

Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI)

INVENTORY SUMMARY

File:
Grand Teton

A. Completion Status:

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Level I	Date: 8/1990	Recorder: C. Gilbert
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Level II	Date: 5/1994	Recorder: C. Miller, J. Caywood
<input type="checkbox"/> Level III	Date:	Recorder:

B. Inventory Description:

At the request of the NPS Rocky Mountain Regional Office (now the Rocky Mountain System Support Office), the potentially eligible historic landscape of Mormon Row was surveyed as part of a Level II -Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) during the spring and summer of 1995. A Level I Reconnaissance Survey had been completed during 1990 establishing Mormon Row as one of the priorities for a Level II Analysis and Evaluation. This inventory, analysis and evaluation was conducted by the staff of Amphion Environmental Inc. and Historical Research Associates, Inc. under the direction of the Rocky Mountain Regional Office. A team of one historian, one landscape architect and one archaeologist completed the work. Between the months of May and August, the survey team conducted historical research at local and regional repositories; identified natural and cultural resources and features; mapped and photographed extensively; and prepared this draft document for review. The survey team was joined in the field on several occasions by Mike Johnson, the park Cultural Resource Specialist, other park planners and landscapes architects, and by Peggy Foreschauer, the Historical Landscape Architect for the Southwest Region (now the Southwest System Support Office).

During the course of field work, it became evident that the extent of the Mormon Row Cultural Landscape was considerably larger than originally envisioned. Within the original boundary defined by the National Register Evaluation in 1990¹ were cultural features that extended into the larger landscape. During field work the area within the original boundary surrounding the clusters of historic structures from the Reed Moulton home site (a.k.a. Thomas Murphy property) at the north, to the Andy Chambers granary on the south received a systematic inventory. Additional landscape components were also discovered that clearly related to the Mormon Row though not physically connected. These features outside of the original boundary were identified where visible, though the entire area covering the original homesteads could not be visited within the contracted scope of work. Further systematic inventory will be required of these features to determine their contribution to the overall cultural landscape.

The Mormon Row Cultural Landscape contains landscape features representative of two periods: 1) homesteading and 2) development of Grand Teton National Park. A context for the homesteading period has been well documented. The second of the distinct periods relates to the history of the conservation movement, park development and federal management of the area that continues today. The purchase of lands by the Snake River Company in the 1920s and 1930s to create the park, hay production for the National Elk Refuge by the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFS) from 1952 through 1976, and the National Park Service conservation and resource management policies have influenced the remnant cultural landscape of the underlying homesteading period. The lack of detailed understanding of this second era and of its physical features creates a gap in the framework of the historic context. This gap makes it more difficult to determine the period of significance and whether some of the features outside of the original 1990 landscape boundary are contributing elements to the Mormon Row Cultural Landscape or are intrusions.

¹ Carter, Thomas. National Register Evaluation of Vernacular Architecture in Grand Teton National Park. Unpublished Report. March 15, 1990. Pg. 4 (un-numbered pages).

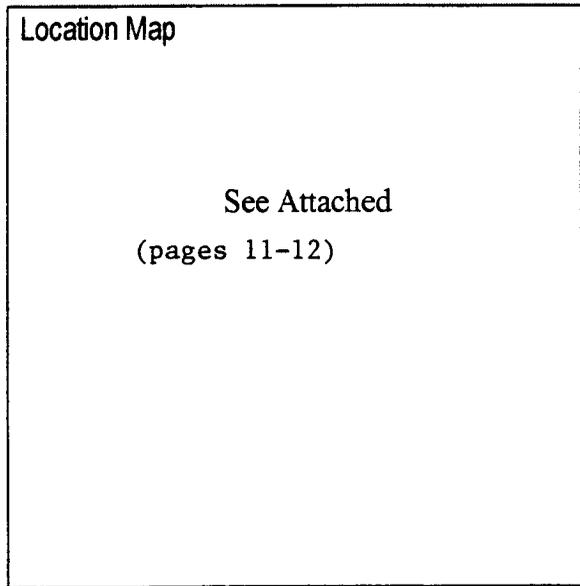
As a result of this inventory the Mormon Row Landscape is classified as a component landscape - a landscape unit which contributes to the significance of a larger landscape and itself can be subdivided into individual features. The component landscape may contribute to the significance of a National Register property, or as in the case here, have the potential to be individually eligible for the National Register.

Mormon Row is a component of the broader landscape of homesteading in Jackson Hole and throughout the intermountain region. Ethnographic influences of the Mormon families that expanded the Mormon cultural region are visible. However, the Mormon influences appear secondary to the vernacular agricultural patterns relating to Gentiles and Mormons alike. This area is also a component of the historic landscape of Antelope Flats/ Jackson Hole on lands now contained in Grand Teton National Park. The landscape has been shaped by the overlay of a variety of historical land use activities (e.g. homesteading, cultivation, grazing, as well as conservation, park development and public recreation) that have left tangible vegetative, topographic and structural remnants. The potential significance and integrity of the larger scale historic landscape cannot be addressed until additional research of the site, a park wide Level I inventory, and an administrative history is completed. Until that time our classification is limited to the 5,080 acre Mormon Row homesteads, a potentially eligible, component historic landscape.

- C. Inventory Included a Site Visit:
 Field work May 25 - 31, 1995.
 Field work June 18 - July 1, 1995

II. GENERAL LANDSCAPE INFORMATION

- A. Property Level:
 - Landscape
 - Component Landscape
- B. Site Name(s):
 Historic: Grovont (Mormon Row)
 Current: Mormon Row
- C. CLI Number: [unassigned for now]
- D. Associated CLI Number(s):
 Landscape:
 Component Landscape:
- E. Site Identification:
 Park Alpha Code: GRTE
 Park/District Orgcode: Gros Ventre sub-district
 Management Unit:
 Tract Number:
 Region: Rocky Mountain
 State: Wyoming
 County: Teton
- F. Site Location:
 U.S.G.S. Quad: Moose & Shadow Mountain
 Other:



G. Cultural Landscape Boundary Description:

Because Mormon Row has never been officially listed on the National Register, no formal boundaries have been drawn around this cultural landscape. The boundary recommended in 1990 nominations focused on the extant building clusters. It is recommended that the cultural landscape boundary be expanded to include the entirety of the original homestead withdrawals from 1896 - 1926, as well as the associated irrigation improvements constructed through 1936.

H. Boundary UTMS:**I. Cultural Landscape Size: 5,080 acres****J. Cultural Landscape Description:**

The cultural landscape is defined by the cluster of extant structures and features -- their spatial relation to each other and to the surrounding sagebrush flats, hay fields, forests and mountains. The extant resources that retain their historic integrity include six building clusters, one isolated structure, six ditch irrigation systems, field patterns on eight homesteaded lands, roads and trails. Other features that contribute to the significance of the property include fence lines associated with homestead lands, a swimming hole and various ground features and indications of non-extant historic structures. Important natural features include adjacent sage-covered valley bottomlands, The Knoll, Ditch Creek, the Gros Ventre River, Budge Slough, Blacktail Butte, and more distant Timbered Island, Shadow Mountain and Teton National Forest lands.

Losses and changes to the cultural landscape prevent the complete restoration of the historic scene. Based on inspection reports, period photographs and maps, it is possible to conclude the following historic buildings and structures have been removed from the narrowly defined area extending from the Eggleston homestead to the Murphy homestead: the majority of the buildings associated with the T.A. Moulton homestead (barn and miscellaneous small structures remain); the majority of the buildings associated with the J. Eggleston homestead (the granary remains); the public school and the Latter Day Saints church. Entire homestead clusters varying in size from one to four buildings have been lost on the 18 homesteads south of the Johnson Eggleston Ditch. Only archeological remnants or windrows are visible on the Kafferlin (formerly Woodward), J.I. May, J. H. May and Budge properties. Additional archeological sites may be located on the other 14 homesteads. Similarly, only archaeological evidence remains on those homestead north of T. Murphy and east and west of the primary thoroughfare or "Mormon Row".

Non contributing additions to the historic site include the features of:

- Residential subdivision on the eastern portions of Reed Moulton (Formerly J.B. Heninger/ Thomas Murphy property).
- Antelope Flats Road - alignment diagonally across Ireton homestead post 1945
- Log bridge over Ditch Creek on Old Moran/ Jackson Road (circa 1970)
- Four modern Cabins on Clark Moulton property
- Sagebrush intrusion into historically cultivated fields.

K. Cultural Landscape Contexts

Physiographic:

Political:

Cultural:

L. Assessment of Overall Condition of Landscape:

- Good
- Fair
- Poor
- Unknown

M. Assessment of Overall Level of Impact Severity:

- Severe
- Moderate
- Poor
- Unknown

N. Immediate Threats to Landscape:

- Impending Development
- Release to Succession
- Adjacent Lands--unknown, but potential impact
- Other
- Unknown

O. Adjacent Lands Contribute to the Significance of the Landscape and are Considered in the Inventory:

- Yes
- No
- Undetermined

III. SITE PLAN

See attached

IV. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Landscape Type:

- Designed
- Vernacular
- Historic Site
- Ethnographic

B. Land Use:

Historic: Homesteading with family scale production of hay and oats, cattle & sheep, Land consolidation to form National Monument/ National Park
 Potentially historic (reevaluate as it reaches 50 year status): Large scale haying operation
 Current: Natural resource area, tourism, private residences

C. Chronology of Related Events and Development

Map	Date(s)	Event
	1896 to 1927	Original settlement and withdrawal of homesteading claims
	1896 to 1937	Water appropriations and development of irrigation ditch system throughout Mormon Row
	1927 - 1933	Snake River Land Company purchases lands for donation to a Federal Reserve. By 1933 have 35, 310.396 acres
	1929	Original National Park established. Governor reversed previous position and permits Mormon Row lands returned to Snake River Land Company's purchase program.
	1943	Formation of Grand Teton National Monument, incorporating all of "Mormon Row" and the surround sagebrush flats (Antelope Flats)
	1947	Original owner of Antelope Flat subdivision sold property within Jackson Hole National Monument. New owners subdivided and sold every lot in same year.
	1949	Rockerfellers donate 32,419 acres to United States for extension of Grand Teton National Park
	1950	Legislation from Congress to form Grand Teton National Park

	1952 - 1976?	US Fish & Wildlife Service production of hay for feed for National Elk Refuge
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D. Site History Narrative:
See attached narrative

E. National Register Status:

- Landscape is Listed on the National Register
Landscape Documentation is
Dates of Documentation:
National Register Form:
Amendment to National Register Nomination: [needed]
- Landscape is Not Listed on National Register & is Determined Significant Based on the Findings of: Level I--CLI
- Landscape Has Been Determined Eligible by SHPO, Date:

F. National Register Classification:

G. National Register Significance:

H. National Register Significance Criteria:

I. Historic Context(s): Homesteading in Jackson Hole.

J. Statement of Significance:

Significant cultural resources that reflect themes, events, people and activities important in the Mormon Row history can be identified under each of the National Register Criterion A and C as they relate to the homesteading context under the theme of "Exploration / Settlement." Additional areas of significance include agriculture, architecture, engineering and conservation. Although several resources within this landscape are representative of Mormon cultural traditions, these are subsidiary to the predominant pattern of agricultural development.

The integrity of the resource, as defined by the continuum of patterns and uses in the area since its settlement are still strong despite of loss of some features. Mormon Row has significant historical associations that meet with the National Register criteria in terms of:

Criterion A: It is the continuum of these early patterns of settlement, agricultural uses and their evidence in the landscape that typify homesteading throughout the intermountain west and provides the basis for evaluation of Mormon Row.

Criterion C: Most of the extant structures are examples of distinctive characteristic of types and styles related to vernacular architecture of homesteading era and meet the requirements outlined in the vernacular architecture context.

Criterion D: The potential significance of the archaeological remains has not been addressed under the current project. Additional investigations will have to be conducted to determine the potential of extant structures and archeological sites for yielding information important to the history of homesteading and settlement for Jackson Hole and the intermountain west.

Landscape features are also associated with the conservation movement that began with Snake River Company acquisitions in the 1920s, the development of the National Park and the adjacent National Elk Refuge. Many of the remnant features that contribute to the conservation theme do not qualify as significant since they relate to the years after 1945. However, the following should be re-evaluated for significance when they reach 50 years of age:

- Crop patterns from the USFWS haying operations for feeding of elk on refuge between 1952 to 1975.
- National Park Service natural resource protection policies

The period of significance for the Mormon Row historic landscape extends from 1896, which marks the arrival of the first homesteaders, to the mid 1970s, and the privately operated final threshing.

K. National Historic Landmark Status:

L. World Heritage Site:

M. List of Primary Contributing Features:

Landscape Feature	CLI/LCS #
<p>Irrigation Ditches and field distribution patterns: Sources: Ditch Creek, Mud Springs (Kelly Hot Springs) & Gros Ventre River Main ditches, appropriation gates and instream structures on: Mormon Row Ditch, Savage Ditch, May Stock Ditch, Trail Ditch, Johnson Eggleston Ditch, Hot Springs Ditch Field patterns in: Murphy, J. Moulton, T.A. Moulton, J. Eggleston, J. Johnson, A Chambers, T. Perry, and Harthoorn. [Additional field patterns outside of original boundary need documentation - out of scope of work.] Field distribution gates and water control structures located in: Murphy, J. Moulton, T.A. Moulton, J. Eggleston, J. Johnson, A Chambers, T. Perry, Johnson, Harthoorn, Kafferlin. [Others likely to be associated with portions of the row outside of scope work.]</p>	
<p>Home sites: Extant structures, vegetation and features on: Reed Moulton property, John Moulton property, T.A. Moulton Property, Andy Chambers Ranch Historic District, Roy Chambers property (less integrity), Clark Moulton property (less integrity), and Chambers granary. Other cultural remnants: Swimming hole on Chambers property, trees/fence posts marking church site, Windrows and remnants of bridge on J.H. May and J.I. May property, field fences, roads and bridges.</p>	
<p>Circulation: Old Jackson/ Moran Road (aka Mormon Row), east-west "two track" roads, local trails between homesteads.</p>	
<p>Natural Features: Blacktail Butte, Timber Island, Shadow Mountains & Grazing lands in Teton National Forest. Riparian vegetation. Sage edge [traditionally uncultivated lands], Antelope Flats, The Knoll</p>	

Significant but further documentation needed: Archeological sites Budge, Kafferlin, Pfeffier, school site, May Sheep Pen, Community dumps, and other home sites not investigated. Old roads to Moran and Jackson. Trailing routes to summer grazing leases. Haul routes for timber cut from Timbered Island or Shadow Mountain.

Unknown significance: gravel borrow pits, Antelope Flats and Gros Ventre Road, stock handler site

N. List of Non contributing Features:

- Residential subdivision on the eastern portions of Reed Moulton (Formerly J.B. Heninger/ Thomas Murphy property).
- Antelope Flats Road - alignment diagonally across Ireton homestead post 1945
- Log bridge over Ditch Creek on Old Moran/ Jackson Road (circa 1970)
- Four modern Cabins on Clark Moulton property
- Sage reclamation policies - physically threatens extant historic field patterns and structures

V. POTENTIAL ETHNOGRAPHIC VALUE

A. Ethnographic Survey Has Been Conducted:

- Yes-Ethnographic Values Identified, Information Restricted
- Yes-Ethnographic Values Identified, Information Unrestricted

Description of Known Ethnographic Value:

The Mormon settlement centered near Blacktail Butte is noted as the most prominent and verifiable ethnographic settlement within the park boundaries.

- No-Values Potentially Present, But Unidentified or Unassessed

List Groups Potentially Associated With Landscape Historically and/or Currently:
Ethnographic overview identifies historical sporadic visitations throughout the park by several different groups including Shoshone, Crow, Blackfeet, Gros Ventres, Flathead and Nes Perce. No information is recorded about their use of the Mormon Row Area.

VI. STATUS OF DOCUMENTATION

A. Overall Assessment of Documentation of the Cultural Landscape:

The 1991 Resource Management Plan recognizes that documentation of the cultural landscape is needed. The survey of Mormon Row was established as high priority, but other potential cultural landscapes exist in the park and may be identified in the current survey and evaluation project slated for completion in 1996. Several other documents are also slated to be completed by that date as indicated below.

B. Documentation Checklist:

Document	Date	Adequately Address Landscape
Special Resource Study	none	
Historic Resource Study (HRS)	1996	
Historical Base Map	preliminary, 1996	
General Management Plan (GMP)	none	
Development Concept Plan (DCP)	4 completed 3 planned	No
Resource Management Plan (RMP)	1/6/95	No
Land Protection Plan	1/1991	No
Cultural Landscape Report (CLR)	none	
Administrative History	none	
Other: Master Plan	3/19/1976	No
Other: Historic Context for Grand Teton National Park: Homesteading; Vernacular Architecture	3/1992	Yes
Other: National Park Service. Statement for Management Grand Teton National Park Wyoming.	3/23/1997	No

C. Graphic Documentation:

- Topography--
- Boundary--
- Site Plan--HABS and CLI-Level I (not based on a legal survey)
- Other:

VII. MANAGEMENT HISTORY

A. Management Category:

- Must be preserved
- Should be preserved
- May be preserved
- May be released/altered/destroyed
- Undetermined

B. Approved Treatment:

Treatment	Completed	Document	Date
Stabilization			
Preservation			
Rehabilitation			
Restoration			
Reconstruction			
Neglect			
Destruction			
Undetermined			

C. Management Agreement(s):

- Fee
- Less than Fee
- None: Private
- Other
- Fee Simple Reservation
- Interagency Agreement
- Memorandum of Agreement

D. NPS Legal Interest:

- Concession Contract
- Cooperative Agreement
- Special Use Permit
- Other
- Lease (Historic Property)
- Interagency Agreement
- Memorandum of Agreement

E. Public Access to the Site:

- Unrestricted
- With Permission
- Other Restrictions
- No Access Currently

VIII. ANALYSIS and EVALUATION

On attached pages provide graphic illustrations and narrative descriptions of the applicable characteristics of the cultural landscape:

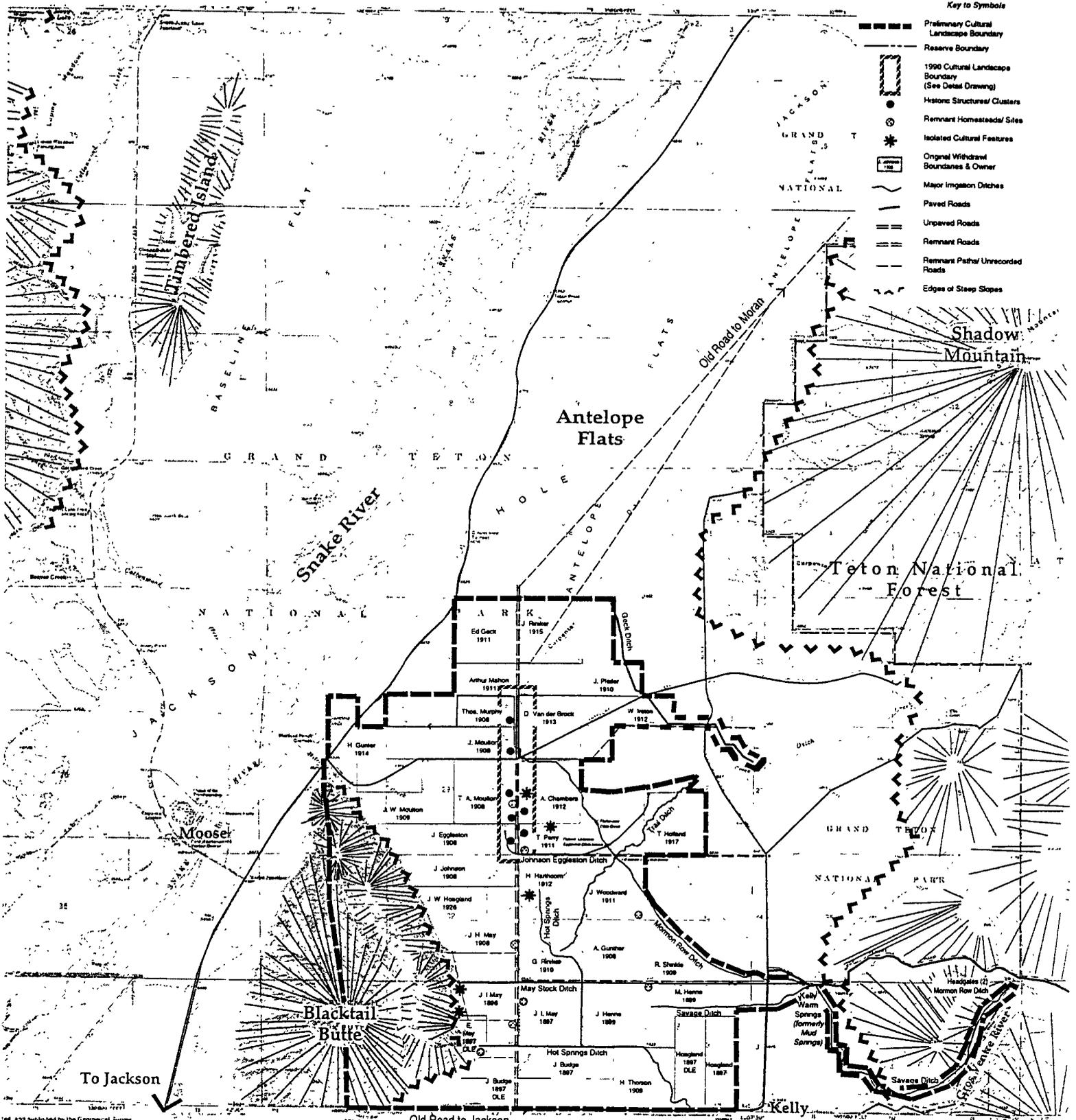
Landscape Characteristic	Page Number
Spatial Organization	24
Response to the Natural Environment	25
Topography	27
Land Use	27
Cultural Traditions (indicate level of potential sensitivity)	29
Views and Vistas	31
Circulation	31
Vegetation	33
Cluster Arrangement	34
Structures	35
Archeological Sites (indicate level of potential sensitivity)	36
Small Scale Features	37
Other	

XI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. NRID#:
- B. HABS#: Historic American Building Survey of the T.A. Moulton Ranch (HABS No. WY-26)
- C. HAER#:
- D. ASMIS#:

E. Sources:

Source: Document/Graphic Material/Interview, etc.	CRBIB# DSC/TIC#	Location
Aerial photographs, 1945, 1967, 1969		GRTE
Carter, Thomas. National Register Evaluation of Vernacular Architecture in Grand Teton National Park. Unpublished Report. March 15, 1990		
Francaviglia, Richard. The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation & Perception of a Unique Image in the American West. New York, AMS Press Inc.		
McKoy, Kathy. Historic Context for Grand Teton National Park: Homesteading; Vernacular Architecture. Rocky Mountain Regional Office NPS. Unpublished Report. March 1992.		RMRO
Moulton, Candy Vyvey. Legacy of the Tetons: Homesteading in Jackson Hole. Boise, Idaho. Tamarack Books, Inc. 1994		
National Park Service. Master Plan Grand Teton National Park Wyoming. Unpublished Report Approved March 19, 1976.		GRTE
National Park Service. Statement for Management Grand Teton National Park Wyoming. Approved March 23, 1977.		GRTE
National Park Service. Land Protection Plan, Second Biennial Review Grand Teton National Park. January 1991		GRTE
National Park Service. Resource Management Plan. January 6, 1995		GRTE
State of Wyoming, "Certificate of Appropriation of Water". Docket numbers 14, 17, 22, 25, 26, 27 and 40		GRTE
USDA, Soil Conservation Service. Soil Survey of Teton County Wyoming, Grand Teton National Park Area.		GRTE
US Department of the Interior Geological Survey. Grand Teton National Park. Map. 1968		



Prepared and published by the Geological Survey
 U.S. G.S. 2000-1000
 1:250,000 Scale
 1997 Edition
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 1997 Edition

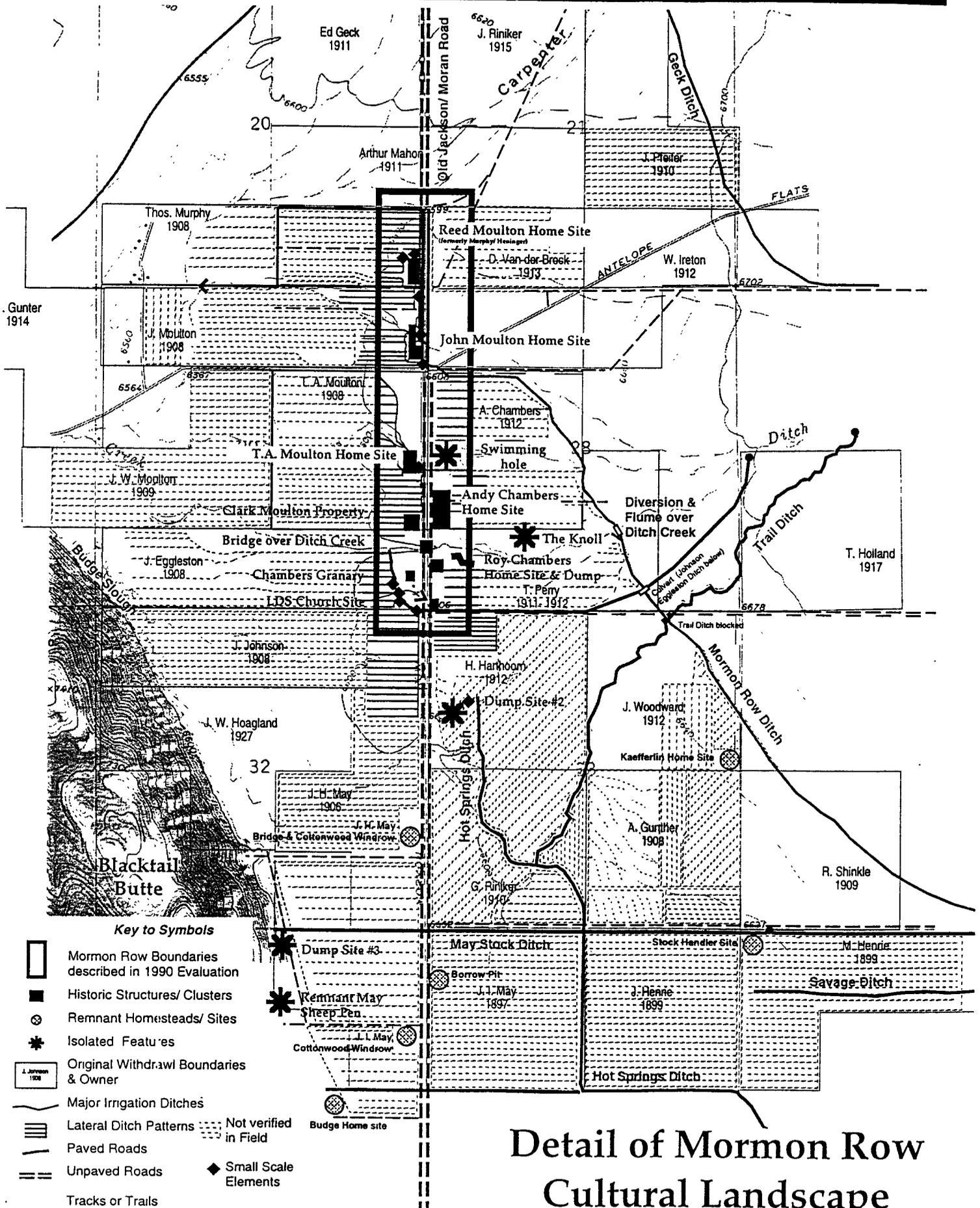
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Mormon Row Cultural Landscape

Grand Teton National Park Jackson, Wyoming

STATE PLAN (continued)



Detail of Mormon Row Cultural Landscape

Grand Teton National Park

Jackson, Wyoming

X. SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

IV. HISTORICAL INFORMATION (continued)

Historical Development of Mormon Row

Introduction

In the spring of 1856, Mormon converts Sarah and Thomas Moulton made the momentous decision to leave their English home for the new Zion in the American West. Sarah gave birth to seventh-child Charles Alma Moulton in the first days of the family's Atlantic crossing, tendered the frail infant across the plains in a wooden handcart, and delivered him safely to Salt Lake City in the fall of the year. Charles was raised in Utah, homesteaded in southern Idaho, and watched three of his sons — T. Alma, John A., and J. Wallace — migrate to the sagebrush flats of Wyoming's Jackson Hole. Here they homesteaded in the company of kin in fact and faith and in the company of an eclectic mix of Gentiles.²

The Moultons' emigration followed standard Mormon settlement patterns; devotees from New England and Middle America comprised the 1847 hejira from the ashes of Nauvoo to the Salt Lake Basin. By 1880, half of those Mormons not born in Utah listed the British Isles/Canada or Scandinavia as their place of birth. In response to the directives of the church — and in search of a productive home — this second wave of emigrants expanded the cordon of Mormon influence beyond the central cultural and political core of the Salt Lake Basin/Wasatch Range, to a Mormon "domain" that ultimately encompassed all of Utah and much of northern Arizona and southern Idaho.³

Between ca. 1890 and ca. 1910, the children of the inhabitants of this domain — where Mormons dictated the political, economic, cultural, and social lives of their homogeneous communities — began a gradual dispersal to an outer "sphere" of Mormon influence. Cultural geographer D. W. Meinig argues that, in striking contrast to earlier phases of Mormon dispersal, these children were not part of a group movement directed by the church but rather were part of a "gradual and diffuse migration developing ... in response to various local opportunities."⁴ Within the resultant cultural sphere, the Mormons lived "as nucleated groups enclaved within Gentile country": a scattering of "Mormon Rows" across the intermountain west, where Mormons' numerical significance *and* their contrast with the surrounding communities warranted distinct cultural appellations.⁵

Historical Development of Mormon Row

In 1894, Mormon James I. May recognized the opportunity proffered by the lands in the lee of Jackson Hole's Blacktail Butte and initiated a "gradual and diffuse" Mormon migration. Scouting an alternative to

² Candy Vyvey Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons: Homesteading in Jackson Hole*, (Boise, Idaho: Tamarack Books, Inc., 1994), pp. 47-54, 73, 83; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Wyoming, Box 18174, Record Group [RG] 49, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland [NA]; Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA.

³ Lowell C. Bennion, "Mormon Country a Century Ago: A Geographer's View," in *The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions*, Thomas G. Alexander, ed., (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press [Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 10], 1980), p. 8; D.W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (June 1965), pp. 201, 215-216.

⁴ Meinig, "Mormon Culture Region," p. 216.

⁵ *Ibid.*

his rocky homestead in Rockland, Idaho, May found flat land, protection from the prevailing winds, accessible (if not abundant) water from the nearby Gros Ventre River, and flourishing waist-high sage; the sage would have to be grubbed in backbreaking labor but it testified to fertile soil beneath. Two years later, James returned to Blacktail Butte with his wife Ann, son Henrie, and family and neighbors from Rockland: Charles and Mariah Allen and their five children; newlyweds James and Mary Ann Allen Budge; and Roy and Maggie McBride.⁶

Winter approached, and the Idaho contingent sought refuge with neighbors from adjacent communities before constructing cabins in the spring of 1897. The McBrides chose to settle on Flat Creek, south near Jackson; the Allens chose land to the north, near Moran; and the May and Budge families filed on homesteads at the south end of Blacktail Butte, near water and well-sheltered from wind and winter storms.⁷

Subsequent settlers filed on a linear progression of claims that proceeded both geographically and chronologically from the Budge homestead at the south to the northern limit of land within the partial umbrella of Blacktail Butte and within reach of the diverted waters of the Gros Ventre and Ditch Creek. By 1915, when John Riniker filed his claim at the northern extreme of Mormon Row, homesteaders included Edward Geck, Arthur Mahon, Joe Pfeiffer, William (Billy) Ireton, Thomas Murphy, John Rutherford, Dick Van den Brock, John A. Moulton, Thomas A. Moulton, J. Wallace Moulton, Andrew Chambers, Thomas Perry, Joseph Eggleston, Jacob Johnson, Hannes Harthoorn, Henrie May, Warren Henrie, J. Henrie, John W. Woodward, George Riniker, Albert Gunther, W. Shinkle, R. Shinkle, James May, Elizabeth May, and James Budge. Talmage Holland claimed land on the arid eastern outskirts of the community in 1917. John Hoagland's 1926 claim to steep and swampy land on the west flank of Blacktail Butte provided a delayed conclusion to Mormon Row homesteading.⁸

With few exceptions, these settlers filed 160-acre homestead claims, either under the terms of the Homestead Act of 1862 (officially titled "An Act to Secure Homesteads to Actual Settlers on the Public Domain" and allowing "free land" to those meeting age, citizenship, and loyalty requirements and successfully inhabiting and improving a claim for the requisite three to five years) or the Forest Homestead Act of 1906 (allowing homestead withdrawal of agricultural land within National Forest boundaries). Residents later augmented these claims with Additional Homesteads allowed under the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, Desert Land claims under the Desert Homestead Act of 1877 (as amended), or through purchase. These were primarily small-scale irrigated and dryland farms, worked by family and neighbors, and providing subsistence and winter feed for the small dairy, sheep, and beef-cattle herds that served as the area's primary cash crop.⁹

⁶ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 38, 55-58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65; General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

⁸ General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Mormon Row is defined as that land bounded by James Budge's homestead to the south, the J. Riniker, Geck, and Pfeifer homesteads to the north, Blacktail Butte to the west, and Shadow Mountain to the east. Land owners listed from north to south.

⁹ General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, passim; Clark and Veda Moulton, interviewed at their home on Mormon Row by Janene Caywood, Historical Research Associates, Inc., May 31, 1995 [Moulton Interview].

Mormons Perry and Ernest Stone¹⁰ had accompanied the Moulton brothers from Chapin, Idaho. George Riniker had emigrated from Ohio; Van den Brock and Harthoorn from Holland; John Riniker and Pfeiffer from the mines of Butte, Montana. J. Riniker, Cindle, Van den Brock, and Harthoorn were joined by brides secured through the Heart and Hand Club. Others married by more conventional means (local schoolteachers, neighbors' wives' sisters, cousins, or friends), creating a stable community of farm families. This was a community of the late frontier, subject to the vagaries of weather, of market, and of a crude regional transportation network, yet spared the chilling isolation from immediate neighbors that dominates memoirs of early settlement of the prairie and mountain west. Residential complexes were clustered along the road, a utilitarian response to the transportation network and to field patterns, that incidentally but fortuitously provided the added social benefit of easy access to adjacent homes; from the beginning, men and women had friends and family with which to share their labor and with which they could "neighbor."¹¹

School was first held in individual homes, then the living room of the Thomas Perry homestead (ca. 1911),¹² then the basement of the new Mormon church, and finally in a new school building built on land donated by Gentile Hannes Harthoorn. After 1920, with official recognition of the area as a distinct community, the post-office was housed in Andy and Ida Chamber's residence, from which Ida served as postmistress. The nearby town of Kelly boasted a general store, a drug store, and a doctor's office, all frequented by Mormon Row residents. Until 1916, the area's Mormon residents traveled 16 difficult miles to the LDS Church in Jackson. After construction of their own church (1916), trips to Jackson were limited to major buying excursions and are remembered as being "quite an occasion." The church formed the social and geographic hub of the community. Constructed at the center of Mormon Row, on an acre of land donated by Thomas Perry, the church housed Mormon religious ceremonies, community dances, and school concerts and plays.¹³

The small community was officially named Grovont, yet was quickly christened "Mormon Row" by non-Mormon residents of Kelly; the title described both the primary (but not exclusive) religious orientation and the neat pattern of linear settlement imposed by water, soil, weather, kinship, and the cadastral survey.¹⁴

As throughout the west, homestead boundaries were defined by cardinal directions, a neat grid of sections and townships imposed by federal surveyors on the land, irrespective of water courses and topographic vagaries. To a striking degree, western roads followed these north-south and east-west section lines, leaving private, agricultural land inviolate. The placement of Mormon Row resources reflects this matrix: homes and outbuildings were concentrated approximately one-half mile apart along the Jackson-to-Moran thoroughfare that ran north-south through the community, along the section line.¹⁵ The secondary pattern

¹⁰ Stone settled outside the Mormon Row vicinity.

¹¹ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 83-85, 89; Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA.

¹² Now known as the Roy Chambers house.

¹³ Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Wyoming, Box 18174, RG 49, NA; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 92, 125; Moulton interview.

¹⁴ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 65.

¹⁵ The road was abandoned north of Alma Moulton's homestead in 1939, following construction of the primary Grand Teton National Park thoroughfare; its alignment remains discernable both in the shadow of a depression across the sage flats,

of settlement extended east/west, along the historic roads to Moose and to Kelly or along secondary two-track access roads. Cultivated fields stretching behind the homesites (and the lateral ditches by which these fields were watered) also conformed generally to the imposed grid; only the primary distribution ditches followed the curvilinear contours of the land.¹⁶

For many years the predominant forms of transportation throughout Jackson Hole were horse and wagon in summer or sled in winter. Even after automobiles arrived in the valley, winter conditions and the cost of fuel kept horse teams active. This dependence on horses for transportation also kept the local cash crop of hay and oats economically viable.

The economy of the area was also dependent upon good transportation to the larger regional markets, and upon providing services and products to the dude ranches, in addition to the towns of Kelly, Moran, and Jackson. For many years, Joe Heninger held the mail contract for the Jackson/Moran route. In the winter he used his homesite on Mormon Row (the former Murphy homestead), as the middle stopping point to change horse teams for the sled, and to feed and warm-up drivers. Thus the residents of Mormon Row witnessed the passage of most, if not all of the north-south traffic through the area, and figured prominently as a link between the two towns.

Residents constructed domestic and agricultural infrastructure with logs harvested from Shadow Mountain (located eight miles east of Mormon Row) or from "Timbered Island" (a mass of glacial till located four miles northwest of Mormon Row, west of the Snake River).¹⁷ Lodgepole pine from Shadow Mountain was easily accessible, (relatively) easily harvested, and proved adequate for hastily constructed secondary outbuildings. But "if you wanted a house to last, you got timber from the Timbered Island."¹⁸ Local tradition holds that here, pine grew straight and so solid that you could hear it ring when it hit the ground. Prior to the 1927 completion of a bridge across the Snake River, residents harvested logs during the winter months, when the frozen river afforded a crossing and respite from Menor's Ferry charges or hazardous water fords.¹⁹

Buildings were most often constructed by the owner, with help from neighbors. Logs were used whole or were milled at local commercial sawmills. Basic infrastructure included a dwelling, a stable or barn, a granary, a chicken house, a corral, and miles of fence. Machine sheds, hay sheds, lambing sheds, hog barns, large granaries and barns, miscellaneous storage facilities, and a garage marked established and productive sites. Buck-and-pole, post-and-pole, and post-and-wire fencing divided fields from free-range cattle; defined feed lots; screened hay stacks from cattle and from elk; and marked property and ditch lines.

and by the presence of John Moulton and Thomas Murphy's homesteads, extending north in an orderly pattern. A more careful search might reveal the ruins of the Arthur Mahon, Edward Geck, John Riniker, and Dick Van DeBrock homesteads — once carefully aligned along the road north of Thomas Murphy's.

¹⁶ General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Josh Weltman research files, provided to HRA by the author.

Between 1952 and 1976, the Wyoming Department of Fish and Game constructed contour ditches, altering the historic linear pattern of lateral field ditches.

¹⁷ Clark Moulton reports that Blacktail Butte timber was small, twisted, inaccessible, and was not harvested.

¹⁸ Moulton interview.

¹⁹ Moulton interview; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 62-64.

Vertical-board fences, lining the north elevation of feed lots and winter pasture, protected cattle and loose hay from prevailing winds.²⁰

Ranch buildings were expanded or replaced over the course of decades as time and funds became available and as the needs of the farm demanded. T. A. Moulton constructed the central flat-roofed component of his barn in 1913, when his son Clark was an infant; by the time the hay loft (1928) and south shed-roof horse stalls (1934) were added, Clark was old enough to help with construction; when the north shed-roof component, housing the family hogs, was constructed in 1939, Clark was married, with children.²¹ Similar examples of sequential construction dot Mormon Row: John Moulton's two-part granary and second-generation barn; Clark and Veda Moulton's barn and granary; Andy Chamber's barn and pumphouse; the Joe Heninger barn, constructed to replace Thomas Murphy's original homestead barn.

The first generation of farm homes met the requirements of the Homestead Act (a habitable cabin no smaller than 12' x 12'); sheltered Mormon Row resident during those first years when preparing the fields and sheltering the stock took precedence over human comforts; and was converted to animal shelters or storage as soon as possible. James and Ann May resided in a two-room log cabin for the first five years while they "proved up." They then purchased a prefabricated two-story Victorian vernacular farmhouse. By July of 1916, three years after filing his claim and constructing a rudimentary cabin, Andy Chambers had felled the logs needed for a two-room house, with a shingle roof; this house was in turn relegated to a bunkhouse when the Chambers purchased the Eggleston homestead. John and Bartie [Bartha] Moulton resided in their original homestead cabin for almost 30 years, before hiring professional carpenter Ted Woodard of Kelly to construct the one-and-one-half story stucco residence that continues to dominate their site. The Reed Moulton residence was expanded through a series of additions, as was the Thomas Perry resident, later owned by Wallace Moulton and by Ida Chambers.²²

Water for domestic use and for stock came from the ditches, when they ran, or was freighted in barrels from the Gros Ventre River during the height of the summer and the dead of the winter. Residents did not begin digging wells until "many years after they arrived," and did not install indoor plumbing for many years after that. Electricity finally arrived in the mid-1950s, along the lines of the Rural Electric Administration; unfortunately, the poles and wires were removed from Mormon Row in May of 1995.²³

Along Mormon Row, the first three to five years of "proving up" were spent grubbing the land of sage, harvesting native hay, and planting gardens and ninety-day oats and barley suited to the short growing

²⁰ Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Wyoming, Box 18174, RG 49, NA; Josh Weltman research files, provided to HRA by the author; Moulton interview.

²¹ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 75.

²² Robert V. Hines, *The American West, An Interpretive History*, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1973), p. 161; Testimony of Claimant, Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; Moulton interview.

²³ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 73, 128. The Andy Chambers homestead cabin and the John Moulton house were never plumbed.

Park Service crews were removing telephone and power poles along Mormon Row at the time of HRA's May field survey.

season. Residents helped each other during these first (and subsequent) years: Alma Moulton, John Moulton, and friend and neighbor Thomas Perry worked their land in common until at least 1916, ran their stock together, harvested timber together, raised their barns together. All participated in the annual harvest, combining strength and manpower to stack hay and to thresh grain on the May's steam-powered thresher in an exhausting but festive conclusion to the growing season.²⁴

Women's work was equally communal — they assisted in their neighbors' births, tended their neighbors' sick, minded their neighbors' children, and joined together at harvest and at round-up to feed the threshing and branding crews. Their work was also equally demanding: the numerous children of Mormon Row were clothed in homemade and hand-cleaned clothing; warmed in homemade bedding; washed with homemade soap; and fed with home-canned produce, hand-churned butter, home-grown and hand-plucked chickens. Domestic tasks completed, women assisted their husbands in the fields and pastures.²⁵

Winter offered little respite from the hectic summer months of planting and harvest. As ditches froze, water for stock and domestic use was hauled from the river; buildings were constructed or repaired; stock was fed; elk were kept from the hay stacks; and children continued the never ending task of hauling manure out of the barns and feed lots, to the fields.²⁶

Recreational opportunities included skiing and sledding on "The Knoll" behind Andy and Ira Chambers' and, after 1935, swimming in the dammed swimming hole at the end of the coulee near T. A. and Lucile Moulton's place.

James May and Jim Budge watered their fields and gardens with water from the Gros Ventre, diverted through the Cedar Tree (Budge) Ditch (constructed ca. 1897) or the Savage Ditch (1911). The Trail Ditch (1897), Eggleston/Johnson Ditch (1910), and Pfeiffer/Geck/Ireton Ditch (1915), diverted water from Ditch Creek to Mormon Row farms, providing water for stock and irrigation. Yet Ditch Creek is an intermittent stream, raging in spring, providing a measure of water during June and July, and failing in the hot days of August and September. Residents of north Mormon Row hauled water for domestic use and for their gardens from the Gros Ventre River, irrigated when they could, and practiced dryland farming cultivation techniques.²⁷

By means of alternate cropping and fallowing, increased mulch, use of suitable grain strains, and modified plow methods, agricultural scientists believed, tax-hungry western boosters proselytized, and determined farmers hoped that non-irrigated lands receiving between 12 and 16 inches of rainfall per year could be

²⁴ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 71, 124; Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 18174, RG 49, NA.

²⁵ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, passim; Moulton, 1995.

²⁶ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 66, 121; Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 18174, RG 49, NA.

²⁷ State of Wyoming, "Certificate of Appropriation of Water," Permit No. 9992 [Certificate Record No. 41, Johnson and Eggleston Ditch], signed February 19, 1920 (Appropriation: June 13, 1910), on file at the Wyoming State Engineer's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming; State of Wyoming, "Certificate of Appropriation of Water," Permit No. 17697 [Certificate Record No. 47, Mormon Row Ditch], signed January 21, 1933 (Appropriation: September 25, 1929), on file at the Wyoming State Engineer's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 77, 128, 129; Moulton interview.

made to yield profitable harvests. Agricultural Experiment Stations established on the semi-arid plains ca. 1905 "proved" the West's suitability to this farming method; the Enlarged Homestead Act provided the minimum acreage necessary for alternate cropping and fallowing, bringing semi-arid land "into productivity in [a] new form."²⁸

Years of plentiful rainfall across the intermountain west sustained both the crops and the optimism of the agricultural scientists and the settlers. The project failed when drought hit ca. 1918. By 1922, the U.S. Department of Agriculture warned that dryland farms of 320 acres or less were inadequate for profitable farming "except under the most favorable circumstances and expert management."²⁹ Ultimately, half of all dryland farms failed.³⁰

In 1913, John Moulton realized 88.89 bushels of oats from each of the nine unirrigated acres that he had cleared of sage, an incredible bounty owed to adequate rainfall and to the fertility of virgin land. Droughts, rodents, hail, or an early frost reduced Moulton's harvest to 17.39 bushels per acre. The drought and failed crop of 1928 compelled Alma Moulton to purchase hay at \$50.00 per ton for his forty cattle and to harvest willow and aspen for supplemental feed. J. Riniker, G. Riniker, A. Mahon, J. Jacobson, J. Eggleston, T. Murphy and others ultimately sold, lost, or abandoned their dryland claims in the face of successive years of drought.³¹

These failed crops and failed homesteads served as frightening local reminders of the vagaries of dryland farming on limited land in high country where spring takes its time and fall arrives too soon. Roy Chambers remembers that "nobody can make a living on 160 acres. Most hung-on a year or so, then the smart ones sold out" — often to their neighbors who augmented their land base in hopes of raising enough grain and enough stock to stay. After WWI, Andy Chambers purchased Joseph Eggleston's 160-acres, and, ca. 1945, Thomas Perry's original homestead.³² Ca. 1945, Chambers' sons added J. Pfeiffer and Luke Taylor's³³ land to the family holdings that at their peak exceeded 900 acres.³⁴

Mormon Row Ditch

Those who stayed through the dry 1920s began the task of augmenting and reconstructing the Savage Ditch network, drawing from the Gros Ventre River. Yet not until 1927 were they assured of a significant and dependable water source: On June 23, 1925, after a long winter and a wet spring, a mile-wide block of earth slid from the northwest slope of Sheep Mountain, creating an earthen dam that backed up the Gros Ventre River. On May 18, 1927 the dam collapsed, sending a wall of water through the canyon, killing six people (including Ida Sneezy Chamber's parents and younger brother), and destroying canyon farms, the town of

²⁸ Alfred Atkinson, "Dry Farming Investigations in Montana," *Montana Agricultural College Experiment Station Bulletin No. 38*, Montana Agricultural College, Bozeman, Montana, p. 156.

²⁹ Quoted in Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development*, written for the Public Land Law Review Commission, (Washington D.C.: Zenger Publishing, Inc., 1968), p. 507.

³⁰ Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development*, pp. 528, 638, 646.

³¹ John Moulton Patent File #519467, Wyoming, Box 18174, RG 49, NA; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 77, 129.

³² Intermediate owner, Wallace Moulton. Now known as the Roy Chambers property.

³³ Located east of Mormon Row.

³⁴ Roy Chambers, telephone interview with Ann Hubber of Historical Research Associates, Inc., August 26, 1995 [Chambers, 1995].

Kelly, and much of the region's irrigation system. Mormon Row residents assisted in the rescue and the clean-up and shared in the grief over the loss of life and property. Yet the flood carried a blessing that may well have assured the future economic viability of the north Mormon Row farms: it opened a warm spring at the mouth of the canyon, within easy reach of the Savage Ditch network. In 1929, Joe Heninger (owner of Thomas Murphy's original claim), Andy Chambers, and the Moulton brothers filed claim to the water of "Mud Springs," gratefully yet unofficially christened Miracle Spring and now know officially as Kelly Warm Springs. The 3.37 mile long Mormon Row Ditch was constructed between 1929 and 1933 and provided the legal maximum of one cubic-foot-per-second (cfs) to every 70 acres irrigated. Heninger, John Moulton, and Alma Moulton each irrigated two 70-acre parcels, Wallace Moulton irrigated one 70-acre parcel, and Andy Chambers was granted a supplemental supply to his Ditch Creek water right (Johnson/Eggleston Ditch), sufficient for 67 acres.³⁵

Ditches were dug by hand, with a team of horses and a Fresno. The copious manure that accumulated in the feed lots and barnyards each winter was hauled to the fields and used to form the levees and dikes that divided field laterals from central canals. The intricate layering of the development of these systems from 1896 through 1937 and the accompanying water rights, reflect the inner workings of the community as its members formed changing partnerships to get dependable water to their individual parcels. Structures such as flumes and culverts were built to protect the water rights as the ditches crisscrossed the valley floor.³⁶

Mormon Row feed crops were marketed locally and regionally, and sustained the dairy cows, beef cows, pigs, and chickens that provided subsistence and served as the area's primary cash crop. Beef were released (in early spring, in a communal herd, and under the auspices of the Ditch Creek Cattle Company) to the sagebrush lands of Antelope Flat. Private land formed the eastern and southern borders of this spring range, while Hedrick Pond formed a rough northern limit and the Snake River bottom formed a definitive western limit.³⁷ Grazing fees for the "Ditch Creek allotment" were paid first to the National Forest Service and then to the National Park Service. Bulls were turned-out in June, assuring an April calving season. Shortly after the 4th of July, six to eight local-residents-turned-cowboy trailed the herd of 800 to 1000 cattle to national forest summer range. Avoidance of larkspur (deadly to cattle) determined the trail route (up the Gros Ventre River or Ditch, Slate, Turpin, or Horse Tail creeks) as well as the timing of the drive: larkspur was less appealing to hungry cows when past the tender spring phase. Calves were pulled from the herds in early October, and trailed over Teton Pass to the Central Pacific railhead, from which they were shipped to markets in Omaha and Chicago.³⁸ The remainder of the herd was rounded up and trailed home in early November, where they were released into feed lots and cropped pasture, and fed through the winter.³⁹

³⁵ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 116; State of Wyoming, "Certificate of Appropriation of Water," Permit No. 17697 [Certificate Record No. 47, Mormon Row Ditch], signed January 21, 1933 (Appropriation: September 25, 1929), on file at the Wyoming State Engineer's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

³⁶ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 120-121; Telephone interview with Veda May Moulton, by Ann Hubber of HRA, August 23, 1995 [V. Moulton, 1995]. Please see site-specific descriptions, below, for complete descriptions of the Mormon Row and the Johnson/Eggleston ditch systems.

³⁷ This range was abandoned in 1957, after construction of the primary park thoroughfare through Antelope Flats (US Highway 191 (Chambers 1995).

³⁸ Clark Moulton reports that in the first years of settlement, calves were winter fed and trailed to market in the spring (Moulton 1995).

³⁹ Chambers, 1995; Moulton interview; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 118, 120.

Circa 1910, George Riniker and Rudy Harold challenged Jackson Hole cattle ranchers' unwritten moratorium against sheep in the valley. Although prepared for violence in a range-use war that raged throughout the West between ca. 1880 and ca. 1920, their bands of 100 sheep were introduced without substantial protest. By the 1920s, Clifton May, Joe May, and Hannes Harthoorn also ran sheep on Blacktail Butte; their children made "fine shepherds" and the mutton and wool "provided a fine cash crop."⁴⁰

The large barn at the John Moulton site was constructed in the early 1930s, to house the family's growing herd of dairy cows. Bartha (Bartie) Moulton sold butter, cottage cheese, and cream to area dude ranches. Other dairy operations included George and Martha Riniker's short-lived venture initiated in false anticipation of a creamery in Jackson Hole.⁴¹

In addition, each family maintained at least one milk cow (Alma and Lucile Moulton's Blossom even earned a bit part in the Hollywood western *Spencer's Mountain*), as well as hogs and chickens. As is common in agricultural economies, where cash is a rarity, eggs provided subsistence, a medium with which to barter, and petty-cash for good children, who traded the eggs for "penny" candy and other treats at the Kelly general store. Until convinced by his sons to invest in beef cattle, Alma Moulton considered himself rich if he had "six milk cows and 100 chickens."⁴²

The Mays and Chambers earned additional cash by providing meals and rooms to travelers along the Jackson to Moran road. Ida Chambers also served as the area postmistress, her pay limited to the proceeds from stamp sales. "For many years," Andy Chambers trapped the banks of the Snake River and the foothills of the Tetons, selling mink, coyote, muskrat, and martin to area fur traders. In the mid-1920s, Joe Heninger acquired the Jackson to Moran mail contract. The large barn that he constructed at the Thomas Murphy homestead (now the Reed Moulton site) housed the trucks used in the summer, the horses and sleighs used in the winter, and tons of hay. Andy Chambers inherited the mail route in 1932, a job he held until 1940.⁴³

Mormon Row supported at least some of the sons and daughters of the first generation before its incorporation into the Grand Teton National Monument (1943) and Grand Teton National Park (1950): Alma Moulton gave his son Clark an acre from the south edge of his homestead, on which Clark and his wife Veda May Moulton built their home and from which they worked a dry farm near Shadow Mountain and leased or managed Mormon Row lands. Alma's youngest son Harley worked the original homestead until its sale to the NPS in 1959. John Moulton purchased the T. Murphy/J. Heninger place; his son and daughter-in-law Reed and Shirley lived on the site, started a commercial sawmill, and assisted in running the ranch. Andy Chambers and his sons expanded the original 160-acre homestead to include the Eggleston, Perry, Pfeiffer, and Taylor homesteads. Jim and Allen Budge homesteaded land north and west of Mormon Row in the 1920s. Lester and Clifton May continued to work the lands of their father, Henrie, and of their grandparents, Mormon Row pioneers James and Ann.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Moulton interview; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 88.

⁴¹ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 87, 92; Moulton, 1995.

⁴² Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 76, 92; Moulton, 1995.

⁴³ Moulton 1995; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 63, 127; John Daugherty, "A Place Called Jackson Hole: A History," unpublished draft manuscript produced for the NPS (provided HRA by the NPS RMR, Denver), chapter 9, p. 27.

⁴⁴ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, passim; Moulton interview; General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Other families had a shorter tenure in the valley. Van den Brock and Cindle left prior to 1920, reportedly enticed by their disillusioned mail-order brides to greater opportunity in Chicago. Joe Pfeiffer died a bachelor, without heirs; after decades of abandonment and neglect, his simple homestead burned in the Antelope Flat fire of 1994. Eggleston, Johnson, the Rinikers, Perry, Woodward, Murphy, Mahon, and others sold to their neighbors, to new arrivals, or to the Snake River Land Company during the lean years of the 1920s and 1930s.⁴⁵

Following the Executive Order creating the Jackson Hole Monument and the Act adding Jackson Hole to Grand Teton National Park, those who remained on Mormon Row sold to the National Park Service, often after years of negotiation. Many leased back the land for a designated number of years or for their life time; until the late 1980s, both the Perry/Chambers and the John Moulton sites were inhabited seasonally. Only Clark and Veda Moulton continue to own and to reside on their land, an isolated inholding in an abandoned community. The James May and Henrie May farmhouses, the Grovont school, the Mormon church, and other buildings were moved to out-of-park sites. Other buildings remained along the row, where they were burned or left to collapse as part of NPS attempts to return the land to its natural state. Despite the losses, tree breaks, exotic plantings, foundations, archaeological scatters, six building complexes, and a "moldering ruin" continue to mark Mormon Row. The grubbed fields, ditch courses, and fence lines have proven even more intractable: although the last hay was bound and the last oats threshed in the late 1970s, the sagebrush has not returned and the fields remain clearly distinguishable from the surrounding sagebrush flats in verdant testimony to successful attempts to eke a living in a harsh land. The story of western settlement — of small-scale agriculture, of failed homesteads, of raising families, and of creating communities — remains on the land.

VIII. ANALYSIS and EVALUATION (continued)

Landscape Characteristics

Introduction

The Mormon Row cultural landscape is located at the southeast corner of Grand Teton National Park in a gently sloping sheltered cove formed by Blacktail Butte and the Gros Ventre Mountain Range. From 1896 to 1926, a total of 5,080 acres were withdrawn by early homesteaders.⁴⁶ The cultural landscape that exists in this area depicts human use and occupation reflective of settlement patterns legislated by homesteading acts.⁴⁷ The original 1862 act allowed any adult citizen to claim 160 acres of unappropriated public lands. The Desert Land Act of 1877 was also utilized to secure land in Mormon Row. Layered over this agricultural landscape is the Snake River Land Company's later pattern of land consolidation during the early conservation movement, development of Grand Teton National Park, use by the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) to grow hay for the National Elk Refuge, and the conservation management policies of the National Park Service to return the lands to their natural state. The historic land use patterns contribute

⁴⁵ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 135-148; Moulton interview.

⁴⁶ Homestead withdrawals from map prepared by John Daugherty and corrected by HRA, Inc., as listed in attached chart titled "Land Patents in Mormon Row Area."

⁴⁷ Kathy McKoy, "Historic Contexts for Grand Teton National Park: Homesteading; Vernacular Architecture," Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service, March 1992.

to defining the cultural character of a typical homesteaded rural community. Mormon Row also clearly depicts an area where many of the community members were a part of the migration that expanded the Mormon cultural region throughout the intermountain west.

Mormon Row proper and most of its cultural landscape lie within the boundaries of the Grand Teton National Park. The 9,200-acre cove is an extension of Antelope Flats, bounded by the Gros Ventre River and Gros Ventre Range on the south, Blacktail Butte on the west and the lower slopes of Shadow Mountain on the east. The focus of this contract was the inventory of the lands contained by the rectangle approximately 1,000 feet by 7,000 feet that centered on the extant structures along the Old Jackson/Moran Road as defined in the National Register Evaluation of Vernacular Architecture in Grand Teton National Park.⁴⁸ The preliminary recommendation for the cultural landscape boundaries expands beyond this rectangle to include all of the original withdrawals, while excluding the town of Kelly. Several dispersed features that are associated with Mormon Row lie outside of this recommended boundary. These include the timber sources of Timbered Island and Shadow Mountains, 13 separate irrigation ditches and associated structures, and grazing lands on Blacktail Butte, Shadow Mountains and in Teton National Forest. Since the associations of many of these dispersed features are strongly tied to the landscape within the rectangle, preliminary research was included on many of these elements. Further research will be needed to provide defensible boundaries of the larger cultural landscape and to confirm which of the dispersed features should be included as a part of the Mormon Row Cultural Landscape.

This documentation provides an initial survey and evaluation of this potential cultural landscape. Within the area, nine buildings have been previously listed (1990) as the Andy Chambers Historic District. This evaluation supplements that nomination by evaluating key cultural landscape components and characteristics such as historic land use patterns, circulation systems, landscape organization, vegetation and farm complexes that illustrate functional and cultural relationships of homesteaded lands and their structures.

A. Physical Development

Both natural and cultural forces have shaped the physical landscape visible around Mormon Row. The shaping of Jackson Hole was the work of glaciers that moved down to converge from the north, east, and west beginning about a quarter million years ago. The terraces and alluvial fans are products of the retreat of these glaciers.⁴⁹ Located in the relatively gentle slopes of Jackson Hole, the area known as Mormon Row lies on an alluvial outwash at the southern end of Antelope Flats. This river bench is approximately three miles wide by four miles long and gently slopes toward the southwest. The area is enclosed on the west primarily by Blacktail Butte that rises steeply 1,000 from the valley floor — with this foreground enclosure reinforced by the Teton peaks towering in the background. The Gros Ventre River and the slopes of the Gros Ventre Range form the southern visual boundary. The Shadow Mountains and forested peaks within the Teton National Forest provide the eastern enclosure. The creeks, sloughs and seasonal drainages flow predominantly toward the Snake River to the northwest.

⁴⁸ Thomas Carter, "National Register Evaluation of Vernacular Architecture in Grand Teton National Park," unpublished report, March 15, 1990, p. 4 (unnumbered pages).

⁴⁹ United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey, Grand Teton National Park, from text on back of map, 1968.

The location of productive farm lands is the fortuitous combination of the deep, well-drained soils, seasonal streams and the shelter offered in the lee of the butte. Farther north on the more exposed Antelope Flats, the soils are similar, but the lack of shelter and a steady water supply reduced this area's attractiveness to the early homesteaders.

Within this spectacular natural setting, cultural forces refined the physical landscape. The national township and range system of land surveying established the grid of roads and parcels on cardinal coordinates familiar throughout the western United States. Homestead acts permitted settlers to claim 160-acre parcels and required them to make improvements such as buildings, fencing, and field cultivation in order to "prove up." Through the years, the community officially known as "Grosvont" developed the typical amenities of a school, church, and post office located in the home of the postmistress. Both climatic and economic forces rapidly winnowed the possible agricultural and nonagricultural activities into suitable "cash crops" such as oats, hay, milk, cream, eggs, beef, wool and mutton, and services such as laundry, meals, and mail delivery. The structures and land uses that supported homestead families are still reflected in the landscape in the forms of field patterns, irrigation systems, grazing lands, residential clusters (including both dwellings and secondary buildings such as barns and chicken coops), and fencing.

Beginning in the 1920s, the consolidation of parcels by the Snake River Land Company and the development of Grand Teton National Park slowly depopulated the area. Large-scale hay production by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service from 1952 through the 1970s subtly changed the scale of remnant field patterns in the southern half of "Mormon Row." Subsequent National Park Service policies to attempt to return the area to a more "natural" state, by removing former cultural accretions, have also left their mark.

B. Cultural Landscape Characteristics

Patterns of Spatial Organization

The spatial organization of Mormon Row, like the area's physical development, reflects both natural and cultural forces. The core of the Mormon Row cultural landscape appears as a single unit located on the valley floor contained by the natural features of Blacktail Butte and the more distant but prominent mountain ranges. Culturally, Mormon Row is organized primarily in a linear fashion along the spine of the Old Jackson/Moran Road. However, the patchwork of original land claims also extends to the east and south of the remnant structures to include Mormon families, such as Johnson, Harthorn, Mays, and the Henrie brothers, as well as non-Mormons. The color and texture contrast, where previously cultivated fields meet sagebrush, visually define this predominately flat space. The edge becomes less defined where the sagebrush has encroached upon fallow lands. Riparian vegetation, following natural and man-altered water courses, cuts across this cultivated patchwork, but does not appreciably subdivide the space. Further definition can be found on homesteads with extant fence posts or post-and-wire fence at the perimeter of their claim. The cultural landscape extends by fingers into adjacent sage lands as it follows irrigation ditches to their sources on the Gros Ventre River, Ditch Creek, and Kelly Warm Springs (referred to historically as Mud Springs and Miracle Spring). Other, less well understood and more dispersed elements of the cultural landscape include: stock grazing lands on the butte and in the mountains to the east, the timber source on Timbered Island to the west, additional ditch irrigation systems, and the regional roads connecting the community of Grosvont to the local dude ranches and the towns of Jackson and Moran.

Several dirt roads also led from Mormon Row into the town of Kelly. The relationship of "Mormon Row" families with the town of Kelly was well developed prior to 1927, when the town was virtually destroyed by a flood. Kelly provided a grocery store, a laundry, a pharmacy, and the services of a doctor.

The more subtle patterns of modern development can be discerned over this patchwork of early homesteading. The western quarter of the Thomas Murphy and John Moulton homesteads has been subdivided for both primary and secondary homes on small parcels (known as the Antelope Flats Subdivision in NPS documents). Similarly, the large levelers and other equipment used in the haying operation by the USFWS in the sections south of the north line of Sections 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29⁵⁰ may have removed surface remnants of the Harthorn, G. Riniker, Gunther, Shinkle, J.I. May, J. Henrie, H. Thorson and J. Budge homesteading activities. Aerial photographs taken in 1967, as compared to those of 1945, indicate that the haying operations retained the irrigation ditches and much of the field orientation of the southernmost sections, but changed many of the field laterals to diagonal or contour patterns. Documentation was not investigated regarding the extent of the haying operations, but they do not appear to have included the Holland, Chambers, Moulton, Kafferlin, M. Henrie or Hoagland properties.

Perhaps the most erosive change in spatial organization has been the long-term National Park Service policy of attempting to return the lands to their natural state. The management plans of the 1970s do not recognize the Mormon Row area as having historical significance; the area is defined as part of a natural environment subzone with only the Pfeifer homestead identified as "historic". In discussions regarding the adjacent Antelope Flats subdivision it was noted as recently as 1991 that the surrounding sagebrush grassland is an elk migration area. Park planners argued that "... removal of this subdivision would provide for less human disturbance of the elk for this migration route as well as improve the area for elk habitat and that this private property should be acquired."⁵¹ Resource protection policies that reflect a belief that manmade resources and human use are incompatible with the protection of the natural values of the park are perhaps the greatest threat to the survival of the Mormon Row Cultural Landscape. The removal of buildings, fences and other manmade features, and the lack of protection that has permitted other cultural resources to deteriorate or be destroyed, has changed the ability to fully understand the role of homesteading in shaping the landscape. The absence of homestead improvements is especially pronounced in the area south of the Eggleston property. During the early historic period, residential building clusters occurred at regular intervals adjacent to the Jackson/Moran road for two miles farther south.

Response to Natural Environment

To survive in Jackson Hole humans have had to adapt to the harsh climate and short growing season. The earliest withdrawals between 1896 and 1899, by Mays, Budge, Hoagland and Henrie, were located at the most sheltered southern end of what was to become Mormon Row. Withdrawals from 1908 to 1914, by

⁵⁰ National Park Service, Master Plan Grand Teton National Park Wyoming, approved March 19, 1976, p. 6. "A memorandum of agreement dated June 18, 1952 exists between the Department of Interior's National Park Service and the Bureau of Sport Fisheries Department of Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service to make these lands available for the raising of hay for the winter feeding of the Jackson Hole elk herd. This agreement was effective for 20 years beginning July 1, 1955. It was extended for a 3 year period, after which time the lands involved are to be returned to a natural state."

⁵¹ National Park Service, Land Protection Plan, Second Biennial Review, Grand Teton National Park, January 1991, p. 28.

May, Riniker, Gunther, Johnson, Eggleston, the Moulton brothers, Murphy, Shinkle, Pfeifer, Geck, Perry, Chambers, Woodward, Ireton, Harthorn, Van Der Brock and Gunter, continued to the north, encompassing the "best" farming land and access to major creeks and drainages throughout the valley. The final withdrawals by Riniker in 1915, Holland in 1917, and Hoagland in 1926, were located on the outer fringes of the settlement. North of Blacktail Butte, the soils are more rocky, the microclimates are colder, and the exposure to wind increases. Without the sheltering aspect of the butte, the original homesteaders' attempts at field crops may have been doomed. Indeed, the perimeter claims such as those of Geck, Riniker, Pfeifer and Ireton were not as successful at producing crops as those of Harthorn, Moulton or Chambers.

Small-scale cultural features also show response to the harsh climate and storm patterns of the region. Sheltering windrows of deciduous trees were planted on the north and east or south of most of the residences. Vertical board windbreaks are incorporated into stock yards to offer stock shelter from winter weather.

Soils throughout the valley floor are deep, well-drained loams capable of producing two to four tons of hay per acre under modern agricultural evaluations. There appears to be no difference between the soils of the Harthorn property — "the richest land in the valley" — and those of the Geck property, which was quickly abandoned to sage.⁵² A steady water supply rather than quality of soil appears to have been the greatest determinant of successful cultivation. Several of the homesteads have wells for domestic use. Many of these wells were dug by Joe Pfeifer, who in spite of being the area's well digger was never able to reach water on his own land.⁵³ The water for field cultivation came from 17 irrigation ditches that laced the valley, drawing water from Ditch Creek, the Gros Ventre River and Mud Springs (now called Kelly Warm Springs). The intricate layering of the development of these systems from 1896 through 1937, and the accompanying water rights, reflect the inner workings of the community as its members formed changing partnerships to get dependable water to their individual parcels. Early sources, such as Ditch Creek whose proximity may have drawn homesteaders northward, were abandoned in favor of the more dependable Gros Ventre River. Structures such as flumes and culverts were built to protect the water rights as the ditches crisscrossed the valley floor. The Mormon Row Ditch, Savage Ditch and May Stock Ditch still carry water and were clearly identifiable during field investigations.⁵⁴ The Trail Ditch, Hot Spring Ditch, Johnson/Eggleston Ditch, and the Geck Ditch were also identified though they no longer carry water. There was not time to field verify the remaining seven ditches. Future investigation may be able to discern the Kissinger Ditch, Cedar Tree Ditch, Mud Springs Ditch, Ideal Ditch, Smith Ditch, Gunther Ditch [as well as Wild Cherry, Sebastian, Mesa and Hobo ditches which may or may not serve the Mormon Row area.⁵⁵] Further investigations should also clarify the changes brought about by the enlargements of ditches during the homestead period through 1936, and any affected by the US FWS haying operations begun in 1952.

⁵² USDA, Soil Conservation Service, Soil Survey of Teton County Wyoming, Grand Teton National Park Area, April 1982; Interview with Clark Moulton.

⁵³ Interview with Clark Moulton.

⁵⁴ See description of Mormon Row Ditch for more detailed documentation.

⁵⁵ Kathy McKoy, "Historic Contexts for Grand Teton National Park: Homesteading; Vernacular Architecture," Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service, March 1992.

Building materials are closely tied to natural resources available in the region. Many of the buildings located along the row are constructed of logs. Local tradition maintains that the best building logs came from Timbered Island, although straight Lodgepole pine would have been easily procured from both Timbered Island and Shadow Mountain. The Mormon tradition of building substantive houses of brick or stone was expressed by stucco finishes on wood frame structures, a concession to available materials and economics. The introduction of galvanized pipe culverts and metal gates in the irrigation system indicate the important role these elements played — cash required to purchase these features was not squandered.

Topography

The topography of the area has played a major role in the formation of the alluvial outwash with its rich soils and good agricultural yields. The gently sloping river benches formed a natural location for the deposit of productive alluvial soils carried down from the surrounding mountains. The steep butte and surrounding mountain ranges also provide natural sheltering areas that influenced settlement pattern and subsequent success in homesteading. The gradually sloping valley and nearby dependable Gros Ventre River permitted the homesteaders to supplement water from the natural draws and drainages with relatively simple gravity flow ditch irrigation systems.

Land use and Activities

Human occupancy of the valley dates from the late Paleo-Indian period (ca. 12,000 - 7,000 BP).⁵⁶ Previous ethnographic studies indicate possible Middle Plains Archaic occupations on Blacktail Butte. With the exception of a rock cairn located on a finger ridge overlooking Kelly Warm Springs, no prehistoric archaeological properties were identified during the current field investigations. Additional archeological work may discover remnants of human occupancy prior to the arrival of the homesteaders.

Primary land use after the arrival of homesteaders was focused on survival and the required improvements to "prove" ownership of the land. Much of the activity revolved around cultivation of either 90-day oats or hay, and development and maintenance of the irrigation system that made these activities profitable. The Geck, J. Riniker, Mahon, Shinkle, Holland and Hoagland properties had been abandoned and had reverted to sagebrush by the time the 1945 aerial photographs were taken. However, most of the valley still retains signs of cultivation with approximately 85 percent of the originally homesteaded land showing relic field patterns with relatively sparse intrusion of native sage.⁵⁷ These patterns are visible through field distribution and lateral irrigation ditches that typically run perpendicular to the Old Jackson/ Kelly Road feeding from the head ditch. Each of the families typically worked their own land, with communal participation during major activities such as harvest. Water rights primarily determined land cultivation influencing the type of crops as well as the homesteaders' ongoing success. Oats could be reliably dry-farmed, while sustained cropping of high quality alfalfa hay required irrigation.

⁵⁶ National Park Service Resource Management Plan, January 6, 1995, *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, pp. 30-35.

⁵⁷ The estimate of relic field patterns was developed by matching conditions viewed in the field with those shown on the available 1945 and 1967 aerial photographs.

Mormon Row was economically tied to the larger regional community. Sources of income were highly diversified, reflective of local markets and hard economic times with a mix of agrarian and nonagrarian activities. These included trapping, and cattle and sheep ranching, as well as providing agricultural products and services to the budding tourist industry. Cash crops included eggs, milk and butter, beef, wool, mutton, hay, and oats. Services that provided cash for families included laundry service for several dude ranches, mail delivery, meals for travelers, the post office contract, and a small sawmill. The exchange of products and services for cash strongly linked Mormon Row with the development of local dude ranches and the towns of both Jackson and Moran.

Distinct features and small-scale objects and structures in Mormon Row reflect the variety of land uses and activities typical of the rural lifestyle. Remnant kitchen gardens (best visible at John Moulton's homesite) reflect rural self-sufficiency, with root crops and cold-weather vegetables grown for family use. Barns constructed to accommodate hay storage, a hay derrick, granaries, and feed bunks depict the importance of producing, storing, and optimizing the use of feed for stock. Corrals, wood fencing, chutes/squeezes for cattle handling and a variety of specialty sheds and outbuildings reflect the various activities of the small-scale farmer/rancher.

Economically important land uses and activities also took place on adjacent lands in the public domain. The Ditch Creek Cattle Company (consisting of the Moultons and the Chambers) and the May Sheep Company operated during the 1920s and 1930s. The Ditch Creek Cattle Company turned its cows out of winter pasture to graze on Antelope Flats in May, under permit from the NPS. In early July, the herd would be trailed up Ditch Creek or the Gros Ventre River for summer grazing on Forest Service grazing leases. Yearlings would be brought down the first week of October and prepared for market. In early November the cows would be brought back to pasture in the harvested hay fields, where they would remain until calving was complete in the spring. The Mays grazed their sheep on Blacktail Butte and daily returned them to a pen located at the foot of the butte. Cattle chutes, corrals, and the site of the May sheep pen are physical markers of the ranching operations in the valley. Cattle are still grazed on former Budge, May and T.A. Moulton lands, and trailed to grazing leases farther north on federal lands.

Unmilled timber represents a prevalent building material throughout the region. Log collection for the construction of buildings was attributed primarily to Timbered Island, which had the best pine.⁵⁸ Collection of logs felled during the summer and fall was usually undertaken during the winter when horse teams could drag the logs across the frozen Snake River. Additional wood would be collected from Shadow Mountain, although local tradition holds that the quality of the logs was not as good as those collected from Timbered Island. Blacktail Butte was too steep to be used for collection of timbers for construction.

Land uses slowly changed from agriculture to tourism with the last of the life tenancies of Mormon Row descendants in the 1970s. The consolidation of lands by the Snake River Land Company and formation of the park changed the emphasis from production to a return to the natural setting. This change was bridged by the US FWS haying operation that continued the productive use of the land, but no longer populated the cultural landscape. Current land uses include recreation, cattle grazing, and the homesites subdivided from the western quarters of the Murphy and Moulton properties. These activities utilize some of the historic

⁵⁸ Interview with Clark Moulton.

irrigation ditches, trailing routes and roadways. They have also led to the recognition that the extant cultural artifacts are a draw for tourists and worthy of protection. The current land uses highlight the conflicts inherent to the wise use and protection of the historic cultural landscape as it either molds from lack of use, is damaged by misuse, or is lost in the discrepancy of protecting natural resources at the expense of cultural resources.

Cultural Traditions

The strongest cultural traditions visible in the landscape are related to both the rural lifestyle and the Mormon church. Many but not all of the families of Mormon Row were members of the Church of Latter Day Saints. The church provided a central focus for life among its members, but did not negate the "neighboring" that included the Gentiles and that is common in isolated rural communities. The physical remnants best reflect rural communal activities of Mormons and non-Mormons alike, including: irrigation ditch construction, cultivation and harvest, and cattle trailing to/from summer grazing leases. Viewing the landscape today, when the land is no longer cultivated, a strong imagination is required to re-people the appropriate scale of the landscape. However, on closer examination, the relationship of the building clusters adjacent to the roads and paths that link farm to farm give further shape to the community. The irrigation ditches, field patterns contrasted with adjacent sage lands, and the swimming hole are remnants that strongly relate these communal ties.

The portion of the Old Jackson/Moran Road that is still lined with structures between the Murphy homestead at the north end to the Eggleston property at the south most vividly reflects the local cultural traditions. Wood log structures chinked with mud and wood strips are typical of local rural architecture. The Mormon tradition of building residences with substantive materials is well reflected in the two stucco houses at the north end of the row. The domestic buildings (including main house, bunkhouse, shower house, pumphouse and outhouses) are typically clustered together away from work areas. Work areas include buildings such as barns (usually associated with a corral), granaries, chicken coops, etc. Although physically separate, both the domestic and work areas are located adjacent to and surrounded by a perimeter fence that defines the residential unit. Wood and wire fences delineate functional areas, associated with livestock use. Single specimen spruce or fir trees of similar age decorate the front of several of the homesites.

Local traditions of shelterbelts to provide shelter from summer sun and winter winds include cottonwood or aspen windrows around residences, and fences of pole and vertical board for stock shelter. Another small-scale feature typical of the region is the wide farmyard gates that are framed with tall supports on the hinge side and long diagonal brace poles. Perhaps their height makes them easier to locate in deep snows, or the long support/brace system extended the sag-free life of each swinging gate. Fence types throughout the Mormon Row are primarily utilitarian, constructed of easily procured materials: wood and wire for defining the fields, and wood and rail for stock corrals. Remnants of buck and rail fence (a.k.a. buck and pole) are also visible throughout the area, although much of it appears to be replacement (as that on the Chambers property) or has been dismantled and "stacked" as on the Kafferlin/ Woodward property. There is no picket or other decorative fencing evident, reflective of climatic as well as economic conditions.

Mormon Row as a Mormon Landscape

A substantial portion of the western United States bears the very real image of Mormonism. In fact, ten of the most significant factors can be used in delimiting Mormon settlement: 1) wide streets; 2) roadside irrigation ditches, 3) barns and granaries in town; 4) open landscape around the town; 5) architectural style (especially the central-hall house); 6) high percentage of brick homes; 7) the hay derrick; 8) Mormon fence; 9) unpainted farm buildings and 10) the LDS chapel. Simply stated any town possessing more than five of these will be a Mormon town.⁵⁹

In his work on the Mormon landscape, Richard Francaviglia focuses on the Mormon town. Never a town, the settlement of Grovont was instead, an area of homesteaded farms with a high percentage of Mormon settlers. As a rule, a "Mormon town" was either settled exclusively by Mormons, usually before 1900, or is populated today by over 75 percent Mormons.⁶⁰ Even though "Mormon Row" does not qualify on either count as a "Mormon town," there are a number of factors that can be attributed as typical of Mormon culture.

The distinctly Mormon features of the settlement of Grovont include a hay derrick visible on the Reed Chambers property (formerly Heninger and T. Murphy's place), unpainted farm buildings and the sites of the former LDS chapel and school located at the center of Mormon Row. The use of pink stucco during the expansion of the John Moulton homestead reflects a local response to the Mormon directive to build "...as though you intended and expected to live here eternally"⁶¹ (which usually translated to use of brick or stone). Brick is visible only at the archeological site of the Budge homestead on Elizabeth Budge's desert land entry. Wood was clearly the regional material of choice, available without expending scarce cash. The majority of the barns and outbuildings were unpainted in the tradition of both the Mormon town and local vernacular. The dilapidated condition of farm buildings is a typical feature of Mormon communities — contrasting strongly with generally well-maintained houses. Another common feature is the clutter and collection of objects that might be needed in the future. The frugal desire to save things, coupled with a lot of convenient space for storing "junk" of all sorts, has been a problem for the church since the earliest days of Mormon settlement. There remain only glimpses of this "clutter and shabbiness" throughout Mormon Row, as this functional saving has lost ground to the visual aesthetic that "cleans up" to meet modern visitor expectations of National Park Service properties. A collection of washing machines, the hay derrick, and piles of materials and equipment in the local dumps hearken to the Mormon theme: "the wise save and are prepared for the worst."⁶² Ornamental planting of fir and spruce trees and the development of cottonwood windrows may also reflect the Mormon directive as another way "to tame the desert and beautify Zion."⁶³ The Lombardy poplar, *Populus nigra "Italica"*, long considered a "Mormon Tree," was likely replaced by the related cottonwoods and aspens (*Populus fremonti* and *Populus tremuloides*) due to availability and their ability to survive the harsh climate.

Throughout Mormon Row, there are many "Mormon" features that are as likely a response to other cultural or natural factors as to a church directive. Roadside irrigation ditches on the west side of the Old

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 47.

⁶² Ibid., p. 102.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 90.

Jackson/Moran Road more likely represent the only logistical method of providing domestic or irrigation water to downhill residences, farmyards, feed lots or fields. It can not be determined if the lack of "Mormon fences," patched and repaired with a variety of materials, pickets and slabs, is due to the availability of suitable poles for fencing (and the lack of "other materials"), or that the remnant fences have been "cleaned up" during the development of the park leaving only the more visually pleasing materials. Haying, a typical Mormon land use, was a dominant activity. However, the short growing season, need for winter feed, and market demands most likely determined the crop selection.

Missing from the physical arrangement of the homestead claims are other Mormon features. These include the typically wide street widths, the presence of barns and granaries in town, the open landscape in town, and the placement of houses grouped sociably in fours around an intersection. Instead, the rigid N-S-E-W planning layout is a product of the township and range surveying grid and homesteading legislation, rather than a choice of the Mormon settlers. The roads were located along section lines prior to their arrival. The settlers did cluster themselves sociably, but this may more reflect friendship ties and the availability of unclaimed lands than a response to Mormon directives. Homesteaders immigrating into new areas often settled close to those whom they knew, *provided* good land, water and shelter were available for survival. However, other Mormon families who came with the Mays and Budes in the 1890s chose to settle in other parts of Jackson Hole — the emphasis appeared to be on successfully proving their claims, rather than developing a town. The selection of Jackson Hole as a destination, located "in the isolated valleys surrounded by rugged mountains which became, in effect, the protectors of the Latter-day Saints," was as likely related to available arable land, water and shelter, as to a directive from the church to fulfill the prophecy: "...the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains."⁶⁴

Views and Vistas

The open, large scale of the landscape plays an important role in establishing the character of Mormon Row. The human-scale farmstead clusters and field patterns contrast dramatically with the surrounding natural features. The flat valley floor with monotonous, arid, gray sage sets a backdrop that showcases the cottonwood-lined drainages, the fine texture of grasses on the formerly cultivated fields, the glint of sunlight on the water in the irrigation canals and farm clusters. While the actual structures may not be visible from farm to farm, the buildings and associated windbreak trees punctuate the horizon with dark masses visually tying the community together. It is easy to imagine that when the structures were inhabited the lights from the farm a few miles away were easily seen during clear nights. The distant backdrop of the surrounding peaks gives a sense of enclosure while reinforcing the large scale of the space. The mid-ground is dominated by Blacktail Butte with its pine-covered steep slopes providing a strong visual boundary on the west. The space bleeds off to the north, with the horizon lost in the edge of the sage.

Circulation

For many years the predominant forms of transportation throughout Jackson Hole were horse and wagon in summer or sled in winter. Even after automobiles arrived in the valley, winter conditions and the cost of fuel kept horse teams active. This dependence on horses for transportation also kept the local cash crops of hay and oats economically viable.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 83, quoting Micah 4:1-5.

The economy of the area was dependent upon good transportation to the larger regional markets, and upon providing services and products to the dude ranches, as well as the towns of Kelly, Moran and Jackson. For many years, J.B. Heninger held the mail contract for the Jackson/Moran route. In the winter he used his homesite on Mormon Row (the former Murphy homestead), as the middle stopping point to change horse teams for the sled, and to feed and warm-up drivers. Thus the residents of Mormon Row witnessed the passage of most, if not all, of the north-south oriented traffic through the area, and figured prominently as a link between the two towns.

Typical of the majority of communities settled after the work of government surveyors, major arterials in the valley are located along section lines, when not prohibited by physiographic features. The newer road alignments developed after the park was established ignored this tradition as land ownership/road right of ways no longer related to sections. The newer roads, such as the paved road to Antelope Flats, and Highway 26/89/187 follow direct-desire lines, veering to avoid obstacles or to take advantage of gravel borrow pits or better soils.

The community of Grovont is oriented toward the Old Jackson/Moran Road, an unpaved road that narrows as it crosses over Ditch Creek on a one-lane timber bridge. The road runs north-south on a section line, bisecting the core of the community. At the southern end of the Blacktail Butte, a segment of the original road alignment was abandoned when the new "Gros Ventre" road was constructed. However, the old road is still visible where it turns west and splits a mid-level terrace to join with the current Highway 26/89/187 that leads to the town of Jackson. North of the Geck and J. Riniker homesteads, the Old Jackson/Moran Road made a 45-degree turn and continued northeast to the edge of Shadow Mountain, where it skirted the edge of the mountains and into the town of Moran.

Today, the south boundary of Mormon Row is defined by the Gros Ventre Road, an all-weather east-west secondary highway that turns north at Kelly. At Kelly Warm Springs (formerly Mud Springs), the road turns to the east and winds through the hills to Lower Slide Lake. The Mormon Row area also contains two single-lane or "two-track" dirt roads that run east-west on section lines. The southern road parallels the May Stock Ditch and connects to the paved road from Kelly. The northern road connects to the Old Jackson/Moran Road between the former school site and church site, and connects to Kelly and to the Elbo Ranch (Teton Science Center).

The valley floor is also laced with single tracks or horse trails that indubitably were once used by local residents while neighboring, going to church, or to school or picking up the mail. The majority of these trails are only visible from aerial photos, after a fire removes the sage, or if one is shown them by a local resident. In the area where the new Antelope Flats Road crosses near the Ireton and Pfeifer homesteads, these local roads have been filled with dinosaur-egg-sized cobbles. While this phenomena can serve as the basis for several intriguing theories, such as creating a paving base in wet areas, or cobbling the roads to slow local poachers (to landing strips for alien spacecraft), they probably represent nothing more than an easy place to dispose of excess rock fill, left over from modern road construction.⁶⁵ Small-scale gravel

⁶⁵ Interview with Clark Moulton.

borrow pits are another curiosity that are periodically visible adjacent to roads. They vary in their size, depth and relationship to the road tread. There are several pits located on the Geck homestead and May property. The most visible and largest borrow pit forces a sudden change of alignment of the Kelly Road near the intersection with Antelope Flats Road. Little information has been discovered regarding when the pits were dug or the destination of the material removed. Local roads may have benefited especially if the pits were active prior to the availability of large earth-moving equipment, backhoes, or county road crews. It is also likely that the roads throughout the area were traditionally used as cattle driveways to the grazing lands in the north and east. No information has been located to identify which of these routes were commonly utilized to "trail up Ditch Creek or the Gros Ventre."⁶⁶

Vegetation

The most striking and visually critical vegetation pattern in Mormon Row is the cultivated fields and their contrast with the surrounding native sage. Even though the fields have not been actively farmed since the last crop in 1976, the natural sage encroachment fortunately has been slowed in many locations by major barriers such as paved roads and irrigation ditches. Where such barriers do not exist, such as on the Budge and May properties, the sage is beginning to crowd out the remnant fine-texture grasses, reclaiming the land.

Because field investigations for this inventory was completed soon after snow melt and as the grasses were just beginning their annual green-up, the lateral ditch pattern of the fields was also visually striking. The traditional parallel ditch and plowing pattern in 40-to 160-acre patchwork has changed little since that shown on 1945 aerials. The modern contour methods utilized by the US Fish and Wildlife Service in producing hay for elk, with ditches that snake or diagonally stripe across Sections 33, 4 and 3, are visually disparate to the traditional methods. Because of the field orientation perpendicular to the major circulation route, lateral ditch and plowing patterns can establish a strong visual pattern with laterals every 70 to 150 feet in the traditional parallel method. The contrast between the traditional method and newer contour pattern can be used to reinforce the interpretation of the historic changes in agriculture from small horse-powered family operations to agribusiness with large earth-movers and levelers.

An equally strong vegetation pattern is the natural demarcation of drainages and creeks by the native cottonwoods. These clusters of trees are located primarily on the multiple arms of Ditch Creek, but have also sparsely populated the older ditches such as Trail Ditch (appropriated in 1896). Thickets of willow and other deciduous shrubs appear where there is a year-round water source, such as at Mud Springs or around Budge Slough. These vegetation patterns have typically survived where gravelly soils or steep banks have not hindered agricultural cultivation.

The only other dominant vegetation pattern occurs either as dark conifers on the distant butte and background mountains, or at a smaller scale in planted windrows. Due to their linear nature and regular spacing, the windrows contrast sharply with the natural tree patterns. The windrows are typically a single line (or "L" or "C" shaped) with trees on 15-to 25-foot spacing on the north, east, and sometimes south sides of the main residence. Cottonwood appears to be the primary choice for windrows; John Moulton's row of

⁶⁶ Ibid.

aspen trees stands as the only exception. Many of the cottonwood trees are overmature and have begun to break up or be knocked over in storms. They are all even-aged stands, although the rows located at the May and Budge property are more severely damaged and appear to be older, which is supported by the earlier withdrawal dates. At the Woodward (Kafferlin) residential site, the trees were planted as a larger block, perhaps due to the isolation of this homestead in the middle of the valley out of the shelter of Blacktail Butte.

The remnant of a kitchen garden and several ornamental plantings of rose, lilac and juniper, remain at the John Moulton homesite. Ornamental fir or spruce trees are found in the front yards of the John Moulton, T.A. Moulton, Clark Moulton, Andy Chambers and Roy Chambers homesites, and in the vicinity of the church. The Reed Moulton (T. Murphy homestead) residential site is distinctive in its lack of trees. The Budge homesite, though demolished, can be located by a lilac bush as well as archeological surface scatter.

Cluster Arrangement

The orientation of residential complexes along the north-south spine created by the Old Jackson/Moran Road is a dominant pattern. Two known anomalies to this pattern are the Budge homesite that is tucked back into Blacktail Butte, and the Mae Kafferlin homesite that is located in the southeast corner of her 160 acres. It is unclear if these "anomalies" may have been more representative of the sprinkling of homesite clusters in the southern end of the valley when the valley had a resident population in the early 1900s. The aerial photographs from both 1945 and 1967 appear to indicate clusters on the Gunther, W. Henrie, M. Henrie and Thorson sites that orient to the east-west roads. However, archaeological remnants were not verified in the field.

At a finer grained scale, the cluster within each claim typically can be subdivided functionally into an adjacent domestic portion and an agricultural portion. The domestic cluster is usually defined by a windrow and fences, and includes a main residence and additional residences (often the original homestead subsequently used as a bunkhouse or storage facility). Smaller functional structures include outhouses, garage, pumphouse, shed and yard including a vegetable garden. The agricultural clusters typically included a barn, equipment sheds, granary, chicken house and corral/cattle-handling chutes. The standing examples of homestead clusters are oriented toward the road with the domestic cluster sheltered to the south of the work cluster. Access is provided to each portion of the cluster through separate driveways, gates and bridges (if required) from the Old Jackson/Moran Road. Access to work clusters is scaled to accommodate wider equipment and vehicles. Interconnections between the portions of the cluster are difficult to determine as many of the fences are either new (such as at the Chamber site) or nonexistent. It is assumed that fenced clusters had at least a pedestrian gate and perhaps a vehicle access, such as at the John Moulton homesite.

The extant structures appear as a community primarily due to their relationship to the Old Jackson/Moran Road. The six remaining "homestead complexes" have their front yard and house set back between 75 and 110 feet from the adjacent road edge. (The lone granary structure on the original Eggleston complex was once part of what would be considered the seventh complex; however, the layout is no longer visible.) The agrarian structures in the complexes usually are located farther away from the road edge, so that the house appears to be "in front" which is typical of both Mormon towns and many Gentile agricultural communities.

Notable variations are the John Moulton barn, where the structure, pole corrals, and loading chutes come to the edge of the road right of way, and the Andy Chambers property, where the shed and gas/oil house are located west rather than "behind" the house.

Typical of Mormon towns,⁶⁷ the church and school sites were located at the physical center of the community if one considers all 33 of the original homestead withdrawals. The church site at the southwest corner of the T. Perry homestead is still marked by fence posts, two cottonwoods and a spruce tree, though the church itself has been moved to Wilson. Scattered logs are the only visible remnants at the school site on the northwest corner of Hans Harthoorn's property.

Structures

Remaining structures in six homestead clusters and the isolated structure on the Perry homestead represent only a small percentage of those were once clustered throughout Mormon Row. The community of Grovont previously included a school and church, as well as domestic and/or agrarian structures on the additional 26 homesteads (as recorded during the patent procedure).⁶⁸ Remnant structures represent the vernacular architecture typical of region. Most of the structures are log and display evolutionary construction common in homesteaded settlements — expanding as the need arose and resources were available. Detailed architectural descriptions of both the interior and exterior of the existing structures have been prepared (see the National Register Nomination forms for the Mormon Row Historic District). The relationship, scale, massing and overall visual contribution to the landscape are the critical features used to evaluate these resources' contribution to the cultural landscape; material and detailed design were deemed less critical when evaluating these resources' integrity.

The four remaining residences on Mormon Row reflect the continuum of growth of houses. The Chambers' log-bearing, one-story construction is typical of the earliest shelters. It is a simple, two-room cabin with shed-roof porches running the length of both the west (front) and east elevations. When Andy and Ida Chambers bought out the Eggleston claim, this structure was relegated to a bunkhouse, temporary or seasonal housing, and thus does not demonstrate the evolutionary construction typical of homestead development. The isolated structure remaining on the Eggleston property was also originally a homestead cabin. However, the log building was later converted to a granary. The extant houses on the Clark Moulton, Roy Chambers and Reed Moulton (formerly Heninger and Thomas Murphy) properties exhibit varying degrees of modifications made during both the historic period and since 1945. The John Moulton house is the most substantial remaining house, seen in its size, number of rooms and exterior and interior finish. Circa 1936, this one-and-one-half story stucco residence was built by professional carpenter Ted Woodard of Kelly, almost 30 years after John Moulton settled on Mormon Row.

The barns and other outbuildings exhibit modifications similar to those seen in the houses. Buildings were expanded during the historic period to meet the needs of the owners. The five barns are visually the most prominent structures. Their size and dominance testify to the landscape's agricultural history. The two-and-one-half story Heninger barn dominates the Reed Moulton site with its distinctive board and batten central

⁶⁷ Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation & Perception of a Unique Image in the American West*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Ninety-three structures for 33 land office entries are noted on the map prepared by John Daugherty.

gambrel component. This structure displays the distinctive central gambrel style that allows for a large hay loft and central storage area, with an attached lower shed. Lower shed-roof components for animal stalls are also seen at the T.A. Moulton, John Moulton, Clark Moulton, and Andy Chambers barns. These four barns have a predominant central gable roof construction with typically two shed-roof extensions (that may be added after the original construction). Andy Chambers' barn has a frame shed-roof extension only to the west. Clark Moulton's barn exhibits a shed-roof addition to the east elevation and a front gable shed-roof addition to the north. Only breaks in the eave line, and variations in roof-shingles and siding, reveal that these subtle additions were not part of the original construction. Although once painted, most of the barns have weathered to various shades of warm gray and brown. During its prime, the Heninger barn with its red siding and green roof shingles must have been visible for many miles to travelers coming south from Moran on the Old Jackson/Moran Road.

In spite of their low visual impact, irrigation structures played a critical role in the history and settlement of Mormon Row. The overall character of the landscape is a direct by-product of the 17 irrigation ditches that lace the valley. Within the boundary defined by the 1990 evaluation are the Mormon Row Ditch and Johnson Eggleston Ditch. Associated with the Mormon Row Ditch are also the Trail Ditch, May Stock Ditch and Savage Ditch, which either share water from the Gros Ventre River or cross under the Mormon Row Ditch. Each of these five ditches includes an earthen main ditch, head gates, appropriation gates, and in stream structures. Wooden field distribution gates of various configurations controlled the distribution of water to various fields and are still visible in the Reed Moulton, John Moulton, T.A. Moulton, J. Eggleston, J. Johnson, H. Harthoorn, T. Perry and A. Chambers fields. Field cultivation patterns as defined by the irrigation laterals are distinctive in all of the fields within the 1990 boundary except for the Ireton and Mahon properties. These patterns reflect those visible in the 1945 aerial photos, though the precise location of laterals may have changed since that time, as they are traditionally repaired or rebuilt after a number of harvests.

Most of the equipment and objects that would have once been a part of the agrarian landscape have been removed from the site as the area was developed as a national park. A Mormon hay derrick and homemade attachment that appear to have been used to "drag the fields" (located in the Harthoorn field) are the only two pieces of hay cultivation equipment visible in Mormon Row.

Archeological sites

There have been several archeological surveys in the park including work on Blacktail Butte.⁶⁹ However, there have been no known archeological investigations within Mormon Row. During field investigations, several potential sites were located by surface scatter or other remnants. At the Budge homestead, located adjacent to Blacktail Butte, surface evidence includes a lilac bush, brick foundations, and a scatter of domestic trash including canning jars and ceramics. The May homesite can be identified by the remnants of the cottonwood windrow and the equipment bridge near the farmyard gate. An equipment bridge and remnants of a two-track road are also located at the base of the butte on the May property. The Kafferlin homesite is likewise recognizable on the flat valley floor by its cottonwood windrow. A closer examination reveals foundations. A corral site utilized for shoeing and vaccinating US Forest Service horses and mules

⁶⁹ National Park Service, Resource Management Plan, January 6, 1995, p. 28.

was also identified on the Gunther property.⁷⁰ Additional archaeological remains may also be present on the other homestead parcels.

Three dump sites are located in the community and provide insights into daily life. The first dump site is in what appears to be a deep old creek channel behind the Roy Chambers chicken coop. This site is filled with domestic trash such as appliances, cans/bottles, buck and rail fencing, building remnants (including timbers and lumber and bailing twine). The second dump is located in another old creek channel on the Harthoorn property and includes a lighter scattering of tires, vehicle parts, and glassware. The third dump is scattered in a natural ravine on the May property and includes trucks and car parts, cans/bottles, 55-gallon drums, and farm implements. This dump is accessed by a dirt single-track road on a terrace cut into the lower slope of the butte. A small terrace that potentially contained the sheep corral on the May property was also identified by piled wood posts and poles.

Small-Scale Features

The landscape is still rich with small-scale features that help relate the history of settlement of Mormon Row. Most of the elements served a functional purpose and are often overlooked resources, such as irrigation gates, foot bridges, equipment bridges, gates and their distinctive horseshoe closures, clotheslines, mail boxes, and gate latches. The landscape is not rich in pure ornament, but many of these small-scaled features depict craftsmanship and proportion that make them more than purely functional. These elements reflect the lives of those that homesteaded the area and made it their homes.

⁷⁰ Interview with Pete Hayden.

X. SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

IV. HISTORICAL INFORMATION (continued)

Historical Development of Mormon Row

Introduction

In the spring of 1856, Mormon converts Sarah and Thomas Moulton made the momentous decision to leave their English home for the new Zion in the American West. Sarah gave birth to seventh-child Charles Alma Moulton in the first days of the family's Atlantic crossing, tendered the frail infant across the plains in a wooden handcart, and delivered him safely to Salt Lake City in the fall of the year. Charles was raised in Utah, homesteaded in southern Idaho, and watched three of his sons — T. Alma, John A., and J. Wallace — migrate to the sagebrush flats of Wyoming's Jackson Hole. Here they homesteaded in the company of kin in fact and faith and in the company of an eclectic mix of Gentiles.²

The Moultons' emigration followed standard Mormon settlement patterns; devotees from New England and Middle America comprised the 1847 hejira from the ashes of Nauvoo to the Salt Lake Basin. By 1880, half of those Mormons not born in Utah listed the British Isles/Canada or Scandinavia as their place of birth. In response to the directives of the church — and in search of a productive home — this second wave of emigrants expanded the cordon of Mormon influence beyond the central cultural and political core of the Salt Lake Basin/Wasatch Range, to a Mormon "domain" that ultimately encompassed all of Utah and much of northern Arizona and southern Idaho.³

Between ca. 1890 and ca. 1910, the children of the inhabitants of this domain — where Mormons dictated the political, economic, cultural, and social lives of their homogeneous communities — began a gradual dispersal to an outer "sphere" of Mormon influence. Cultural geographer D. W. Meinig argues that, in striking contrast to earlier phases of Mormon dispersal, these children were not part of a group movement directed by the church but rather were part of a "gradual and diffuse migration developing ... in response to various local opportunities."⁴ Within the resultant cultural sphere, the Mormons lived "as nucleated groups enclaved within Gentile country": a scattering of "Mormon Rows" across the intermountain west, where Mormons' numerical significance *and* their contrast with the surrounding communities warranted distinct cultural appellations.⁵

Historical Development of Mormon Row

In 1894, Mormon James I. May recognized the opportunity proffered by the lands in the lee of Jackson Hole's Blacktail Butte and initiated a "gradual and diffuse" Mormon migration. Scouting an alternative to

² Candy Vyvey Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons: Homesteading in Jackson Hole*, (Boise, Idaho: Tamarack Books, Inc., 1994), pp. 47-54, 73, 83; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Wyoming, Box 18174, Record Group [RG] 49, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland [NA]; Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA.

³ Lowell C. Bennion, "Mormon Country a Century Ago: A Geographer's View," in *The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions*, Thomas G. Alexander, ed., (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press [Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 10], 1980), p. 8; D.W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (June 1965), pp. 201, 215-216.

⁴ Meinig, "Mormon Culture Region," p. 216.

⁵ *Ibid.*

his rocky homestead in Rockland, Idaho, May found flat land, protection from the prevailing winds, accessible (if not abundant) water from the nearby Gros Ventre River, and flourishing waist-high sage; the sage would have to be grubbed in backbreaking labor but it testified to fertile soil beneath. Two years later, James returned to Blacktail Butte with his wife Ann, son Henrie, and family and neighbors from Rockland: Charles and Mariah Allen and their five children; newlyweds James and Mary Ann Allen Budge; and Roy and Maggie McBride.⁶

Winter approached, and the Idaho contingent sought refuge with neighbors from adjacent communities before constructing cabins in the spring of 1897. The McBrides chose to settle on Flat Creek, south near Jackson; the Allens chose land to the north, near Moran; and the May and Budge families filed on homesteads at the south end of Blacktail Butte, near water and well-sheltered from wind and winter storms.

Subsequent settlers filed on a linear progression of claims that proceeded both geographically and chronologically from the Budge homestead at the south to the northern limit of land within the partial umbrella of Blacktail Butte and within reach of the diverted waters of the Gros Ventre and Ditch Creek. By 1915, when John Riniker filed his claim at the northern extreme of Mormon Row, homesteaders included Edward Geck, Arthur Mahon, Joe Pfeiffer, William (Billy) Ireton, Thomas Murphy, John Rutherford, Dick Van den Brock, John A. Moulton, Thomas A. Moulton, J. Wallace Moulton, Andrew Chambers, Thomas Perry, Joseph Eggleston, Jacob Johnson, Hannes Harthoom, Henrie May, Warren Henrie, J. Henrie, John W. Woodward, George Riniker, Albert Gunther, W. Shinkle, R. Shinkle, James May, Elizabeth May, and James Budge. Talmage Holland claimed land on the arid eastern outskirts of the community in 1917. John Hoagland's 1926 claim to steep and swampy land on the west flank of Blacktail Butte provided a delayed conclusion to Mormon Row homesteading.⁸

With few exceptions, these settlers filed 160-acre homestead claims, either under the terms of the Homestead Act of 1862 (officially titled "An Act to Secure Homesteads to Actual Settlers on the Public Domain" and allowing "free land" to those meeting age, citizenship, and loyalty requirements and successfully inhabiting and improving a claim for the requisite three to five years) or the Forest Homestead Act of 1906 (allowing homestead withdrawal of agricultural land within National Forest boundaries). Residents later augmented these claims with Additional Homesteads allowed under the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, Desert Land claims under the Desert Homestead Act of 1877 (as amended), or through purchase. These were primarily small-scale irrigated and dryland farms, worked by family and neighbors, and providing subsistence and winter feed for the small dairy, sheep, and beef-cattle herds that served as the area's primary cash crop.⁹

⁶ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 38, 55-58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65; General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

⁸ General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Mormon Row is defined as that land bounded by James Budge's homestead to the south, the J. Riniker, Geck, and Pfeifer homesteads to the north, Blacktail Butte to the west, and Shadow Mountain to the east. Land owners listed from north to south.

⁹ General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, passim; Clark and Veda Moulton, interviewed at their home on Mormon Row by Janene Caywood, Historical Research Associates, Inc., May 31, 1995 [Moulton Interview].

Mormons Perry and Ernest Stone¹⁰ had accompanied the Moulton brothers from Chapin, Idaho. George Riniker had emigrated from Ohio; Van den Brock and Harthoorn from Holland; John Riniker and Pfeiffer from the mines of Butte, Montana. J. Riniker, Cindle, Van den Brock, and Harthoorn were joined by brides secured through the Heart and Hand Club. Others married by more conventional means (local schoolteachers, neighbors' wives' sisters, cousins, or friends), creating a stable community of farm families. This was a community of the late frontier, subject to the vagaries of weather, of market, and of a crude regional transportation network, yet spared the chilling isolation from immediate neighbors that dominates memoirs of early settlement of the prairie and mountain west. Residential complexes were clustered along the road, a utilitarian response to the transportation network and to field patterns, that incidentally but fortuitously provided the added social benefit of easy access to adjacent homes; from the beginning, men and women had friends and family with which to share their labor and with which they could "neighbor."¹¹

School was first held in individual homes, then the living room of the Thomas Perry homestead (ca. 1911),¹² then the basement of the new Mormon church, and finally in a new school building built on land donated by Gentile Hannes Harthoorn. After 1920, with official recognition of the area as a distinct community, the post-office was housed in Andy and Ida Chamber's residence, from which Ida served as postmistress. The nearby town of Kelly boasted a general store, a drug store, and a doctor's office, all frequented by Mormon Row residents. Until 1916, the area's Mormon residents traveled 16 difficult miles to the LDS Church in Jackson. After construction of their own church (1916), trips to Jackson were limited to major buying excursions and are remembered as being "quite an occasion." The church formed the social and geographic hub of the community. Constructed at the center of Mormon Row, on an acre of land donated by Thomas Perry, the church housed Mormon religious ceremonies, community dances, and school concerts and plays.¹³

The small community was officially named Grovont, yet was quickly christened "Mormon Row" by non-Mormon residents of Kelly; the title described both the primary (but not exclusive) religious orientation and the neat pattern of linear settlement imposed by water, soil, weather, kinship, and the cadastral survey.¹⁴

As throughout the west, homestead boundaries were defined by cardinal directions, a neat grid of sections and townships imposed by federal surveyors on the land, irrespective of water courses and topographic vagaries. To a striking degree, western roads followed these north-south and east-west section lines, leaving private, agricultural land inviolate. The placement of Mormon Row resources reflects this matrix: homes and outbuildings were concentrated approximately one-half mile apart along the Jackson-to-Moran thoroughfare that ran north-south through the community, along the section line.¹⁵ The secondary pattern

¹⁰ Stone settled outside the Mormon Row vicinity.

¹¹ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 83-85, 89; Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA.

¹² Now known as the Roy Chambers house.

¹³ Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Wyoming, Box 18174, RG 49, NA; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 92, 125; Moulton interview.

¹⁴ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 65.

¹⁵ The road was abandoned north of Alma Moulton's homestead in 1939, following construction of the primary Grand Teton National Park thoroughfare; its alignment remains discernable both in the shadow of a depression across the sage flats,

of settlement extended east/west, along the historic roads to Moose and to Kelly or along secondary two-track access roads. Cultivated fields stretching behind the homesites (and the lateral ditches by which these fields were watered) also conformed generally to the imposed grid; only the primary distribution ditches followed the curvilinear contours of the land.¹⁶

For many years the predominant forms of transportation throughout Jackson Hole were horse and wagon in summer or sled in winter. Even after automobiles arrived in the valley, winter conditions and the cost of fuel kept horse teams active. This dependence on horses for transportation also kept the local cash crop of hay and oats economically viable.

The economy of the area was also dependent upon good transportation to the larger regional markets, and upon providing services and products to the dude ranches, in addition to the towns of Kelly, Moran, and Jackson. For many years, Joe Heninger held the mail contract for the Jackson/Moran route. In the winter he used his homesite on Mormon Row (the former Murphy homestead), as the middle stopping point to change horse teams for the sled, and to feed and warm-up drivers. Thus the residents of Mormon Row witnessed the passage of most, if not all of the north-south traffic through the area, and figured prominently as a link between the two towns.

Residents constructed domestic and agricultural infrastructure with logs harvested from Shadow Mountain (located eight miles east of Mormon Row) or from "Timbered Island" (a mass of glacial till located four miles northwest of Mormon Row, west of the Snake River).¹⁷ Lodgepole pine from Shadow Mountain was easily accessible, (relatively) easily harvested, and proved adequate for hastily constructed secondary outbuildings. But "if you wanted a house to last, you got timber from the Timbered Island."¹⁸ Local tradition holds that here, pine grew straight and so solid that you could hear it ring when it hit the ground. Prior to the 1927 completion of a bridge across the Snake River, residents harvested logs during the winter months, when the frozen river afforded a crossing and respite from Menor's Ferry charges or hazardous water fords.¹⁹

Buildings were most often constructed by the owner, with help from neighbors. Logs were used whole or were milled at local commercial sawmills. Basic infrastructure included a dwelling, a stable or barn, a granary, a chicken house, a corral, and miles of fence. Machine sheds, hay sheds, lambing sheds, hog barns, large granaries and barns, miscellaneous storage facilities, and a garage marked established and productive sites. Buck-and-pole, post-and-pole, and post-and-wire fencing divided fields from free-range cattle; defined feed lots; screened hay stacks from cattle and from elk; and marked property and ditch lines.

and by the presence of John Moulton and Thomas Murphy's homesteads, extending north in an orderly pattern. A more careful search might reveal the ruins of the Arthur Mahon, Edward Geck, John Riniker, and Dick Van DeBrock homesteads — once carefully aligned along the road north of Thomas Murphy's.

¹⁶ General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Josh Weltman research files, provided to HRA by the author.

Between 1952 and 1976, the Wyoming Department of Fish and Game constructed contour ditches, altering the historic linear pattern of lateral field ditches.

¹⁷ Clark Moulton reports that Blacktail Butte timber was small, twisted, inaccessible, and was not harvested.

¹⁸ Moulton interview.

¹⁹ Moulton interview; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 62-64.

Vertical-board fences, lining the north elevation of feed lots and winter pasture, protected cattle and loose hay from prevailing winds.²⁰

Ranch buildings were expanded or replaced over the course of decades as time and funds became available and as the needs of the farm demanded. T. A. Moulton constructed the central flat-roofed component of his barn in 1913, when his son Clark was an infant; by the time the hay loft (1928) and south shed-roof horse stalls (1934) were added, Clark was old enough to help with construction; when the north shed-roof component, housing the family hogs, was constructed in 1939, Clark was married, with children.²¹ Similar examples of sequential construction dot Mormon Row: John Moulton's two-part granary and second-generation barn; Clark and Veda Moulton's barn and granary; Andy Chamber's barn and pumphouse; the Joe Heninger barn, constructed to replace Thomas Murphy's original homestead barn.

The first generation of farm homes met the requirements of the Homestead Act (a habitable cabin no smaller than 12' x 12'); sheltered Mormon Row resident during those first years when preparing the fields and sheltering the stock took precedence over human comforts; and was converted to animal shelters or storage as soon as possible. James and Ann May resided in a two-room log cabin for the first five years while they "proved up." They then purchased a prefabricated two-story Victorian vernacular farmhouse. By July of 1916, three years after filing his claim and constructing a rudimentary cabin, Andy Chambers had felled the logs needed for a two-room house, with a shingle roof; this house was in turn relegated to a bunkhouse when the Chambers purchased the Eggleston homestead. John and Bartie [Bartha] Moulton resided in their original homestead cabin for almost 30 years, before hiring professional carpenter Ted Woodard of Kelly to construct the one-and-one-half story stucco residence that continues to dominate their site. The Reed Moulton residence was expanded through a series of additions, as was the Thomas Perry resident, later owned by Wallace Moulton and by Ida Chambers.²²

Water for domestic use and for stock came from the ditches, when they ran, or was freighted in barrels from the Gros Ventre River during the height of the summer and the dead of the winter. Residents did not begin digging wells until "many years after they arrived," and did not install indoor plumbing for many years after that. Electricity finally arrived in the mid-1950s, along the lines of the Rural Electric Administration; unfortunately, the poles and wires were removed from Mormon Row in May of 1995.²³

Along Mormon Row, the first three to five years of "proving up" were spent grubbing the land of sage, harvesting native hay, and planting gardens and ninety-day oats and barley suited to the short growing

²⁰ Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Wyoming, Box 18174, RG 49, NA; Josh Weltman research files, provided to HRA by the author; Moulton interview.

²¹ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 75.

²² Robert V. Hines, *The American West. An Interpretive History*, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1973), p. 161; Testimony of Claimant, Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; Moulton interview.

²³ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 73, 128. The Andy Chambers homestead cabin and the John Moulton house were never plumbed.

Park Service crews were removing telephone and power poles along Mormon Row at the time of HRA's May field survey.

season. Residents helped each other during these first (and subsequent) years: Alma Moulton, John Moulton, and friend and neighbor Thomas Perry worked their land in common until at least 1916, ran their stock together, harvested timber together, raised their barns together. All participated in the annual harvest, combining strength and manpower to stack hay and to thresh grain on the May's steam-powered thresher in an exhausting but festive conclusion to the growing season.²⁴

Women's work was equally communal — they assisted in their neighbors' births, tended their neighbors' sick, minded their neighbors' children, and joined together at harvest and at round-up to feed the threshing and branding crews. Their work was also equally demanding: the numerous children of Mormon Row were clothed in homemade and hand-cleaned clothing; warmed in homemade bedding; washed with homemade soap; and fed with home-canned produce, hand-churned butter, home-grown and hand-plucked chickens. Domestic tasks completed, women assisted their husbands in the fields and pastures.²⁵

Winter offered little respite from the hectic summer months of planting and harvest. As ditches froze, water for stock and domestic use was hauled from the river; buildings were constructed or repaired; stock was fed; elk were kept from the hay stacks; and children continued the never ending task of hauling manure out of the barns and feed lots, to the fields.²⁶

Recreational opportunities included skiing and sledding on "The Knoll" behind Andy and Ira Chambers' and, after 1935, swimming in the dammed swimming hole at the end of the coulee near T. A. and Lucile Moulton's place.

James May and Jim Budge watered their fields and gardens with water from the Gros Ventre, diverted through the Cedar Tree (Budge) Ditch (constructed ca. 1897) or the Savage Ditch (1911). The Trail Ditch (1897), Eggleston/Johnson Ditch (1910), and Pfeiffer/Geck/Ireton Ditch (1915), diverted water from Ditch Creek to Mormon Row farms, providing water for stock and irrigation. Yet Ditch Creek is an intermittent stream, raging in spring, providing a measure of water during June and July, and failing in the hot days of August and September. Residents of north Mormon Row hauled water for domestic use and for their gardens from the Gros Ventre River, irrigated when they could, and practiced dryland farming cultivation techniques.²⁷

By means of alternate cropping and fallowing, increased mulch, use of suitable grain strains, and modified plow methods, agricultural scientists believed, tax-hungry western boosters proselytized, and determined farmers hoped that non-irrigated lands receiving between 12 and 16 inches of rainfall per year could be

²⁴ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 71, 124; Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 18174, RG 49, NA.

²⁵ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, passim; Moulton, 1995.

²⁶ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 66, 121; Andy Chambers Patent File #542215, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 19111, RG 49, NA; John Moulton Patent File #519467, Evanston, Wyoming Land Office, Box 18174, RG 49, NA.

²⁷ State of Wyoming, "Certificate of Appropriation of Water," Permit No. 9992 [Certificate Record No. 41, Johnson and Eggleston Ditch], signed February 19, 1920 (Appropriation: June 13, 1910), on file at the Wyoming State Engineer's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming; State of Wyoming, "Certificate of Appropriation of Water," Permit No. 17697 [Certificate Record No. 47, Mormon Row Ditch], signed January 21, 1933 (Appropriation: September 25, 1929), on file at the Wyoming State Engineer's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 77, 128, 129; Moulton interview.

made to yield profitable harvests. Agricultural Experiment Stations established on the semi-arid plains ca. 1905 "proved" the West's suitability to this farming method; the Enlarged Homestead Act provided the minimum acreage necessary for alternate cropping and fallowing, bringing semi-arid land "into productivity in [a] new form."²⁸

Years of plentiful rainfall across the intermountain west sustained both the crops and the optimism of the agricultural scientists and the settlers. The project failed when drought hit ca. 1918. By 1922, the U.S. Department of Agriculture warned that dryland farms of 320 acres or less were inadequate for profitable farming "except under the most favorable circumstances and expert management."²⁹ Ultimately, half of all dryland farms failed.³⁰

In 1913, John Moulton realized 88.89 bushels of oats from each of the nine unirrigated acres that he had cleared of sage, an incredible bounty owed to adequate rainfall and to the fertility of virgin land. Droughts, rodents, hail, or an early frost reduced Moulton's harvest to 17.39 bushels per acre. The drought and failed crop of 1928 compelled Alma Moulton to purchase hay at \$50.00 per ton for his forty cattle and to harvest willow and aspen for supplemental feed. J. Riniker, G. Riniker, A. Mahon, J. Jacobson, J. Eggleston, T. Murphy and others ultimately sold, lost, or abandoned their dryland claims in the face of successive years of drought.³¹

These failed crops and failed homesteads served as frightening local reminders of the vagaries of dryland farming on limited land in high country where spring takes its time and fall arrives too soon. Roy Chambers remembers that "nobody can make a living on 160 acres. Most hung-on a year or so, then the smart ones sold out" — often to their neighbors who augmented their land base in hopes of raising enough grain and enough stock to stay. After WWI, Andy Chambers purchased Joseph Eggleston's 160-acres, and, ca. 1945, Thomas Perry's original homestead.³² Ca. 1945, Chambers' sons added J. Pfeiffer and Luke Taylor's³³ land to the family holdings that at their peak exceeded 900 acres.³⁴

Mormon Row Ditch

Those who stayed through the dry 1920s began the task of augmenting and reconstructing the Savage Ditch network, drawing from the Gros Ventre River. Yet not until 1927 were they assured of a significant and dependable water source: On June 23, 1925, after a long winter and a wet spring, a mile-wide block of earth slid from the northwest slope of Sheep Mountain, creating an earthen dam that backed up the Gros Ventre River. On May 18, 1927 the dam collapsed, sending a wall of water through the canyon, killing six people (including Ida Sneezy Chamber's parents and younger brother), and destroying canyon farms, the town of

²⁸ Alfred Atkinson, "Dry Farming Investigations in Montana," *Montana Agricultural College Experiment Station Bulletin No. 38*, Montana Agricultural College, Bozeman, Montana, p. 156.

²⁹ Quoted in Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development*, written for the Public Land Law Review Commission, (Washington D.C.: Zenger Publishing, Inc., 1968), p. 507.

³⁰ Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development*, pp. 528, 638, 646.

³¹ John Moulton Patent File #519467, Wyoming, Box 18174, RG 49, NA; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 77, 129.

³² Intermediate owner, Wallace Moulton. Now known as the Roy Chambers property.

³³ Located east of Mormon Row.

³⁴ Roy Chambers, telephone interview with Ann Hubber of Historical Research Associates, Inc., August 26, 1995 [Chambers, 1995].

Kelly, and much of the region's irrigation system. Mormon Row residents assisted in the rescue and the clean-up and shared in the grief over the loss of life and property. Yet the flood carried a blessing that may well have assured the future economic viability of the north Mormon Row farms: it opened a warm spring at the mouth of the canyon, within easy reach of the Savage Ditch network. In 1929, Joe Heninger (owner of Thomas Murphy's original claim), Andy Chambers, and the Moulton brothers filed claim to the water of "Mud Springs," gratefully yet unofficially christened Miracle Spring and now know officially as Kelly Warm Springs. The 3.37 mile long Mormon Row Ditch was constructed between 1929 and 1933 and provided the legal maximum of one cubic-foot-per-second (cfs) to every 70 acres irrigated. Heninger, John Moulton, and Alma Moulton each irrigated two 70-acre parcels, Wallace Moulton irrigated one 70-acre parcel, and Andy Chambers was granted a supplemental supply to his Ditch Creek water right (Johnson/Eggleston Ditch), sufficient for 67 acres.³⁵

Ditches were dug by hand, with a team of horses and a fresno. The copious manure that accumulated in the feed lots and barnyards each winter was hauled to the fields and used to form the levees and dikes that divided field laterals from central canals. The intricate layering of the development of these systems from 1896 through 1937 and the accompanying water rights, reflect the inner workings of the community as its members formed changing partnerships to get dependable water to their individual parcels. Structures such as flumes and culverts were built to protect the water rights as the ditches crisscrossed the valley floor.³⁶

Mormon Row feed crops were marketed locally and regionally, and sustained the dairy cows, beef cows, pigs, and chickens that provided subsistence and served as the area's primary cash crop. Beef were released (in early spring, in a communal herd, and under the auspices of the Ditch Creek Cattle Company) to the sagebrush lands of Antelope Flat. Private land formed the eastern and southern borders of this spring range, while Hedrick Pond formed a rough northern limit and the Snake River bottom formed a definitive western limit.³⁷ Grazing fees for the "Ditch Creek allotment" were paid first to the National Forest Service and then to the National Park Service. Bulls were turned-out in June, assuring an April calving season. Shortly after the 4th of July, six to eight local-residents-turned-cowboy trailed the herd of 800 to 1000 cattle to national forest summer range. Avoidance of larkspur (deadly to cattle) determined the trail route (up the Gros Ventre River or Ditch, Slate, Turpin, or Horse Tail creeks) as well as the timing of the drive: larkspur was less appealing to hungry cows when past the tender spring phase. Calves were pulled from the herds in early October, and trailed over Teton Pass to the Central Pacific railhead, from which they were shipped to markets in Omaha and Chicago.³⁸ The remainder of the herd was rounded up and trailed home in early November, where they were released into feed lots and cropped pasture, and fed through the winter.³⁹

³⁵ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 116; State of Wyoming, "Certificate of Appropriation of Water," Permit No. 17697 [Certificate Record No. 47, Mormon Row Ditch], signed January 21, 1933 (Appropriation: September 25, 1929), on file at the Wyoming State Engineer's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

³⁶ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 120-121; Telephone interview with Veda May Moulton, by Ann Hubber of HRA, August 23, 1995 [V. Moulton, 1995]. Please see site-specific descriptions, below, for complete descriptions of the Mormon Row and the Johnson/Eggleston ditch systems.

³⁷ This range was abandoned in 1957, after construction of the primary park thoroughfare through Antelope Flats (US Highway 191 (Chambers 1995).

³⁸ Clark Moulton reports that in the first years of settlement, calves were winter fed and trailed to market in the spring (Moulton 1995).

³⁹ Chambers, 1995; Moulton interview; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 118, 120.

Circa 1910, George Riniker and Rudy Harold challenged Jackson Hole cattle ranchers' unwritten moratorium against sheep in the valley. Although prepared for violence in a range-use war that raged throughout the West between ca. 1880 and ca. 1920, their bands of 100 sheep were introduced without substantial protest. By the 1920s, Clifton May, Joe May, and Hannes Harthoorn also ran sheep on Blacktail Butte; their children made "fine shepherds" and the mutton and wool "provided a fine cash crop."⁴⁰

The large barn at the John Moulton site was constructed in the early 1930s, to house the family's growing herd of dairy cows. Bartha (Bartie) Moulton sold butter, cottage cheese, and cream to area dude ranches. Other dairy operations included George and Martha Riniker's short-lived venture initiated in false anticipation of a creamery in Jackson Hole.⁴¹

In addition, each family maintained at least one milk cow (Alma and Lucile Moulton's Blossom even earned a bit part in the Hollywood western *Spencer's Mountain*), as well as hogs and chickens. As is common in agricultural economies, where cash is a rarity, eggs provided subsistence, a medium with which to barter, and petty-cash for good children, who traded the eggs for "penny" candy and other treats at the Kelly general store. Until convinced by his sons to invest in beef cattle, Alma Moulton considered himself rich if he had "six milk cows and 100 chickens."⁴²

The Mays and Chambers earned additional cash by providing meals and rooms to travelers along the Jackson to Moran road. Ida Chambers also served as the area postmistress, her pay limited to the proceeds from stamp sales. "For many years," Andy Chambers trapped the banks of the Snake River and the foothills of the Tetons, selling mink, coyote, muskrat, and martin to area fur traders. In the mid-1920s, Joe Heninger acquired the Jackson to Moran mail contract. The large barn that he constructed at the Thomas Murphy homestead (now the Reed Moulton site) housed the trucks used in the summer, the horses and sleighs used in the winter, and tons of hay. Andy Chambers inherited the mail route in 1932, a job he held until 1940.⁴³

Mormon Row supported at least some of the sons and daughters of the first generation before its incorporation into the Grand Teton National Monument (1943) and Grand Teton National Park (1950): Alma Moulton gave his son Clark an acre from the south edge of his homestead, on which Clark and his wife Veda May Moulton built their home and from which they worked a dry farm near Shadow Mountain and leased or managed Mormon Row lands. Alma's youngest son Harley worked the original homestead until its sale to the NPS in 1959. John Moulton purchased the T. Murphy/J. Heninger place; his son and daughter-in-law Reed and Shirley lived on the site, started a commercial sawmill, and assisted in running the ranch. Andy Chambers and his sons expanded the original 160-acre homestead to include the Eggleston, Perry, Pfeiffer, and Taylor homesteads. Jim and Allen Budge homesteaded land north and west of Mormon Row in the 1920s. Lester and Clifton May continued to work the lands of their father, Henrie, and of their grandparents, Mormon Row pioneers James and Ann.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Moulton interview; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, p. 88.

⁴¹ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 87, 92; Moulton, 1995.

⁴² Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 76, 92; Moulton, 1995.

⁴³ Moulton 1995; Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 63, 127; John Daugherty, "A Place Called Jackson Hole: A History," unpublished draft manuscript produced for the NPS (provided HRA by the NPS RMR, Denver), chapter 9, p. 27.

⁴⁴ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, passim; Moulton interview; General Land Office, Tract Book Indexes for townships 43N 115W and 42N 115W, Principal Meridian, on file with the Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Other families had a shorter tenure in the valley. Van den Brock and Cindle left prior to 1920, reportedly enticed by their disillusioned mail-order brides to greater opportunity in Chicago. Joe Pfeiffer died a bachelor, without heirs; after decades of abandonment and neglect, his simple homestead burned in the Antelope Flat fire of 1994. Eggleston, Johnson, the Rinikers, Perry, Woodward, Murphy, Mahon, and others sold to their neighbors, to new arrivals, or to the Snake River Land Company during the lean years of the 1920s and 1930s.⁴⁵

Following the Executive Order creating the Jackson Hole Monument and the Act adding Jackson Hole to Grand Teton National Park, those who remained on Mormon Row sold to the National Park Service, often after years of negotiation. Many leased back the land for a designated number of years or for their life time: until the late 1980s, both the Perry/Chambers and the John Moulton sites were inhabited seasonally. Only Clark and Veda Moulton continue to own and to reside on their land, an isolated inholding in an abandoned community. The James May and Henrie May farmhouses, the Grovont school, the Mormon church, and other buildings were moved to out-of-park sites. Other buildings remained along the row, where they were burned or left to collapse as part of NPS attempts to return the land to its natural state. Despite the losses, tree breaks, exotic plantings, foundations, archaeological scatters, six building complexes, and a "moldering ruin" continue to mark Mormon Row. The grubbed fields, ditch courses, and fence lines have proven even more intractable: although the last hay was bound and the last oats threshed in the late 1970s, the sagebrush has not returned and the fields remain clearly distinguishable from the surrounding sagebrush flats in verdant testimony to successful attempts to eke a living in a harsh land. The story of western settlement — of small-scale agriculture, of failed homesteads, of raising families, and of creating communities — remains on the land.

VIII. ANALYSIS and EVALUATION (continued)

Landscape Characteristics

Introduction

The Mormon Row cultural landscape is located at the southeast corner of Grand Teton National Park in a gently sloping sheltered cove formed by Blacktail Butte and the Gros Ventre Mountain Range. From 1896 to 1926, a total of 5,080 acres were withdrawn by early homesteaders.⁴⁶ The cultural landscape that exists in this area depicts human use and occupation reflective of settlement patterns legislated by homesteading acts.⁴⁷ The original 1862 act allowed any adult citizen to claim 160 acres of unappropriated public lands. The Desert Land Act of 1877 was also utilized to secure land in Mormon Row. Layered over this agricultural landscape is the Snake River Land Company's later pattern of land consolidation during the early conservation movement, development of Grand Teton National Park, use by the US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) to grow hay for the National Elk Refuge, and the conservation management policies of the National Park Service to return the lands to their natural state. The historic land use patterns contribute

⁴⁵ Moulton, *Legacy of the Tetons*, pp. 135-148; Moulton interview.

⁴⁶ Homestead withdrawals from map prepared by John Daugherty and corrected by HRA, Inc., as listed in attached chart titled "Land Patents in Mormon Row Area."

⁴⁷ Kathy McKoy, "Historic Contexts for Grand Teton National Park: Homesteading; Vernacular Architecture," Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service, March 1992.

to defining the cultural character of a typical homesteaded rural community. Mormon Row also clearly depicts an area where many of the community members were a part of the migration that expanded the Mormon cultural region throughout the intermountain west.

Mormon Row proper and most of its cultural landscape lie within the boundaries of the Grand Teton National Park. The 9,200-acre cove is an extension of Antelope Flats, bounded by the Gros Ventre River and Gros Ventre Range on the south, Blacktail Butte on the west and the lower slopes of Shadow Mountain on the east. The focus of this contract was the inventory of the lands contained by the rectangle approximately 1,000 feet by 7,000 feet that centered on the extant structures along the Old Jackson/Moran Road as defined in the National Register Evaluation of Vernacular Architecture in Grand Teton National Park.⁴⁸ The preliminary recommendation for the cultural landscape boundaries expands beyond this rectangle to include all of the original withdrawals, while excluding the town of Kelly. Several dispersed features that are associated with Mormon Row lie outside of this recommended boundary. These include the timber sources of Timbered Island and Shadow Mountains, 13 separate irrigation ditches and associated structures, and grazing lands on Blacktail Butte, Shadow Mountains and in Teton National Forest. Since the associations of many of these dispersed features are strongly tied to the landscape within the rectangle, preliminary research was included on many of these elements. Further research will be needed to provide defensible boundaries of the larger cultural landscape and to confirm which of the dispersed features should be included as a part of the Mormon Row Cultural Landscape.

This documentation provides an initial survey and evaluation of this potential cultural landscape. Within the area, nine buildings have been previously listed (1990) as the Andy Chambers Historic District. This evaluation supplements that nomination by evaluating key cultural landscape components and characteristics such as historic land use patterns, circulation systems, landscape organization, vegetation and farm complexes that illustrate functional and cultural relationships of homesteaded lands and their structures.

A. Physical Development

Both natural and cultural forces have shaped the physical landscape visible around Mormon Row. The shaping of Jackson Hole was the work of glaciers that moved down to converge from the north, east, and west beginning about a quarter million years ago. The terraces and alluvial fans are products of the retreat of these glaciers.⁴⁹ Located in the relatively gentle slopes of Jackson Hole, the area known as Mormon Row lies on an alluvial outwash at the southern end of Antelope Flats. This river bench is approximately three miles wide by four miles long and gently slopes toward the southwest. The area is enclosed on the west primarily by Blacktail Butte that rises steeply 1,000 from the valley floor — with this foreground enclosure reinforced by the Teton peaks towering in the background. The Gros Ventre River and the slopes of the Gros Ventre Range form the southern visual boundary. The Shadow Mountains and forested peaks within the Teton National Forest provide the eastern enclosure. The creeks, sloughs and seasonal drainages flow predominantly toward the Snake River to the northwest.

⁴⁸ Thomas Carter, "National Register Evaluation of Vernacular Architecture in Grand Teton National Park," unpublished report, March 15, 1990, p. 4 (unnumbered pages).

⁴⁹ United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey, Grand Teton National Park, from text on back of map, 1968.

The location of productive farm lands is the fortuitous combination of the deep, well-drained soils, seasonal streams and the shelter offered in the lee of the butte. Farther north on the more exposed Antelope Flats, the soils are similar, but the lack of shelter and a steady water supply reduced this area's attractiveness to the early homesteaders.

Within this spectacular natural setting, cultural forces refined the physical landscape. The national township and range system of land surveying established the grid of roads and parcels on cardinal coordinates familiar throughout the western United States. Homestead acts permitted settlers to claim 160-acre parcels and required them to make improvements such as buildings, fencing, and field cultivation in order to "prove up." Through the years, the community officially known as "Grosvont" developed the typical amenities of a school, church, and post office located in the home of the postmistress. Both climatic and economic forces rapidly winnowed the possible agricultural and nonagricultural activities into suitable "cash crops" such as oats, hay, milk, cream, eggs, beef, wool and mutton, and services such as laundry, meals, and mail delivery. The structures and land uses that supported homestead families are still reflected in the landscape in the forms of field patterns, irrigation systems, grazing lands, residential clusters (including both dwellings and secondary buildings such as barns and chicken coops), and fencing.

Beginning in the 1920s, the consolidation of parcels by the Snake River Land Company and the development of Grand Teton National Park slowly depopulated the area. Large-scale hay production by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service from 1952 through the 1970s subtly changed the scale of remnant field patterns in the southern half of "Mormon Row." Subsequent National Park Service policies to attempt to return the area to a more "natural" state, by removing former cultural accretions, have also left their mark.

B. Cultural Landscape Characteristics

Patterns of Spatial Organization

The spatial organization of Mormon Row, like the area's physical development, reflects both natural and cultural forces. The core of the Mormon Row cultural landscape appears as a single unit located on the valley floor contained by the natural features of Blacktail Butte and the more distant but prominent mountain ranges. Culturally, Mormon Row is organized primarily in a linear fashion along the spine of the Old Jackson/Moran Road. However, the patchwork of original land claims also extends to the east and south of the remnant structures to include Mormon families, such as Johnson, Harthorn, Mays, and the Henrie brothers, as well as non-Mormons. The color and texture contrast, where previously cultivated fields meet sagebrush, visually define this predominately flat space. The edge becomes less defined where the sagebrush has encroached upon fallow lands. Riparian vegetation, following natural and man-altered water courses, cuts across this cultivated patchwork, but does not appreciably subdivide the space. Further definition can be found on homesteads with extant fence posts or post-and-wire fence at the perimeter of their claim. The cultural landscape extends by fingers into adjacent sage lands as it follows irrigation ditches to their sources on the Gros Ventre River, Ditch Creek, and Kelly Warm Springs (referred to historically as Mud Springs and Miracle Spring). Other, less well understood and more dispersed elements of the cultural landscape include: stock grazing lands on the butte and in the mountains to the east, the timber source on Timbered Island to the west, additional ditch irrigation systems, and the regional roads connecting the community of Grosvont to the local dude ranches and the towns of Jackson and Moran.

Several dirt roads also led from Mormon Row into the town of Kelly. The relationship of "Mormon Row" families with the town of Kelly was well developed prior to 1927, when the town was virtually destroyed by a flood. Kelly provided a grocery store, a laundry, a pharmacy, and the services of a doctor.

The more subtle patterns of modern development can be discerned over this patchwork of early homesteading. The western quarter of the Thomas Murphy and John Moulton homesteads has been subdivided for both primary and secondary homes on small parcels (known as the Antelope Flats Subdivision in NPS documents). Similarly, the large levelers and other equipment used in the haying operation by the USFWS in the sections south of the north line of Sections 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29⁵⁰ may have removed surface remnants of the Harthorn, G. Riniker, Gunther, Shinkle, J.I. May, J. Henrie, H. Thorson and J. Budge homesteading activities. Aerial photographs taken in 1967, as compared to those of 1945, indicate that the haying operations retained the irrigation ditches and much of the field orientation of the southernmost sections, but changed many of the field laterals to diagonal or contour patterns. Documentation was not investigated regarding the extent of the haying operations, but they do not appear to have included the Holland, Chambers, Moulton, Kafferlin, M. Henrie or Hoagland properties.

Perhaps the most erosive change in spatial organization has been the long-term National Park Service policy of attempting to return the lands to their natural state. The management plans of the 1970s do not recognize the Mormon Row area as having historical significance; the area is defined as part of a natural environment subzone with only the Pfeifer homestead identified as "historic". In discussions regarding the adjacent Antelope Flats subdivision it was noted as recently as 1991 that the surrounding sagebrush grassland is an elk migration area. Park planners argued that "... removal of this subdivision would provide for less human disturbance of the elk for this migration route as well as improve the area for elk habitat and that this private property should be acquired."⁵¹ Resource protection policies that reflect a belief that manmade resources and human use are incompatible with the protection of the natural values of the park are perhaps the greatest threat to the survival of the Mormon Row Cultural Landscape. The removal of buildings, fences and other manmade features, and the lack of protection that has permitted other cultural resources to deteriorate or be destroyed, has changed the ability to fully understand the role of homesteading in shaping the landscape. The absence of homestead improvements is especially pronounced in the area south of the Eggleston property. During the early historic period, residential building clusters occurred at regular intervals adjacent to the Jackson/Moran road for two miles farther south.

Response to Natural Environment

To survive in Jackson Hole humans have had to adapt to the harsh climate and short growing season. The earliest withdrawals between 1896 and 1899, by Mays, Budge, Hoagland and Henrie, were located at the most sheltered southern end of what was to become Mormon Row. Withdrawals from 1908 to 1914, by

⁵⁰ National Park Service, Master Plan Grand Teton National Park Wyoming, approved March 19, 1976, p. 6. "A memorandum of agreement dated June 18, 1952 exists between the Department of Interior's National Park Service and the Bureau of Sport Fisheries Department of Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service to make these lands available for the raising of hay for the winter feeding of the Jackson Hole elk herd. This agreement was effective for 20 years beginning July 1, 1955. It was extended for a 3 year period, after which time the lands involved are to be returned to a natural state."

⁵¹ National Park Service, Land Protection Plan, Second Biennial Review, Grand Teton National Park, January 1991, p. 28.

May, Riniker, Gunther, Johnson, Eggleston, the Moulton brothers, Murphy, Shinkle, Pfeifer, Geck, Perry, Chambers, Woodward, Ireton, Harthorn, Van Der Brock and Gunter, continued to the north, encompassing the "best" farming land and access to major creeks and drainages throughout the valley. The final withdrawals by Riniker in 1915, Holland in 1917, and Hoagland in 1926, were located on the outer fringes of the settlement. North of Blacktail Butte, the soils are more rocky, the microclimates are colder, and the exposure to wind increases. Without the sheltering aspect of the butte, the original homesteaders' attempts at field crops may have been doomed. Indeed, the perimeter claims such as those of Geck, Riniker, Pfeifer and Ireton were not as successful at producing crops as those of Harthorn, Moulton or Chambers.

Small-scale cultural features also show response to the harsh climate and storm patterns of the region. Sheltering windrows of deciduous trees were planted on the north and east or south of most of the residences. Vertical board windbreaks are incorporated into stock yards to offer stock shelter from winter weather.

Soils throughout the valley floor are deep, well-drained loams capable of producing two to four tons of hay per acre under modern agricultural evaluations. There appears to be no difference between the soils of the Harthorn property — "the richest land in the valley" — and those of the Geck property, which was quickly abandoned to sage.⁵² A steady water supply rather than quality of soil appears to have been the greatest determinant of successful cultivation. Several of the homesteads have wells for domestic use. Many of these wells were dug by Joe Pfeifer, who in spite of being the area's well digger was never able to reach water on his own land.⁵³ The water for field cultivation came from 17 irrigation ditches that laced the valley, drawing water from Ditch Creek, the Gros Ventre River and Mud Springs (now called Kelly Warm Springs). The intricate layering of the development of these systems from 1896 through 1937, and the accompanying water rights, reflect the inner workings of the community as its members formed changing partnerships to get dependable water to their individual parcels. Early sources, such as Ditch Creek whose proximity may have drawn homesteaders northward, were abandoned in favor of the more dependable Gros Ventre River. Structures such as flumes and culverts were built to protect the water rights as the ditches crisscrossed the valley floor. The Mormon Row Ditch, Savage Ditch and May Stock Ditch still carry water and were clearly identifiable during field investigations.⁵⁴ The Trail Ditch, Hot Spring Ditch, Johnson/Eggleston Ditch, and the Geck Ditch were also identified though they no longer carry water. There was not time to field verify the remaining seven ditches. Future investigation may be able to discern the Kissinger Ditch, Cedar Tree Ditch, Mud Springs Ditch, Ideal Ditch, Smith Ditch, Gunther Ditch [as well as Wild Cherry, Sebastian, Mesa and Hobo ditches which may or may not serve the Mormon Row area.⁵⁵] Further investigations should also clarify the changes brought about by the enlargements of ditches during the homestead period through 1936, and any affected by the US FWS haying operations begun in 1952.

⁵² USDA, Soil Conservation Service, Soil Survey of Teton County Wyoming, Grand Teton National Park Area, April 1982; Interview with Clark Moulton.

⁵³ Interview with Clark Moulton.

⁵⁴ See description of Mormon Row Ditch for more detailed documentation.

⁵⁵ Kathy McKoy, "Historic Contexts for Grand Teton National Park: Homesteading; Vernacular Architecture," Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service, March 1992.

Building materials are closely tied to natural resources available in the region. Many of the buildings located along the row are constructed of logs. Local tradition maintains that the best building logs came from Timbered Island, although straight Lodgepole pine would have been easily procured from both Timbered Island and Shadow Mountain. The Mormon tradition of building substantive houses of brick or stone was expressed by stucco finishes on wood frame structures, a concession to available materials and economics. The introduction of galvanized pipe culverts and metal gates in the irrigation system indicate the important role these elements played — cash required to purchase these features was not squandered.

Topography

The topography of the area has played a major role in the formation of the alluvial outwash with its rich soils and good agricultural yields. The gently sloping river benches formed a natural location for the deposit of productive alluvial soils carried down from the surrounding mountains. The steep butte and surrounding mountain ranges also provide natural sheltering areas that influenced settlement pattern and subsequent success in homesteading. The gradually sloping valley and nearby dependable Gros Ventre River permitted the homesteaders to supplement water from the natural draws and drainages with relatively simple gravity flow ditch irrigation systems.

Land use and Activities

Human occupancy of the valley dates from the late Paleo-Indian period (ca. 12,000 - 7,000 BP).⁵⁶ Previous ethnographic studies indicate possible Middle Plains Archaic occupations on Blacktail Butte. With the exception of a rock cairn located on a finger ridge overlooking Kelly Warm Springs, no prehistoric archaeological properties were identified during the current field investigations. Additional archeological work may discover remnants of human occupancy prior to the arrival of the homesteaders.

Primary land use after the arrival of homesteaders was focused on survival and the required improvements to "prove" ownership of the land. Much of the activity revolved around cultivation of either 90-day oats or hay, and development and maintenance of the irrigation system that made these activities profitable. The Geck, J. Riniker, Mahon, Shinkle, Holland and Hoagland properties had been abandoned and had reverted to sagebrush by the time the 1945 aerial photographs were taken. However, most of the valley still retains signs of cultivation with approximately 85 percent of the originally homesteaded land showing relic field patterns with relatively sparse intrusion of native sage.⁵⁷ These patterns are visible through field distribution and lateral irrigation ditches that typically run perpendicular to the Old Jackson/ Kelly Road feeding from the head ditch. Each of the families typically worked their own land, with communal participation during major activities such as harvest. Water rights primarily determined land cultivation influencing the type of crops as well as the homesteaders' ongoing success. Oats could be reliably dry-farmed, while sustained cropping of high quality alfalfa hay required irrigation.

⁵⁶ National Park Service Resource Management Plan, January 6, 1995, Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, pp. 30-35.

⁵⁷ The estimate of relic field patterns was developed by matching conditions viewed in the field with those shown on the available 1945 and 1967 aerial photographs.

Mormon Row was economically tied to the larger regional community. Sources of income were highly diversified, reflective of local markets and hard economic times with a mix of agrarian and nonagrarian activities. These included trapping, and cattle and sheep ranching, as well as providing agricultural products and services to the budding tourist industry. Cash crops included eggs, milk and butter, beef, wool, mutton, hay, and oats. Services that provided cash for families included laundry service for several dude ranches, mail delivery, meals for travelers, the post office contract, and a small sawmill. The exchange of products and services for cash strongly linked Mormon Row with the development of local dude ranches and the towns of both Jackson and Moran.

Distinct features and small-scale objects and structures in Mormon Row reflect the variety of land uses and activities typical of the rural lifestyle. Remnant kitchen gardens (best visible at John Moulton's homesite) reflect rural self-sufficiency, with root crops and cold-weather vegetables grown for family use. Barns constructed to accommodate hay storage, a hay derrick, granaries, and feed bunks depict the importance of producing, storing, and optimizing the use of feed for stock. Corrals, wood fencing, chutes/squeezes for cattle handling and a variety of specialty sheds and outbuildings reflect the various activities of the small-scale farmer/rancher.

Economically important land uses and activities also took place on adjacent lands in the public domain. The Ditch Creek Cattle Company (consisting of the Moultons and the Chambers) and the May Sheep Company operated during the 1920s and 1930s. The Ditch Creek Cattle Company turned its cows out of winter pasture to graze on Antelope Flats in May, under permit from the NPS. In early July, the herd would be trailed up Ditch Creek or the Gros Ventre River for summer grazing on Forest Service grazing leases. Yearlings would be brought down the first week of October and prepared for market. In early November the cows would be brought back to pasture in the harvested hay fields, where they would remain until calving was complete in the spring. The Mays grazed their sheep on Blacktail Butte and daily returned them to a pen located at the foot of the butte. Cattle chutes, corrals, and the site of the May sheep pen are physical markers of the ranching operations in the valley. Cattle are still grazed on former Budge, May and T.A. Moulton lands, and trailed to grazing leases farther north on federal lands.

Unmilled timber represents a prevalent building material throughout the region. Log collection for the construction of buildings was attributed primarily to Timbered Island, which had the best pine.⁵⁸ Collection of logs felled during the summer and fall was usually undertaken during the winter when horse teams could drag the logs across the frozen Snake River. Additional wood would be collected from Shadow Mountain, although local tradition holds that the quality of the logs was not as good as those collected from Timbered Island. Blacktail Butte was too steep to be used for collection of timbers for construction.

Land uses slowly changed from agriculture to tourism with the last of the life tenancies of Mormon Row descendants in the 1970s. The consolidation of lands by the Snake River Land Company and formation of the park changed the emphasis from production to a return to the natural setting. This change was bridged by the US FWS haying operation that continued the productive use of the land, but no longer populated the cultural landscape. Current land uses include recreation, cattle grazing, and the homesites subdivided from the western quarters of the Murphy and Moulton properties. These activities utilize some of the historic

⁵⁸ Interview with Clark Moulton.

irrigation ditches, trailing routes and roadways. They have also led to the recognition that the extant cultural artifacts are a draw for tourists and worthy of protection. The current land uses highlight the conflicts inherent to the wise use and protection of the historic cultural landscape as it either molds from lack of use, is damaged by misuse, or is lost in the discrepancy of protecting natural resources at the expense of cultural resources.

Cultural Traditions

The strongest cultural traditions visible in the landscape are related to both the rural lifestyle and the Mormon church. Many but not all of the families of Mormon Row were members of the Church of Latter Day Saints. The church provided a central focus for life among its members, but did not negate the "neighboring" that included the Gentiles and that is common in isolated rural communities. The physical remnants best reflect rural communal activities of Mormons and non-Mormons alike, including: irrigation ditch construction, cultivation and harvest, and cattle trailing to/from summer grazing leases. Viewing the landscape today, when the land is no longer cultivated, a strong imagination is required to re-people the appropriate scale of the landscape. However, on closer examination, the relationship of the building clusters adjacent to the roads and paths that link farm to farm give further shape to the community. The irrigation ditches, field patterns contrasted with adjacent sage lands, and the swimming hole are remnants that strongly relate these communal ties.

The portion of the Old Jackson/Moran Road that is still lined with structures between the Murphy homestead at the north end to the Eggleston property at the south most vividly reflects the local cultural traditions. Wood log structures chinked with mud and wood strips are typical of local rural architecture. The Mormon tradition of building residences with substantive materials is well reflected in the two stucco houses at the north end of the row. The domestic buildings (including main house, bunkhouse, shower house, pumphouse and outhouses) are typically clustered together away from work areas. Work areas include buildings such as barns (usually associated with a corral), granaries, chicken coops, etc. Although physically separate, both the domestic and work areas are located adjacent to and surrounded by a perimeter fence that defines the residential unit. Wood and wire fences delineate functional areas, associated with livestock use. Single specimen spruce or fir trees of similar age decorate the front of several of the homesites.

Local traditions of shelterbelts to provide shelter from summer sun and winter winds include cottonwood or aspen windrows around residences, and fences of pole and vertical board for stock shelter. Another small-scale feature typical of the region is the wide farmyard gates that are framed with tall supports on the hinge side and long diagonal brace poles. Perhaps their height makes them easier to locate in deep snows, or the long support/brace system extended the sag-free life of each swinging gate. Fence types throughout the Mormon Row are primarily utilitarian, constructed of easily procured materials: wood and wire for defining the fields, and wood and rail for stock corrals. Remnants of buck and rail fence (a.k.a. buck and pole) are also visible throughout the area, although much of it appears to be replacement (as that on the Chambers property) or has been dismantled and "stacked" as on the Kafferlin/ Woodward property. There is no picket or other decorative fencing evident, reflective of climatic as well as economic conditions.

Mormon Row as a Mormon Landscape

A substantial portion of the western United States bears the very real image of Mormonism. In fact, ten of the most significant factors can be used in delimiting Mormon settlement: 1) wide streets; 2) roadside irrigation ditches, 3) barns and granaries in town; 4) open landscape around the town; 5) architectural style (especially the central-hall house); 6) high percentage of brick homes; 7) the hay derrick; 8) Mormon fence; 9) unpainted farm buildings and 10) the LDS chapel. Simply stated any town possessing more than five of these will be a Mormon town.⁵⁹

In his work on the Mormon landscape, Richard Francaviglia focuses on the Mormon town. Never a town, the settlement of Grovont was instead, an area of homesteaded farms with a high percentage of Mormon settlers. As a rule, a "Mormon town" was either settled exclusively by Mormons, usually before 1900, or is populated today by over 75 percent Mormons.⁶⁰ Even though "Mormon Row" does not qualify on either count as a "Mormon town," there are a number of factors that can be attributed as typical of Mormon culture.

The distinctly Mormon features of the settlement of Grovont include a hay derrick visible on the Reed Chambers property (formerly Heninger and T. Murphy's place), unpainted farm buildings and the sites of the former LDS chapel and school located at the center of Mormon Row. The use of pink stucco during the expansion of the John Moulton homestead reflects a local response to the Mormon directive to build "...as though you intended and expected to live here eternally"⁶¹ (which usually translated to use of brick or stone). Brick is visible only at the archeological site of the Budge homestead on Elizabeth Budge's desert land entry. Wood was clearly the regional material of choice, available without expending scarce cash. The majority of the barns and outbuildings were unpainted in the tradition of both the Mormon town and local vernacular. The dilapidated condition of farm buildings is a typical feature of Mormon communities — contrasting strongly with generally well-maintained houses. Another common feature is the clutter and collection of objects that might be needed in the future. The frugal desire to save things, coupled with a lot of convenient space for storing "junk" of all sorts, has been a problem for the church since the earliest days of Mormon settlement. There remain only glimpses of this "clutter and shabbiness" throughout Mormon Row, as this functional saving has lost ground to the visual aesthetic that "cleans up" to meet modern visitor expectations of National Park Service properties. A collection of washing machines, the hay derrick, and piles of materials and equipment in the local dumps hearken to the Mormon theme: "the wise save and are prepared for the worst."⁶² Ornamental planting of fir and spruce trees and the development of cottonwood windrows may also reflect the Mormon directive as another way "to tame the desert and beautify Zion."⁶³ The Lombardy poplar, *Populus nigra "Italica"*, long considered a "Mormon Tree," was likely replaced by the related cottonwoods and aspens (*Populus fremonti* and *Populus tremuloides*) due to availability and their ability to survive the harsh climate.

Throughout Mormon Row, there are many "Mormon" features that are as likely a response to other cultural or natural factors as to a church directive. Roadside irrigation ditches on the west side of the Old

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 47.

⁶² Ibid., p. 102.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 90.

Jackson/Moran Road more likely represent the only logistical method of providing domestic or irrigation water to downhill residences, farmyards, feed lots or fields. It can not be determined if the lack of "Mormon fences," patched and repaired with a variety of materials, pickets and slabs, is due to the availability of suitable poles for fencing (and the lack of "other materials"), or that the remnant fences have been "cleaned up" during the development of the park leaving only the more visually pleasing materials. Haying, a typical Mormon land use, was a dominant activity. However, the short growing season, need for winter feed, and market demands most likely determined the crop selection.

Missing from the physical arrangement of the homestead claims are other Mormon features. These include the typically wide street widths, the presence of barns and granaries in town, the open landscape in town, and the placement of houses grouped sociably in fours around an intersection. Instead, the rigid N-S-E-W planning layout is a product of the township and range surveying grid and homesteading legislation, rather than a choice of the Mormon settlers. The roads were located along section lines prior to their arrival. The settlers did cluster themselves sociably, but this may more reflect friendship ties and the availability of unclaimed lands than a response to Mormon directives. Homesteaders immigrating into new areas often settled close to those whom they knew, *provided* good land, water and shelter were available for survival. However, other Mormon families who came with the Mays and Budes in the 1890s chose to settle in other parts of Jackson Hole — the emphasis appeared to be on successfully proving their claims, rather than developing a town. The selection of Jackson Hole as a destination, located "in the isolated valleys surrounded by rugged mountains which became, in effect, the protectors of the Latter-day Saints," was as likely related to available arable land, water and shelter, as to a directive from the church to fulfill the prophecy: "...the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains."⁶⁴

Views and Vistas

The open, large scale of the landscape plays an important role in establishing the character of Mormon Row. The human-scale farmstead clusters and field patterns contrast dramatically with the surrounding natural features. The flat valley floor with monotonous, arid, gray sage sets a backdrop that showcases the cottonwood-lined drainages, the fine texture of grasses on the formerly cultivated fields, the glint of sunlight on the water in the irrigation canals and farm clusters. While the actual structures may not be visible from farm to farm, the buildings and associated windbreak trees punctuate the horizon with dark masses visually tying the community together. It is easy to imagine that when the structures were inhabited the lights from the farm a few miles away were easily seen during clear nights. The distant backdrop of the surrounding peaks gives a sense of enclosure while reinforcing the large scale of the space. The mid-ground is dominated by Blacktail Butte with its pine-covered steep slopes providing a strong visual boundary on the west. The space bleeds off to the north, with the horizon lost in the edge of the sage.

Circulation

For many years the predominant forms of transportation throughout Jackson Hole were horse and wagon in summer or sled in winter. Even after automobiles arrived in the valley, winter conditions and the cost of fuel kept horse teams active. This dependence on horses for transportation also kept the local cash crops of hay and oats economically viable.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 83, quoting Micah 4:1-5.

The economy of the area was dependent upon good transportation to the larger regional markets, and upon providing services and products to the dude ranches, as well as the towns of Kelly, Moran and Jackson. For many years, J.B. Heninger held the mail contract for the Jackson/Moran route. In the winter he used his homesite on Mormon Row (the former Murphy homestead), as the middle stopping point to change horse teams for the sled, and to feed and warm-up drivers. Thus the residents of Mormon Row witnessed the passage of most, if not all, of the north-south oriented traffic through the area, and figured prominently as a link between the two towns.

Typical of the majority of communities settled after the work of government surveyors, major arterials in the valley are located along section lines, when not prohibited by physiographic features. The newer road alignments developed after the park was established ignored this tradition as land ownership/road right of ways no longer related to sections. The newer roads, such as the paved road to Antelope Flats, and Highway 26/89/187 follow direct-desire lines, veering to avoid obstacles or to take advantage of gravel borrow pits or better soils.

The community of Grovont is oriented toward the Old Jackson/Moran Road, an unpaved road that narrows as it crosses over Ditch Creek on a one-lane timber bridge. The road runs north-south on a section line, bisecting the core of the community. At the southern end of the Blacktail Butte, a segment of the original road alignment was abandoned when the new "Gros Ventre" road was constructed. However, the old road is still visible where it turns west and splits a mid-level terrace to join with the current Highway 26/89/187 that leads to the town of Jackson. North of the Geck and J. Riniker homesteads, the Old Jackson/Moran Road made a 45-degree turn and continued northeast to the edge of Shadow Mountain, where it skirted the edge of the mountains and into the town of Moran.

Today, the south boundary of Mormon Row is defined by the Gros Ventre Road, an all-weather east-west secondary highway that turns north at Kelly. At Kelly Warm Springs (formerly Mud Springs), the road turns to the east and winds through the hills to Lower Slide Lake. The Mormon Row area also contains two single-lane or "two-track" dirt roads that run east-west on section lines. The southern road parallels the May Stock Ditch and connects to the paved road from Kelly. The northern road connects to the Old Jackson/Moran Road between the former school site and church site, and connects to Kelly and to the Elbo Ranch (Teton Science Center).

The valley floor is also laced with single tracks or horse trails that indubitably were once used by local residents while neighboring, going to church, or to school or picking up the mail. The majority of these trails are only visible from aerial photos, after a fire removes the sage, or if one is shown them by a local resident. In the area where the new Antelope Flats Road crosses near the Ireton and Pfeifer homesteads, these local roads have been filled with dinosaur-egg-sized cobbles. While this phenomena can serve as the basis for several intriguing theories, such as creating a paving base in wet areas, or cobbling the roads to slow local poachers (to landing strips for alien spacecraft), they probably represent nothing more than an easy place to dispose of excess rock fill, left over from modern road construction.⁶⁵ Small-scale gravel

⁶⁵ Interview with Clark Moulton.

borrow pits are another curiosity that are periodically visible adjacent to roads. They vary in their size, depth and relationship to the road tread. There are several pits located on the Geck homestead and May property. The most visible and largest borrow pit forces a sudden change of alignment of the Kelly Road near the intersection with Antelope Flats Road. Little information has been discovered regarding when the pits were dug or the destination of the material removed. Local roads may have benefited especially if the pits were active prior to the availability of large earth-moving equipment, backhoes, or county road crews. It is also likely that the roads throughout the area were traditionally used as cattle driveways to the grazing lands in the north and east. No information has been located to identify which of these routes were commonly utilized to "trail up Ditch Creek or the Gros Ventre."⁶⁶

Vegetation

The most striking and visually critical vegetation pattern in Mormon Row is the cultivated fields and their contrast with the surrounding native sage. Even though the fields have not been actively farmed since the last crop in 1976, the natural sage encroachment fortunately has been slowed in many locations by major barriers such as paved roads and irrigation ditches. Where such barriers do not exist, such as on the Budge and May properties, the sage is beginning to crowd out the remnant fine-texture grasses, reclaiming the land.

Because field investigations for this inventory was completed soon after snow melt and as the grasses were just beginning their annual green-up, the lateral ditch pattern of the fields was also visually striking. The traditional parallel ditch and plowing pattern in 40-to 160-acre patchwork has changed little since that shown on 1945 aerials. The modern contour methods utilized by the US Fish and Wildlife Service in producing hay for elk, with ditches that snake or diagonally stripe across Sections 33, 4 and 3, are visually disparate to the traditional methods. Because of the field orientation perpendicular to the major circulation route, lateral ditch and plowing patterns can establish a strong visual pattern with laterals every 70 to 150 feet in the traditional parallel method. The contrast between the traditional method and newer contour pattern can be used to reinforce the interpretation of the historic changes in agriculture from small horse-powered family operations to agribusiness with large earth-movers and levelers.

An equally strong vegetation pattern is the natural demarcation of drainages and creeks by the native cottonwoods. These clusters of trees are located primarily on the multiple arms of Ditch Creek, but have also sparsely populated the older ditches such as Trail Ditch (appropriated in 1896). Thickets of willow and other deciduous shrubs appear where there is a year-round water source, such as at Mud Springs or around Budge Slough. These vegetation patterns have typically survived where gravelly soils or steep banks have not hindered agricultural cultivation.

The only other dominant vegetation pattern occurs either as dark conifers on the distant butte and background mountains, or at a smaller scale in planted windrows. Due to their linear nature and regular spacing, the windrows contrast sharply with the natural tree patterns. The windrows are typically a single line (or "L" or "C" shaped) with trees on 15-to 25-foot spacing on the north, east, and sometimes south sides of the main residence. Cottonwood appears to be the primary choice for windrows; John Moulton's row of

⁶⁶ Ibid.

aspen trees stands as the only exception. Many of the cottonwood trees are overmature and have begun to break up or be knocked over in storms. They are all even-aged stands, although the rows located at the May and Budge property are more severely damaged and appear to be older, which is supported by the earlier withdrawal dates. At the Woodward (Kafferlin) residential site, the trees were planted as a larger block, perhaps due to the isolation of this homestead in the middle of the valley out of the shelter of Blacktail Butte.

The remnant of a kitchen garden and several ornamental plantings of rose, lilac and juniper, remain at the John Moulton homesite. Ornamental fir or spruce trees are found in the front yards of the John Moulton, T.A. Moulton, Clark Moulton, Andy Chambers and Roy Chambers homesites, and in the vicinity of the church. The Reed Moulton (T. Murphy homestead) residential site is distinctive in its lack of trees. The Budge homesite, though demolished, can be located by a lilac bush as well as archeological surface scatter.

Cluster Arrangement

The orientation of residential complexes along the north-south spine created by the Old Jackson/Moran Road is a dominant pattern. Two known anomalies to this pattern are the Budge homesite that is tucked back into Blacktail Butte, and the Mae Kafferlin homesite that is located in the southeast corner of her 160 acres. It is unclear if these "anomalies" may have been more representative of the sprinkling of homesite clusters in the southern end of the valley when the valley had a resident population in the early 1900s. The aerial photographs from both 1945 and 1967 appear to indicate clusters on the Gunther, W. Henrie, M. Henrie and Thorson sites that orient to the east-west roads. However, archaeological remnants were not verified in the field.

At a finer grained scale, the cluster within each claim typically can be subdivided functionally into an adjacent domestic portion and an agricultural portion. The domestic cluster is usually defined by a windrow and fences, and includes a main residence and additional residences (often the original homestead subsequently used as a bunkhouse or storage facility). Smaller functional structures include outhouses, garage, pumphouse, shed and yard including a vegetable garden. The agricultural clusters typically included a barn, equipment sheds, granary, chicken house and corral/cattle-handling chutes. The standing examples of homestead clusters are oriented toward the road with the domestic cluster sheltered to the south of the work cluster. Access is provided to each portion of the cluster through separate driveways, gates and bridges (if required) from the Old Jackson/Moran Road. Access to work clusters is scaled to accommodate wider equipment and vehicles. Interconnections between the portions of the cluster are difficult to determine as many of the fences are either new (such as at the Chamber site) or nonexistent. It is assumed that fenced clusters had at least a pedestrian gate and perhaps a vehicle access, such as at the John Moulton homesite.

The extant structures appear as a community primarily due to their relationship to the Old Jackson/Moran Road. The six remaining "homestead complexes" have their front yard and house set back between 75 and 110 feet from the adjacent road edge. (The lone granary structure on the original Eggleston complex was once part of what would be considered the seventh complex; however, the layout is no longer visible.) The agrarian structures in the complexes usually are located farther away from the road edge, so that the house appears to be "in front" which is typical of both Mormon towns and many Gentile agricultural communities.

Notable variations are the John Moulton barn, where the structure, pole corrals, and loading chutes come to the edge of the road right of way, and the Andy Chambers property, where the shed and gas/oil house are located west rather than "behind" the house.

Typical of Mormon towns,⁶⁷ the church and school sites were located at the physical center of the community if one considers all 33 of the original homestead withdrawals. The church site at the southwest corner of the T. Perry homestead is still marked by fence posts, two cottonwoods and a spruce tree, though the church itself has been moved to Wilson. Scattered logs are the only visible remnants at the school site on the northwest corner of Hans Harthoorn's property.

Structures

Remaining structures in six homestead clusters and the isolated structure on the Perry homestead represent only a small percentage of those were once clustered throughout Mormon Row. The community of Grovont previously included a school and church, as well as domestic and/or agrarian structures on the additional 26 homesteads (as recorded during the patent procedure).⁶⁸ Remnant structures represent the vernacular architecture typical of region. Most of the structures are log and display evolutionary construction common in homesteaded settlements — expanding as the need arose and resources were available. Detailed architectural descriptions of both the interior and exterior of the existing structures have been prepared (see the National Register Nomination forms for the Mormon Row Historic District). The relationship, scale, massing and overall visual contribution to the landscape are the critical features used to evaluate these resources' contribution to the cultural landscape; material and detailed design were deemed less critical when evaluating these resources' integrity.

The four remaining residences on Mormon Row reflect the continuum of growth of houses. The Chambers' log-bearing, one-story construction is typical of the earliest shelters. It is a simple, two-room cabin with shed-roof porches running the length of both the west (front) and east elevations. When Andy and Ida Chambers bought out the Eggleston claim, this structure was relegated to a bunkhouse, temporary or seasonal housing, and thus does not demonstrate the evolutionary construction typical of homestead development. The isolated structure remaining on the Eggleston property was also originally a homestead cabin. However, the log building was later converted to a granary. The extant houses on the Clark Moulton, Roy Chambers and Reed Moulton (formerly Heninger and Thomas Murphy) properties exhibit varying degrees of modifications made during both the historic period and since 1945. The John Moulton house is the most substantial remaining house, seen in its size, number of rooms and exterior and interior finish. Circa 1936, this one-and-one-half story stucco residence was built by professional carpenter Ted Woodard of Kelly, almost 30 years after John Moulton settled on Mormon Row.

The barns and other outbuildings exhibit modifications similar to those seen in the houses. Buildings were expanded during the historic period to meet the needs of the owners. The five barns are visually the most prominent structures. Their size and dominance testify to the landscape's agricultural history. The two-and-one-half story Heninger barn dominates the Reed Moulton site with its distinctive board and batten central

⁶⁷ Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation & Perception of a Unique Image in the American West*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Ninety-three structures for 33 land office entries are noted on the map prepared by John Daugherty.

gambrel component. This structure displays the distinctive central gambrel style that allows for a large hay loft and central storage area, with an attached lower shed. Lower shed-roof components for animal stalls are also seen at the T.A. Moulton, John Moulton, Clark Moulton, and Andy Chambers barns. These four barns have a predominant central gable roof construction with typically two shed-roof extensions (that may be added after the original construction). Andy Chambers' barn has a frame shed-roof extension only to the west. Clark Moulton's barn exhibits a shed-roof addition to the east elevation and a front gable shed-roof addition to the north. Only breaks in the eave line, and variations in roof-shingles and siding, reveal that these subtle additions were not part of the original construction. Although once painted, most of the barns have weathered to various shades of warm gray and brown. During its prime, the Heninger barn with its red siding and green roof shingles must have been visible for many miles to travelers coming south from Moran on the Old Jackson/Moran Road.

In spite of their low visual impact, irrigation structures played a critical role in the history and settlement of Mormon Row. The overall character of the landscape is a direct by-product of the 17 irrigation ditches that lace the valley. Within the boundary defined by the 1990 evaluation are the Mormon Row Ditch and Johnson Eggleston Ditch. Associated with the Mormon Row Ditch are also the Trail Ditch, May Stock Ditch and Savage Ditch, which either share water from the Gros Ventre River or cross under the Mormon Row Ditch. Each of these five ditches includes an earthen main ditch, head gates, appropriation gates, and in stream structures. Wooden field distribution gates of various configurations controlled the distribution of water to various fields and are still visible in the Reed Moulton, John Moulton, T.A. Moulton, J. Eggleston, J. Johnson, H. Harthoorn, T. Perry and A. Chambers fields. Field cultivation patterns as defined by the irrigation laterals are distinctive in all of the fields within the 1990 boundary except for the Ireton and Mahon properties. These patterns reflect those visible in the 1945 aerial photos, though the precise location of laterals may have changed since that time, as they are traditionally repaired or rebuilt after a number of harvests.

Most of the equipment and objects that would have once been a part of the agrarian landscape have been removed from the site as the area was developed as a national park. A Mormon hay derrick and homemade attachment that appear to have been used to "drag the fields" (located in the Harthoorn field) are the only two pieces of hay cultivation equipment visible in Mormon Row.

Archeological sites

There have been several archeological surveys in the park including work on Blacktail Butte.⁶⁹ However, there have been no known archeological investigations within Mormon Row. During field investigations, several potential sites were located by surface scatter or other remnants. At the Budge homestead, located adjacent to Blacktail Butte, surface evidence includes a lilac bush, brick foundations, and a scatter of domestic trash including canning jars and ceramics. The May homesite can be identified by the remnants of the cottonwood windrow and the equipment bridge near the farmyard gate. An equipment bridge and remnants of a two-track road are also located at the base of the butte on the May property. The Kafferlin homesite is likewise recognizable on the flat valley floor by its cottonwood windrow. A closer examination reveals foundations. A corral site utilized for shoeing and vaccinating US Forest Service horses and mules

⁶⁹ National Park Service, Resource Management Plan, January 6, 1995, p. 28.

was also identified on the Gunther property.⁷⁰ Additional archaeological remains may also be present on the other homestead parcels.

Three dump sites are located in the community and provide insights into daily life. The first dump site is in what appears to be a deep old creek channel behind the Roy Chambers chicken coop. This site is filled with domestic trash such as appliances, cans/bottles, buck and rail fencing, building remnants (including timbers and lumber and bailing twine). The second dump is located in another old creek channel on the Harthoorn property and includes a lighter scattering of tires, vehicle parts, and glassware. The third dump is scattered in a natural ravine on the May property and includes trucks and car parts, cans/bottles, 55-gallon drums, and farm implements. This dump is accessed by a dirt single-track road on a terrace cut into the lower slope of the butte. A small terrace that potentially contained the sheep corral on the May property was also identified by piled wood posts and poles.

Small-Scale Features

The landscape is still rich with small-scale features that help relate the history of settlement of Mormon Row. Most of the elements served a functional purpose and are often overlooked resources, such as irrigation gates, foot bridges, equipment bridges, gates and their distinctive horseshoe closures, clotheslines, mail boxes, and gate latches. The landscape is not rich in pure ornament, but many of these small-scaled features depict craftsmanship and proportion that make them more than purely functional. These elements reflect the lives of those that homesteaded the area and made it their homes.

⁷⁰ Interview with Pete Hayden.