

[Yellowstone: Consuming “Natural” Landscapes. Jaime Barker, University of Washington,
History, Fall 2009]

Yellowstone was established as America's first National Park in 1872. Throughout its long history, it has experienced a wide variety of visitors and societal change. Through a close examination of primary period sources, the time span between the turn of the twentieth-century and World War II presents itself as a key point filled with change for the park. Yellowstone National Park experienced a marked and dramatic shift in the demographic and geographic characteristics of its visitors between 1900 and 1941. The park's early visitors were small groups of wealthy elites accustomed to international travel, luxury accommodations, and planned itineraries. However, this group soon gave way to an influx of middle-class families, who valued personal mobility, economical lodging, and communal spirit. The prime motivations for this change, as I will explore, are the popularization of the automobile, the proliferation of vacation time among American employers, and the efforts of the National Park Service's first director, Stephen Mather, to appeal to this new demographic. While visitors and their requirements changed, however, their vision of a commodified Yellowstone as an authentic "Old West" experience filled with wildlife remained largely unchanged.

Individuals who visited Yellowstone between 1900 and 1915 represented an infinitesimal portion of the American population, however, these visitors heavily influenced the park's landscape. Only a small percentage of the United States population had the ability to travel to the park, and while the existence of Yellowstone was well-known throughout the country's populace, it was also generally understood among Americans as an exclusive playground enjoyed solely by the rich.¹ Some individuals who lived near the park were able to travel to Yellowstone in a wagon, however, the park's landscape was not shaped in order to meet their needs. The majority of the park's early visitors were required to travel many days on a train,

¹ Horace Albright, "WANTED: A CHEAP CAMPING-GROUND", *Christian Union* 24, no. 6 (Aug 10, 1881): 122. <http://proquest.umi.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=705319002&sid=2&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

often covering thousands of miles, and were therefore required to have the luxury of being able to take time off from work in order to visit the park. These visitors also needed significant financial resources to visit the park. In 1900, the average train ticket to Yellowstone cost three hundred and ten dollars for a family of four,² and the tour through the park which lasted five and one half days cost an additional fifty dollars per individual.³ In that same year, the average annual income for an American was only four hundred and thirty-eight dollars.⁴ Both the length and cost of the trip almost entirely prohibited children from experiencing the park. This is evident in many of the advertisements of the time, none of which mention children, even those placed in magazines targeted toward a younger audience. Due to the time and financial resources which were required to reach the park, Yellowstone's early visitors belonged to a very homogeneous group, that was composed almost exclusively of white, adult upper-class individuals.

The railroad companies targeted upper-class individuals with their advertisements as they were the only group which could afford to travel to the park. The advertisements were also created and distributed in a manner which insured homogeneity amongst the travelers. The Northern Pacific Railroad chose Thomas Moran's paintings of Yellowstone sights as their image for the posters and cards which promoted the park. Moran had been commissioned by the

² Rose C. Feld, "Rebel Vacationists: Now It's a Whole Month of Rest Time That's Wanted--Remarkable Development of Motor Camping--Tours Lengthening," *New York Times* (July 9, 1922): 84.
<http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=107066108&sid=3&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

³ James R. Joy, "On the Yellowstone Trail," *Christian Advocate* 78, no. 15 (Apr 9, 1903): 578.
<http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=847988492&sid=5&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

⁴ U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Germany, "Facts and Figures: Income and Prices 1900-1999," *About the USA*
http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/his/e_prices1.htm (accessed Nov 5, 2009)

railroad, and his oil paintings appeared in many public buildings across the United States.⁵ However, only a handful of Americans had the pleasure of viewing these original paintings. Printing technology eventually progressed so that Moran's paintings could be reproduced in the form of posters. However, the individuals who connected with the posters the most were still only the lucky few who had viewed the original paintings. The content of the posters was important as well, as there is little text other than the railroad's logo and the name of the park. Visitors during this time had heard about the park from their upper-class peers who had visited Yellowstone. The posters were created to remind the viewer about the park and its sights, and were targeting the individuals who already knew something about the park. The reproduced Moran images were also printed onto dining car menus and train timetables which would have only been seen by those who could afford to travel on a train.⁶ These advertisements were distributed in only a few areas which were frequented by elite individuals who were in the same social circles and shared similar interests. The advertisements ensured that the park's early visitors would come from a homogenous, select portion of the American population, while promoting Yellowstone as an elite tourist destination.

The idea of travel as leisure was also important in determining who these early visitors were, as traveling thousands of miles to a remote park was not a common concept among most Americans at this time. At the turn of the century, the only individuals familiar with the concept of traveling for pleasure were those in the upper-class who were not dependent on employer-given vacation time. Most of these visitors had also previously experienced traveling for leisure.

⁵ Kirby Lambert, "The Lure of the Parks," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 46, no. 1 (Spring, 1996): 42-55.

<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/4519858?&Search=yes&term=parks&term=lure&list=hide&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3D%2528the%2Blure%2Bof%2Bthe%2Bparks%2529%26gw%3Djtx%26prq%3D%2528th%2Belure%2Bof%2Bthe%2Bparks%2529%26Search%3DSearch%26hp%3D25%26wc%3Don&item=1&ttl=1704&returnArticleService=showArticle>

⁶ Lambert, "The Lure of the Parks"

Vacation benefits were not typically offered to most workers when these early visitors were touring the park and by the early nineteen hundreds only twenty percent of white collar workers and an even lower five percent of blue collar workers were offered vacation days.⁷ The “See America First” campaign was launched in 1906⁸ with the goal of persuading these wealthy tourists to stay and spend their vacation dollars in the country rather in Europe.⁹ Accounts written by these tourists demonstrate just how experienced with travel these wealthy, upper-class Americans were, with one tourist writing that in Yellowstone, “Bears are as plentiful as monkeys in the tropics and almost as amusing.”¹⁰ Everything in the park, including the park’s wildlife, was compared to the tourists’ experiences on other trips. Their experience with traveling required the concessioners in Yellowstone to rise above and beyond the existing expectations of their guests surrounding travel and leisure in order to successfully compete with foreign vacation destinations.

Upon reaching the park, these early visitors expected to enjoy luxurious amenities, and to feel as though they had stepped back in time. The wildlife of Yellowstone was a crucial element in creating this romanticized image. The park’s fish and bears were especially commoditized to create the “Old West” experience during the park’s early years. The park’s rivers and lakes were known for being one of the best places in the world for sport fishermen, and Yellowstone was heavily promoted as a premiere fishing locale. Yellowstone’s reputation as an ideal place to fish was spread between these rich men by “writing in their journals, gabbing at cocktail parties, and

⁷ HSTAA 371 Lecture, Nov 9, 2009

⁸ National Park Service, “War with Switzerland!” *See America First!*, <http://www.nps.gov/archive/crla/saf.htm> (accessed Nov 20, 2009)

⁹ PBS, “The Empire of Grandeur,” *The National Parks: America’s Best Idea*, <http://www.pbs.org/nationalparks/history/ep3/3/> (accessed Dec 5, 2009)

¹⁰ Frederick Moore, “The Denizens of Yellowstone Park,” *Town and Country* (1902)

blowing cigar smoke over fine Scotch about their piscatorial exploits.”¹¹ The elite tourists visited Yellowstone having heard the mythological fish stories and with a desire to enjoy the outdoor sport, and soon, the United States Fish Commission was busy at work, developing a way for the park to meet the tourists’ expectations for trout. The bears residing in the park were also commoditized as the trout were, and the hotel would organize gatherings for the tourists to watch bears eat garbage near the hotel kitchens.¹²

The architecture of the park also catered to the tourists’ quest for the Old West image. While the park catered to their high expectations, the visitors also wanted to imagine that the hotels and roads were part of the “natural” landscape of Yellowstone. The architectural style and construction materials of the park’s hotels were carefully chosen to preserve this image of Yellowstone. Old Faithful Hotel is an example of the architectural style found throughout the park, and was used in order to create the illusion that these new post offices, hotels, and luncheon stations were native to the park’s wild landscape. The hotel was designed by architect Robert Reamer, opened in 1904, and is built within an eight of a mile from the famous Old Faithful geyser.¹³ It was constructed entirely from materials found within the park, including rough-cut logs, hand-sawn lumber and fieldstone, which were considered appropriate building materials for

¹¹ John Byorth, “Trout Shangri-La: Remaking the Fishing in Yellowstone National Park,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 52, no. 2 (Summer, 2002): 38-47

<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/4520417?&Search=yes&term=trout&term=la&term=shangri&list=hide&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dtrout%2Bshangri%2Bla%26gw%3Djtx%26prq%3D%2528the%2Blure%2Bof%2Bthe%2Bparks%2529%26Search%3DSearch%26hp%3D25%26wc%3Don&item=1&ttl=29&returnArticleService=showArticle>

¹² Alice K. Wondrak, “Wrestling with Horace Albright: Edmund Rogers, Visitors, and Bears in Yellowstone National Park, Part I,” *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* 52, no. 3 (Autumn, 2002): 2-15.

<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/4520442?&Search=yes&term=wrestling&term=albright&term=horace&list=hide&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dwrestling%2Bwith%2Bhorace%2Balbright%26gw%3Djtx%26prq%3Dtrout%2Bshangri%2Bla%26Search%3DSearch%26hp%3D25%26wc%3Don&item=2&ttl=35&returnArticleService=showArticle>

¹³ NPS, “Old Faithful Inn,” *Architecture in the Parks*,

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/harrison/harrison3.htm (accessed Oct 30, 2009)

a “wild” landscape at the time.¹⁴ The hotel’s architecture is based on a “rustic design”¹⁵ and intended to match the visitors’ imagined vision of the Old West. Reamer was also hired to remodel a few of the other hotels in the park, and his architectural style “reflected quite clearly a desire to... frame nature for visitors, to present it as they expected it to be.”¹⁶ Indeed, one of the parks’ earlier visitors wrote that he found the Old Faithful Inn to be “thoroughly in harmony with its surroundings and rivaling the natural curiosities in its fund of unusual features.”¹⁷

Roads were also carefully planned and designed to appear as though they were a natural feature of the Yellowstone landscape. A Yellowstone guest noted the careful placement of the roads, stating that the “roads are threaded in and out so painstakingly that scenery is preserved” and that in addition to the hotels and roads, the park’s other buildings “are designed and placed to harmonize or be inconspicuous against the background nature affords.”¹⁸ The architectural style of the park’s hotels and careful placement of its roads were one way in which the park’s natural landscape was manipulated to match the popular beliefs among the upper-class during the early twentieth century.

While the design of Yellowstone’s hotels and roads may have been found to be in harmony with the park’s “natural” landscape, the tourists enjoyed accommodations which were

¹⁴ Mark Daniel Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone: Capitalism and the Construction of Nature* (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2002), 41.

¹⁵ NPS, “Old Faithful Inn”.

¹⁶ Barringer, 43.

¹⁷ Charles J. Belden, “The Motor in Yellowstone,” *Scribner’s Magazine* LXIII, no. 6 (June, 1918): 673.
http://books.google.com/books?id=bP0vAAAAMAAJ&pg=RA5-PA640&lpg=RA5-PA640&dq=%22The+motor+in+Yellowstone%22&source=bl&ots=xrSHijs0Nf&sig=7V-pbZeFIcqYNpmKZk0_Lf-dGa8&hl=en&ei=M0olS5rLOIbcNp-DreMJ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CAwQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=%22The%20motor%20in%20Yellowstone%22&f=false

¹⁸ “Our National Parks Become Universities: In the First Decade of Their Organization Public Attendance Has Increased Fivefold -- Nature Is the Teacher And Textbook in the Great Laboratories,” *New York Times* (April 24, 1927): X15.
<http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=101501926&sid=10&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

markedly different than a genuine Old West environment. These tourists expected Yellowstone to have the gourmet dining and luxurious accommodations they were accustomed to. Having these services available would allow them to experience and consume the park in comfort. To meet these expectations, Yellowstone's hotels had luxurious, comfortable rooms, and dining in the park was also a grand experience as the hotels employed French chefs and German bakers¹⁹ who served trout freshly-caught within the park²⁰ by the thousands.²¹ There were post offices, gift shops, and clothing services available in the hotels as well.²² Complete with gourmet dining and luxurious amenities, the Yellowstone hotels were carefully designed in order to meet the high standards of its wealthy visitors and to compete with foreign resorts.

The tours which ferried the guests to Yellowstone's sights and lavish hotels were also designed to meet the needs of the wealthy by making the consumption of Yellowstone comfortable. After completing their trip in first-class lounge and dining cars on the trains, the tourists were taken to the park in roomy, "commodious"²³ stagecoaches which would eventually lead them on their tours through the park. Each visitor was given a white linen duster to protect their expensive clothing from dirt thrown up from the stagecoach caravans and when the weather was cold, they were given buffalo-skin lap robes.²⁴ Every aspect of these visitor's trips was carefully constructed in a way that ensured absolute comfort and enjoyment.

¹⁹ Barringer, 25.

²⁰ Barringer, 42.

²¹ Byorth, "Trout Shangri-La: Remaking the Fishing in Yellowstone National Park"

²² Richard West Sellars, "Manipulating Nature's Paradise: National Park Management under Stephen T. Mather, 1916-1929," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 43. no. 2 (Spring, 1993): 2-13.
<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/4519570?&Search=yes&term=manipulating&term=paradise&term=nature%27s&list=hide&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dmanipulating%2Bnature%2527s%2Bparadise%26gw%3Djtx%26prq%3Dwrestling%2Bwith%2Bhorace%2Balbright%26Search%3DSearch%26hp%3D25%26wc%3Don&item=2&ttl=128&returnArticleService=showArticle>

²³ Joy, "On the Yellowstone Trail".

²⁴ Barringer, 43.

Entertainment was also a crucial factor in the elite's park-going experience. Chicago's Nuereberger Orchestra frequently entertained the park's hotel guests,²⁵ and string quartets often followed dinner.²⁶ The hotels also had grand pianos, hot-spring fed baths, formal balls, swimming pools, bowling alleys, billiard rooms and a wine cellar known as the best in the Rockies.²⁷ While these events and amenities were not enforcing the illusion of the Old West, they were included in the park in order to compete with the grand hotels and resorts the elite visitors had enjoyed while traveling to Europe and other tourist destinations. The services were necessary for Yellowstone to compete with the attractive destinations abroad and to keep the tourists returning to the park.

While the elite travelers were provided with luxurious accommodations, their stays offered very little personal mobility or control. Once the wealthy visitors had arrived at the railroad station for Yellowstone in Gardiner, Montana, they were taken on tours throughout the park led by the Yellowstone National Park Transportation Company. An account of this tour demonstrates how these tours limited personal exploration of the park. Upon arriving at the train station, the tourists were "transferred" to the stagecoaches and their assigned seats, and started their trip "according to [their] plan for making the circuit" through the park. The tour is almost described as an extension of the preceding train ride, as it appears to almost follow a physical track which binds it to the same itinerary and route, with little to no room for variation. The trip was planned out to take exactly five and one-half days, and took the same route through the park

²⁵ Lee H. Whittlesey, "Music, Song, & Laughter: Yellowstone National Park's Fountain Hotel, 1891-1916," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 53, no.4 (Winter, 2003): 22-35.
<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/4520560?&Search=yes&term=yellowstone%27s&term=lake&term=hotel&list=hide&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dyellowstone%2527s%2Blake%2Bhotel%26gw%3Djtx%26prq%3Dmusic%252C%2Bsong%252C%2BAND%2Blaughter%26Search%3DSearch%26hp%3D25%26wc%3Don&item=4&ttl=54&returnArticleService=showArticle>

²⁶ Barringer, 42.

²⁷ Barringer, 43-47.

with the same stops each time. What these earlier tourists saw in the park was dictated by the tour group, as well as when they saw it. The meals were also planned as the tours would stop at specific luncheon stations during the day where the tourists were served lunches which had been cooked for them. The schedule was monitored very closely, and as the account recalls, “rooms assigned and luncheon disposed of, the sight-seeing begins.”²⁸ Those who led the tours were also the individuals who provided the tourists with information on the natural sights and features of Yellowstone. The tours through the park were organized in such a way that the tourists, without their own personal means of transportation, had no control over what sights they saw, where they stayed, what they ate, or what route they took through the park.

These visitors also believed that “only individuals of a certain class had the ability to appreciate the wonders of American nature,”²⁹ a popular belief during this period, and were skeptical of the sophistication of their fellow travelers. In addition to the limited mobility and freedom to explore on their own, the tourists were subject to seat assignments decided by the tour company. They had no choice in who their traveling companions were for the five and one-half day tour, so as one tourist wrote, “let us hope that [the tourist] brings with him or falls among companions of gentle speech.”³⁰

Around 1915, a number of changes took place which greatly influenced the landscape of Yellowstone National Park. These changes also allowed new individuals to visit the park, and as a result, the park began to be reshaped for consumption by a new audience: the white, American middle-class family. The first change was the automobile. In 1908, an automobile cost eight hundred fifty dollars,³¹ and was seen as a toy for the wealthy. However, as the price of cars

²⁸ Joy, “On the Yellowstone Trail”.

²⁹ Barringer, 25.

³⁰ Joy, “On the Yellowstone Trail”.

³¹ HSTAA 371 Lecture, October 30, 2009

began to decline due to more efficient production processes, and as cars began to be sold on credit rather than cash-only, more Americans came to own automobiles. Seven years later, in 1915, a car cost only three hundred sixty dollars and one year later, over ninety percent of the automobiles sold on the west coast were bought on a deferred payment plan,³² which allowed middle-class consumers to purchase automobiles. These new middle-class automobile owners experienced a new form of freedom as they came to possess a mode of transportation that could take them further than the old horse and buggy. One of these new owners noted that the “possession of a motor car is likely to lead to the desire to go somewhere that you haven’t gone before, and the car... has supplied the requisite means of getting there,”³³ while another stated that the automobile brings to the working man and father “a thrill of pride... and the hope of a vacation on wheels.”³⁴ By 1917, Americans owned nearly four million automobiles,³⁵ and these new auto owners were searching for travel destinations. The housing shortage following WWI³⁶ was also driving these families out of the cities and into the countryside as they became tired of the crowded cities. As one man noted, “every one, it is true, spoke loudly and boldly of getting away from the heat and closeness of the city.”³⁷ Yellowstone, with its isolated location and Old

³² Waldemar Kaempffert, "Paying for a Car While You Use It," *McClure's Magazine*, (Dec 1, 1916): 52. <http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=278556871&sid=11&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

³³ Elon Jessup, "Touring with Tent and Car," *Outlook* 137, no. 4 (May 28, 1924): 154. <http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=704909882&sid=12&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

³⁴ Feld, "Rebel Vacationists".

³⁵ "One Auto For Each 25 A Americans by January 1 :Remarkable Increase in Number of Cars Owned in This Country Will Soon Bring Total to 3,946,664, Vallied at \$2,000,000,000." *New York Times* (Aug 6): SM5. <http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=104025559&sid=15&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

³⁶ C.E. Schermerhorn, "A Government Individual Home Building Corporation," *The American Architect* 114, no. 2230 (Sept 18, 1918): 338. <http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=754265402&sid=17&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

³⁷ Feld, "Rebel Vacationists".

West image became an appealing destination for these new automobile owners as they desired vacations far away from the crowded cities.

At the same time, automobile prices fell and more people began to purchase cars on a deferment plan, vacations also became more popular and widely offered. Yellowstone's earlier visitors had been experienced travelers, however, the idea of travel as leisure was not a common concept among most Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. By 1925, this began to shift as companies began to offer vacation time to both office and production workers, allowing the new automobile-owners a chance to escape work for a period of time and explore the country. In a study conducted that year, ninety-percent of the fifteen hundred factories studied awarded paid vacations to office workers and in the larger companies, thirty percent of the factories offered vacation time to their production workers as well. These newly-offered vacations ranged in length from one week after one year of service, to one month, after fifteen years of service. It was "conceded that vacation with pay for wage earners [was] good business" and beneficial for the companies because following the vacations, their workers "[returned] more inclined to stay on the job. Loyalty [was] enhanced, and the incentive to work well and faithfully [was] stimulated..."³⁸ With new paid vacation time and automobiles, the American middle-class families began to enjoy the concept of traveling for pleasure.

The National Park Service was created during this time and its first director, Stephen Mather, would notice the new transportation and vacation trends amongst middle-class Americans and reshape Yellowstone's landscape in order to attract these new tourists. After sending a letter to his friend Franklin Lane, Secretary of the Interior, asking for the establishment

³⁸ "Paid Vacation Spreads to Manual Labor Ranks: Employers Report That Benefits Include Increased Loyalty and Productiveness on Part of Wage Earners -- Practice Compulsory in Some European Countries," *New York Times* (July 12, 1925): XX11.

<http://proquest.umi.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=104178948&sid=19&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

of a park department, Mather was appointed as the director of the National Park Service on August 25, 1916.³⁹ Previous to the establishment of the NPS, the concessions within the national parks had been owned by many different companies, all with their own goals and services. Mather, and his friend Horace Albright, who became the first supervisor to Yellowstone, wanted to consolidate the parks' concessions in order to "simplify administration and increase visitation."⁴⁰ Mather hoped that by consolidating the parks' services it would be easier to establish new services and concessions which would attract the American middle-class families with their new automobiles and means and desire to travel.

As the first NPS director, Mather's philosophy concerning tourism in the parks would have a long-lasting effect on the way in which the landscapes of Yellowstone and the other national parks would be reconstructed for consumption. He believed that "with national parks, the greatest good to the greatest number of people is always the most important factor in determining the policy of the service."⁴¹ Mather and Horace Albright, Yellowstone's superintendent, were aesthetic conservationists⁴² who believed that the national parks should be playgrounds for the American people. Mather and Albright agreed with the park concessioners that the more tourists they could attract to the parks, the better.

Mather and the NPS began to create new services and institutions in the park in the hope of attracting a wider audience. These services included campgrounds, the Park Ranger program, medical clinics, interpretive centers and museums, and improved roads for the newly-admitted automobiles. Mather and others saw these services as an improvement to the park's natural landscape. In 1935, one of the NPS reports summed up the service's philosophy regarding

³⁹ Barringer, 63.

⁴⁰ Barringer, 64.

⁴¹ Sellars, "Manipulating Nature's Paradise: National Park Management under Stephen T. Mather, 1916-1929."

⁴² Wondrak, "Wrestling with Horace Albright: Edmund Rogers, Visitors, and Bears in Yellowstone National Park, Part I".

tourism stating: “during the six days given over to Creation, picnic tables and fireplaces, footbridges, toilet facilities, and many other forms of man’s requirements even in natural surroundings were negligently and entirely overlooked.”⁴³ Mather and Albright believed that Yellowstone’s new services and institutions were “rectifying these divine errors.”⁴⁴ The architectural style in which these new facilities were built matched the style used in the park during its earlier years, as Mather and Albright insisted that the park’s architecture should be in harmony with the natural surroundings,⁴⁵ similar to Reamer’s Old Faithful Inn. Mather reshaped the Yellowstone landscape in order to attract the new middle-class, automobile-owning white, American families, and sought to erase its reputation as a travel destination solely for the rich and transform the park into a playground for all of America’s people. The tourists became more diverse than its earlier visitors had been in terms of age, occupation, social class, and hometown. While children had previously been excluded from visiting the park because of the financial resources and time that had been necessary for one to reach Yellowstone, children were now regularly seen in the parks as they visited with their parents.

As children came to be counted amongst the park’s visitors, the tourists often wrote about the diverse company they found themselves experiencing the park with in terms of occupation, background and social class. The park visitors are “so varied that includes every one from a Danish soldier of fortune to four American college girls who own a flivver and tour the country in it.”⁴⁶ The tourists’ backgrounds and personal wealth varies, as they “come from every

⁴³ Barringer, 93.

⁴⁴ Barringer, 93.

⁴⁵ Sellars, “Manipulating Nature’s Paradise: National Park Management under Stephen T. Mather, 1916-1929”.

⁴⁶ Jack Hohenberg, “Sagebrusher A Motor Nomad of the Trail: Yellowstone Park His Chief Camping Ground, and He Looks With Contempt Upon the Hotel Tourist -- How One Qualifies for the Title,” *New York Times* (Sep 7, 1924): XX13.

<http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=98807279&sid=20&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

imaginable walk of life, and their worldly goods range in value from little more than the shirts on their backs to a million dollars.”⁴⁷ These visitors also represented a variety of occupations including “college professors, mechanics, grocery men, and just about everything else.”⁴⁸ As one visitor noted, the park’s visitors were not limited to “the man and his family”, as female school teachers visited as well, who would return “browned, muscle-hardened and clear-eyed, with a wealth of knowledge and experience of the kind that no resort of any type could have given them.”⁴⁹

The tourists were also diverse geographically, having traveled to the park from all throughout the country. In 1925, one half of the country’s states were represented on the preseason opening date,⁵⁰ and outside of the continental United States there were also visitors with car licenses from Hawaii, Canada and Mexico.⁵¹ The park’s wealthy visitors who had traveled by train to the park had lived in towns and cities which were near the railroad lines, however, these new visitors could travel from nearly any state, town or city with their new cars. With children now visiting the park, and with a variety of states, occupations and social classes being represented in the park, Yellowstone’s new audience appeared to be “democratized.”⁵²

While this new audience appeared to stand in stark contrast to the park’s pre-1915 tourists, the expectation of a wildlife-packed “Old West” experience remained intact. This later group also had encounters with the park’s trout, bears, and buffalo and the animals regularly appeared in the park’s advertisements. However, the park’s efforts to manipulate the wildlife for

⁴⁷ Jessup, “Touring with Tent and Car”.

⁴⁸ Jessup, “Touring with Tent and Car”.

⁴⁹ Feld, “Rebel Vacationists”.

⁵⁰ “Only Geysers in Country Mecca for Thousands of Vacationists: Yellowstone Trip Pleasing,” *Los Angeles Times* (Apr 9, 1925): H1.

<http://proquest.umi.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=465218022&sid=24&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

⁵¹ Hohenberg, “Sagebrusher A Motor Nomad of the Trail”.

⁵² Barringer, 89.

the tourists' enjoyment increased during these later years. Fishing remained a popular sport within Yellowstone, and as more visitors began to engage in the activity, the park increased the number of fish in its rivers and streams. Once it was established in 1914, the park's Fishing Bridge became a popular stop and was included in most tourists' itineraries.⁵³ People had traveled to Yellowstone having heard stories of its abundant supply of fish, and in order to maintain its reputation, the park built a hatchery in 1922 to ensure that Yellowstone's waterways would remain well-stocked with fish.⁵⁴ While fishing, the tourists felt as though they were explorers or frontier-men who were fishing in order to provide for their families, which made fishing an important activity in Yellowstone because of its ability to reinforce its image as a wild, frontier landscape. The park remained committed to using trout to reinforce its Old West image, and sought to eliminate the fish's natural predators by killing otters and pelicans. Some rangers were even assigned to the task of smashing pelican eggs in order to prevent a depletion of the park's trout population.⁵⁵

In addition to fishing, the visitors' interactions with bears was also intensified and even encouraged. As bleachers were built at the bear feeding sites for the new guests in 1921.⁵⁶ The bears remained popular with the later group, and as Albright wrote in his book, Yellowstone's bears were, "without a doubt, the greatest single attraction in the park."⁵⁷ The park's other megafauna, the buffalos, were also commoditized as the Lamar Valley Ranch was established within the park in 1913.⁵⁸ By the mid 1920's, tour buses would transport the visitors to the ranch, where the tourists would sprawl out on the grass with picnic lunches and watch costumed Native

⁵³ Goss, 67.

⁵⁴ Barringer, 77.

⁵⁵ Byorth, "Trout Shangri-La: Remaking the Fishing in Yellowstone National Park".

⁵⁶ Robert Goss, *Yellowstone: The Chronology of Wonderland* (Published by the Author, 2004), 37.

⁵⁷ National Park Service, "Why Bears Behave Like Human Beings," *Oh Ranger!*

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/albright3/chap2.htm (accessed Dec 5, 2009)

⁵⁸ Goss, 36.

Americans herd buffalos for the tourists' entertainment. The buffalos were also commoditized for film, as Mather permitted Paramount Studios to use the park's herd in a scene in a movie titled "Thundering Herd" in 1925.⁵⁹

In addition to the commodification of the park's trout, bears and buffalo, a small zoo was established at Mammoth Hot Springs which included bison, bears, coyotes and a beaver.⁶⁰ Yellowstone's wildlife was commoditized so successfully that Americans came to associate wildlife with Yellowstone more than any other national park.⁶¹ Yellowstone's landscape was manipulated in many ways in order for these later tourists to have their expected encounters with the park's wildlife and for Yellowstone to maintain its image as an Old West scene. As the new NPS aggressively promoted Yellowstone's wildlife more than ever before, Albright still stated that "one of the regrets of the rangers is that they cannot keep all the Yellowstone buffalo herds near a road where the [visitors] can see hundreds of animals in action."⁶²

While the park's commoditization of Yellowstone's wildlife remained constant between the two distinct groups of travelers, many other new services were built within the park in order to numerous needs and interests of the new, more "democratic" visitors. Campgrounds, museums and interpretive centers, dining areas and the Park Ranger program were all created within the park in order to meet these new needs.

While Yellowstone's earlier audience had been more familiar with traveling for leisure, the park's new sought-after middle-class audience needed to be introduced to the parks and these new services and amenities. The NPS had to adopt a new way of advertising Yellowstone Park,

⁵⁹ "Rounding Up the Buffalo," *New York Times* (Jan 25, 1925): X5.
<http://proquest.umi.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=101635704&sid=26&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

⁶⁰ Sellars, "Manipulating Nature's Paradise: National Park Management under Stephen T. Mather, 1916-1929."

⁶¹ Barringer, 77

⁶² National Park Service, "Wild Animals You May Know," *Oh Ranger!*
http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/albright3/chap2.htm (accessed Dec 5, 2009)

and this shift in advertising strategy was necessary for the park to successfully attract America's middle-class and their children. While information on tourism in the parks had primarily been communicated by word of mouth with Yellowstone's wealthy upper-class guests, the park needed to have a more public and widespread advertising campaign to capture the attention of its new audience. Mather paid a friend of his, Robert Sterling Yard, who wrote for the New York Herald, to write articles which highlighted the natural sights in Yellowstone and the services the park offered to this middle-class.⁶³ Horace Albright, superintendent of the park and close friend to Mather, also wrote his own park propaganda article for the New York Times in 1921 which was titled "Yellowstone's Camps" and described the many new amenities the Park Service and Yellowstone's concessioners offered.⁶⁴

During the New Deal in the 1930's, WPA posters advertising the services of each National Park were printed and the "See America" campaign was launched. The latter of the two contrasted with the earlier "See America First" campaign which had aimed to persuade the upper-class tourists to keep their tourist dollars stateside. In comparison, the "See America" ad campaign had the goal of introducing the National Parks, Monuments and cities to an audience which had not experienced travel on any real scale before. While the early visitors were seasoned tourists and traveled to Yellowstone with expectations, these new middle-class families had to be taught why and how to experience the parks. The shift in advertising methods demonstrates the way in which Yellowstone was reshaping its landscape for consumption by a new, broader, less-experienced audience. In contrast to the exclusive advertisements created by the railroads which had catered to the earlier, elite visitors, these new advertisements were widely distributed and

⁶³ Barringer, 66.

⁶⁴ Albright, "YELLOWSTONE'S CAMPS: New Sites in All National Parks to Meet Demands of Outing Parties Major Camp Sites. New Ranger Stations. Why Guns are Sealed. Fresh Milk for Children. Reasonable Rates".

targeted a very wide audience. Yellowstone was no longer being advertised as an exclusive tourist destination for the wealthy.

The types of available accommodations in the park shifted away from the previously hotel-dominated landscape as many campgrounds and cabin-like lodges were built. As automobile ownership spread, many campgrounds, or autocamps, were established throughout the country, and Yellowstone's "camps [were] second to none in the conveniences offered."⁶⁵ Camping became popular as it was perceived as a producer of "better citizenship, good cheer, health and happiness,"⁶⁶ and campfire smoke as having the "gift of bringing people out of their shells, of giving you a cross-section view and feeling for humanity such as you can get under few other circumstances."⁶⁷

These campgrounds gained popularity not only for their democratic setting, but also because of their low cost. Yellowstone's campgrounds and cabins were much cheaper than the park's hotels, and allowed more Americans to experience and consume the National Parks. The actual campgrounds were free,⁶⁸ and as one visitor noted, these new camps allowed him to "have a vacation of the kind that only the very rich could afford ten years ago."⁶⁹

In comparison to the wealthy visitors and their hotel experiences, the atmosphere surrounding the campgrounds was very informal and non-"stodgy". The cabins had dining halls in which the guests would gather to eat family-style meals at large tables,⁷⁰ and those staying in tents would often share amongst each other while cooking their own meals over camp stoves.

⁶⁵ "Only Geysers in Country Mecca for Thousands of Vacationists".

⁶⁶ Elon Jessup, "The Flight of the Tin Can Tourists," *Outlook* (May 25, 1921): 166.

<http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=725173342&sid=27&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

⁶⁷ Jessup, "Touring with Tent and Car".

⁶⁸ Albright, "YELLOWSTONE'S CAMPS: New Sites in All National Parks to Meet Demands of Outing Parties Major Camp Sites. New Ranger Stations. Why Guns are Sealed. Fresh Milk for Children. Reasonable Rates".

⁶⁹ Feld, "Rebel Vacationists".

⁷⁰ Barringer, 91.

The park also encouraged this new form of cheap dining by offering free firewood to those staying in the campgrounds.

Just as the informal dining in the new campgrounds contrasted with the previously-popular gourmet meals in the hotels, the ways in which these tourists chose to entertain themselves changed as well. Rather than inviting Chicago's orchestras to play for them, guests would gather around large communal campfires to share stories, make popcorn and sing songs in the evening.⁷¹ Likewise, during the daytime, these same visitors were more likely to be found riding horseback on a horse kept in one of the park's many stables,⁷² than in a hotel billiards room. While the earlier, wealthy tourists had looked to indoor sources of entertainment and hotel amenities for enjoyment, these new democratic travelers looked to each other and outdoor activities which allowed them to consume Yellowstone's landscape for entertainment.

Museums, interpretive centers and Park Rangers were also introduced into the park. The museums and educational centers were meant to introduce the park's visitors to the many sights within the park, while attracting the nation's teachers and students as well. The Park Rangers were present in the park in order to provide a sense of protection for the middle-class family tourists and also to act as naturalists who visitors could look to for information about the park.

The Park Rangers were both protectors of the park and naturalist guides for the parks' tourists. They were respected as very courageous men with great "stamina and endurance for this most difficult work" who acted as a "friend and counselor to visitors". The Rangers kept things running smoothly within the park and conducted nature walks and lectures throughout the its landscape. These men were nearly servants for the tourists, as they strived to make the park pleasing for all the guests, and were in the parks to "help in every way to make [the visitors]

⁷¹ Feld, "Rebel Vacationists".

⁷² Barringer, 93.

happy in their own playground.”⁷³ The Park Rangers were incredibly important to making the new middle-class parents feel safe traveling in Yellowstone with their children, and they allowed the new democratic audience consume the park with confidence knowing that the Rangers had the ability “to take care of themselves and others under any circumstances” and that they would be able to rescue them if necessary.⁷⁴

These new park visitors demanded “to know the whys of unusual formations; to learn the names of flowers and animals and birds,” and the didactic facilities with their Park Rangers were ready to serve these needs as naturalists and educators. Inside of the museums visitors found carefully displayed exhibits, classroom equipment, specimens and other educational material. These museums were seen as “a collection that acts as an index to the large museum outside; as a stimulus to interest and as an explanation of phenomena to be seen as they occur in nature on the spot”. While the museums served the purpose of educating the park’s consumers, they also were built to attract new visitors including college professors and university students. Alongside the museums, research libraries were built for the “convenience of research students”. The museums also loaned some of their educational material to distant schools whose students, for a variety of reasons, were unable to visit the park in person.⁷⁵ No longer were Yellowstone’s visitors being shuttled through the park in tours which dictated what tourists could and could not see. Instead, Rangers and museum exhibits encouraged the visitors to thoroughly explore Yellowstone’s landscape which changed the way in which these later middle-class families experienced the park.

⁷³ Anderson Wilmuth, “Our Great National Parks: Federal Care for the Public Welfare,” *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* LXXVII, no. 4 (April 1921): 40.

<http://proquest.umi.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=195393341&sid=29&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

⁷⁴ National Park Service, “Oh Ranger!,” *Oh Ranger!*

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/albright3/chap1.htm (accessed Dec 5, 2009)

⁷⁵ “Our National Parks Become Universities”.

Mather and the NPS were successful enough in attracting America's middle-class tourists that their new services and programs served record numbers of travelers. In 1914, the year preceding the admittance of the automobile, only 20,250 wealthy, upper-class tourists had visited Yellowstone. However, the next year, Yellowstone hosted 51,895 "democratized" travelers and their automobiles, and by 1941 the number had grown to 581,761.⁷⁶ Stickers given to tourists upon their arrival to the national parks had become so popular that other gas stations and campgrounds began imitating them, piggy-backing on the park's popularity. In 1926, the growth in number of stickers present on auto windshields led one journalist to declare that the stickers had made it an "actual menace to travel" because of their creation of blind spots.⁷⁷

The number of tourists who utilized the park's services were significant as well. Yellowstone's campgrounds attracted thirty-five thousand campers in 1920,⁷⁸ and in 1926, eighty-eight thousand Yellowstone visitors had some form of contact with a Park Ranger during their stay.⁷⁹ By 1935, the national parks gave 4,613 field trips and 6,604 lectures,⁸⁰ proving the popularity of the Mather's Rangers and educational services among Yellowstone's "democratized" audience. While the park's earlier visitors had consumed Yellowstone's landscape with a relatively few number of fellow tourists, the new middle-class American family

⁷⁶ Aubrey L. Haines, "Visitor Statistics," *Yellowstone National Park* <http://www.yellowstone-natl-park.com/stats.htm> (accessed Nov 17, 2009)

⁷⁷ "Motorists Face Sticker Menace: National Park Labels on Windshields of Cars Have Started a Deluge of Local Advertising," *New York Times* (Sep 26, 1926): XX20. <http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=100003388&sid=30&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

⁷⁸ Wilmuth, "Our Great National Parks".

⁷⁹ "Our National Parks Become Universities".

⁸⁰ S.R. Winters, "Our Parks As Teachers: Field Tours and Museums in National Areas Instruct Millions of Visitors," *New York Times* (May 26, 1935): X25. <http://proquest.umi.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=93469266&sid=31&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

was experiencing the landscape with over one-half million other visitors by the outbreak of World War II.

As these later, middle class families toured Yellowstone, they enjoyed unprecedented freedom and mobility. While the earlier tourists had been dependent on the park's tours through the park, these new travelers freely explored the Yellowstone landscape at their will, and the NPS instituted new services to encourage this exploration. Following the admittance of the auto, the existing park roads were greatly improved, and many new bridges and roads were built to allow auto access to locations which had previously been difficult to reach.⁸¹ Gas stations and auto repair centers were also established, and the park officially replaced all of Yellowstone's stagecoaches with automobiles in 1917.⁸² Visitors were also provided with maps and other booklets which contained "all the information one could wish for".⁸³ Signs and information boards were also placed at specific points of interest through the park, which encouraged the visitors to explore the park's landscape. As one traveler wrote, "bulletin boards at the various stopping places speak to the tourists in a different manner than that of ten years ago. They invite him to hike ... and learn the full story of the trail."⁸⁴ Outside of the car, trails were created through the park by the Civilian Conservation Corps during the New Deal, which allowed tourists to venture even closer to the park's features and further into its wilderness. With this freedom of mobility, and the park's services which encouraged exploration, the parks came to be described by many as a "playground," with President Harding exclaiming that there were "no

⁸¹ Goss, 68-70.

⁸² Goss, 77.

⁸³ Howard Slaten, "Taking the Transcontinental Auto Tour: Useful Advice on Routes and Equipment," *Forest and Stream: A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting...* SCVI, no. 1 (Jan 1926): 6.

<http://proquest.umi.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=216965391&sid=32&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

⁸⁴ "Our National Parks Become Universities".

finer playgrounds in the world” than America’s national parks⁸⁵. While the park’s earlier tourists had described their movement through the park as one may describe a strictly planned train ride, Yellowstone’s new visitors described their experience in the park as free and spontaneous. One woman wrote in her diary that she and her friend “still cherish fond memories of our day on the loose in Yellowstone Park” after describing their non-planned independent trip through the park.⁸⁶ While the park’s previous tours had been regulated and carefully planned with one itinerary, the park now had to be reshaped in order to meet the needs and demands of the multiple itineraries of each family and individual consuming the park. As Yellowstone’s tourists gained more freedom to explore the park, they began to arrive at their chosen sights earlier in the day than the previous tours would have allowed. Their earlier arrivals led to a new need for auxiliary services including ice cream parlors and convenience snack stores which held long hours and where families could rest and reenergize for their travels.⁸⁷ The park’s landscape was altered once again in order to meet these midday consumptive needs.

Interactions between the park’s new visitors also changed with the onset of new-found mobility. While the earlier tourists had voiced skepticism regarding the sophistication of the other park visitors, Yellowstone’s new visitors frequently commented on how much they enjoyed the company of their fellow travelers. One tourist noted that it is in Yellowstone

that the great and the humble, the rich and the poor, meet on equal terms. Here you may have a friendly chat with a man whom you probably would never meet in any other way, so it is wise to listen well to the words of your neighbor, or the words spoken around the community campfire in the evening, for your fellow camper may be a man of letters, a great author, even a figure in your national government, one never knows...⁸⁸

⁸⁵ National Park Service, “Dudes and Sagebrushers,” *Oh Ranger!*

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/albright3/chap2.htm (accessed Dec 5, 2009)

⁸⁶ Anna Daly Morrison, *Diary of Anna Daly Morrison, Those Were the Days* (Boise: Em-Kayan Press, 1951), 136-139.

⁸⁷ Barringer, 90

⁸⁸ Slaten, “Taking the Transcontinental Auto Tour: Useful Advice on Routes and Equipment”.

Yellowstone's consumers now regarded their fellow travel companions as an enhancement to the park experience, whereas the wealthy travelers preceding them had dreaded the company they were required to experience the park with.

While automobiles, paid vacations, and the NPS' new services had successfully attracted a more "democratized" group of visitors to Yellowstone, some individuals who were still formally and informally excluded. Poorer individuals were unable to visit the park due to the entry fee which was established in 1915. Yellowstone's entry fee, at seven dollars and fifty cents, was the highest of all the national parks, with Yosemite's entry fee at five dollars and Mt. Rainier's at two.⁸⁹ While the entry fee was less expensive than the previously necessary train tickets, it still represented an economic barrier to entry. Lower-income individuals were also excluded from the park due to Yellowstone's policy which banned rented cars into the park. Rule number two in Yellowstone's motorist handbook stated: "The park is open to automobiles operated for pleasure, but not to those carrying passengers who are paying, either directly, or indirectly, for the use of the machines."⁹⁰ This policy excluded individuals who were unable to afford their own car, and was another way in which Yellowstone's new "democratic" audience was proven not as democratic as perceived at the time.

While poorer individuals were excluded from the park in formal ways, the nation's minorities, or people of color, were excluded by societal pressure. Relations between African Americans and Caucasians at the time were less than peaceful, and the NPS made no effort to invite or encourage the minority group into the park. Some individuals justified the absence of

⁸⁹ William A. Du Puy, "Curtain Rises on Nation's Park Show: Automobile Ushers the Way to Uncle Sam's Vast Scenic Playgrounds in the Rocky Mountain Region, and Two Million Visitors Are Expected This Year," *New York Times* (May 31, 1925): SM4.

<http://proquest.umi.com/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/pqdweb?did=101667308&sid=34&Fmt=10&clientId=2302&RQT=309&VName=HNP>

⁹⁰ Barringer, 89

African Americans and Native Americans from the park by citing their lack of “enthusiasm for the park idea.”⁹¹ While Native Americans were non-existent among Yellowstone’s tourists, they were occasionally invited to the park as entertainers to perform their traditional songs and dances, or herd buffalo.⁹² The white middle-class visitors were “not interested in Indians who have become civilized, who wear store clothes, ride in automobiles, and look like any other brand of humans, rather they wanted “to see ‘real Indians,’ the kind that wear feathers, don war paint, make their clothes and moccasins of skins”. While contemporary Native American individuals were not welcomed as tourists, they were encouraged to visit when their performances and traditions could create a more idealized Old West image of Yellowstone. The NPS promoted the parks as “the easiest place for city folks to see the Indian in his natural state.”⁹³ While Yellowstone’s new middle-class visitors appeared to be a more democratic “cross-section of America,”⁹⁴ poor individuals, African Americans, and contemporary Native Americans were excluded from visiting the parks both informally and formally. While Yellowstone’s visitors may have believed that they were experiencing the park amongst Americans from all backgrounds, they were still unwilling to extend the invitation to the poor, and minority groups.

⁹¹ Joseph W. Meeker, “Red, White, and Black in the National Parks” *The North American Review* 258, no. 3 (Fall, 1973): 5.

<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/25117473?&Search=yes&term=%22Red%2C+White%2C+AND+Black+in+the+National+Parks%22&list=hide&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3D%2522Red%252C%2BWhite%252C%2BAND%2BBlack%2Bin%2Bthe%2BNational%2BParks%2522%26gw%3Djtx%26prq%3DRed%252C%2BWhite%252C%2BAND%2BBlack%2Bin%2Bthe%2BNational%2BParks%26Search%3DSearch%26hp%3D25%26wc%3Don&item=1&ttl=4&returnArticleService=showArticle>

⁹² Winters, “Our Parks As Teachers; Field Tours and Museums in National Areas Instruct Millions of Visitors”.

⁹³ National Park Service, “ ‘Look! Real Indians!’,” *Oh Ranger!*

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/albright3/chap2.htm (accessed Dec 5, 2009)

⁹⁴ National Park Service, “Dudes and Sagebrushers,” *Oh Ranger!*

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/albright3/chap2.htm (accessed Dec 5, 2009)

In conclusion, Yellowstone hosted two distinct classes of visitors during its early years, and while the park was able to maintain its Old West image for both, its landscape was reshaped in many ways to meet the individual needs and expectations of each group. The visitors consumed the park in different ways, and this shift was caused by the increase in ownership of an automobile among the middle-class, the introduction of paid vacations amongst a greater portion of the working class, and the Mather's efforts to shape the park landscape in order to attract a new democratized group.

The services established in the park during this early period are still very much present in Yellowstone today, and Mather's efforts have had a long-lasting effect on the way today's visitors experience the park. Campgrounds continue to rival the park's hotels, with the new national parks lacking hotels altogether,⁹⁵ and Yellowstone's wildlife continues to be commodified as part of the Yellowstone experience and the park has heavily promoted the reintroduction of wolves into the park. The park's Rangers and interpretive centers remain popular within Yellowstone and the other national parks, with the didactic services hosting thousands of visitors every year. The Park Ranger uniform has even found its way into pop culture, having been turned into a popular Halloween costume.⁹⁶ Yellowstone's visitors have also still encouraged to freely explore the park's landscape, and the park continues to cater to automobile and RV owners through the constant improvement of their roads and the creation of RV repair shops. Regarding its visitors, Yellowstone has improved its services as well as created new programs, to encourage an even more democratic group of visitors to explore the park. The park now has many services for the handicapped and disabled, including a backcountry

⁹⁵ National Park Service, "Lodging," *Redwood National Park* <http://www.nps.gov/redw/planyourvisit/lodging.htm> (accessed Nov 22, 2009)

⁹⁶ Halloween Adventure, "Future Trooper Infant Costume 12-24 Months," *Halloween Costumes* http://shop.halloweenadventure.com/shared/StoreFront/default.asp?CS=masquerade&StoreType=BtoC&Count1=377330958&Count2=294471383&ProductID=22301&Target=products.asp&utm_medium=cse&utm_source=googlebase (accessed Nov 30, 2009)

campsite,⁹⁷ and has also catered to the elderly by offering them a ten-dollar lifetime pass⁹⁸.

Yellowstone's history demonstrates how a landscape, even a "natural" one, can be reshaped to meet the consumptive needs of various groups of individuals. Furthermore, the way in which Yellowstone's contemporary visitors explore the park demonstrates how the way in which a space is reshaped for consumption can have long-lasting effects.

⁹⁷ National Park Service, "Visitor's Guide to Accessible Features," *Yellowstone National Park* <http://www.nps.gov/yell/planyourvisit/parkwide-access.htm> (accessed Nov 11, 2009)

⁹⁸ National Park Service, "Fees, Reservations, & Permits," *Yellowstone National Park* <http://www.nps.gov/yell/planyourvisit/feesandreservations.htm> (accessed Nov 11, 2009)

