

# Chapter Seven: Rubber-Tired Tourism, 1957-1971

## The Denali Highway Opens

As noted in Chapter 6, the staff at Mount McKinley National Park was well aware during the postwar years of a planned road that would connect the McKinley Park road with the continental road network. The road between Paxsons Roadhouse (on the Richardson Highway) and McKinley Park Station, which came to be called the Denali Highway, was begun in 1950, and each year thereafter new construction took place that brought the two ends of the highway ever closer. In May 1956, the completion of the road was assured when the Alaska Road Commission awarded contracts for the construction of four bridges over the intervening distance. Predictions at that time called for the road to be opened on June 1, 1957.

Bridge work continued throughout the summer and fall of 1956. Contractors, however, fell behind schedule, and by the spring of 1957 the highway's opening date had been pushed back to August. A number of motorists, however, had apparently not been apprised of the delay; they headed down the Richardson Highway toward the park and did not hear the disappointing news until they arrived at Paxson. Park superintendent Duane Jacobs, curious about the ongoing construction, headed out the still-unfinished road in July and noted that the Susitna River bridge was the last remaining obstacle; he gazed east from the bridge's western approach and observed "road equipment . . . working on two or three cuts about two miles from the east end of the bridge."<sup>1</sup>

The two ends of the road were finally linked in early August 1957. The bridge was officially opened on August 5. The first motorists drove the length of the highway, however, on August 2, and the first auto arrived at the park on August 4; it was a 1957 Ford sedan owned by Mr. and Mrs. P. B. Johem of Los Angeles. The opening of the road brought forth a minor flood of automobile traffic; 438 people—most of them Alaska residents—drove into the park in August alone. Hundreds of others, however, continued to arrive by railroad; and despite the highway being open, scores of others continued to bring their cars to the park on railroad flat cars from either Anchorage or Fairbanks.<sup>2</sup>

The road opening brought forth a strong, positive press response. Reporter John Lenferink of the *Anchorage Daily Times* offered the following puff

piece in early August:

For the tourist who loves his scenes as yet unspoiled, for the multitudes of camera fans in search of lures to woo their lens, for the hunting and fishing fraternity in everlasting search of virgin soil, and for the motoring public in general, a new and vast area of interest will be opened soon with the completion of the new Denali Highway. . . .

With this newest addition to Alaska's fast growing network of roads, another region of the territory's vast hinterlands, both rich in wildlife and scenic beauties, has been thrown open to public gaze. Through this wild and rugged land new horizons of scenic grandeur and breathtaking beauty greet the visitor on every side.

Beginning at Paxson, on the Richardson Highway, the new road extends for more than 250 miles to Wonder Lake in the Mt. McKinley National Park area, and slightly beyond to Katisna [sic], an old ghost town. Running east [sic] from Paxson, the road travels through a landscape interspersed with towering mountains, rolling hills, sleepy dales, wandering rivers, and shimmering lakes.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly afterward, Jack DeYonge of the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* wrote a similar story. He noted that the new highway had "opened the heart of Alaska's mountain highlands to hunter, fishermen, tourists and to ma, pa, and the kids off on a weekend trip." He noted that most of the highway was "in good condition and motorists can average about 30 miles an hour on the gravel." He warned, however, that for a 25-mile stretch between the Maclaren River and the Susitna River, "the road rumbles with heavy construction equipment in two or three short stretches. But this stretch is passable to all types of vehicles, including passenger cars, if it is taken slowly." DeYonge cautioned readers to carry five gallons of extra gas; in addition, "a spare tire or two, a tire patching kit and an air pump are almost necessary for the rest of the road." He further noted that the cost of gas for the round trip from Fairbanks would cost between \$30 and

After the Denali Highway opened, motorists could drive their private cars to McKinley Park. Flat tires were a common occurrence on the gravel roads. Bob & Ira Spring Photo, Courtesy of Wallace A. Cole Collection, Camp Denali



Nunatak tent cabin was one of the housekeeping units at Camp Denali, 1958. Bob & Ira Spring Photo, Courtesy of Wallace A. Cole, Camp Denali

\$50.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, *Sunset Magazine* spread the word about the new highway to its large, western-U.S. readership. Its verbiage was more pragmatic, with details on accommodation options, viewpoints, and fishing possibilities. It noted that visitors were likely to be surprised by the park's hotel "which, although it looks like a barracks from the outside, offers unusual conveniences for a place so remote." It also mentioned that "many people spend at least a night at Camp Denali," where rates were \$7 for one person or \$15 for four in the housekeeping cabins and \$1 per day per person in a "bedrock tent." Visitors to the west end of the park road were also encouraged to "visit the ghost town of Kantishna or pull yourself across rushing Moose Creek in a hand cable car to visit the only remaining prospector," Johnny Busia.<sup>5</sup>

Predictably, the completion of the Denali Highway caused a significant spike in park visitation. In 1956, the last year before the road's completion, about 5,200 people had visited the park, but a year later—with the new road open for only about a month before the season closed—visitation more than doubled, to about 10,700. In 1958, the first full year after the road was completed, visitation again doubled, to more than 25,900; it remained at that same high level the following year, the first summer following the declaration of Alaska's statehood. Visitation dipped somewhat thereafter; never again,

however, would visitation return to the numbers that had been tallied in the pre-road days.<sup>6</sup> (See Appendix B.)

#### The Mission 66 Program

Concurrent with the completion of the final legs of the Denali Highway was the unveiling and initial implementation of the Mission 66 program at Mount McKinley National Park. Mission 66 was a long-range development effort for parks throughout the country; its name was derived from 1966, the NPS's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, when most of these efforts were scheduled to be completed. NPS Director Conrad Wirth created the program in 1955. The following January, he garnered the enthusiastic approval of both President Dwight Eisenhower and Interior Secretary Douglas McKay. Wirth announced the program to the public on February 8, 1956.<sup>7</sup> The program, patterned on the success of similar programs in the Army Corps of Engineers, Bureau of Public Roads, and Bureau of Reclamation, was the agency's response to the huge increase in postwar tourism; visitation to the parks had more than tripled between 1940 and 1954. Most of the money spent on Mission 66 projects, which eventually totaled over \$1 billion, went to park construction projects, but staffing, maintenance, and protection work was also included. Projects were to be funded through the usual Interior Department appropriations process.<sup>8</sup>

The announcement of this program was no surprise to Mount McKinley staff. They had

attended a special meeting on the subject in July 1955, and once the tourist season began to wind down, staff threw themselves into a concerted effort to compile an initial development plan. Several versions of the park's program prospectus were prepared; they were then revised after review and input from park staff. The final park prospectus, more than 50 pages long, was completed on April 20, 1956.<sup>9</sup>

Just one day later, Interior Department official Carl Junge traveled from Washington, D.C. to an Alaska Chamber of Commerce meeting, in Ketchikan, and announced details of the Mission 66 program in Alaska. The initial budget, which had been developed by staff at Alaska's two independently-managed units (Mount McKinley and Sitka), called for \$9.25 million to be spent on Alaskan projects. The majority of this funding—\$6.9 million—was intended for Mount McKinley, the only national park in the territory.<sup>10</sup> Most of the Mount McKinley funds—\$4.3 million—would go toward park road improvements, while the remaining \$2.6 million would go toward buildings and utilities.

Duane Jacobs, who served as Mount McKinley's Assistant Superintendent in 1955 and 1956 and as Superintendent from late 1956 through late 1959, explained that the park, in 1956, was still "adapted to the package-type train and bus tour, which [is] characterized by large hotels close to the railhead and heavy reliance placed upon hotel operators for furnishing accommodations and transportation within the area. The opening of the roads," however, "will bring a mobile visitor who will require campgrounds, lunchrooms and installations for active enjoyment of the area." To "alleviate crowded road conditions expected with the opening of the approach road . . . visitor centers with exhibit rooms and turnouts and wayside exhibits will provide means for such dispersal." In addition, both short and long hiking trails would lure visitors away from the road. Regarding accommodations, "the hotel will remain the main point of concentration for the visitor who enters by means of commercial transportation and to a lesser extent by those entering in [a] private automobile. Later proposed developments would be of the motel type with central lodge or gathering place, lunch counter and housekeeping type cabins." As initially announced, "the principal development" in the park's Mission 66 program

would be in "the Savage River area, where a large new public use building will be erected. New campground facilities will be constructed in [this] area and existing campsites will be expanded." No overnight accommodations were planned in the Wonder Lake area.<sup>11</sup>

The Savage River area seemed, at first, to be an illogical location for the park's primary development site. It needs to be recalled, however, that this area—which offers an excellent if distant view of Mount McKinley on clear days—was the primary park visitor node for the 15-year period between 1924 and 1938, inclusive. More to the point, however, the NPS made its initial Mission 66 plans based on plans being formulated by the Alaska Road Commission. As early as 1948, when a host of routes were being considered to access the park, one alternative route would have connected Fairbanks with the park along a path that would have roughly paralleled the Alaska Railroad.<sup>12</sup> That route was soon discarded in favor of the Paxson-to-Cantwell route, but two years later the road was still in the discussion stage, and in September 1953, the announcement that the ARC would build a road that winter from Fairbanks to Nenana reignited the idea of a possible extension of that road to the park.<sup>13</sup>

Road construction between Fairbanks and Nenana, as it turned out, did not take place until



On July 29, 1958, Mrs. Henry P. Karstens placed a wreath by the Harry Karstens Memorial Plaque at the Toklat River bridge. She is assisted by Grant Pearson, Robert E. (Bob) Sheldon, and Superintendent Duane Jacobs, on the right. DENA 28-97, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

the 1955-56 period.<sup>14</sup> But as early as the spring of 1953, ARC staff had submitted budget requests for a preliminary survey of a route between Nenana and the park, and during the summer of 1954, two ARC engineers conducted a survey along the proposed route. Later that year, they told park superintendent Grant Pearson that the Commission's favored route paralleled the Alaska Railroad from Nenana to Lignite; this route was chosen, in part, to provide a road access to the Healy River coal fields. South of Lignite,

however, the commission favored angling the road southwest to the Savage River drainage and then south through Savage River Canyon to its intersection with the park road. (They decided on the Savage River route because “the terrain through the Nenana River Canyon is not stable and is continually moving. The Alaska Railroad has experienced much difficulty to hold the railroad track in that section.”) This decision, plus an ARC assertion that “funds may be made available in the 1955 [fiscal year] to start work on that portion of the road,” brought forth a concerned note from Pearson to regional NPS officials.<sup>15</sup> The NPS, for the moment, could do little but monitor the situation. An apparent lack of funds prevented the promised road construction project from taking place; even so, road authorities in the spring of 1956 still favored the Savage River route.<sup>16</sup>

The prospectus, issued in April 1956, gave additional details about proposed Mission 66 developments. At Savage River, the “proposed supplementary development” would consist of a “lodge, dining room, lunch counter and facilities for the preparation and handling of food. In close proximity to the lodge a number of cabins of housekeeping type and otherwise would be constructed.” The NPS also planned to construct a Main Visitor Center adjacent to the lodge, which would include an exhibit room, a 300- to 400-person auditorium, a library, information office, and office space, and the agency also planned to double the 20-space campground. “It is from this point,” the prospectus read, “that the bus trips of the concessioner will originate, and here visitors will be oriented and prepared to enjoy the park to the utmost.”

Developments, however, would not be limited to the Savage River area. Near the east entrance to the park, “a small orientation-comfort station with a five-unit picnic ground close by” was planned. In the vicinity of Ewe Creek (Lower Savage) Ranger Station, near where the proposed highway would enter the park, another five-unit picnic ground was envisioned. Plans also called for two new campgrounds: a 100-unit development at “the present Teklanika campsite” and a 20-unit campground, in due time, in the Toklat area. Self-guiding nature trails were planned at Savage River and Polychrome Pass, and staff also decided that a series of interpretive panels should be installed at various points along the park road. At headquarters, the agency planned to build a new administrative facility near the present structure; the existing administration building, which was “by no means fireproof,” would “be converted into a much-needed multi-purpose structure and will be used as a school house for

employees children, recreation hall for employees and as a general meeting place for community functions.”<sup>17</sup>

At Wonder Lake, several improvements were in the offing. A five-unit picnic area was planned at the lake’s northern end, and toward the later stages of the program a significant expansion of the Wonder Lake campground (to 50 spaces, with space for “house trailers”) was envisioned. The agency also made tentative plans for a larger development. “When travel increases,” the document noted, “it may be deemed necessary to construct a small day-use lunch counter-lodge building in the vicinity of the Wonder Lake visitor center.” This center would contain a 100-seat auditorium, an exhibit room, and an information office. “In addition, a small service station would be desirable. The structure would be utilized by campers in that area, and, with the advent of paved roads, this visitor center will probably become the half-way point on the concessioner’s bus tours.”<sup>18</sup>

Roads and trails were the other major planned developments. Agency officials frankly stated that the current park road was

an 88.3 mile sub-standard gravel road of a type that is not desirable as the main park road. Realignment and improvements which will bring it up to modern standards, including paving, has been scheduled for the ensuing ten year program and work will progress in ten mile sections, or greater lengths if funds permit more rapid construction.

Improvements on the park road, moreover, were scheduled to begin immediately; \$500,000 would be spent during the current fiscal year, and an additional \$400,000 the following year. Park staff recognized that “glaciating or road icing” was a major seasonal problem. In the Sanctuary River area, the agency planned to add “extensive road fill to place the road above ice level,” and at Igloo Creek it planned a road realignment to “place the road beyond the level of ice formation.” Officials recognized, however, that the glaciating problem could not be circumvented everywhere along the park road, so glacier removal would continue to incur high maintenance costs.<sup>19</sup>

As to trails, park officials were quick to admit that “the average visitor to the park is an elderly person who is content to view the park in relative comfort via bus tours and automobile, and usually shows but little interest or desire, or has the capability of walking any distance.” They felt,

The former Camp Eielson site became the focus for Eielson Visitor Center, a Mission 66 project. This site was located at the midpoint of the park bus tours and provided a world-class view, making it a logical site for visitors to take a long, interesting pause. DENA 39-8, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



however, that the new, auto-borne visitor population would be “younger and more able,” so the agency planned to construct and mark five new trails: 1) an eight-mile trail from the new Savage River development to the river’s headwaters, 2) the twenty-mile Double Mountain Trail, between the Teklanika and Sanctuary drainages, 3) a “ten-mile trail to the source of the left fork of the Toklat River, terminating at the Toklat Glacier,” 4) a four-mile trail down the Toklat River to the site of the Sheldon Cabin, and 5) a 24-mile trail from the proposed Wonder Lake lodge site to McGonagall Pass and the upper Muldrow Glacier, with a side trail from the Clearwater Creek-Cache Creek area east to the Mile 66-Camp Eielson area. Along most of these trails, one or more “three-quarter shelters” were planned. In addition, the agency planned to stabilize and reconstruct the Sheldon Cabin, which was then in ruinous condition.<sup>20</sup>

Constructed during the summers of 1958 and 1959, Eielson Visitor Center opened to the public in July, 1960. DENA 5-17, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

Once the park’s prospectus became public, regional and Washington officials looked it over, and in late July a regional Mission 66 team traveled out the park road to Wonder Lake.<sup>21</sup> Apparently as a result of that visit, a decision was made to augment the two previously-proposed visitor centers (at Savage River and Wonder Lake) with two new ones. One such center (at Polychrome Pass) proved of transient interest, perhaps because it lacked a dependable water source, and plans there were downsized in favor of a small visitor node with rest rooms and a few exhibits. But a second visitor center, at the site of former Camp Eielson, quickly became “first in priority because of its urgent need.” The location offered a host of advantages; as a revised edition of the prospectus noted, “The superlative view of Mount McKinley and other features of the area merit orientational and interpretational exhibits, and as the location is the midpoint of the concessioner bus tours, the area and building will be utilized heavily.” The agency apparently recognized that many bus-tour patrons as well as

automobile travelers would not venture all the way to Wonder Lake, so in early 1957 it quickly cobbled together architectural and interpretive plans for the new visitor center. By July, the agency was getting ready to issue a bid for the building’s construction.<sup>22</sup>

Another major change that took place during the 12-month period following the issuance of the park prospectus was that road authorities—who now worked for the Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) rather than the Alaska Road Commission—began to reconsider their earlier

decision to route the Fairbanks-McKinley Park road through Savage River Canyon. A BPR official, quoted in the spring of 1957, was careful to note that “no recommendations will be forthcoming on either of the approach roads from the north until a reconnaissance survey has been completed on the Nenana River route.”<sup>23</sup> In



response to that change of direction, the Mission 66 prospectus backpedaled. “Due to the present uncertainty of where the northern approach road will enter the park, a fixed location for [the main visitor center and lodge complex] cannot be determined at this time. If this road enters via Savage River Canyon, then Savage River appears as the logical location, but if on the other hand the road enters via the Nenana River Canyon the present hotel area would lend itself to further development of cabin type accommodations.”<sup>24</sup>

As noted in the final Mission 66 prospectus, which was issued in late May 1957, the NPS planned to spend more than \$9.7 million on specific Mount McKinley development projects by 1966. Almost three-fourths of that money—some \$7.2 million—was to be allotted for the improvement of the park road and the con-

struction of new trails. Most of the remaining funds—some \$2.5 million—was to be spent on the McKinley Park Hotel and on visitors centers, administrative structures, utilities, and so forth. (No funds, however, had been allotted for housekeeping cabins, lunch rooms, and similar facilities; these investments, it was assumed, would be borne by concessioners.) Less than \$100,000 was to be spent on exhibits, signs, picnic areas, and campgrounds.<sup>25</sup> Now, more than ever before, the park had forged a bold, specific blueprint on how future development should take place.

#### **The Fate of Mission 66: Successes and Failures**

Given the bold plans that were put forth during the early years of the Mission 66 program and the broad Congressional support for funding these projects during the program's ten-year lifecycle, it is perhaps surprising that only a smattering of the plans for Mount McKinley National Park that were sketched out during this period were ever realized. Most, by contrast, never got beyond the proposal stage. In general, it appears that the plans most likely to be acted upon were those with the highest priority, the lowest level of controversy, and those which were actively backed by a broad range of agency officials. Regarding road improvements, for example, contracts for the first several segments were easily approved, but by the mid-1960s, as shall be seen later in this chapter, the issuance of contracts for the central and western portions of the park road got mired in controversy, forcing funds to be redirected to other projects. The construction of trails, as shall be seen, was predicated on the notion that such trails were both necessary and environmentally sound. But a heightened consciousness toward wilderness values militated against the building and marking of trails, and these plans remained uncompleted. Regarding building-construction

projects, the various concessions developments (such as motels, day lodges, lunch counters, etc.) never got off the ground, apparently because of a lack of interest on the part of both the NPS and the park concessioner; campgrounds, however, were built largely as planned (see below). The Eielson Visitor Center—which was not part of the original Mission 66 plans but came to life during the winter of 1956-57—was perhaps the most visible element to remember the Mission 66 planning period; a construction contract was let in March 1958 (to J. B. Warrack, an Anchorage construction firm), it was opened to the public in July 1960, and it was formally dedicated on July 15, 1961.<sup>26</sup>

As noted above, the planned Savage River developments—a key part of the Mission 66 prospectus—were predicated on the assumption that the road from Nenana would enter the park via the Savage River Canyon. Just a few months after the Mission 66 plans were released, however, those plans were upended when a BPR reconnaissance survey concluded that a north-south route through Nenana Canyon was more practical and cost effective than the Savage River Canyon alignment. (The choice was made “due to factors of geology and terrain, plus permafrost, which led people conducting surveys to judge the route as being impracticable if not entirely impossible.”)<sup>27</sup> On the basis of that decision, the need for visitor services shifted from Savage River to the area surrounding the McKinley Park Hotel, where both the NPS and the concessioner already had support facilities. As the Mission 66 prospectus had correctly noted, park staff found it difficult to conduct a long-range plan for a park where visitor numbers and visitor characteristics would soon dramatically change. But as various parts of this chapter have suggested, changes in the NPS and in society as a whole forced the adoption of other changes that park staff during the 1955-56

Eielson Visitor Center was formally dedicated during the month of July. During the month of July, Eielson Visitor Center hosted 4142 visitors. DENA 5-29, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection





The formal dedication of Eielson Visitor Center, July 15, 1961, was attended by about sixty people. NPS Associate Director Eivind Scoyen gave the principal address. W.V. Watson Collection, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

planning period could never have anticipated.

#### **The Park Hotel: Success at Last**

During most of the 1950s, the park hotel had been a perennial source of red ink and a continuing headache to its operator. During the early part of the decade, Alaska Railroad officials were able to lessen their losses by opening the hotel each winter to soldiers and airmen on leave. After 1953, however, they cast about for a private concessioner. That firm, based in Anchorage, was unable to survive for long, and in August 1954 a company called National Park Concessions, Inc. took over. NPCI, which had government connections and was specifically arranged to revive foundering concessions operations, ran the hotel in 1955 (incurring a small loss) and in 1956 (gaining a small profit). Throughout this period, the government continued to invite bids from independent concessioners. Finding none, however, they prepared to operate the hotel during the summer of 1957. NPCI personnel opened the hotel on June 2—just prior to the

three-day Alaska Bankers' Convention. By the time it closed that year, on September 8, it proudly noted that 1957 had been the company's best year to date; because (or in spite of) the mid-season completion of the Denali Highway), the hotel enjoyed a record number of guests and meals and its highest profit yet. NPS staff agreeably noted that there had been "very few complaints on the part of visitors relative to the operation of the hotel and the transportation system."<sup>28</sup>

In September 1957, just a month after the new road opened, two visitors from California arrived at the park to evaluate the park concession. Don Hummel and his nephew Al Donau, the respective owner and manager of the Lassen Volcanic National Park concession, had been invited there by Supt. Jacobs, who encouraged them to assume control over the park's concessions. After touring the hotel and ancillary buildings, park staff concluded that the two "appeared quite interested in the possibility of operating the hotel and allied concession facilities." Within weeks, Hummel—operating as the proposed Mount McKin-

ley National Park Company—submitted an offer to assume control over the concession operation. This offer, which was based on frank discussions between Hummel and Regional Director Lawrence C. Merriam in San Francisco, included a three-year waiver of winter hotel heating costs.<sup>29</sup> His offer was discussed by a variety of NPS officials, and in January 1958 it was submitted to Congress for the 60-day waiting period required

aired in July 1956 when Standard Oil of California officials inspected the proposed site. At the time, NPS officials had not yet decided whether there should be an on-site railroad crossing near the hotel or an overpass bridge, and discussions about the proper road alignment in that area occupied much of the summer of 1957. It was not until February 1958—the same month that Hummel signed the concessions contract—that



Don Hummel and Al Donau visited the park and met with Superintendent Jacobs regarding their proposed Mount McKinley National Park Company assuming operation of the park's concession facilities. They are pictured here in front of the McKinley Park railroad depot. DENA 28-51, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

by law. On February 6, Hummel and NPS officials officially agreed to a 10-year contract to run the McKinley Park concession (see Appendix D). Before long, Hummel chose Arthur Hansen as his on-site manager. The new concessioner agreed to keep the hotel officially open from June 14 to September 7, with the understanding that informal accommodations would be available both a week before the opening date and a week after the closing date.<sup>30</sup>

Under the new concession contract, the NPS stipulated the need for a general store and gasoline station to serve the anticipated automobile traffic. Plans for a service station had first been

the NPS finally decided where the service station would go. Hummel, using the Standard Oil connections he had gained during his years at Lassen, decided to arrange for the construction of a new building that would offer a small grocery store as well as a service station; Standard Oil agreed to build the service station in exchange for the exclusive right to sell its products there. The concessioner opened the store in what would have been the grease rack; it was the only grocery for miles around. The new building opened just before September 1, the deadline stated in the recently-completed concessions contract.<sup>31</sup>

All known evidence indicates that Hummel,

perhaps because of his 20-plus years of experience at Lassen Volcanic National Park, ran a successful, profitable operation of the Mount McKinley concession. The hotel's 1958 receipts, for example, exceeded those for the previous year, and its July 1959 revenue was a "substantial increase over the corresponding period for 1958."<sup>32</sup> Thereafter, Hummel's Mount McKinley operation remained profitable.<sup>33</sup> Of enormous help to the concessioner, of course, were the large expenditures that the NPS had made during the mid-1950s to improve the hotel's decaying infrastructure; also helpful was that during the wintertime, staff from the NPS—the agency that owned the hotel—were assigned (at government expense) to maintain and repair the hotel and power plant.<sup>34</sup> Also of enormous help was Hummel's ability, by installing high/low temperature recorders and rerouting the hot water pipes through the coldest part of the hotel first, to decrease the hotel's heating bill, during both summer and winter.<sup>35</sup> During this period, the concessioner and the NPS worked well together—NPS staff, for example, held an annual orientation for concession employees—and the concessioner periodically modernized and improved its facilities and rolling stock.<sup>36</sup> Throughout this period, the concession was controlled by Hummel and Donau, who made occasional summit visits; on-site managers such as Harold Franklin (1959-60), Robert Vaughan (1961-64), Dave O'Hara (1965), and Wallace Cole (1966-70) supervised day-to-day operations.<sup>37</sup>

The park concessioner, Mount McKinley National Park Company, operated a gas station and small store, near the park hotel, for the new class of independent auto travelers. NPS Interp. Collection, #500, Denali National Park and Preserve

Because of the renewed success of the park hotel, entrepreneurs hoped that the construction of new airstrips would attract additional visitors to the park. As noted in Chapter 6, an airstrip had existed at the Summit railroad stop since prewar days. And by the spring of 1953, when a road was extended to the Broad Pass area that allowed a road connection to McKinley Park Station, the strip offered an expanded runway and a fully-staffed Civil Aeronautics Authority station. The site, however, was 34 miles away from the park hotel. To further ease park access, the territory's Director of Aviation, along with various airline representatives, visited the area in March 1954 and inspected a potential landing strip site located just east of the Denali Highway and just south of the bridge demarcating the park's eastern boundary. Later that spring, a territorial engineer surveyed a 5,000-foot runway and declared that "they expect this strip to be built

this summer."<sup>38</sup> Little took place at the site, however, until the summer of 1957, when Anchorage resident George Lingo—whose roots at Mount McKinley extended all the way back to 1933-35, when he was the assistant general manager of the Mount McKinley Tourist and Transportation Company—informed Civil Aeronautics Administration officials that he and Jack Farley planned to develop a private airport at this site.<sup>39</sup>

By the spring of 1961, all was ready at the so-called Lingo Airstrip. Alaska Airlines showed an interest in using the strip, and on June 18, the carrier made its inaugural flights to the strip from both Anchorage and Fairbanks. Approximately a hundred people that day "arrived at the park via this facility and were afforded bus trips as far as Savage River by the park concessioner." Supt. King, moreover, predicted that "a good percentage of tour groups may arrive at [the park] via the Alaska Airlines in the future."<sup>40</sup> Daily service—one flight in each direction—finally began on August 16 and continued until September 9;



during that time, shuttle service was available to the McKinley Park Hotel, and a Hertz rental-car facility was also available. Traffic, however, was "not substantial"; only 69 people utilized the service during the 3½-week trial run. Based on that traffic volume, Lingo pulled out, and thereafter the field was seldom used commercially.<sup>41</sup>

Other airports were developed and proposed during this period, in support of either mining, exploration, and hunting-guide activities. By 1953, an 1,800-foot airstrip had been built on a flat ridge above Crooked Creek (in the Kantishna Hills) near the Hunter and Burkett Mine.<sup>42</sup> A 2,200-foot airstrip was constructed in Cantwell, and five miles east of town an airstrip variously known as the Drashner Airport and Golden North Airfield was built during the late 1960s.<sup>43</sup> Finally, the summer of 1966 witnessed the construction of a 1,300-foot airstrip along Glen Creek as well as a widening and lengthening

Laurence Rockefeller and his family arrived on Alaska Airlines at the McKinley Park airport where they were met by Superintendent Samuel A. King, right. The group enjoyed a tour on the park road and an inspection of the proposed Wonder Lake Visitor Center site. DENA 28-66, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



of the nearby Kantishna Airstrip.<sup>44</sup> All of these improvements were outside of the park boundaries. Within the park, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey proposed a “temporary landing strip for small planes” in 1953 near the Teklanika River. This airstrip, however, never got beyond the planning stage.<sup>45</sup>

**At Wonder Lake, the Dream Fades Away**

While the fortunes of the existing park hotel, at the park’s eastern edge, shined bright, prospects remained murky for those who hoped for some sort of overnight accommodation off to the west in the Wonder Lake area. As noted in Chapter 6, Alaska Railroad management had strongly supported the idea of a lodge or hotel at Wonder Lake during the immediate postwar period. But Congress’s tightening of the railroad’s purse strings—along with a concomitant reduction of support for a host of Alaska-related programs—put the hotel on the back burner for the time being. Then, in the early 1950s, the transfer of the park concession from the government-funded railroad to a group of poorly-capitalized independent investors made any hopes of hotel construction ever more distant. Another issue that clouded development prospects was the preference, stated boldly by Interior Secretary Ickes during his tenure, to prevent new concessions developments in the parks if alternatives could be developed outside of park boundaries.<sup>46</sup>

As noted above, park staff in the initial (April 1956) Mission 66 prospectus recommended that Wonder Lake—which until that time had only a

small campground—become a significant visitor node; a picnic area would be laid out along the north shore, and just south of the lake there would be a “small day-use lunch counter-lodge building,” a visitor center, a small service station, and an expanded campground. No overnight accommodations were planned, however. This reticence was apparently driven by economics; there was little if any support during this period for governmentally-funded accommodations in the national parks, and the McKinley Park Hotel, at the time, was limping along only because of agency-provided financial support.

The notion of a Wonder Lake lodge, however, refused to die. The advent of Alaska statehood, in 1959, brought with it an increased interest in tourism as a development vehicle. In addition, the high visitor volume at the park in 1958 and 1959, and the increasing profits being gained at the independently-operated park hotel during the same period, offered a further rationale for future development. Perhaps in light of that interest, NPS officials from both the San Francisco and Washington offices toured the park road in June 1960 and discussed, among other topics, a “campground, visitor center and concessioner facilities at Wonder Lake.”<sup>47</sup> These plans may have initially been a mere revival of what had first been offered in the Mission 66 prospectus. But based on the energy (and money) which was then being poured into Eielson Visitor Center, which was a day-use facility, the planned Wonder Lake “concessioner facilities” were soon morphed into

a reincarnated plan for a Wonder Lake Lodge. This lodge would be sited on the same location that had been considered, off and on, since the mid-1930s.<sup>48</sup>

In 1962, NPS officials began to consider a new lodging site in the Wonder Lake area. Traffic along the park road east of the lake, predictably, had substantially increased since the opening of the Denali Highway, and concerns arose that the long-planned hotel site, on a knoll south of the lake, would mar the view of Mt. McKinley for travelers along the north and east sides of the lake.<sup>49</sup> In response, park planners proposed a new site on a ridgeline east of Wonder Lake. This new proposal, finalized in August 1963, had a commanding view of Mt. McKinley, Wonder Lake, the Moose Creek drainage, and the Kantishna Hills.<sup>50</sup> Planners envisioned a \$3.3 million development that included a lodge building, ten cabins, a service station, and a campground, along with supporting NPS facilities for park personnel and maintenance functions.<sup>51</sup>

Prior to the 1960s, virtually the only factor preventing the Park Service from constructing a hotel at the west end of the park road was the lack of money. The various early hotel plans in this area were generally uncontroversial, because almost no one opposed them.<sup>52</sup> During the early 1960s, agency officials such as park superintendent Samuel A. King continued to support the hotel idea, and the agency's principal Alaska planner, Al Kuehl, was also a strong hotel backer.<sup>53</sup> The agency was aware, however, that such support was not unanimous. The region's construction chief, for example, cautioned that hotel construction would "create a black storm with the conservation people, since they are opposed to development at Wonder Lake."<sup>54</sup> The agency's regional director, Lawrence Merriam, knew that the area was "a fragile biological complex which can easily be damaged by concentrated use." For that reason, Merriam steered a cautious middle course; he urged further study before a decision could be made. NPS Director Wirth, meanwhile, assured Howard Zahniser, the Wilderness Society's executive director, that "we have no funds programmed" at Wonder Lake aside from improvements to the existing campground.<sup>55</sup>

In late 1964 a new park superintendent, Oscar T. Dick, recommended that the NPS, at Wonder Lake, should scale back the plans that had been propounded just a year earlier. He advocated "some sort of motel type unit with food and other service facilities. A more pretentious development is not needed. . . ."<sup>56</sup> But when that proposal reached Washington, newly-appointed Director George Hartzog recommended that new accom-

modations be located outside of the park.<sup>57</sup>

Some people in the agency, however, still hoped to see a hotel built at Wonder Lake, and in 1966 an NPS master plan team concluded that "a fine hotel is . . . needed in the Wonder Lake area near the terminus of the present road with a capacity of 200 guests supplemented by an adequate campground complex nearby." The team chose a site "on a high plateau east of Wonder Lake."<sup>58</sup> The master plan stated that facilities were programmed for construction by the NPS in 1970. Momentum for a new lodge remained the following year, when the agency issued a prospectus for a 20-year concessions contract. That contract demanded that the concessioner expend the necessary funds to equip the proposed NPS facilities and place them in operation.<sup>59</sup> But elsewhere, new voices of opposition were being heard. During the summer of 1967, Sierra Club President Edgar Wayburn visited the park, and when he and park superintendent George Hall headed out the road, they went to Wonder Lake and viewed the proposed hotel site. Wayburn, who was visiting Alaska for the first time, was alarmed by the idea. Before long he related his concerns about the site to NPS Director Hartzog, who knew the Sierra Club chief from previous legislative work related to a proposed Redwood National Park. Hartzog assured Wayburn that the Park Service had no intention of building any new hotels within Mount McKinley National Park.<sup>60</sup>

Alaskan development interests, meanwhile, did everything they could to prod the government into building a Wonder Lake hotel. The *Anchorage Times*, in particular, orchestrated a campaign during the summer of 1967, calling the Park Service "woefully remiss in its duty" and unwilling to make "the wonders of Mt. McKinley National Park . . . accessible."<sup>61</sup> In September of that year, *Times* reporters sensed a change in the wind and announced, in a banner front-page headline, that the Park Service would construct a "lodge-type structure" at Wonder Lake in 1970 that "will accommodate 200 persons and include facilities for food service and relaxation." (A follow-up editorial exulted in the decision and stated that "a third [park] hotel should be planned immediately.") A few days later, however, NPS Regional Director John Rutter threw cold water on the newspaper's optimism. He announced in Anchorage that the hotel project, which was extracted from the 1966 park master plan, would be built "as the need exists and the money is available." And because the high costs of the Vietnam War were forcing cuts to the NPS budget, a 1970 construction date was just "somebody's wishful thinking."<sup>62</sup>

This 1965 NPS master planning team visited the Wonder Lake area and supported the construction of facilities east of the lake. Gathered on a knoll near the Wonder Lake Ranger Station, the planning team members are, left to right, Park Superintendent Oscar Dick, head of the master planning team Paul Thomas, Linn Spaulding, Mr. Caballero, Park Engineer Donald McLane, Wallace McCaw, and Charles Stoddard. DENA 28-81, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



Wonder Lake hotel for more than a year afterward.<sup>63</sup> In 1968, park superintendent George Hall supported “a hostel type instead of a hotel. Meals to be served family style, dress casual and interpretation on a high level of orientation to ecology should be featured.”<sup>64</sup> NPS planners, in fact, spent “several weeks” that summer “in an attempt to find a site for a second hotel.” But in their 1968 master plan study, they concluded, for several reasons, that a “Wonder Lake Lodge is not now recommended.” The agency further noted that a Wonder Lake hotel “would have had a beautiful view but [it had] a short season because of weather conditions.”<sup>65</sup> Alaska Governor Walter Hickel, who became the U.S. Interior Secretary in 1969, continued to push for the idea, and many years later he noted that “I got approval for a hotel that would cost \$8 million at Wonder Lake . . . George Hartzog, who was chief of the park service, saw the need for it.” But the project died when Hickel left office.<sup>66</sup> By late 1970 the idea was effectively dead, inasmuch as agency plans issued that year, and thereafter, omitted any mention of it. That same year, Interior Department officials notified the concessioner that it was no longer required to abide by the Wonder Lake provisions in the 1967 contract renewal.<sup>67</sup> Those hoping to construct a hotel with a McKinley view soon shifted their enthusiasm to a new location, south of the Alaska Range.<sup>68</sup> That was the first of a series of south-side hotel proposals that have been bandied about ever since (see chapters 8, 9, and 10).

#### **Park Road Improvements: Controversy and**

#### **Resolution**

As noted above, a strong undercurrent in the controversy over a Wonder Lake hotel was a larger debate over whether development should be encouraged at the western end of the park road. Prior to the opening of the Denali Highway, virtually all parties supported the idea of a major development at either Mile 66 (Camp Eielson) or at Wonder Lake; and to encourage travel along the park road, a major plank of the Mission 66 program had been a plan to widen it, add safety features (such as guard rails), and pave it. The completion of the Denali Highway promised that a large and increasing number of motorists would use the road and, at long last, the park would develop according to models that had proven so successful in other large Western U.S. national parks. But not all people welcomed the prospect of new road development, and the growing opposition to new road construction resulted in the first major battle between conservation and development in an Alaska park unit.

As noted in previous chapters, the Alaska Road Commission had been in charge of constructing and improving the park road during the 1920s and 1930s,<sup>69</sup> and its personnel were still maintaining the road during the spring of 1956, when the park’s Mission 66 program was completed by park staff. Shortly afterward, on June 29, 1956, President Eisenhower signed the Federal Aid Highway Act (H.R. 10660), which discontinued the ARC and transferred its functions to the Bureau of Public Roads, which was part of the Commerce Department. Given the dictates of

that act, the ARC ceased to exist on September 16, 1956. The BPR managed road maintenance in the park for only a short time, because on July 1, 1960, the NPS took over park road maintenance operations. The BPR, however, continued to be involved in planning and designing park road improvements.<sup>70</sup>

Because the improvement of the park road was a top Mission 66 priority, and because there was near-unanimity that improvements were needed, work on the road began shortly after the prospectus was approved. BPR officials divided the proposed road program into a series of short segments, beginning in the hotel area and heading west. In 1958 and 1959, for instance, the Miller Brothers Construction Co. reconstructed a 14-mile road segment between McKinley Park Station and Savage River.<sup>71</sup> In late 1959, Peter Kiewit Sons Construction Co. of Seattle won the contract to improve an eight-mile stretch of road from Savage River to Sanctuary River with a \$425,000 bid. Work began in May 1960 and the job was completed in August 1961.<sup>72</sup> The reconstruction of the third park road segment, west of Sanctuary River, was awarded to Green Construction Co. of Des Moines, Iowa in late 1960. But because of complications in the second-phase job, Green workers—who arrived at the park in early 1961—had to work east of Sanctuary River until August. And by August 1962, when NPS officials declared that the contractor’s work had been satisfactorily completed, sections of newly-improved road extended only to Mile 26, slightly more than three miles west of Sanctuary River.<sup>73</sup>

During the improvement program’s first year, conservationists were generally nonplussed at the new developments. But after the 1959 season, conservationists became alarmed as construction progressed on the new Eielson Visitor Center (critics called it a “monstrosity” and a “Dairy Queen”).<sup>74</sup> During the same period, an increasing chorus of dissent—voiced primarily through the pages of *National Parks Magazine*—rose about the engineering standards associated with the park road; these protests were sounded, in large part, because BPR roads had higher technical standards than ARC roads had demanded. The first volley in what turned out to be a six-year war was launched in December 1959, when Olaus Murie (a National Parks Association board member) noted that the park’s main road “is to be ‘modernized’ with curves taken out, apparently another hurry-up speedway.” Murie spoke warmly of the relaxed pace of the old park road and noted that “the national park will not serve its purpose if we encourage the visitor to hurry as fast as possible for a mere glimpse of scenery from a car, and a few snapshots. Rather there is an obligation inherent in a national park, to help the visitor get some understanding, the esthetic meaning of what is in the place.”<sup>75</sup> NPS officials reacted with grace to the criticism, but their policy did not change; Regional Director Lawrence Merriam noted in a “frank” letter to Murie that “making a smooth speedway out of the park road would certainly be incompatible with the park, and you may be sure it is not the intention of the Service to create such a condition,” but “we have concluded that the road must be widened



This October 1962 photograph of a section of park road between Savage River and Sanctuary River, approximately 19 miles from headquarters, shows the Mission 66 road upgrade and a large parking pullout delineated by posts. DENA 39-36, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum

The newly completed Mission 66 park road improvements were evident here on Teklanika Flat, September 1962. DENA 34-23, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



to minimum safety standards . . . out as far as Camp Eielson [sic]” because concessioner buses turned around at that point. Washington official A. Clark Stratton agreed; he stated that “a high-speed highway would be detrimental to the best uses of the Park’s wilderness, and we have no intention of constructing such a road in Mount McKinley. We have been forced, however, by increased use to improve the substandard existing Park road to make it safe for today’s travel needs. The cross section consists of two 10-foot lanes with 3-foot shoulders which is a minimum for safety.”<sup>76</sup>

Conservationists, however, watched further road improvements with an increasing sense of alarm, and in the early spring of 1963—by which time road improvements had been extended to Mile 26—*National Parks Magazine* issued several articles about Mt. McKinley National Park, two of which criticized the “speedway” that encouraged visitors to “get in fast and get out fast” rather than “savor their park and get full enjoyment and inspiration” as called for in the park’s planning guidelines.<sup>77</sup> These articles featured three photos showing the broad gravel swath created by the newly-filled road sections, and an accompanying editorial comment pointedly noted that “this kind of road building violates the National Parks Act; it ought to be stopped.”<sup>78</sup> These articles evidently brought a strong message to Washington officials, because by mid-June 1963 the NPS’s top Design and Construction official, A. Clark Stratton, apparently reconsidered his position. In a letter to Director Wirth, Stratton noted that “recently there has been considerable criticism”

of the agency’s road reconstruction efforts at the park, suggesting “that unnecessary destruction of wilderness values is being perpetrated by the Service.” To counter that criticism, he felt it necessary to “reiterate the basic design and construction criteria” being applied to the road; specifically that the agency would “continue to follow the practice of using what can be described as telescoping standards” for the road. As part of that “telescoping,” the first 30 miles would have “a 20-foot driving surface with three-foot shoulders. The next 40 miles, from Mile 26 to Camp Eielson, would have “a 20-foot driving surface with minimum shoulders varying from no shoulders to a maximum of three feet where available within the existing roadbed.” And the final 18 road miles would not be widened except for passing and parking pullouts. Stratton’s letter, despite its reference to “reiteration” and continuation of standards, appears to have been the first agency recognition of a three-part telescoping process, with standards for the middle section that were slighter (if only in a minor way) than the eastern section.<sup>79</sup>

Despite this minor concession, the NPS and BPR had no interest in abandoning the Mission 66 goal of upgrading the park road, at least that portion between McKinley Park Station and the Eielson Visitor Center. In June 1964, the NPS awarded a \$263,000 contract to Ghemm Construction Co. of Fairbanks. This contract did not involve the improvement of additional road mileage; instead, it primarily involved drainage work in various areas east of Sanctuary River in preparation for paving. Crews for this project

began their work in July 1964 and finished up in August 1965.<sup>80</sup> No sooner had this project been completed, however, than a contractor—A & G Construction of Fairbanks—was chosen to reconstruct five miles of park road, from Mile 26 to the Teklanika River bridge. This contract was awarded in October 1965, and the work was carried out between May and August 1966.<sup>81</sup>

In the meantime, Bureau of Public Roads officials geared up for future park road construction projects. In January 1964, for example, a BPR official told park superintendent Oscar Dick that “At present, that portion from Teklanika to the North Boundary [near Wonder Lake] is unsafe for general public use,” so he proposed a \$1.2 million reconstruction project between Teklanika and East Fork, to be constructed in Fiscal Year 1968. The NPS, in March 1965, fully agreed with the BPR; on its Project Construction Program priority list for the park, a \$720,000 contract for reconstructing the park road west of Teklanika was a Priority 1 request. And during the summer of 1965, the BPR recommended two new road alignments in a “hazardous” part of the Stony Hill area.<sup>82</sup>

In the midst of this construction and planning work, conservationists lashed out yet again in the pages of *National Parks Magazine*. In July 1965, Adolph Murie (Olaus’s brother) penned an acidic article that restated earlier arguments. But in addition, Murie recounted his comfort with the old park road during his earlier years at the park, plus his growing alarm at the havoc caused by road contractors since 1958. He averred that most park visitors liked the “charm” of the old road, that only minor improvements to it had been necessary, and that a wide range of observers—even including a few BPR officials—felt that overzealous engineering standards had been applied. The NPS, he averred, had been less than honest with conservationists regarding financial and engineering data related to upcoming projects; and he also stated—despite its “telescoping” comments to the contrary, that “the National Park Service wishes to continue using the highest-standard road construction all the way to “Wonder Lake.”<sup>83</sup>

Murie’s article, as had previous *National Parks Magazine* entries, caused higher-echelon NPS officials to pay attention. In response to readers

who complained to agency brass about road-construction methods in the park, Washington and regional Design and Construction officials carried on a spirited dialogue during September 1965.<sup>84</sup> By the end of the month, the agency had agreed to significantly lower the road-construction standard west of Teklanika. Assistant Director Johannes (Joe) Jensen’s reply to the complainants defended the agency’s earlier moves, stating that “it is our goal to [provide access] with as little impact on the natural scene as possible”, and “the stretches of wider road construction built recently [in 1961-62] were dictated by the condition of permafrost” which made significant road elevation necessary. But in an abrupt about-face, Jensen noted that “this type of construction is being held to a minimum, and it is our intention to use progressively lower standards the farther the road penetrates into the wilderness. Beyond the present [1965-66] reconstruction, the remainder of the road is to receive only minor repairs.”<sup>85</sup>

Within weeks of its change of heart on the overall road improvement program, the NPS also backpedaled on another BPR initiative. In mid-September, Park Service official Charles Krueger candidly remarked that “public pressure compels us to re-evaluate our scheduled cross-section for [the Stony Hill] area to determine if a reduction in scope is necessary.”<sup>86</sup> As for the agency’s overall road stance, Krueger noted in



As part of the Mission 66 plan for the park, a series of interpretive signs such as this one were installed along the park road. DENA 39-23, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

February 1966 that the NPS planned to “expend the bulk of funds upon the completion of the new construction from McKinley Park Station toward the Teklanika River.” (As noted above, a construction project had just been let to improve five miles of road surface east of the Teklanika River Bridge.) “The work beyond Teklanika [will be] limited to grading only the worst curves on Stony Hill and the narrowest spot sections of road that are difficult for the bus operations out



Another of the numerous Mission 66 interpretive signs was placed at the scenic overlook on the west side of Stony Hill. Wallace A. Cole Collection

of Eielson.”<sup>87</sup> Plans for improving the central and western portions of the road were not cast aside; they were, however, ostensibly put on hold until future traffic increases—anticipated when the Anchorage-Fairbanks Highway was completed—would demand higher standards.<sup>88</sup>

During the late 1960s, construction work on the Anchorage-Fairbanks Highway was well under-

way (see below), and it was generally recognized that the highway—due to be completed in 1971—would greatly ease park access. By this time, however, the agency’s new stance was clear: there would be no major road improvements west of the Teklanika River bridge. It did, however, proceed to add new improvements at the road’s eastern end. In July 1966, plans were forwarded to pave approximately seven miles west of the

railroad crossing near the park hotel. Bids were issued that winter, and in May 1967, Rogers Construction Co. and Babler Brothers, both from Anchorage, were awarded the paving contract with a \$494,000 bid. The firms completed the job later that summer.<sup>89</sup> Even this project, however, was not without its controversy; BPR personnel recommended either a 22-foot or 24-foot road width for the entire project, but NPS officials, noting that “we are criticised [sic] quite severely for permitting as high a standard for this road as we do,” approved a 22-foot road east of the park headquarters (due to “quite heavy traffic of a mixed kind”) but a 20-foot width west of park headquarters.<sup>90</sup> NPS officials also quibbled with the BPR over whether centerline striping and highway signs belonged in “one of Alaska’s most remarkable natural areas.”<sup>91</sup>

Shortly after this paving job was completed, plans were formulated to continue this work to the west, and in May 1968, Braund Inc. of Anchorage was awarded a \$466,000 contract to pave the remaining 6½ miles to the Savage River Bridge, plus additional segments near the headquarters and railroad station. The project was completed later that summer.<sup>92</sup> Additional paving contracts, however, were put on hold. A September 5, 1968 letter from a BPR official stated that “because of the present Government budget situation, in a program meeting yesterday the Park Service had eliminated the subject project [paving a segment west of Savage River] from the program in connection with a nation-wide reduction in fiscal year 1969 funding.” And by the following spring, this temporary halt had been made permanent; due to a cancellation of NPS program funds, the BPR announced that “no further paving projects on the road are anticipated in the near future.”<sup>93</sup>

### **The Growing Value of Wilderness**

The battle over the park road, of course, was just one manifestation of a larger battle that was being fought over wilderness, both in the park and nationally. It was perhaps ironic that Mount McKinley should be one of the first Alaska places in which wilderness issues were openly discussed and debated, because Alaska—at least in the popular imagination—contained hundreds of millions of acres of wilderness, and because the park was largely defined by the 90-mile-long road that threaded its way between a large hotel and an old mining camp. But the road was also the avenue that provided tens of thousands of visitors the opportunity to see one of the prime byproducts of wilderness: large, relatively untouched herds of sheep, caribou, moose, bears, and wolves. And the mountain, too, was to many visitors Alaska’s major wilderness symbol.

Wilderness preservation was an old idea; it had been championed since the nineteenth century (Henry David Thoreau had stated “In wildness is the preservation of the world” in 1862), and between the two world wars two major steps toward a broader recognition of wilderness had been taken: the U.S. Forest Service, in 1924, established the first wilderness area, the Gila Primitive Area in New Mexico’s Gila National Forest, and in 1935 a small band of outdoor advocates founded the Wilderness Society.<sup>94</sup> During the 1930s several high-profile conservationists, including Interior Secretary Harold Ickes and wilderness advocate Robert Marshall, made the first calls for a nationwide, Congressionally-protected wilderness system. But the National Park Service during this period, guided by its early leaders Stephen Mather and Horace Albright, were firm believers in “recreational tourism management” that allowed both the agency and its concessioners a wide variety of development opportunities. This philosophy deviated at times for specific parks—Kings Canyon National Park, for example, was established in 1940 in full recognition of its role as a wilderness reserve—but otherwise, the NPS held little regard for wilderness. It instead concentrated on increased visitation and facilities built in response to those visitors.<sup>95</sup>

In 1955, as noted above, the NPS began planning Mission 66, a program that emphasized new visitor centers, roads and interpretive projects and gave scant attention to wilderness values and wilderness management. Both Congress and the traveling public backed the basic tenets of that program, and by the time of its 1966 conclusion, more than \$1 billion had been spent on Mission 66 projects.<sup>96</sup> The planning phase for Mission 66, however, coincided with strong debate over one of the most bitterly-fought western development projects. Echo Park Dam, a proposed hydroelectric site near the confluence of the Green and Yampa rivers in Dinosaur National Monument, pitted wilderness conservationists against the Bureau of Reclamation and its development-oriented allies. That battle, which had raged in Congress since the 1940s, was finally resolved on April 11, 1956 when the Colorado River Storage Project bill passed Congress with the proviso that “no dam or reservoir constructed under the authorization of the Act shall be within any National Park or Monument.”<sup>97</sup>

Wilderness advocates were jubilant over the Echo Park decision, and within days of the bill’s passage Howard Zahniser, the Wilderness Society’s executive secretary, “dashed off” a new plan for a national system of wilderness preservation. This plan was no doubt similar to those that had been promulgated for the last twenty

Back country camping in Mt. McKinley National Park was a trail-less experience in 1967. DENA 42-33, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



years; preservationists, however, were able to convince two conservation-leaning legislators—Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Rep. John P. Saylor (R-Pa.)—to introduce bills that were largely the product of Zahniser’s handiwork.<sup>98</sup> These bills, admittedly, were flawed and were submitted perhaps too soon after the Echo Park controversy to be seriously considered. And for strictly political reasons, they stood little chance of passage because Wayne Aspinall (D-Colo.), the powerful chair of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, saw land as a source of capital and hence did not understand the nation’s growing need to preserve areas as wilderness.<sup>99</sup> They were, however, an opening volley in what would be a long, drawn-out battle.

The Humphrey-Saylor bills went so far as to itemize more than 160 areas within national forests, national parks and monuments, national wildlife refuges and ranges, and Indian reservations that would constitute the founding units of the wilderness system.<sup>100</sup> Those units, moreover, included eight wilderness areas in Alaska (five U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service areas and three NPS areas), including one at Mount McKinley National Park.<sup>101</sup> Up until that time, wilderness—and the need to preserve wilderness character—had been rarely mentioned by NPS officials; indeed, even wilderness advocates were generally comfortable with park management so long as west-end hotels were not built, no new roads were constructed, and the existing park road retained its traditional appearance and engineering standards.<sup>102</sup>

When the Mount McKinley park staff issued its initial Mission 66 prospectus in April 1956, it

clearly noted the priority it placed on wilderness values. The document [clarified for spelling] noted that

Highest ranking among the intangible values of the park is its distinct wilderness feel. To gaze across a vast expanse of tundra towards nameless rugged mountains, or upon the fastness of ever-imposing Denali, and to have one’s meditations interrupted by a migrating band of caribou is an experience which cannot be duplicated elsewhere. The maintenance of the integrity of this wilderness is the key to the development theme of the park. Second to wilderness maintenance is the provision of accommodations for visitor needs, and third, is furnishing the means for fullest appreciation and enjoyment of park values.<sup>103</sup>

Despite the nobility of that statement, and the statement that the visitor accommodations and interpretive improvements would be subservient to wilderness values, several critics protested that the various proposed improvements would impinge upon the park’s wilderness values. Foremost among those critics was well-known biologist Adolph Murie, who had been working at the park fairly consistently since 1939. Noting that the park and the surrounding region were “in many respects virgin,” Murie worried that the park’s new plans had the potential to “mar, and for some, even destroy the spirit of the region.” Noting that “there is a wilderness spirit that

concerns us,” he drew a line in the sand when he stated,

Some will seek ends that are destructive to the wilderness feeling, believing that their ends justify the additional intrusion. Some will think that the highway should be intensively labeled like a museum, even though each label will detract from the wilderness. Some will want to bring accommodations into the midst of the scenery, instead of a simple and delicate approach from the edge of things. Some will want to have structures on a prominence, rather than tucked away unobtrusively.

By contrast, Murie stated that “my point of view will stress intruding and injuring the spirit of wilderness as little as possible,” and he further added that “the wilderness standards in McKinley must be maintained on a higher level than anything we have attempted in the States.” “Since wilderness is recognized as one of the foremost values in the Park,” he noted, “it must be given special consideration in order to maintain its purity. . . . I would urge all planners to strive for quality in this Alaska wilderness. The people expect it.” He further “hasten[ed] to add that I am not alone in this point of view.”<sup>104</sup>

Superintendent Duane Jacobs, to whom the letter was directed, responded to Murie’s missive, noted that “I can sympathize with your over-all view point concerning the future development of Mount McKinley from the biologist viewpoint” and that the agency was “vitaly concerned in preserving and keeping the park in all its natural charm in so far as possible.” Jacobs, however, disagreed with the biologist, noting that McKinley was “a great national park set aside for the use and enjoyment of the people,” and because the Denali Highway was nearly completed, the park was “soon to receive this intended use and enjoyment.” Park officials, he noted, had to “make [the park] available to future visitors with reasonable assurance of their comfort and safety.”<sup>105</sup>

The park’s final Mission 66 plan, issued in May 1957, continued to provide lofty wilderness rhetoric. It noted, for example, that “It is the combination of superlative mountain scenery and wildlife along with the palpable wilderness aspect of McKinley Park that make it deserving of preservation for this and future generations of Americans,” and it further noted that “McKinley Park [is] a wilderness on the perimeter of the last remaining frontier of the Nation. By virtue of National Park Service preservation and remote

location of the park it remains the epitome of wilderness areas. Thus it is of greatest value to those who seek the solitude and inspiration offered only by an area such as McKinley.” The revised plan discarded the three-tiered priority system noted in the earlier prospectus; it did, however, note that all Mission 66 developments “must be accomplished in such a fashion as well provide assurance of the maintenance of wilderness integrity of the park and still provide ways and means for the visitors’ inspirational and physical enjoyment.” Several long-distance trails were planned to remote points, as noted above; however, the plan noted that “trails shall be installed to not only insure enjoyment of the area but to divert traffic from fragile areas where entry would disrupt natural functions, and all development required within the wilderness shall be appropriate to the wilderness environment.”<sup>106</sup>

Once the Mission 66 plans were distributed, however, the hubbub over park wilderness issues (both at Mount McKinley and the remainder of Alaska’s park units) died down. And, in fact, park officials had to contend with a new, potentially ominous threat to the park’s wilderness: dam construction. In February 1958, the U.S. Geological Survey filed for a power-site withdrawal, to encompass 21,500 acres, along the Teklanika River. A proposed dam, projected to be 300 feet high, would be located more than ten miles north of the park boundary, but the proposed reservoir behind the dam had the potential to back up all the way into the park in both the Teklanika and Sanctuary river drainages.<sup>107</sup> The Teklanika project, moreover, was only one aspect of a much larger hydroelectric scheme. Beginning in 1948, the Bureau of Reclamation had eyed the Nenana River’s power generating potential, and its initial plans included two major dams along the river (near Windy and near Ferry), four power plants within the river corridor (these included the above two sites plus additional plants near Carlo and McKinley Park Station), many miles of tunnels along the Nenana River, a proposed tunnel from the Teklanika and East Fork systems to the Nenana River basin, along with many miles of new roads and transmission lines.<sup>108</sup> In 1960, officials with Fairbanks’ Golden Valley Electric Association trumpeted the advantages of a large dam near the Nenana River-Jack River confluence to U.S. Senate Interior Committee members; this dam, they stated, was needed to supply Interior Alaska’s energy needs until either the Susitna Dam or Rampart Dam projects were completed. NPS officials were apparently not involved in any of these discussions. Talk about these projects eventually faded away, and by 1972 the federal Alaska Power Administration had given up on both the Teklanika and Nenana

During the late 1950s, the Corps of Engineers considered the idea of damming the Teklanika River near the park's northern boundary. DENA Herkenham Photo, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



River proposals.<sup>109</sup>

The process to establish a nationwide wilderness system turned out to be an eight-year effort, one that was primarily played out in the halls of Congress and among various conservation and development groups. That effort, however, virtually never involved NPS officials in Alaska nor did it affect park operations, because it was the Park Service's stance throughout this period that the agency—acting through the master planning process—could more effectively determine roadless areas than Congress.<sup>110</sup> Only occasionally, moreover, did Alaska residents weigh in on wilderness issues. One such instance took place in 1960, when a diverse band of Alaskans gathered together and established the Alaska Conservation Society. The group formed, in part, to work toward preserving a huge expanse of wildlife-rich habitat in northeastern Alaska; this effort paid off on December 6, 1960, when President Eisenhower, at Interior Secretary Fred Seaton's urging, established the 8.9 million-acre Arctic National Wildlife Range. And in July 1963, the Wilderness Society's governing council met at Camp Denali, just north of Wonder Lake.<sup>111</sup> Otherwise, publicity on wilderness issues in Alaska was limited to occasional discussions about the ongoing Congressional process; these were sometimes accompanied by a conservationist's letter and a contrasting, often caustic editorial voice. During this period, some of the wilderness bills debated in Congress listed specific wilderness areas; other

bills, however, did not.<sup>112</sup>

On September 3, 1964, President Lyndon Johnson signed a bill—which had passed both houses of Congress on a lopsided vote—that established a National Wilderness Preservation System. Within the bill, the only areas included as “instant wilderness” were some nine million acres in various Forest Service-designated wilderness areas, wild areas, and canoe areas. The bill's conference report, however, also spelled out an orderly ten-year timetable for review of roadless areas, national parks and wildlife refuges—totaling as many as 50 million additional acres—for possible inclusion in the Wilderness system.<sup>113</sup> Given that Congressional mandate, Park Service officials—who had been reluctant to support wilderness legislation—launched into a process evaluating all roadless areas of at least 5,000 acres for their wilderness potential. Wilderness potential was investigated in 49 park areas. In Alaska, studies were made at Mount McKinley, Glacier Bay, and Katmai, plus at seven Fish and Wildlife Service units.<sup>114</sup> Various Alaska interests worried out loud that these reviews would slow proposed development projects; Congressional staff, however, let it be known that the ten-year process, and the need to hold hearings and notify a broad range of stakeholders, would give everyone the chance to weigh in on the process.<sup>115</sup>

The Wilderness Act required that reviews of one-third of identified roadless areas had to

be completed within three years, and the first to be reviewed would be those areas for which the most information was available.<sup>116</sup> Because more was known about Mount McKinley than roadless areas elsewhere, the NPS decided to investigate the park's wilderness potential during its 1965 master planning process. After a Master Plan Team Field Study visited the park in late August and early September 1965, the team's report stated that almost 90 percent of the park would be recommended as wilderness. Two wilderness areas were proposed: a 334,000-acre Toklat Wilderness Area north of the park road and a 1,396,000-acre Denali Wilderness Area south of the road. Regional and Washington officials concurred with these recommendations. Congress made no immediate move to designate either of these areas. The NPS, however, began to show an increased pride in the park's de facto wilderness; as a nationally-syndicated newspaper article noted in 1966, "Alaska's Mount McKinley National Park is virtually free of man-made facilities, and that's the way the park service wants to keep it."<sup>117</sup>

#### **Park Expansion Proposals**

Another idea of interest to conservationists during this period was whether the park boundaries should be expanded. As noted in the previous chapter, the question of the park's boundaries had surfaced in early 1954; this was because of a growing Congressional interest in Alaska statehood, and a concomitant concern that the new state would need viable lands to establish a viable revenue stream. During this same period, park biologist Adolph Murie (in response to a request from Washington officials) began to recommend "a local extension of park boundaries" in the Wonder Lake-Moose Creek area. Duane Jacobs, the park's new superintendent, responded that "much thought and study has been given this particular item by various Service people and I can assure you that it has not been cast lightly aside." But no boundary-change proposals were forwarded to Congress.<sup>118</sup> Nothing in the final (July 1958) statehood act, moreover, had any direct effects on park land. The bill did, however, contain a provision (Section 11a) that gave the federal government exclusive jurisdiction of all park land, either as presently constituted or as modified by subsequent federal actions:

Nothing in this Act shall affect the establishment, or the right, ownership, and authority of the United States in Mount McKinley National Park, as now or hereafter constituted; but exclusive jurisdiction, in all cases, shall be exercised by the United States for the national park, as now or hereafter

constituted . . .<sup>119</sup>

The status quo regarding the appropriate size of the park continued after statehood; for example, when the NPS prepared a boundary status report in February 1961, it recommended no changes to the boundaries that the park had had since 1932.<sup>120</sup>

The 1960s, however, witnessed an explosion of nationwide interest in conservation matters, and perhaps for that reason, a number of proposals were advanced to expand the park's acreage. The first such proposals were put forth internally, in January 1963. Adolph Murie, the longtime park biologist (and brother of Wilderness Society president Olaus Murie), recommended that, in order to protect more wolves and the caribou's winter range, the northern park boundary should be moved "about 15 miles north." In addition, Wonder Lake District Ranger Richard Stenmark broached the idea of an extension west to the "McKinley Fork" (Swift Fork) of the Kuskokwim River; a boundary alteration in the Wonder Lake area north to Moose Creek; and a southern boundary expansion that "should go to the lowlands along the Chulitna River." In his memo to the superintendent, he noted that "while this is a sizeable area for consideration, it is not supporting any commercial enterprises to my knowledge" except for "a few bush pilots." Furthermore, "these are all public lands," and "most of this country is just plainly unsuited" for non-park uses.<sup>121</sup> So far as is known, no specific action resulted from Stenmark's proposals. In 1962, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall hired Sigurd F. Olson as a consultant. Olson, the well-known Minnesota conservationist, served as the Wilderness Society's vice president and also sat on the highly-respected Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments. The following summer, Udall dispatched Olson to Alaska, where he visited Mount McKinley and several other park areas. As part of his duties, Olson compiled a report stating that the present park was

a rather elongated rectangle whose boundaries cut across normal game habitats irrespective of migration patterns or breeding requirements. Ecologically, therefore, the park is too small and should be enlarged substantially if native species are to be adequately protected. If no additions are possible, a cooperative agreement should be sought with the Bureau of Land Management as well as the State of Alaska to assure protection on the basis of the ecological needs of spe-

In 1966, when this photograph was taken, Camp Denali and vicinity was the focus of the Kantishna withdrawal issue. Seen here, left to right, are Upper and Lower Camp Denali. DENA Herkenham #35, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



cies involved.

No specific new boundaries were suggested, although he did repeat Adolph Murie's long-held concern about the "area north of Wonder Lake, known as the Camp Denali region." The report's general conclusions were soon passed on to Bureau of Land Management officials, and before long state officials also learned about the "mysterious" report. They were clearly alarmed at its implications but could do little for the time being.<sup>122</sup>

Just a year later, Mount McKinley was included in a statewide study of proposed parklands. George Hartzog, who succeeded Conrad Wirth as NPS director in January 1964, decided that protecting the "surviving landmarks of our national heritage" would be a primary goal of his administration, and he further recognized that Alaska would be a key part of any future growth in the National Park System. To further that goal, Hartzog brought together a series of experienced Alaska hands in November 1964 and asked them to prepare an analysis of the "best remaining possibilities for the Service in Alaska." The result of their analysis was a January 1965 report entitled *Operation Great Land*. That report was critical of what the agency had thus far accomplished in Alaska, and among its recommendations was a comprehensive evaluation of areas that had high natural, recreational, or historic values. One of the 39 recommended "zones and sites" was the Mount McKinley National Park boundary

study zone. This area, like the others included in the report, had deliberately vague geographical boundaries. Instead, it was a general zone, "some 125 miles long and 50 miles wide," located north and northwest of the park. The proposed expansion apparently reflected additional concerns that Adolph Murie had expressed, because the study zone's purpose was to "include all of the range used by the Park herd of caribou. The herd migrates westward and northward outside the Park in a clockwise manner and the caribou, wolves and associated species are, therefore, not protected during a portion of their migration." Hartzog, after receiving the final report, chose to not publicize it or distribute it outside of the agency; the report's conclusions, however, served as a basis for future Park Service planning efforts.<sup>123</sup>

During the same period in which *Operation Great Land* was being prepared, efforts at the park level brought forth an attempt to plan for facilities construction that was broadly perceived as a park expansion attempt. In November 1964, park superintendent Oscar Dick, asked to weigh in on the long-running Wonder Lake lodge question (see above), decided not to push for a large, privately-financed facility; instead, he hoped to see "some sort of motel type unit with food and other service facilities."<sup>124</sup> But NPS Director Hartzog saw things differently; because he was a staunch supporter of the recently-released Leopold Report—an agencywide blueprint that called for a "potent infusion of science into national

park management”—he recommended that no new accommodations be located in the park. Given the preponderance of Bureau of Land Management land north of the park boundary, and upon hearing that the “Government lands administered by the BLM may be opened to the public soon for small tract purposes,” Hartzog contacted BLM Chief Charles H. Stoddard and asked him to withdraw lands that might be utilized “for the development of overnight accommodations.”<sup>125</sup> At the time, several people had already staked small tracts just north of the park boundary, so Hartzog requested the withdrawal from his fellow agency chief due to worries of what was characterized as “an urban sprawl type of development” with “unsightly shacks just outside of the park.” (As a BLM official later noted, the agency was “asked by the NPS to make a protective withdrawal in the area to protect land values until a study is completed to determine whether the land will be added to the park.”)<sup>126</sup> The BLM, in response, delineated a proposed 9,118-acre withdrawal area which centered along the northern extension of the park road; it began at the park boundary and continued north to (and slightly beyond) the “Quigley Airstrip.” The BLM filed for the proposed withdrawal on April 30, 1965; it issued a press release on May 7, and a *Federal Register* announcement appeared on May 13 (see Map 6).<sup>127</sup>

Soon after the proposed withdrawal was made public, it was widely denounced for reasons that were largely unrelated to Hartzog’s original intention. Kantishna mining interests, for example, protested the action because it prevented the filing of new claims in the area; some state officials saw it as a back-door Park Service land grab; and there was a widespread insinuation that the government was favoring the conservation-oriented Camp Denali management at the expense of miners and homesite owners. Alaska Governor William A. Egan, speaking on the behalf of both miners and departmental officials, filed a protest on May 18 and again on May 26, and the entire Congressional delegation vigorously decried the proposed action.<sup>128</sup>

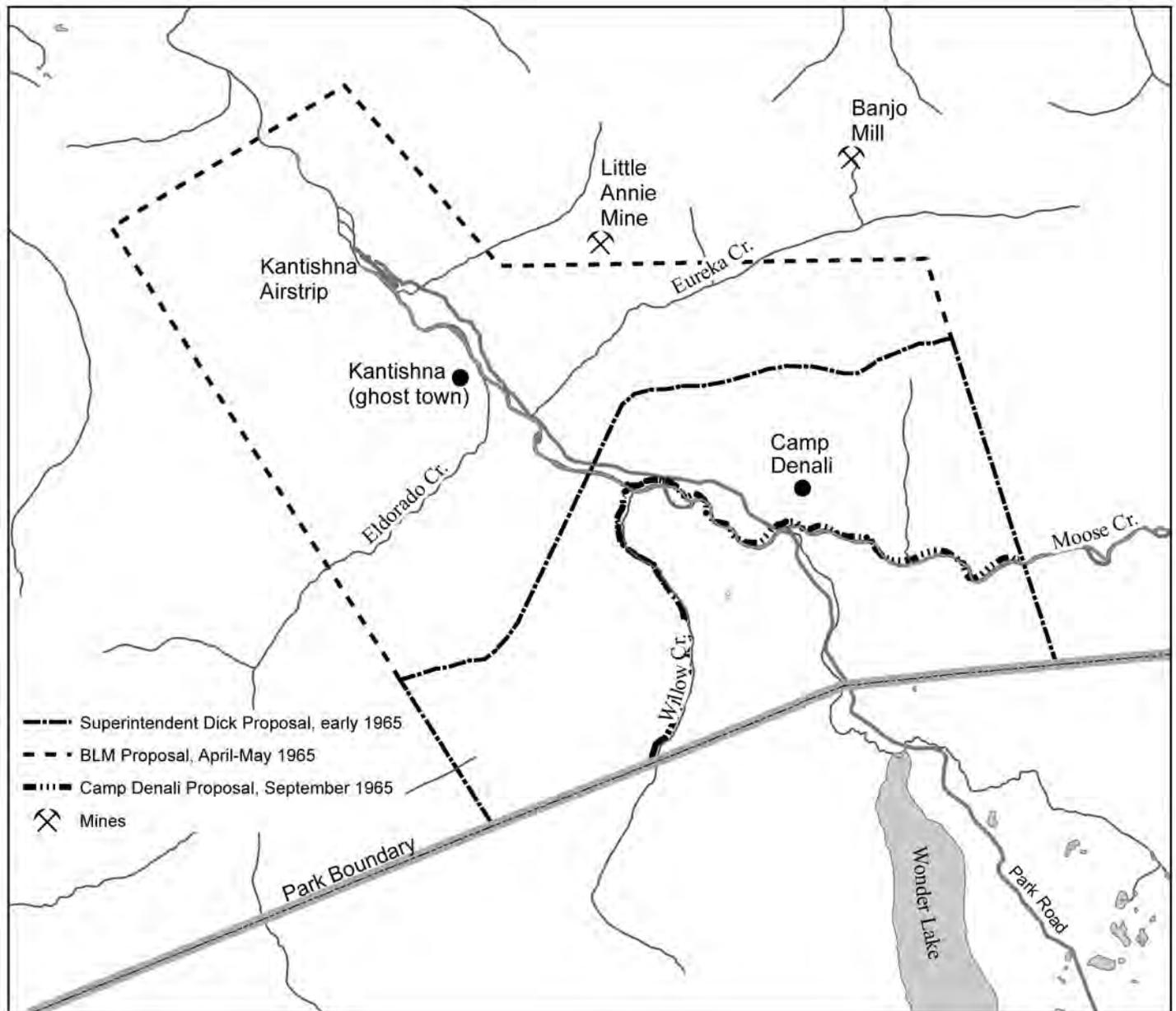
The BLM had announced, early in the process, that a public hearing would be held on the matter “if circumstances warrant it,” so on December 3, agency held a public meeting in Fairbanks. More than 30 “miners and other interested parties” attended. Park superintendent Oscar Dick told the crowd, somewhat apologetically, that he had originally proposed a withdrawal that was “about half” the final size, but “as it went through various hands it just got bigger.” Dick further noted that his smaller-sized withdrawal was needed as a buffer to protect that side of the park because

“the park service plans a future investment [in the Wonder Lake area] of several million dollars,” and “these plans cannot be carried out unless we are assured of adequate development sites and protection or zoning from adverse outside uses.” Because the proposal as issued in the *Federal Register* included portions of Eldorado Creek, a “large hunk” of Red Top Mine’s holdings, and the airstrip—and because Dick’s revised proposal avoided all of those areas—the assembled group “indicated there would be no serious opposition” to Dick’s amended withdrawal.<sup>129</sup>

By this time, Park Service officials were hard at work on a larger, more comprehensive boundary-expansion effort (see below), the results of which would accomplish some of the same goals as the BLM’s proposed withdrawal. So neither the BLM nor the NPS took further action on the matter until June 6, 1966, when NPS Director Hartzog informed Senator E. L. Bartlett that “no further action should be taken to effect a formal withdrawal of these or any lands at Mount McKinley until more extensive field studies are completed this summer in the Wonder Lake area and on the public lands adjacent to the park in this vicinity.”<sup>130</sup> The proposed withdrawal, therefore, was dead. But as shall be discussed further in Chapter 14, a significant by-product of the withdrawal proposal was that the 9,118 acres within the proposal’s boundaries remained “segregated . . . from settlement location, sale, selection, entry, lease and other forms of disposal under the public land laws, including the mining laws.” The NPS, at various times, apparently indicated to BLM officials that it “would eliminate certain mining areas from the withdrawal.” But it never did, and this failure proved a continuing point of contention to BLM officials and Kantishna-area mining interests.<sup>131</sup>

The question of an expanded boundary was a key topic when Director Hartzog, along with the Advisory Board on National Parks, Buildings, Historic Sites and Monuments, visited the park in early August 1965. Stanley Cain, an Assistant Secretary who accompanied the party, noted that the group’s bus trip to Wonder Lake

naturally led to speculations about the boundary of the park and ideas for development within it. . . . The problem lies to the north and the lower-lying lands that form winter range for caribou and their wildlife managers, the wolves. [Adolph] Murie suggested the inclusion of the hills of the Outer Range behind Denali and the flats to the west and north up to perhaps fifteen miles beyond the present



Map 6. Kantishna Withdrawal,

boundary as being necessary to give adequate room for caribou and wolves without including their entire migratory range...

To return to the matter of the inadequate size of the Park, it was not thought necessary that land to the north be added to the Park. It would perhaps be desirable (there is little mining to interfere), but the need would be adequately served by the Bureau of Land Management's classification of the needed habitat for wildlife and wilderness purposes.<sup>132</sup>

The NPS's next consideration of expanded boundaries came during the park's master planning process, which unfolded in 1965 as a direct response to the agency's need "to determine just what facilities are needed," particularly in the

Wonder Lake-Kantishna withdrawal area, "and what they would cost."<sup>133</sup> A master planning team visited the park just a week later than the advisory group, and the master plan process brought forth a plethora of suggestions on what the park's boundaries might be (see Map 7).

- Biologist Adolph Murie's plan, an outgrowth of his 1956 suggestions, was to expand the park's northern boundary by approximately 15 miles, primarily to protect the winter range of the caribou and to protect moose and wolf habitat.
- Victor Cahalane, an NPS employee who had been working at the Alaska parks off and on for more than 20 years, had suggested in 1964 a more modest proposal: the addition of all lands south of a rough line between Wonder Lake and the park's northern boundary just west of the Toklat River. The

new boundary would follow the Clearwater Fork along with Myrtle, Willow and Moose creeks. Cahalane made the proposal “to facilitate patrol,” “protection of wildlife,” and “to prevent construction of [an] undesirable resort” just north of the park boundary.

- Former superintendent Grant Pearson, in 1964, suggested a plan similar to Cahalane. But Pearson, who had filed on a small parcel just north of the park boundary, made it clear that his plan would not prevent further development along the road between Wonder Lake and Moose Creek.<sup>134</sup>
- Under current consideration in August 1965 was the 9,118 acres included in the Kantishna protective withdrawal (see Map 6). The land, at that time, was merely being withheld for study purposes, but as a BLM official noted, adding this area to the park would have been one possible outcome of an area study.
- The Fairbanks Igloo of the Pioneers of Alaska, however, weighed in with a September 1965 proposal that would have added several hundred thousand acres in a U-shaped wedge north, west, and south of the park. They did so to protect both wildlife and scenic values, and stated that “if this enlargement is not made very shortly, the commercial development of the state will preclude any alterations of the boundaries in the future.”<sup>135</sup>
- The Camp Denali management, upon hearing the other proposals put forth, denounced the Kantishna withdrawal and showed little enthusiasm for the two large expansion plans. Instead, they hoped that the area immediately north of the park boundary at Wonder Lake would “not be cluttered up either with commercial developments or campgrounds,” so they recommended that the park boundary be extended north only to Moose Creek (see Map 6).<sup>136</sup>

Given such a diversity of expansion plans, the Park Service’s master plan team responded with a recommendation that, while tentative, showed Murie’s influence:

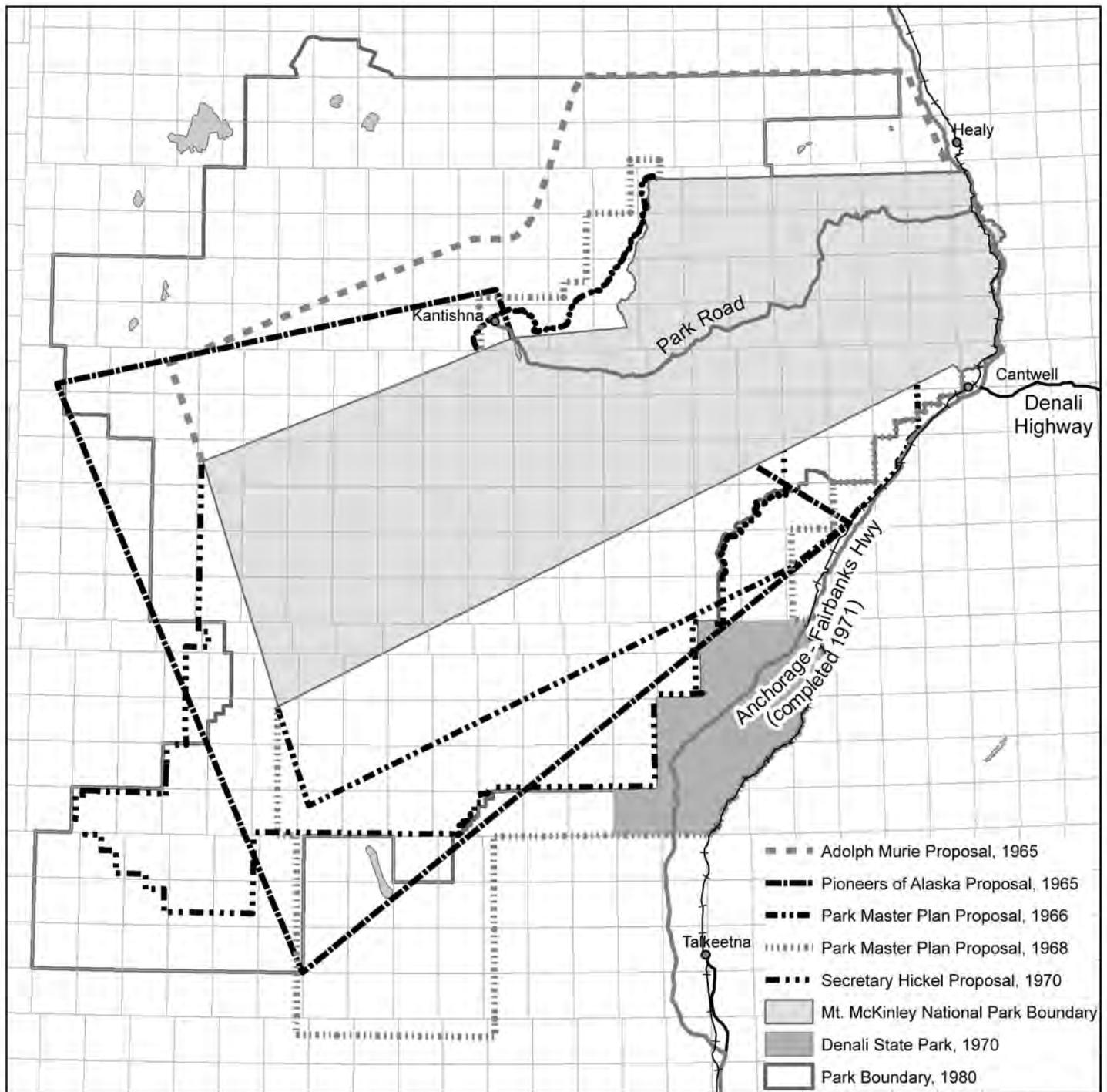
The National Park Service should develop an agreement with BLM and the State Fish and Game to provide additional protection to the caribou, wolf, and other forms of wildlife which leave the park during seasonal

migration; particularly in the area north of the Kantishna entrance.

If an agreement cannot be reached, steps should be taken to adjust the boundary northward 15 to 20 miles to provide proper range so vital to the welfare of the caribou and the wolf.<sup>137</sup>

By mid-June 1966, the agency had decided not to press ahead with any further studies related to the Kantishna withdrawal, and the master planning process that had begun a year earlier had also come to a close. Recognizing that the summer season was upon them, and also recognizing the agency’s continuing interest in areas outside of the existing park boundaries, Assistant NPS Director Theodor Swem asked the newly-established San Francisco Service Center to dispatch a three-person team to the park. That trio, along with Superintendent Dick and three others, spent two weeks during July on the master plan assignment. Swem felt that most of the park plan completed in early 1966 “appears to be acceptable.” The team needed to study, however, “the entire boundary of the park,” with particular emphasis on “planning in the Wonder Lake-Kantishna area and the unresolved situation at Windy Creek.” In addition, as a follow-up to both the Pioneers of Alaska proposal and to others proffered over the previous 30 years, the team took the first agency-wide look at areas south of the park, and they went so far as to conduct “an aerial search for the ideal location for a new development site.”<sup>138</sup>

On July 30, the team completed and signed a report of its investigations. It called for the acquisition of the rough triangle of land that Cahalane and Pearson had recommended for inclusion in 1964; that area, however, should also include “the Kantishna including Wickersham Mountain [Wickersham Dome] and the bowl of the proposed mining interpretation area.” As a logical follow-up to the master plan work, the team recommended an agreement between the NPS, the BLM, and the Alaska Department of Natural Resources “to provide protection scenically and ecologically for a minimal fifteen mile strip north of the present border, until such time as further studies indicate exact boundary descriptions for acquisition.” Regarding its work south of the park, the team urged “that serious consideration also be given to similar agreements relative to the protection of the southern boundary,” because “an extension of the southern boundary of perhaps ten to fifteen miles . . . is necessary to give this part of the park the area it needs and to fulfill the protective and interpretive role of the Service in administering the area.” South of that strip, their search for a development site “led the



Map 7. Boundary Expansion Proposals, 1965-1970

team to the 30-mile ridge (Curry Lookout Ridge) . . . between the Chulitna and Susitna Rivers.” But because the state had recently applied for selection rights in that area, they were loath to include that area in the park expansion proposal (see Map 7).<sup>139</sup>

The recommendations of this study were never approved by Washington officials, but even so, it “represented our thinking” for the next two years.<sup>140</sup> By the spring of 1967, its recommendations had become a two-part proposal; as noted in a contemporary press release, they included 1) “the addition of certain lands along the north boundary to provide an opportunity to interpret the mining story of Alaska and to protect the

scenic and natural values in this area,” and 2) “an extension of the park to the south to include the contorted lesser peaks and glaciers of the southern foreground to Mount McKinley without which the national park cannot be considered geologically complete.” In mid-April 1967, this proposal was considered by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments at its Washington, D.C. meeting. The Advisory Board recommended the NPS’s proposal and suggested “that action be initiated soon to accomplish this desired objective.” In addition, the Board also recommended “that an agreement be formulated with the Bureau of Land Management and the Alaska Department

Members of the 1966 NPS master planning team, shown here at the McKinley Park airstrip, prepare to fly over the park with pilot Don Sheldon. From left to right, they are Richard Prasil, Adolph Murie, Sigurd Olson, and park superintendent Oscar Dick. DENA Herkenham #198, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



of Natural Resources to provide protection to scenery and wildlife, including caribou and wolf, in a minimal 15-mile strip along the entire northern boundary of the park.”<sup>141</sup>

The NPS, by this time, had been studying other areas in Alaska, either for establishing new parks or expanding existing units. But because, at the time, there was no broad national basis of support for new Alaska parks, it was critical that the NPS obtain State of Alaska support before it present any proposals in the legislative arena. In order to obtain that support, both NPS Director George Hartzog and Assistant Director Theodor Swem flew to Juneau and met with Alaska Governor Walter Hickel on October 10, 1967.

At that meeting, Hartzog discussed a wide variety of NPS proposals, including new park proposals in the Alatna-Kobuk, Wood-Tikchik, and Skagway areas and proposed expansions of Mount McKinley National Park as well as Katmai National Monument.<sup>142</sup> The Mount McKinley expansion under discussion was of the same two areas that the Advisory Board had approved six months earlier. The “briefing book” that the NPS prepared for Hickel stated the following:

Addition of some 63,000 acres beyond the Wonder Lake area would complete the scenic bowl-like setting of the area, provide the opportunity for interpreting the story of mining in

Alaska, and establish a more easily administered boundary. Addition of some 385,000 acres along the south boundary would incorporate in the park, portions of Mt. McKinley that are now excluded.<sup>143</sup>

Hickel gave an enthusiastic response to the Park Service’s interest in the Skagway area, and within months, the NPS was hard at work on an alternatives study regarding the agency’s options in that area. But as Swem noted years later, Hickel “made no further commitments to help us out” regarding the other park proposals, perhaps because they involved relatively large amounts of acreage.<sup>144</sup> The McKinley park expansion proposal, for the moment, was dead.

The agency, however, apparently wanted to keep momentum going toward a boundary expansion, so in June 1968 the Washington office selected a new eight-man master plan team, headed by Merrill Mattes, to “study some new proposals and to conclude studies on a few proposals only partially completed in prior years.” (Mattes further noted that “the thinking of the 1964 and 1966 Master Plan teams has not been ignored. . . . In those instances where we part company, it is because in 1968 we worked with a more expansive set of premises.”) Recognizing that a road connecting Anchorage and Fairbanks would be completed within a few years, the team tried to compile a master plan that would “reflect

Members of the 1966 NPS Master Planning team are shown here near Don Sheldon's Mountain House, located south of the Alaska Range crest. Team members, top to bottom, are Adolph Murie, Sigurd Olson, Frank Collins, and Norm Herkenham. DENA Herkenham #210, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



the relationship of the park to the surrounding region and provide for the continuing enjoyment of the park by the visiting public, yet preserve the basic values of the park.” And as part of that plan, the team promised to investigate the possibility of a “hotel or lodge development site on the south side of the park, relatively near to the railroad and the proposed highway location and also close to Mount McKinley.” State officials had first expressed an interest in such a development in the fall of 1967; conservationists had as well, because developing the site “would be far cheaper” than alternative sites within the park, such as Wonder Lake.<sup>145</sup>

Planning for the possibility of a new south-side unit was apparently high in the team’s plans, because of its three field weeks (from late June through mid-July), one-third was spent working out of Talkeetna. Mattes, who compiled an informal report of the team’s findings, noted that “we are just now waking up to the realization” that those who established the park “failed to include the south half of the main mountain mass, thus omitting some of the most spectacular scenery in the world. The time to remedy this oversight is now.” The team recommended a three-phase plan of development, of which Phase I included the need to “seek legislation to extend south boundaries, giving a new dimension to Mount McKinley National Park.” Mattes estimated that approximately 2,928 square miles (almost 1.9 million acres) needed to be added south of the

park; this area was more than five times the size recommended in the 1966 master plan study, and within this vast acreage park planners included several hundred thousand acres that the State of Alaska had already obtained via tentative approval (see Map 7). The plan also called for “minor adjustments to the north boundary.”<sup>146</sup> (By the time the new master plan was complete, it called for a two-part park expansion: a newly-drawn 132,000-acre North Unit, located north and northeast of Wonder Lake, and a 2,070,000-acre South Unit.<sup>147</sup>) And in response to the interest shown by state officials in a south side development node, the study called for the construction—7 to 15 years in the future—of a “first-class lodge or hotel-type facility . . . big enough to anticipate travel for a decade or more,” to be located along the ridgeline just west of the Curry railroad stop.<sup>148</sup>

#### **The Udall Expansion Proposal**

In the midst of the 1968 Master Plan team’s work, a process began within the Lyndon Johnson administration that held the potential to legally establish new acreage at Mount McKinley National Park and to either establish new units or add to existing units elsewhere in the National Park System. In July 1968, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall met with Philip S. Hughes of the Bureau of the Budget and asked him whether he had the authority to set aside lands under the Antiquities Act. Hughes approved Udall’s request. Udall then passed the idea along to NPS Director George Hartzog, who in turn met with Assistant

Director Theodor Swem. Recognizing that less than six months remained in Johnson's presidency, the two men hoped to have appropriate additional areas added, as national monuments, to the National Park System.<sup>149</sup>

The idea was then passed on to other NPS personnel and other agency heads, and by mid-September 1968 an initial list had been assembled of 15 potential national monuments. Thanks to Edgar Wayburn of the Sierra Club, who had already lobbied Udall on the subject, an enlargement of Mount McKinley National Park was included on the list. In addition, there were five other Alaska areas: Wrangell Mountains, Saint Elias Range, Lake Clark Pass, Gates of the Arctic, and St. Lawrence Island. Each of these had been a subject of a previous NPS study. The only proposals to have been discussed outside of the agency had been for Mount McKinley and Gates of the Arctic, inasmuch as these proposals had been presented to Alaska Governor Hickel the previous October; these earlier proposals, however, had been more modest in their acreage than they were in their current incarnation.<sup>150</sup>

Shortly after this list was compiled, Hartzog asked for the assistance of Merrill Mattes, who had been the Team Captain on the various Alaska master plan studies during the summer of 1968. By early October, therefore, Katmai National Monument (both a 94,500-acre western unit and a 447,400-acre northern unit) had been added to the list. In addition, the NPS had prioritized its

interest in the various Alaska areas. The two-unit Mount McKinley addition topped that list. But as noted in a justification sheet for the boundary expansion, "both North and South Units [covering 132,000 acres and 2,070,000 acres, respectively] should be included in one overall proclamation, if possible. However, if there is a question of priorities, then first priority should be given to the larger South Unit because it will provide opportunity for earlier development to benefit the maximum number of visitors."<sup>151</sup>

By late October, another Alaska unit—the Wood-Tikchik Lakes area—had been added to the Alaska list, which Hartzog and other NPS officials presented to Secretary Udall in a slide talk. Udall, in response, stated that only three or four Alaska areas should be included on the proposed proclamation list, and Udall himself selected four areas—Mount McKinley, Katmai, Gates of the Arctic, and St. Lawrence Island—for further consideration. By mid-November, further areas had been dropped from consideration, and the resulting list continued to include all four Alaska proposals; both McKinley units were still included, but of the two Katmai units, only the smaller western unit was retained. Later that month, the St. Lawrence Island proposal was dropped. A large amount of staff work then ensued: background material, graphics presentation, the preparation of proclamation language, and so forth.<sup>152</sup>



Pilot Don Sheldon opened his "Mountain House," near the Ruth Glacier, in May 1966. This was one of the few structures ever built in the Alaska Range high country. DENA Herkenham #84, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

On December 10, Secretary Udall, Director Hartzog, and other Interior Department officials presented the Department's plans to President Johnson and several top advisors regarding seven presidential proclamations for new or expanded park units: three in Alaska and two each in Arizona and Utah. The President, in response, commended the Secretary on his presentation, although several advisors objected to the proposed action. Johnson, as he had earlier, asked Udall to "touch all bases on the Hill," and specifically asked him to contact Rep. Wayne Aspinall, the powerful Chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Udall responded by contacting—and gaining approval from—the head of the Senate Interior Committee and from the ranking minority member of the House Interior Committee. Aspinall, however, was out of town. Udall was fairly certain that Aspinall would probably not be happy about

House that the President would sign all seven proclamations. Given that perceived approval, the Interior Department issued a news release entitled "Mount McKinley National Monument Established in Alaska," and later that day, Alaska newspapers reported that the new, 2.2-million-acre monument "would serve as a companion piece to McKinley National Park. . . . Part of the monument land is north of the park and protects the migration route of the park's caribou. The southern part includes a string of impressive glaciers and the area around Chalatna [Chelatna] Lake."<sup>154</sup> But when Johnson, while working in his office, saw the wire-service ticker announcing the story, he called Udall and asked him to call back the news releases. Based on Johnson's deference to Rep. Aspinall in his role as Interior Committee chair, and in apparent anger over Udall's decision to unilaterally issue the news releases, the president decided—at the very last moment—to not sign all of the proclamations



Seen here is the view toward Mount McKinley from the south end of Curry Ridge, where the State of Alaska offered various hotel development proposals beginning in the late 1960s. DENA Herkenham #73, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum

the proposals; however, he did not contact him directly about them, and Aspinall did not hear about them until Johnson made a fleeting reference to them in his State of the Union speech on January 14, 1969. Within 24 hours, Aspinall learned about the proclamations (though not from Udall or other Department staff), and he quickly telephoned his vigorous opposition to the Department. Two days later, Udall finally contacted Aspinall personally, and he also informed the Alaska congressional delegation about the impending proclamations.<sup>153</sup>

On Saturday, January 18, Udall told NPS officials that he had received word from the White

that had been prepared on his behalf. On the morning of January 20, 1969, just two hours before President Nixon's inauguration, Johnson decided to sign the proclamations for the four smallest areas, one of which was the 94,547-acre Katmai National Monument addition. But he refused to sign the three other proclamations, which included the 2,202,328-acre Mount McKinley National Park addition.<sup>155</sup>

In a press release issued after he took his action, Johnson explained his motives for not signing the proclamations for the three large parks. He stated that



In 1968, NPS planners considered building a tramway near this site in the Tokosha Mountains. DENA Herkenham #89, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

After a careful review of these proposals, I have concluded that it would not be desirable to take Executive action. . . . The proposals include over 7 million acres—an enormous increase in our total park holdings. I believe the taking of this land—without any opportunity for congressional study—would strain the Antiquities Act far beyond its intent and would be poor public policy. Understandably, such action, I am informed, would be opposed by leading Members of Congress having authority in this field who have not had the opportunity to review or pass judgment on the desirability of the taking.

Under these circumstances, I have directed the Secretary of the Interior to submit these additional proposals to the Interior Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives for their consideration as new national parks. I hope the committees will see fit to give the proposed areas careful study at the earliest possible time.<sup>156</sup>

Aspinall, who was widely considered to have applied the pressure that scuttled the deal, “was said” (according to one news report) “to have argued vehemently that Congress must have a voice in a federal land-taking of such tremendous proportions.” But in full agreement with Johnson, Aspinall promised that his committee would hold

early hearings on the Mount McKinley boundary expansion plan.<sup>157</sup>

Given that promise of cooperation, Rep. John Saylor (R-Pa.)—who served as the ranking minority member on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee—introduced a bill (H.R. 11424) on May 19, 1969 “to provide for the addition of certain lands to the Mount McKinley National Park.” Saylor’s bill, following on the work of the 1968 master plan team, called for a 132,000-acre North Unit addition and a 2,070,000-acre South Unit addition. The NPS, throughout the 1969 and 1970 Congressional sessions, also continued to support these acreage additions. But given the change of administrations and the tenor of the new Interior Secretary (see below), Saylor’s bill was never reported out of committee.<sup>158</sup>

#### **The Alaska Legislature Establishes Denali State Park**

Within the new Nixon administration, a key to any McKinley bill was the position of former Alaska Governor Walter Hickel, who now headed the Interior Department. Hickel, who contended that the State of Alaska had first claim on all unreserved public lands in Alaska, asked the NPS to negotiate any future park-addition proposals with the Alaska Department of Natural Resources. The two entities worked on a plan for almost two years.

In the midst of that planning effort, the State of Alaska moved to establish its own protected re-

serve south of the Alaska Range. It did so in part to provide a recreational outlet to those traveling along the Anchorage-Fairbanks highway (which was not yet completed; see section below) and in part to fend off federal attempts to incorporate state-selected lands within an expanded Mount McKinley National Park. The first inkling that a park might be necessary took place in September 1968, shortly after the NPS had made its master-plan study that would have established a 2,070,000-acre expansion south of the existing park (see section above). Ken Sheppard, a Republican running for a State House seat, publicly warned of a Park Service “land grab” in the area. “It would be preferable,” he noted, “for the state to take this valuable land of rugged mountains, glaciers, and spectacular valleys to prevent the park service from putting it into the deep freeze.” He noted that the NPS’s plan to extend its southern boundary would be sound if the action were coupled with a development program. But he was apparently skeptical that the NPS would produce such a program. He added,

the park service has proven efficient in Alaska only in its ability to put the best real estate in a deep freeze—inaccessible and useless except to the elite few. . . . The people of Anchorage and the Matanuska Valley have a direct interest in seeing that the park is opened up for more people to enjoy. We can’t develop the tourist industry if we don’t have places for visitors to go and stay overnight.<sup>159</sup>

Sheppard lost his House race, but many shared his ideas about the need to develop overnight accommodations south of the Alaska Range. To forward that concept, the Economic Development Administration (part of the U.S. Department of Commerce) sponsored a report on ways to develop the state’s tourism economy. That report, completed in December 1968, noted that the national park was the state’s most important tourist attraction and that “if visitor travel is to continue to increase in proportion to Alaska’s potential, a major hotel must be built in the vicinity of Mount McKinley.” It also averred that “this hotel must have a significant commanding view of the mountain,” so it recommended the construction of a 300-room, \$17.5 million lodge, located near the new highway right-of-way in the vicinity of Chulitna Pass.<sup>160</sup> It proposed that the federal government would build and operate the lodge; this recommendation was made even though the lodge site, although technically on federal land, had been tentatively approved for transfer to the State of Alaska in July 1967. The

report cautiously noted that the lodge property should “be acquired as a part of Mt. McKinley National Park,” but it would be a noncontiguous satellite unit.<sup>161</sup> The study’s results, which were widely reported in the Alaska press, were a shot in the arm to tourism development advocates.<sup>162</sup> But not everyone agreed with the report’s conclusions—explorer Bradford Washburn, for instance—and before long Washburn was advocating a hotel near Tokositna Glacier, which was only about half the distance from Mount McKinley compared to the Chulitna Pass site.<sup>163</sup> The Interior Department, moreover, had other ideas. As noted above, Department officials—unbeknownst to most Alaskans—were then in the midst of preparing a proclamation to establish a 2.2-million-acre Mount McKinley National Monument; if President Johnson had approved the proclamation in the waning days of his administration, the proposed lodge site would have been included in the new monument.

Given the federal government’s threats—real or perceived—to the state’s interests on land south of the national park, state officials seized on the idea of establishing a state park. The state, at that time, had no other state parks, so on January 15, 1970, Governor Keith Miller requested the State Senate’s Rules Committee to introduce a bill (SB 375) that “relates to state parks and establishes the Denali State Park.” He told the Senate that

This legislation sets aside approximately 300,000 acres of accessible State lands to complement Mount McKinley [National] Park. The location offers the most exceptional vantage point of North America’s highest mountain. Enactment of this legislation will facilitate development of facilities demanded by Alaska’s outdoor-loving public and the increasing number of visitors attracted to our state.<sup>164</sup>

The Rules Committee’s bill moved quickly through the Alaska legislature. It passed the Senate Resources Committee on February 9, and on April 13 it passed the full Senate on an 18-1 vote. It then passed the House Resources and House Finance committees, and on June 6 it passed the full House, 28-9. The bill was then sent on to Governor Miller, who signed the measure into law on June 23.<sup>165</sup> The bill gave few specifics regarding how the park should be managed. It did, however, establish “rules and regulations governing the use and designating incompatible uses within the boundaries of [all Alaska] state park and recreational areas to protect the

This view toward Mount McKinley from the Chulitna Pass area shows where the Department of Commerce, in 1968, recommended a hotel development site. DENA Herkenham #68, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



property and preserve the peace,” and that the lands within the 282,000-acre Denali State Park were “reserved from all uses incompatible with the primary function as park area.”<sup>166</sup>

As noted above, Interior Secretary Hickel, in early 1969, had asked NPS and the state Department of Natural Resources to work together toward a mutually-supportable park addition. Midway through this process Denali State Park had been established, and by the fall of 1970 the two sides had worked out (and Hickel himself had approved) a 1,560,000-acre McKinley addition, all of which was south of the national park and west of the state park (see Map 7). A key aspect of the agreement was that the state would not oppose the addition if the federal government would agree not to withdraw several thousand acres the state wanted because of its mineral potential. But in November 1970, two events took place that had the potential to unravel the progress made thus far. On November 25, Nixon fired Hickel over remarks he had made months earlier pertaining to the Vietnam War, and on November 3, Republican Governor Keith Miller—who backed Hickel’s plan because it “more accurately reflect[ed] the geologic unit for which the park is noted”—was defeated in the general election by William A. Egan.<sup>167</sup>

A month later, the Interior Department moved to assert its interests over a large swath of acreage south of the existing park. Recognizing that a long-imposed Public Land Order withdrawing all unreserved lands in Alaska was scheduled to expire on June 30, 1971, and also recognizing that any Congressional action related to a Mount

McKinley park expansion could probably not be completed by that time, the Department announced its intention to withdraw most of the acreage south of the park that had not already been selected by the State of Alaska. Interior Department official Fred Russell knew that the order “would preclude entry or appropriation of any of the lands for any uses, including mineral, homestead, or State selection after June 30, 1971,” but the action was necessary to prevent “an accretion of problems” while Congress considered the park-expansion proposal.<sup>168</sup> Alaskans, upon hearing of the plans, cried foul, claiming that the federal government had backed out of the “park land deal” made in late 1970 and that the “park pact” had been violated because the land proposed for withdrawal contained potentially valuable mineral land.<sup>169</sup> Governor Egan, upon hearing of the Interior Department action, called Russell and explained the pact; Russell, in response, backed down and agreed to honor the previously-made agreement.<sup>170</sup>

Just two weeks later, on January 22, 1971, Rep. John Saylor again submitted a bill (H.R. 1128) to expand the park’s boundaries. That bill called for the acreage included in the fall 1970 state-federal agreement, plus additional areas to the east and south as well as the 132,000-acre North Unit proposal of 1968-69. Perhaps because of the state’s vociferous objections to the added lands, Saylor’s bill never made it out of committee.<sup>171</sup> During the fall of 1971, NPS staff—perhaps recognizing that the expansion issue was due to flare up again in early 1972—began to dicker among themselves over the optimal locations of future



Mount McKinley viewed from the site of the proposed Tokositna hotel development. DENA Herkenham #28, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

park boundary lines. None of this discussion rose above the regional-office level, however.<sup>172</sup>

#### **Completing the Land-Consolidation Process**

As noted in previous chapters, the expansion of the park boundaries in 1932 had incorporated the lands of several local residents and business people. The Interior Department had responded to these local interests by dispatching a General Land Office investigator to the McKinley Park Station area in early 1933; his primary purpose was to distinguish those who were legitimate land claimants from those whose ties to the land were either informal or transitory. By 1935, five separate parcels in the newly-expanded area had been patented. The first two of those parcels had been purchased from the landowner in 1941 and 1947, respectively, and during early 1950s, the Alaska Railroad had also agreed to turn over most of its McKinley Park Station land to the NPS. That left three remaining holdouts: Duke Stubbs, who owned a 35-acre parcel just east of the McKinley Park Hotel; Dan Kennedy, who owned a 5-acre parcel just north of the Stubbs parcel, and the 133.76-acre parcel owned by the John Stephens estate, which surrounded the old Windy railroad station at the park's southeastern corner.

As thick files in government offices show, none of these three landowners lived on their parcels after the mid-1930s, but all three argued that the government, via the 1932 park expansion,

had ruined actual or potential business opportunities. As a result, all three felt that their lands should be valued for their economic potential. The government, by contrast, saw these properties as isolated, abandoned properties with dilapidated, decaying improvements. Given these varying perceptions, it is unsurprising that these landowners held on to their properties as long as they did.

#### *The Kennedy and Stubbs Tracts*

As Chapter 4 notes, Stubbs and his wife spent most of the mid-1930s trying to extract payment from the government, on the basis that the park's expansion had ruined their fox farm and trading post business. In 1937 the Court of Claims agreed with them, and the Stubbs collected \$50,000 in damages the following year. Perhaps because of the court's award, Dan Kennedy—then living in Everett, Washington—made similar moves for compensation because the park, due to its boundary extension, interfered with his business. (He later modified that claim by stating that he “was preparing to establish myself in the business of taking out hunting parties from my headquarters,” which was a single log cabin, “and was about ready to proceed when . . . the territory surrounding my five acres of land was taken within the Park area.”) Delegate Dimond urged the NPS to help. Director Arno Cammerer, however, told Kennedy that there was “no authority of law” for claims adjudication and settlement and, furthermore, there were no funds available to purchase his parcel; he later confided to Di-

mond that if Kennedy had been paid under such circumstances, “this Service would be flooded with similar demands in connection with other parks and monuments.”<sup>173</sup> Kennedy next made it known that he wanted to run a guiding business from his property, but NPS regulations prevented him from doing so. He therefore asked Cammerer to be relieved of the “intolerable burdens” of his situation by having several square miles in the McKinley Park Station area excised from the park. That August, however, the Washington office stated that the 1932 boundary-extension act “adequately protected all valid existing claims” and that “this Service is not in a position to consider favorably any legislation authorizing the withdrawal . . . as desired by Mr. Kennedy.”<sup>174</sup> The NPS, during this period, appraised the Kennedy parcel, with improvements, as being worth \$200.<sup>175</sup>

Having been rebuffed by the NPS, Kennedy next turned to Congress, and in January 1941, Delegate Dimond submitted a bill (H.R. 321) to authorize the Court of Claims to consider his case and determine an appropriate level of damages. The House Committee on Claims, however, did not move Dimond’s bill. NPS Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray, however, met with Dimond and assured him that “arrangements could be made whereby Mr. Kennedy could satisfactorily carry out his plans without undue inconvenience.”<sup>176</sup> What those “arrangements” were, however, is not known; in all probability, Kennedy made no attempt to start up his business, either in 1941 or in later years.

Also in 1941, park superintendent Frank Been learned that Duke Stubbs, the owner of the adjacent property, had died. Inasmuch as his widow, Elizabeth Stubbs, was “not living on her property” (she was a Seattle resident), Been suggested that she be contacted in hopes that “she may turn her land over to the government, or release it for a nominal amount.” Other NPS officials—who had no funds to offer for land purchase—were unenthusiastic about the idea, but suggested that an agency lands-acquisition coordinator speak with her.<sup>177</sup> The property, at the time, was estimated to be worth either \$1000 or \$1750, but when an NPS official finally spoke to her about the property, she indicated that “her husband had valued the property at \$10,000, but she would very much like to have an offer for it.”<sup>178</sup> Given that answer, the NPS was unable to move further.

Interest in the government’s purchase of both properties surfaced soon after World War II. Goaded by the Washington office, a park employee talked with Col. Johnson of the Alaska

Railroad, who stated that the carrier could secure funds for purchasing both the Kennedy and Stubbs properties. The parcels, at this time, were appraised at \$2500 and \$1750, respectively. Despite that jump in price, other NPS employees felt that the quoted figures were too low.<sup>179</sup> Eventually a railroad employee was able to track down the two landowners, and the report was not encouraging; Mrs. Stubbs wanted \$10,000 for her property, while Kennedy made a personal visit to the railroad company “to reiterate his refusal to sell at any price.”<sup>180</sup> Railroad and NPS employees responded by compiling a series of four independently-derived appraisals: they indicated that the Kennedy parcel was worth \$2,000 to \$2,500 (of which \$1,000 was deemed to be “of nuisance value”), while the Stubbs parcel was valued at \$5,000 to \$6,500.<sup>181</sup>

Following upon those estimates, and well aware that the road being built to the park might drastically inflate the parcels’ property values, the Interior Department’s Solicitor, Mastin White, asked U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath in June 1951 to begin condemnation proceedings in order to acquire the two parcels.<sup>182</sup> On September 6, Justice Department attorneys responded by filing the necessary complaint that instituted the legal process. Regarding Mrs. Stubbs, the court tried to contact her, first via a notice in a Fairbanks newspaper, and later via a letter to her last known address, in New York City. But she never responded to the complaint.<sup>183</sup> However, Kennedy and his partner, A. M. Glassberg<sup>184</sup>—having been told that the parcel was worth \$2,500—responded to the summons and fought back through their congressman, Henry M. Jackson. Based on the property’s \$5000 assessed valuation, which was “less than the fair purchase price of the property,” they told NPS officials that the agency’s offer was “very inadequate.” But the NPS countered that the government’s appraisal was fair, inasmuch as the one cabin on the property was “very unsightly and in poor condition . . . [it] afford[s] shelter to tramps and other undesirable.”<sup>185</sup> The government, for the time being, postponed its condemnation case; meanwhile, it pressed Kennedy and Glassberg for an offer. Glassberg, in response, suggested \$27,500 and further stated that Kennedy’s plans “call for the development as a base of operations for prospecting and as a tourist facility.” But the NPS considered the figure “wholly unacceptable” and urged that the partners reconsider their quoted figure.<sup>186</sup> In response, Kennedy’s lawyer—in a letter to Rep. Jackson—accused park officials of acting maliciously toward his client, and he also tried to justify the \$27,500 asking price. But NPS Director Conrad Wirth, who received a copy of

These were Duke Stubbs' buildings at his fox farm. Stubbs' fox pens can be seen beyond the two buildings. DENA 11-119, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



that letter, shot back with a point-by-point defense. He cited the “unsightly, dilapidated” cabin on the property as adequate justification for the \$2,500 appraisal figure. He further stated the agency’s rationale for the condemnation:

It was with extreme reluctance that negotiations with the aged pioneering explorer were terminated and condemnation proceedings instituted. However, for nearly three years we have attempted to purchase the property at a price consistent with appraisals made by reputable employees of the Alaska Railroad. . . . This Service feels impelled to administer and develop the Park for the benefit and enjoyment of the people who visit it. To accomplish this objective, it is necessary to acquire private holdings such as the Kennedy property and to devote the lands to public purposes. It is unfortunate that the Kennedy and Stubbs tracts are plainly visible from the railroad, the Park highway, and the accommodations provided for the visiting public. . . . You may rest assured that the Service, working as it does on a small budget must, of necessity, confine its purchases to lands vitally important to the development and maintenance of the various parks.

No known action took place regarding either of these tracts until early 1956. By this time, Elizabeth Stubbs had died, leaving Mary E. Weiss as the sole owner of the 35-acre Stubbs tract. Weiss apparently had little interest in holding onto the property, and although the parcel had

responded positively, and on October 18, 1958, Justice lawyers decided to file an appeal with the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.<sup>190</sup> The appeals court gave no immediate indication as to when it would consider this case; in the meantime, Kennedy declared his intention to build a “modern motel” which was “vitally needed in the Park.” Kennedy’s attorney offered to sell the parcel in question for \$25,000, a figure that the NPS rejected.<sup>191</sup>

The appeals court heard the case beginning January 14, 1960. A. Donald Mileur, along with three other Justice Department attorneys, represented the federal government, while Kennedy’s attorneys remained the law firm of Davis, Hughes, and Thorsness. A three-judge panel—Frederick G. Hamley, Gilbert H. Jertberg, and Montgomery O. Koelsch—heard oral arguments in the case. The government argued that its ability to condemn the property rested on Chapter VII of the general appropriation act for Fiscal Year 1951 which called for the expenditure of \$19,667,000 for, among other things, “the acquisition of lands, interests therein, improvements, and water rights.” And more specifically, that act authorized \$275,000 for the NPS to acquire private properties within the various national parks. The defendant, however, argued that inasmuch as Mount McKinley was not mentioned in the appropriation bill, Congress did not authorize land-purchasing rights there. The defendant further argued that even if the \$275,000 could be applied to Mount McKinley, then such funds could be used only on parcels with a willing seller. Three months later, Hamley issued the Court’s opinion. The Court held “that nothing in the legislative history of the 1951 appropriation act limits the broad language of the acquisition item in such a

Dan Kennedy's log cabin was located east of the McKinley Park airstrip, on his privately-owned 5-acre site. The airstrip is the foreground of this picture. DENA 4-16, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection

been appraised at \$6,000 in 1951, she appeared in a Fairbanks court and agreed to \$4,000 as “just compensation” in a judgment rendered on February 24, 1956.<sup>187</sup>

Kennedy, however, had no intention of being cooperative. In late December 1957, a trial on the condemnation was held in an Anchorage District Court. Assistant U.S. Attorney Donald Burr, unsurprisingly, asked for the legal right to condemn the property. But the Anchorage law firm of Davis, Hughes, and Thorsness, representing Kennedy, alleged that the government had “no authority for such a condemnation” because “there was no showing of any specific legislative sanction or authority for condemning the land in question.” The government’s amended complaint stated that its action stemmed from Mastin White’s June 1951 letter to the Attorney General, and that White was “duly authorized to institute the proceeding. . . .” But the defendant moved to dismiss the case because the amended complaint “does not state a claim upon which relief may be granted.” Judge Walter H. Hodge, asked to rule in the case, issued his decision on March 10, 1958. Hodge noted that neither the 1917 act establishing the park nor “the amendments thereto contain any specific authorization . . . relating to the acquisition by condemnation or otherwise of private lands within the boundaries of the Park; and no such provision is found in the general statutes relative to the jurisdiction and powers of the National Park Service.” He further noted that there were several such authorizations that pertained to other NPS units, but none for Mount McKinley, and “if it was the intention of Congress to make similar provision as to Mount McKinley National Park, surely it would have done so. . . . It must be concluded,” Hodge noted, “that the [plaintiff’s] amended complaint fails to state a claim upon which the relief sought may be had. The motion to dismiss is therefore granted.”<sup>188</sup> Government attorneys, chagrined at the trial’s outcome, asked the judge to reconsider his opinion, and they soon submitted four additional previous court decisions that were intended to buttress their case. But in a case that was heard in Nome on June 13, 1958, Hodge reiterated his earlier opinion.<sup>189</sup> Without the legal ability to condemn the property, the NPS was unable to obtain Kennedy’s parcel unless it could meet Kennedy’s \$27,500 asking price.

After reading Judge Hodge’s opinion, the Justice Department felt that “the District Court was in error in holding that the . . . authority for the taking would not support a condemnation action.” It therefore filed a protective notice of appeal, asking the Interior Department Solicitor’s Office “whether an appeal would be in the best interest of the United States.” Shortly afterward, DOI

way that funds therefrom may not be expended in acquiring land within the exterior boundaries of Mount McKinley National Park.” And it further held that “if there was authority to acquire them by purchase, they could be condemned.” It therefore concluded that “the Secretary of the In-



terior, acting through the National Park Service, has authority under the 1951 appropriation act to acquire the Kennedy tract. He may therefore do so by condemnation. . . .”<sup>192</sup> The appeals court thus reversed the district court’s opinion. There is no evidence that Kennedy appealed the Court’s decision, so all that remained to be settled was the sale price.

On Friday, February 3, 1961, attorneys for Kennedy and the government gathered for a pre-trial conference in the Anchorage office of District Judge Walter Hodge. All parties agreed that “the sole issue of fact . . . was the matter of just compensation to be paid to the defendant Dan T. Kennedy. . . .” The defendant claimed “the highest and best use of said property as a homestead and claim[ed] a value of between \$30,000 and \$50,000 and the government [claimed] an appraisal of only \$1,625.00.”<sup>193</sup> The trial, before a jury, began just three days later. After a two-day trial, the jury ruled on February 8 that \$16,506.57 was “just compensation” to settle the case; that figure was the sum of a \$10,500 award, plus another \$6,006.57 for the interest that had accrued (at six percent per annum) since September 6, 1951, when the government had filed for condemnation. NPS officials felt that the amount was excessive, but based on Justice Department advice that an appeal might result in an even larger award, the NPS decided that the jury’s award should stand. A month later, the NPS prepared a voucher, and by the end of March the NPS owned Kennedy’s 5-acre parcel.<sup>194</sup> It had been a long, hard battle by both sides.

#### *The Stephens Tract*

During this period, the NPS also acquired a tract at the southeastern corner of the park that had belonged to John Stephens. Stephens had patented this 133.96-acre homestead, which sur-

This photograph of Dan Kennedy's cabin was taken on February 1, 1961, just days before the final settlement of Kennedy's property claims. DENA 4-23, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



rounded the Windy railroad station, on February 9, 1933; this was less than a year after the passage of the Congressional bill that expanded the park boundaries to include his land. After that date, Stephens continued to run a roadhouse, trading post, and the Windy City post office—all of which surrounded the rail stop—until his death in 1934. Windy City (and the parcel in question) was inhabited for a short period after Stephens's death, but by the late 1930s the parcel was uninhabited. The parcel thereafter was administered by his grandson, H. Stephen Simpson of Peoria, Illinois.<sup>195</sup>

Soon after Stephens' death, his heirs began to petition Congress "seeking a settlement . . . for the lands of the deceased that were taken and made a part of a Federal Park." On March 23, 1936, less than a year after Congress passed a bill on behalf of McKinley Park Station residents Duke and Elizabeth Stubbs, Alaska Delegate Tony Dimond introduced H.R. 11955. This bill would have given authority for the Court of Claims to award damages to Stephens's heirs, who at the time were Nettie Stephens, Minnie Simpson, and Luro M. Holmes. A few days later a similar bill (S. 4403) was introduced in the Senate by Alva B. Adams, the head of the Committee on Claims.<sup>196</sup> The latter bill brought forth an investigation and a report from the Senate Committee on Claims, dated May 14, 1936. Perhaps on the basis of that report, both bills died in committee.<sup>197</sup> On the opening day of Congress in January 1937, Alaska Delegate Tony Dimond introduced a new bill in the House of Representatives (H.R. 1746) "authorizing reimbursement to the estate of John Stephens . . . for the loss of certain lands and improvements in Alaska." The bill would have paid Stephens's estate \$26,000 to settle all

"the present value of the property, including roadhouse, trading post and cabins which are mostly rotted away and not occupied, at \$10.00 per acre."<sup>202</sup> This correspondence was passed on to the Washington office, who noted the possibility of land acquisition funds being available; the quoted per-acre value, however, was "subject to change by an official appraisal by disinterested parties." Tolson wrote Simpson and asked for a six-months' option to purchase the property at that appraised value. Simpson, however, had little interest in such an option; instead, he responded by citing the large (\$50,000) award that the Stubbs had received from the Court of Claims back in 1937, and he also threatened to reopen a business on the property.<sup>203</sup>

As noted in Chapter 6, early plans for building the road from Paxson Roadhouse to the existing park road called for it to be constructed from Cantwell up Windy Creek to the drainage divide, then a descent within the Riley Creek watershed to McKinley Park Station. This alternative was considered until late 1950. Because the construction of such a road would have made Simpson's property relatively accessible, NPS planner George Collins worried that the agency needed to purchase the property in order to prevent it from being used for commercial purposes.<sup>204</sup> The decision to build the road within the Nenana River corridor, however, isolated the inholding from the new road corridor. As a result, NPS officials did not feel the need to condemn this property as they had the Stubbs and Kennedy tracts, as noted above.

No further action took place for more than a decade. During this period, the landowner had little interest in selling the land to the government

outstanding claims. But the Interior Department was not requested to make a report on the issue, so Congress did not act on it.<sup>198</sup>

Stephens's heirs again sought financial restitution from Congress in 1941, perhaps in response to news reports emanating from the government's purchase of the Anderson tract near Wonder Lake. That spring, Delegate Dimond—perhaps in response to a request from the Stephens heirs—asked Interior Secretary Ickes if funds were available to purchase the Stephens tract. But no such money was available.<sup>199</sup> The family then prevailed upon Dimond to submit a bill asking the Court of Claims to hear their case and render judgment. Dimond introduced that bill (H.R. 5585) on August 14, after which it was considered by the House Committee on Claims, chaired by Rep. Daniel McGehee (D-Miss.). E. K. Burlew, an Interior Department official tasked to review the case, concluded that “I am unable to discover any grounds which would justify a favorable report on the pending bill.” He therefore recommended against the enactment of H.R. 5585, and perhaps because of that opinion—which was largely based on his perusal of the Senate's 1936 report—the bill did not get voted out of committee.<sup>200</sup>

After the war, Simpson tried yet again to press his case before Congress. In July 1946, perhaps in response to news reports about the possible purchase of the Morino tract, he wrote to the Alaska Delegate E. L. Bartlett; stating that “the heirs of this estate have been rather shabbily treated,” he sought a government settlement “for the lands of the deceased that were taken and made a part of a Federal Park.” NPS Director Drury, asked to comment on the matter, assured Bartlett “that this property has not been taken over as Federal property.” He further explained, however, that “there are no funds available for its purchase;” in fact, his request for \$350,000 for purchase of privately-owned lands in the National Park System had recently been stricken from the 1947 Interior Department appropriation bill. The parcel, at this time, had an appraised value of \$4,000.<sup>201</sup>

Simpson recognized—as did other park in-holders during this period, both in Alaska and elsewhere—that he had few options regarding the sale of his property. So in the spring of 1947, he contacted park superintendent Grant Pearson and asked him to estimate the value of Stephens' trading-post business and also asked him to estimate the “present value of the improvements” there. Pearson, at the time, was in the midst of a climbing expedition up Mount McKinley. By radio, however, Pearson relayed that he “was well acquainted” with John Stephens, and he estimat-

at its appraised value, and the NPS—because of the tract's location, which was difficult to reach by road and well away from the McKinley Park Station area—was not particularly hard pressed to purchase it. In July 1961, the NPS—evidently interested in consolidating its remaining inholdings—gained authorization to have the tract appraised. Soon afterward, the appraiser visited the property and submitted his report, in which he ascertained the tract's value at \$6,700. In September, the agency forwarded option papers to H. S. Simpson.<sup>205</sup> Soon a familiar litany emerged; according to contemporary agency reports, “Mr. Simpson seems to feel that this property would lend itself to commercial development,” while to the NPS, “such a development would be economically unfeasible since it would require construction of a costly bridge across the Nenana River to provide access.” Simpson, however, was willing to sell; he signed and returned the option papers in February 1962, and on March 15 the agency received a signed contract to purchase the tract for \$6,700.<sup>206</sup> Park staff then began the process to obtain a clear title. That process dragged on for months; during this period, Simpson apparently died. Finally, on November 6, a federal attorney in Fairbanks filed a complaint against Stephens's heirs, hoping to complete the land transaction. Four months later, on March 25, 1963, the government and the two identified property owners—Minnie J. Simpson and Loren G. Holmes—agreed to complete the land transaction. On April 18 the U.S. Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, issued a final judgment in the matter and reconfirmed the award amount. Soon afterward, the defendants received \$3350 each.<sup>207</sup>

#### **Operational Realities: Staff and Infrastructure**

Until the fall of 1956, Mount McKinley National Park had enjoyed a long period of staff stability; as noted in Chapter 6, there had been just two superintendents during the previous seventeen years, and the number of permanent staff had risen from just eight to ten (see Appendix B). But in November 1956, that period of quietude ended when 30-year veteran Grant Pearson retired and moved to the San Francisco Bay area,<sup>208</sup> and between then and 1971 the park had five superintendents: Duane Jacobs, Samuel King, Oscar Dick, George Hall, and Vernon Ruesch. Jacobs, who served from November 1956 to November 1959, and King, who served another three-year stint immediately following Jacobs, each served apprentices as assistant superintendents. Dick, who transferred to the park after serving as Yellowstone's chief ranger, had previously worked at McKinley during the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>209</sup> Hall, who moved to McKinley from a posting in Washington, D.C., had previously served at Sitka

Superintendent Oscar Dick, right, presented Park Ranger Wayne Merry, left, with an Incentive Award on August 25, 1966. Oscar Dick had served at the park in the 1940s and 1950s before returning as superintendent in December 1962. DENA 27-66, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



National Monument,<sup>210</sup> and Ruesch, the son of legendary Zion superintendent Walter Ruesch, had long served as a Grand Canyon ranger (see Appendix C).<sup>211</sup>

During this period, Mount McKinley's pre-eminence among Alaska units forced its superintendent to assume roles unrelated to the park, much as Supt. Been had had to do during the late 1930s and early 1940s (see Chapter 5). As noted above, one of the first tasks undertaken by new NPS Director George Hartzog, in 1964, was his establishment of the Alaska Task Force. This ad hoc group undertook an intensive effort to identify and evaluate areas that would be of particular interest as potential national parks and monuments. The task force's January 1965 report, called *Operation Great Land*, identified 39 zones and sites that had high natural, recreational, or historic values. By August 1965 Hartzog, hoping to orchestrate a series of individual study proposals, had decided that an Alaska Field Office, in Anchorage, was necessary for central planning purposes.<sup>212</sup> The office was established on November 8, 1965, and by May 1967 the office boasted a park planner (Craig Breedlove), a biologist (Richard Prasil), and a secretary (Marguerite Bedour). The leader of this office, however, was Supt. Dick, and this additional role forced him to rent an apartment in Anchorage and remain there for extended periods during the wintertime.<sup>213</sup> George Hall, who replaced Dick in early 1967, carried on the same hectic seasonal schedule as had his predecessor. But when Hall retired in 1969, higher-ups

even more would be needed to "relieve the critical shortage of housing."<sup>218</sup> Aside from Eielson Visitor Center, no new construction took place west of the headquarters area during this period. One building was demolished, however; during the summer of 1964, half of the two-part Savage River Cabin was "cut up for firewood." Both of the Savage River cabins, prior to the demolition, were located just northwest of today's Savage River Campground; the remaining cabin still stands and presently serves as a spot for historical interpretation.<sup>219</sup>

The park also moved to accommodate the needs of hundreds of inquisitive, curious motorists. When the new Denali Highway opened in August 1957, it established a Park Information Center in the combination naturalist's office and ranger station, located north of the park road at headquarters.<sup>220</sup> That arrangement sufficed for a short time, but in May 1959, road construction in that area blocked access to the center. The NPS reacted to the situation by installing a prefabricated entrance station on the park road just north of the McKinley Park Station airstrip. This small station, which was initially staffed 16 hours per day all summer long, was intended to be temporary pending the construction of a standalone visitor center in the area.<sup>221</sup> As noted in Chapter 11, however, the visitor-center idea never came to fruition, and the entrance station—supplemented in late 1962 with an adjacent exhibit building—remained for years afterward.<sup>222</sup>

The park significantly upgraded its utilities dur-

finally recognized the obvious logistical difficulties of one person running a central office as well as a major national park located more than six hours away by railroad. That October, when Ernest Borgman began work as the first Alaska Group Office leader, he was based year-round in Anchorage.<sup>214</sup> As shall be noted in Chapter 8, this tension between park and central-office affairs did not end with Borgman's appointment; during much of the 1970s, a number of park personnel were relocated to Anchorage to carry out studies for proposals unrelated to the Mount McKinley area.<sup>215</sup>

The agency's budget increased dramatically between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s, and the park budget handsomely benefited as a result; it rose from approximately \$85,500 in fiscal year 1955 to \$717,500 in 1970, more than a 700 percent increase (see Appendix B). Thanks to these additional funds, the park was able to double its permanent staff, primarily in the maintenance and administrative occupations. In addition, officials were able to establish a substantial—and growing—seasonal workforce. A park that had fewer than five seasonal positions in 1956 was, by the late 1960s, able to offer seasonal jobs to laborers, mechanics, carpenters, motor grader operators, truck drivers, clerk typists and fire control aids as well as rangers, naturalists, and maintenance personnel (see Appendix C).

Given that new budget, the headquarters area was able to accommodate the growing need for housing. In March 1958, as part of the same contract that funded Eielson Visitor Center (see above), the J. B. Warrack Construction Company of Anchorage agreed to build a six-unit apartment building—complete with a common recreation room—plus an adjacent six-unit garage. These buildings were “essentially completed and accepted” by NPS officials on December 10, and employees were able to move into the apartment building before Christmas. Because it provided both housing and a much-needed indoor recreation area, employees rejoiced at its completion, and before the end of the year the new facility had held its first religious services, had its first all-employees party, and witnessed the publication of a short-lived newspaper, the *Wreck Room Ramble*.<sup>216</sup> These units, however, did little to slake the need for seasonal housing. To fulfill that growing need, the park continued to utilize trailer units, and in 1960 it converted the old museum/exhibit building (near the main park road) into seasonal housing. Three years later, the park construction crew completed work on “ten tent houses, wash room and laundry facilities” at “the seasonal camp” [the old CCC camp] to satisfy the additional need for seasonal living space.<sup>217</sup> And by the spring of 1967, it was obvious that

ing this period. As noted in Chapter 6, the park fully converted over to AC power generation in 1948, when a 75 kilowatt generator was installed at headquarters. Given the agency's acquisition of the hotel (in October 1953) and the growth at headquarters, the NPS decided to centralize and upgrade its power generating capabilities, and in June 1958 it awarded a contract to Northern Electric Co. of Anchorage to furnish two diesel electric generators at the hotel—with a combined 150 kilowatt generating capacity—as well as a transmission line connecting the hotel and headquarters areas. That work was “essentially complete” by September, and in June 1959 NPS officials approved the job.<sup>223</sup>

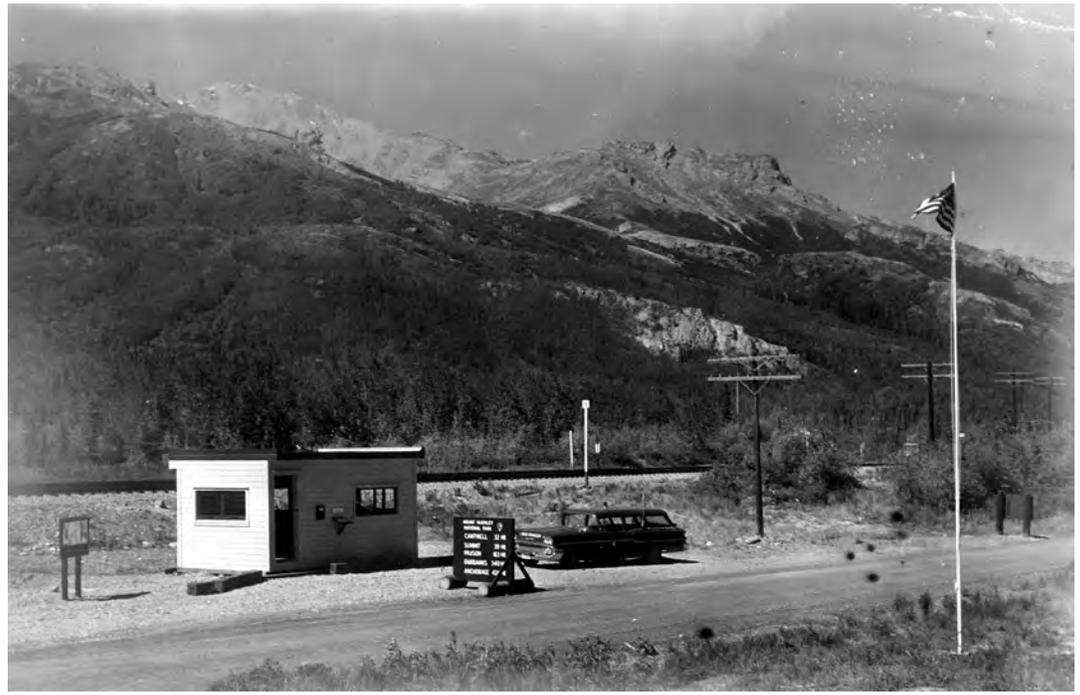
Also in 1958, planning work began for a utility system upgrade; this included a new utilidor, a new boiler house at headquarters, and the provision of steam heating in all headquarters-area buildings. In July 1959, the NPS awarded the job to a Seattle consortium of Promacs, Inc. and Western Equipment and Supply Co. for \$433,000. Just a month later, however, the steam-heating provision was dropped from the contract and the bid award amount was shaved to \$385,000.<sup>224</sup> Work on the project began during the summer of

From 1967 to 1969 George Hall served as park superintendent and leader of the Alaska Field Office in Anchorage. DENA 27-99, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



1960, but because of “lack of organization, men and equipment,” the pace of work fell behind because a sub-contractor failed to come through. Indeed, for several weeks in mid-summer, NPS officials openly worried that the tardiness would jeopardize the operation of all park utility systems during the coming winter. Work pressed on, however; workers remained on-site until mid-November, by which time the system, though still not completed, was operational. The new utilidor, in fact, never failed that winter, though technical adjustments were periodically required.<sup>225</sup> Promacs personnel returned in the spring to complete the job. Problems continued to plague the project, however, and the crews left that fall with the job still unfinished. The job

By 1959 the first entrance station in the park was established just north of the depot. DENA 34-22, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



was finally declared complete in September 1962, though NPS officials continued to complain about heat leakage problems.<sup>226</sup>

Meanwhile, in the fall of 1960, NPS officials prepared documents for the discarded portion of its July 1959 contract: the installation of steam heating in the headquarters buildings. By the time that job was put out for bid, in February 1961, the agency also included a provision for a headquarters-area sewage disposal system.<sup>227</sup> That April, the agency awarded the contract to Gordon Johnson Plumbing and Heating Co. of Fairbanks. Work, which included the excavation of a septic tank, began in June. “Good progress” was made that summer, and the company essentially completed the job on October 23.<sup>228</sup> Smaller projects completed during this period included a new, enlarged water pump at the park’s Rock Creek intake in the fall of 1965; a new, larger generator for the hotel in the summer of 1967; and a rehabilitation of the hotel’s water system, heating system, and power plant in 1968.<sup>229</sup>

Because the years between 1957 and 1971 were the only period in which motorists from the contiguous road system were able to drive to and through the park, this period was also the heyday of car camping at the park. As noted in the previous chapter, there were just two established campgrounds in 1957—Savage River and Wonder Lake—while Teklanika River, Igloo Creek, and the old Morino homestead area served as more informal camp locations. As noted above, the Mission 66 prospectus called for 100-space campground at Teklanika along with a 20-space campground at Toklat River. Given that directive, plus the increasing number of cars coursing

development of campground roads, trails, utility system, comfort stations, and 75 campsites.<sup>233</sup> In November 1967 the NPS issued a contract to Yukon Services, Inc. of Fairbanks to construct a new, 75-unit campground. The two-loop Riley Creek Campground was completed under the terms of that contract during the summer of 1968; it opened the following spring as a 100-site facility. Given the completion of the Riley Creek campground, the NPS closed the 15-space Morino campground, apparently after the 1969 season.<sup>234</sup>

During the late 1960s, moreover, NPS officials deemed other park locations—not just Morino—to be phased out as campgrounds. A January 1967 master plan study, for example, noted that both the Igloo Creek and Toklat campgrounds were “small unsuitable facilit[ies] to be obliterated or converted to other use.” That study similarly recommended the phasing out of the Savage River campground. But the Teklanika and Wonder Lake campgrounds were both slated for a large-scale expansion. None of these actions ever came to pass, at least not in the short term; these recommendations did, however, offer a template for future agency actions.<sup>235</sup>

**Park Patrols: the Invasion of the Snow Tractor** Rangers, during this period, continued to patrol the park as they had since the 1920s. The methods used for patrol, however, changed over the years to fit contemporary needs and technology. As noted in previous chapters, for example, dog teams (and foot reconnaissance for shorter trips) had been the primary patrol methods during the 1920s and 1930s. But in November 1944, the Army had brought in seven late-model M-7 snow



Above left: Mount McKinley National Park entrance sign, located at the entrance station, 1959. Wallace A. Cole Collection  
 Above right: The opposite side of the park entrance sign, showing mileages to points outside the park, 1959. Wallace A. Cole Collection

MOUNT MCKINLEY NATIONAL PARK	
PARK HEADQUARTERS 2 MI.	
CAMPGROUNDS:	
MORINO	5 MI.
SAVAGE RIVER	12 MI.
TEKLANIKA	28 MI.
IGLOO	33 MI.
WONDER LAKE	84 MI.
CAMP DENALI	89 MI.
KANTISHNA	90 MI.

MOUNT MCKINLEY NATIONAL PARK	
CANTWELL	32 MI.
SUMMIT	39 MI.
PAXSON	163 MI.
FAIRBANKS	340 MI.
ANCHORAGE	424 MI.

up and down the park road, the agency worked quickly to expand campground facilities. During the summer of 1958, the NPS installed tables, fireplaces, and pit toilets at Teklanika and the newly-established Toklat Campground, and the following year upgrades were made to facilities at Wonder Lake, Teklanika and Igloo Creek.<sup>230</sup> Sanctuary Campground appears to have been a recognized (if informal) campsite throughout the 1950s and 1960s; beginning in 1963 NPS rangers made efforts to clean up and improve the area, but they installed no specific camp facilities. Until the late 1960s, and perhaps later, the 20-space Teklanika Campground did not offer dedicated pull-in slots; even so, the campground attracted many motorists with trailers, inasmuch as the NPS discouraged the carriage of trailers west of that point.<sup>231</sup>

Meanwhile, the Morino area—which had vacillated during the 1950s between a picnic ground and an informal campground—was more fully established as a campground in the early 1960s. The agency made yet another attempt in 1961 to clean up “ancient debris” in the area, and it made plans to expand the area in 1962.<sup>232</sup> But the space limitations at Morino were all too clear. By June 1964, park officials were already complaining that the site “has been filled to capacity during a large part of the month and that future expansion in this area is necessary.” Just a month later, however, a quick site survey revealed that “any monies spent in expanding this area would offer only a temporary solution to the camping facilities in this area.” By March 1965, park officials had concluded that the campground had to be obliterated, and that July—at the height of the visitor season—Supt. Dick told Regional Director Edward Hummel that “we must again stress the need for including in the 1967 program the construction of the new Morino Campground” inasmuch as “the existing Morino Campground . . . is very primitive and totally inadequate.” Almost \$240,000 was needed in this context for the

tractors (also called snow jeeps, Snow Tracs, or “Sno-Cats”) to assist with the Air Transport Command C-47 crash rescue effort, and Grant Pearson—who drove one of the vehicles—was so convinced of its utility that, by 1945, he “believe[d] the dog team is a thing of the past, except for use in connection with winter sports.”<sup>236</sup> In September 1946, the park obtained two surplus snow tractors, and after a winter’s patrol experience, park staff declared that “used with discretion, the snow jeep should supplant the dog team and last for a number of years.”<sup>237</sup> That prophecy proved correct, because the park used snow tractors for its long-distance winter patrols until 1960, then again for a number of additional years beginning in 1964.<sup>238</sup> Starting in the fall of 1960, the rangers temporarily abandoned the snow tractor in favor of a new Bombardier snowmachine. But by early 1962, the machine was proving unequal to the tasks asked of it, and by early 1963 it was considered “not dependable nor designed for our needs.” Late that year the Bombardier was declared surplus, and the park reverted back to snow tractors.<sup>239</sup>

Other patrol methods, however, were not abandoned. Points as far away as the Lower Toklat Cabin were patrolled on foot during the summer and fall, and in midwinter such diverse points as Upper Riley Creek, Sable Pass, and the Moody Cabin were patrolled by foot or on snowshoe.<sup>240</sup> In addition, rangers—primarily during the 1940s—conducted ski patrols to points as distant as the Teklanika River.<sup>241</sup> As early as 1940, park staff envisioned that the airplane would make most other patrol methods obsolete. The high cost of airplane travel, however, prevented its widespread adoption until the mid- to late 1960s.<sup>242</sup>

As noted both above and in Chapter 5, NPS staff between 1939 and 1946 predicted several times that the era of dog team patrols at the park was over, except perhaps for interpretive and exhibition purposes.<sup>243</sup> Such predictions, however,

Teklanika Campground was, and still is, suitable for camping trailers and truck campers due to its location on flat terrain and could be reached without going over the narrower parts of the road. DENA Interpretation Coll. #492, Denali National Park and Preserve



proved premature. To be sure, dogs were apparently not used for park patrols between the early 1940s and the early 1950s, and the park had no dog teams between 1945 and 1947 and between 1948 and 1950.<sup>244</sup> In April 1952, however, park naturalist William J. Nancarrow took a dog team on a 13-day patrol after the park's snow tractor was immobilized.<sup>245</sup> Annual dog patrols continued until 1960, when the Bombardier was introduced.<sup>246</sup> Three years later, however, the snowmachine was discarded and dogs were re-instituted on park patrols.<sup>247</sup>

During this extended period, changes were noted in the nature and scope of park patrols. Consistent needs included stocking the patrol cabins and hauling firewood to them, and rangers also tried to patrol the park's southeastern corner and the eastern end of the northern boundary during the big game hunting season, which typically began on August 20 and continued until October 15.<sup>248</sup> During a few years, there was also some concern at the beginning of the trapping season (on October 16).<sup>249</sup> From time to time, rangers raised alarms when they heard about real or rumored poaching activity.<sup>250</sup> Actual incidents of wildlife harvesting in the park, however, were rare.<sup>251</sup> The relative ease of patrolling along the park road (due to a reliance on the snow tractor), and the relative lack of hunting pressure away from the park's eastern margins, meant that rangers seldom visited the more remote patrol cabins, such as those at Copper Mountain, McKinley Bar, and McLeod Creek.

Because of a recurrent icing problem along short segments of the park road, the annual spring snow-removal process continued to cause headaches to maintenance crews. As noted in Chapter 6, Alaska Road Commission crews had tried, beginning in the late 1940s, to reduce glaciation by periodically sprinkling layers of cinders, ash, or coal dust on the ice. But by the mid-1950s, that experiment had been abandoned. In the fall of 1959, Bureau of Public

Roads crews reacted to the aufeis problem<sup>252</sup> by erecting a 2500-foot-long fence, made of three-foot-high roofing felt, just west of the park headquarters. The mild weather that winter, however, was "conducive to an abnormal amount of aufeis build up," and by the following March three additional layers—some of which were made from rolls of sisal kraft paper—had been added to the original three-foot-wide strip. These measures, which required "a considerable amount of time

[to be] expended by the Ranger Division," kept the road open in this area all winter, although at one point park staff had to pour "a pickup load of slacked coal" on the ice layer. Difficulties along other portions of the park road, however, delayed the road opening until June 1, and substantial damage took place at the Mile 3 aufeis area because of high springtime runoff volume.<sup>253</sup> NPS crews, which took over the maintenance of the park road in July 1960, continued to use an aufeis barrier (or "ice fence") through the winter of 1964-65.<sup>254</sup> Thereafter, park crews used a D-8 Caterpillar tractor in combination with a rotary snow plow (which was later replaced by a D-7 bulldozer) to clear snow from the park roads, and ice cleats welded to the grousers of the "cats" allowed them to surmount the aufeis areas, both at Mile 3 and elsewhere in the park.<sup>255</sup> During most of the years after the Denali Highway allowed increased road traffic into the park, crews had the road open (at least to Eielson) sometime between May 24 and June 4, but in 1960 the road was open by May 16. For several years during the mid-1960s, it was mid-June or later before visitors could drive to Eielson or beyond.<sup>256</sup>

#### **Concessions: U.S. Natural Resources Comes and Goes**

As noted earlier, Don Hummel and Al Donau, representing the Mount McKinley National Park Company, assumed control over the park concessions operation in February 1958. Hummel, at that time, already operated the Lassen Volcanic NP concession, and in late 1960, he also took over the Glacier NP concession.<sup>257</sup>

Hummel, by all accounts, oversaw an operation at McKinley that was profitable, satisfactory to park visitors, and satisfactory to NPS officials. In the spring of 1966, the company responded to signs of aging at the hotel by initiating a betterment program; this included new paint, furniture, and floor covering, along with dining room service for the main lobby, upper lounge, dining room and bar. No sooner had the project begun

The snow jeeps parked in front of the Administration Building at park headquarters are ready for the start of a six-day patrol to the Wonder Lake area and northern boundary. Left to right, Superintendent Grant Pearson, Chief Ranger Frank Hirst, and Park Naturalist Bill Nancarrow, March 1952. DENA 29-13, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



than Hummel headed off to Washington to be an Assistant Secretary in the newly-created Department of Housing and Urban Development. He remained there until the closing days of the Johnson administration, in January 1969; throughout this period, the McKinley operation was ably operated by Wallace Cole.<sup>258</sup> While Hummel was gone, in May 1967, the NPS decided to float a new park concessions contract, inasmuch as Hummel's previous contract was due to expire at the end of December. Because it was apparently pleased with Mount McKinley National Park Company's operation, and because there were no other bidders, the NPS provided the company a new 20-year contract on September 21, 1967.<sup>259</sup>

In late August 1969, Hummel—now back in the private sector—began to consider an offer from George Fleharty, an old friend. Fleharty, a northern California business executive, had long been involved with the Redding (Calif.) Chamber

of Commerce. He had also chaired the California State Parks Commission. More recently, Fleharty had emerged as the head of the Recreation Resources Division of an up-and-coming company called U.S. Natural Resources, Inc., and in that role he suggested that Hummel merge his three-park operation into USNR's recreation wing. Hummel seriously considered the offer for several reasons; he was enticed by the company's prospects, he was anxious to obtain its stock for its long-term value, and he needed USNR's assets to underwrite upcoming facility upgrades in the three parks.<sup>260</sup>

While Hummel was considering the offer, USNR dropped its interest in the Glacier concession, although Hummel continued to manage that concession as he had for years. In December 1969, however, the company landed a major new acquisition when it assumed control over Yosemite Park and Curry Company, Yosemite's main

During a six-day park patrol the snow jeeps encountered one of the hazards of winter travel. The ice failed to support the weight of the jeeps on a small, shallow pond near Wonder Lake, March 1952. DENA 29-12, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



Rangers Bogart and Coe traveled via dog sled to inspect cabins and boundaries on the west side of the park in March 1964. Their route here was on the river bar below Polychrome Pass. DENA 29-49, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum Collection



concessioner. Given that shift in responsibilities, Hummel in early March 1970 formally agreed to Fleharty's revised proposal—that the Mount McKinley National Park Company and the Lassen National Park Company be transferred to U.S. Natural Resources. Shortly afterward, the deal was consummated; USNR purchased all of the stock in the two smaller companies, and a newly-named Mt. McKinley-Lassen National Parks Company became a wholly owned subsidiary of USNR (see Appendix D). The deal called for Hummel to work for Fleharty under a five-year employment agreement; he would continue to manage the concessions operations at both McKinley and Lassen. Working under Hummel's direction, Wallace Cole continued to provide on-site management at Mount McKinley National Park.<sup>261</sup>

Soon after the ink dried from the new management arrangement, the park concessioner announced plans to expand the existing McKinley Park Hotel. Interior Secretary Wally Hickel was aware that the new Anchorage-Fairbanks Highway would soon be bringing new throngs of people to the park and that mid-season room availability had been a serious concern since the mid-1960s.<sup>262</sup> Knowing the problem was getting worse, he had approved the design for the new wing in December 1969. The 48-room west wing, unlike the remainder of the hotel, was financed by the concessioner; it was composed of 48 modular units, all built in Spokane and

brought to the park via freight car and barge.<sup>263</sup> Construction on the \$500,000 addition began in early April 1970, and the prefabricated sections shortly after mid-May. The new rooms, each of which had two double beds, were open to the public on June 30, 1970.<sup>264</sup>

During 1970 and 1971, U.S. Natural Resources continued to be a highly profitable company. In late 1971, in the midst of that prosperity, company vice-president George Fleharty—perhaps recognizing that the company's fortunes were beginning to slide—decided to voluntarily retire from USNR. Using his company stock as an asset base, he purchased the Mt. McKinley concession (that is, half of the Mt. McKinley-Lassen National Parks Company) for \$1.25 million and established a new company, called Outdoor World, Limited, and in so doing acquired the remainder of the 20-year concession contract that the Mount McKinley National Park Company had obtained in September 1967. Outdoor World, which was jointly owned by Fleharty and three others, began operating the Mt. McKinley National Park concession on January 1, 1972 (see Appendix D). Fleharty, as it turned out, was fortunate indeed, because not long afterward, USNR's fortunes (according to Don Hummel) "began a serious decline" and was soon "one of the more spectacular failures in American business annals." This failure affected operations at USNR's other concessions (Yosemite and Lassen), but not those at Mt. McKinley.<sup>265</sup>

The aufeis, or overflow ice, problem just west of park headquarters was partly kept in check with the barrier fencing seen on the right in this March 28, 1969 photo. Also shown is the late spring technique of blasting aufeis prior to clearing the road for spring opening. DENA 15-32, Denali National Park and Preserve Museum



### The Anchorage-Fairbanks Highway

The so-called “rubber-tired tourism” era at Mount McKinley National Park, though distinct, was relatively brief. This was because throughout this period there was a general recognition that a highway would be built between Anchorage and Fairbanks that would be far shorter than the circuitous 441-mile route (via Glennallen and Delta Junction) that was then in effect. Such a route promised to drastically shorten the distance to the park from Alaska’s major population centers; during this period, Anchorage residents were 423 miles by (a primarily dirt) road from McKinley Park Station, while Fairbanks residents were 349 miles away.

Inklings that such a route might be built were in evidence even during the territorial period; beginning in the late 1940s (see Chapter 6), some thought was given to building a highway from Fairbanks to the park on a route that paralleled the Alaska Railroad; and south of the park, a survey during the mid-1950s recommended road construction from Wasilla to Willow.<sup>266</sup> Real progress on an interconnecting road, however, could not take place until statehood forced the abandonment of Interior Department rules favoring the Alaska Railroad at the expense of road development.

Recognizing the importance of the road connection for both tourism and other forms of economic development, state authorities announced soon after statehood that they intended

to link Anchorage and Fairbanks via a new road that roughly paralleled the Alaska Railroad. Work began in 1959.<sup>267</sup> By September 1962, the new Alaska Division of Highways had completed a road from Matanuska Valley as far north as Montana Creek, with an extension as far as the Sunshine area promised by year’s end; roadbuilding from Nenana had been completed as far as Rex, 20 miles to the south, with additional mileage under construction to Lignite, near Healy.<sup>268</sup> By 1963, road crews had pushed north all the way to the Susitna River, and crews that year began work on a half-mile-long bridge which promised to open up the Trapper Creek area and points to the north. But the Good Friday Earthquake in March 1964 forced a delay in new road construction; the \$2 million Susitna River Bridge was completed later that year, but elsewhere, highway crews in 1964 and 1965 were totally consumed with bridge reconstructions and repairing existing roadway sections.<sup>269</sup>

For two years or more, the Anchorage-Fairbanks road stopped at the western end of the Susitna River bridge. But the completion of earthquake-related repairs, plus publicity from local booster groups, brought about a resurgence of road construction. By the summer of 1968, the road had been extended north to the Chulitna River’s west bank, and in both 1968 and 1969 crews erected temporary bridges across the river, only to have them wash away. A permanent span across the Chulitna was finally completed in late 1970. Meanwhile, crews had already pushed north be-

yond the bridge, and by the fall of 1971, there was nothing left to be done except the completion of the high bridge over Hurricane Gulch.<sup>270</sup>

Meanwhile, highway construction crews were working their way south, and road planning in and near the park demanded cooperation between state highway officials and the Park Service. As early as the winter of 1960-61, the state had roughed out a proposed right-of-way through the park; that route would have roughly overlain the existing highway right-of-way between the second<sup>271</sup> Nenana River crossing (located 7 miles south of the hotel) and Riley Creek. North of Riley Creek, the proposed and existing roads would remain collinear as far north as the railroad crossing near the hotel. The proposed road would then continue north, paralleling the railroad tracks for a mile or so; it would then proceed northeast to the Nenana River (in the vicinity of Hornet Creek) and cross it a third time, after which it would follow the right-of-way that was later adopted as the constructed highway route.<sup>272</sup> During the spring of 1961, agency officials made a joint inspection of the proposed route and drafted an interagency Memorandum of Understanding that permitted the state to locate and design a highway link through the park.<sup>273</sup> That August, however, highway engineers who visited the site concluded that a “possible change in road alignment” was in order. Engineers returned that November and mulled the matter over for a week, and by the following May, the state’s newly-released alignment study recommended that the proposed third Nenana River crossing be located southeast of Horseshoe Lake instead of near Hornet Creek. That route

A year later, in July 1963, a new dustup occurred in the route selection process, in the Moody area; NPS and state officials differed on where the so-called fourth crossing of the Nenana River should be located.<sup>275</sup> By the summer of 1964, however, that problem had been surmounted and the right-of-way had been finalized. Due to earthquake-related reconstruction needs, work on this portion of the Anchorage-Fairbanks road was limited to surveys for several years. But in the fall of 1966, highway and park officials conducted a plans-in-hand review of project work along the park’s eastern boundary, and in the spring of 1967 the state geared up to let a contract for a five-mile stretch just east of McKinley Park Station. That contract, which was to include the construction of the 500-foot Third Crossing bridge, a smaller bridge over Riley Creek, and a railroad underpass, called for construction of that segment to be complete by the end of the 1968 construction season.<sup>276</sup>

Throughout this period, local residents—both park staff and those living outside the park—were well aware that the new road, when completed, would result in significant new traffic levels; this traffic, in turn, would bring new business opportunities. For the moment, however, traffic levels remained low, and the lack of economic opportunity meant that only a rugged few chose to settle outside of the park boundaries. Before the Denali Highway opened between Cantwell and the park in August 1957, only six people had filed for land along this stretch of road,<sup>277</sup> and the only area business that catered to travelers’ needs was the Cantwell store, located near the Alaska

Railroad tracks (see Appendix E). But the highway brought with it a renewed interest in the road corridor; by 1965, there had been 24 additional filings along the road corridor north of Cantwell, and by the end of the decade four tourist-related businesses had opened: Carlo Creek Lodge (1961), followed by a short-lived drive-in (1962), the Jere-A-Tad Lodge (1966), and Toklat Village (1967).<sup>278</sup>

Because a good road already existed from the eastern park entrance (at the Nenana River’s



In 1970 the new west wing, with 48 rooms, was added to the McKinley Park Hotel, visible here as the light-colored building in the upper left. Wallace A. Cole Collection

second crossing bridge) south to Summit, in the Broad Pass area, highway crews working out of Cantwell had a relatively short distance—only about thirty miles—of roadless country to cross before completing the road as far as Hurricane Gulch. But there was also a short but difficult

promised to be less noisy than the previous route; it obviated the need for a road interchange in the hotel vicinity; and it allowed the state to avoid the construction of a long retaining wall paralleling the railroad north of the hotel. That route was adopted.<sup>274</sup>



Horseshoe Lake is pictured here, with the Nenana River and its north bank just beyond, in 1961. Ten years later the Parks Highway would be built through the area in the background. Wallace A. Cole Collection

stretch of road to complete between Lignite and the Nenana River's third crossing bridge. By 1969, the road had been extended from Lignite to a point four miles south of Healy. South of there, however, progress stalled due to construction work on the spectacular Moody Bridge, also known as the fourth crossing bridge, which when completed would soar 174 feet over the Nenana River. Crews spent more than a year completing this bridge, and the final roadway link between Healy and the third crossing bridge (and thus between Fairbanks and Cantwell) was not completed until late 1970 or early 1971.<sup>279</sup> Meanwhile, in the area between the second crossing bridge and Summit, crews rebuilt bridges and widened the road surface. By 1971, crews from both ends of the road had reached Hurricane Gulch, located near the halfway point between Anchorage and Fairbanks. Crews working at that site finally completed the 550-foot-long, \$1.2 million bridge late that year, and on October 14, 1971, dedication ceremonies were held at the bridge. The Anchorage-Fairbanks highway was officially open, and Anchorage-based buses that day carried dignitaries the full length of the new road. But because state highway crews did not plow the

newly-completed portion of the road that winter, the coming snows soon closed the highway until springtime.<sup>280</sup>

NPS officials, who had been anticipating the road's completion for years, knew that the spring of 1972 would bring major changes to the park. The following chapter highlights the nature and extent of those changes.

#### Notes - Chapter 7

1 SMR, June 1957, 4; July 1957, 1-3.

2 SMR, August 1957, 1-2; *Anchorage Daily Times*, August 7, 1957, 13.

3 *Anchorage Daily Times*, August 7, 1957, 13.

4 *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, August 19, 1957, 1, 9.

5 "A New Road to Mount McKinley," *Sunset* 118 (June 1957), 52.

6 NPS, *Public Use of the National Parks; a Statistical Report, 1954-1964* (Washington?, the author, February 1966), 9; NPS, *Public Use of the National Parks; a Statistical Report, 1960-1970* (Washington?, the author, January 1972), 9.

7 *Annual Report of the Secretary of Interior*,

- 1955 (Washington, GPO?, 1955?), 334-36; *Annual Report* for 1956, p. 307; Carleton Knight III, "The Park Service as Client: II," *Architecture* 73 (December 1984), 48.
- 8 G. Frank Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time:" *The National Park Service and the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980* (Denver, NPS, September 1985), 31; Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 182.
- 9 SMR, July 1955, 2; October 1955, 2; November 1955, 4; February 1956, 2; March 1956, 2; April 1956, 2.
- 10 USDI press release, April 21, 1956, in NPS/Box 1, Bartlett Collection, UAF.
- 11 *Jessen's Weekly*, March 28, 1957, 1, 8; *Anchorage Daily Times*, April 21, 1956, 3.
- 12 SMR, October 1948, 3.
- 13 George L. Collins to "the Files," June 19, 1950, in "File 600: Alaska Development, Part IV," Box 237, CCF/MOMC, RG 79, NARA SB; SMR, September 1953, 4.
- 14 ARC, *Annual Report*, 1956, 31; NPS, *Mission 66 Prospectus* for Mount McKinley NP, April 1956, 15, in NPS-TIC Microfiche Collection #184/MPNAR.
- 15 ARC, *Annual Report*, 1953, 36, 40; 1954, 45; Grant Pearson to RD/R4, December 8, 1954, in "D18 (Master Plans) 1953-57" file, CCF/MOMC, RG 79, NARA SB.
- 16 SMR, April 1955, photo; *Mission 66 Prospectus*, April 1956, 9; ARC, *Annual Report*, 1956, 12, 32.
- 17 *Mission 66 Prospectus*, April 1956, 9-12, 15, 20.
- 18 *Mission 66 Prospectus*, April 1956, 9-10, 12.
- 19 *Mission 66*, April 1956 (with insert dated September 1956), 3a, 15; USDI press release, April 21, 1956, in NPS/Box 1, Bartlett Collection, UAF.
- 20 *Mission 66 Prospectus*, April 1956, 16; NPS, Drawing McK-2024-B, May 1954, in TIC Aperture Card Collection. No known maps show where "Toklat Glacier" is located, and Guy Adema, the park's current glacier specialist, is unaware of it. Jane Bryant email, May 12, 2006.
- 21 SMR, April 1956, 2; June 1956, 2; July 1956, 2.
- 22 SMR, December 1956, 2, 4; June 1957, 3; July 1957, 3, 5; *Mission 66 Prospectus*, April 1956, 12 (insert dated April 12, 1957).
- 23 SMR, May 1957, 6.
- 24 *Mission 66 Prospectus*, April 1956, 11 (insert dated April 12, 1957).
- 25 NPS, *Mission 66 for Mount McKinley National Park*, May 23, 1957.
- 26 SMR, February 1958, 5; March 1958, 5; April 1958, 4; July 1960, 5; July 1961, 2; *Anchorage Daily News*, April 11, 1958, 12; *Anchorage Daily Times*, April 12, 1958, 16.
- 27 See E. T. Scoyen to Tony Smith, August 12, 1958, in File D30, "Mission 66 Road Issues" folder, DENA Archives; SMR, March 1961, 5.
- 28 SMR, May 1957, 5; June 1957, 6; September 1957, 5-6.
- 29 SMR, September 1957, 2, 6; October 1957, 5; Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 172-75.
- 30 SMR, October 1957, 2; December 1957, 3; January 1958, 4; February 1958, 4; June 1958, 5; *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 18, 1958, 5.
- 31 Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 175-76; SMR, July 1956, 1; March 1957, 6; May 1957, 2; July 1957, 2; September 1957, 2, 7; February 1958, 5; August 1958, 5.
- 32 SMR, September 1958, 5; July 1959, 6; February 1960, 5.
- 33 SMR, September 1960, 5; August 1964, 8; September 1966, 4.
- 34 Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 19; SMR, January 1959, 4; March 1959, 3; April 1959, 4; August 1959, 7.
- 35 Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 177-78.
- 36 SMR, May 1959, 3; June 1965, 2; April 1966, 4.
- 37 Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 179; Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 20.
- 38 SMR, March 1954, 2; May 1954, 1.
- 39 SMR, May 1933, 1, 3; May 1934, 3; May 1935, 2; May 1936, 1; August 1959, 3.
- 40 SMR, May 1961, 7; June 1961, 3.
- 41 SMR, September 1961, 2, 5; July 1963, 5; "Denali Airstrip" folder, FAA Airports Division historical files, Anchorage.
- 42 "Crooked Creek (Kantishna)" folder, FAA, see above.
- 43 "Golden North Airfield" folder, FAA, see above.
- 44 SMR, August 1966, 4. The "Kantishna" FAA file, paradoxically, makes no mention of Kantishna Airport improvements; by contrast, periodic reports during the 1964-68 period describe the runway as being either 476 feet or 630 feet long and "not recommended for use."
- 45 SMR, June 1953, 2; July 1953, 5.
- 46 Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, 547-49; Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 117.
- 47 SMR, June 1960, 8.
- 48 SMR, February 1962, 5; March 1962, 6; NPS, "Lodge Development" (drawing 3139), March 1962, NPS Aperture Card Collection.
- 49 Harvey Benson to Supervisory Landscape Architect, WODC, July 9-15, 1957, in Misc. File., Box 1, Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives.
- 50 NPS, "Proposed Wonder Lake Lodge, MOMC" (drawing 3145, August 1963, and drawing 3145A, February 1967), NPS Aperture Card Collection.
- 51 Supt. to RD, December 7, 1961; Chief,

WODC to RD, December 11, 1961, both in Folder 5837, Bill Brown Collection, DENA. This location had first been suggested by NPS architect Harvey Benson in July 1957; see Benson to Supervisory Landscape Architect, WODC, July 9-15, 1957, noted above.

52 In a 1951 exchange of letters with NPS Director Conrad Wirth, even Wilderness Society President Olaus Murie supported the idea of a small hostelry in the Wonder Lake area, although the NPS had also “received several letters objecting to the building of any lodge at Wonder Lake.” Wirth to Murie, November 28, 1951, in File 715.02, “Bears, 1941-5/1953,” Box 82, CCF/MOMC, RG 79, NARA SB.

53 Chief, WODC to RD/R4, December 11, 1961, in “Wonder Lake Hotel Issue” folder, DENA Administrative History Collection; Stroud, *History of the Concessions*, 24.

54 See, for example, the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, June 1962, 16, which argued that the park’s unique “wilderness mood” would be shattered by developments at either “Camp Eielson” or Wonder Lake. The NPS official in the December 11 memo did not name the “conservation people” who were opposed to Wonder Lake development. In all likelihood, however, they included Camp Denali founders Ginny Hill Wood and Celia Hunter. These women helped establish the Alaska Conservation Society in 1960, and because Wonder Lake was squarely in the line of sight between Camp Denali and the central Alaska Range, it would have been surprising had they not fought against a competing, visually-intrusive hotel development.

55 RD to Director, December 20, 1961; Conrad Wirth to Howard Zahniser, April 3, 1962; all in “Wonder Lake Hotel Issue” folder, DENA Admin History Collection.

56 Supt. to RD/R4, November 24, 1964, in “Wonder Lake Hotel Issue” folder.

57 Henry S. Francis, Jr., “Some Views Concerning the Development of Mount McKinley National Park,” *National Parks Magazine* 37 (September 1963), 18; Director NPS to Director BLM (Charles H. Stoddard), December 31, 1964, in “Wonder Lake Hotel Issue” folder. Hartzog may have based his decision on the so-called Leopold Report, an agencywide blueprint issued in 1963, which had recommended an increased role for natural resource values in park management.

58 SMR, July 1966, 6; NPS, “Proposed Boundary and Development Sites, Wonder Lake and Vicinity, MOMC” (drawing 184/40098), August 1966, NPS-TIC Aperture Card Collection; San Francisco Service Center (NPS), “Conclusions and Recommendations, McKinley National Park Study,” in “MOMC Study, Alaska, August 1966” folder, MOMC Box 2, National Parks and Monuments Collection, HFC.

59 Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 22.

60 Edgar Wayburn, interview by the author, July 29, 2003, author’s collection; Edgar Wayburn, with Allison Alsup, *Your Land and Mine; Evolution of a Conservationist* (San Francisco, Sierra Club Books, 2004), 176, 185.

61 *Anchorage Daily Times*, July 28, 1967, 4; September 2, 1967, 4; September 6, 1967, 1.

62 *Anchorage Daily Times*, September 8, 1967, 1-2; September 12, 1967, 4; September 15, 1967, 1.

63 *Anchorage Daily Times*, May 13, 1968, 4; December 20, 1968, 4.

64 Supt. MOMC to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC, August 26, 1968, in Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives.

65 Robert B. Weeden to George A. Hall, October 8, 1967, in File 882, 1967-68, Series 41, RG 01, ASA; *Anchorage Daily Times*, May 3, 1968, 1; July 24, 1968, 1; Merrill Mattes, “Field Notes by Mount McKinley Master Plan Team, 1968,” 17, in Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives.

66 *Anchorage Daily Times*, June 16, 1981, A-3; Michael Frome, “Why Not ‘Denali National Wilderness’?” *Defenders* 61 (July/August 1986), 18.

67 NPS, “Schematic, Wonder Lake, MOMC” (drawing #40096), ca. July 1, 1970, NPS-TIC Aperture Card Collection; Thomas Flynn (NPS) to Don Hummel, January 10, 1970, in Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 24-25, endnote 63.

68 *Anchorage Daily Times*, December 18, 1968, 1.

69 As noted in Claus-M. Naske’s *Paving Alaska’s Trails: The Work of the Alaska Road Commission*, Alaska Historical Commission Studies in History No. 152 (Anchorage, AHC, ca. 1985, p. 320), the ARC was first administered by the War Department, and after July 1932 by the Interior Department.

70 Naske, *Paving Alaska’s Trails*, 550; SMR, September 1959, 6; January 1960, 3; July 1960, 5.

71 SMR, May 1958, 5; July 1958, 6; September 1958, 5-6, October 1958, 4; June 1959, 7; September 1959, 2; October 1959, 5.

72 SMR, September 1959, 7; May 1960, 7; September 1960, 6; May 1961, 7; August 1961, 8.

73 SMR, October 1960, 6; August 1961, 8; September 1961, 6; August 1962, 2.

74 Olaus J. Murie, “Mount McKinley: Wilderness Park of the North Country,” *National Parks Magazine* 37 (April 1963), 7; Adolph Murie, “Roadbuilding in Mount McKinley National Park,” *National Parks Magazine* 39 (July 1965), 7.

75 Olaus J. Murie, "Our Farthest North National Park," *National Parks Magazine* 33 (December 1959), 8-10, 12.

76 Merriam to Murie, October 14, 1960, in File D18; A. Clark Stratton to Verne Samuelson, August 21, 1962, in File D30; both in "Mission 66 Road Issues" folder, DENA Admin History Collection. Stratton was the NPS's Assistant Director for Design and Construction.

77 Murie, "Mount McKinley; Wilderness Park," 5; Paul M. Tilden and Nancy L. Machler, "The Development of Mount McKinley National Park," *National Parks Magazine* 37 (May 1963), 13.

78 Tilden and Machler, "The Development of Mount McKinley National Park," 14; Anthony Wayne Smith, "Implications of McKinley," *National Parks Magazine* 37 (June 1963), 2.

79 A. Clark Stratton to Director NPS, June 17, 1963, in File D30, in "Mission 66 Road Issues" folder, DENA Admin History Collection. Compare this with Thomas E. Carpenter to Regional Chief of Operations, Region Four, July 6, 1961, in File D30, above.

80 SMR, June 1964, 8; July 1964, 9; May 1965, 6; August 1965, 5; *Anchorage Daily Times*, July 1, 1964, 4; July 3, 1964, 5.

81 SMR, October 1965, 4; May 1966, 5; July 1966, 8; August 1966, 7; *Anchorage Daily News*, August 14, 1965, 16.

82 William Niemi to Oscar Dick, January 10, 1964; Niemi to Dick, August 26, 1965; both in "D30 Roads and Trails, 1950 to 1965" folder, DENA Archives; NPS, MOMC "Priority List, Project Construction Program, Fiscal Year 1969," March 17, 1965, in Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives.

83 Murie, "Roadbuilding in Mount McKinley National Park," 4-8.

84 Acting Chief, Western Office of Design and Construction to Assistant Director, Design and Construction, September 17, 1965; Acting AD, D&C to Chief, WODC, September 27, 1965 and October 4, 1965; both in "D30 Roads and Trails, 1950 to 1965" folder, DENA Archives.

85 Jensen to Thomas Braden, October 11, 1965, and Jensen to Mr. and Mrs. Bob Knox, November 3, 1965; both in "D30 Roads and Trails, 1950 to 1965" folder, DENA Archives.

86 Krueger to William Niemi, September 16, 1965, in "D30 Roads and Trails, 1950 to 1965" folder, DENA Archives.

87 Krueger to E. R. Walter, February 2, 1966, in "D30 Roads and Trails, 1950 to 1965" folder, DENA Archives.

88 Acting Chief, WODC to Assistant Director, Design and Construction, January 21, 1966; Supt. Dick to Peter Doyle III, September 1, 1966; Acting Supt. Robert T. Hafferman to RD/WR, August 16, 1967; all in "D30 Roads and Trails, 1950 to 1965" folder, DENA Archives.

89 SMR, July 1966, 8; August 1966, 7; April 1967, 5; May 1967, 7; July 1967, 2; SAR, 1967, 1; *Anchorage Daily Times*, May 17, 1967, 2; May 29, 1967, 12; June 3, 1967, 7.

90 Charles E. Krueger to G. M. Williams, September 16, 1966; Williams to W. J. Niemi, September 22, 1966, in "S7217 Roads and Trails Project NP1A6-C" file, Box 1, Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives.

91 George Hall to Ed Walters, August 22, 1968; H. G. Tipton to Hall, August 27, 1968; Hall to Tipton, September 9, 1968; Tipton to Hall, September 13, 1968; all in "D30 Roads and Trails, 1966 to 1969" folder, DENA Archives.

92 *Anchorage Daily Times*, May 28, 1968.

93 Edward Walter to H. G. Tipton, September 5, 1968; BPR, "Notice to Prospective Bidders," March 10, 1969; both in "D30 Roads and Trails, 1966 to 1969" folder, DENA Archives.

94 John Bartlett, *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, fifteenth edition (Boston, Little Brown, 1980), 560; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, revised edition (1967), 187, 207.

95 Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 56-58, 142-45; John C. Hendee, George H. Stankey, and Robert C. Lucas, *Wilderness Management*, second edition (Golden, Colo., North American Press, 1990), 32-33, 39, 102.

96 Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 201-02; Hendee, et al., 39.

97 Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 209-19, 228. The victory was precedent-setting in that it was the first time in which conservationists had stopped a major dam project. But the bill's passage was also a sober compromise, because the same legislation set the wheels in motion for the construction of the huge (and controversial) Glen Canyon Dam. Construction of the dam began on October 15, 1956; on January 21, 1963, the gates closed on the newly-completed dam closed and Lake Powell began to form.

98 On June 7, Humphrey and nine other senators introduced S. 4103, while four days later, Saylor introduced H.R. 11703. *Congressional Record* 102, pp. 9749, 9772-77, 10076.

99 Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 221; Steven C. Schulte, *Wayne Aspinall and the Shaping of the American West* (Boulder, Univ. Press of Colorado, 2002), 116-17; John P. Saylor, "Wilderness: The Outlook from Capitol Hill," in David Brower, ed., *Wilderness, America's Living Heritage*

- (San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1961), 147-51.
- 100 Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 221.
- 101 *Anchorage Daily Times*, July 31, 1956, 9; Hubert H. Humphrey, "The Wilderness Bill," *Living Wilderness* 21 (Winter 1956-Spring 1957), 22, 29-31. The bills introduced in 1956 and 1957 stated that the new wilderness preservation system "shall include" areas within Mount McKinley and the other delineated public land areas. The specific wilderness areas within these units, however, would be delineated during the 10-year period that followed the act's passage.
- 102 Olaus J. Murie, "Return to Denali," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 38 (October 1953), 29-34. The only known instance prior to 1956 when NPS officials weighed in on a wilderness-related issue was in 1949, when Bradford Washburn urged Acting Superintendent Grant Pearson to approve the recommendation of naming a previously-unnamed Alaska Range peak after Joe Crosson, the pioneer pilot who had recently died. Pearson, in response, "object[ed] to naming any more mountains in this park unless there is an excellent reason. This is one of the few NPS areas that are really wilderness areas." SMR, September 1949, 3.
- 103 NPS, *Mission 66 Prospectus*, April 1956, 2.
- 104 Adolph Murie, "Comments on Mission 66 Plans, and on Policies Pertaining to Mount McKinley National Park," November 8, 1956, in "H14 Historical Notes, 1964-70" folder, Box 7, ARCC-00183, AKRO.
- 105 Supt. MOMC to Biologist Adolph Murie, November 15, 1956, in "H14 Historical Notes" folder, above.
- 106 NPS, *Mission 66 for Mount McKinley National Park*, May 13, 1957, 2-3.
- 107 USGS Power Site Classification 443, February 13, 1958, in *Federal Register* 23 (February 21, 1958), 1124. This order was withdrawn many years later; see Public Land Order 7033, March 2, 1994, as noted in *Federal Register* 59 (March 10, 1994), 11196.
- 108 U.S. Dept. of the Interior, *Alaska; A Reconnaissance Report on the Potential Development of Water Resources in the Territory of Alaska for Irrigation, Power Production and Other Beneficial Uses*, 82nd Congress, 1st Session, House Document 197 (January 1952), p. 18a, 171.
- 109 *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 19, 1953, 126; March 30, 1957, 1; August 27, 1960, 4; September 13, 1960, 1, 9; U.S. Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Hydroelectric Requirements and Resources in Alaska* (Washington, GPO, 1961), 51-53; APG, *Mt. McKinley Park Additions FES*, October 1974, 111-15.
- 110 Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 192-93.
- 111 Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 30, 70.
- 112 Schulte, *Wayne Aspinall*, 116-61; also see, for example, the following *Anchorage Times* articles; July 30, 1962, 4; July 31, 6; August 4, 1962, 8.
- 113 Schulte, *Wayne Aspinall*, 146, 158, 160-61.
- 114 Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 194, 211-14; *Anchorage Daily Times*, November 21, 1964, 24.
- 115 *Anchorage Daily Times*, December 16, 1964, 1.
- 116 *Ibid.*
- 117 NPS, *Wilderness Act Implementation, Report of Recommendations, Mount McKinley National Park* (part of NPS, *Master Plan Brief for Mount McKinley National Park*), October 1965; Sigurd F. Olson to George Hartzog, January 24, 1966, in Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives; *Anchorage Daily News*, July 13, 1966, 5.
- 118 Adolph Murie, "A McKinley Park Boundary Adjustment" (typescript), ca. 1966, pp. 7-8; Jacobs to Olaus J. Murie, January 15, 1957; both in top drawer, informational file cabinet, DENA Archives.
- 119 *United States Statutes at Large* 72 (July 7, 1958), pp. 339, 347. The remainder of Section 11(a) addressed the State of Alaska's rights at the park regarding civil or criminal processes, taxation, and voting.
- 120 [Richard] Stenmark to Supt. MOMC, January 17, 1963, in File L1417 (Acquisition of Lands; Boundary Adjustments), Box 12, Alaska Task Force Collection, RG 79, NARA ANC.
- 121 *Ibid.*
- 122 Sigurd F. Olson to Secretary of the Interior and Director NPS, ca. March 2, 1964, in "Miscellaneous" file, Box 1, Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives; William A. Egan to E. L. Bartlett, December 4, 1963, in File 882 (1959-66), Series 41, RG 01, ASA.
- 123 Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 35-41; NPS, *Operation Great Land; Alaska Task Force Report* (Washington, the author, January 1965), 37. The lead author was George L. Collins;

other members of the task force included Sigurd F. Olson, Robert S. Luntz, Doris F. Leonard and John M. Kauffmann.

<sup>124</sup> Supt. to RD, November 24, 1964, in "Wonder Lake Hotel Issue" folder, DENA Administrative History Collection.

125 Frances, "Some Views Concerning the Development of Mount McKinley National Park," 18; Edward A. Hummel to Director NPS, December 1, 1964, and Director NPS to Director BLM, December 31, 1964, both in Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives; Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 201.

126 Ross A. Youngblood to Gov. William A. Egan, May 21, 1965, in File 311.1 (1964-65), Series 41, RG 01, ASA; James A. McWilliams to Rep. Ralph J. Rivers, September 13, 1965, in File 311.1 (1965-68), Series 41, RG 01, ASA; *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, December 4, 1965, 7.

127 BLM Application, April 30, 1965, in File F-034575, BLM Alaska State Office, Anchorage; BLM, Fairbanks District and Land Office, "Notice of Proposed Withdrawal and Reservation of Lands," May 7, 1965, in File 311.1 (1964-65), Series 41, RG 01, ASA; *Federal Register* 30 (May 13, 1965), p. 6593.

128 See William A. Egan to Frank P. Bonnell, October 15, 1965, and other letters, all in File 311.1 (1964-65 and 1965-68), Series 41, RG 01, ASA.

129 BLM, "Notice of Proposed Withdrawal," May 7, 1965; *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, December 4, 1965, 7; SMR, December 1965, 2; March 1966, 2.

130 George Hartzog to E. L. Bartlett, June 6, 1966, in File F-034575, BLM Alaska State Office, Anchorage; *Anchorage Daily Times*, June 8, 1966, 1-2; *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, June 13, 1966, 4.

131 Ernest D. Black (BLM) to Wayne Merry (MOMC), May 21, 1969, in File F-034575 (see above).

132 "Trip Report by Stanley A. Cain, Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, Accompanying the Advisory Board on National Parks, Buildings, Historic Sites and Monuments on its Annual Field Trip – July 30 to August 10, 1965, in Alaska," pp. 6-8, in NPS Box 2 (1965-68), E. L. Bartlett Collection, UAF.

133 George B. Hartzog to RD/WR and Chief, WODC, March 22, 1965, in Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives.

134 A discussion of Pearson's, Cahalane's, and the other plans are included in a document that Headquarters district ranger Eldon Reyer compiled in July 1966; see Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives. Also see Adolph Murie, "A McKinley Park Boundary Adjustment," October 18, 1965, in top drawer, informational file cabinet, DENA Archives.

135 Pioneers of Alaska, Igloo #4 to Stewart L. Udall, September 20, 1965, in File 881 (State Parks, 1964-68), Series 41, RG 01, ASA.

136 Celia M. Hunter and Ginny Hill Wood to BLM and NPS, September 27, 1965, in File 311.1 (1964-65), Series 41, RG 01, ASA.

137 Western Office, Design and Construction, NPS, "Management Programs: Land, part of the Master Plan, Mount McKinley National Park" (Drawing NP-McK 3202), January 1966, in NPS Aperture Card Collection.

138 SMR, July 1966, 6; Theodor R. Swem to Chief, Resource Planning, SSC, June 24, 1966, in "Windy Creek Area" file, Box 3, Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives; NPS, "Mount McKinley National Monument (South Unit-Development Plan)," 1968, in "Mt. McKinley – Briefing Book Proclamations, 1968-69" folder, DENA Archives.

139 San Francisco Service Center, "Mount McKinley National Park Study, Alaska, August 1966," in MOMC Box 2, HFC; NPS, "Mount McKinley National Monument (South Unit-Development Plan)," 1968, see above; Alaska Department of Natural Resources, "Land Administration System" (website). These records show that the State of Alaska applied for most of the land within present-day Denali State Park in August 1965 and gained tentative approval (i.e., de facto ownership) for it in 1966 or 1967.

140 Supt. MOMC to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC, August 26, 1968, File D18, DENA Archives.

141 Melville B. Grosvenor (Chairman, Advisory Board) to Secretary of the Interior, April 19, 1967, in MOMC Box 1, HFC. Anchorage newspapers carried only vaguely-worded summations of the Advisory Board's recommendations; see *Anchorage Daily News*, May 8, 1967, 1, and *Anchorage Daily Times*, May 9, 1967, 16.

142 *Anchorage Daily Times*, October 9, 1967, 2; George B. Hartzog to Walter J. Hickel, December 7, 1967, in File 882.1 (1967-68), Series 41, RG 01, ASA

- 143 NPS, "The National Park Service Program in Alaska," October 10, 1967, in "NPS Interest in Alaska – Pre-ANILCA," Box B', Frank Williss Collection, HFC.
- 144 Frank Norris, *Legacy of the Gold Rush: An Administrative History of Klondike Gold National Historical Park* (Anchorage, NPS, 1996), 84.
- 145 C. Gordon Fredine to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC, June 17, 1968; Merrill Mattes, "Field Notes by Mount McKinley Master Plan Team, 1968," ii; both in Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives; George B. Hartzog to Walter J. Hickel, December 7, 1967, in File 882.1 (1967-68), Series 41, RG 01, ASA; Robert B. Weeden (Alaska Conservation Society) to George A. Hall, October 8, 1967, also in File 882.1, above.
- 146 Mattes, "Field Notes by Mount McKinley Master Plan Team, 1968," ii, 1-2, 18, 21. Outside interests were also interested in a park expansion; see Kenneth A. Chambers, "Mount McKinley National Park," *National Parks Magazine* 42 (September 1968), 9.
- 147 The first acreage figures attached to the planned expansions did not appear until December 1968, when it appeared as part of a planned Antiquities Act expansion proposal (see following section). Inasmuch as these acreages are the direct result of the master planning process, it appears that the South Unit's new acreage was a more fine-tuned calculation of the master plan acreage than any new acreage added after the completion of the master plan. "Mount McKinley National Monument, Alaska," December 1968, in "Mt. McKinley – Briefing Book Proclamations, 1968-69" file, DENA Archives.
- 148 Mattes, "Field Notes by Mount McKinley Master Plan Team, 1968," 2, 23.
- 149 James H. Husted, *History of the Johnson Proclamations, 1968-69*, September 21, 1970, 1, in "Johnson Proclamations" file, Box B', Williss Collection, HFC.
- 150 Husted, *History of the Johnson Proclamations*, 2.
- 151 "Priority of Alaska Areas," October 2, 1968, in "NPS Interest in Alaska – Pre-ANILCA" folder, Box B', Williss Collection, HFC; "Mount McKinley National Monument, Alaska, Special Considerations," October 2, 1968, in "Mt. McKinley – Briefing Book Proclamations, 1968-69" file, DENA Archives; Husted, *History of the Johnson Proclamations*, 3; Norris, *Isolated Paradise*, 121, 138-39.
- 152 Husted, *History of the Johnson Proclamations*, 4-10.
- 153 *Ibid.*, 10-14.
- 154 Department of the Interior, "Mount McKinley National Monument Established in Alaska" (news release), January 18, 1969; *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 18, 1969, 1.
- 155 Husted, *History of the Johnson Proclamations*, 14-15; *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 20, 1969, 1.
- 156 "707 Statement by the President Upon Signing Five Proclamations Adding Lands to the National Park System, January 20, 1969," in *Public Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson*, in American Reference Library, located in MasterFile Premier database, Ebsco Host.
- 157 *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 20, 1969, 1.
- 158 *Congressional Record* 115 (May 19, 1969), 12957; *Anchorage Daily Times*, June 5, 1969, 26; Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 44, footnote 114; "National Park Service Proposals in Alaska" [1970], in "NPS Interest in Alaska – Pre-ANILCA" folder, Box B', Williss Collection, HFC. The *Times* article noted that there were 2,334,397 acres in the two proposed park units, which was approximately 130,000 acres greater than noted in the 1968 master plan.
- 159 *Anchorage Daily Times*, September 12, 1968, 7; September 14, 1967, 4.
- 160 Cresap, McCormick and Paget, *A Program for Increasing the Contribution of Tourism to the Alaskan Economy*, December 1968, "Planning Considerations" and "Contributions to the Alaskan Economy" sections.
- 161 Alaska Department of Natural Resources, "Land Administration System" (website) records for T33N, 2W, Seward Meridian; Cresap, McCormick and Paget, *A Program*, December 1968, "Planning Considerations" section.
- 162 *Anchorage Daily Times*, December 18, 1968, 1-2; December 20, 1968, 4; Leonard J. Hansen to Walter J. Hickel, December 20, 1968, in File NR 1-2, Series 88 (1969), RG 01, ASA.
- 163 Bradford Washburn to Leonard J. Hansen, July 18, 1968, in File NR 1-2 (1969), Series 88, RG 01, ASA; *Anchorage Daily News*, April 19, 1980, A-1. According to a study written by HKS Associates (*Tokositna, A Development Study for the State of Alaska*, February 1981, p. 1), Washburn had first conceived of the idea of a recreational and cultural facility at the site in 1951.
- 164 Legislative Reporting Service, *Report for the Sixth Alaska Legislature, 2nd Session*, 1970, p. 161; *Alaska Senate Journal*, January 15, 1970, 26-27.

- 165 Legislative Reporting Service, *Report for the Sixth Alaska Legislature*, 1970, pp. 302, 468, 545, 580, 593.
- 166 *Session Laws of Alaska*, 1970, Chapter No. 233.
- 167 *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 20, 1969, 2; *Anchorage Daily News*, December 2, 1970, 1; *Anchorage Daily Times*, December 2, 1970, 2; December 5, 1970, 42; *Anchorage Daily News*, January 7, 1971, 1; Director, Pacific Northwest Region [NPS] to State Director, BLM, November 17, 1970 (Stenmark draft), in “McKinley Land Additions (South)” folder, Stenmark Collection, HFC.
- 168 Fred J. Russell to Governor Egan, December 31, 1970, in File NR 1-2 (1971), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.
- 169 *Anchorage Daily News*, January 6, 1971, 1-2; *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 6, 1971, 13.
- 170 *Anchorage Daily News*, January 7, 1971, 1-2; *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 14, 1971, 16.
- 171 *Congressional Record* 117 (January 22, 1971), 197; William Egan to Rogers C. B. Morton, February 2, 1971; Charles F. Herbert to Rep. Nick Begich, March 18, 1971, both in File NR 1-2 (1971), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.
- 172 Richard G. Prasil to Director, Pacific Northwest Region, October 7, 1971; Richard J. Stenmark to Gerald Patton, October 29, 1971, both in “McKinley Land Additions (South)” folder; “Mount McKinley National Park and Proposed Extension, Alaska” (map), in “Mount McKinley Maps” folder; all in Stenmark Collection, HFC.
- 173 Anthony Dimond to Arno Cammerer, March 14, 1938; Cammerer to Dan Kennedy, April 19, 1938; Cammerer to Dimond, April 19, 1938; all in Folder 303-13 (“Claims-Kennedy”), Box 1408 (MOMC), Entry 7, RG 79, NARA CP; “Affidavit of Dan T. Kennedy in Support of His Claim vs. U.S. Government, Mt. McKinley National Park,” April 1939, in File 06-113 (“DT-3, DENA, Dan Kennedy”), AKRO Lands Division.
- 174 Kennedy to Cammerer, March 9, 1939; Cammerer to Kennedy, March 21, 1939; Kennedy to Cammerer, April 3, 1939; Dimond to Cammerer, August 14, 1939; John R. White to Dimond, August 26, 1939; all in Folder 303-13, noted above.
- 175 Harry J. Liek to “Regional Director Kittredge,” November 16, 1938, in File 610 (“Mt. McKinley NP Private Lands”), Box 79, CCF/MOMC, RG 79, NARA SB.
- 176 *Congressional Record* 87 (January 3, 1941), 23; Frank Been to Director NPS, March 27, 1941; A. E. Demaray to Supt. MOMC, April 21, 1941; all in Folder 303-13, noted above.
- 177 Been to RD/R4, May 1, 1941; B. F. Manbey to Director NPS, June 2, 1941; Herbert Maier to Joseph E. Taylor, June 27, 1941; all in File 610 (“Stubbs and Kennedy, Part 1”), Box 79, CCF/MOMC, RG 79, NARA SB.
- 178 Liek to Kittredge, November 16, 1938, in File 610 (“Mt. McKinley NP Private Lands”), noted above; Manbey to Director NPS, June 2, 1941, in File 610 (“Stubbs and Kennedy, Part 1”), noted above; Francis S. Ronalds to RD/R1, September 5, 1945, in Box 1, John Wise Alaska Collection, HFC.
- 179 Charles L. Peterson to Director NPS, September 30, 1946, in File 610 (“Stubbs and Kennedy, Part 1”), noted above; SMR, September 1946, 1.
- 180 SMR, May 1948, 3; July 1948, 2-3.
- 181 J. P. Johnson to O. A. Tomlinson, August 15, 1950, in File 610 (“Stubbs and Kennedy, Part 1”), noted above; Conrad Wirth to Rep. Henry M. Jackson, July 10, 1953, in File 06-113, noted above.
- 182 Mastin G. White to The Attorney General, June 26, 1951, in File 06-113, noted above.
- 183 A. Devitt Vanech to Mastin G. White, September 17, 1951, in File 610 (“Stubbs and Kennedy, Part 1”), noted above; Francis S. Ronalds to RD/R1, September 5, 1945, in Box 1, John Wise Alaska Collection, HFC; U.S. District Court, 4th Judicial Division, *USA v. 40 Acres of Land ...* (No. 6885 Civil), “Judgment as to Tract ‘B’,” February 24, 1956, in File 06-113, noted above.
- 184 By late 1951, Kennedy and Glassberg—the latter the managing editor of the *Everett Daily Herald*—shared half-interests in the property; Kennedy, however, remained the owner of record.
- 185 Henry M. Jackson to Conrad Wirth, November 21, 1951; Wirth to Jackson, December 4, 1951; all in File 610 (“Stubbs and Kennedy, Part 1”), noted above.
- 186 Wirth to Attorney General, March 7, 1952; Glassberg to Wirth, February 16, 1953; Wirth to Glassberg, February 27, 1953; all in File 610 (“Stubbs and Kennedy, Part II”), Box 79, CCF/MOMC, RG 79, NARA SB; SMR, December 1952, 1; April 1953, 1.
- 187 “Judgment as to Tract ‘B’,” February 24, 1956; Wirth to Jackson, July 10, 1953; both in File 06-113, noted above.
- 188 U.S. District Court, 3rd Judicial Division, *USA v. 40 acres of Land...* (No. A-12,883 Civil), “Opinion,” March 6, 1958, in File 06-113, noted above; SMR, January 1958, 2; February 1958, 3; *Federal Supplement* 160 (1958), pp. 30-34.

- 189 *Federal Supplement* 162 (1958), pp. 939-42.
- 190 Perry W. Morton to Elmer F. Bennett, September 18, 1958; Jackson E. Price to Assistant Solicitor, National Parks, October 2, 1958; Elmer T. Fritz, October 8, 1958; Morton to Fritz, October 14, 1958; all in File 06-113, noted above.
- 191 Herbert Maier to Director NPS, February 19, 1960; Maier to Director, February 29, 1960; both in File 06-113, noted above; SMR, August 1959, 6.
- 192 U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, *USA v. Dan T. Kennedy* (No. 16,179), April 13, 1960, in File 06-113, noted above, and in *Federal Reporter*, 2nd Series, vol. 278, pp. 121-27.
- 193 U.S. District Court, District of Alaska, *USA v. 40 Acres of Land...* (No. 12,883 Civil), February 3, 1961, in File 06-113, noted above.
- 194 Samuel A. King to RD/R4, February 9, 1961; Harry K. Sanders to Finance Officer, March 10, 1961; both in File 06-113, noted above; SMR, January 1961, 4; February 1961, 2, 4; March 1961, 4.
- 195 H.S. Simpson to E.L. Bartlett, July 1, 1946; Newton Drury to Bartlett, July 13, 1946; both in File 610 ("John Stephens: 1941-5/19/53"), Box 79, CCF/MOMC, RG 79, NARA SB.
- 196 *Congressional Record* 79 (1936), pp. 4146, 4643.
- 197 E.K. Burlew to Dan R. McGehee, October 13, 1941; H.S. Simpson to E.L. Bartlett, July 1, 1946; both in File 610 (Stephens), noted above.
- 198 Drury to Bartlett, July 13, 1946, in File 610 (Stephens), noted above; *Congressional Record* 81 (January 5, 1937), 57.
- 199 Oscar L. Chapman to Anthony J. Dimond, May 27, 1941, in File 610 (Stephens), noted above.
- 200 Burlew to McGehee, October 13, 1941, in File 610 (Stephens), noted above.
- 201 Drury to Bartlett, July 13, 1946, in File 610 (Stephens), noted above; Peterson, *Mount McKinley National Park Development Outline* (1946), 7.
- 202 Simpson to Pearson, May 6, 1947; Charles L. Peterson to Simpson, June 3, 1947; both in File 610 (Stephens), noted above.
- 203 Hillory Tolson to Simpson, July 25, 1947; Tolson to Simpson, August 11, 1947; both in File 610 (Stephens), noted above.
- 204 George L. Collins to Files, June 19, 1950, in File 600 ("Alaska Development," Part IV), Box 237, CCF/MOMC, RG 79, NARA CP.
- 205 SMR, July 1961, 7; August 1961, 7; September 1961, 5.
- 206 SMR, November 1961, 4; February 1962, 3; March 1962, 4.
- 207 SMR, March 1962, 2; November 1962, 2; May 1963, 4. *U.S.A. v. 133.76 Acres of Land...* (Civil No. F-45-62), Stipulation, March 25, 1963; Attorney General to Stewart L. Udall, May 29, 1963; both in File "01-101, DT-5, Minnie J. Simpson, et al.," AKRO Lands Division files.
- 208 SMR, October 1956, 1; Pearson, *My Life of High Adventure*, 213-15.
- 209 Jan Dick, telephone interview with the author, October 27, 2004.
- 210 George Hall, interview with the author, Anchorage, December 13, 1996.
- 211 Scott Ruesch, telephone interview with the author, October 21, 2004; Horace M. Albright and Marian Albright Schenk, *Creating the National Park Service; the Missing Years* (Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 241-44.
- 212 Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 42.
- 213 SMR, December 1965, 2; January 1966, 2; April 1966, 2, 4; July 1966, 2; October 1966, 2; January 1967, 1; Supt. MOMC to RD/WR, August 3, 1966, in Jane Bryant (DNA) files. Harry Smith preceded Breedlove as park planner; he served in Anchorage from February through June 1966.
- 214 George Hall, interview with the author, February 4, 1997; NPS, *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials* (Washington, D.C., the author, May 1991), 56.
- 215 Scott Ruesch interview, October 21, 2004; Daniel Kuehn, interview with the author, October 11, 2004.
- 216 SMR, March 1958, 5; June 1958, 6; December 1958, 5; January 1959, photo.
- 217 SMR, November 1959, 3; February 1960, 5; April 1960, 4; May 1963, 4; May 1964, 4.
- 218 SMR, May 1967, 7.
- 219 SMR, March 1965, 4.
- 220 SMR, August 1957, photo; October 1957, 4; January 1958, 1.
- 221 SMR, May 1959, 5; June 1959, 5; July 1959, 4, photo; June 1960, 3, 6; October 1960, 3; May 1961, 6.
- 222 SMR, October 1962, 2; August 1965, 2.
- 223 SMR, June 1958, 6; September 1958, 6; June 1959, 7; City of Anchorage and Vicinity, *Telephone Directory*, March 1960, 43.
- 224 SMR, October 1958, 2; May 1959, 6; July 1959, 7; August 1959, 8; September 1959, 7.
- 225 SMR, May 1960, 2, 7; June 1960, 9; July 1960, 7; August 1960, 2, 8; September 1960, 6-7;

October 1960, 6; November 1960, 4; December 1960, 5; January 1961, 6.  
 226 SMR, May 1961, 7; July 1961, 8; August 1961, 8; September 1961, 3; October 1961, 4; September 1962, 7.  
 227 SMR, November 1960, 4; December 1960, 2; February 1961, 5.  
 228 SMR, April 1961, 5; May 1961, 7; June 1961, 9; July 1961, 8; August 1961, 8; October 1961, 4; November 1961, 6; December 1961, 4.  
 229 SMR, October 1965, 2-3; December 1965, 3; September 1966, 6; November 1966, 4; May 1967, 7; *Anchorage Daily Times*, November 9, 1967, 12.  
 230 SMR, October 1957, 6; July 1958, 5; July 1959, 7; August 1959, 7.  
 231 SMR, July 1963, 5; June 1964, 6; NPS Map 2024-B (September 1953), Map 2024-D (December 1959), and Map 2013-B (January 1967), NPS Aperture Card Collection; *Anchorage Daily Times*, November 9, 1967, 12; May 20, 1971, 70.  
 232 SMR, June 1961, 5-6; August 1961, 6; September 1962, 7.  
 233 SMR, June 1964, 6; July 1964, 9; NPS, MOMC “Priority List, Project Construction Program, Fiscal Year 1969,” March 17, 1965; Dick to Regional Director, July 26, 1965; Raymond O. Mulvaney to Superintendents, Western Region, January 12, 1966, all in Catalog No. 9169, DENA Archives; *Anchorage Daily Times*, June 14, 1966, 16.  
 234 *Anchorage Daily Times*, November 9, 1967, 12; SAR, 1967, 1; NPS Drawing 41098, February 1967; NPS Drawing 40002, July 1, 1970, both in NPS Aperture Card Collection; *Milepost*, issues of 1968 (p. 305), 1969 (p. 317), 1970 (p. 347), and 1971 (p. 407); Jane Bryant email, November 4, 2005.  
 235 NPS, Drawing MOMC-2013-B, January 1967, in NPS Aperture Card Collection.  
 236 SMR, May 1945, 2; Grant Pearson, *My Life of High Adventure*, 192.  
 237 SMR, September 1946, 3; March 1947, 3.  
 238 See, for example, the following SMRs: November 1951, 4; March 1958, 3; March 1960, 3; October 1961, 2; December 1964, 3; December 1966, 2.  
 239 SMR, October 1960, 5; November 1960, 3; January 1962, 4; March 1963, 2; October 1963, 3.  
 240 SMR, December 1942, 2; December 1958, 3; August 1959, 6; October 1962, 3; January 1967, 2.  
 241 SMR, April 1944, 2; December 1945, 2; January 1946, 2.  
 242 SMR, November 1940, 5; August 1956, 1; June 1961, 5; May 1966, 3; July 1966, 4; January 1967, 1; May 1967, 3.  
 243 SMR, November 1940, 5; January 1941, 4.  
 244 Park staff kept several dogs at the park hotel during the years in which there were dog teams, but in September 1949 the last sled dog died, a 13-year-old named “Buck.” SMR, May 1945, 2; April 1947, 3; December 1947, 3; November 1948, 3; March 1949, 3; September 1949, 4; September 1950, 2; October 1950, 5.  
 245 SMR, April 1952, 2.  
 246 See the following SMRs: February 1953, 2, 4; April 1953, 2; December 1953, 3; March 1955, 2; March 1956, 3; October 1956, 3; February 1958, 3; November 1958, 3; January 1960, 3.  
 247 See the following SMRs: December 1963, 3; January 1965, 3; October 1966, 2.  
 248 See the following SMRs: August 1949, 3; October 1949, 4; August 1950, 4; September 1950, 4.  
 249 SMR, October 1949, 3.  
 250 SMR, August 1950, 4; February 1952, 1; May 1966, 3.  
 251 SMR, January 1953, 3; September 1953, 5; August 1954, 4.  
 252 As noted previously in this chapter, the BPR had assumed all ARC functions, both in the park and elsewhere in Alaska, during the summer of 1956. In the fall of 1959, road crews began to use the term “aufeis” rather than “glaciers,” “overflow ice,” and “spring-fed ice masses” which were used earlier.  
 253 SMR, October 1959, 3-4; November 1959, 3; December 1959, 4; February 1960, 5; March 1960, 4; April 1960, 4-5; May 1960, 6-7.  
 254 SMR, February 1961, 3; January 1962, 4; September 1963, 5; October 1964, 4.  
 255 SMR, February 1966, 3; April 1966, 3; May 1967, 4.  
 256 SMR, May 1960, 6; June 1964, 6; May 1966, 3; May 1967, 4.  
 257 Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 185, 191-92.  
 258 Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 245, 257-58; SMR, April 1966, 4; May 1966, 4; Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 21; *Anchorage Daily Times*, May 13, 1966, 17.  
 259 Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 22.  
 260 Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 259-60; *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 4, 1972, 2.  
 261 Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 260-61; Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 26; *Anchor-*

age *Daily News*, March 22, 1970, 9; *Anchorage Daily Times*, March 18, 1970, 21.

262 Ernest G. Scheuplein to Hickel, January 5, 1967; Hickel to Kenneth Wendel, June 1, 1967; H. J. Musiel to George Hartzog, April 2, 1968; all in File 882.1 (1967-68), Series 41, RG 01, ASA. Scheuplein, a hotel cook in 1966, noted that “there were times when the guests had to sleep in the lounge.”

263 Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 26; *Anchorage Daily Times*, December 3, 1969, 2; December 5, 1969, 13; December 6, 1969, 24.

264 *Anchorage Daily Times*, March 17, 1970, 13; May 15, 1970, 2; June 19, 1970, 4; July 9, 1970, 3; September 3, 1970, 8.

265 Hummel, *Stealing the National Parks*, 272-73, 289; Stroud, *History of the Concession*, 27; *Anchorage Daily Times*, January 4, 1972, 1.

266 Alaska Road Commission, *Annual Report*, 1956, 12.

267 Alaska Northwest, *The Milepost*, 1972 edition, 355; *Anchorage Daily News*, October 15, 1971, 2.

268 *Anchorage Daily News*, September 4, 1962, 7; *Fairbanks News-Miner*, September 13, 1960, 9; SMR, May 1962, 6. In 1961, the U.S. Air Force had established Clear, a ballistic early warning site, just west of the newly-opened Nenana-Rex segment. Mary Carey, *An Auto Trip to Alaska's Shangri-La* (n.p., Tex-Alaska Press, 1989), 172.

269 Carey, *An Auto Trip to Alaska's Shangri-La*, 59, 111, 116, 118, 125. The road connection to Talkeetna, located 14 miles from the main highway, was completed in 1965.

270 Carey, *An Auto Trip to Alaska's Shangri-La*, 125, 127, 132, 133, 141; Carol Sik, “The ‘59’ers Prove Up!” *Alaska Sportsman* 33 (September 1967), 6-7; Alaska Northwest, *The Milepost*, (Anchorage, the author), 1970 edition, p. 338; 1971 edition, p. 416.

271 As used in this section and elsewhere, the first Nenana River crossing is near Mile 216 of the Parks Highway, 6 miles north of the Denali Highway junction; the second crossing is at Mile 231, six miles south of the present-day park road junction; the third crossing is at Mile 238, less than one mile north of the park road junction; and the fourth crossing is at Mile 243, near the northeast corner of the “old park.”

272 NPS Drawing NP-McK-2024-D, approved October 20, 1961, in NPS Aperture Card Collection.

273 SMR, February 1961, 5; March 1961, 2; May 1961, 7; July 1961, 8.

274 SMR, August 1961, 3, 8; November 1961, 6; June 1962, 10.

275 SMR, June 1963, 5; July 1963, 2, 5-7; November 1963, 4.

276 SMR, September 1964, 6; September 1966, 5; April 1967, 5; SAR, 1965, 2.

277 According to BLM land records, the six who filed were Morton Wood (July 1953), James Walper (August 1954), Willis Hardy (June 1955), William Nancarrow (April 1957), John Farleigh (July 1957), and Forest Hills, Inc. (July 1957). All but Wood and Walper later patented their claims; Wood, Hardy, and Nancarrow were NPS employees.

278 The Carlo Creek Lodge, at Mile 223.9, had been homesteaded in May 1961 by Otto A. and Billie Stoepler, Jr.; the drive-in, at Mile 231.1, was located on land homesteaded by Forest Hills, Inc. in 1957; the Jere-A-Tad Lodge at Mile 224 had been homesteaded by Gerald L. Pollock in June 1963; and Toklat Village, also at Mile 231.1, was on land that Gary and Linda Crabb had homesteaded in June 1959. The drive-in apparently operated for a single season, and Toklat Village shut down for several years before being replaced by the Mount McKinley Village development, but the Carlo Creek and Jere-A-Tad lodges remained open and are still active businesses. *Milepost*, issues of 1960 through 1969; BLM, Case Abstracts for AKF 023539, AKF 027673, and AKF 031373.

<sup>279</sup> Alaska Northwest, *The Milepost*, editions of 1970 (p. 398) and 1971 (p. 356).

<sup>280</sup> Carey, *An Auto Trip to Alaska's Shangri-La*, 141-42; *Anchorage Daily News*, October 14, 1971, 2; October 15, 1971, 2; *Anchorage Daily Times*, October 15, 1971, 2. Much of the Anchorage-Fairbanks road at this time was not paved; road crews finished paving all but 20 miles of the road in 1972; the remaining mileage, however, was not paved until several years later. *Anchorage Daily Times*, March 26, 1973, 21; APG, *Final Environmental Statement, Mount McKinley National Park Additions*, October 1974, 38.





