identified a series of historical themes, echoing the format of the 1970s planning documents. Significantly, however, these themes—including “The Land,” “First Peoples,” “American Indian Culture After 1800,” “African American Heritage,” and “Oro y Plata Hardrock Mining,” among others—were tailored towards framing a more inclusive vision of Montana history and heritage than their 1970s counterparts and they

represented a more place- and region-specific heritage than Van West's conceptual frameworks.⁵⁰

Twenty-first century plans also had to address tightening budgets in ways that earlier plans did not. State and federal appropriations for funding historic preservation projects were severely curtailed in the mid- to late-1990s. Tax reform and statewide budget cuts compounded funding issues. Beginning in 1993, SHPO bricks-and-mortar and survey grants were severely reduced.⁵¹ Subsequently, the SHPO's direct impact on historic preservation outcomes lessened, with fewer SHPO-led surveys conducted across the state. SHPO planning changed strategies of outreach and advocacy to make better use of non-profits, inter-agency collaboration, and developed more precise preservation objectives that identified projects with high needs.⁵² This turn towards increasing collaboration is reflected in the 2013-2017 historic preservation plan. Of its six overarching goals, four directly address increasing collaboration with a range of stakeholders, including universities, policymakers, the general public, tribal cultural representatives, and interest groups such as realtors, developers, and trade groups.⁵³ SHPO's reliance on non-profit and non-state institutions in shaping historic preservation outcomes is anticipated to continue: as of 2018, Montana ranks 49th in historic preservation budgeting.⁵⁴

HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN PRACTICE: BOZEMAN, MONTANA

Bozeman, a city in southwest Montana, offers an ideal case study for evaluating the impact of state-directed historic preservation in Montana's urban landscapes. Founded in 1864, the town served as a resupply point for Euro-American wagon trains heading to western Montana's gold camps, and it benefited economically from close proximity to the U.S. Army's Fort Ellis and Fort Meagher. Furthermore, Bozeman's early history showcases the ethnic and racial diversity of the American West, as African American and Chinese residents played a role

in Bozeman's early commercial scene. Railroads expanded Bozeman's significance after 1883. By 1900 the city boasted a bustling Main Street, Montana State College (later Montana State University), trolley lines, and a number of wealthy families. Since World War II, Bozeman has been transformed into one of Montana's most rapidly growing and wealthy cities, thanks in large part to amenity-driven migration. Bozeman's historical contexts bring many, but not all, Montana heritage themes into high relief.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, Bozeman's historic preservation movement illuminates preservation processes in Montana cities as well as preservation's trajectory in the context of wider regional socioeconomic changes occurring in urban landscapes of the American West.

SHPO Preservation in Bozeman, 1966—1987

The Montana SHPO contributed to Bozeman preservation from 1966 to 1987 in several ways. Their cumulative impact suggests this period was when the SHPO exerted its greatest direct influence in preserving Bozeman's history and landscape. SHPO survey work and nominations to the NR laid the foundations to subsequent preservation efforts.

The 1970 plan listed only one significant historical site within Bozeman's city limits: the city hall and opera house.⁵⁶ The site was classified under the NPS theme of architecture. Its short description highlights Bozeman's role as a civic center. While brief, the description suggests that early SHPO efforts at historic preservation connected Bozeman to wider national contexts of western Euro-American expansion.⁵⁷ By 1974, SHPO plans documented eight more sites within Bozeman. These sites—including the Avant Courier Building, the Bozeman Hotel, and the Burlington Northern Passenger Depot—reified and deepened Bozeman's connections to the historical themes of Euro-American settlement and western expansion. For the next decade, the SHPO and its preservation advisory board continued identifying and nominating a number of

Bozeman structures to the NR. Locally-based advisory board members, most notably architect John DeHaas, were critical shapers in documenting historic structures and nominating them as potential candidates during this period.⁵⁸

Wider national contexts and increased SHPO funding also spurred Bozeman's preservation. In 1975 the non-profit National Trust for Historic Preservation conducted tours in Montana to advocate for urban conservation, a growing national priority. Bozeman residents and city officials responded positively to the Trust's advocacy for rehabilitating Bozeman's Main Street.⁵⁹ By 1978, surveys on Bozeman's south side led to the establishment of its first historic district along South Willson Avenue, a street known for its opulent architecture built by Bozeman's civic and business leaders in the late 19th century.

(Figure 3)

By 1987, SHPO-funded historical surveys of Bozeman's residential districts successfully highlighted Bozeman's historical urban fabric, both for residents and visitors alike. Volunteers from Montana State University, the general public, and numerous historic preservation specialists evaluated thousands of buildings and identified nearly four thousand structures with potential historical significance. The immediate effect of the survey was the creation of additional historic districts that included Bon Ton, Bozeman Brewing, Cooper Park, Lindley Place, Main Street, North Tracy, and South Tracy and South Black. Additionally, more than two dozen individual structures were added to the NR between 1987 and 1988. These events solidified several important themes visible in Bozeman's urban fabric, such as the city's early commercial (1867—1940) and industrial (1895—1925) eras.⁶⁰ In establishing historic districts across much of Bozeman's oldest and wealthiest residential neighborhoods, the survey connected Bozeman's architectural heritage to national architectural movements between 1890 and 1937.

Perhaps more importantly, the 1987 survey laid a foundation to a new period of Bozeman preservation that relied on community input supported by city ordinances, staffing, and financial support.

(Figure 4)

Community Preservation, 1987—2003

The 1987 survey sparked renewed interest in Bozeman's preservation movement. Bozeman residents saw benefits in supporting preservation, such as the capability to shape the trajectory of community development, retain a sense of place, and protect and expand their tax base.⁶¹ The weight of citizen support combined with new city government offices and ordinances shifted the generative forces in Bozeman's preservation movement from state to city government. Several changes were critically important in explaining this shift.

The survey raised the awareness and support of preservation planning and increased historic preservation. In 1987, for example, city officials approved the creation of a Bozeman Historic Preservation Advisory Board (BHPAB).⁶² The BHPAB, comprised of Bozeman residents and preservation specialists, became an advocacy group that worked to educate Bozeman residents and city government officials on Bozeman's historic preservation issues.⁶³ In 1988, city officials appointed Joan Kelly as volunteer community historic preservation officer (CHPO). The position eventually became a salaried city government position.⁶⁴ The first CHPO employed full-time was Derek Strahn, a longtime Bozeman resident and trained historian. Serving as CHPO from 1992 to 2001, Strahn's tenure was marked by successful applications to numerous preservation grants programs, collaborative projects with preservation non-profits, and public education events that made preservation issues legible to the general public, including workshops, walking tours, and public presentations.⁶⁵ Individuals such as BHPAB members,

Kelly, Strahn, and others exemplified the outsized influence that key individuals have had in shaping historic preservation outcomes at the community scale.

Increased public interest also spurred local ordinances that supported historic preservation. Between 1989 and 1991, the City of Bozeman implemented a neighborhood conservation overlay district (NCOD) and Design Review Program. The NCOD enabled CHPO and other city officials to review, approve, or reject architectural alterations of pre-existing structures and required review of any proposed development within NCOD boundaries. Effective pro-preservation governance of the NCOD meant that Bozeman's historic districts retained many of the features that made them historically significant.⁶⁶ In addition to NCOD ordinances, the city government implemented a five-year tax break for the restoration and rehabilitation of significant structures within Bozeman's historic districts.⁶⁷

Three events indicate the success of Bozeman's preservation movement during this period. In 1990, the SHPO granted Bozeman Certified Local Government status, which enabled Bozeman to receive historic preservation grants but required the city meet state standards of local ordinance and hired staffing for sustained community-based historic preservation. In 1997, the Montana Preservation Alliance, a statewide non-profit organization involved in preservation advocacy, again recognized Bozeman's preservation efforts.

The third event reveals the contested nature of preservation outcomes. Story Mansion, a significant landmark along Willson Avenue, was under the threat of demolition throughout the 1990s. In response to public outcry and advocacy from BHPAB, the CHPO, and other non-profits, the City of Bozeman invested \$323,000 into the purchase of Story Mansion to ensure its preservation. Today, pro-preservation advocates see the site as a symbolic moment for Bozeman's preservation movement.⁶⁸ During the process of acquisition, however, Story

Mansion was a contested issue. Detractors cited the city's decision to purchase the site as an unneeded expenditure and a waste of city funds, while supporters felt it a necessary expenditure to save an integral part of Bozeman's past.⁶⁹ Despite the contested process, official accolades and symbolic events such as these exemplify the role strong public support, individual advocates, and local ordinances had in building Bozeman's historic preservation movement during this period.

Development Pressures, 2003—2017

Since 2003, however, booming amenity-driven growth, changing attitudes towards historic preservation, high turnover rates of CHPO staff and BHPAG membership, and changing city ordinances have eroded the momentum of Bozeman's preservation movement and posed a threat to its continued existence.

Increasing housing costs raised concerns among city officials and residents about the efficacy and appropriateness of historic preservation in a booming Bozeman. Public perception also shifted towards the regulatory powers of the NCOD and Design Review Board. By 2015, several controversial Design Review Board decisions and burgeoning costs of increased CHPO compliance reviews for development within the NCOD prompted city officials to contract an outside consulting firm to review the NCOD and make recommendations for its future.⁷⁰ The 2015 study recommended removing the NCOD in favor of increasing regulations tailored to the needs of individual historic districts.⁷¹ Preservation advocates hotly contested these recommendations. Consequently, city planners embarked on a four-year project soliciting public input for a major overhaul of the NCOD, which included numerous heated town hall meetings, another review by the consulting firm, and surveys of Bozeman residents to gauge their attitudes towards preservation.⁷²

Concurrent to these issues was a weakening of the city's institutions overseeing historic preservation outcomes. In June 2014, the City of Bozeman attempted to reduce BHPAB's oversight role by dissolving the board. Public debate played out in city meetings and in newspaper editorials. In a 2015 editorial, for example, Strahn cited several unmerited demolitions and the approval of incompatible new construction projects despite NCOD guidelines. While BHPAB remained in place, its role in Bozeman preservation was reduced through a gutting of local ordinances. Additionally, city officials floated the idea of reducing the scale and scope of historic preservation regulations to be on a district-by-district basis.⁷³

Other challenges arrived with the resignation of CHPO Courtney Kramer in 2015. City officials cited the CHPO's high costs and left the position empty for two years, despite the SHPO's continued financial support through CLG funding. Concurrent to this development, developers, business owners, and architects approached city officials with plans to revise NCOD rules in ways permitting new construction in the downtown area. The revisions were incorporated into the wider NCOD review process without public input.⁷⁴ In the absence of public input and CHPO review, enforcement, and a continuous line of institutional knowledge, several high-profile, non-conforming developments set precedent for further erosion of NCOD regulations and preservation enforcement.⁷⁵

Perhaps the most legible indication of a weakened city-supported preservation program was the approval of the Black-Olive apartment complex. Initially envisioned as a 67-unit structure just south of Main Street, strenuous objections by local residents led to several rounds of review by city planners. Ultimately, proponents of the development won the debate, and the city approved a smaller complex.⁷⁶ Other large-scale downtown developments followed, including the construction of several high-rise hotels north of Main Street.

Bozeman's preservation movement has a cliffhanger epilogue. In 2017, the City hired a new CHPO, and a second evaluation of the NCOD begun in 2018 recommended the program retain its boundaries and regulatory framework and restore BHPAB's role.⁷⁷ With continued use of the NCOD, Bozeman appears poised to retain historic preservation in planning, but the pressures of anticipated twenty-first century development remains a persistent threat to preservation's future in Bozeman's booming, amenity-driven growth.

LESSONS FROM MONTANA'S PRESERVATION MOVEMENT

This article reconstructs the trajectories of two Montana preservation movements: state-directed preservation through the SHPO and community preservation in Bozeman, MT. Its analysis of preservation between 1966 and 2017 offers transferrable lessons appropriate to framing other preservation movements within the United States. Furthermore, it showcases the value of historical geography's tools and perspectives—including archival research and document analysis, inter-scalar perspectives, and a focus on examining how processes change over time—in illuminating the generative forces and impacts associated with historic preservation in the twentieth-century United States.

In Montana, three SHPO planning eras stand out. From 1966 to 1976, the SHPO drew heavily on federal guidelines and input from a small cadre of professional historians to craft top-down preservation plans. This research demonstrates that Montana plans during this period are ideological successors of earlier preservation efforts in that they generally privileged 19th-century Euro-American expansion into western North America, and solidified Montana's connections to national heritage. From 1977 to 1994, SHPO plans diverged from federal legislation and preservation policy to launch de-centralized, regional- and community-scale preservation programs. These plans employed a wider range of social sciences perspectives in identifying

significant sites and landscapes, solicited public input in planning, generalized Montana's historical themes to re-frame the scope of Montana history and prehistory, and adopted a regional and temporal approach to identifying and categorizing historical sites. From 1995 to 2017, SHPO plans once again adhered tightly to NPS guidelines and formats, but they also had to address tightening federal and state budgets by increased collaboration and coordination with preservation non-profits. Their historical themes consolidated a regional and more culturally inclusive Montana heritage. Montana's SHPO constructed heritage in lockstep with wider heritage movements, both within Montana state institutions and the wider American West.

Bozeman's preservation movement relied upon SHPO action and funding between 1966 and 1987. Subsequent efforts built on this strong foundation to increase public interest, which gave way to a period of community-driven preservation from 1987 to 2003. City staff such as the CHPO and stakeholders such as BHPAG advocated for strong preservation and committed time and effort into achieving preservation outcomes. City ordinances strengthened these efforts by offering regulatory weight to Bozeman's preservation movement. More recently, however, changes to city ordinances, high turnover rates of CHPO and BHPAB staff, public uncertainty about the value of historic preservation, protests against preservation's costs, and development pressures in Bozeman's historic core have eroded the preservation program's capabilities.

The two narratives touch at tangents, notably during the 1980s, when SHPO funds and a decentralized planning model enabled Bozeman to document its historic structures at an unprecedented scale, and again in 1991 with the establishment of the Bozeman CLG and the assurance of annual SHPO funds through that program. Overall, however, this article's findings underscore tenuous and sometimes ambiguous relationships between state-directed policies and

on-the-ground preservation outcomes, echoing previous research.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, considering Montana's preservation movements side by side reveals common themes.

First, inter-scalar influences matter. Montana's SHPO planning follows the arc of national preservation planning philosophies and is particularly illustrative of state-directed preservation during the 1970s and between 1995 and 2017, when planning followed precedents established by other states and adhered tightly to NPS guidelines. Similarly, Bozeman's adoption of historic districts follows national precedents, and the generative forces underlying Bozeman preservation outcomes find their counterparts in other urban communities across the West.

Second, key individuals matter. In Bozeman, long-tenured professional historic preservationists in City employ and advocacy groups such as BHPAB perennially promoted and supported local preservation ordinances and regulatory frameworks. At the SHPO level, innovators such as Carroll Van West led the way in contributing to and re-framing preservation outcomes and philosophies, while others such as Merrill Burlingame left their individual marks on Montana's heritage themes. Individuals also impeded preservation. Developers and pro-development citizens contested Bozeman's preservation movement, and their influences included periodic gutting of preservation ordinances and support for the construction of high-density development complexes in Bozeman's downtown area in the twenty-first century.

Third, money matters. The availability of funding shapes historic preservation outcomes at the state and community scale. SHPO capabilities to shape preservation outcomes across the state were strongest with fuller financial support from state and federal sources, and in the face of tightening budgets the SHPO had to take on a less intensive and more advisory role. Similarly, the capabilities of Bozeman to initiate and conduct a strong preservation program required city funding. Reductions in funding, meanwhile, reduced the program's overall effectiveness.

Furthermore, developers and detractors from Bozeman's preservation movement consistently cited high costs and low returns as a key argument against urban preservation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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¹ For an overview of historic preservation, see Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to its History, Principles, and Practice* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2009).

² For examples, see Philip V. Scarpino, "Planning for Preservation: A Look at the Federal-State Historic Preservation Program, 1966-1986" *The Public Historian* 14.2 (1992): 49-66; Elizabeth Potter, "Significant Events in the Oregon Historic Preservation Movement" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 117.3 (2016): 440-451; and Elizabeth Potter, "The National Historic Preservation Act at Fifty: How a Wide-Ranging Federal-State Partnership Made Its Mark in Oregon" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 117.3 (2016): 378-401.

³ See e.g., Davarian Baldwin, "'It's Not the Location, It's the Institution: The New Politics of Historic Preservation Within the Heritage Tourism Economy'" *Buildings and Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 23.2 (2016): 6-22.

⁴ See e.g., Neil Smith, "Comment on David Listokin, Barbara Listokin, and Michael Lahr's 'The Contributions of Historic Preservation to Housing and Economic Development': Historic Preservation in a Neoliberal Age" *Housing Policy Debate* 9.3 (1998): 479-485 for a condemnation of historic preservation as a tool of displacement; See e.g., N. Edward Coulsen and Robin Leichenko, "Historic Preservation and Neighborhood Change" *Urban Studies* 41.8 (2004): 1587-1600 for a counterargument.

⁵ See e.g., Stephanie Ryberg-Webster, "One Step Ahead of the Bulldozer: Historic Preservation in Houston, Texas" *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 12.1 (2019): 15-33.

⁶ Dolores Hayden, "Placemaking, Preservation, and Urban History" *Journal of Architectural Education* 41.3 (1988): 45-51.

⁷ Recent works exploring heritage and preserved landscapes include Paz Benito Del Pozo and Pablo Alonso Gonzalez, "Industrial Heritage and Place Identity in Spain: From Monuments to Landscapes" *Geographical Review* 102.4 (2012): 446-464; and Waldemar Cudny, "The Ironbridge Gorge Heritage Site and Its Local and Regional Functions" *Bulletin of Geography: Socioeconomic Series* 36 (2017): 61-75.

⁸ P.B. Del Pozo and P.A. Gonzalez, "Industrial Heritage and Place Identity" (2012), 449-450.

⁹ Joshua Hagen, "Historic Preservation in Nazi Germany: Place, Memory, and Nationalism" *Journal of Historical Geography* 35.4 (2009): 690-715.

¹⁰ Morrison Caves was protected through the Antiquities Act by President Theodore Roosevelt. See Kenneth Karzmiski, "The Lewis and Clark Caverns: Politics and the Establishment of Montana's First State Park" *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 31 (1981): 32-45.

¹¹ Richard W. Sellars, "A Very Large Array: Early Federal Historic Preservation – The Antiquities Act, Mesa Verde, and the National Park Service Act" *Natural Resources Journal* 47.2 (2007): 267-328.

¹² See e.g., Teresa Bergman, *Exhibiting Patriotism: Creating and Contesting Interpretations of American Historic Sites* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2013).

¹³ See, for example, Ray Mattison, *Preliminary Report on the Historic Sites of Montana in the Missouri River Basin* (Washington: National Park Service, 1955).

¹⁴ A listing of Montana's twenty-eight National Historic Landmarks is accessible at <https://www.N.P.S.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/list-of-nhls-by-state.htm#onthisPage-26>. Last accessed 10 May 2019.

¹⁵ See Diana Lubick, "Historic Preservation in the Rocky Mountain West." PhD diss. Northern Arizona University, 1987.

¹⁶ See e.g., Francesca Morgan, "Regions Remote from Revolutionary Scenes: Regionalism, Nationalism, and the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution, 1890-1930" *The Annals of Iowa* 56.1 (1997): 46-79.

¹⁷ See e.g., James M. Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism, and the Remaking of Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) for an illuminating case study of early United States preservation efforts.

¹⁸ For a 1930s inventory and evaluation of historical markers and historic preservation in Montana, see Frank H. Garver, *Marking Historical Sites in Montana* (Dillon: Montana State Normal College, 1930). See also Carroll Van West, "Montana's Monuments: History in the Making" *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 40.4 (1990): 12-25.

¹⁹ Garver, *Marking Historical Sites* (1930), 17, 19.

²⁰ Museum Association meeting minutes, November 1953, Beaverhead Museum Association Records, Beaverhead County Museum.

²¹ Agencies charged with Montana state parks include the office of the State Forester (1929-1953); the Montana Highway Department (1953-1956); and the Montana Department of Fish and Game, later renamed to Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks (1956-present). See David Conklin, "The Long Road to Riches: The Development of Montana's State Park System" *Montana Outdoors* (1978): 2-8, 37 for an overview of the state park system to 1978.

²² For an overview of the MHS, see Brian Shovers, "Saving Montana's Past" *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 52.1 (2002): 50-59; and Letter from John W. Hakola to K. Ross Toole, April 1958, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1. Box 1, Folder 3. Montana Historical Society Research Center Archives, Helena, Montana (hereafter MHS).

²³ Shovers, "Saving Montana's Past" (2002), 55. For the Historic Sites Committee, see Letter from Ashley Roberts, State Park Director, to Merrill G. Burlingame, 28 January 1958, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1. Box 8, Folder 17. MHS. See also Letter from Ken Korte, M.H.S. Director, to Board of Trustees, 17 December 1976, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1. Box 1, Folder 9. MHS.

²⁴ See Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001) for an overview of post-war suburban growth.

²⁵ For 1972, for example, the Fish and Game Commission planned to expend \$29,900 in preservation activities, including acquisitions and restoration of historic structures at Bannack and several brick and mortar projects in various Montana communities. See Minutes of the Governor's Advisory Committee for the Protection of Historic Sites, 17 December 1971, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1. Box 8, Folder 19. MHS. Funding earmarked for survey work would expand throughout the 1970s. The budget for 1975, for example, included \$15,550 for surveys. See Historic Sites Program Proposed 1975 Fiscal Year Work Program, 1974, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1. Box 8, Folder 20. MHS.

²⁶ Funding for surveying and rehabilitation persisted until 1993, when statewide budget cuts greatly reduced funding for SHPO preservation. See Letter from Brian Cockhill to MHS Board of Trustees, September 1993, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1. Box 1 Folder 13. MHS.

²⁷ MT Fish and Game Commission, *The Montana Historic Preservation Plan with Historic Sites Compendium, 1970* (Helena: MT Fish and Game Commission, 1970), iii.

²⁸ Montana Historical Society, *Bulletin #1: 1989—On With Montana Preservation Planning* (Helena: Montana Historical Society, 1989), 1.

²⁹ See Letter from Wesley Woodgerd to Merrill G. Burlingame, 14 August 1970, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1, Box 8, Folder 16. MHS. The letter specified that the format and content of the 1970 preservation plan were based on NPS guidelines for grants.

³⁰ MT Fish and Game, *Montana Historic Preservation Plan, 1970* (1970), 9. The inventory's accuracy is up for debate. A 1967 article appearing in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, for example, documented the history of Bozeman's first opera house and city hall, which was demolished by June of 1966 and replaced with a parking lot. Nonetheless, the opera house was listed as Bozeman's only historic site in the 1970 inventory. See John DeHaas and Bernice DeHaas, "Footlights and Fire Engines: Bozeman Opera House" *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 17.4 (1967): 28-43.

³¹ MT Fish and Game, *Montana Historic Preservation Plan, 1970* (1970), 73.

³² R. Mattison, *Preliminary Report on the Historic Sites of Montana in the Missouri River Basin* (1955), 2.

³³ MT Fish and Game, *Montana Historic Preservation Plan, 1970* (1970), 14.

³⁴ MT Fish and Game Commission, *The Montana Historic Preservation Plan With Historic Sites Compendium, 1974* (Helena: MT Fish and Game Commission, 1974).

³⁵ See Carroll Van West, *The Resource Protection Planning Process for Montana Historic Contexts* (Helena: Montana State Historic Preservation Office, 1985), 2, for an evaluation of the contributions of Roeder and Lang to

the re-formulation of historical themes in preservation planning. Furthermore, as a pre-eminent member of the Historic Preservation Review Board, Merrill Burlingame continued to play a role in editing Montana preservation plans.

³⁶ MT Fish and Game, *Montana Historic Preservation Plan, 1974* (1974).

³⁷ See MT Fish and Game, Montana State Historical Register: Procedures for the Protection of Properties Under the State Antiquities Act, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1, Box 8 Folder 21. MHS.

³⁸ MT Historic Sites and Antiquities Advisory Council, Minutes of the Historic Sites and Antiquities Advisory Council, 27 February 1975, Montana Historical Society Director's Records, 1951-2003. MHS 2. Box 22 Folder 27. MHS.

³⁹ C. Van West, *The Resource Protection Planning Process* (1985), 2.

⁴⁰ Letter from Thomas Judge to Kenneth Korte, December 1976, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. MHS 1. Box 1, Folder 9. MHS.

⁴¹ The author's personal communication with current SHPO staff suggests the SHPO's early years in the MHS lacked any new editions of preservation planning until 1985.

⁴² See C. Van West, *The Resource Protection Planning Process* (1985), and MHS, *1989—On With Preservation* (1989) for further critique of 1970s planning.

⁴³ C. Van West, *The Resource Protection Planning Process* (1985), 1.

⁴⁴ Montana Historical Society, *Bulletin #19: Historic Contexts—Some Historic Historic Contexts!* (Helena: Montana Historical Society, 1993), 3.

⁴⁵ Montana Historical Society, *Bulletin #19* (1993), 3.

⁴⁶ Montana Historical Society, *Bulletin #1* (1989), 1.

⁴⁷ Personal communication with S.H.P.O. staff, June 2019.

⁴⁸ Montana State Historic Preservation Office, *Working Together: The 1997 Montana Historic Preservation Plan* (Helena: State Historic Preservation Office, 1997).

⁴⁹ Montana State Historic Preservation Office, *Preservation Montana: The Montana Historic Preservation Plan, 2018—2022* (Helena: State Historic Preservation Office, 2017), 26—27.

⁵⁰ Montana State Historic Preservation Office, *Preservation Montana* (2017), 9—25.

⁵¹ Montana State Historic Preservation Office, *Working Together* (1997), 20—21.

⁵² Montana State Historic Preservation Office, *Working Together* (1997), 24—25.

⁵³ Montana State Historic Preservation Office, *Preservation Montana* (2017), 43—47.

⁵⁴ Personal communication with S.H.P.O. staff, June 2019.

⁵⁵ Bozeman and its local landscapes are not directly associated with Montana's mining history. There are currently no records of sites and landscapes of indigenous significance within Bozeman's city limits, though a number of sites related to indigenous history are documented throughout Gallatin County, most notably Madison Buffalo Jump State Park, (near Logan), Crow Agency and the Bozeman Pass (both near Livingston), and Missouri Headwaters State Park (near Three Forks).

⁵⁶ MT Fish and Game, *Montana Historic Preservation Plan, 1970* (1970), 24.

⁵⁷ The 1970 plan also listed Fort Ellis three miles east of Bozeman. While beyond city limits, Fort Ellis is cited for its significance as a military site and role in Euro-American western expansion. See MT Fish and Game, *Montana Historic Preservation Plan, 1970* (1970), 60.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Jim Jenks, *A Guide to Historic Bozeman* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2007) for a brief discussion of the role of John DeHaas in Bozeman's preservation efforts.

⁵⁹ Al Thompson, Report on Field Trip with National Trust Representatives, 2 December 1976, Montana Historical Society Board of Trustees Records, 1865-2003. M.H.S. 1. Box 8, Folder 21. MHS.

⁶⁰ See <https://www.bozeman.net/government/community-development/historic-preservation/historic-districts> for an overview of historic districts and their periods of historical significance. Last accessed 10 June 2019.

⁶¹ See Tad Brooks, "Building Preservation Proposal Would Require Approval," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 20 December 1989, 1.

⁶² Derek Strahn, "The Origins of Historic Preservation in Bozeman," (unpublished papers, 2017), 1.

⁶³ For a broad overview of the role of BHPAB, City of Bozeman's "Citizen Advisory Boards," available at <https://www.bozeman.net/government/citizen-advisory-boards#B.H.P.A.B.> Last accessed 10 June 2019.

⁶⁴ Joan Kelly, a history graduate student at M.S.U., was appointed a volunteer CHPO in 1988. The first part time officers, Dennis Seibel and Catherine Goetz, had academic training in history. See Joan Bjarko, "Preserving the Past," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 11 May 1988, 17 and D. Strahn, *Origins* (2017), 1.

⁶⁵ See Tracy Ellig, "Ellen's Fans Brainstorm on Theater Preservation," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 19 June 1996, 9 for an evaluation of Strahn's impacts on preservation in Bozeman. Strahn was followed by three more CHPO officers: Jim Jenks, Allison Bristol, and Courtney Kramer. From 2015—2017, the City of Bozeman failed to hire a CHPO See also D. Strahn, *Origins* (2017) 3-5.

⁶⁶ Derek Strahn, "City Shouldn't Turn Its Back on Historic Preservation," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 3 December 2015, n.p.

⁶⁷ Tad Brooks, "Historic Tax Break Makes History," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 5 December 1989, 1.

⁶⁸ See <https://friendsofthestory.org/about-the-story/> for an overview of the Story Mansion's purchase by the City of Bozeman. Last accessed 5 June 2019.

⁶⁹ See, for example, John DeHaas, "City Commission Commended for Saving SAE House," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 2 June 2003, n.p. as representative of a pro-preservation view on Story Mansion. In contrast, see Joyce Shepherd, "Spend Taxes on Something Better than Mansion," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 3 April 2003, n.p. and Sandy Kingma, "Waste of Money," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 31 October 2003, n.p.

⁷⁰ Eric Dietrich, "Consultants to Evaluate Bozeman's Historic Regulations," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 12 April 2015.

⁷¹ D. Strahn, *Turn Its Back* (2015), n.p.

⁷² Kathryn Houghton, "Bozeman Historic Guidelines Show Community Split," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 2 October 2018, n.p.

⁷³ D. Strahn, *Turn Its Back* (2015), n.p. and D. Strahn, *Origins* (2017) 5.

⁷⁴ SaveBozeman.org, "Controversial Black-Olive City Commission Decision is on October 9," *Bozeman Magazine* 2 October 2017.

⁷⁵ Eric Dietrich, "Amid Boom, Advocates Question City's Commitment to Historic Preservation," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 18 December 2015, n.p. and D. Strahn, *Origins*, 5—6.

⁷⁶ Kathryn Houghton, "Black Olive Gets the Green Light," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 18 October 2017, n.p.

⁷⁷ Derek Strahn, "Kudos to City for Supporting Historic Preservation," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* 31 March 2019, n.p.

⁷⁸ See e.g., P.B. Del Pozo and P.A. Gonzalez, "Industrial Heritage and Place Identity" (2012) for a discussion of Spanish preservation movements and John Renne and David Listokin, "The Opportunities and Tensions of Historic Preservation and Transit-Oriented Development (TOD)" *Cities* 90 (2018): 249-262 for evaluations of preservation outcomes in six United States' communities. Their findings suggest that varying local conditions defy an easy, standardized approach to preservation outcomes.



FIGURE 4.1. Daughters of the American Revolution commemorative plaque. Plaques such as this one commemorating Fort Ellis near Bozeman typified early preservation efforts by civic organizations prior to 1966. Source: Photograph by the author, August 2015.



FIGURE 4.2. Scene from Bannack State Park. Montana's state park system preserved selected features of Montana history and was a key generative force behind state-directed historic preservation prior to 1966. Bannack State Park, a flagship unit in the Montana parks system, preserves a selective view of a gold mining boom town and Montana's earliest territorial capital. Source: Photograph by the author, September 2018.



FIGURE 4.3. Story Mansion in Bozeman, Montana. Story Mansion is the most iconic building in what is now Bozeman's Bon Ton Historic District. Opulent, 19th century architecture defines the Bon Ton Historic District and its predecessor, South Willson Historic District. Story Mansion represents a successful historic preservation outcome, but fierce debate surrounded the City's decision to purchase the site in 2003. Source: Image reproduced courtesy of Nicolas Bergmann.

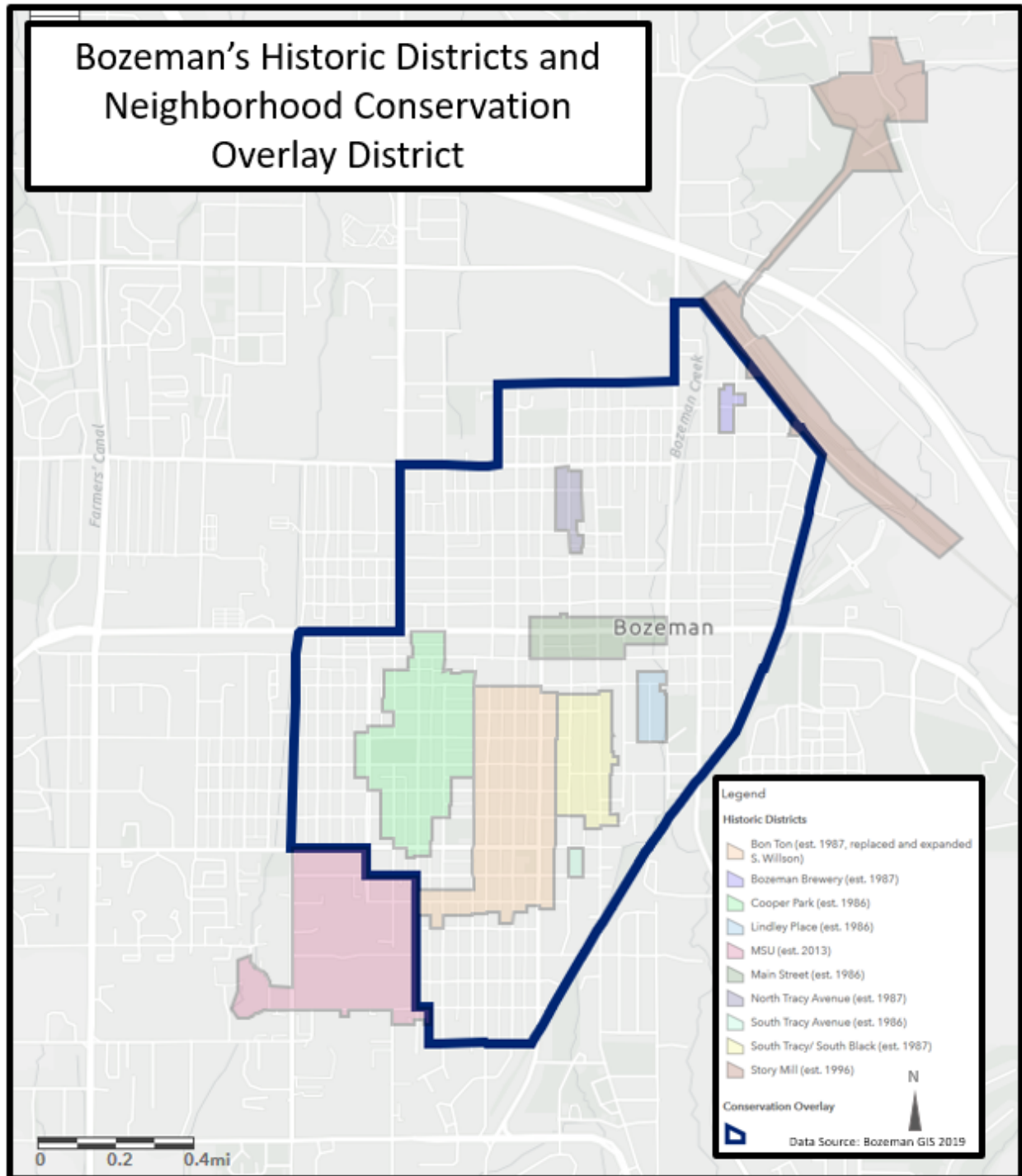


FIGURE 4.4. Bozeman's historic districts and neighborhood conservation overlay district (NCOD). The NCOD boundaries correspond to the boundaries of Bozeman's city limits during the 1950s. Source: Data available from City of Bozeman (2019). Cartography by the author.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMMON LESSONS

Geographical Perspectives on Montana Heritage

This dissertation examines how Montana state institutions shape and direct heritage production. I selected three institutions, including the Montana Department of Transportation (MDoT), Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks (FWP), and the Montana State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), and examined the ways they used mechanisms of highway map programs (MDoT), state parks (FWP) and historic preservation (SHPO) to produce heritage.

I selected these institutions because the mechanisms they used in state-directed heritage production are particularly well suited to investigation from geographical perspectives and with geographic tools and concepts. Geography's general emphasis on interpreting and using maps, cultural geography's strong tradition of examining visual and cartographic materials for deeper cultural meaning, and historical geography's focus on examining how geographical processes change over time paired well with my exploration of how Montana highway maps produced heritage from 1914-2000. Geographical concepts (especially those of cultural landscapes and sites of memory) provided the conceptual frameworks guiding my investigations of Montana's state park system and Montana's historic preservation movement. Furthermore, these case studies highlighted the value of geography's inter-scalar perspective, because archival work revealed the influence that national and local institutions and actors had in constructing heritage at the state scale.

The Common Lessons of Montana's State-Directed Heritage

Each chapter contributes to ongoing scholarship in historical and cultural geography and to cognate fields in historic preservation, parks scholarship, and the histories of tourism, transportation, and historic preservation in the American West. When considered collectively, however, these case studies support the following common lessons about state-directed heritage production:

Lesson 1) States shape heritage production in a variety of ways and these diverse institutional drivers evolve over time. My dissertation examines how selected state agencies participate in the production of state-directed heritage through a variety of mechanisms. Each chapter demonstrates how state agencies leveraged a particular mechanism of heritage production, including state highway maps (Chapter 2), the state park system (Chapter 3), and state-directed historic preservation efforts (Chapter 4).

These mechanisms—maps, state parks, and historic preservation—demonstrate forms of state-directed heritage that complement one another but do not perfectly align in content or in intended audience. Two trends help explain these disconnections. First, the authors underlying heritage production through state action differ between institutions. The use of Montana's highway maps as a means to produce heritage, for example, were the innovation of Robert Fletcher and Irvin Shope, Montana Highway Department employees. State Advertising Unit employees working within the Highway Department authored later editions. Subsequently, the messages of Montana heritage within the maps varied in content over time. The heritage conveyed by Montana's state park and historic preservation movement, meanwhile, initially

developed from a different set of common sources, including local Daughters of the American Revolution chapters and, later, Fish and Game Commission employees. Thanks to shared sources, these two movements paralleled one another more tightly until authorship diverged in the mid-to-late twentieth century. For state parks, heritage remained concentrated in the hands of Montana Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, while Montana's historic preservation movement shifted to the Montana Historical Society and evolved towards a decentralized, community-scale model.

Second, the differing mechanisms of heritage production suggest that state-directed heritage production reaches different audiences. Montana's state highway maps convey visions of heritage directed at automobile tourists. State parks, meanwhile, project visions of Montana heritage directed at a blend of Montana residents and tourists visiting the state, while the uses and actors underlying state-directed historic preservation suggest its primary purpose audience are local communities. Heritage directed outward, such as that of highway maps and aspects of Montana state parks, might have more of a focus on commodifying places. Chapter 2 clearly demonstrates the commodification of an outwardly-directed form of state heritage, particularly in its development of a hospitality theme. Heritage produced for local consumption, meanwhile, may contribute more to sense of place and quality of life. Chapter 4 illustrates this trend best. Bozeman's local historic preservation efforts and many of the local reactions against twenty-first century development in the city's historic core explicitly cite sense of place as an underlying driver of historic preservation. The state's project of directing heritage, then, has implications for the construction of a broadly defined Montanan regional identity that resonates across geographic scales, from those of communities to the global. Furthermore, heritage production is often a deliberate process that aims to solidify a sense of internal cohesion and place attachment. In these case studies, place attachment is a persistent theme. Chapter 2 reveals how highway

maps serve as anchors of place attachment when the MDoT saw heavy criticism in its decision to erase town names and feeder roads in highway maps at the millennium. Motivations underlying the critique surrounded Montanans' feelings that changes to the maps erased a sense of local attachment to place. In Chapter 3, mechanisms underlying heritage production at Bannack, especially during the first half of the twentieth century, reflect a need to establish a sense of rootedness within Bannack landscapes. Pioneers telling tall tales and DAR plaques commemorating the arrival of Euro-American civilization all represent attempts to legitimize claims to southwest Montana landscapes. In Chapter 4, meanwhile, debates between local stakeholder groups and developers demonstrate how pro-preservation advocates mobilize historic preservation to preserve a particular urban fabric and sense of place. My research illuminates how heritage production connects with these processes in twentieth-century Montana contexts.

No matter their form, the mechanisms of state heritage production do not remain static. Instead, the mechanisms' effectiveness and content evolve over time. Numerous influences—including federal and state political mandates (Chapters 3 and 4), the availability of funding from state, federal, and local sources (Chapters 2, 3 and 4), changing technologies (Chapter 2), and changing philosophies and practices (Chapters 3 and 4)—help explain some of the changes made to mechanisms of Montana's state-directed heritage production during the twentieth century.

This lesson is transferrable to other states. The state institutions and mechanisms underlying heritage production in Montana have their analogues in state governments across the United States. All fifty states have highway map programs, state park systems, and state historic preservation offices. The trajectories of heritage production through these institutions and mechanisms, however, will vary from state to state. This dissertation lays out guideposts for

further investigations of state-directed heritage and offers a foundation to identifying wider patterns of state-directed heritage.

Lesson 2) State-directed heritage is produced out of an evolving dynamic that exists across institutional and geographic scales. Both national and local influences prove critical in constructing various narratives of heritage at the state level. Montana's state-directed heritage must be understood through an inter-scalar perspective that recognizes the evolving roles local, state, and national impulses have in heritage production.

Inter-scalar influences—whether institutional (such as those of federal government or local civic organizations) or geographical (such as those of wider state and regional contexts)—have profound impacts on the ways state-directed heritage production occurs. Chapter 2, for example, demonstrates how the rise of state highway maps as a means to shape Montana heritage is connected to federal infrastructure development across Montana during the 1930s. Furthermore, many of the heritage themes conveyed by highway maps change in response to wider cultural norms and values (see Lesson 5 below for an expanded discussion). In Chapter 3, local organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and Beaverhead Museum Association played a significant role in developing Montana's early state park system and initiating heritage construction at state park sites. Early local inputs were followed by a complex interweaving of state, federal, and local inputs of funding and personnel, shaping the heritage themes articulated by state parks. The availability of federal Land Water Conservation Funds (LWCF), for example, enabled the Montana state park system to rapidly expand its number of units associated with water recreation while simultaneously permitting funds to be allocated to developing pre-existing parks such as Bannack. Similarly, Chapter 4 illustrates the ways historic preservation outcomes within Montana's urban landscapes are produced out of the dynamic

between local, state, and federal actors and conditions. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), for example, mandated the creation of State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) and established both sources of federal funds and preservation mandates enabling state-directed preservation in Montana. Chapter 4 also demonstrates how local dynamics, such as the presence of key preservation advocates and local ordinances, strengthened preservation outcomes in Bozeman's urban landscapes. Conversely, development pressures in Bozeman's residential and commercial core eroded preservation efforts at the local scale.

By highlighting how processes and generative forces at scales above and below the state shape state-directed heritage, this dissertation demonstrates the value and relevancy of geography's attention to inter-scalar dynamics in understanding state-directed heritage production. Furthermore, they destabilize conceptualizations of states as bounded institutional entities through showcasing how forces beyond direct state control have real outcomes in states' capabilities to manage governance outcomes, including those of heritage production.

Lesson 3) Key individuals matter in heritage production and they have the ability to shape long-term narratives of state-produced heritage at key moments in time. Key individuals operating at state and local levels shape state-directed heritage production. These key individuals played outsized roles in establishing the mechanisms through which state-directed heritage was (and remains) constructed or had lasting impacts in the associated meanings and discourses that state-directed heritage conveyed. Their role in shaping Montana's state-directed heritage is particularly legible in the early years of heritage production. Women and men such as Elfreda Woodside and local DAR organizations (Chapters 3 and 4), Robert Fletcher and Irvin "Shorty" Shope (Chapter 2), John DeHaas and Merrill G. Burlingame (Chapter 4) are but a few key individuals whose ideas and actions had enduring impacts on processes of state-directed

Montana heritage. Individuals initiated particular mechanisms of heritage production (e.g., Fletcher and Shope established a highway map program catering to tourists, and Woodside acquired Bannack properties to establish a state park). Individuals were also clear authors underlying particular heritage themes. Fletcher and Shope developed the foundations of enduring heritage themes in Montana highway maps, such as hospitality and a mythic West. Woodside and the DAR used Montana state parks to celebrate a pioneer heritage. Professional historians such as Burlingame and others approved the preservation of particular sites through the NHPA and edited preservation guidelines in state planning documents.

Still others advocated for particular mechanisms of heritage production at key moments in time. State forester Rutledge Parker initiated calls for a state park system in Montana (Chapter 3). CHPO officers and community members such as Derek Strahn and BHPAG members advocated for preservation ordinances in Bozeman (Chapter 4). The diverse roles of key individuals in Montana and other states' analogous institutions must be appreciated in understanding how state-directed heritage is initiated, produced, and disseminated to the public. Like the wider interscalar forces at work in shaping governance processes within states, the actions of individuals suggest that structures of state institutions are more complex than a simple, monolithic entity.

Individuals also impede heritage production. In Chapter 3, for example, unknown individuals who vandalized Bannack impeded the ability of the state park to mobilize park structures and resources in processes of heritage production. Chapter 4 demonstrates historic preservation is a contested process in urban spaces, and Bozeman's historic preservation outcomes often grappled with opposition from developers, city officials, and pro-development

citizens. The dynamic of oppositional forces and individuals demonstrate how heritage production is a contested process.

Lesson 4) Money matters in heritage production: sufficient funding from state and federal sources consolidates the state's ability to construct heritage; and when funding from state and federal sources is tightened, the ability to direct heritage production is weakened. State-directed heritage is intimately linked to issues of funding from local, state, and federal sources. My examination of Montana's state-directed heritage demonstrates two broad trends that shift periodically during the twentieth century:

Lesson 4a) Sufficient funding from state and federal sources consolidates the state's ability to produce heritage. In other words, when state and federal funds support the institutions and mechanisms of heritage production, the state is better able to direct and shape heritage production. Chapters 3 and 4 bring this trend into high relief, for they demonstrate when funding inputs from federal and state legislative action had significant impacts on how and to what extent state-directed heritage was constructed in twentieth-century Montana. State-directed heritage at Bannack State Park, for example, benefited from an expansion of park funding from state and federal sources during the 1970s and 1980s (Chapter 3), while heritage production through state-directed historic preservation is enabled through the availability of funds mandated by the federal government during the late 1960s (Chapter 4). In Chapter 2, meanwhile, consistent funding appropriations from the Montana state legislature kept pace with the needs of the MDoT, permitting the institution and its historical predecessors to operate a robust highway map program capable of projecting heritage to a large audience.

In contrast, **Lesson 4b)** illustrates that **when funding from state and federal sources is tightened, the ability of the state to direct heritage production is weakened.** Once again,

Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate this trend. In the early years of the state park system, for example, restricted funding and bottomed out budgets prevented the acquisition of potential park sites such as Bannack. Subsequent budgetary restrictions during the 1990s reduced the capability of the state to develop and implement necessary programs for effective park management at state-owned sites (Chapter 3). Reduced funding for historic preservation at state and municipal levels, meanwhile, combined with development pressures to reduce the capability of state and city institutions to direct historic preservation in Montana's urban landscapes after 2003 (Chapter 4).

Restrictions of funding from state and federal funds may weaken state-directed mechanisms of heritage production in favor of a more "dispersed" authorship underlying heritage production. In Chapter 3, for example, two instances stand out. First, restricted funds prevented the state from acquiring Bannack directly, and so state institutions had to turn towards alternative means of acquiring Bannack, such as grassroots fundraising. Second, reduced funding for state parks during the 1990s caused the state to look towards alternative funding structures to address budgetary needs at state parks. Grassroots organizations such as the Bannack Association worked in tandem with state agencies to increase available funds at individual state park sites. These efforts re-framed Bannack's heritage construction in ways that better catered to a tourist audience, such as the addition of ghost walks and re-enactments of historical events.

Chapter 4 illustrates how the devolution of state-directed heritage to municipal and city government in Bozeman (thanks in large part the combined impact of changing legislative mandates, preservation philosophies, and reduced funding at the state and federal scale) re-framed historic preservation as a neolocal impulse. State plans preservation plans produced after 2000 made outreach and collaboration with non-government groups a key priority. Subsequently,

state-directed historic preservation shifted its *raison d'être* to a less financially intensive advisory role.

Relatedly, this research suggests that even relatively modest amounts of funding from state and federal sources can have profound impacts on the ability of western states to construct heritage. Chapter 3, for example, demonstrates that Montana's state park movement turned towards grassroots fundraising at critical points in its history. Its initial development often relied on individual donations, such as those experienced at Bannack. Similarly, when state funding tightened during the 1990s, the state had to turn towards alternative funding streams. At Bannack, for example, the rise of non-profits such as the Bannack Association proved critical in providing money and volunteer hours for the maintenance and activities at the park. Collectively, the findings of Lesson 4 suggest that funding is fundamental to state-directed heritage production in the United States.

Lesson 5) The changing content of heritage production over time reflects changing cultural values and related political mandates. State-directed heritage production reflects changing cultural values and articulates an evolving picture of what the culture that produces heritage regards as important. Furthermore, the changing content also reflects influences from political mandates at the federal and state level.

Federal and state scale political mandates often enable and shape the trajectory of Montana's heritage production. Federal initiatives establish conditions necessary to launch the mechanisms of heritage production at the state level. In Montana, the Works Project Administration and its infrastructure development offered a foundational resource that Montana's highway department capitalized on with its map program. State legislative action also mandated that the highway department produce maps for the public (Chapter 2). Federal

initiatives involving the national Bicentennial and the funding appropriations of programs such as the LWCF bolstered state heritage production at state parks. Similarly, state political mandates bolstered state parks, such as the establishment of Coal Tax funds for park development (Chapter 3). The passage of the NHPA of 1966, meanwhile, built the institutional framework of Montana's state-directed historic preservation through the SHPO. Federal and state collaborative efforts, meanwhile, drove the establishment of Montana's Certified Local Government programs (Chapter 4). These examples illustrate that political mandates are key events driving the production of state-directed heritage.

In Montana, the content of state-directed heritage production exhibits several trends. First, each case study exhibits a general trend towards recognizing and reifying a more inclusive heritage that better captures and represents Montana's multifaceted histories. In Chapter 3, for example, archival evidence suggests that state-directed heritage production at Bannack State Park actively sought to include indigenous perspectives and histories at the site after 2000, which complicated previous efforts at heritage production that positioned Bannack as a site solely significant for its Euro-American histories. In Chapter 4, SHPO planning documents became more inclusive in scope after 1977, when plans explicitly sought to incorporate non-Euro-American sites into state preservation plans. This is most evident in Van West's willingness to incorporate a wider set of disciplinary perspectives in developing Montana's preservation planning, such as the more inclusive perspectives offered by New Western History and the expanded theoretical repertoire offered by the cultural turn that swept through social sciences research in the late twentieth century.

Second, all the case studies reflect national and regional cultural impulses, which connects Montana heritage to wider ideological contexts. In Chapter 2, for example, Montana

highway maps consistently drew on and contributed to regional imagery of a broadly defined American West during the 1930s, and later incorporated imagery such as Montana's "Four Season Vacationland" during the 1970s. These images and changes have clear connections to wider national movements, such as an interest in Old West icons through film and dime novels during the opening decades of the twentieth century and the rise of a burgeoning middle class seeking outdoor recreation opportunities after World War II. Another legible example of highway maps connecting to a national narrative occurred during World War II, when the 1942 map promoted Montana as essential to the national war effort through emphasizing Montana's industrial resources. Chapter 3, meanwhile, demonstrates clear connections to wider national impulses. Early heritage production at Bannack by actors such as the DAR, for example, cultivated a vision of heritage that connected Bannack to a national, westering experience. This pattern was in lockstep with DAR heritage production across the United States, especially in interior states. Another particularly legible example of national impulses influencing Bannack heritage production occurs during the national Bicentennial, when celebratory performances and national iconography during the inaugural Bannack Days clearly connected Bannack to patriotic national narratives. In Chapter 4, Van West's RP3 reforms clearly drew on wider intellectual movements, including the rise of New Western history and developments in social science theories. Chapter 4 also illustrates how preservation impulses in Bozeman, such as the establishment of historic districts in Bozeman's commercial and residential core, were in response to wider national imperatives about the value of vernacular urban landscapes. These examples suggest that Montana heritage is inextricably woven into wider ideological contexts.

Lesson 6) Montana's processes of state-directed heritage production demonstrate the dispersed nature of local state authority and governance, especially as it relates to

state's abilities to frame place-based identities. Cultural and historical geographers and heritage scholars examine how place-based identities coalesce through various mechanisms operating at multiple geographical scales ranging from the national (e.g., Zelinsky 1988; Johnson 1995; Osborne 2001) to those of local government (e.g., Hoelscher 1998a and 1998b). This dissertation started from the framework of understanding how states direct heritage through top-down mechanisms. Montana's government institutions represent those of a local state, defined here as government that operates at sub-national scales. Local states operate within national-scale state entities, often through parameters established by the centralized national state power (Cockburn 1977). In exploring how Montana's local state mobilizes mechanisms of heritage production, however, the story of Montana state-directed heritage reveals itself as less one of government and instead one of governance. Governance, when defined as the regulation and mobilization of societies and space, includes both government mechanisms and those forces and structures operating beyond the bounds of government (Wang and Bramwell 2012). Montana state government institutions and their mechanisms of heritage production clearly demonstrate that the governance of heritage extends beyond institutional frameworks and mechanisms and incorporates a wide range of inter-scalar forces. In particular, forces operating at local scales—including civic organizations such as the DAR, non-profit funding agencies such as the Bannack Association, and individual citizens with stakes in processes of heritage production such as Bozeman's BHPAB and others—have profound influences on the trajectory of state-directed heritage production. Furthermore, as noted earlier, individuals operating within Montana state government significantly shaped the trajectory and meaning of state-directed heritage. These players, whether acting within state frameworks or beyond them, have the power of authorship in heritage production. Their presence in Montana's state-directed heritage production point to

shared common lessons about the structures of local state institutions. In Montana's case, the vision of state institutions engaged in heritage production as hierarchical and top-down in its structure is too simplistic. Rather, the presence of individuals within and beyond Montana's state institutions suggest that the power of states to author heritage occurs across a multi-dimensional structure, with multiple nodes playing key roles in effectively managing either the mechanism or meanings underlying heritage production.

Taking Leave of Montana Heritage

In the half-grey light of a very early Montana morning on June 30, 2019, I took my leave of the Bozeman apartment I had called home for the four previous years. The Dodge was stuffed to bursting: books, binoculars, a bike, boxes of maps and miscellanea, sneakers and shoes, cameras, clothes, a small cactus. I left town slowly, through Cooper Park Historic District and then onto East Main Street, where joggers paced past the coffee shops that hadn't yet opened and cranes provided backdrop to buildings on the street's north side. Farther on, beyond the turn to Bozeman Deaconess Hospital, I saw the new Heebs, its dazzlingly bright white lights illuminating empty aisles.

Dawn—a wash of pinks and oranges, yellows and dark greys, purples and deep blues—streaked the sky somewhere near Reed Point. I turned south at Laurel and stopped briefly in each little town I came to. These were aimless visits. I walked their Main Streets, poked about in search of photographs, and wondered if I'd come through again. Silesia, Rockvale, Edgar, Fromberg: the names ticked off, one by one, and I continued driving south. At Bridger, I pulled off at its rest area (Figure 5.1).



FIGURE 5.1. The roadside park at Bridger, Montana. Photograph by the author, June 2019.

Few landscapes capture the dynamics of Montana’s state-directed heritage production so neatly than this roadside park in Bridger, Montana. I initially pulled off to read the MDoT historical highway marker, one funded by the state to articulate selected aspects of Montana history to the traveling automobilist. It celebrated “Jim Bridger, Mountain Man.” At the time, I suspected it is one of the original established by Robert Fletcher and Irvin Shope during the 1930s and 1940s. While an updated plastic slab had replaced the original wooden sign, I noted its rustic base did not conform to the standards of the new historical highway markers. Moreover, its crossbeam bore carvings: covered wagons, cattle, and cowboys, classic Fletcher tropes, now weathered away to faint outlines devoid of substance and color. Yet the sign’s text retained some

of Fletcher's colorful style: Jim Bridger was "A keen observer, a natural geographer and with years of experience amongst the Indians," and was "prone to elaborate a trifle for the benefit of pilgrims" and "it was Jim who embroidered his story of the petrified forest by asserting that he had seen 'a peetrified bird sitting on a peetrified tree singing a peetrified song.'"

Beyond the sign was Bridger himself, standing tall and rusted upon an overgrowth plinth. Beneath the statue's greenery, I found (to my chagrin) a wasp's nest and (to my satisfaction) a bronze plaque. The plaque made explicit the local generative forces and distinct regional consciousness that lay behind the statue's construction. It told me the Bridger Lions Club, other Bridger residents, and Clark Fork Valley residents erected the statue in 1973 to celebrate "the questing nature of the people of Montana," which "is exemplified by the independence of Jim Bridger and the continuing pioneer spirit."

Fluttering above both sign and statue was a symbolic reminder of the federal government's influence on Montana state-directed heritage. The flag's presence also made a not-so-subtle connection between Montana heritage and a wider sense of national identity (Zelinsky 1988). Beyond this trio of symbols reflecting the interweaving of local, state, and federal generative forces at work in making Montana heritage stood a kiosk. It had seen better days: another wasp nest hid beneath one of its wooden displays, and the whole of it could have used a new coat of paint. When I investigated it in my symbolic frame of mind, however, I saw something more than weathered wood and wasp nests. I saw change: in its displays, amongst water-stained and faded postings for Bridger's lost dogs, yard sales, and church dinners, were MDoT and community promotional pamphlets still shiny-new and brightly colored in their plastic protective casings. They advertised another form of Montana heritage, tied not to a

pioneer past but to an amenity present: skiing in Red Lodge, fly-fishing in Livingston, shopping in Bozeman, and good living in Big Sky Country.

I lingered there a while, then drove on.

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