Consuming Landscapes

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Notes

Introduction

6. As will become clear, I approach these topics by building upon the recent insights in the fields of mobility studies in the social sciences and the envirotech approach used by environmental historians and historians of technology. The literature on both is considerable and I cannot review it here at length. For examples and surveys, see Pritchard, “Toward an Environmental History of Technology”; Pritchard and Zimring, *Technology and the Environment*. My analysis is consonant with the notion of “envirotechnical ensembles” introduced in Pritchard, *Confluence*. For mobility studies, a few examples are Sheller and Urry, “The New Mobilities Paradigm”; Cresswell, “Towards a Politics of Mobility”; Divall, “Mobilities and Transport History”; Merriman/Pearce, *Mobility and the Humanities*.
10. In these cases, most walkers and especially patrons would have been male.
12. For urban walking and flaneurs, see Nye, *American Illuminations*, 41–42; Autry and Walkowitz, “Undoing the Flaneur,” and the other papers in the fall 2012 issue of the *Radical History Review*.
13. Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs*. During the first decade of the twentieth century, about half of all urban commutes in Britain were on foot. By the end of the 1930s, the percentage had declined to 23 percent, but was still the most important mode, followed by bicycles (19 percent) and aboveground trains (18 percent). Pooley and Turnbull, “Modal Choice and Modal Change,” 15; Amato, *On Foot*, 123–24, 150–51, 171.


17. Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 178. Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *Park and the People*, 212–25. According to these authors, the “largest and most reliable group of visitors” during the first thirteen years of Central Park’s existence arrived by horse or carriage.


19. The literature on urban parks is rich, but I cannot do justice to it here. For a starting point, see Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*.

20. Oettermann, *Panorama*; Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*. Circular panoramas were not as popular in the United States, where long canvases were more common. These canvases were unrolled on a stage while a narrator explained the scene. I am grateful to David Nye for bringing these distinctions to my attention.


22. Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*; Revill, *Railway*, 36–56; Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor*. For my analysis, I am excluding transportation on boats and ships on waterways. The perception of landscapes while traveling on these would merit further discussion. Nye, “Redefining the American Sublime.”


25. Freytag, “When the Railway Conquered the Garden.” I am indebted to Anette Freytag for pointing me to this publication.


31. The steeper grades resulting from early American building practices necessitated more powerful train engines. In Britain, tracks came closer to the ideal form of being straight, level, and smooth; engines were weaker. The term “minimalist infrastructure” is Robert C. Post’s, in his review of Vance in *Railroad History*, no. 175 (Autumn 1996): 138.
33. For a few examples of the growing literature on tourism, see Walton, *Histories of Tourism*; Baranowski and Furlough, *Being Elsewhere*; Kosjar, *German Travel Cultures*; Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*.
37. As quoted in Mom, “Civilized Adventure,” 163.
39. During the early phase of automobility up to World War I, motorists often encountered verbal and physical protests while traveling in the countryside. Ladd, *Autophobia*; Fraunholz, *Motorphobia*.
40. Barker, “German Centenary,” 2. In 1960, 22 percent of American households did not have access to an automobile. This number decreased to 13 percent in 1980. Unsurprisingly, more urbanized areas showed higher percentages of households without cars. In New York State in 1990, 30 percent of all households did not own a car. Bureau of the Census, “Census Questionnaire Content.”
41. In particular, the Ford Model T proved to be popular with farmers, who carried automobility in the United States to a much higher degree than in Europe. Kline, *Consumers in the Country*; Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*; Wells, *Car Country*. For a stimulating essay on the automobile as a multipurpose and multivalent vehicle, see Flonneau, *Cultures du Volant*, 8.
42. Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 253, 255. The researchers also noted that walking for pleasure had become “practically extinct.” For rural geographies, see Interrante, “You Can’t Go to Town.”
43. By the 1920s and 1930s, it was increasingly regulated and commercialized. Belasco, *Americans on the Road*.
44. The literature on consumption and consumerism has grown considerably; an important comparative and relational study is de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*. For a global perspective, see Berghoff and Spiekermann, *Decoding Modern Consumer Societies*. On the United States, see Blaszczyk, *American Consumer Society* and the literature that she cites.
45. James, “Automobile and Recreation.”
46. In addition to the literature cited in note 38, see Heitmann, *Automobile and American Life*, and the respective bibliographies of these books. For roads, see Dienel and Schiedt, *Die moderne Straße*.

47. Barker, “German Centenary.”


49. “Ausstattung privater Haushalte mit ausgewählten langlebigen Gebrauchsgütern am 1.1. des jeweiligen Jahres,” spreadsheet provided by email, Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden, Germany, May 2017. The 1973 percentage of car-owning households was 55. Surveys regarding market saturation were not conducted prior to 1962. For the period from 1945 onward, I focus on the Federal Republic of Germany. For the Soviet bloc, see Siegelbaum, *The Socialist Car*.

50. Rieger, “From People’s Car to New Beetle.”


52. Flik, *Von Ford Lernen?*


**Chapter 1. Roads to Nature**


2. Lancaster, *Columbia: America’s Great Highway*, 120. Unlike any of the other road testimonials, Lancaster’s account is suffused with references to a Christian God and his creation.


4. In a speech to a Good Roads convention, Wilson also noted that roads were not “first of all” for pleasure travelers. Jakle and Sculle, *Motoring*, 33. For his change in opinion, see Wells, *Car Country*, 80. Exactly four days after the Oregon ceremony, Wilson signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act into law. Seely, *Building the American Highway System*, 41.


6. The road was to be at least twenty-four feet (seven meters) wide, “with extra width on all curves.” No curve radius of less than 1 percent was allowed, and the maximum grade was 5 percent. Lancaster, *Columbia: America’s Great Highway*, 114. These features would ensure a smooth ride for motorists.

8. Lancaster, Columbia: America’s Great Highway, 118. Also see Ochi, “Columbia River Highway.”


10. The literature on the imperial gaze is considerable and not always applicable in the current context. A useful entryway is Pratt, Imperial Eyes. For a classificatory effort, see Urry, Tourist Gaze.

11. Sam Hill was a Portland booster who supported the expensive river highway even when few Oregonians owned automobiles. Fahl, “S. C. Lancaster,” 114.

12. Examples include Koshar, “Organic Machines”; Seiler, Republic of Drivers; Ladd, Autophobia. For comparisons, see Mom, Atlantic Automobilism. For national examples, see Mauch and Zeller, World beyond the Windshield.


14. Kern, Culture of Time and Space; Borscheid, Tempo-Virus; Benesch, “The Dynamic Sublime.”

15. Barker and Gerhold, Rise and Rise of Road Transport; Guld, Roads to Power; Wells, “Changing Nature of Country Roads”; Wells, Car Country; McShane and Tarr, Horse in the City; Greene, Horses at Work; Müller, “Beitrag des Chauseebaus.”

16. Wells, Car Country; Merki, Der holprige Siegeszug; McCullough, Old Wheelways.

17. Wells, Car Country; Seely, Building the American Highway System.

18. Wells, Car Country.

19. Mom, “Roads without Rails.” While Mom’s paper is mostly interested in organizational aspects, my focus is more environmental.

20. Müller, “Beitrag des Chauseebaus.” In what is today Germany, the road network grew from 15,500 to 71,500 miles (25,000 to 115,000 kilometers) between the mid-1830s and the mid-1870s. Kleinschmidt, Technik und Wirtschaft, 28; Lay, Ways of the World, 111–14; Schlimm, Ordnungen des Verkehrs.

21. Thomas H. MacDonald, “A Nation’s Highways. Talk at Cordoba, Argentina, 9 September 1929,” Box 10, Folder 43, William L. Mertz Transportation Collection, Collection #C0050, Special Collections and Archives, George Mason University Libraries, Fairfax, VA.


23. Seely, Building the American Highway System, ch. 4; Rose, Seely, and Barrett, Best Transportation System, 40–43.


25. An important institution in this regard is the American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO), which was founded in 1914 with the “encouragement” of the American Automobile Association (AAA), as Seely writes. It played an important role in formulating technical standards that became mandatory for states accepting federal funds for roadbuilding. Seely, Building the American Highway System, 41–42.


27. Weingroff, “Lincoln Highway.”

29. Weingroff, “From Names to Numbers.” For the most famous of the numbered highways, see Krim, *Route 66*.


31. The English writer John Ruskin had famously wondered whether no nook of England would be “secure from rash assault” when a railway was being built in the scenic Lake District. For historical discussions, see Winter, *Secure from Rash Assault*; Ritvo, *Dawn of Green*.


33. James, “The Automobile and Recreation.”

34. For two examples of an extensive historiography on exchanges, see Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*; Nolan, *Transatlantic Century*.

35. Merriman, “Road Works.”


37. Lewis, “Statement.” Lewis was Chief Engineer for the City of New York from 1902 to 1920. The problem of automobiles destroying road surfaces could either be addressed by controlling their speed, confining cars to special roads, or by reconstructing roads. Only the third option appeared feasible to Lewis. On this issue, see Wells, *Car Country*.

38. The only car-only roads Lewis could imagine were privately built racetracks such as the Long Island Motor Parkway, a forty-eight-mile (seventy-seven-kilometer) route financed by the auto-crazy great-grandson of Cornelius Vanderbilt. It was opened in 1908 and operated as a toll road after its incubation as a racetrack. The designation as a parkway is misleading, since speed was not a design objective for parkways at the time (see chapter two). One motivation for building the highway was the accidental death of a spectator at a 1906 race. A 1910 competition on the track watched by more than a quarter-million spectators left three drivers dead and twenty injured. “Alco Again Wins Vanderbilt Cup but Race’s Death Toll Is High,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1910, 21. It has been called the world’s first limited-access roadway: Phil Patton, “A 100-Year-Old Dream: A Road Just for Cars,” *New York Times*, October 9, 2008, A10.

39. *International Road Congress, Third International Road Congress*, 280.


41. For pan-European exchanges, see Schipper, *Driving Europe*. For European highway meetings, see Heckmann-Strohkark, “Traum von einer europäischen Gemeinschaft”; Badenoch, “Touring between War and Peace.”

42. “Address by Maj. Frederick C. Cook (Great Britain),” Permanent International Association, *Sixth International Road Congress*, 39–40, 39.

43. “Address by Mr. Thomas H. MacDonald, Secretary General of the Sixth International Road Congress,” Permanent International Association, *Sixth International Road Congress*, 48–50, 50.
44. Quoted in Moraglio, “Transferring Technology,” 22.
45. Gabriel, Dem Auto eine Bahn, 103; Davis, “Rise and Decline,” 42–43.
46. Thomas H. MacDonald, “A Nation’s Highways. Talk at Cordoba, Argentina, 9 September 1929,” Box 10, Folder 43, William L. Mertz Transportation Collection, Collection #C0050, Special Collections and Archives, George Mason University Libraries, Fairfax, VA.
47. The Roads and Railroads, iii.
48. Post, By Motor to the Golden Gate, 246. In an act of masculinizing technology, Post left writing on “the subject of car equipment, driving suggestions, garage, and road notes” (241) to her son Edwin, who entitled his section “To the Man Who Drives” (243–50). On gendering technology and driving, see Oldenziel, Making Technology Masculine; Scharff, Taking the Wheel; Clarke, Driving Women; Clarsen, Eat My Dust; Ramsey, “Driven from the Public Sphere.”
49. For a summary of such early twentieth-century trips, see McConnell and Pappas, Coast to Coast by Automobile. As these authors note, a major factor for these publicity trips was the promotion of American-built cars.
50. Post, By Motor to the Golden Gate, 3.
51. Mathieu, “Alpenwahrnehmung”; Tissot, “How Did the British”; Tissot, “Tourism in Austria and Switzerland”; Speich, “Mountains Made in Switzerland.” Elitist travelers during the heyday of the Grand Tour from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century sometimes included a sojourn in the Swiss lowlands and regarded crossing the Alps on the way to Italy as a hazard, not a delight.
52. The literature on the topic is huge. Recent examples include the works by Jon Mathieu, especially his History of the Alps; Hansen, Summits of Modern Man; Keller, Apostles of the Alps.
53. As quoted in Frank, “Air Cure Town,” 198.
54. At its opening in 1882, the Gotthard Tunnel was the world’s longest. For a cultural history, see Schueler, Materialising Identity.
55. König, Bahnen und Berge.
56. Keller, Apostles of the Alps; Günther, Alpine Quergänge; Amstädter, Alpinismus.
57. Gottfried Eigner, Naturpflege in Bayern (Munich, 1908), 15–16, cited after Hölzl, “Naturschutz,” 12. All translations are by the author, unless otherwise noted.
58. Quotes from Rudorff’s philippic and a defense of such projects in Zeitung des Vereins Deutscher Eisenbahn-Verwaltungen 38, no. 1 (January 5, 1898): 14–15, available at https://books.google.com/books?id=SHYfAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA15&lpg=PA15&dq=rudorff:+Reisep%C3%B6bel&source=bl&ots=DZL-u44FuY&sig=ysIEZnXfA4am8PteUb_doDf-iYI&hl=en&sa=X&ei=8zBWVaDWEIKqyAT1xOGIDw&ved=0CB8Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=rudorff%3A%20Reisep%C3%B6bel&f=false, accessed October 1, 2019. On German conservationists, see, among several others, Lekan, Imagining the Nation in Nature.
59. Tissot, “Tourism in Austria and Switzerland.”
63. Stephen, Playground of Europe, 373.
66. Furter, “Hintergrund des Alpendiskurses,” 84–86. In the first decade of the twentieth century, crossing borders with an automobile was “a complex undertaking only feasible for well-connected people,” as one historian puts it. Schipper, *Driving Europe*, 61. Just before and after World War I, the question of permits and insurance became somewhat easier to handle, but international travel was still very far from being commonplace.
68. Bierbaum, *Eine empfindsame Reise*, 179. One historian correctly notes that Bierbaum’s trip was highly unusual and part of an effort to promote car ownership. Merki, *Der holprige Siegeszug*, 25–26. Given Bierbaum’s desire to speak to a large audience and his popularity, however, his notions regarding landscape, speed, and travel are still noteworthy. Zeller, “Staging the Driving Experience.”
72. Freeston, *High-Roads of the Alps*, lists and compares these roads after compelling to compare it to hiking: “The mountaineer is welcome to his extra thousands of feet; but no one can truthfully aver that nature as viewed from the roads themselves is not wondrously impressive and magnificently beautiful,” 15. In a 1927 edition, Freeston notes approvingly the greater extent of and access to mountain roads and describes “motoring over Alpine carriage-roads” as an “invaluable intermediary between ordinary railway travel and the scaling of lofty peaks.” Freeston, *Alps for the Motorist*, 4. An earlier section on “The Neglect of Road Travel” no longer existed in the 1927 edition.
79. These accounts were also part of a competition between owners of internal-combustion engines and of electric cars. Kirsch, *Electric Vehicle*; Mom and Kirsch, “Technologies in Tension.”
81. Carl Graf Scapinelli, “Wie sehen wir die Landschaft? Zu unserem Preis-Ausschreiben!” *Motor-Tourist*, no. 8 (April 12, 1929): 1. Even though a few women were among them, the drivers were addressed as and conceived of as male.
82. Scapinelli, “Wie sehen wir die Landschaft?,” 1. For analyses of the bird’s-eye view,
see Dümpelmann, *Flights of Imagination*; Asendorf, *Super Constellation*. The classic analysis of the “God trick” is Haraway, “Situated Knowledges.”


86. On road races, see Haslauer, “Kesselbergstraße”; Kotter, “Von Rennfahrern.”


92. Buses and motorcycles, the mobile means of less affluent tourists, populated these roads especially after 1950.


96. Speck, *Via Vita*.


100. Runte, *National Parks*.


102. Wilson, *Culture of Nature*, 100.


105. Shaffer, *See America First*.


107. Rothman, *Devil’s Bargains*.


109. As quoted in Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 146. For the relationships between railroads and the creation of National Parks, see Runte, *Trains of Discovery*.

110. Shankland, *Steve Mather*.


113. Louter, *Windshield Wilderness*.
114. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 147, claims that the route was “officially designated” in 1921. It appears that no new roads were built for the park-to-park highway.

115. Mather to Katherine Louise Smith, Minneapolis, April 8, 1921, National Archives, College Park, MD, RG 79, Central Classified Files, Box 369, Part 7.

116. Mather to Katherine Louise Smith, Minneapolis, April 8, 1921, National Archives, College Park, MD, RG 79, Central Classified Files, Box 369, Part 7.


119. Seely, “Scientific Mystique.”

120. Davis, “Rise and Decline.”


122. Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, 146. For an example of the extensive historiography on parks and urban planning, see Sies and Silver, *Planning the Twentieth-Century American City*.

123. McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path*.


11. Kingery was general manager of the Chicago Regional Planning Association.


127. For a discussion of the English example, see Merriman, *Driving Spaces*, 23–59.

Chapter 2. Roads to Power

1. Davis and Clarke, “Bridge-Building of the Sixth Engineers.”


3. Zeller, “Molding the Landscape.”


5. According to one source, more landscape architects than members of other professions served in the NPS by the early 1950s and it was the largest employer of landscape architects in the United States, if not globally. Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 184.


8. On billboards, see Gudis, *Buyways*. In addition, hot dog stands and their decorations drew the ire of planners.

9. Jay Downer, “Grade Separation of Intersecting Highways,” Permanent International Association of Road Congresses, Sixth Congress, Washington 1930, Second Section: Traffic and Administration, Sixth Question, Report 6-H, 17–20, quote 18. The quotation marks are Downer’s. He also pointed out that the planners’ goal was “reservational control over the right of way.” Downer, 19. The total cost of the first fifteen miles (24 kilometers) of the Bronx River Parkway was “over $16.5 million.” Mason, *Once and Future New York*, 182. The county expected to recoup the extravagant expenses by receiving higher taxes from real estate after the completion of the road. A contemporaneous study of parkway systems in Boston, Kansas City, and Westchester County could establish a “reasonably conclusive” causal relationship between parkways and the rise in real estate values only for Kansas City, mostly because of methodological issues. Nolen and Hubbard, *Parkways and Land Values*, 127. For the politics of roads in New York State, see Fein, *Paving the Way*.


15. For more on the complexities of ecological restoration, see Hall, *Earth Repair*; Hall, *Restoration and History*.


17. Nolen and Hubbard, *Parkways and Land Values*. Of course, such an economic observation holds true for most urban parks as well.

18. A partial listing of these projects can be found in Annese, *Office of Clarke and Rapuano*. For an assessment of Clarke’s design from an architectural perspective, see Campanella, “American Curves”; Zapatka, “American Parkways.”


20. Ballon and Jackson, *Robert Moses and the Modern City*. The quotation is from the introduction by the editors, p. 66.


27. Reinberger, “Architecture in Motion.”
28. Gandy, Concrete and Clay; LaFrank, “Real and Ideal Landscapes”; Radde, Merritt Parkway.
29. “States Are Planning Better Roadsides,” Better Roads, February 1934, 22. The state highway commissioner also expected federal funds to become available for this parkway system.
30. Smith, City of Parks. I am grateful to Jennifer Alexander (University of Minnesota) for taking me on a driving tour of Minneapolis parkways.
31. Smith, City of Parks, 118. Wirth was the father of Conrad Wirth, director of the National Park Service from 1951 to 1974.
32. Cushman, “Environmental Therapy.”
33. Michigan and Oregon were the first two. Cushman, “Environmental Therapy,” 52–53.
34. Gubbels, American Highways, 2.
35. Gubbels, American Highways, 2. Gubbels also advocated abandoning roadside ditches in favor of wider and flatter roadsides and recommended hardy, native plants as the least expensive way of landscaping.
37. Simonson, Landscape Design.
38. See the articles and discussions in Landscape Architecture.
40. Historical American Engineering Record, George Washington Memorial Parkway, 68.
41. Hughes, American Prometheus, 284.
42. Moraglio, Driving Modernity.
43. Zeller, Driving Germany, 50; Reitsam, Reichsautobahn-Landschaften.
44. König, Kulturgeschichte des Spaziergangs.
45. Ludwig, Technik und Ingenieure, 303.
46. Mierzejewski, Most Valuable Asset; Rose, Seely, and Barrett, Best Transportation System; Vance, North American Railroad; White, Railroaded.
48. Schütz and Gruber, Mythos Reichsautobahn, 14.
49. Todt, “Der nordische Mensch,” 395; Baranowski, Strength through Joy.
52. Rieger, People’s Car; König, Volkswagen, Volksfahrzeug; König, “Adolf Hitler vs. Henry Ford.”
53. Dr. Todt: Berufung und Werk.
54. Todt at the 1937 Reich Party Rally in Nuremberg, as cited in Schütz and Gruber, Mythos Reichsautobahn, 131.
55. Todt to Seifert, Deutsches Museum Archives, NL 133/56.
57. Zeller, Driving Germany; Gabriel, Dem Auto eine Bahn.
60. Davis, “Rise and Decline,” 43.

**Chapter 3. Roads in Place**

2. Stephan, “Feuchtwanger, Lion: Erfolg.”
3. Daniels, “Marxism, Culture, and the Duplicity of Landscape.”

6. Among historians, the role of the New Deal with regard to the power of the state is a vital topic of interest. For example, see the “AHR Exchange: On the ‘Myth’ of the ‘Weak’ American State,” *American Historical Review* 115, no. 3 (2010): 766–800; Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism*.
17. Historians disagree about the design linkages: while Bright claims a direct relationship between Neuschwanstein and Sleeping Beauty Castle, Doss links the Disneyland designs to plans for Falkenstein castle, which was planned but never built during Ludwig’s reign. Doss, “Making Imagination Safe,” 183–4; Bright, *Disneyland*, 87.
24. Biography August Knorz, 1999, provided to the author by the Town of Prien; Bundesarchiv Berlin, NSDAP-Gaukartei: Knorz, August; Bundesarchiv Berlin, VBS 1 (Parteikorrespondenz) VBS 1/1060015568; Sanitätsrat Dr. Knorz, "Grundlagen des Fremdenverkehrs in Südbayern," *Völkischer Beobachter. Bayernausgabe*, September 11/12, 1932, n.p.; Oberbürgermeister Dr. Samer, Füssen, "Warum die Alpenstraße notwendig ist," *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, no. 261, September 25, 1932, clipping in Füssen City Archive, V 6 31–20. While these tourism boosters focused on construction of a new infrastructure, the German postal service inaugurated a bus line all the way from Berchtesgaden to Lindau in 1931, using existing roadways. Comfortable buses with large windows transported tourists from Lake Constance to the Austrian border in two days. After the annexation of Austria in 1938, buses traveled all the way to Salzburg. World War II interrupted the scenic tours, but the tours recommenced in 1950 and did not cease until 1976. Baumann, "Auf den Spuren."
26. "Für die Alpen-Querstraße," *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, January 13, 1933, clip-


28. Probst states that Nazi motions in late 1932 and early 1933 were increasingly geared toward consensus and drew support from the moderate parties. Probst, NSDAP im Bayerischen Landtag, 187.

29. “Das große Alpenstraßenprojekt,” Münchner Zeitung, January 20, 1933; “Die bayerische Queralpenstraße,” Münchner Zeitung, January 20, 1933, both clippings in Füssen City Archive, V 6 31–20. The second newspaper article mentions a meeting in the finance committee of the state assembly. The first clipping is most likely mislabeled and from the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten as the second includes the heading for the Münchener Zeitung. Vilbig (1874–1956) was a career administrator with an engineering background whose expertise on construction matters was welcome in the Nazi regime; he was promoted to “Ministerialdirektor” in 1937. Gelberg, “Oberste Baubehörde,” 303–4; Lilla, “Vilbig, Josef.” In his denazification proceedings, Vilbig presented himself as an expert who joined the party late and retired in 1939. Denazification file Josef Vilbig, Staatsarchiv Munich, Spruchkammern, Karton 1865.


32. Permanent International Association, Sixth International Road Congress; Oberste Baubehörde, Die Bayerischen Staatsstraßen, 16–17; Vilbig, “VI. Internationaler Straßenkongreß.” In a statement for his denazification proceedings, Vilbig stated with some exaggeration that the 1925 report had been emulated in other German states and abroad. Denazification file Josef Vilbig, Staatsarchiv Munich, Spruchkammern, Karton 1865.

33. “Projekt der Queralpenstraße vom Bodensee zum Königssee,” Motor-Tourist 43, no. 2 (February 11, 1933). The article contains some of Vilbig’s comments from January 15 at the Bavarian state assembly.

34. “Auszug aus der Niederschrift,” fol. 64.


36. “Auszug aus der Niederschrift,” fol. 70. After all of this posturing, the parliamentary committee adopted both the Nazi and the Conservative motion after altering the former: instead of having the state pay for the road, special purpose associations should shoulder the financial burden.

37. Probst, NSDAP im Bayerischen Landtag, 199.


41. Ruppmann, Schrittmacher des Autobahnzeitalters, 211. Frankfurt’s mayor Ludwig Landmann, an ardent supporter of interwar autobahn plans, was expelled from his office in the spring of 1933 as the Nazis classified him as Jewish. Sternburg, Ludwig Landmann.


44. Memorandum, Ministerpräsident Sieber, September 13, 1933, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MHIG 9216.


46. Vilbig, "Die deutsche Alpenstraße von Lindau bis Berchtesgaden," July 1933, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv StK 6950, 3.

47. Internal communications show that Vilbig scrambled to fund the design studies, but realized how urgent they were for the new rulers. Memorandum re: Alpenstraße, June 10, 1933, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MHIG 9216.


51. The shorter one was 255 miles (410 kilometers) long and carried an estimated cost of 110 million Reichsmark; the longer one was 298 miles (480 kilometers) long and was estimated to cost 134 million Reichsmark.


54. Behind the scenes, state administrators were scrambling to find money for the road in 1933, only to be relieved of their worries when the Reich government opened its coffers
for the former provincial project. The DDAC motoring club had jump-started the planning process with a subsidy of 3,000 Reichsmark after the Deutscher Touring-Club went bankrupt. Memorandum "Ministerratssitzung vom 29. November 1933," Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MHIG 9216.

55. "Hauptlinie der Alpenstraße festgelegt," *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, no. 196, July 22, 1934, clipping in Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MHIG 9216. According to the article, the goal was not to traverse ridges as highly as possible, but to provide the most attractive views.


57. Josef Fischer, "Entstehung, Linienführung und bauliche Ausgestaltung der Deutschen Alpenstraße," *Die Straße*, no. 7, 1935, 208–12; Todt to Siebert, April 30, 1934, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv StK 6947; "Höhenstraße quer über die bayerischen Alpen," December 31, 1932, newspaper clipping [newspaper unclear], Füssen City Archive, V 6 31–20; J. Telorac to Lord Mayor Samer, January 2, 1934; Widmann and Telorac to City Council, February 15, 1934, both Füssen City Archive, V 6 31–20; Fritz Todt to Lord Mayor Samer, Füssen, August 26, 1937, Füssen City Archive, V 6 31–20. For reservations on the Füssen-Linderhof road because of cost, see Staatsministerium des Innern, Weigmann, to Ingenieurbüro Widmann and Telorac, December 27, 1933, copy, Füssen City Archive, V 6 31–20 and Staatsministerium für Wirtschaft to Ministerpräsident, November 13, 1936, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, StK 6999. However, an existing forest road to the east of Linderhof, which connected it with Oberammergau, was widened and upgraded in the summer of 1933 to allow motorists to travel to Ludwig’s castle, to the chagrin of a local teamster who had moved tourists in his horse-drawn carriage on unimproved forest roads. Utschneider, *Oberammergau*, 135–38; “Gehorsamstes Gesuch des Lohnfuhrwerkbesitzers Karl Maderspacher” to Hitler, July 13, 1933; Bavarian Ministry for Economics to Maderspacher, August 21, 1933, both Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MHIG 9216.


59. Todt to Vilbig, July 12, 1935; Todt to Unterberger, April 17, 1936, both Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/397. Todt to Unterberger, April 17, 1936, Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/397.

60. Seifert to Staatliche Bauleitung für die deutsche Alpenstraße, March 6, 1942, Alwin Seifert papers 223, Technical University Munich-Weihenstephan, Chair for Landscape Architecture and Public Space; Seifert to Todt, May 6, 1935, Alwin Seifert papers, Deutsches Museum, archive, NL133/056. Seifert’s care even included the design of pasture fences on the Obersalzberg. Seifert to Todt, September 1, 1936, Alwin Seifert papers, Deutsches Museum, archive, NL133/057.

61. Todt to Ministerialbauabteilung, Ministerium des Innern, Munich, December 1, 1934 (copy), Alwin Seifert papers, Deutsches Museum, archive, NL133/056.


64. For the Obersalzberg mystique sustained by the Nazi regime and the exploitation of locals on which it rested, see Chaussy, *Nachbar Hitler*; and Kershaw, *Hitler Myth*.


68. Schöner, Berchtesgadener Fremdenverkehrs-Chronik, 103.
69. Biography August Knorz, provided by Town of Prien.
73. Fischer, Bayern links und rechts, 14.
75. Todt, “Geleitwort,” 5.
77. Betreff: Straßenbau Weiler-Simmerberg-Oberstaufen,” petition sent to Straßen- und Flussbauamt Kempten and to Dr. Siebert, Bavarian Governor, July 30, 1934, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, StK 6947.
78. Staatsministerium des Innern to Deutscher Automobil-Club (DDAC), December 20, 1934, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, StK 6947.
79. Josef Niggl, Gasthof “Zur Post” Irschenberg, to Esser, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MHIG 9216. For problems with winter maintenance, see Straßen- und Flussbauamt Traunstein to Bürgermeister, Inzell, January 23, 1938, Town of Inzell, Archive, File 631/10 and the correspondence in Staatsarchiv Augsburg, Straßen- und Flussbauamt Kempten 74. In the latter instance, Serbian prisoners of war were forced to shovel snow on the road.
80. Todt to Ministerpräsident Sieber, June 11, 1936, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, StK 6947.
82. Landesausschuss für Naturpflege to Ministerium des Innern, August 8, 1933, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MHIG 9216.
83. Keller, Apostles of the Alps. Austrian Alpinists, however, did challenge the routing for the Großglockner road during its planning stage.
84. Todt to Oberregierungsrat Dr. Froschmaier, Berchtesgaden, Bezirksamt, November 26, 1935, Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/397.
85. Todt to Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern, November 25, 1937, Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/397.
86. For the Siemens plan, see Todt to Ministerialrat Unterberger, Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern (draft), May 11, 1938 Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/402; on the Kraft durch Freude facility, see Straßen- und Flussbauamt Kempten to Generalinspektor für das deutsche Straßenwesen, June 13, 1939; Kraft durch Freude Zentralbüro, Steinwarz, to Generalinspektor für das deutsche Straßenwesen, June 23, 1939, both Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/403.


89. Todt to Straßen- und Flußbaumatic Traunstein and to Mr. Stöckel, Car Repair Shop, Ramsau, March 26, 1940, Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/404. Todt’s involvement likely stemmed from the proximity of the repair shop to his summer retreat in Hintersee, close to Ramsau.

90. Todt to Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Innern, November 25, 1937, Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/401. For Todt’s meddlesomeness, see Packheiser, “Die Deutsche Alpenstraße als NS-Prestigeobjekt.”

91. Kraus, Naturschutzbeauftragter im Bezirk Füssen, to Bezirksamt Füssen, November 15, 1937, Staatsarchiv Augsburg, Bezirksamt Füssen 3591.


94. See the correspondence in Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv MHIG 9219.

95. Kittel, Maximiliansweg.

96. Ludwig Siemer, “Die Alpenstraße als Mittel zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs im deutschen Alpengebiet,” Deutsche Alpenzeitung 28 (1933): 235–40. An entire number of this journal was devoted to the Alpine Road, with the frontispice showing Hitler’s Obersalzberg.

97. Otruba, Hitler’s “Tausend-Mark-Sperre.”


99. Merrick, Great Motor Highways, 104. Merrick qualified the remark about window-dressing by claiming that the road was still “marvellous” and that he was “immensely grateful” for its existence. Merrick, Great Motor Highways, 104. Pagenstecher, “Automobilisierung.”

100. Seifert to Todt, November 2, 1938, Alwin Seifert papers, Deutsches Museum, archive, NL133/058.


102. Lord Mayor of Lindau to Bayerischer Ministerpräsident, March 30, 1939; Fritz Todt to Bayerischer Ministerpräsident, April 21, 1939, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv StK 6950.


104. Todt to Gubler, Basel, April 16, 1934, Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/1107.


106. For example, see the reports by Prof. Franz Kögler, “Straßen, Straßenbau und


113. Todt an Ministerium des Innern, Ministerialabteilung, Munich, August 22, 1936, Staatsarchiv Augsburg, Straßen- und Flußbauamt Kempten, 106.


115. Todt to von Keudell, February 3, 1937, Bundesarchiv R 4601/412, 3; Akbal, “‘Trinkt, O Augen, was die Wimper hält.’” It appears that Todt had read two papers by one of his engineers on American roads who claimed that scenic driving had all but replaced hiking in the United States. Wehner, “Straße und Landschaft in den Vereinigten Staaten”; Wehner, “Parkstraßen in den Vereinigten Staaten”. In addition to the Alpine Road and the Black Forest Road, at least two more scenic roads were built under Nazi rule: one in the Bavarian part of the Rhön Mountains and one in the mountains of Silesia. Prisoners of war and forced

116. Seidler, Fritz Todt, 19. For a helpful summary of a complex debate among historians regarding the particularist Nazi ideology of “German Technology” (*Deutsche Technik*), see Guse, “Nazi Technical Thought Revisited” and the literature cited in this paper.


119. See the correspondence and memoranda in Bundesarchiv Berlin R4601/400 and 404.

120. “Hitler Highway Best in Europe,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, February 16, 1935, clipping in Bundesarchiv Berlin, R4601/1506. It should be noted, however, that this newspaper article did not deal with this particular controversy. Alwin Seifert confirmed in a 1940 letter that the efforts for roadside protection had failed: Seifert to Staatliche Bauleitung der Deutschen Alpenstraße, Baustelle Resten, Obersalzberg, January 10, 1940, Alwin Seifert papers 223, Technical University Munich-Weihenstephan, Chair for Landscape Architecture and Public Space.


128. Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway*, 38; Caro, *Power Broker*, 288–91, 426; LaFrank, “Real and Ideal Landscapes.” Virginia and North Carolina had to pay for the right-of-way, while the federal government would be responsible for the construction and maintenance of the road.

129. I am indebted to John Beardsley (Dumbarton Oaks) for helping me clarify some of these issues. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*.


140. Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway*, 68; R. Getty Browning to Theodore Strauss, Regional Advisory Board, January 17, 1934 (copy), NARA RG79, Central Classified Files, Box 2711; North Carolina Committee on Federal Parkway, *Description of a Route through North Carolina as a Part of the Scenic Parkway to Connect the Shenandoah National Park with the Great Smoky Mountains National Park*, 1934, n.p., NARA RG79, Central Classified Files, Box 2711.


143. Thomas C. Vint, Chief Architect, to the Director, National Park Service, June 8, 1934, NARA RG 79, Central Classified Files 2711.


146. E. G. Frizzell, President, Smoky Mountains Hiking Club, Knoxville, TN, to Strauss, April 12, 1934, NARA RG 79, Central Classified Files 2711.


ing, Tennessee convinced Congress to fund the project of a Foothills Parkway, a loop road around the northern end of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, but it is yet unfinished. Historic American Engineering Record, “Great Smoky Mountains National Park,” 81–85; Pierce, “Road to Nowhere.” MacKaye tried his hand at translating his planning ideas into reality at the TVA. Brian Black, “Organic Planning.”


150. Wilson, Culture of Nature, 36.


152. Sutter, Driven Wild, 232–33; Pierce, “Road to Nowhere”; Historic American Engineering Record, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 23; Marshall, “Memorandum for the Secretary,” June 9, 1935; Ickes to Demaray, June 14, 1935 (copy), both NARA RG79, Central Classified Files, Box 2714. The letter by Ickes instructs Park Service associate director Arthur Demaray to consider Marshall’s recommendations and consult with Ickes if they were not heeded. Confusingly, Ickes’s letter refers to the Blue Ridge Parkway, but Marshall’s memorandum deals with the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. By the time the memo and letter were written, the foundational routing decisions on the former had already been made.

153. Wilson, Culture of Nature, 35.

154. Reich, “Re-Creating the Wilderness,” puts the number of displaced Virginians at 5,000; a website maintained by an activist group mentions 3,000. www.blueridgeheritageproject.com, accessed April 23, 2021. See also Wilson, Culture of Nature, 35; Historic American Engineering Record, Blue Ridge Parkway, 63; Pierce, Great Smokies; Eisenfeld, Shenandoah. For other instances of displacing locals during the creation of state and national parks, see Jacoby, Crimes Against Nature; Spence, Dispossessing the Wilderness.


156. Oral History Interview of Stanley W. Abbott, 22; Whisnant, Super-Scenic Motorway, details the controversies over land purchases. In addition to purchasing land, planners entered into scenic easements with owners of adjacent lands to regulate land use for view protection. Whisnant, Super-Scenic Motorway, 117; Oral History Interview of Stanley W. Abbott, 29–30; Davis, “Protecting Scenic Views.”


158. Oral History Interview of Stanley W. Abbott, 24, 41–43; Whisnant, Super-Scenic
Motorway, 151–52; Maher, Nature’s New Deal; Gregg, Managing the Mountains; Phillips, This Land, This Nation. On the precarious role of wildlife biologists and ecologists in the National Park Service during the New Deal, see Sellars, Preserving Nature, 147.


160. Cited after Davis, National Park Roads, 181. For an international perspective on New Deal politics, see Patel, New Deal.

161. Wohl, Passion for Wings; Asendorf, Super Constellation; Dümpelmann, Flights of Imagination.

162. In a letter to Benton MacKaye, National Park Service director Cammerer reminded him that “for every one or two of you [avid, physically fit hikers] there are perhaps a thousand who cannot take these hikes and to whom some opportunity must be afforded to see the beautiful scenes within the park.” Cammerer to MacKaye, September 14, 1934, NARA RG79, Central Classified Files, Box 2714.


164. Gassert, Amerika im Dritten Reich; de Grazia, Irresistible Empire; Nolan, Transatlantic Century.

Chapter 4. Roads out of Place


2. A. E. Demaray, Acting Director, NPS, and Thomas H. MacDonald, Chief, BPR, Memorandum for the Secretary, May 23, 1935, NARA RG 79, Central Classified Files 448; LaFrank, “Real and Ideal Landscapes,” 254–55; Gandy, Concrete and Clay, 122; James W. Curley, Governor of Massachusetts, to Ickes, May 24, 1935; Ickes to Curley (copy), June 7, 1935, both NARA RG 79, Central Classified Files 448.


26. For treatments of national park policy, see Miles, *Wilderness in National Parks*;
Havlick, *No Place Distant*. A nuanced case study of Abbey and roadbuilding can be found in Rogers, *Roads in the Wilderness*. For wilderness policies in general, see Turner, *Promise of Wilderness*.

27. Schultz, “To Render Inaccessible.” It is worth noting that local boosters proposed a high-altitude Sierra Way in the 1920s and 1930s, with a length of more than five hundred miles and altitudes of six thousand feet or more for most of the route. A study by the BPR concluded that it was possible to build the road, but that it would be very expensive. The NPS opposed the road, and it was never built. Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, ch. 6.


31. Sorin, *Driving While Black*; Seiler, “So That We.”


40. “Bayerischer Landtag, Ausschuß für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft, 5. Sitzung,” February 22, 1955; “Alphabetisches Sach- und Sprechverzeichnis zu den Verhandlungen des Bayerischen Landtags in der 3. Wahlperiode 1954/58,” both Archives of the Bayerischer Landtag. This time, the committee recommended that the state of Bavaria should build and maintain “simple” fences. The debate was concerned with Upper Bavaria only.


44. Gerhard Tomkowitz, “Seebohm öffnet ein Stück Alpenstraße,” Süddeutsche Zeitung, July 17, 1959. The Alpine Road even made it into a 1957 federal plan for roadbuilding, but as a tourist road, not a regular road. Bundesminister, Ausbauplan, Attachment 13. The plan envisioned 90 miles (145.1 kilometers) of new construction for the Alpine Road and 68 miles (110 kilometers) for the Black Forest High Road. As the historian Alexander Gall argues, the plan had the character of a wish list (with requests supplied by individual states) rather than indicating a commitment by the federal government to plan, finance, and build the highways. Gall, Gute Straßen, 143–45. “Niederschrift über die Besprechung am 23. Juni 1965 um 19 Uhr im Sitzungssaal der Obersten Baubehörde in München mit dem Herrn Bundesverkehrminister Dr.-Ing. Hans-Christoph Seebohm und Vertretern der Interessen­gemeinschaft Deutsche Alpenstraße,” Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bevollmächtigter Bayerns beim Bund 977. Seebohm’s referral to 134 kilometers of road was somewhat disingenuous, since it included a stretch of new autobahn to Austria via the Inn valley and two bypass roads around cities. For the lobbying group, see Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv Munich, K 9/732, “Industrie und Handelskammer Schwaben (Augsburg),” Folder “Interessengemeinschaft Deutsche Alpenstraße.” Austria did not join the European Union until 1995.


46. “Ein Stück Deutsche Alpenstraße einmal nicht im Tal,” Nürnberger Zeitung, February 9, 1965; “Niederschrift über die Besprechung am 23. Juni 1965”, 6. Oberammergau’s mayor Lang, as it turns out, was the same in 1965 as during the Nazi years. Having survived his denazification proceedings with a slap on the wrist, the town’s voters in 1948 entrusted him with the same office he had under Hitler’s reign. Utschneider, Oberammergau, 256. Waddy, Oberammergau, 245–7, cites evidence that Lang was a “mild” mayor during the Nazi years and trusted for his competence.


49. On protests by Bavarian conservationists against what they called the “mountain­train plague,” see Hasenöhrl, Zivilgesellschaft, 165–87. On conservation in postwar Germany, see Chaney, Nature of the Miracle Years; Engels, Naturpolitik.


53. Armin Ganser, “Jubiläumstrip über eine ‘schöne Unvollendete,’” Süddeutsche Zeitung, August 9, 1988. In a case of historical amnesia, the monthly magazine Bayerland (founded in 1890) claimed that the road lay fallow from 1927 to 1950: Günter D. Roth, “Deutsche Alpenstraße, Teil Ost: Von Berchtesgaden bis Mittenwald,” Bayerland 71, April 1969,


55. Koshar, “‘What Ought to Be Seen’”; Jakle, The Tourist; Pagenstecher, Der bundesdeutsche Tourismus.

56. Schmithals, Die Deutsche Alpenstraße. Vom Bodensee zum Königssee. Seebohm’s preface is on p. 5. Echoing Todt’s parlance, he calls a properly landscaped road a “cultural achievement.”

57. Mair, Hochstraßen, 57–80.

58. Müller-Alfeld, Die Deutsche Alpenstrasse, 129.

59. Müller-Alfeld, Die Deutsche Alpenstrasse, 16.

60. The first image of the road is on p. 22 out of 135.

61. Strache, Autoparadies, 3.

62. Prager, Deutsche Alpenstrasse.

63. Mittermeier and Hirschbichler, Traumlandschaften.

64. My analysis is confined to the guidebooks on the Blue Ridge Parkway available at the Library of Congress as of 2007.


66. Catlin, Naturalist’s Blue Ridge Parkway, 1; Humphries, Along the Blue Ridge Parkway; Rives, Blue Ridge Parkway; Humphries, Images.

67. Shelton-Roberts and Roberts, Blue Ridge Parkway.

68. Chilcoat, Lonely Plant Road Trip, 4.

69. Schrag, “The Freeway Fight,” 650; Caro, Power Broker; Lewis, Divided Highways; Rose and Mohl, Interstate; Rose and Seely, “Getting the Interstate System”; Mohl, “Stop the Road”; Ballon and Jackson, Robert Moses; Gutfreund, Twentieth Century Sprawl; Gioielli, Environmental Activism; Avila, Folklore of the Freeway.


73. Halprin, Life Spent Changing Places. I am indebted to John Beardsley for sharing his views of Halprin with me.

74. Cultural Landscape Foundation, Lawrence Halprin Oral History Interview Transcript, 79. The interview was conducted in 2003.

75. For details of Repton’s designs, see Daniels, Humphry Repton.

76. Halprin, Freeways, 29. For context, see Tunnard and Pushkarev, Man-Made America; Snow, Highway and the Landscape.

77. Halprin, Freeways, 12, 17 (“Freeways which carry the automobile in its adventures are amongst the beautiful structures of our age”), 27.
78. Halprin, Freeways, 113.
79. “To Highway Consultants Group,” Halprin, Notebooks, 156–57. The entry is not dated, but it appears before one dated March 1966. Twenty-four years prior, Gilmore Clarke had assigned blame for the powerlessness of landscape architects vis-à-vis engineers on the former, since they were not “sufficiently well trained to assume the degree of responsibility in such an enterprise such as the Pennsylvania Turnpike.” Clarke, “Beauty, a Wanting Factor.”
80. Merriman, “Roads: Lawrence Halprin.”
82. Urban Advisors, “Freeway in the City”; Annese, Office of Clarke and Rapuano; Mary Perot Nichols, “Private Opinion: Wanted: A Philosophy of Transportation,” Village Voice, July 24, 1969. Clarke and Rapuano had contributed to designing the Major Deegan Expressway, the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway, and the Van Wyck Expressway, which were commercial roads in dense neighborhoods. The Village Voice article was one of many critical voices against the planned Lower Manhattan Expressway. Caro, Power Broker.
84. Commoner, “Technology and the Natural Environment.”
87. For some examples of the literature on automotive fatalities and safety, see Blanke, Hell on Wheels; Norton, Fighting Traffic; Vinsel, Moving Violations; Zeller, “Mein Feind, der Baum”; Zeller, “Loving the Automobile to Death.”
88. Mom, Atlantic Automobilism; Bijsterveld et al., Sound and Safe; Rugh, Are We There Yet?, Fabian, Boom in der Krise, 225–97. Of course, accounts on the aesthetic appreciation of driving are still published. For a sensitive journey by two Brutalist architects, see Smithson, AS in DS.
89. For two examples of this genre, see Pirsig, Zen and the Art; Heat Moon, Blue Highways.

Epilogue
2. For a broader history, see Anker, From Bauhaus to Ecohouse.
3. For an envirotechnical analysis of large-scale projects and displacement, see Parr, Sensing Changes.
4. Thomas P. Hughes speaks of “technological enthusiasm.” Hughes, American Genesis. For more extensive visions, see Segal, Technological Utopianism.
5. Tarr, Search for the Ultimate Sink, ch. 10, “The Horse: Polluter of the City,” 323–34; McShane and Tarr, Horse in the City; Greene, Horses at Work.

7. For the baby boom generation, Jack Kerouac was the touchstone of this attitude. Kerouac, On the Road. Some examples of the vast literature on road movies include Laderman, Driving Visions; Sargeant and Watson, Lost Highways.


9. R. Getty Browning, Senior Locating and Claim Engineer, to A. E. Demaray, Associate Director, NPS, March 14, 1938; Demaray to Browning, March 24, 1938, Browning to Demaray, April 8, 1938, all NARA RG 79, Central Classified Files, Box 2715. Browning relayed local perceptions that the parkway would be exclusive and for outsiders. Demaray responded that a newsletter to residents would assuage these concerns.


11. Hillory A. Tolson, Assistant Director, Memorandum for Mr. Demaray, August 25, 1944, NARA RG 79, Central Classified Files, Box 449.

12. Sutter, Driven Wild.

13. Roth and Divall, From Rail to Road and Back Again?


15. Cresswell, “Towards a Politics,” 23. Even though the author discusses the slow food movement, the question appears pertinent here.
