SOME IMPACTS OF TOURISM BASED GROWTH IN A SMALL TOWN:
A CASE STUDY OF SISTERS, OREGON
by
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SOME IMPACTS OF TOURISM BASED GROWTH IN A SMALL TOWN:
A CASE STUDY OF SISTERS, OREGON

ABSTRACT: While many small towns today find themselves struggling in the face of economic stagnation or decline, others must deal with rapid growth and the threat it poses to their valued quality of life. The small central Oregon town of Sisters offers an example of a town whose previously declining economy was revitalized and has since expanded rapidly in response to tourism development and a growing number of area residents. Today, there are over 150 businesses and services in this town of approximately 700 residents. Impacts resulting from the area's growth and development in conjunction with mounting pressure for further expansion of the town's business sector have led to disagreement among Sisters' residents regarding the town's future. Sisters' experience raises a number of questions with respect to how much control a town has over its destiny once growth has begun, and who should determine how much growth is "desirable".

INTRODUCTION

The economic survival of small towns in America today is an often tenuous matter. In striving for prosperity each town must rely on a unique combination of resources, management potential and, to no small degree good fortune. The nature of the resources which a town possesses may make obvious community choices regarding the type of economic development sought, but in many instances the decisions about how much development is desired are less obvious.

Prior to the beginning of the 1970's, the town of Sisters was much like other small towns located on major highways. It had developed laterally along the highway and then expanded outward as the population grew. The businesses lining the highway offered only
basic services to local residents and gave travelers little reason to stop other than for gas, food or camping supplies. The growth which has abruptly come to Sisters' downtown area since the early 1970's has not only brought numerous shoppers to the town's streets but has helped reverse a several decade-long trend of population decline. Today, tourism plays an important role in Sisters' revitalized economy, but it has also brought its share of problems and concerns to the town's longtime residents.

Related Studies

Since the early 1970's geographers and other social scientists have increasingly been concerned with the impact of tourists and tourism induced growth on particular areas. This interest by geographers, in particular, would appear to be a natural and logical extension of the discipline's longtime observance of man's role in modifying his physical and cultural surroundings. The development of geographical interest in tourism as well as its scope is outlined in a paper by the geographer Pearce (1979). Studies by Bryden (1973), Young (1973) and deKadt (1979) looked at the cultural and economic impacts of international tourism.

The implications of tourism related growth have been examined in a wide range of settings including the coast of Spain (Parsons, 1973); the Austrian Alps (Kariel and Kariel, 1982); Skye, Scotland (Butler, 1979); a small Colombian town (Belisle and Hoy, 1980); three North Carolina coastal towns (Peck and Lepie, 1974); and a Vermont
vacation village (Jordan, 1980). Methodologies for assessing the impact of tourism related growth have been presented by Pearce (1980), and Runyan and Wu (1979). The question of the optimal level of tourism development is considered in research by Cheng (1980) and Getz (1982, 1983).

Finally, adding useful insights to Sisters' experience with tourism based growth were works on Aspen, Colorado (Clifford and Smith, 1970); Jackson Hole, Wyoming (Calkins, 1973); and a collection of studies on second homes edited by Coppock (1977).

Methodology

The following themes will be addressed in this study: (1) An historical examination of the development of Sisters and the surrounding region; (2) an examination of the town's effort to develop tourism; (3) identification of some tourism impacts on the community as perceived by some knowledgeable local residents; and (4) a brief assessment of tourism as a means for economic development.

Three basic means of data collection were employed in this study: (1) An analysis of documents including local newspapers and publications, texts, maps, journals and other periodicals; (2) personal observation of the town and informal interviews with knowledgeable residents (selected by consensus of suggestions and by virtue of their position and term of residence in the town); and (3) letter questionnaires seeking the opinions of selected area residents on questions relevant to their particular experience and expertise.
BACKGROUND: SISTERS, OREGON

Geographical Setting

The town of Sisters, located in the eastern foothills of the Cascade Range at the junction of the important Santiam and McKenzie Highways, is often thought of as the gateway to central Oregon (Figure 1). Its strategic location has long made the town an important stop-over for travelers either preparing for the climb westward over the mountains or resting after the journey eastward from Oregon's Willamette Valley.

While Sisters' site and situation have been responsible for much of the traffic passing through town, it is the attractiveness of the town and its surroundings which has encouraged many of the visitors to stay. At an elevation of 3,180 feet, Sisters is set in predominantly ponderosa pine forest which gradually merges eastward with the more sparsely vegetated juniper and sagebrush covered lands of central and eastern Oregon. Clearings around the town offer scenic panoramas of pastures and pine forest backdropped by the nearby Cascades. Prominent in this viewscape are the snow-capped Three Sisters peaks, after which the town was named. (See Figures 2 and 3).

Early Historical Development

Initial settlement of the region was slow in starting as the tide of immigrants from the eastern states passed both to the north and south on trails to the fertile Willamette Valley. Central Oregon
Figure 1. General map of central Oregon.
Figure 2. Aerial view of Sisters and surrounding area. View is southeast from top of Black Butte. Santiam Highway (U.S. 20) extends from lower right of photo to town at center.

Figure 3. View of Three Sisters peaks as seen from a ranch outside of town. Peaks from left to right are Broken Top and the South, Middle and North Sisters.
remained isolated for almost twenty years after farms, industries and towns were established in the valley. Not until 1863 did the first settlers move into Oregon's semi-arid interior (Brogan, 1965, p. 82).

In 1859 Andrew Wiley discovered a route across the Cascades beginning along the South Santiam River. Soon various residents of Linn County became interested in a road into central Oregon and in May, 1864, the Willamette Valley and Cascade Mountain Wagon Road Company was originated at Lebanon. By the summer of 1865 the Wiley Pass road (Santiam road) was open and in use providing an important route of travel from the valley to points east of the mountains.

Lane County residents had similar interests to those of their neighbors to the north and so, during this same period of time another route, following the McKenzie River, was developed. Felix Scott, Jr., in the summer of 1862, had demonstrated the possibility of this new route by crossing the mountains with cattle and wagons. Several road building companies were formed in Eugene City during the late 1860's to develop the crossing. But, it was a company headed by John Craig that eventually developed Scott's trail into a road which was open to travel by the fall of 1872 (Sawyer, 1931, p. 265).

One of the first groups to use the new roads was a contingent of Company A 1st Oregon Volunteers led by Captain Charles La Follette who crossed the Santiam Pass in 1865. They set up camp on the bank of Squaw Creek about three miles northeast of the present town of Sisters. Camp Polk, named after the county from which LaFollette
came, had been called for in response to a growing fear of local Indians who posed a threat to area settlers. The soldiers reportedly never encountered any Indians before they were called away, however, and the camp was abandoned as a military post a year after its establishment (Wilson and Scott, 1974, p. 3).

In 1870, a claim was filed by Samuel M. W. Hindman for the first homestead in the Sisters area which included the site of the Camp Polk garrison. Five years later he had established a post office and store, and Camp Polk became an important way station on the Eugene City-Prineville mail route.

It was thus, in the 1870's amidst the growing traffic of people and livestock through the area that the nearby Sisters site was being transformed from a ranch to a town. Though records indicate no more than four or five families living here in 1880, settlement was increasing rapidly (Wilson and Scott, 1974, p. 3). In 1888 the post office was moved here from Camp Polk. By the turn of the century the small settlement of Sisters was well established and a stage and mail line ran from Sisters to Cascadia. Finally, on July 10, 1901, Alex and Robert Smith filed the original townsite plat. However, Sisters was not to be incorporated as a city for another 45 years. (For a more complete chronology of Sisters' historical development see Appendix A.)

**Economic Activities**

The population of Sisters has been supported by a succession of
economic activities beginning with the raising of livestock and followed by crop farming, lumbering, and most recently activities of a service character (Erickson, 1953).

Grazing. Grazing was the first and remains the most widespread form of land use in central Oregon. It was the traffic of sheep and stockmen after 1880 through Sisters which provided a thriving business to local merchants and contributed to the town's initial growth. The movement of livestock through the area began before permanent settlement as herds of cattle were driven over the Cascades during the early 1860's to graze the open range of the upper Deschutes Basin. From here the herds were moved further east to supply the mining camps in eastern Oregon and Idaho.

Grazing remained the primary activity of central Oregon's early settlers until the initial decade of the 1900's and the coming of the railroad. By this time homesteaders had come to occupy much of the arable land and native grasses were cleared for the production of wheat (Heintzelman and Highsmith, 1954, p. 36). However, drought and crop failures during the 1920's and 30's eventually forced much of the land out of production. Today, increasing land values and the need for more well-watered and productive pasture has led to the conversion of agricultural and range operations to hobby farms and non-farm related uses.

Crop Farming. Nowhere in central Oregon is precipitation sufficient to support crops without irrigation or some moisture conserving
method of dry farming. Additionally, the high elevation contributes to a short growing season which places serious limitations on the choice of potential crops. The diurnal range in temperature is relatively high throughout the year posing the danger of morning frost in every month. Crops grown in the Sisters area include alfalfa, irrigated pasture, seed potatoes, clover and forage seeds, and some small grains. The combination of physical constraints with high land costs has resulted in the conversion of some acreage to residential and other non-farm related uses.

Lumbering. Lumbering was the third major economic activity in the region and has long been the most important. In fact, throughout much of this century Sisters has been characterized as a mill town in recognition of the importance of forest resources to the area's economy. Small labor intensive sawmills began operation near Sisters as early as 1890 and increased in number as the area developed. However, in the 1950's competition for larger, more efficient facilities in Bend and Redmond caused the closure or movement of Sisters' mills to the larger centers. Contract logging on nearby public as well as privately owned forest land remains important to the local economy, but since about 1965 all of the logs have been transported out of the area for processing.

The federal government owns a vast majority of the timberlands, however, private holdings are widely interspersed in a patchwork pattern. As a result, conflict has frequently arisen among various
interests underlining differences in resource management objectives. Since 1970 there has been considerable subdivision and conversion to residential uses of privately-owned forest land west of town.

Recreation/Service Activities. By virtue of the region's history and location the service of travelers has always been of some importance. However, it was not until fairly recently that service activities have attained an order of economic prominence.

Since the close of World War II a growing affluence among many Americans has been accompanied by demand for travel and outdoor recreation. This demand reached notable importance during the latter part of the 1960's and the decade of the 1970's. An outgrowth of the demand for recreation has been a growing market for recreational property and second homes. Subdivision of considerable ranch and forest land holdings around Sisters for residential development has contributed significantly to the growing demand for town services.

Sisters has benefitted from its sunny, dry climate which contrasts with that on the western side of the mountains. An abundance of nearby lakes, streams, and rugged mountain peaks set in forested wilderness offers recreation opportunities for hikers, backpackers, sportsmen and other recreationists. Winter sports have grown in popularity also with the Hoodoo Ski area on the Santiam summit and Bachelor Butte, southwest of Bend, being two important destinations. In town, art galleries, boutiques, and varied crafts shops--all in a western setting--attract shoppers and curious travelers.
An important part of Sisers' recreational appeal is local special events which help visitors to focus the time they spend in the area. While not all of the annual events were specifically established to attract tourists, all in fact do. Several of the events, particularly the rodeo, are well publicized and bring visitors to Sisers from all over the western states and beyond. Town residents enjoy the activities also, especially the merchants who benefit from the large number of shoppers in town for the events (Table 1).

Table 1. Sisers Special Annual Events.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Initial Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Old Oregon Championship&quot; Sled Dog Race</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McAdams Memorial Run</td>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiwanis Stampede Foot Race</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Biggest Little Show in the World&quot; Rodeo</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Round Up of Gems&quot; Gem Show/Rock Show</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters Quilt Show</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters Harvest Festival</td>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters Christmas Festival</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sisers Chamber of Commerce, 1983.
Population Trends

An important factor in determining a community's population is the number of local job opportunities. In Sisters, the scarcity of growing industries and the lack of economic diversification have made this factor a limiting one. In fact, between the time of Sisters' incorporation in 1946 with a population of about 700, and the early 1970's when the census reported a population of 516 persons, the town suffered a marked decline. A large part of the responsibility for this decline lies with the ebb of the local lumber industry.

The town's population began to rebound during the early 1970's, however, and today is close to previous high levels. Much of the credit for the town's revitalization is given to retirement immigration (some estimate as much as half of the area's population is retired) and the rapid development of recreational and tourist-oriented businesses. The businesses have, in turn, responded to growth in surrounding subdivisions and an increasing number of area tourists.

In the early 1970's a privately-funded study for the city of Sisters estimated the population of the city's influence area at approximately 5,500 with close to 1,400 additional seasonal residents (Sisters Comprehensive Plan, 1979, p. 45). Non-urban growth tied to the recreation/retirement attractivity of the region has, in fact, been largely responsible for the explosive population growth in Deschutes County as a whole over the past couple decades. Population
statistics for Oregon's fastest growing county and its three largest urban centers are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. County and City Population Figures, 1940-1980

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<tr>
<td>Sisters</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redmond</td>
<td>1,876</td>
<td>2,956</td>
<td>3,340</td>
<td>3,721</td>
<td>6,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bend</td>
<td>10,021</td>
<td>11,409</td>
<td>11,936</td>
<td>13,710</td>
<td>17,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deschutes County</td>
<td>18,631</td>
<td>21,812</td>
<td>23,100</td>
<td>30,442</td>
<td>62,142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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RECENT GROWTH IN THE SISTERS AREA

In addition to population figures, vehicle traffic volume data collected at points along the highways leading into town offers a good and readily obtainable indicator of visitation to, and activity in Sisters (Figure 4 and Table 3). Access to the town essentially is limited to the major highways U.S. 20, ORE 242 and ORE 126 which join to become the main thoroughfare (Cascade Street) through town. A small airport just north of town was opened in 1967 but commercial air traffic is limited to Roberts Field outside of Redmond. Neither rail service nor a major bus station is available in town.

In Table 3, a general pattern of increasing vehicle traffic in and around the town of Sisters can be observed. Exceptions to the pattern include both the period between 1973 and 74 when oil shortages were experienced throughout the country, and the period since 1980 when higher gasoline prices and nationwide economic recession may have reduced traffic volume. The period of most rapid increase, on the other hand, occurred between 1975 and 1979.

Traffic through Sisters basically comprises residents of the town and surrounding areas, and visitors either passing through town or staying briefly at nearby resorts, campgrounds, or other facilities. Since 1970, a growing share of the traffic volume has been attributable to full or part-time residents of nearby subdivisions and outlying areas.
Figure 4. Locations of vehicle traffic counters in Sisters.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>2,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>2,450</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,650</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>2,650</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>3,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>2,950</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>3,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>2,950</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>3,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>3,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>3,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>4,150</td>
<td>4,250</td>
<td>4,900</td>
<td>4,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>4,950</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,200</td>
<td>5,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>4,750</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,200</td>
<td>5,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>5,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>4,300</td>
<td>5,200</td>
<td>5,900</td>
<td>5,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Local Subdivisions

The impact of nearby non-commercial residential subdivisions on the town of Sisters has been profound. The developments have brought more permanent residents into Sisters' service area and have increased the number of area tourists who either own summer homes or are guests of local home owners. Four subdivisions—Indian Ford Ranch, Black Butte Ranch, Tollgate and Crossroads—lie within a ten mile radius of Sisters and offer a combined total of over 1,900 homesites (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Residential subdivisions in the Sisters area
Indian Ford Ranch, which was started in 1960, was the first subdivision built in Deschutes County outside of Bend (Smith, 1978). Situated one mile north of Sisters, the 1,700 acre recreational and residential development occupies forest and meadow land which was once a large cattle ranch. Presently, there are 365 lots, none of which is less than one acre in size. About 200 homes have been built; the majority of which house permanent residents. As an indication of the increase in land values over the past decade, the price of one acre lots at Indian Ford Ranch has risen from about $3,500 to $40,000 and more today.

The most prolific private developer in the area has been the Brooks Resources Corporation whose area developments include the Black Butte Ranch, Tollgate and Crossroads subdivisions. The successful Black Butte Ranch has been Brooks' showcase development and has had the greatest impact among the subdivisions upon Sisters. Much of the 1,800 acre development, consolidated by Brooks in 1969, had been a poorly-drained cattle ranch since the late 1800's. Drainage and development were begun almost immediately upon acquisition of the property and the first sites were leased in 1971. The subdivision, which lies off of U.S. 20 northwest of Sisters, consists of 1,250 homesites, two golf courses, tennis courts, swimming pools and other recreational accommodations (Figure 6). The only available commercial facilities are a lodge, restaurant and bar.

Of the available homesites about 950 are built with houses and an estimated one-sixth of these are occupied by permanent residents,
Figure 6. Aerial view of Black Butte Ranch Subdivision. View is southwest from top of Black Butte. Residences surround the meadow (foreground) and are flanked by two golf courses at right and left sides of photo. In background are from right, Belknap Crater and the North and South Sister peaks.
most of whom are retired. As of August, 1982 only about 14 of the 1,250 homesites remained at prices ranging from nearly $50,000 to more than $100,000 (Mainwaring, 1982, p. 40). These prices have climbed significantly higher than the typical lot prices of $6,000 to 8,000 when the subdivision was originally opened. A survey of real estate advertisements appearing in early summer, 1983 issues of Sisters' weekly newspaper, The Nugget, revealed ranch homes for resale at prices ranging from $100,000 to 295,000. Black Butte Ranch clearly is aimed at high income families which helps explain the significance of its impact on the area's economy.

The more moderately priced Tollgate and Crossroads subdivisions, which were developed between 1973 and 74, are Brooks' concessions to the lower end of the real estate spectrum. Tollgate lies about two miles west of Sisters off of U.S. 20 and consists of about 440 one acre units, a couple tennis courts, a pool, and a recreation center. About two-thirds of the 150 or so houses which have thus far been built are occupied year-round. Lot prices started at about $2,500, peaked above $12,000 in the mid-1970's and today sell for close to $9,000. Crossroads, which is also within a few miles of town, is the least expensive of the three developments. The subdivision presently claims over 60 permanent residents.

The Metolius River Valley

The Metolius River Valley extends north of Black Butte and is about a 15 mile drive from Sisters. It is without a doubt one of the
most scenic areas in all of central Oregon. It is also a popular tourist destination and offers numerous campgrounds, resorts and a moderate-sized subdivision. Tourist development along the Metolius River dates back over three-quarters of a century. However, the acreage devoted to resorts and homesites is minimal as some 90 percent of the land in the valley is owned by the U.S. Forest Service (Hatton, 1980, p. 196).

The center of cultural and economic activities in the valley is the small resort community of Camp Sherman. Here, a general store, post office, restaurant, stables, and several private resorts host thousands of tourists and campers every summer. The Forest Service has estimated approximately 250,000 visitors at the Camp Sherman store each year (Belden, 1980). But, commercial facilities for shoppers at Camp Sherman are few in number. Hence, the merchants of nearby Sisters benefit from the patronage of valley resident and tourists who often include a visit to Sisters during their stay in the area.

The number of visitors to the valley saw its most rapid gain during the decade of the 1970's. The area's growing popularity is indicated by Forest Service annual vehicle counts which steadily rose from 162,000 in 1970 to 226,000 and then to a peak of 263,323 in the year 1973 and 1978, respectively. The development of Black Butte Ranch about 8 miles to the south and the increasing activity at the Hoodoo ski area brought more visitors to the valley. Also important
was the development in 1973 of the valley's first and only subdivision.

Metolius Meadows, a 150 acre subdivision with some 140 available homesites, was developed in Camp Sherman over the strong objections of many residents and environmentalists (Belden, 1980). The development made available for purchase private property which had formerly been scarce in the Metolius Valley and brought in more permanent residents. In contrast to the 1950's when approximately 60 people lived full-time in Camp Sherman, there were about 150 residents in 1980 (Belden, 1980). In the summer the population includes an additional 500 persons (Belden, 1980). It is unlikely that the valley's population will increase much more as there is little remaining private land available. Forest Service land policies in the area will be a determining factor.

Tourism Promotion: Downtown Architectural Renovation

In the past, Sisters held little attraction for visitors. It was a place simply to pass through on the way to Bend or points east. Those who stopped generally purchased gas, grabbed a quick bite to eat, or took a short stretch and a glimpse at the Three Sisters peaks before moving on. If tourism was going to play a part in reviving Sisters' declining economy the town would have to give the traveler cause to stop and take a second look.

A comprehensive plan for Sisters was initiated in 1972. By
1974, the appointed planning commission and a small citizen's planning advisory group had established a formal list of goals and objectives aimed toward providing for orderly and planned growth in the city and its surrounding area (Kinsey, 1977).

Primary economic objectives included increasing net income to the area, revitalizing the town's business climate, and establishing "city identity" by exploiting a potential tourist market and attracting related industries. In support of these objectives, the plan encouraged promotion of Sisters as a "quaint" frontier western town through "the development of a central architectural and sign theme based on western and/or frontier building styles in the 1880's." Fourteen pages of the plan are devoted to description and illustrations of exemplary architectural style complete with false fronts, covered porches, balustrades, sash windows, double hung doors and wood sidewalks (Ward, 1978). Figure 7 shows examples of businesses in compliance with the western motif.

As a result of the goals and objectives set forth in Sisters' 1974 Comprehensive Plan (which was updated in 1979), the city council adopted an ordinance mandating all new buildings and exterior remodeling in the downtown business sector to conform to the 1880's architectural theme. Relatively few objections among merchants arose to the ordinance and not long afterwards the western architectural style became the dominant style among Sisters' businesses. Some of the renovations have interpreted the architectural theme more liter-
Figure 7. Examples of 1880's architectural theme.

Above, the Sisters Hotel, opened in 1912, is now an art gallery and antique collective. This photo was taken during rodeo weekend when thousands of tourists from throughout the West visit the area. A parade through the center of town (Cascade St.) marks the beginning of the festivities.
ally than others, but on the whole, all have complied in spirit and today neon signs and modern designs are the exception in Sisters.

The town of Sisters is not the first to utilize the concept of a single architectural style for economic purposes. Leavenworth, Washington offers a fine example of the successful implementation of a downtown remodeling program (Packer, 1974). Development of their alpine theme began around 1965 as an outgrowth of a community development program. Leavenworth, in turn, was encouraged in its efforts by a similar tourist-oriented architectural remodeling of Solvang, California to a Scandinavian theme. Probably influential to Sisters was the success of a "westernization" project in Jackson Hole, Wyoming (Jordan, 1974).

Initial adoption of the 1880's theme in Sisters began informally and was on a strictly voluntary basis. Probably the first to remodel their business with a false front were George and Eveline Linn who owned the White Buffalo Indian Museum and Trading Post. They moved to Sisters in 1972 and soon remodeled an old stucco service station into a style which seemed well suited to their business. It had never even occurred to the Linns to acquire a city building permit. After the White Buffalo, other businesses reportedly began adding western fronts or remodeling entire buildings in the western style (Steers, 1974).

Linn, who had served as tourism director for the Phoenix, Arizona and Portland, Oregon chambers of commerce organized the first chamber in Sisters in March of 1974 and was its first president.
After a few months the Sisters Chamber of Commerce, numbering about 30 members, began pushing the "westernization" movement in hopes of bringing more tourists to Sisters (Jordan, 1974).

Former Sisters mayor, George Sproat, credits the local Jaycees with the western theme and its promotion long before the idea was formalized. Other town residents feel realtors, in particular Brooks Resources Corp., were largely responsible for encouraging Sisters' face-lift. Brooks Resources did support the town's remodeling efforts and, in fact, offered financial aid and design assistance to some merchants. However, Brooks does not take credit for the western theme.

Brooks' support for the downtown renovations included an offer to put up half of the money for new shop fronts. In addition, the Corporation helped some merchants finance the balance with low interest loans. For a few years Brooks' design department drew plans for the western fronts of buildings in Sisters. Over a seven year period the firm invested about $20,000 in the remodeling of various buildings according to Bill Smith, president of Brooks Resources (Callister, 1978).

Brooks' concern for the appearance and development of Sisters stemmed from their Black Butte Ranch development northwest of town. The subdivision (like Crossroads and Tollgate) offers few services, relying on Sisters as a commercial center. Hence, the firm has looked toward the town to both serve as an interesting and pleasant place to shop and to stimulate sale of their real estate. With time
A cyclical relationship has become clear whereby the development of Sisters has made surrounding properties more attractive and the growing area population, in turn, supports town merchants and fuels expansion of Sisters' business community.
IMPACTS OF TOURISM BASED GROWTH

Downtown Businesses

In 1904, three years after Sisters was platted, the town had grown large enough to support "two good stores, a hotel, a blacksmith shop, a saloon, a real estate office, a livery barn and a splendid school house costing $1,800." (Wilson and Scott, 1974, p. 6) In 1946, the year Sisters was incorporated, the town had much the same businesses and services as in 1904 with the exception of its accommodation to the age of the automobile. The blacksmith shop and livery barn had been replaced by four filling stations, an automotive garage, a machine shop, and a motel (Northwest Telephone Co., 1946).

Today, over 150 small businesses and services exist in a town of approximately 700 persons which before 1970 had experienced two decades of economic decline. Thus, the development of tourism and the town's subsequent economic revitalization, can be seen on the city's downtown streets. The changing composition of Sisters' business community since 1946 is presented in Appendix B. Appendix C shows the locations of Sisters' businesses and services in June, 1983.

Fluctuation of the number of businesses and services in Sisters generally has followed the same pattern as the decline and growth of the town's population. Through the 1950's and 60's the number of businesses tended to stagnate or decline. Economic activity picked
up in the 1970's with particularly sharp rises between 1971 and 72, in 1975 and again between 1978 and 1981. The stagnation in 1973 and 74 may largely be due to the gasoline shortage and slackened tourist activity. As of 1983, Sisters' businesses do not appear to have reached a point of saturation and therefore should continue to increase in number. However, high interest rates and limited remaining developable land downtown may combine to temper the rate of growth.

An examination of Appendix B reveals activities catering to automotive needs have increased in number while the number of filling stations has generally remained high reflecting the town's longtime role serving the traveler. The number of grocery stores, too, has remained fairly constant but one of these is a large supermarket which opened in 1980. This supermarket at the northwest end of town is partially a response to the growth in the nearby subdivisions and has reduced the number of shoppers who previously drove to Redmond or Bend to make major purchases.

Substantial growth among retail establishments has occurred in the "Apparel", "Hardware/Building Supplies", and most importantly "specialty shops" categories. Persons shopping for clothing items prior to about 1976 drove the 20 miles to Redmond or Bend. Today, residents of Sisters are afforded the opportunity to shop in a variety of stores for apparel goods.

The growing number of hardware and building supplies businesses, in conjunction with the recent increase in the number of building and electrical contractors is an indication of the physical growth which
has taken place, particularly since the late 1970's. Also reflective of the growing number of area dwellings is the recent rise in the number of "General Service/Repair" enterprises (including plumbers, electricians, and appliance repair persons).

Probably the most characteristic response to tourism based growth in Sisters is the unusually large number of specialty shops in town. These businesses sell locally produced crafts such as pottery and sewn items, paintings, imported artifacts, antiques, and an assortment of unique gift items. It is, in fact, these small colorful shops along with the western architecture and a nearby ranch featuring llama, camels and other exotic animals that tourists most associate with the town today.

During the early to mid-1970's Sisters became widely known as an "arts and crafts" town as, indeed, a fair number of craftsmen and artists settled in Sisters because of its "smallness, relative isolation and peaceful and beautiful surroundings" (Guernsey, 1976). Ron Leis, a quality potter, painter and sculptor, and owner of the Wildfire Pottery estimates that as many as 20 crafts shops opened in town after he arrived in 1975 but almost all were gone within a year owing partly to the town's growth and commercialization. Nonetheless, the number of specialty shops, which are largely patronized by tourists, has risen from none in 1970 to over 25 early in 1984.

Facilities offering lodging in Sisters have not significantly changed in number during the period of analysis. Three major reasons for this are: (1) Numerous nearby resorts and accommodations offered
by Black Butte Ranch, Indian Ford Ranch, and the neighboring cities of Redmond and Bend; (2) the popularity of recreational vehicles coupled with an abundance of local campgrounds; and (3) the absence of a sewer system in town which inhibits the construction of lodging facilities. The old Sisters Hotel was closed in 1978 and today, under new management, is a museum and antique collective. Since its closure no hotel facilities have been available in town. Some merchants feel that if Sisters is going to realize its potential as a tourist destination, more lodging facilities are needed to keep visitors and their money in town for as long as possible.

The response among professional services, banks, savings and loans, and realtors dramatically testifies to the area's rapid growth and the accompanying influx of money and construction. Prior to 1974 there were no doctors, dentists, veterinarians, lawyers, bankers or similar services in town. Today, a decade later, at least 18 such professionals have offices in Sisters. The steady rise in the number of realtors since 1970, and escalating land values are a result of the growth in demand for commercial and residential property in the Sisters area.

The growth which has characterized Sisters' business community since the early 1970's has been accompanied by a high rate of turnover in business ownership. The Sisters Chamber of Commerce estimates that as many as 15 to 20 businesses open, close or change hands every year. An explanation for this phenomenon, offered by the Chamber, is associated with Sisters' touristic appeal. Typically, it
is explained, a summer visitor impressed by the area's warm climate and natural beauty will convince himself of the town's ideal business and living environment. Soon after settling in Sisters and establishing a business, however, the person may find winter's cool temperatures, slow pace of life and reduced economic activity to be less than ideal. (Traffic in the winter months may be less than one-third of the volume in summer, and is commonly about 50 percent of the annual daily average (Oregon State Highway Division)). Thus, seasonality is an important factor to business survival in Sisters and many merchants depend upon summer earnings to carry them through the slow winters to the next tourist season.

Another reason for the high annual turnover of businesses in Sisters is the nature of their ownership. Many of the town's merchants are retired or have outside sources of income. Consequently, for many, their business is a hobby or tax shelter rather than a primary source of income.

A Limitation to Downtown Growth

Just as it is difficult to determine the level at which growth around the town will slacken, it is hard to say how many commercial activities can potentially be supported in Sisters. The demand for downtown commercial land is great and businesses generally sell as soon as they are put on the market. As a result, prices for commercial property are relatively high for the region and commonly surpass those in Bend. Despite pressure upon the town to provide for the
demands of the area's growing population, however, development has been impeded by restrictions related to the town's lack of a sewer system.

Retail establishments and commercial services primarily are concentrated along Cascade Street with some scattered amidst residences along Main and Hood Streets which run parallel to Cascade on the north and south, respectively (Appendix C). Existing commercial lots typically are 114 feet deep, and range in widths of 30, 40 and 60 feet (Sisters Comprehensive Plan, p. 54). Development flexibility is limited by requirements for off-street parking and septic tank drainage fields over which no development can occur, not even parking lots (Ward, 1980). Some residents who bought land parcels before Sisters' commercial growth have been unable to build on them as the parcels are too small to provide sufficient square footage for sewage drain fields. Consequently, a sizeable amount of prime downtown land that could be used if there were a sewer system, remains undeveloped.

The proposed sewer system has become a central issue among the town's growth versus no-growth advocates. It has been discussed since 1972 and plans have been revised from a city-wide system to one strictly for the downtown area. Most residents will tend to concede that the pressure for growth is intensifying and that the sewer system is inevitable, but many are protective of the "small town atmosphere" and have sought to preserve the town, as they have known it, for as long as possible. The residents of Sisters have three times voted down the bond issues and tax levies proposed in support
of the sewer system. It is not likely that the voters will change their minds in the near future but sewer advocates appear determined to adopt the system and will continue to press the issue.

The arguments posed by the two sides of the debate are straightforward. On the one hand, many of the town's longtime residents benefit little from increasing tourism and the crowds, traffic, and higher taxes which have accompanied area growth. A significant number of them are retired and live on fixed incomes which cannot be stretched to pay for a new sewer system. Others simply do not want to see Sisters lose its charm or character and fear accelerated growth could turn the town into a "sprawling tourist trap". The open space downtown is indeed appreciated by many tourists and the dense development which would be permitted by a sewer system would not contribute to an 1880's atmosphere regardless of the wood false fronted structures.

On the other hand, it was growth in the town's service sector resulting from increasing tourism and area settlement that revitalized Sisters' declining timber-based economy. Further, Sisters presently appears to have few viable alternatives for economic diversification and the trend toward continued area growth appears certain. Rising land values of developed as well as idle downtown property are raising the stakes with respect to passage of the system. Area realtors and developers as well as many town merchants and the City Council are all seeking development of the sewer system.

It should be emphasized, however, that the ultimate impacts re-
resulting from the development of a sewer system in Sisters are not fully known, but at the very least, an increase in the density and number of downtown structures is certain. Also, activities most restricted by the drain field requirements, such as new lodgings, restaurants, and a laundromat are likely to appear after a sewer system is built. Partial state or federal funding, which has been available in the past will be necessary before the system becomes an actuality.

Traffic/Congestion

Aside from the growing number of businesses and services in Sisters the most tangible impact of growth has been the congestion of downtown traffic during the summer months. To some residents traffic is the town's number one problem and was mentioned as a concern by several of the residents surveyed in this study. Conversion to a one-way grid system on Cascade and Hood Streets has been proposed to mitigate the situation. However, like the sewer system proposal, it is controversial and is not likely to be implemented in the immediate future.

As described previously, U.S. Highway 20 is joined by the McKenzie Highway at the western city limits and by the Redmond Highway beyond the eastern city limits. When traffic flowing from the east and west on these two-lane uncontrolled highways reaches Sisters it bottles up often creating serious traffic congestion. At the height of the tourist season, on weekends, and on special occasions,
movement of vehicular traffic on Cascade Street is frequently reduced to a barely detectable pace. Contributing to the problem is on-street parking along both sides of Cascade Street, the lack of turn refuge lanes, and uncontrolled pedestrian crossings. On days when traffic is heavy, such as during rodeo weekend, it is extremely difficult to travel north or south across the main thoroughfare.

The proposal for a one-way grid system, converting Cascade Street to one-way west and Hood Street to one-way east, has been discussed for several years. In fact, state highway funds, which would have entirely defrayed construction costs, have been available in the past. But, opposition to the proposal has been strong and its implementation does not appear likely in the near future. Many residents see the one-way routing as both beneficial to the town and as an "inevitable" solution to the traffic problem which has intensified over the past decade. Most Cascade merchants, on the other hand, fear they will lose much of their business if traffic flow picks up and is partially diverted from the main business street. One merchant summed up their feelings thusly:

> Some people would like traffic to move faster through town but the businesses would like people to slow down ... When people slow down, they decide to stop and look around. All the merchants need that. (The Nugget, 1980, p. 3).

Clearly, the impact of congestion and crowds upon Sisters is not entirely negative. The money which visitors spend in town is important to the viability of Sisters' business community which, in turn, provides for increased employment opportunities in town. More-
over, some town residents value social contact with outsiders and enjoy the active summer season. However, the benefits as well as the liabilities coincident with Sisters' downtown pedestrian and vehicular traffic are not distributed evenly among town residents. Some form of compromise appears necessary if plans to alleviate congestion are to meet the approval of downtown merchants as well as the other residents of Sisters.

Community Goals and Values

Perhaps the most intangible yet, undoubtedly, the most profound change accompanying Sisters' growth has been that in the community's goals and values. The residents comprising the community today are a more heterogeneous and transient population than those present in Sisters prior to the 1970's. The attitudes and expectations of persons settling in Sisters during the past decade are commonly divergent from those of long-time residents. Consequently, a consensus among the residents of Sisters regarding the town's future does not exist.

Studies by Butler (1979) and Belisle and Hoy (1980) looking at resident perceptions of tourism in other communities found that respondents with more tourist contact felt more positive about gains from tourism. Similarly, residents most opposed to visitors have the least contact with them. These findings apply to the town of Sisters. Many of the town's merchants and realtors welcome the growing number of visitors to Sisters and see controlled growth as
being beneficial to the town's future. On the other hand, a large proportion of Sisters' retired and long-time residents see the town's growth and commercialization as a threat to the quality of life which initially attracted them to Sisters.

All of Sisters' residents potentially benefit from the greater availability and selection of goods and services now available in town. But, the revenue received by the merchants does not compensate all of the townspeople who must share the indirect costs resulting from growth. Thus, residents who do not anticipate revenue from visitors to the town generally see tourist traffic and crowds differently from the way the town's business people do. In addition, the demand for more vacation homes, businesses and tourist facilities may provide sources of income for builders, realtors and landowners, but local residents must pay more for their homes and higher taxes as a result of the increased land values (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p. 88).

Regardless of the wishes of some town residents to limit further development or to regain some of the qualities of earlier times, Sisters and its surrounding region are continuing their economic and social transformation which began when white settlers first crossed over the Cascades and into the area more than a century ago. Cheng, in her study of tourism development in a resort town in the Canadian Rockies describes a growth process familiar to many towns including Sisters:

Those who will not adapt, depart, and so make room for those who can ... The process is a form of
invasion and succession, where successive waves of newcomers bring their business ideas, objectives, and values to town, become established..." and thereby help to change the town's commercial image.

In this process of invasion and succession, the newcomers drive out the old-timers living in the town for its natural environment rather than its commercial opportunities (Cheng, 1980, p. 77).

One resident, reflecting on Sisters' commercialization and its increasingly transient population, likened the town today to a "flea market" at which people set-up and try to make as much money as possible but do not care how they leave their site as they may pack-up and be gone tomorrow. While this represents an extreme view it does suggest a negative implication of the town's tourism development and recent role as a "service community" for surrounding areas. Many of the merchants are non-residents and together with town visitors often tend to see Sisters as a recreation environment when it is in fact also an environment for living. Not all of the residents of Sisters share a common idea about the town's future, but the values of all of the citizens, regardless of their political or economic influence, should be considered in any formulation of plans for the future.
CONCLUSIONS

As a result of its revitalization and shift from almost complete dependence on logging, timber management and other forest related activities, the community of Sisters has experienced significant physical, social and economic changes. Many of the relative newcomers to Sisters hold a different view of area growth from that held by some long-time residents. Hence, residents of the community see tourism's expanding role variously depending on their relationship with the tourists. While many of those opposed to the town's growth are retired and therefore do not depend on tourism for their livelihood, some are shop owners and crafts people who would be content with smaller numbers of area visitors if the valued open space in town and a reasonable quality of life could be maintained.

Among the benefits to the community of Sisters resulting from area growth and an expanding tourist industry are: increased net income to businesses; an expanded range of available local goods and services; greater and more varied employment opportunities; physical improvement of town structures; and the potential for a more diverse social life.

Due to the sizeable number of businesses owned by inhabitants of the surrounding area, however, it is difficult to assess the extent to which Sisters directly benefits from the improved business climate. While downtown growth has increased the burden upon public facilities and services, it is uncertain whether the merchants have
broadened the city's tax base to an adequate extent to pay the cost. Some concerns and undesirable features associated with economic growth and tourism expansion in the Sisters area include: loss of "small town" atmosphere and community character; increased congestion; loss of open space and surrounding forestland; rising taxes due to higher land values; and private speculation raising the costs to local residents of land and housing.

Encouragement of tourism through architectural renovations or other means has implications often ignored by economic planners and policy makers. When an area such as that surrounding the town of Sisters with its attractive business and living environments is made a showcase for visitors, some inevitably will choose to settle there. Oregonians are apparently aware of this phenomenon as State tourism promotion in the 1970's urged visitors to come see the beautiful sights and spend some money, but by all means to not plan on staying. However, much of the growth Sisters has experienced since the early 1970's, reflects the tendency of some people to migrate to places they especially like. The majority of persons who have settled in the subdivisions and outlying areas of Sisters were probably first introduced to the area as tourists. Limited local employment opportunities have discouraged some persons from staying in the Sisters area; however many leave with hopes of returning to retire there someday.

In light of the growth tourism often brings to a region or town, several questions arise which should elicit useful points for other
small towns looking to Sisters and similar communities for development models: Does tourism as a means of economic development afford the opportunity to control the rate and extent of growth which a community might deem desirable? While some growth might be sought by a portion of the townspeople, who will determine how much growth is desirable? And when or if such a determination is made, will the town have the power to limit further growth, particularly that which occurs in the town's surrounding region? Consideration of these and similar questions is important as once growth has begun it becomes increasingly difficult to stop.

The community of Sisters appears to have only limited control over further growth as much of the population increase and residential development continues to take place in the surrounding region. Some of the town's residents have made their feelings about growth known by rejecting the proposed sewer system referendums, but many concede that passage is only a matter of time. Meanwhile, the area will continue to attract persons seeking recreation and retirement as well as developers and entrepreneurs anxious to serve the newcomers. However, unlike the decade of the 1970's which was marked by rapid population growth and intensive land speculation and development, the 1980's will most likely witness a more moderate level of activity in Sisters while the town continues its historic role serving the traveler.
REFERENCES


INTERVIEWEES AND CORRESPONDENTS

Raymond Hatton, Associate Professor of Geography at Central Oregon Community College and author of several works on central Oregon. Bend.

Ron Leis, craftsman and merchant. Sisters.

Michael Oxman, Project Manager, Brooks Resources Corp. Bend.

Mike Gallagher, General Manager, Black Butte Ranch. Bend.

Mary Joe Cochran, employee at Indian Ford Ranch and long-time area resident. Also, formerly worked in county planning office.

George Linn, former town resident and merchant and past president of Sisters Chamber of Commerce. Madras.

Robert Grooney, merchant and past president of Sisters Chamber of Commerce. Sisters.

George Sproat, long-time resident and former mayor and city council member. Sisters.

Mike Reed, realtor and rodeo organizer. Sisters.


Clifford and Sally Ray, residents since 1948. Sisters.

Fred Painter, resident since 1949. Sisters.

Vance and Kathi Young, merchants and hosts of Sisters Chamber of Commerce. Sisters.

In addition to the persons listed above, 18 persons, including employees of the county planning office, Deschutes Historical Center, county library, Sisters library and other area residents, were consulted.
APPENDIX A

CENTRAL OREGON CHRONOLOGY
APPENDIX A

CENTRAL OREGON CHRONOLOGY

1825  Peter Skene Ogden made first recorded exploration of Central Oregon.

1842-1860  Old Oregon Trail.

1859  Andrew Wiley discovered Santiam Pass (Wagon road constructed in 1866-67).

1862  Felix Scott, Jr. developed trail from valley along the McKenzie River.

1865  Capt. Lafollette and army volunteers occupy Camp Polk (leave in 1866).

1870  Camp Polk site homesteaded by Samuel M. W. Hindman. Oregon east of the Cascades still without a town.

1871  Irrigated agriculture in central Oregon started on Squaw Creek.

1872  John Craig's road over McKenzie Pass open to travel.

1875  Post Office and store established by Hindman, named Camp Polk.

1877  Prineville a town--the first in central Oregon.

1880  Large flocks of sheep driven past Sisters site from interior ranches to summer pastures in the high Cascades.

1885  Sisters' first school built.

1888  Camp Polk post office moved to Sisters and renamed.

1890  Small sawmills operated on Squaw Creek and Pole Creek two years later.

1891  Mail line ran from Sisters to Cascadia.

1895  First large scale irrigation project began--water diverted from Squaw Creek near Sisters to nearly 6,000 acres.
CENTRAL OREGON CHRONOLOGY (Continued)

1900 Railroad came to central Oregon (to Shaniko). Bend population grown to 21 persons.

1901 July 10, townsite plat of Sisters was filed by Smith brothers. (It comprised six city blocks.)

1905 January 4, Bend incorporated (Redmond incorporated in 1910).

1908 Heyday of sheep traffic through Sisters bound for mountain ranges. Cattle raising had become an important industry centering around the Black Butte Ranch.

1911 By now most of land capable of cropping is occupied.

1912 Sisters Hotel built.

1914 Lumber mill established in Sisters (U.S. Forest Service and Barclay Logging Co. are major employers in Sisters area).

1916/1971 Sisters domestic water system formed.

1923/1924 Sisters swept by two disastrous fires.

1930 Sisters electricity provided by Langman Electric Co.

1939 January 27, Sisters library open to public.

1940 "The Biggest Little Show in the World" rodeo first held.

1941 Central Electric Cooperative ran a line to Sisters from Redmond to replace private plant.

1946 Sisters incorporated (by a special election vote of 115 to 61 in favor). Sisters' population: about 700 persons.

1949 About 8 small sawmills operating around Sisters.

1951 Street lights installed on Cascade. Also, street paved from sidewalk to sidewalk.

1952 4 lumber mill closures in Sisters. Water system worked over and improved.
1953  Over 40 percent of all wages covered by State Unemployment Insurance Act in Deschutes Co. paid by the lumber industry.

1960's  other streets of Sisters paved. Lundren mill, north of Sisters closed (Sisters no longer called a "mill town").

1961  Indian Ford Ranch subdivision began development.


1965  Last mill in Sisters are closed (outward migration of residents).

1967  Sisters Airport opened. Water system again worked over.

1969  Brooks Resources of Bend purchased Black Butte Ranch and announced plans for land developments on the property.

1970  Black Butte Ranch homesites put on market.

1972  Comprehensive Plan initiated, prompted by increased development in the area.

1974  Planning Commission and small citizen advisory committee established a formal list of objectives, stressing importance of tourism and related industries being attracted by the "old west" theme.


1979  Gallery Shopping Mall opens with ten shops. Sisters first medical doctor opened practice in the town.
APPENDIX B

BUSINESS COMPOSITION IN SISTERS SINCE INCORPORATION
APPENDIX B

BUSINESS COMPOSITION IN SISTERS SINCE INCORPORATION

The source of the information presented in the table of this Appendix is the white pages of annual telephone directories for the city of Sisters. The numbers presented in the table may not fully represent the composition of businesses in any particular year as some businesses may not have had phone listings. Also, the status of businesses can change in any year as business start-ups and closures do not necessarily coincide with publication of phone listings. Information from area residents and printed materials including yellow page advertisements were used to help categorize the activities as they appear in the table as well as to confirm, where necessary, their location within the city limits.

Businesses are categorized by 21 classifications, aggregated into three basic groups including: (1) retail and basic service activities; (2) lodging facilities; and (3) more specialized and recently established services. The data is presented annually after 1970-71 as this is the period of most significant development. An "Unclassified/Miscellaneous" category has been used to account for activities which either could not be identified or were not well-suited to the existing classifications.

1Sources of Sisters' phone listings include: Northwest Telephone Company (1946-1960); Oregon Washington Telephone Co. (1965-66); United Telephone Company of the Northwest (1970-1983).
### APPENDIX B: BUSINESS COMPOSITION IN SISTERS SINCE INCORPORATION

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BUSINESS COMPOSITION IN SISTERS SINCE INCORPORATION (Continued)

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APPENDIX C

MAP OF SISTERS' DOWNTOWN BUSINESSES AND SERVICES
APPENDIX C. Map of Sisters' downtown businesses and services.
APPENDIX C

MAP OF SISTERS' DOWNTOWN BUSINESSES AND SERVICES

KEY TO BUSINESS LOCATIONS

1. Rip's Restaurant and Lounge
2. Pioneer Sentry Market
3. Sisters Barber and Styling Salon
4. Lutton's True Value Hardware/Decorating Center
5. Mobile Service Station
6. Sno Cap Drive In
7. Olsen's Chevron Service Station
8. Pioneer Medical Center
9. Hoyt's Hardware & Building Supply
10. Virtue Magazine
11. Sisters Cabinet & Woodworking
12. Pope's Auto Center
13. Sister's Automotive Industries
14. Sisters Auto Body & Paint
15. Russell's Equipment & Storage
16. Welding Shop
17. U-Lock-It Storage Units
18. Dagate's Agates & Gallery of Lapidary Arts

The list of activities considered here is not exhaustive but is nearly so, as based upon a map published by the Sisters Chamber of Commerce (1983) and a sidewalk survey conducted in mid-June 1983.
19. Sadie's Backdoor (Women's Apparel)  
20. Sisters Escrow Company  
21. Depot Deli Restaurant  
22. Craig E. Brown Designer  
23. The Fly Box (Fishing Equipment)  
24. Black Butte Ranch Vacation Rentals  
25. Landmark Video  
26. The Book Stall  
27. Adventures in Wood  
28. Cascade Gallery  
29. Shirt Stop  
30. Goodwin Bros. Realty  
31. Collectables, Treasurers, Trash & Trivia  
32. The Crafting Patch  
33. Memories (Antiques)  
34. Rainbow Connection (Toy Shop & Gifts)  
35. The Upstairs (ladies sportswear)  
36. Bernhart's Designing & Tayloring  
37. Le Goose (Arts, Crafts, Gifts)  
38. Sisters Market  
39. Stitchin Post  
40. Elegant Dromedary (Interiors, Gifts)  
41. Hair Cache  
42. Sears
43. Farmers Insurance
44. Leavitt's Western Wear
45. Nancy's Fancys (Flowers & Plants)
46. Art Merchant
47. Offices (Architecture, Solar Builders, Real Estate)
48. Yukon Jack's Saloon
49. Williamson Jewelers
50. Sweet Things (Candy & Gifts)
51. Hotel Sisters (Antiques, Art Gallery)
52. Davis Tire & Service Station
53. Far West Federal Bank
54. Western Bank
55. Ski Inn Restaurant
56. Costello & Goodwin Lawyers
57. Fort Kid (Day Care)
58. Sisters Vision Clinic
59. Dr. Bonnie Malone (Chiropractic Phy.)
60. The Nugget Newspaper
61. Nancy Simpson Bookkeeping & Office Service
62. Sisters' Professional Center (4 offices)
63. Dr. Warren Urda, DDS
64. Village Interiors
65. SK Custom Tile Works
66. Texaco Service Station
DOWNTOWN BUSINESSES AND SERVICES (Continued)

67. Park Motel
68. Sandy's Warehouse
69. Ranch House Wines & Deli
70. Papandrea's Pizzeria
71. United telephone Co. of the Northwest
72. Sisters Veterinary Clinic
73. Red Onion (Second Hand)
74. Wildfire Pottery
75. The Tollhouse Restaurant
76. Sisters Bakery
77. One-Eyes Bear (Hair Styling)
78. EZ Stop Market
79. Sisters Motor Supply
80. Radio Shack
81. Sisters Bargain Barn
82. BJ & Friends (Hair Styling)
83. Butterscotch & Co. (Wicker, Plants)
84. Creative Country Boutique
85. Sisters Drug Co. (and State Liquor)
86. Mountain Supply Co.
87. Union 76 Service Station
88. The Gallery Restaurant & Bar
89. Cook's Nook
DOWNTOWN BUSINESSES AND SERVICES (Continued)

90. Sisters Mercantile (Apparel)
91. Lil Buckaroos (Infants & Children's Boutique)
92. Plum Pretty (Ladies Apparel)
93. Grooney's Gallimaufry (Natural Foods, Gifts)
94. The Brass Oak (Gifts, Interiors)
95. The Dime Store
96. The Hen's Tooth (Gifts, Kitchen)
97. Steppin' Up (Shoes)
98. U.S. National Bank
99. Three Creeks Professional Building (Attorney, CPA, Realtor, Contractor, Insurance, Forest Products, Log Buildings)
100. Booktree Realty
101. BeBo's Candy
102. Silver Eagle Coin & Gun
103. Beacham's Clock Co.
104. Sisters Boot Co.
105. Arco Service Station
106. Reed Bros. Realty
107. Sisters Country Antiques (& Chamber of Commerce)
108. Stage Stop Stationer
109. Burton's
110. Whitney's Sporting Goods
111. Locksmith
112. Sisters General Store & Exxon Service Station
113. Silver Spur Motel
114. Davis Towing Co.
115. Brinkley's Grub Stake Ceramics (Gifts, Bike Repair, Misc.)
116. Sisters Motor Lodge
117. Country Hut Beauty Salon