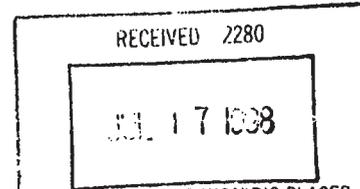


D-695

United States Department of the Interior  
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# National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. ~~Complete each item by entering the requested information.~~ *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B).* Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

New Submission  Amended Submission

## A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Grand Teton National Park Multiple Property Submission

## B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

### A. Settlement

theme: homesteading; vacation homes; economic development; vernacular architecture; rustic architecture  
geographical area: Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming  
chronological period: 1884-1950

### B. Conservation

theme: conservation; government  
geographical area: Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming  
chronological period: 1897-1950

### C. Park Administration and Development

theme: government; civilian conservation corps; NPS-rustic architecture  
geographical area: Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming  
chronological period: 1929-1950

### D. Dude Ranching and Tourism

theme: culture and recreation; park concessions; rustic architecture  
geographical area: Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming  
chronological period: 1908-1950

## C. Form Prepared by

name/title **Ann Hubber and Janene Caywood**  
organization **Historical Research Associates, Inc.**  
street & number **P.O. Box 7086**  
city or town **Missoula** state **Montana**

date **November 20, 1997**  
telephone **(406) 721-1958**  
zip code **59807-7086**

## D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (I See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

*Heidi Busby-wach Dep.* 5/15/98 Wyoming HPO office  
Signature and title of certifying official Date

*By HPO office*  
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

*Anda McClelland*  
Signature of the Keeper

8/18/98  
Date of Action

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Additional Certification

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### Additional Certifying Officials

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the *Secretary of the Interior's Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation*.

*Ronald M. Greenberg*

*7-9-98*

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Signature and title of certifying official

Date

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State or Federal Agency and bureau

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### E.      Historical Contexts

#### Introduction

Grand Teton National Park encompasses the majestic Teton Range and much of Jackson Hole, a large upland valley cloaked in sagebrush and surrounded by mountains and highlands. The Tetons are approximately 9 miles wide and 40 miles long, with eight peaks over 12,000 ft. in elevation. Jackson Hole ranges in width from eight to twelve miles and is 55 miles in length. The valley climate is extreme, characterized by short summers initiated in late June when heavy frosts recede and terminated by September snow. Ten-foot snowpack accumulations in the mountains are common, while the valley snow cover is generally limited to two to five feet. Despite this snowfall, the valley is semi-arid, with an average annual precipitation of 10 inches. Temperatures range from an average high of 81 degrees F. in the height of summer to an average high of 25 degrees F. in the depths of winter.<sup>1</sup>

The region's distinctive topographical features are the result of the geological forces of mountain building and glaciation. The Teton fault divides the range from the adjoining valley, which dropped in elevation as the mountains rose. Glacial activity created the moraines that formed the basins and sides of piedmont lakes — Leigh, Jenny, Bradley, Taggart, String, and Phelps. Located at the north end of the valley, Jackson Lake is partially a man-made reservoir. Forested ridges contrast sharply with surrounding gray-green sagebrush flats, a distinctive element of the landscape at Jackson Hole. The valley floor is covered with quartzite cobbles, another souvenir of the glacial era.<sup>2</sup>

The Snake River courses through Jackson Hole along a cottonwood and spruce-lined channel. It originates near the south boundary of Yellowstone National Park and flows into Jackson Lake. Below the Jackson Lake Dam, the Snake flows east then abruptly turns to the southwest cutting a diagonal path through Jackson Hole to Idaho. Three important tributaries feed the Snake from the east: Pacific Creek, the Buffalo Fork of the Snake, and the Gros Ventre River. Ditch Creek and Spread Creek also enter the Snake above Moose, Wyoming. The river and its tributaries provide habitat for a wide variety of plants and animals. Beavers, otters, moose, bears, deer, eagles, ospreys, trumpeter swans, and trout are among the wildlife inhabiting the region. The ecosystem also supports the largest herd of elk in the world.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> National Park Service, Grand Teton National Park, "[Grand Teton National Park] Features," n.d., copy provided by the Jackson Hole Chamber of Commerce; Jackson Hole Chamber of Commerce, "Weather in Jackson Hole; Temperature and Precipitation," February, 1995 (data compiled from records maintained at Grand Teton National Park Headquarters, Moose, Wyoming.

<sup>2</sup> Kathy McKoy, National Park Service Historian, 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

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These geographic and climatic characteristics have defined the history of Jackson Hole. The Crow, Blackfeet, Gros Ventre, and Shoshonis all claim only "loose hegemony" to land used sporadically in the hospitable summer months yet foresworn as a long-term habitation site. The rivers, streams, ponds, and willow thickets that define the Snake River and Gros Ventre watersheds once supported an abundant beaver population. Fur trapper John Colter is thought to have entered the valley in 1807, followed eleven years later by Donald MacKenzie of the British North West Company and by William Sublette, Jedediah Smith, and David Jackson of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. The upper Green River Basin proved a more convenient location for the annual trappers' rendezvous and no trading post or fort was ever established in Jackson Hole. Resources associated with this period of the valley's history are thus intangible: these men trapped the rivers, traversed and mapped the valleys and passes, and left a legacy of exploration and of nomenclature: most notably Les Trois Tetons (The Three Breasts) and Jackson's Hole, shortened in recent decades to Jackson Hole.<sup>4</sup>

Circa 1865, prospectors followed the fur trappers, traveling through Jackson Hole to the Yellowstone Country along the Snake River. They found a region void of significant mineral deposits. The explorers of the "scientific frontier," U.S. Government scientists supported by congressional appropriations and charged with a study of the West's topography, geology, and ethnology, found more of interest in the valley. Ferdinand V. Hayden, whose 1871 survey of the Yellowstone country contributed to creation of the first national park, traveled to Jackson Hole in 1872. Here, Hayden and Nathaniel Langford claimed the first ascent of the Grand Teton and photographer William H. Jackson took the first photographic images of the Teton Range.<sup>5</sup>

Although spectacularly beautiful, these mountains isolated Jackson Hole from the primary travel routes of western settlement and fostered and held the heavy snow and bitter cold of Jackson Hole's long winters and corresponding short growing seasons. The first wave of western settlement, along the Oregon and California trails and, later, on the heels of Homestead legislation, passed by Jackson Hole, in favor of more easily reached, more well-watered, more fertile land. However, Jackson Hole witnessed a turn-of-the-century settlement boom when productive farm land elsewhere became scarce, when extension of the West's rail and road system mitigated Jackson Hole's isolation, and as Mormon pioneers moved east from the Salt Lake Basin. "Late-frontier" homesteaders found outwash gravel terraces hostile to the farmers' plow yet suitable as summer range for cattle and, less often, for sheep. If irrigated — a labor-intensive and difficult process dependent upon adequate water rights, adequate stream flow, and appropriate topography — alluvial

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<sup>4</sup> Robert W. Righter, *Crucible for Conservation: The Creation of Grand Teton National Park* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1983), p. 3.

American Indian use and habitation and the fur trade are important in Jackson Hole's history. However, this MPS does not address pre-historic or ethnographic sites and thus a context for American Indian use has not been developed. Similarly, because there are so few physical remains associated with the fur trade period, no historic context has been developed.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

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fan deposits would sustain a crop of alfalfa or 30-day oats. These farmers and ranchers (for whom water, land and grass were critical and scenery appreciated but economically incidental) were soon joined by those in search of beautiful country. Of this later group, some, like John Talbot and William Hunter, were wealthy and dabbled in ranching as a hobby. Others, like Geraldine Lucas, subsisted on a marginal claim and a modest pension. Others "farmed" the valley's scenery and "uniquely Western" heritage, operating dude ranches and guiding big-game hunters.

The spectacular scenery, the abundant wildlife, and the ranching culture of Jackson Hole have engendered a tourist industry that, by the 1950s, accounted for over 70% of the region's economy. In 1908, Louis Joy and Struthers Burt opened Jackson Hole's first dude ranch, the JY. The Bar BC, White Grass, Ramshorn, Double Diamond, STS, and numerous other ranches (some constructed as dude ranches, some representing converted homesteads) soon followed.

The tourist industry was sustained not only by Americans' fascination with the Old West but by the conservation of the region's biotic and scenic resources. In 1929, Congress established the first Grand Teton National Park, encompassing the Teton Range and piedmont lakes. With establishment of the national park came administrative responsibilities, including the management of concessioners, the development of appropriate architectural guidelines, and the construction of backcountry tourist and administrative trails, fire-guard and patrol cabins, administrative headquarters and ranger stations.

Between 1929 and the 1950 extension of the park's boundaries, "rugged individualists, cattlemen, Easterners, 'New Dealers,' 'state's righters,' state of Wyoming officials, Forest Service personnel, and Park Service leaders" battled for control of adjacent Jackson Hole; these individuals and institutions included the Snake River Land Company, Olaus Murie of the Wilderness Society, homesteader Geraldine Lucas, Struthers Burt of dude-ranch fame, and Horace Albright of the National Park Service — all of whom have left their mark on the infrastructure of Grand Teton National Park. Historian Robert Righter has called their victory "perhaps the most notable conservation victory of the twentieth century."<sup>6</sup>

In 1948, Struthers Burt wrote:

I've watched [this country] grow, sensibly, without boom or bust . . . from a wild, sparsely-settled, poverty-stricken valley, into without doubt one of the most prosperous, one of the richest valleys per capita under the sun. A valley zoned by man, and by nature millions of years ago. A valley magnificently endowed with scenery, game, forest, stream and good green grass . . . A valley where almost everyone is profitably engaged in business of some kind from cattle-ranching and dude ranching

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., back cover.

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to guiding, out-fitting, merchandising of every description, hotel keeping, the running of tourist accommodations, and so on down the line. A valley famous all over the world and loved by millions of Americans and Europeans who come thousands of miles to see what we have.<sup>7</sup>

Resources representative of these themes of Grand Teton and Jackson Hole history remain on the land. The historic "contexts" in which they were constructed are presented below. To an extent, these contexts mirror those in the 1988 Grand Teton National Park Historic Resources MPS, amended herein. However, the 1988 Dude Ranch and Tourism Context has been modified with additional historical and architectural information. The Conservation Context has been expanded and rewritten; while it is no longer designed to guide the evaluation of NPS infrastructure it allows for a more accurate evaluation of a number of Snake River Land Company sites and provides a discussion of the historic debate surrounding the merit of cultural resources within Grand Teton National Park. The new Grand Teton National Park Administration and Development Context, originally proposed as a CCC and Public Works context, includes a discussion of park service architecture and development from 1929 until the initiation of Mission 66 (1956). In 1991, historian Kathy McKoy of the National Park Service Rocky Mountain Regional Office rewrote the Homestead and Vernacular Architecture contexts associated with the 1988 MPS. McKoy's context has been retitled "Settlement" and has been expanded slightly to include a discussion of vacation homes and hobby ranches. Without exception, architectural contexts have been incorporated within their appropriate historic context, thus underscoring the critical connection between materials, style, workmanship, time, and place.

These revised contexts, as well as the new registration requirements and property types included in Section F, are designed to address Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office concerns over the 1988 Grand Teton National Park Multiple Property Submission. The WYSHPO did not petition the Keeper of the National Register to reject the 1988 MPS, choosing instead to append a list of their concerns to the final cover form. These concerns, as well as a list of properties listed in the NR under the 1988 MPS (with associated contexts identified), are included with this revised submission as "additional documentation."

Please see Section H for an expanded discussion of identification and evaluation methods.

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<sup>7</sup> Struthers Burt, "A Brief for Cooperation," *Jackson's Hole Courier*, Jackson, Wyoming, February 19, 1948, Vertical File: Burt, Struthers, Teton County History Center, Jackson, Wyoming.

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**Context A. Settlement (Prepared by Kathy McKoy, Historian, November 1991, National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region Office)**

This context addresses the multiple facets of settlement of Jackson Hole, from the first homestead claims, to the established ranches and ranching communities, to the vacation homes and "hobby ranches" that defined the last period of area settlement. The period of significance extends from 1884, when John Holland and John Carnes became the first permanent non-Indian settlers in the valley, until the end of the historical period as defined by the National Register. Executive Order No. 4685, issued by President Calvin Coolidge on July 7, 1927 (closing much of Jackson Hole to homestead entry) and a subsequent executive order issued by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on March 15, 1943 (creating the Jackson Hole National Monument) dramatically impacted settlement trends in the valley. The first date essentially marked the end of the homestead era; the second marked the end of the settlement era, with the important exception of continued private land transactions. However, the period of significance for properties associated with the Settlement Context will most often extend to the end of the historical period as defined by the National Register, or until they no longer functioned/function as agricultural/domestic properties.

### **National Stage: Westward Expansion and the Homesteader**

Until the end of the Civil War, most people living east of the Mississippi River viewed the American West as the Great American Desert, a vast expanse of arid land unfit for cultivation or habitation. Two significant events altered peoples' perception of the West: in 1847 Mormons emigrated to the Great Basin, successfully irrigating and farming an area many thought impossible to cultivate; and in 1862 a homesteading act was passed that promised free lands to citizens and foreigners who had filed papers for citizenship. The Great American Desert became the Land of Milk and Honey, and hundreds of thousands of people headed west in hopes of improving their lot. Between 1870 and 1900, 430,000,000 acres were settled, and over 225,000,000 acres of virgin land had been cultivated.

Settlement of the Great Plains required adaptation to an unfamiliar environment. Living conditions and available materials differed radically from those found east of the Mississippi. Cattlemen had to develop grazing methods suited to unfenced range; farmers had to learn to cope with lack of rainfall and scarcity of field labor. Most people on the frontier succeeded at their efforts to settle the Great Plains by devising new methods of farming and ranching. In addition, to offset expected lower yields, farmers became reliant on farm machinery to cultivate larger tracts of land. The invention of barbed wire fencing and well-drilling machinery also contributed to the settler's ability to adapt their skills to the arid conditions of the American West.

In addition to facing the challenges of a very different environment, lands available to homesteaders were often located in remote areas, far from towns and routes of transportation. Railroad interests were awarded enormous tracts of land (totalling 181,000,000 acres), making the railroads the nation's largest landowners when settlement of the Plains began.

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Congress gave railroads right-of-way which ranged in strips from twenty to eighty miles wide. Consequently, homesteaders were often forced to stake their claims from thirty to sixty miles from transportation. Those who wanted to be closer had to purchase their lands from the railroads (at an average price of \$4.76 an acre in 1880).

In spite of such obstacles, the last three decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous Westward migration of people in the United States. By 1890, the director of the U.S. Census declared the country's "unsettled area has been so broken into isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be frontier line." Most hoped to improve their economic circumstances, either through farming, ranching, or prospecting. Some were freed slaves, persecuted in the South after the withdrawal of federal troops. Other settlers came from the Mississippi Valley where population pressures and a growing scarcity of available land provided the impetus to "move on." The third primary source of frontiersmen derived from foreign shores, particularly immigrants from Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries.

All manner of businessmen also rushed to establish a foothold in the West, taking advantage there of new sources of raw materials and a growing market for eastern manufactured goods. Not to be overlooked, some who took advantage of free or cheap lands were eastern and European investors who saw the West as real estate whose value would certainly appreciate as demand increased and supply dwindled. Some investors also wanted access to rich hunting lands or a scenic spot where they could build a vacation home. While this group might be considered a "second wave" of settlers quite unlike the first, their presence had a significant impact on the development of the West. Both investment and settlement activities were subject to the availability of cheap or free lands.

### Federal Legislation Affecting Homesteading

Settlement of the Great Plains and the American West was greatly impacted by Federal legislation. The following acts were the most significant with regard to availability of land to homesteaders:

The *Land Law of 1820* allowed settlers to buy as few as 80 acres of public domain at a minimum price of \$1.25 an acre. Speculators took advantage of the Land Law of 1820 by bidding the price beyond the reach of most settlers or by monopolizing the best sites.

The *Pre-emption Act of 1841* entitled a citizen to claim "squatter's rights" on unsurveyed public land. After the land had been surveyed and put up for sale, the squatter was granted first opportunity to purchase up to 160 acres at \$1.25 per acre. Again, speculators monopolized the best lands by hiring armies of squatters to occupy choice lands or prospective town sites.

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The *Homestead Act of 1862* allowed any adult citizen (or alien who had filed papers for citizenship) to claim 160 acres of "unappropriated public lands." He or she was required to reside on and cultivate portions of the property for five years. At the end of that period, the homesteader filed final proof papers and, for a small fee, the final title was secured. Few farmers had the wherewithal to move their families very far, thus those most likely to take advantage of the act were those who lived in states adjacent to lands open to new settlement.

The original law was also inadequate in its lack of consideration for the variation in climate and topography between the East and West. Nowhere west of the 98th meridian was 160 acres a workable agricultural unit. A settler on the Great Plains needed between 2,000-50,000 acres if he were a rancher, 360-640 acres if he practiced extensive agriculture, 40-60 acres if he employed irrigation.

The Homestead Act was also subject to the same weaknesses as preceding land laws: speculators intent on amassing the resources of the West still found ways to gobble up the choicest of lands: bottomlands and irrigable lands, and those located near railroads and streams. The average farmer often had to accept inferior claims or pay the exorbitant prices demanded by the speculator, or "jobber." In fact, the vast majority of public domain open to homesteading eventually fell into the hands of a wealthy few, with an estimated one acre out of every nine going directly to individual settlers. In Ray Allen Billington's *Westward Expansion — A History of the American Frontier*, it is noted that while 600,000 homestead patents were issued, totalling 80,000,000 acres, "half a billion acres were surrendered to monopolists."

The *Timber Culture Act of 1873* allowed any homesteader to apply for an additional 160 acres, which would become his/hers if at least one-fourth was planted in trees within four years. This amendment to the Homestead Act was an attempt to adjust it to western conditions. During the fifteen years the law was on the books, 65,292 individuals patented ten million acres. The act both encouraged needed forestation, but allowed many homesteaders to expand their holdings to a more useful size.

The *Desert Land Act of 1877* allowed anyone to secure tentative title to 640 acres in the Great Plains or Southwest by an initial payment of twenty-five cents an acre. After three years, if he/she could prove a portion of the land had been irrigated and was willing to pay an additional dollar an acre, the tract became his/hers. In the interim the claim could be transferred. This second amendment to the Homestead Act was lobbied through Congress by cattlemen who predicted the end of the open range.

The act was an open invitation to fraud. Cattlemen could stake a claim, have witnesses attest they had seen water on the claim, and secure title at \$1.25 an acre. Cowboys were also hired to repeat this process, then transfer their claims to employers. Claims for 9,140,517 acres were filed under the Desert Land Act but final patents were issued for only 2,674,695 acres. Most claimants gave up the effort to irrigate worthless lands; the rest were most likely ranchers.

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The *Timber and Stone Act of 1878* permitted any citizen (or alien who had filed papers for citizenship) to buy up to 160 acres at \$2.50 an acre. The law applied only to lands which were "unfit for cultivation" and "valuable chiefly for timber" or stone. It invited corruption by lumber interests: any timber magnate could use dummy entrymen to claim rich forest lands at trifling cost. By 1900 almost 3,600,000 acres of valuable forest land were claimed under this act.

The *Forest Reserve Act of 1891*, significant in the history of conservation, allowed the president to set aside forest reserves. The Yellowstone Park Timber Reserve was created under this act in March, 1891.

The passage of the *Stock-Raising Homestead Act of 1916* allowed individuals to preempt up to 640 acres of land considered suitable only for grazing and raising forage crops. No cultivation of the land was required.

Three main groups of settlers pioneered claims and homesteads in the West: prospectors, ranchers, and farmers. Most were motivated by a desire to improve their economic lot. A significant exception were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Mormons, whose primary motivation to move westward was prompted by the desire to escape religious persecution. They numbered some of the West's earliest permanent Euro-American settlers. In addition to prospectors, ranchers, and farmers a fourth group influenced the distribution and use of public lands: the land speculator and vacationer. The discussion that follows focuses primarily on the activities of these main groups of people in Wyoming, Montana, the Dakotas, Colorado, and Utah and on the conditions that prompted them toward their final destinations.

### The Mormon Settlement of Utah

Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints differed from many others that settled the West in significant ways. Their motivation was not rich soil for cultivation or rich deposits of gold or silver, but a desire to practice their new religion free from the discrimination of non-believers. They also are distinct from the bulk of non-Mormon homesteaders who immigrated west at a considerably later date, most after 1880. Driven westward by persecution and led by their prophet, Joseph Smith, the faithful moved from New England to Ohio (1831), then to Missouri (1838). Followers of the new faith came under frequent attack for their beliefs. The governor of Missouri declared after their arrival: "The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary, for the public peace." Joseph Smith fled eastward with his following to Illinois in 1839 and established a Mormon settlement and temple at Nauvoo. The settlement prospered, its population reaching 15,000 by 1844.

An increasing dictatorial leadership by Smith and his sanctioning of polygamy in 1843 resulted in dissension within the Church, and increasing hostility from non-believers. Smith's attempt to crack down on editors of a dissenting newspaper led to riots and to the subsequent arrest for protection of himself and his brother. The jail in Carthage where they were

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lodged was stormed by a mob on June 27, 1844, and the two church leaders were murdered. Brigham Young assumed leadership of the Mormons and led the "Saints" out of Illinois in 1846. His intent was to settle his following in some isolated region beyond the Rocky Mountains, though the precise location was unknown to him. The first band of immigrants stopped near Council Bluffs, Iowa, while an advance party rode westward to mark the trail, build bridges, lay out roads, establish permanent camp sites, erect cabins and plant crops that later immigrants could harvest.

By the fall of 1846, 12,000 Mormons were camped on the banks of the Missouri where they wintered under Young's strict supervision. The following April the first band set out, cutting a new trail north of the Platte River rather than following the Oregon Trail which ran along its south bank. Ft. Laramie was reached in June, then the difficult journey across the Rocky Mountains through South Pass began. They arrived at the valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 24, 1847. The initial immigration totaled about 1,800 people, and thousands of animals (cattle, sheep, horses, hogs and chickens). The settlers began irrigating and cultivating the valley while Young returned east to enlist more settlers. Meager harvests and extreme cold during the winter of 1848-1849 earned this period the title of the "Starving Time" in Mormon history.

Young laid down the principles that governed the development of new settlements, irrigation, and the expansion of the Great Basin frontier, creating a unique social order. A land system was established based on the principle that the welfare of the social group transcended that of the individual. The methods employed to allot land and water represented a high degree of co-operation, rare among most other frontier settlers. Lots were assigned to families, granted free of charge, in direct proportion to need. Agricultural methods expressed the same concern for welfare of the community: all fields adjoined an irrigation ditch connected with a stream from the Wasatch Mountains. The main ditches were planned by a committee and constructed jointly by all who used them. Each farmer then dug smaller trenches from the central trough to his own plot. Rigid controls governed the use of water.

The Mormons' achievements in land distribution and desert agriculture enabled permanent settlement of the Great Basin and later expansion into surrounding territories. The California Gold Rush of 1849 contributed to economic prosperity as miners poured through Salt Lake City on their way to western goldfields. The Saints provided necessary goods and services, commanding top prices. Meanwhile, zealous missionaries in the East, in England and in the Baltic countries, made new converts, insuring a steady influx of new settlers to Salt Lake City.

When Brigham Young led his followers over the Rockies with a dream of a free desert nation, the region was still a part of Mexico. When Mexican lands were ceded to the United States at the Mexican War in 1848, the new settlement sought immediate statehood, hoping it would insure their continued self-government and religious freedom. Their request for statehood was denied, but territorial status was approved in 1850, with Brigham Young named governor. The boundaries of the Territory of Utah included all of Utah, most of Nevada, the western third of Colorado and the southwestern corner of Wyoming. The territory remained controlled by the Mormon church leadership throughout its

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frontier period. The influence of both their religion and ideas regarding agriculture and communities as cooperative efforts would be felt in other western communities as Mormons left Utah and chose secondary areas of settlement.

### **Settlement of the Northwestern Plains**

Kansas and Nebraska were the first states on the Great Plains to be settled after the Civil War. By 1880, every suitable acre in these states was under cultivation and immigrants began pushing northward into the Dakotas. The gold rush of 1875 in the Black Hills drew 10,000 prospectors, creating a market for farm produce and other goods. Railroad connections in the Dakota Territory also assured farmers access to markets outside the region. Profitable yields of wheat grown in the Red River Valley encouraged Eastern investors to buy up huge bottomland tracts along the river. Further north, the Great Northern Railroad brought immigrants from Europe, laid out model farms, loaned money to farmers, and offered free transportation to homeseekers. By 1890 settlers in the Dakota Territory numbered 500,000, occupying most lands suited for cultivation.

The mountainous regions to the west were slow to become popular destinations for the farmer and rancher. Wyoming attracted speculators in the late 1860s when they anticipated the coming of the Union Pacific railroad. Farmers however avoided the semiarid High Plains until the early 1880s when a few settled on the eastern fringes of Big Horn Mountains, using its streams for irrigation. Their success led to a mild rush to northern Wyoming: by the end of the decade 2,000,000 acres came under cultivation, irrigated by 5,000 miles of ditches. The population by 1890 however totaled only 62,255 people. The region would remain sparsely settled for many years. Only after rich deposits of gold and silver were discovered by prospectors, the military had control of local Indian tribes, and both provided a market for foodstuffs, did farmers and ranchers arrive in significant numbers.

Montana's fate was similar to that of Wyoming. Not until 1881 when the tracks of the Northern Pacific entered the territory was there any sizeable immigration. Most of the territory was too arid or mountainous to attract farmers. Over the next decade Montana gained 100,000 settlers, reaching a population of 132,000 by 1890.

### **The Prospectors**

The greatest number of early immigrants attracted to the Rocky Mountain regions were not farmers or ranchers, but prospectors. Their claims often lay in rugged terrain characterized by severe winter climate. Many differed also from the typical homesteader in that their pattern of migration was often from west to east, rather than east to west. While farmers and ranchers drew from the settled areas of the Mississippi Valley, many miners relocated to the Rocky Mountains from California where they had been drawn by the lure of gold in 1849.

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By the mid-1850s, most rich "diggings" in California had been claimed and prospectors had little hope of making a good "strike". So thousands headed eastward, searching for gold from the Rocky Mountains to the deserts of the Southwest. A significant number remained to build the first permanent settlements in the Rocky Mountains and much of the Great Basin. The states in these regions whose settlement was most affected by this group of frontiersmen were Colorado, Nevada, Montana, Idaho and the Dakotas.

Unlike areas settled by farmers, early mining towns were almost exclusively composed of unmarried males. A typical mining camp boasted dance halls, gambling dens, brothels and an abundance of saloons. Prospectors ranged from the highly educated to the illiterate, their ranks including ministers and outlaws, southern planters and Yankee abolitionists, gamblers and desperados. Social stability and group leadership were often provided by businessmen who gained prominence through providing the miner with all the essentials he needed to work and survive. Vigilante justice reigned until stable governments and laws could be established.

Exciting news in 1858 came from Colorado, where gold was discovered on Cherry Creek in present-day Denver. An economic depression in the East, exaggerated tales of gold, and relatively easy transportation routes contributed to a wild rush to Colorado in 1859. The flood of immigrants to the Pike's Peak region drew from both east and west: the *Pike's Peak Guide* was avidly read from Iowa to Arkansas by those eager to cross the Plains and make their fortunes. More than 100,000 people had reached the eastern Rockies by June of 1859. Many failed to find gold, and thousands headed back East or to other western regions. Others stayed on to work in mining camps and to prospect in the mountains, some to later make their fortunes.

Fantastic discoveries of gold and silver were also being made in the Sierra Nevada mountains of Nevada. The discoveries in 1859 of the Comstock Lode, and in 1873 of the Big Bonanza, revealed the richest gold and silver mines in the country. Commercial activity centered in Virginia City. An Arizona gold strike in 1862 led first to a stampede of miners from California, then to creation of the Territory of Arizona the following February. The miner's frontier also moved northward into Idaho, Montana, Washington and Canada. The Territory of Idaho, which included all of Montana and most of Wyoming, was created in 1863. While miners had been agitating for creation of a separate territory since 1860, it was not until mining machinery was introduced and the agricultural community had grown that their request was heeded.

Throughout the period of Western settlement the advance of the frontier, whether by railroads, prospectors, farmers or ranchers, created inevitable conflict with Native Americans. The federal government built forts and sent troops to protect the new settlers and to eventually force the tribes onto reservations. While the history of Indian Wars is a separate story, the presence of the military enabled subsequent settlement by all others. Many veterans themselves remained in the West to prospect, ranch and farm.

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Fast on the heels of prospectors and the military came other settlers: merchants, lawyers, editors, bankers, and anyone else seeking to benefit from the high prices goods and services could command in mining camps. They became "boosters" who advertised to bring more settlers to their fledgling towns; campaigned for sidewalks, streetlights and sewers, and pressed railroads for connections to other towns. These "solid citizens" helped transform mining camps into orderly communities. Farmers and ranchers too were attracted to lands on the outskirts of these growing towns, lured by the high prices produce and beef could command. This agricultural component was often essential to providing an impression of permanence in mining towns, so often plagued by cycles of "boom and bust." Farmers usually operated as family units, and families changed the face of mining towns. Brothels and gambling houses soon gave way to churches, theaters and libraries. Permanent structures replaced mining shacks and lean-tos. Mining towns took on an air of respectability.

### The Cattlemen on the Western Plains

The growth of the cattle industry began in the American Southwest after the Civil War with the Texan's willingness in 1865 to drive large herds to points where railroads could transport them to eastern markets. Cowboys drove herds along the Chisholm Trail to Abilene, Kansas, the Western Trail to Dodge City, Kansas or the Sedalia Trail to Sedalia, Missouri. Each was the site of a railroad terminus. There the rancher could fetch \$35 a head, compared to their market value in Texas of \$3 or \$4 a head. From those towns, cattle were transported to the stock yards of the Midwest.

Ranching spread from Kansas to Colorado, where 1,000,000 head of longhorns grazed within the borders of the territory by 1869. The cattle frontier advanced to Wyoming in 1868 when a Colorado rancher, J. W. Iliff, drove one of his herds to the plains near Cheyenne. The beef was then sold (at exorbitant profit) to construction crews on the Union Pacific Railroad and to miners prospecting the South Pass region. By 1871 100,000 cattle pastured there, most owned by small ranchers possessing several hundred head. The Panic of 1873 encouraged the stocking of the northern range by lowering the price of Texan cattle. The initial center of the cattle industry in Wyoming was Laramie Valley and in the plateau country just west of the Laramie Mountains. When those areas filled up, ranchers spread herds over most of the territory.

On the Northern Plains, ranchers adapted to a harsher climate. During most of the year cattle grazed on prairie grass or scraped away snow to eat winter-cured fodder. Early Montana stock were primarily shorthorned cattle descended from Northern European and English breeds. The ability of cattle to survive on the Northern Plains was demonstrated during the 1850s by traders and ranchers such as John Grant, who established a cattle ranch in 1862 in Deer Lodge Valley in western Montana. Grant built up his large herds by trading with emigrants on the Oregon and Mormon trails. A well-fed animal could be swapped for two thin and worn out ones, enabling the travelers to continue on their journey with fresh stock. Grant then drove the newly acquired herd to southwestern Montana where they were fattened on grasslands. Mining camps and military posts provided ready markets for his beef.

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Only two things were needed to expand the cattle industry: adequate markets and improved cattle. Both were provided in the 1870s when railroads (complete with refrigerated cars) began to transverse the West, when improvements in meat handling and slaughtering widened the market for beef, and when new breeds of cattle were developed. The shorthorn breeds were well suited to the long cold winters of the northwest mountain territories. Longhorns, descendants of Spanish cattle, were driven by cowboys to Montana after the Civil War, but did not become numerous in the territory until the 1880s. On cattle ranches in the Midwest and the West, ranchers sought to develop new breeds of cattle to meet both the tastes of consumers and the rigors of severe climate.

In 1866 John Grant's ranch and herds were bought by Conrad Kohrs, a German immigrant whose butcher shops supplied the Montana gold fields in Bannack and other western Montana mining towns with fresh beef. In 1864 Kohrs had formed a highly successful partnership in the cattle business and other activities with his half-brother, John Bielenberg. It became apparent to Montana cattlemen such as Kohrs and Bielenberg that the greatest profits to be made were not from local markets, but from those outside the territory. During the 1870s cattlemen in Montana began driving their stock to southern Wyoming to be shipped by Union Pacific Railroad to eastern buyers. By 1883 600,000 cattle, an equal number of sheep, and a large number of horses filled the territorial range of eastern and central Montana to capacity. Meanwhile, during the 1870s, cattle ranching expanded into the Dakota Territory.

The western cattle industry depended almost entirely on the free use of government land for grazing. While a 5,000-acre unit of land might be adequate, a homestead of 160 acres was hopelessly insufficient. At one point, the cattle of Kohrs and Bielenberg, for example, grazed far beyond the Deer Lodge Valley, ranging over a million acres of land in the Northern Plains territories and Canada. Many cattlemen on the Northern Plains first acquired title to small amounts of land along streams where they established their headquarters. The principal acts under which these lands were obtained were the Pre-emption Act, Homestead Act, Timber Culture Act, and the Desert Land Act.

By 1885 cattle raising was the largest and most important industry on the High Plains, with foreign investors and eastern speculators eager to profit from it. Conditions seemed to promise fabulous profits to cattlemen. The land was free, carpeted with grass, and far from meddlesome government agents. Plenty of young men scraped together the necessary capital, bought stock at \$7 or \$8 a head, and searched for a homestead. Sites along the bank of a stream were preferred, since water and grass were essential. A healthy steer would fetch between \$50 and \$60 at the nearest railroad, thus after three or four years, ranchers could expect to be making a tidy profit.

Cattle grazed the open range, later to be restored to their rightful owners during the "roundup," held twice a year to separate mixed herds and identify new-born calves. The roundup, and life of the cowboy, became heavily romanticized by the Eastern imagination, later glamorized in literature and movies. In reality, the cowboy (and the rancher) lived a life of dull routine, doctoring sick animals, moving herds from one pasturage to another, and "line-riding" — an attempt at keeping one ranch's herds from another's. Nor were all cowboys Anglos, as portrayed in the popular media. Of the

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estimated 35,000 men who participated in the long cattle drives, one-third were Afro-Americans or Mexican-Americans.

Most ranchers and cowboys hailed from the same eastern and midwestern states as immigrant farmers. In Wyoming, the Census of 1880 listed 311 "stock growers" and "ranchmen", the majority having been born in Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri and Illinois. Most of the 101 foreign born cattlemen came from England, Canada, Ireland, Germany and Scotland. Of the 669 cowboys listed, most came from Ohio, Illinois, New York, Missouri, Iowa and Pennsylvania. Many cattlemen lived in cities or towns, rarely having contact with their hired-hands.

Stock-breeders associations were co-operative enterprises designed to protect the interests of the cattlemen. They reflected both the cattleman's tendency toward self-government and his fear of range overstocking. They functioned to keep intruders out of stocked ranges, supervise roundups, run down "rustlers", fight prairie fires, offer bounties for wolves, and protect members' brands. Local organizations spawned territorial livestock associations that eventually spread throughout the Great Plains by 1885.

Between 1880 and 1885 the cattle industry experienced a boom period, due in part to expanding markets and to propaganda that urged easterners and Europeans to seek their fortunes in ranching. During 1883 twenty stock-raising corporations were formed in Wyoming, representing capital of \$12,000,000. Most consolidated existing smaller ranches. The Scottish-owned Swan Land and Cattle Company used cash raised by sale of stocks to Eastern investors to combine three ranches in eastern Wyoming into a hundred-mile estate with 100,000 cattle. English and Scottish investors poured money into corporations that competed with American companies for range rights and cattle. More public land was filed for in Wyoming in 1884 than in all the previous fourteen years put together.

The result of this boom was overstocking of the range, spelling imminent disaster for the cattle industry. The cattle population in Wyoming went from 450,000 in 1879 to 1,500,000 in 1885. Experienced cattlemen recognized the arid plains could only support large herds when weather conditions were exceptionally good. Pasturage wore thinner each year, and all the Plains were by now preempted. Some fenced the range to protect their own pastures from intruding cattle. Few bothered to purchase the fenced land; they simply enclosed part of the public domain. Some Wyoming ranchers bought additional land from the Union Pacific or from speculating preemptors. Others tried to circumvent laws by getting cowboys to claim a homestead whose title was later transferred to their employers.

The prosperity came to an abrupt halt in 1886-1887 after a hot, dry summer followed by a bitterly cold winter ruined most cattlemen of the northern Plains. Those who were able to sell their weakened stock before the onset of winter were lucky. It is estimated that one-third of all northern range cattle died that winter. Montana and Dakota were hardest hit. The cattle industry faced another catastrophe in the spring when cattlemen of the northern Plains attempted to sell stock

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that had survived the brutal winter. Drought had also plagued the cattle ranches of the Southwest and Midwest causing the market to be flooded with thin cattle. Prices dropped to record lows.

Stockmen had long been criticized for what some saw as the inhumane practice of turning cattle out on the open range for most of the year to fend for themselves. Winter losses were a regular part of the cattle business. The commonly held view, wrote an editor of a newspaper in Laramie, Wyoming in 1876, was that it was cheaper to lose a few head than to cut and put up hay, provide shelter, and pay herders. "Laying aside the humanitarian view of the question," he added, "this is probably true." Reports of cattle suffering from lack of water, from starvation, and from blizzards were not uncommon. Nor were complaints from homesteaders that starving cattle trampled their gates and fences in search of food or water. Those cattle that survived the winters were often found in wasted condition.

Losses of cattle during the winter of 1886-1887 in Wyoming were about 15 per cent. The huge Swan Land and Cattle Company in Wyoming went bankrupt in 1887, followed by the Union Cattle Company in 1888. Banks in Cheyenne, Douglas and Rawlins, Wyoming closed. Membership in the Wyoming Stock Growers Association went from 443 in 1886 to only 68 in 1890. Wyoming's Governor Moonlight reported to the Secretary of the Interior in 1888 on the economic disaster: "This was the turning point in the history of Wyoming." In Montana, Kohrs and Bielenberg lost 23,000 head of cattle, 65% of their herd. Those who survived the disaster (including Kohrs and Bielenberg) usually had diversified business interests to sustain them through it, enabling them to rebuild their herds. While the cattle industry continued to play a major role in the economy of several western states, the glory days of the Cattle Kingdom and their barons were over. Greater care was taken to provide cattle with water, feed and shelter, and management of the herds improved.

Climate alone was not to blame for the cattleman's change in fortune. Increasing demand for homesteads by farmers (and in some places by land speculators) significantly reduced the amount of public domain available for open-range grazing. In 1906, in response to demands of conservationists, the federal government also began restricting the use of forests and requiring grazing permits. Though highly unpopular with ranchers, lumbermen and miners, the new policy was an attempt to better manage the nation's natural resources and to control and monitor their uses.

The most severe challenge for cattlemen in some states came not from the farmers, but from sheepmen. During the 1880s, sheepherders moved their flocks from their Ohio Valley pastures into southern Colorado, New Mexico, and the northern Plains region. Sheep could be raised with half the effort and twice the profit as steers, tempting some cattlemen to make the transition from cattle to sheep. Many others however fought back, claiming that sheep ruined the land for cattle by close cropping grasses. Open warfare erupted resulting in twenty deaths, hundreds of injuries, and the destruction of 600,000 sheep on the Wyoming-Colorado range alone.

**The Farmer on the Great Plains**

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Advancing technology played an important role in westward expansion. New milling processes created a market for "hard wheat" (also known as spring wheat) which allowed the wheat frontier to extend into the Great Plains. The cold winters and short growing season of the northern Plains was ill-suited to the soft winter wheat grown by eastern farmers. The "New Process" of making flour from hard wheat was developed by Minneapolis farmers, perfected in 1871. Ten years later, mills in Minneapolis, St. Louis and Kansas City were prepared to transform any quantities of hard wheat into "New Process" flour. Improved mechanical means for handling grain developed after the Civil War also contributed to savings for the farmer and consumer.

The dreams and hopes for success in new lands were inflamed by perhaps the country's greatest advertising blitz. Steamship companies and railroad agents aggressively advertised the American West as a land of milk and honey. Western states maintained immigration bureaus in the East and Europe, and hired agents to spread propaganda to lure farmers to migrate. Even single women (abundant in the East) were not overlooked: one Burlington Railroad brochure reminded them that men so outnumbered women in the West that "when a daughter of the East is once beyond the Missouri she rarely recrosses it except on a bridal tour." Women were in such short supply in mining camps that a dress hung on a clothesline could draw admiring stares from prospectors.

The harsh reality of life on the plains was in stark contrast to the promises of railroad propaganda. The challenges faced by homesteaders included finding materials with which to build a home, locating reliable sources of water and fuel, combatting invasions of grasshoppers, surviving winter blizzards, spring floods and summer drought, and facing the dangers of prairie fires. Add to these the monotonous drudgery of farm work, the social and geographic isolation of many homesteads, and a truer picture of pioneer life emerges.

If harsh climates and loneliness were not enough to discourage the farmer, crop prices were. Steadily declining returns on their investments during the period between 1870 and 1900 convinced many farmers that profits were being eaten up by railroads, grain elevator operators, bankers and tax makers. In fact, the industrial revolution had led to overproduction of grain, and the drop in prices was a natural response to abundant supply. Western farmers however were certain they were suffering at the hands of eastern stockholders and middlemen. They felt both underpaid for products they sold and overcharged for manufactured goods they bought.

The farmers resorted to political action to improve their lot. Fraternal organizations such as the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry (1867) were formed to channel discontent into a politically effective organization and to ease the loneliness of farm life by affording social contact. By 1874, over 1,500,000 farmers and their wives belonged to local chapters of the Grange. Members rebelled against middlemen dealers in farm equipment and other necessities, using cooperative buying as a means of eliminating the middleman. Agents were appointed to negotiate directly with manufacturers, often purchasing manufactured goods at a considerable savings. A second way farmers could improve their economic lot was to enter into the field of production. Local Granges in most western states purchased or founded

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grain elevators, packing plants, flour mills, banks, insurance companies, and other small businesses. Threatened by such Grange activities, corporations lowered prices in order to drive the society's factories into bankruptcy.

Farmers also attempted to curb monopolistic railroads and grain elevators. In 1874, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota adopted laws that established commissions with authority to set maximum rates on freight and passenger traffic. Known as Granger Laws, the uniform rates established by states led to a vicious campaign against the laws by the railroads, who raised all rates to the legal maximum in retaliation. Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin soon repealed their laws. In Illinois, the railroads appealed to the courts. In 1876, the United States Supreme Court found the law in violation of the 14th Amendment, overturning it. After 1880, the Patrons of Husbandry played very little role in agrarian reform, and became primarily a social and educational organization.

The period between 1880 and 1887 was prosperous in the West. Farmers were blessed with good weather, abundant rain, and a steady market for their products. Eastern investors provided abundant cash for loans and mortgages on homes, farm machinery and crops. By 1887 the per capita debt in the Plains country was the highest in the nation. As capital flowed into the farm belt, land values skyrocketed, leading to rampant speculation in western towns.

The following summer of 1887 was hot and dry, withering crops. A ten year drought then brought economic disaster to thousands of homesteaders on the Plains. Farmers in western Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota and Colorado were hardest hit: an estimated one-third to one-half went bankrupt. Between 1888 and 1892 half the population of western Kansas moved away; 30,000 left South Dakota. In 1891, 18,000 wagons entered Iowa from Nebraska. Those who remained behind were often heavily shackled by debts. Eastern investors were no longer willing to make loans after 1887, thus farmers were forced to turn to loan sharks charging 20 to 40 per cent interest, some taking entire crops as payment. Thousands lost their land and became tenant farmers.

The average farmer in the West was convinced that more money needed to be put into circulation. That would increase the consumptive power of eastern buyers, raise prices, and allow the farmer to pay off his loans at a reasonable figure. Farmers believed the means to achieve this goal lay in a return to the system of bimetallism which Congress had ended in 1873 when the nation was placed on the gold standard. Farmers of the Plains states later became the backbone of the People's Party, formed in 1892, and chief advocates of unlimited coinage of silver after the Panic of 1893. The issues espoused by Populism tended to polarize western society, with merchants and business men aligning with the Republican party and farmers and other rural folk moving into the Populist or Democratic ranks. The Populist candidate for the presidential election of 1896 was William Jennings Bryan who was defeated by William McKinley. Nonetheless, the following year signalled a reversal of fortune for farmers as plentiful rain ended the ten year drought.

Agriculture boomed during World War I as the war and government price supports kept prices high. The Wyoming Board of Immigration encouraged the use of dry farming to attract a new wave of homesteaders. At the end of the war

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however, prices plummeted. Another drought in 1919 devastated fields and resulted in total crop losses for many farmers. The Great Depression came ten years early for American farmers.

### The Land Speculator and Vacationer

The role of the investor in the west often overlaps that of the prospector, rancher, and farmer for many of these homesteaders relied on loans, mortgages, or other financial backing from wealthy easterners. They also were closely tied to business interests in the East by their reliance on its markets for their agricultural products and concomitant need for manufactured goods. Some eastern and European investors were not content to remain at a distance. Attracted to the unspoiled scenery, the abundant hunting and fishing, and relative isolation the Rocky Mountains afforded, many affluent visitors came to the mountains and nearby valleys to vacation during the summer months. While some invested in lands with the intention of developing them into operating ranches, farms, or mines, others simply bought the land for its real estate value or to build vacation homes. Some did both. Speculation was usually suspected when someone filed on land that was ill-suited for both farming and ranching.

In order to comply with the assortment of homesteading acts on the books, it was often necessary for land speculators to plant or irrigate at least a portion of their property in order to obtain deed to the property. Throughout the West, land speculators, like ranchers, found creative ways to circumvent the laws to realize their goals. An undetermined number of wealthy visitors decided to buy or "homestead" land for purposes of building vacation homes. Others claimed land to be used as dude ranches or to establish other kinds of tourist facilities. The railroad and then the automobile transported increasingly large numbers of seasonal visitors to the Rocky Mountain West, in search of a sportsmen's adventure or a relaxing and healthful vacation. Few were disappointed. A significant number returned to compete for ownership of dwindling supplies of public domain.

One of the earliest references to a dude ranch in the west was made in 1872 when the Earl of Dunraven (from Ireland) lodged his hunting party near Estes Park, Colorado. There he reported having stayed at a dude ranch owned by Griff Evans, who assigned the party a two-room cabin near a lake. After returning to Ireland, the earl developed a grandiose plan to build a hunting lodge north and west of Estes Park. It was to be a summer resort and cattle ranch developed by a stock company. The earl obtained Griff Evans' land and buildings, and began construction on his lodge, completed in 1876. The same year Dunraven went on a three month guided hunting trip to Wyoming in Yellowstone Park. Back in Colorado, the earl acquired thousands of acres of land and began building a herd of Swiss cattle. Dunraven became one of a number of the West's "gentleman" or "hobby ranchers," men and women who did not depend upon cattle ranching or farming for their livelihood. Hobby ranchers often entertained affluent visitors from the East and from Europe, who continued to spread the word about the scenic beauty of the Rocky Mountains, encouraging other travelers to visit the region. During the 1880s, a number of prominent Englishmen established hunting lodges/cattle ranches in western territories. Luxurious living conditions of such places far exceeded those found on the average homesteader's

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humble ranch. The hunter-tourist became a regular visitor to the West, creating a demand for lodging and services and providing western ranchers and farmers with a secondary source of income.

The significance of the hunter-tourist to the homesteading period of history is that some recognized the value of the land beyond its traditional uses for growing food, raising cattle, or mining minerals. Those that had the wealth to reach these distant places for pleasure, also had the money to invest in them for profit. Many who came on hunting trips, bought their own ranches and remained, sometimes in partnership with an accompanying guide from the trip. Hunting dovetailed nicely with raising cattle, providing investors with an opportunity to combine "business with pleasure". While the great cattle boom ended after the disastrous winter of 1886-1887, the stage had been set for the wealthy to take advantage of the West's abundant free or inexpensive land.

In examining the role of all of the groups mentioned above — the prospector, rancher, farmer, hunter/vacationer, and land speculator — it is important to keep in mind that there is often no distinct line that distinguishes one from the other in terms of settlement patterns. While it is generally recognized that the American West was explored first by fur trappers, then prospectors (protected by the military), then settled by farmers and ranchers, trailed by land speculators, in fact their paths frequently crossed throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. There were always a few optimistic souls who continued to hunt, trap or prospect, some into the early years of the twentieth century. Farming in Utah preceded mining in many other states. Land speculators took advantage of the prospect of growth in *any* area, whether it be the result of improved transportation (railroads), or increased settlement. Trappers turned to prospecting, prospectors became ranchers, ranchers tried their hands at farming, farmers took in tourists . . . the key to understanding homesteading in the West is "adaptation". Settlers took advantage of whatever opportunities to make a living (or profit) their situations afforded. Early settlers not only had to be flexible and adaptable with regard to their new physical surroundings, but they were required to survive the boom and bust cycles mining and agriculture were both prone to.

Thousands of people were attracted to the idea of owning their own land. If homesteaders had sufficient assets to "prove up" their homesteads with improvements (irrigation ditches, cultivated fields, buildings), they usually prospered. Such was the case with Adeline Hornbek, who filed a claim in central Colorado in 1878. Hornbek was a middle-aged woman with three sons and considerable assets from prior real estate transactions in Denver. As head of her household, she filed the first homestead application in the Florissant area. Her one-and-one-half story log house was built in the spring of 1878. By 1885, she and her sons were running a successful ranch in an area of subsistence farming. When Hornbek filed her Homestead Proof that year, she stated the value of her buildings, land and fence at \$1,500. Farm implements were valued at \$300, and livestock at \$4,000. The Homestead Act was a milestone for women as it offered them an opportunity to own large tracts of land in a time when men were the primary owners of all property.

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The term "homesteader" in this context refers to anyone who took advantage of the federal laws passed in the 19th century which allowed American citizens or foreign immigrants to obtain title to public domain. In this context, it does not require the owner to be the first to have laid claim to the land, as land changed hands numerous times before public domain was no longer offered for settlement. Communities generally consider homesteaders to be those pioneers who make the earliest attempts to settle an area. If they failed at whatever venture they undertook, the land was relinquished for another homesteader to claim. As the dates of settlement of Western regions varied widely, a Wyoming ranch homestead may post-date one near a Colorado mining town by as much as 30 years. Consequently, the homesteading period extends in some area longer than in others, depending on the availability of land and its attraction.

The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 and the accompanying Executive Order 6910 virtually ended homesteading in the West, except on reclamation projects, and meant the federal government could hold on to most of its remaining lands to classify and conserve. During the Great Depression, agricultural homesteads in arid regions were being abandoned, leased, or sold back to the government. Farmers and ranchers in the Far West were subject to the same ups and downs in the market economy as were farmers in the rest of the country, who also suffered tremendous losses during the Great Depression. The inability of settlers to make western lands profitable perhaps is more a reflection of government land policy ill-suited to the special conditions of the West, rather than the result of ineptitude on the part of the settler.

### Settlement

Walter W. DeLacy, who led the earliest party of prospectors from Montana into Jackson Hole in 1863, described it as: ". . . one of the most picturesque basins in the mountains. It is covered with fine grass; the soil is deep in many places and it is capable of settlement, and will, in the future, be covered with bands of cattle and sheep." DeLacy's account of his visit to the valley indicates the area was unoccupied, although there were trails used by both trappers and Indians in the area. Long, severe winters and short growing seasons initially made the area unappealing to farmers and ranchers. While prospectors continued to search for minerals in the region into the early twentieth century, no significant discoveries were made and most moved on. Coal, located in the highlands east of the valley, became the only commercially viable resource mined in Jackson Hole.

One of the few visible reminders of the prospecting period are the ditches they excavated during their explorations for minerals. The first ditch known to be excavated in Jackson Hole was the Old Mining Ditch on Antelope Flats, constructed in the 1870s by prospectors who were placer mining on the Snake River. The township survey map of 1893 shows the ditch about three and one-half miles long, diverting water from Ditch Creek (near present day Teton Science School) to Schwabacher's Landing on the Snake River. Later, homesteaders rehabilitated and modified the Old Mining Ditch after 1908. The Steele Ditch off of Spread Creek, constructed by prospector "Doc" Steele about 1905, was also later used by settlers to irrigate hayfields.

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Permanent non-Indian settlement in Jackson Hole began in the mid-1880s, with the first settlers locating south of Grand Teton National Park in the Flat Creek area, then west toward Teton Pass and south into South Park (located just southwest of present day Jackson). The first record of Mormon immigration to the valley was in 1889, when five families traveled from Utah by way of Idaho over the Teton Pass. This route provided the best access to railroad towns in Idaho and became the valley's main communication and transportation artery during the settlement period. The census of 1890 records Jackson Hole's population as 60 to 70 individuals. The 1892-1893 township survey of the present town of Jackson and a portion of the Flat Creek Area (now National Elk Refuge) showed 11 homesteads and cabins on the map.

The rate of settlement in Jackson Hole increased dramatically during the 1890s, with Mormons from Utah and Idaho dominating settlement during that decade. A number of homesteaders settled within the Spread Creek-Buffalo Fork area from the late 1880s. North of the Gros Ventre River, ten settlers took up homesteads in the 1890s: James I. May, James Budge, Thomas Hanshaw, Nels Hoagland, Albert Nelson, William S. Kissenger, Frank McBride, Frank Sebastian, Fred Lovejoy, and Martin and Joe Henrie. Budge and May were the first to settle south and east of Blacktail Butte, anchoring a series of ranches and farms that later came to be called Mormon Row. Further to the north, J. Pierce Cunningham homesteaded a cattle ranch just south of Spread Creek in 1880 or 1890, enlarging his claim in 1897 by filing a desert land entry. His homestead cabin still marks the site of his ranch.

By 1900 the valley's population had reached a total of 683 people. While men continued to constitute a majority of the population, outnumbering women two to one, families increasingly influenced the social environment of the settlement. During the 1890s the first post offices were established. The first school was constructed in South Park in 1896; a second school was built in the Flat Creek area in 1899. The first mercantile store was opened in Jackson Hole that same year. A number of homesteading families listed in the Census of 1900 still have descendants living in the valley: family names include Wilson, Cheney, Budge, Ferrin, Lucas, Nelson and Henrie.

Settlement grew more slowly within the present day boundaries of Grand Teton National Park, concentrating in the Buffalo Fork-Spread Creek area, and the east side of the Snake River, from the Gros Ventre River to Antelope Flats. These areas were predominantly settled after 1908, when expansion of Teton National Forest opened lands previously closed to homesteaders. A small scale land-rush ensued, with most of the new settlers on the lands northeast of Blacktail Butte being members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Three brothers, John, J. Wallace, and T. Alma Moulton, made three early homestead claims in this area. By 1910, the area had acquired the name of "Mormon Row." The early homesteaders claimed the best lands along rivers and creeks. Lands with loamy soils of floodplains, terraces, and alluvial fans were settled most intensely. When land was no longer available in the Mormon Row area, settlement spread to more marginal lands on Antelope Flats. Jackson Hole's population reached 1,500 in 1909.

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Public lands available for homesteading were claimed then subsequently utilized in a variety of ways. Some homesteaders derived most of their land's economic benefit through its agricultural uses, i.e., by farming or ranching. Others capitalized on the unspoiled scenic beauty of the region and its abundant wildlife to create dude ranches, residences, vacation homes, hunting lodges, or tourist courts. Some homesteaders derived the bulk of their income from working in specialized trades, often with the intent of saving up money to improve their claims.

Since a number of homesteaders survived economically by diversifying their sources of income, it is not entirely accurate to classify homesteads purely as agricultural or non-agricultural. Some homesteads combined both types of activities: cattle ranches evolved quite easily into dude ranches, the dudes supplementing the rancher's income from cattle. Area ranchers and farmers frequently served as hunting guides during the fall season, when the work of harvest and round up was completed. Still, it is possible to distinguish between those homesteads that derived *primary* economic benefit from farming and ranching from those that simply provided a residence and subsistence garden or those that profited most from tourism or real estate speculation. The siting of homesteads, the uses of the land, and the types of accompanying built resources, vary between homesteads that emphasized ranching and/or farming and those that did not. Within those sites on which ranching and farming was the primary land use, there are also distinguishing characteristics between subsistence residences, small-scale family-owned farms, and hobby ranches.

### The Settlement of Jackson Hole

Jackson Hole appealed to farmers and ranchers because it offered free land, water, and green meadows of native grasses in the summer. Early settlers comprised military veterans, prospectors, foreign immigrants, and adults with families who had moved several times. Some had visited the valley on hunting excursions or passed through on cattle drives, returning later to homestead. Most homesteaders came from the neighboring states of Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Montana, and Nebraska. Of those living in Jackson Hole in 1900, foreign born settlers comprised 10% of the total. On the 1900 census, the majority of men listed their occupations as "farmers," "farm laborers" or "day laborers."

A typical homestead complex was composed of the main log residence and an assortment of outbuildings, which might include any of the following: a barn (or cattle shed), horse stables, root cellar, hen house, hog house, granary, icehouse, storage house, machine shed, woodshed, smokehouse, outhouse, and springhouse (a building covering a natural spring). Farming homesteads were the most likely type to have root cellars and granaries; they were usually absent from homesteads whose primary reliance was on ranching. Smokehouses were used to cure wild game, especially elk. Hen houses were far more common than hoghouses.

Log cabins were the predominant shelter erected by Jackson Hole homesteaders. Lodgepole pines were abundant and economical. Most people's first home was a one or two room cabin not exceeding 18 x 24 feet in size. The dogtrot was a common and practical building type, consisting of two cabins covered by a breezeway or porch (e.g., the Cunningham

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Cabin). Corners were joined with saddle notches or squared corners fastened with spikes. Cracks between logs were daubed with a dirt mortar often reinforced along the bottom with willow wands. Early cabins were sod roofed with dirt packed floors, later covered with rough sawn boards. Outbuildings were constructed both of logs and milled lumber. The first sawmill was probably constructed on Mill Creek, near Wilson by Stephen Leek in 1893. After 1900, frame structures became more common on ranches and farms while the use of logs as the most popular (and economical) building material continued. By 1909, three sawmills existed at the south end of the valley.

Early homesteaders in Jackson Hole also relied heavily on imported building materials, particularly nails, glass, door and window frames, and roofing paper. These supplies were freighted into the valley from distant communities such as Market Lake and Rexburg, Idaho. The first general mercantile store to make building materials and hardware available locally was opened in 1899 in what became the town of Jackson by Charles "Pap" Deloney.

While simple cabins provided essential shelter from the elements, such accommodations were far from luxurious. Water and mud leaked from the roof during rainstorms, cold drafts and rodents poured through the myriad of entries in the walls. To combat these problems, some women draped muslin cloth on the ceilings to catch dirt from the roof, interior walls were insulated with pages from old magazines, and flour paste mixed with strychnine was used as rodent bait.

As time passed, families grew, and resources allowed, homesteaders built log or woodframe additions to their original cabins or constructed more elaborate residences. John and Bertha Moulton, who lived on land John homesteaded in 1909, lived in a small log cabin until they built a pink stucco residence about 1934. (The latter house still stands on Mormon Row.)

Fencing for both farms and ranches was often constructed of lodgepole pine logs in the early years of settlement in Jackson Hole. The "buck and post" fence represented a considerable investment of time and labor; those who possessed the capital purchased barbed wire for post and wire fencing after 1900. The post and wire fence was popular among homesteaders because it cost less, required less time to erect, and required less maintenance. It was not uncommon to find both types of fencing used on a single property during the first few decades of the 20th century. By the 1920s, steel fence posts appeared at homesteads in the park. The picturesque buck and pole fence enjoyed a revival however during the same period as dude ranches and tourist facilities proliferated.

The overwhelming majority of early homesteaders in Jackson Hole adopted mountain valley ranching, which dominated the economy of Jackson Hole until the tourist industry gained predominance after World War II. One hundred head of cattle were reported to be in Jackson Hole in 1883; Sylvester Wilson brought eighty head in 1889 when he immigrated from Idaho with the first group of Mormon settlers. Long winters and limited grazing range made the area unattractive to large cattle companies. Most settlers established small cattle ranches with fewer than 50 head of cattle, and cultivated hay for winter feed. Some people started with smaller herds and also raised hay or grain to sell on the open market;

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these might be more accurately called farmers. Others switched from ranching to farming (or vice versa) as circumstances warranted. By 1900 the cattle population in Jackson Hole was about 1,300 head, almost half owned by just five ranchers.

The disastrous cattle losses during the winter of 1886-1887 ended the days of year-round open range grazing on the Great Plains. Rather than leave the cattle to fend for themselves all year, ranchers in Jackson Hole fed their herds during the winter and released them on the open range only during the summer and autumn. Homestead laws failed to allow sufficient acreage for a cattle ranch in the West, thus Congress passed the Stock-Raising Act of 1916, which allowed settlers to preempt up to 640 acres of land suited only for grazing. As more people claimed cultivable lands in Jackson Hole, ranchers were forced to drive their cattle to more remote ranges. After 1900 the Forest Service began requiring grazing permits on public lands.

The Homestead Act of 1862 required the entrant to cultivate the land. With an average of only sixty frost-free days per year, the valley's elevation and climate restricted the growing season for crops. Farmers grew grain crops, primarily ninety-day oats. In addition to oats, farmers grew spring wheat and barley. These three grains were also grown for hay, along with a variety of other plants: brome grass, timothy, alfalfa, and alsike clover. Native grasses were also irrigated, grown, and harvested for cattle feed. The majority of settlers also grew garden crops for personal consumption. Potatoes, carrots, turnips, cabbage, rutabagas, onions, peas, beets, radishes, lettuce and some berries were grown. Some settlers raised enough potatoes to sell locally.

In addition to the short growing season and harsh winters, farmers faced obstacles to clearing and cultivating their lands. Sagebrush was cleared by burning, by flooding, and by hand. One homesteader complained that his 160 acre tract was "practically covered with willows and aspen brush and is hard to clear." Another impediment, the soils of Jackson Hole are predominantly glacial deposits, with the valley floor covered with quartzite cobbles. Clearing the fields of cobbles was an arduous task sometimes assigned to children. Some unlucky homesteaders found land along creeks so swampy that they were forced to drain them utilizing dredges.

Farm machinery was important to agriculture in Jackson Hole, as in much of the West, where there was a shortage of labor. By 1900 most ranchers and farmers cut hay with horse drawn mowers, renting or borrowing the equipment if they could not afford to own it. Later the steam powered tractor and steam powered threshing machine were introduced to the valley, but due to their expense and small size of most farms, reliance on the horse continued. After World War I, the farm horse was eventually replaced by the gasoline-powered tractor.

Settlement patterns in Jackson Hole were largely dictated by the availability of water and the ease with which it could be diverted to one's homestead. Both farmers and ranchers needed irrigation systems to successfully cultivate their lands. The majority of settlers cut irrigation ditches to their land and secured water rights approved by the State of

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Wyoming. These rights were attached to most farms and ranches. Within the boundaries of the park, homesteaders diverted water from several major tributaries of the Snake River, in particular Ditch Creek, Spread Creek, Cottonwood Creek, Pacific Creek, and the Gros Ventre River. Ditches were constructed with hand labor, sometimes in partnership with one or several neighbors.

Farmers and ranchers in the Blacktail Butte area (Mormon Row) and Antelope Flats diverted water from the Gros Ventre or Ditch Creek. The first ditches dug in the park for agricultural purposes diverted water from Ditch Creek and were made by James I. May and William Kissenger in 1896. The three-mile-long Trail Ditch, excavated by May using a horse-drawn plow and hand tools, diverted water to his homestead at the base of Blacktail Butte. Kissenger built a four-mile ditch to his homestead at Kelly Warm Springs. Later, homesteaders constructed seventeen other ditches along Ditch Creek between 1908 and 1930 to irrigate fields in the area of Kelly, Mormon Row and Antelope Flats.

The other major source of water for irrigating lands in the area was the Gros Ventre River. In 1898 five ranches secured rights to the Spring Gulch Ditch which diverted water into the gulch. Nels Hoagland homesteaded west of Kelly and filed for water rights in 1898. It took him at least four years to complete Cedar Tree Ditch. In 1899 James May, Jim Budge, Mart Henrie and Joe Henrie constructed the Hot Springs Ditch above Kelly to 650 acres of land near Blacktail Butte diverting water from the Gros Ventre River to their desert entry homesteads. Other early ditches along the Gros Ventre were the Midland, Hobo, Wild Cherry, Sebastian, Mesa, Ideal and Savage ditches. In the Spread Creek drainage area, settlers excavated twenty individual ditches. There was less irrigation activity on the Buffalo Fork and its tributaries. Limited irrigation took place in the Pacific Creek drainage near Moran.

During the late 1920s, a group of farmers on Mormon Row began excavating a canal from the Gros Ventre, hoping to convert land being dry farmed to irrigated hayfields. A disastrous flood in May of 1927 destroyed the town of Kelly and ruined their efforts in the process. For unknown reasons, the Mud Springs (a.k.a. "Miracle Springs" and Kelly Warm Springs) then began producing more water, so settlers cut the Mormon Row Ditch to the springs. John Moulton, T.A. Moulton, Andy Chambers, J. Wallace Moulton and Joe Henniger owned rights beginning in 1929. To increase the supply of water, settlers diverted water from the Savage Ditch cutting a channel to the Mud Springs in the 1930s. An additional eight users were then added to the system.

The Desert Land Act required that desert entries be irrigated to secure title to the land. Few newcomers to Jackson Hole filed papers under the Desert Land Act after 1900. Rare was the settler who had sufficient capital to purchase desert lands even at \$1.25 an acre, and the cost of constructing an irrigation system was an additional expense. Also, homesteaders preempted much of the available acreage in the valley following 1908, leaving little land to claim. Irrigation was practiced less because it was legally required than for reasons of sheer economic necessity, for water was needed to make farms and ranches productive.

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In summary, the irrigation works in Jackson Hole were small scale projects constructed mostly between 1896 and 1927 by individuals, partnerships, or cooperative groups. Even the largest ditches seldom had more than ten users, and most were no longer than three miles. There is little documentation of the methods used to construct the systems, though it is most likely they used hand tools and horses to build them. The history of irrigation in Jackson Hole is similar to that pattern that is found in much of the West, in that small-scale projects constitute the majority of acreage reclaimed by settlers.

After many homesteads within present day Grand Teton National Park were purchased by the Snake River Land Company, irrigation systems were often maintained as well as modified. The company leased some lands for grazing, cultivation, or dude ranching, which required maintenance and improvements to existing ditches. State law also required that owners of ditches, canals, or reservoirs who failed to use the water from those sources for "five successive years" forfeit their associated water rights. Others could then apply for the forfeited water rights. This provided an additional incentive to use the irrigation works that had been constructed by homesteaders. A number of existing ditches south of Blacktail Butte were enlarged and/or rehabilitated in the late 1930s by the Snake River Land Company. In other areas, the diversion points of ditches were altered or the ditches themselves were altered.

A minority of farmers and ranchers did not list a ditch among their land improvements and most likely attempted to dry farm their lands. Dry farming enabled the cultivation of crops with a minimum of water. Two practices were employed: using drought resistant grains and conserving moisture in the soil, particularly the subsoil. These techniques were developed and utilized by farmers on the Great Plains, and had enabled them to reclaim thousands of acres abandoned during the drought of the 1880s and 1890s. Some varieties of wheat were particularly drought resistant, spring wheat being the best suited for the climate of Jackson Hole. Moisture in the soil was conserved by leaving land fallow on alternate years. This practice required doubling the acreage needed to support a family however. The extent to which dry farming was practiced in Jackson Hole is unknown. In most arid areas of the West, dry farming rarely proved profitable. Homesteaders John Moulton and T. A. Moulton dry farmed grain until the late 1920s.

Settlers also needed water for household use: drinking, cooking, bathing, and laundry. Wells were dug at varying depths, depending on the homestead's proximity to a river or creek. While a settler could hit water at a depth of twelve feet along the river, one who lived on in the Blacktail Butte area (Mormon Row) would have to dig a well at least ninety feet deep. While windmills were often used to draw water in other parts of the West, only one windmill, at the Roy Chambers complex along Mormon Row, is known to have been constructed by a homesteader in Jackson Hole for that purpose.

Water development projects influenced settlement in the valley. The Teton Irrigation Company tied up lands from settlement from 1916 to 1921, while the state of Wyoming applied to the Department of the Interior for withdrawal of nearly twenty thousand acres. The application was denied in 1921, reopening land for settlement in 1922.

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Wildlife posed serious problems for some homesteaders. As they occupied more and more land, their farms and ranches took over migratory routes and critical winter range of the elk. During severe winters, the elk raided haystacks, prompting the settlers to erect fences, guard the haystacks with dogs, fire at and/or shoot the elk. While the gray wolf was exterminated by stockmen's associations (originally formed for that purpose), the value of the elk to attract wealthy hunters and dudes was widely recognized. Instead of killing off the elk, practices of controlled hunting, payments for damaged crops, and reservation of lands for an elk refuge were adopted. Gophers and squirrels also were reported to have caused serious damage to crops during the growing season. Crops could also be lost to open-range grazing cattle if homesteaders failed to install or maintain fences properly. Cattle ruined the entire crop of twenty-two acres of clover planted by Elmer Arthur on Pacific Creek in 1916.

Severe weather also caused destruction of many a crop in Jackson Hole. A prolonged drought or sudden hailstorm could destroy fields. Frost or freezing temperatures could wipe out a crop. Rather than risk losing wheat, oat, or barley crops to a frost, some farmers harvested them before maturity as hay. In 1919, a major drought parched portions of the West, devastating farms and ranches in Jackson Hole. Immigration to the area virtually ceased. In 1921, the town of Jackson (population 500) was voted the seat of Teton County, a rural county with a population of about 2,000 people and over 10,000 head of cattle.

Most homesteads in Jackson Hole were isolated from one another. Travel by wagon or horse on primitive wagon roads was a time consuming and difficult activity, even when weather was good. Trips to Jackson, the largest town in the valley, were limited for many homesteaders to once or twice a year. A cluster of several small communities centered around post offices and small villages, which served as sources of essential supplies and social contact. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Moran and Elk served the upper valley residents, Grovont and Kelly those in the middle of Jackson Hole, and Jackson and Wilson at the lower end. Some families relocated from isolated ranches to towns during the winter (or permanently) so children could attend school.

Geographic isolation also meant supplies were costly to homesteaders, as everything had to be freighted in over the Teton Pass from Idaho. Winter imposed additional constraints on travel, as snow can cover the ground for as much as six months of the year in the region. A severe winter that blocked transportation routes (particularly Teton Pass) resulted in a serious scarcity of supplies in Jackson Hole. Roads improved dramatically in the 1920s when the automobile replaced horse-drawn transport.

Communication too was difficult prior to 1900, as the first postmaster of Jackson Hole, Mrs. Mae Tuttle, recalls:

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Don't you remember how we saw or spoke to a neighbor only once or twice a year and we never got word or mail from the outside from snowfall to spring thaw unless some hardy individual took it into his head to ski across the mountains and bring everybody's mail . . .<sup>8</sup>

Jackson Hole got its first telephone in 1905, when Fred Lovejoy established the Jackson Telephone Exchange. The Forest Service was responsible for greatly expanding service through the valley in 1907; by 1909 the Jackson Valley Telephone Company was offering service from one end of the valley to the other.

A major limitation to many homesteaders in improving their claims was their lack of sufficient capital to devote all of their time to ranching and farming. Many lived at subsistence level, and any kind of bad luck — an illness, a barn destroyed by fire, a failed crop, the death of a draft horse — could prove disastrous. Few possessed cash to invest in equipment, building materials, tools, planting seed, or breeding stock. Most settlers raised cash by working at other occupations and/or mortgaging their homesteads. The Jump family homesteaded on Ditch Creek. Daughter Ethel Jump recalled that her family could not make a living farming or ranching, so they hauled freight, guided dudes, trapped and hunted, and mined coal to sell locally.

Many settlers became jacks-of-all-trades, taking advantage of any opportunity to earn hard cash. A few had marketable trades they could ply. Jim Manges, who homesteaded near Taggart and Cottonwood creeks in 1911, began working as a carpenter at the Bar BC ranch in 1913. He later wrangled dudes at Elbo Ranch. His unusual one-and-a-half story log cabin, constructed in 1911, still stands within the park. Albert Nelson, a Swedish immigrant, homesteaded a claim near Kelly in 1897. He worked six months of the year as a taxidermist, offering his services to the hunters in Jackson Hole.

A number of homesteaders relied on trapping wild animals (both legally and illegally) for necessary income, particularly coyotes, beaver, and members of the weasel family. The eyeteeth of elk, used as watch charms by the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks (Elks Club), were a valuable commodity. The teeth were removed by settlers from winter-killed elk or illegally poached by the "tusker" who shot the elk for its eyeteeth alone. With prices ranging from ten dollars to as much as 100 dollars for eyeteeth, "tusking" became a serious problem before actions were taken to curb it.

In spite of the difficulties faced by settlers in Jackson Hole, claimants of nearly 400 homesteads managed to cultivate thousands of acres of land within Grand Teton National Park boundaries. Those settlers who found the isolation and severe winters of Jackson Hole too hard to endure relinquished their lands, either by sale or by outright abandonment. Relinquishments were homesteads that the original occupant had waived his or her claim to, prior to securing a patent.

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<sup>8</sup> Daugherty manuscript.

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Once relinquished, these lands were available for others to settle. Even among those settlers who were made their homesteads profitable, few lived out the remainder of their lives in Jackson Hole. Many of the valley's early homesteaders sold their lands before 1930 and retired to other states, particularly Idaho and California, perhaps to be close to friends and relatives, or to have a milder climate and lower cost of living.

Not all homesteaders intended to make their living exclusively farming and/or ranching. Big game hunting drew large numbers of outsiders who, by state law, had to have a "qualified guide". They also needed lodging. Some ranchers struggling to make ends meet welcomed the opportunity to take in paying guests and provide guide service to hunters. Paying guests were accommodated in Jackson Hole as early as the 1880s, but the first known hunting lodge was Ben Sheffield's, established in 1903 at the outlet of Jackson Lake in Moran. Moran became the first town in Jackson Hole to cater to the needs of hunters and tourists. (See the Dude Ranching and Tourism context for an expanded discussion of Non-Agricultural Homesteads in Jackson Hole.)

### Hobby Ranches

In a transition witnessed through much of the scenic West, by the 1930s and 1940s the economic value of Jackson Hole lands was often defined by beauty rather than agricultural productivity. The family-owned and -operated agricultural endeavors contrasted with Jackson Hole "hobby" ranches. These ranches were not resorts or vacation homes — the land continued to be worked and livestock raised, occasionally in an intensive and profitable manner, but more often as a diversion made economically viable by external sources of income. Distinguishing physical characteristics of these properties include guest and/or servant housing. Large-scale and intensively worked hobby ranches might include elaborate agricultural infrastructure and quarters for the hired foreman or field crews. The properties of those who merely "dabbled" in agriculture were more likely to be defined by minimal agricultural improvements.

In some instances, the primary residence was physically removed from the working component of the complex, underscoring the distinction between the gentleman and the ranch. At the Hunter Hereford Ranch at the edge of Antelope Flats, wealthy retirees William and Eileen Hunter built a grand home, servant's residence, and guest cabin high on a hill overlooking their 520 acres of hay and grazing land (1947). Here, the Hunters "planned to spend the rest of their lives enjoying a well-earned vacation." As a "hobby" — a term incongruous with the labor expended by their neighbors on adjacent Mormon Row — they raised registered Hereford Cattle. This hobby was realized in large part by renowned Wilson rancher Gerritt Hardeman, who supervised the Hereford breeding program, and by ranch foreman

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John Anderson. For over 20 years, Anderson and his family lived in Jim William's homestead house at the historic center of the ranch, well removed from the big house on the hill.<sup>9</sup>

In contrast, Eleanor and John Talbot (president of Washington University, St. Louis) lived more modestly in the reconstructed homestead house associated with their land. Immediately adjacent to the house, the Talbots constructed a small barn (detailed by the standards of adjacent Mormon Row yet dwarfed by the Hunter barn), cabins for their frequent guests, and an irrigator's cabin (also used by the winter caretaker). Geraldine Lucas, "wealthy" only in contrast to Jackson Hole's subsistence farmers, homesteaded her land, claimed a water right, developed an irrigation system, raised sufficient oats for her saddle horse, and resided on her property during the winter months. The limited economic viability of this operation, and Lucas's reliance upon her teacher's pension, is clearly illustrated by the historic absence of the barns, granaries, hay sheds, and corrals that typified homestead complexes.

### Vacation Homes

After World War I, increased publicity of the Grand Teton region, escalating national appreciation for wilderness recreation, improved transportation, and increased leisure hours led to construction of a number of private vacation homes on lands leased from the United States Forest Service (USFS). The choicest sites were those near Jackson Lake and the perimeter of the 1929 Grand Teton National Park. As the pressures of park expansion and land acquisition by the Snake River Land Company increased, the leases became even more popular. Eventually 111 leases were granted and nearly as many vacation homes built under the Forest Service program. The architecture of those homes varied from simple log cabins and small log vernacular complexes to elaborate architect-designed Rustic lodges (see the Rustic Architecture context, below). These privately built, lease-held retreats were yet another manifestation of the popularity of the Grand Teton area as a place to live and to spend leisure time.

### End of the Homestead Era

Beginning in 1927, President Calvin Coolidge issued a series of executive orders that closed the public domain to settlement in Jackson Hole. Initially several hundred acres were set aside for an elk refuge; four subsequent orders between 1927 and 1930 closed thousands of acres to homesteading. The purpose of the latter withdrawals were vague and controversial, connected with the purchase program of the Snake River Land Company (see Conservation Context). Jackson Hole's homesteading era was at an end.

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<sup>9</sup> *Jackson Hole Courier* and the *Jackson Hole Guide*, quoted in Daugherty, *Jackson Hole: A History*, "Cattle Ranching," p. 24.

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Delayed by years of local, state and federal political wrangling, the ultimate transfer of these lands to the nation was not made until December 16, 1949. The federal government established a new Grand Teton National Park in 1950 incorporating a total of 33,562 acres that had been held for that purpose by John D. Rockefeller Jr. for twenty years along with the original national park established in 1929. While visitation to the park area in 1929 numbered about 10,000 people, today roughly 2,500,000 visitors annually view Grand Teton National Park's natural and cultural resources. While heavily impacted since the end of the homesteading period, the remains of early homesteads testify to the valley's agricultural past. As significantly, the hobby ranches and vacation homes testify to a shift in land values that has in large part defined the twentieth century economy of the scenic West: beauty, wildness, and rustic relics of our western heritage (both real and contrived), have replaced abundant land, abundant graze, and fertile soil as Jackson Hole's primary economic assets.

### Vernacular Architecture<sup>10</sup>

The majority of buildings within Grand Teton National Park from the homesteading/settlement era are vernacular. Vernacular architecture has been described as common, ordinary buildings fashioned by anonymous people for functional purposes. It has also been defined as any structure devoted to everyday uses built by unschooled (but not unskilled) craftsmen working within a commonly understood cultural and technical tradition. A key feature of vernacular buildings is their affinity for and adaptation to landscape, climate, and cultural patterns. While vernacular architecture may incorporate one or more "styles," it is not a "style" in and of itself. Rather, it represents "remembered" styles, commonly-agreed upon forms and elements that are passed among generations. Diversity in vernacular building techniques and in preferred styles and spatial arrangement of structures thus arises from the cultural heritage of those involved in the construction and/or use of the structures. Rather than relying on a trained architect's designs and expertise, vernacular buildings reflect community or group tastes.

Another essential characteristic of vernacular architecture is its use of local materials. Builders used whatever materials were available and whatever skills they possessed. The range of vernacular structures includes dwellings, barns, privies, hen houses, or other outbuildings. Hay derricks, fences, corrals and other utilitarian structures also fall under this category. In the Rocky Mountain Region, wood logs (primarily pine, fir and cedar) were the most abundant building material available to the homesteader. Because the majority of vernacular structures in Grand Teton National Park are constructed of wood logs, a brief history and summary of log construction methods follows.

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<sup>10</sup> Prepared by Kathy McKoy, Historian, National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region Office, November 1991. Based in part on Steven F. Mehls and Carol Drake Mehls, "The Mirror of History: The Architecture of Grand Teton National Park Through Time," unpublished manuscript, Rocky Mountain Regional Office (RMRO), NPS, 1988.

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### Log Architecture and Its Diffusion West

Log building was the dominant homestead architecture in areas across the United States for more than a century before the opening of Western lands to settlement. While historians and cultural geographers have traced the origins of widespread American use of logs for building to the Germans and Scotch-Irish of colonial Pennsylvania, based on European models, by the late eighteenth century distinctly American log cabin styles had evolved. These continued to be used until the second half of the nineteenth century when settlement reached the semi-arid Great Plains and settlers found wood in less abundance. By the time homesteaders left the Mid-Atlantic and Southern regions for the West, many reflected mixed ancestry of German, English, Scotch-Irish, Dutch, French, Swedish or Welsh. They carried with them a diverse cultural baggage that included log construction techniques and preferred building styles.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a new type of log cabin developed along the western frontier, the "Anglo-western cabin". Several features distinguished it from earlier American types. The most obvious change was in the placement of the main door, moved from under the eave to a gable end, thus turning the structure so the gable faces forward. Another change was the degree of slope in the roof greatly diminished and sometimes was almost flat. In writing about Nebraska cabins, Roger Welsch suggests that the movement of the door came about because:

. . . logs were scarce on the Plains and the walls were usually low — five to seven feet high — and a door in the eave would have had to cut through the sill and plate logs, introducing structural instability. So the main door was often centered in the gable end, thus taking advantage of a slightly higher wall.

He also speculates that the roof slope was lowered because it took fewer logs and could better support a sod roof, common in that region. The final feature that distinguished the Anglo-western cabin from its eastern precedents is that the iron stove almost totally replaced the fireplace for heating and cooking.

Why would the "Anglo-western cabin" remain popular in areas where wood was plentiful, such as in the Rocky Mountain Region? Mary Wilson (*Log Cabin Studies*) proposes that there continued to be advantages in its design. In the mountains, its primary advantage was that it allowed easier access to the cabin door during periods of heavy snowfall: "a door under an eave could prove difficult when snow began drifting or sliding off the roof."<sup>1</sup> A lowered roof angle also meant that snow would remain longer on the roof, providing added insulation. Wilson writes that the gable overhang was so useful, that a regional variation evolved in the Rocky Mountains: the "Rocky Mountain Cabin" extended the gable end over the door to an average of 50 percent beyond the front of the cabin. The length of the extension often required vertical post supports at the roof end. For all practical purposes, this roof extension functioned

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Wilson, *Log Cabin Studies* ( Cultural Resource Report no. 9. Ogden, Utah: United States Forest Service, Intermountain Region, 1984), p. 34.

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both as a porch and as an additional living area used in the warmer months for sleeping, cooking and other activities. It also lent itself to the formation of a "dog-trot" when an additional cabin was attached to its end.

### Log Architecture Forms and Construction

In their discussions of log structure history in the United States, scholars frequently make a distinction between log cabins and log houses. The cabin is viewed as the homesteader's first effort to erect a rudimentary building that would function as a temporary residence. In time, he expected to build a more substantial house of log, milled lumber, stone, or brick for his family. The cabin was usually smaller and reflected less concern with finished craftsmanship than the homesteader's later effort, the log house. The cabin was constructed of round logs. By contrast, the log house walls were most often hewn logs. While the cabin usually consisted of one room with a loft, the larger log house had multiple rooms and at least a partially finished second floor reached by a stairway.

In general, the more finished a structure was, the more tools were required in its construction. While the average homesteader might be expected to own axes, hatchets, saws, hammers, wedges and other tools needed to build a simple cabin, many would not have the more specialized tools required to assemble a more permanent log or frame house. Log houses were often the product of experienced craftsmen, who employed a wide variety of specialized tools in their work.

A number of specific forms have been identified to describe log architecture: ranch, temple, rectangular and pyramidal. The *ranch form* is characterized by a low-pitched roof supported by rafters or purlins. The doorway may be located either along the length of the building under the eave or under the gable end. The Anglo-western cabin relates to this form. The *temple form* has a high pitched roof with the doorway located under the gable end. The roofline may extend out over the doorway to form a porch (Wilson's "Rocky Mountain Cabin" type is of this form). The temple form may also have multiple gables in an L- or T-plan, in which case the door may be located on the side. The *rectangular form* has a high pitched roof, with the door located in the center under the eave. It may have an inset or added porch. Any of these forms may have sheds attached. The *pyramidal form* is square with a hipped roof. This form is rare in the Rocky Mountain Region.

"If any single element can properly be called the key to log construction," Terry G. Jordan writes in *Texas Log Buildings, A Folk Architecture*, "it is the corner notch, the joint where logs from adjacent walls are attached to one another." As the entire weight of the building above the floor rests on the four corners, the notching provides a weight bearing function while holding the walls laterally in place preventing horizontal slippage. Notches also minimized the interstices between the logs, saving on the amount of chinking needed. Notches were fashioned using a small axe or hand saw. A carpenter's square, chisel, and ruler were also useful as were patterns showing the proper slope angles. Most of the work on the notch was performed on the ground, but final exact fitting took place atop the wall.

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Numerous types of notching styles have been identified, the most common being saddle, "V" notch, square notch, and dovetailing (full and half). Notching styles vary in complexity and in the level of skill and the types of tools required to execute them. The simplest style is the *saddle notch*, which was almost always used on round logs. The saddle notch was the prevalent type used in early homestead cabins, since it could be made by relatively unskilled workers. It was also commonly used in various kinds of farm or ranch outbuildings. It is most common in softwoods, particularly pine and cedar. Three variations of the saddle exist with notches being on the upper, lower, or on both sides of a log. The end (or crown) of the log often projects beyond the corner of the building.

The "*V*" notch is executed by making a V-notch cut into the bottom of an upper log which fits into the pointed crown of a lower log. Developed as a variant of the saddle notch, this notch originated in the 18th century among Pennsylvania Germans. The technique later spread west by way of the Central Appalachians and Ohio Valley. In the west, this style is closely associated with settlers of upper southern and German heritage. This notch forms a solid, locked corner and is used both on hewn logs and those left round. If the logs are hewn, the ends of the logs were sawn off flush to form a "boxed" corner; round logs were often left projecting beyond the corner as with the saddle notch. "V" notching is most prevalent in softwoods.

*Square notching* is another simple method which could be done by making a straight saw cut and splitting out the small portion. It required much less skill to fashion than most other styles of notching. Square notches did not lock the logs together and required additional drilling and pegging to insure the survival of the structure. Square notching is prevalent in softwoods. In the East, it is most widely encountered across the inner coastal plain of the Deep South, areas settled largely by persons of English stock. It is rare in the Upper South.

The *half notch* is a variation of the square notch. It may occur by itself or in conjunction with square notching. Both techniques are normally applied on hewn logs, but they can be found also on round and half-round timbers. The projecting ends of square notched logs are usually sawn flush at the corners.

*Full dovetailing* is one of the most complicated methods of corner timbering, and is usually confined to hewn logs. Logs are locked in both directions producing a box-like corner. The dovetail was most popular in the eastern United States in the late 18th century and is rare in the West. More common is the *half-dovetail notch*, in which the head of the notch slopes upward, but the bottom is flat. This method was commonly used throughout the southern and central United States during the 19th century. The half-dovetail is associated primarily with the use of hardwoods in construction, mainly oak. It occurs less frequently in cedar, pine and other softwoods. While it is easier than the full dovetail joint to construct, the half-dovetail produced a firmly locked joint and is identified with fine craftsmanship. Upon completion of the structure, the ends of the logs were normally sawn off flush to the corner.

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In addition to variations of true notching techniques, other construction techniques were employed in log building. Two that occur in the Jackson Hole area are the box corner and false corner timbering. The *box corner* technique involved the use of heavy planks to abut the ends of horizontal logs at the corners, then spiked or pegged into place. This was either left uncovered (giving the corner an indented "V" appearance), was finished with a vertical log, or was covered with two or more additional boards to form a square corner. Closely related to half notching is the technique called *false corner timbering*, (also false notching) in which logs are laid in even tiers which do not effectively interlock with those immediately above or below.

Most builders knew how to fashion more than one type of notch. It is not uncommon to find an assortment of notching styles used within a particular complex. The barn might be saddle-notched, while the cabin or log house has dovetail notching. Nor is it unusual to find two different methods used on the same structure. This "transition" however, most often marks the introduction of a second builder (as at the Andy Chambers barn in Grand Teton, where Thomas Alma Moulton assisted his neighbor in the final stages of construction, and at the Triangle X barn where the transition in notching styles denotes the completion of the building by a new property owner). The choice among notch styles was also strongly influenced by the type of wood available to the builder. Date of construction can also be related to notch type in an area, with the more difficult types such as half-dovetailing being more common in the mid-19th century, occurring with much less frequency by 1890. Conversely, the more easily fashioned saddle notch was rare on houses prior to the Civil War but occurred on the majority of those erected from about 1890 to 1940. Use of the square notch remained fairly constant, while "V" notching peaked in usage just after the Civil War. In effect, the less complex notches survived the longest, evidence of a rapid deterioration of log technology after about 1890.

### Cultural Affiliation of Styles and Construction Techniques

Both log architectural forms, floor plans, and construction techniques (particularly notching styles) have been linked to certain cultural groups, identified by either regional, ethnic or religious affiliation. The rectangular form is associated in the eastern United States with the Scotch-Irish; the square or pyramid form with the English. The dogtrot cabin (two rooms separated by an open hallway, or dogtrot) also follows a traditional English pattern. The Scotch-Irish usually had a front and a back door in their rectangular cabins.

In the eastern United States scholars have linked the use of saddle notching, "V" notching, and full dovetailing with American descendants of Germans, Finns and Swedes. The English usually fitted their corners with half-dovetail notching. The Scotch-Irish commonly used saddle notches in their buildings. As mentioned earlier, square notching was common in the Deep South thus emigrants to the West from that area often transported this technique with them. False corner timbering has been associated in Texas with Alsatian, German and Swiss building practices.

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The frontier became a virtual melting pot of homesteaders who traced their ancestry to a wide variety of European cultures. Add to that ingredient generations of interacting with other cultures, intermarriage, and exposure to new forms and ideas on the frontier, and it becomes very difficult to assign log cabin styles or their construction techniques to particular cultural groups. Weslager writes in *The Log Cabin in America*:

Builders of differing cultural backgrounds were thrown together in a new environment with a resultant acceleration of what otherwise would have been a slow process of change. The different methods of corner notching . . . were used contemporaneously in the postpioneer American settlements depending upon the skill, the whims, the available tools and materials, and the previous experience of the builder.<sup>12</sup>

Usage of notch types varied by region, by time period, and according to the cultural heritage of the builder. The type of wood available and type of structure being built were equally important factors in deciding what construction techniques to employ. The form, floor plan, and/or notches used in a log structure cannot be defined therefore primarily in terms of ethnic affiliation. Rocky Mountain log construction evolved from types that originated elsewhere by builders experimenting with variations and recombinations suited for local climatic conditions. Due to the diversity and temporary nature of settlement patterns in the Rockies, the region never experienced a standardization of form. Nor is the termination point for construction of vernacular forms as well-defined in the Rocky Mountain Region as it is in the East where, between World War I and World War II the transition from vernacular to popular construction is evident. In the Rockies, vernacular forms still continue to be constructed in rural areas, although in far fewer numbers.

Roof materials vary considerably on log buildings. Sometimes two or more were combined to cover a structure. If it was used for a number of years, it often had newer materials laid over the old. Where the builder had to produce roofing materials, split logs, split shakes, split shingles, sod and thatch/straw were used. When manufactured materials were available, the roof could be made of sawed planks, plywood, asphalt shingles, tar paper, and/or tin.

Two primary window types are found in nineteenth and twentieth century vernacular buildings: sash-type and casement-type windows. The principal difference lies in how they open. Sash-type windows slide open, either vertically or horizontally, along wooden grooves. Casement-type windows rotate open on hinges toward the interior or exterior of a structure. Considerable variation exists in both types concerning size and number of glass panes.

### Vernacular Architecture/Homesteading Years

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<sup>12</sup> C. A. Weslager, *The Log Cabin in America - From Pioneer Days to the Present* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969), p. 334.

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Three distinct periods have been identified that reflect stylistic changes and phases of architectural development in Grant Teton National Park. During these periods different forces and motivating factors helped define choices for local residents both in their lives and their architecture. The three architectural periods are the homesteading years (1884-ca.1927), a transition phase (ca.1927-World War II), and the post-war period of park maturity.<sup>13</sup>

### Vernacular Architecture in Jackson Hole, 1884-ca. 1927

During the first period of architectural development in Jackson Hole, permanent settlers began to arrive in northwestern Wyoming, bringing with them a cultural heritage that included preferred buildings styles and methods of construction. Their choices however were limited by the location and relative isolation of Jackson Hole, requiring a heavy dependence on local building materials. Wood and stone constituted the early settlers' only two native building materials. By the end of the nineteenth century, saw mills had opened in Jackson Hole, but these mills supplied only rough cut and partially finished lumber. Few in the capital deficient frontier region had the means to build extensively with milled lumber. Most chose to build their first homes using logs.

The 1900 Census indicates the origin of immigrants who moved to Jackson Hole in its early settlement period. The first homestead was settled in 1884. By 1890 there were estimated to be between 60 and 70 people living in the area. By 1900, the population had risen ten-fold, to 683. In 1889 the first Mormons migrated to Jackson Hole. Mormons dominated settlement from 1890 to 1900, at which time settlers claiming Utah as their birth place made up over twenty-five percent of Jackson Hole's population. (Settlers from Utah continued to make up a majority of newcomers to Jackson Hole into the 1920s.) In addition to the settlers from Utah, many other homesteaders moved from adjacent states. Just over forty-percent of Jackson Hole's population in 1900 were born in Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Montana or Nebraska. A significant number hailed from the midwestern states, particularly Iowa and Illinois. The 1900 Census also documents that 10% of the valley's residents were foreign born. Most immigrated from United Kingdom countries, Canada (English), or Sweden, with fewer numbers from other European countries.

As settlers came to the Jackson Hole area from all over the United States and logs were plentiful, it is not surprising that their early log architecture represented considerable diversity. An example of eastern (specifically English) influence can be seen in the dog-trot plan employed in the construction of the Cunningham Cabin in Grand Teton National Park. In "How They Built Cabin Corners," Jackson Hole resident Tom K. Lamb's describes the main types of corners commonly found in the region: variations of the saddle notch, the square notch, the dovetail notch, and the box corner. Of these the most popular was the square notch (which Lamb refers to as the "tenant corner") and the saddle notch

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<sup>13</sup> The context for the post-war period of park maturity has not yet been developed.

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(referred to as "rider and saddle," "cope" and "upside down cope"). Lamb did not document the dates of construction of buildings using these construction techniques, only that they were "old."

Lamb reported that "the dovetail joint is one which was used extensively in South Park by the Mormon settlers." (South Park is an area located south of the town of Jackson and is outside the boundary of Grand Teton National Park). Many of the Mormons immigrating to Jackson Hole had come from Missouri, where the half-dovetail was so commonly used that when it occurred in Texas, some locals called it the "Missouri notch." In addition the 1900 Census indicates that thirty-four parents of Utah homesteaders were English immigrants.

A.E. Kendrew, commissioned by the Jackson Hole Preserve in 1943 to survey Jackson Hole historic sites, provides additional detail on the specifics of Jackson Hole construction. In describing Menor's Ferry, Kendrew writes:

Mr. Menor was a bachelor of some means who was able to purchase better materials than the average settler, hence, it is possible that tar paper was originally used between the roof boards instead of tree bark and earth which was the common method of roofing. Nails were hard to get, but "wire" nails were more generally available than "cut nails. The nearest market was at Lake, now Roberts, Idaho. Milled lumber (rough sawn — very rough) cost \$8.00 per M. Window sash was usually purchased at the market and canvas was sometimes used in the windows. . . . Regarding the daubing materials, after the advent of lime there was a theory that sand from ant hills was the best aggregate. Some of this type still exists at the main ferry buildings. Evidently this theory was not sound.<sup>14</sup>

John Daughtery's study, *A Place Called Jackson Hole*, describes the area as one with limited construction technology, heavily dependent on hand tools and hand labor in building construction. The need to economize also motivated early settlers to rely on their own carpentry skills, those of their neighbors or a local carpenter. The quality of construction often depended on the skill of the builder and the function for which the structure was intended. A homesteader would invest more time and economic resources in the building of a permanent home, for example, than in the construction of a temporary dwelling or outbuilding. In Jackson Hole, the simple round log cabin is more commonly found than the hewn log house, presumably because of the relatively recent date settlement occurred in the area. By the time the homesteader was ready to construct a more permanent home, modern materials were readily available and framed styles of housing were usually built.

The census of 1900 indicates there were 386 people living in the Jackson Hole Precinct. Three men listed their occupations as carpenters: Abe F. Sheriman, age 38, born in Indiana; Ely Bradley, age 37, born in Pennsylvania; James

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<sup>14</sup> A. E. Kendrew, "Menor's Ferry, Moose Wyoming; Conference with Mr. Richard Winger, Mr. Budge, Sr., and A. E. Kendrew," July 25, 1942, folder "Kendrew Report," GRTE files, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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Schofield, age 43, born in Iowa. The Census indicates that all had been unemployed 1, 6, and 12 months respectively when the census was taken. A Swedish stonemason, George M. Matson, had also been unemployed for 10 months. None of these men were listed on the Census of 1910, which recorded Jackson Hole Precinct's population as 163. Four carpenters were listed at that time, all employed: Claude D. Reed, age 40, born in Illinois; Arthur B. Cole, age 33, born in Nebraska; John M. Rutherford, age 56, born in Tennessee; and Willard C. Miner, age 53, born in Indiana. All were listed as white males.

In the earlier settlement period, logs are the primary building material used in construction. These buildings either had no foundations (built on grade) or had random or roughly shaped fieldstone foundations or cornerstones. Walls of logs structures exhibit the use of dressed logs or half logs with saddle or half notching. Chinking is often done with lathe or quarter poles; daubing with mud or mortar. Two roof styles predominate: end gabling of various pitches and shed roofs being the most commonly encountered. Nearly all have exposed purlin tips. Non-log structures occur in the later part of the period and usually are frame buildings with vertical board and batten walls. Roof surfaces today tend to be wood planks, however rolled asphalt or tar paper may have been used at one time for a covering. The interiors generally have wood plank floors with dressed log walls also serving as both the interior and exterior walls. Most buildings in this category exhibit a rectangular ground plan. Vernacular resources in the Park display a diversity in size, dependant on intended usages and economic constraints on the builder. While core volumes vary, most tend to be one or one and one half stories in height, barns being the exception. Examples of early vernacular buildings in Grand Teton National Park include buildings at Menor's Ferry Complex, the Manges Cabin, the Cunningham Cabin and the Andy Chambers Ranch (Mormon Row).

### Vernacular Architecture in Jackson Hole, ca. 1927-World War II

During the transitional phase (ca. 1927-WWII) developments in Jackson Hole were strongly influenced by both local personages, such as John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and decisions made in Washington D.C. that led to the creation in 1929 of Grand Teton National Park. Vernacular architecture experienced a number of changes during this period. While the popularity of logs as a building material continued, the introduction of mail order components, such as pre-manufactured windows and doors, is notable. The use of non-log wood construction became more common. There was even some use of stucco on the exterior surfaces of buildings. The introduction of different building materials however did not significantly alter the basic building designs, a rectangular plan with one to one and one half story being the usual height and gable roofs remaining the most popular.

Vernacular buildings from the early period were also preserved out of practical concerns. Log cabins in particular have often been "recycled" for other uses when they outlived their residential function, such as when a homesteader had sufficient resources to build a more modern home. A cabin once lived in might become a saddle house, a chicken coop,

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or a storage shed. In the case of lands purchased during the Rockefeller buyout, perhaps the most practical and profitable re-use was as tourist cabins.

Area carpenters, c. 1920-1940, included the Nelson brothers — Albert, Neal, Otto and Charlie — who formed the Nelson Brothers Construction Company; Johnny Woodward (born in Nebraska, 1872, d. 1952), who began homesteading in Jackson Hole in 1902; Joseph A. Nethercott; and George Lamb and Ray Reed, who formed a contractor/carpenter partnership that existed c. 1920-1935.

During the second period (1920-WWII) two variations of vernacular buildings can be found in the Park: those reflecting continued use of logs as primary material, and those using milled lumber rather than logs. In areas controlled by National Park Service for many years (the heart of the park) vernacular buildings are rare, while in the peripheral areas south and east of Moose they are much more common. Vernacular log buildings of this period are exemplified by more extensive foundation work, most often concrete or fieldstone/river cobbles set in concrete. The walls are exclusively dressed or rough hewn logs with either saddle notches, or false corner timbering as corner treatments. Roofs vary but shed and gabled treatments are the most frequently encountered. Roof surfaces span the gamut from wood planks to asphalt rolled roofing and shingles to metal caps, either tar and aggregate covered, or uncovered. Examples of architecture from this period include buildings at Aspen Ridge Ranch (the Smith-Talbot property) and in the town of Kelly.

Kelly offers the most diverse sample of non-log vernacular architecture as well. The non-log vernacular architecture of this period includes very few non-wood buildings. However, under the general category of wood the wall treatments vary from novelty log siding resembling logs, to modern pressboard/weatherboard horizontal siding. Board and batten and plywood also have been used for exterior walls. Most are on wood balloon frames with the framing varying in complexity from corner posts on small storage sheds and outhouses to more elaborate systems typical of post World War I and particularly Post World War II residential construction. As with all Grand Teton vernacular architecture, interior trim is minimal. Foundations on the non-log vernacular architecture tend to be concrete or stone set in concrete with only a few basements or cellars apparent. Gable and shed roofs dominate with surfaces including tar and aggregate, rolled asphalt roofing, asphalt shingles, wood shingles or planks as the most predominate surfaces. A few examples were noted in which earlier log structures had additions with walls of more recent type construction. The additions made to buildings of this period often extend the rectangular plan to form "L" and "T" plans, exemplified by the main lodge at the Bar BC Dude Ranch.

### Rocky Mountain Rustic Architecture

As hobby ranches, dude ranches, and tourist homes mark the culmination of the settlement context in Jackson Hole, so the formal Rocky Mountain Rustic style evolved from pioneer vernacular. Development of Rustic design

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within Grand Teton National Park coincides with the growth of the Dude Ranch industry and the arrival of hobby ranchers and those constructing vacation homes. Both Rustic architecture and its vernacular predecessor were characterized by the use of native timber and stone and were constructed by local craftsman using traditional building techniques; many of the construction styles discussed above (see vernacular architecture) were also employed in formal rustic construction. Pioneer vernacular, however, was a practical response to environmental and economic dictates while formal Rustic architecture represented the deliberate attempt -- usually an architect's deliberate attempt -- to convey historical images and to meld man-made resources with their wilderness environment.

The distinction between vernacular and Rustic architecture, however, is not simply psychological, economic, or chronological. Within the Rocky Mountain states, hobby ranchers, seasonal residents, and dude-ranch operators built vernacular buildings -- structures that were not designed by an architect, that did not employ abundant ornamentation, and that part of the vernacular architecture of late-period settlement (within Grand Teton, ca. 1927-WWII). These buildings, such as Leek's Lodge and the residence and barn at Grand Teton's Aspen Ridge Ranch, fall within -- and should be evaluated within -- the vernacular, rather than the Rustic, tradition (see property types, below).

Originating in the Adirondack region of up-state New York, Rustic style "brought us back to the woods."<sup>15</sup> The style took a variety of forms, from the exaggerated and extravagant opulence of the architect-designed Great Camps of the Adirondacks and the lodges of the Rocky Mountain national parks (where "comfort and luxury coexisted with a vague concept of 'roughing it'"), to the dude ranches -- opulent or simple -- where rustic style was as much a marketing device as a reflection of personal taste -- to small unspectacular buildings demonstrating decorative use of stone, lodgepole, roots, antlers, and stones.<sup>16</sup>

The emphasis on local materials and local craftsman assured that a variety of regional styles evolved under the larger umbrella of Rustic architecture. Use of gnarled rhododendron roots characterize Rustic architecture of the Appalachian Mountains, while willow-twig and birch-bark cladding dominate in Adirondack style and that of the upper Minnesota and Great Lakes region. In the Rocky Mountain States,

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<sup>15</sup> Harvey H. Kaiser, *Great Camps of the Adirondacks* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1982), p. 2; Kylloe, *Rustic Traditions*, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Kaiser, *Great Camps of the Adirondacks*, p. xiii. See NPS-Rustic Architecture, Administration Context, and Dude-Ranch Architecture, Dude Ranching and Tourism Context, for a discussion of rustic architecture as developed by NPS-regulated concessioners and by dude ranches and auto camps.

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evoked by tourist-inspired, great park lodges and the working ranch turned resort, a western style evolved that laid claim to the instruments and products of genuine cowboy and Indian culture . . . This style was as much or more a function of interior design as it was of exterior architecture, and colorful navajo blankets and beadwork, cowhide and tanned leather, horns, iron accessories, Indian artifacts and, of course, rustic furniture were all important ingredients.<sup>17</sup>

Rustic design, as applied to furniture and other elements of interior decor, was less obviously linked to pioneer construction techniques and vernacular architecture: "rustic, at least as applied to furniture, does not mean naive. Nor is it necessarily a country style. The words most often used to describe it are 'urban fantasy.'" More than any other individual, Cody, Wyoming furniture-maker Thomas Molesworth defined Rocky Mountain rustic furniture, "taking the vernacular and giving it distinction" through the interpretation of western elements in sophisticated ways, and through integration of architecture, interior design, and furnishings in a manner reminiscent of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Molesworth established his Shoshone Furniture Co. in 1931; in 1937 Abercrombie and Fitch Co. displayed his "dude ranch" collection in their New York showroom.<sup>18</sup>

In Jackson Hole — former hunting ground of the Gros Ventre Indians, former trapping ground of legendary trappers John Colter and David Jackson, at the center of the cattle frontier, site of the West's most famous dude ranches and many of its most opulent vacation homes — Rocky Mountain Rustic architecture may have found its most famous expression. Examples abound, including the massive-log construction, massive stone fireplaces, knotty-pine paneling, custom doors, burlled-log stair bannisters, and hand-worked wrought iron hardware at the architect-designed Hunter Hereford Ranch and the AMK Ranch.

Within Grand Teton National Park, the Rockefeller family's JY Ranch, the Hunter Hereford Ranch, the AMK Ranch, and the Brinkerhoff are known to be architect-designed. Eber Piers, for example, designed the residence, the barn, the guest cabin, and the servant's residence at the Hunter Hereford Ranch. Piers, who worked out of Ogden, Utah, has been identified by Dr. Goss of the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, as one of the three major "Prairie Style" architects in the intermountain region; the Hunter Hereford Ranch appears to be his only contribution to Rustic Architecture. A friend of the Hunters, Piers took payment in "room and board" while

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<sup>17</sup> Cindy Teipner-Thiede and Arthur Thiede, *The Log Home Book* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith Publisher, 1993).

<sup>18</sup> Wally Reber & Paul Fees, "Interior West: The Craft & Style of Thomas Molesworth, in *Furnishings from Thomas Molesworth's "Old Lodge" for George Summers, circa 1935*, New York: Christies Auction House, June 7, 1995, pp. 12-16.

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vacationing at the ranch. Local craftsmen, the Nelson Brothers, constructed the buildings.<sup>19</sup> (Three of the four primary Piers-designed Hunter Hereford Ranch buildings have been moved from the ranch to other sites within the park [Teton Science School and the Climbers' Ranch].)

Examples of cowboy rustic furnishings are also abundant, most notably at "The Brinkerhoff." In 1947, wealthy oil executive Zach Brinkerhoff furnished his new, Rustic, architect-designed vacation home with Molesworth furniture. Molesworth was also involved in the interior design of the Hunter-Hereford Ranch residence and guest house and Rockefeller's JY Ranch (the later is a private inholding excluded from the current study).

### Context B. Conservation of the Teton Range and Jackson Hole, 1897-1950

*"It is a park not of chance, but of man's design."<sup>20</sup>*

Like the rest of the national park system, Grand Teton National Park attests to Americans' concern for their natural and cultural heritage. Yet to a unique degree, the Teton Range and Jackson Hole served as a testing ground for America's wilderness preservation forces, and the park's creation and expansion represented a triumph and a coming-of-age for the wilderness movement. The period of significance for the conservation context extends from the 1897 creation of the Teton National Forest until the 1950 extension of Grand Teton National Park.

#### Teton National Forest

Located immediately south of Yellowstone National Park, Grand Teton has long been in the national spotlight for conservation causes. In 1897, under the authority granted by the 1891 General Revision and Forest Reserve acts, President Grover Cleveland set aside Teton National Forest in an attempt to foster sound forestry practices, to control grazing, and to protect wildlife. One year later, in 1898, United States Geological Survey director Charles D. Walcott proposed either extension of Yellowstone National Park to incorporate the Teton Range and Jackson Hole, *or* establishment of an independent Teton National Park. These options both provided protection for the Yellowstone elk herd and protection for the rare beauty of the Tetons. Congress ignored Walcott's recommendation and similar recommendations made in 1902.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Rheby Massey, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer, to Mr. Stark, GRTE, n.d. (ca. July 1991), File: "Hunter Hereford Ranch," Lands Files, Mail and File Room, GRTE Headquarters.

<sup>20</sup> Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, p. 152.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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National Park Service Director Stephen Mather, Yellowstone National Park Superintendent Horace Albright, and Wyoming Congressman Frank Mondell revised the Teton Question in 1918, when they fashioned and introduced HR 1161 — a bill to include the Teton Range, Jackson Lake, the "String Lakes" (Jenny, Leigh, and String, most often referred to as the "String Lakes"), and the Thorofare area within the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park. In a classic case of legislative maneuvering, fueled in large part by Idaho sheepmen's opposition to any park extension, the bill failed.<sup>21</sup>

By the mid-1920s, the NPS had gained important allies. In 1923, at Maud Noble's cabin at Menor's Ferry, Albright met with area dude ranchers Struthers Burt and Horace Carncross, Jackson businessman Joe Jones, rancher Jack Eynon, newspaper owner Dick Winger, and Noble. Here they articulated their concern for the region — concern escalated by increased automobile ownership, increased travel, and increased commercial development along the shores of the String Lakes. Although the group espoused protection rather than preservation, they agreed generally on the creation of what Burt called a "museum on the hoof," a museum to include the mountains *and* Jackson Hole, where the frontier heritage and natural beauty of the region would be protected through careful zoning and the implementation of rustic architectural guidelines (log construction).<sup>22</sup>

Implementation of the "Jackson Hole Plan" outlined at Noble's cabin was dependent upon wealthy patrons, willing and able to purchase Jackson Hole lands that would then be deeded or gifted to Congress or the state for addition to the public land system. The plan was also dependent upon a modicum of popular support. In 1925, with publication of a Petition of Jackson Hole Landowners, members of the dude ranch and business community publicly articulated their support for a Teton recreation area, administered "through whatever agency, state or national, is considered best to do it. This region," they wrote, "will find its highest use as a playground . . . typical of the west, for the education and enjoyment of the nation, as a whole."<sup>24</sup>

### Establishment of Grand Teton National Park, 1929-1950

Protection advocates realized only a small victory on February 26, 1929 when President Calvin Coolidge signed a bill establishing Grand Teton National Park. Historian John Ise would later term this half-a-park, "a stingy, skimpy, niggardly little park" that incorporated only the mountain summits — void of exploitable minerals and

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 33-34.

<sup>24</sup> Jackson Hole Petition, quoted in Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, "Proposal for Historic Teton Properties," n.d., on file at the WY SHPO office, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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naturally protected from development by their rugged topography — and so little of the morainal-lakes shoreline as to invite private development along the park boundary. Efforts to preserve the larger Jackson Hole continued.<sup>25</sup>

In 1926, Albright guided businessman and philanthropist John D. Rockefeller, Jr., his wife, and three of their sons south through Yellowstone to Jackson Hole. The group stopped for lunch on a hill overlooking Jackson Lake, the Teton Range, and the "tawdry" commercialism that encroached upon the String Lakes: "it was a . . . view destined to have a lasting impression on Rockefeller." Returning to Yellowstone, they stopped at Hedrick's Point, overlooking the mountains, Snake River, and Jackson Hole. From here, historian Robert Righter speculates that Rockefeller may silently have committed to a plan to preserve not only the Teton Range but also the adjacent sagebrush flats that provided such startling contrast to the abrupt ascension of the mountains, supplied critical range for the area's wildlife, and defined the area's frontier/ranching heritage.<sup>26</sup>

Soon after this tour, Rockefeller and his advisor Kenneth Chorley requested maps detailing privately-held lands in Jackson Hole. In 1927, Rockefeller founded the Snake River Land Company (SRLC), directed by Vanderbilt Webb and Harold Fabian, for the express purpose of purchasing privately held lands within Jackson Hole for donation to the National Park Service. A conservation battle of epic proportions had begun.

By the time the battle ended in 1950, Rockefeller had purchased over 32,000 acres of land at a price approaching \$1,500,000. An additional 2,000 acres were secured through the relinquishment of unperfected homestead entries, and countless other acres never left the public domain as the SRLC successfully lobbied the General Land Office and President Coolidge to close all Jackson Hole lands to homestead entry (Executive Order No. 4685, July 7, 1927).<sup>27</sup>

For over twenty years, the NPS, the Snake River Land Company, and SRLC successor the Jackson Hole Preserve battled with the United States Forest Service, the state of Wyoming, local businessmen, area ranchers, and (ironically) the National Park Association, for the right to define the future of Jackson Hole.<sup>28</sup> The *Jackson Hole*

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<sup>25</sup> John Ise, quoted in Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> National Park Service, *The Proposal to Extend the Boundaries of Grand Teton National Park* (Washington D.C.: NPS, July, 1938), p. 15; Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, p. 53.

<sup>28</sup> See Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, for a detailed discussion of this effort.

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*Courier*, which tentatively supported the SRLC's plan, and the *Grand Teton*, a one-theme, anti-park "master of insult newspaper," provided the literary battleground. Historian Robert Righter writes

Certainly no combination could be more open to local criticism than the Park Service in collusion with eastern private wealth . . . the "no use" philosophy of the Park Service was anathema to all that they understood about individualism and opportunity in America. Furthermore, revelation of Rockefeller's relationship with the project brought into sharp focus the economic conflict between one of America's most wealthy and influential families and the struggling homesteaders and ranchers of Jackson Hole: a clear case of great wealth amassed against the little man.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast to NPS policies of conservation, the United States Forest Service stressed their adherence to recreation *and* economic development, promising additional summer home sites along the shores of Jackson Lake, a sustainable timber harvest, and continued use of the range. Under NPS management, area ranchers predicted the loss of their range land and their livelihood. Area businessmen, state officials, and the stockmen associations predicted devastation of the local economy commensurate with the predicted failure of the ranching industry. County officials warned of the loss of taxable private lands.<sup>30</sup>

Struthers Burt, the voice for many of those local residents who supported the SRLC/NPS plan, countered this local hostility by arguing that three quarters of the land purchased by the SRLC was not "worth one cent to its owners, the county, or the state." Jackson Hole's prosperity lay in dude ranching, he maintained, in America's fascination with the West, and in the economic exploitation of Jackson Hole's frontier heritage. The SRLC, the NPS, and their supporters also played the prosperity card, arguing that preservation of the scenery and of the western scene would bring tourist dollars.<sup>31</sup>

The National Park Association, a private conservation "watchdog" association committed to defending national park standards, opposed extension of the park on philosophical grounds. In 1906, the Bureau of Reclamation had dammed Jackson Lake, creating a storage reservoir allowing water distribution to sugar beet farmers on southern Idaho's Minidoka Project — and also irretrievably altering the shoreline of the lake and causing the die-off of over 7,000 acres of lodgepole pine. The 1913 construction of O'Shaughnessy Dam in Yosemite National Park's Hetch-Hetchy Valley had been a serious blow to the preservation community; to not only allow but to strive for inclusion

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<sup>29</sup> Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, passim.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.



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Wyoming Congressman Frank Barrett introduced his last anti-monument bill — HR 1330 — statements of support for the monument outnumbered those of opposition. On January 19, 1948, HR 1330 was stricken from the congressional calendar, and on September 14, 1950, President Truman signed the act for the abolishment of Grand Teton National Monument and for incorporation of all former monument lands within the boundaries of an expanded Grand Teton National Park. This act allowed for the perpetuation of existing grazing leases and for 30 annual payments to Teton County to offset diminishment of the tax base.<sup>36</sup>

As early as 1943, with the official establishment of the monument, NPS and Jackson Hole Preserve (JHP) officials had turned their attention to land management. NPS Director Newton Drury argued that pristine nature should take precedence over historic values in the monument/proposed park. Rockefeller, Albright, and area dude ranchers maintained (as they had since the 1920s) that the area was of value not only for its scenery but also for its western frontier landscape. In 1944, in response to Drury's proposed elimination of the JHP's Elk Ranch, Kenneth Chorley reminded and extolled Drury that "Mr. Rockefeller . . . had in mind perpetuating the picturesque features of Jackson Hole as a cattle country."<sup>37</sup> And, at the 1948 dedication ceremonies for the Jackson Hole Wildlife Park, Laurence Rockefeller reminded those gathered that

. . . when my father first visited Jackson Hole his imagination was fired as much by the valley and its history symbolizing the winning of the West, as by the valley's unique scenic and wilderness area . . . I am confident in the belief that as time goes by all interested persons, as well as state and federal agencies, will achieve by experience and mutual understanding a unity of purpose that will assure for many generations to come the preservation of our unique and inspiring heritage here in Jackson Hole.<sup>38</sup>

Between 1942 and 1945, A. E. Kendrew of the Jackson Hole Preserve inventoried the historic resources located on land owned by JHP and destined for inclusion within the national park system. Kendrew highlighted the Elk Ranch, Cunningham Cabin, Menor's Ferry, Manges Cabin, the Chapel of the Transfiguration, and the Bar BC dude ranch as outstanding physical representations of the region's frontier history that might meet the park service's infrastructure needs or interpretive goals. (Kendrew tempered this evaluation with the admonition that the evaluation of significant resources would change over time and as resources became more scarce.) Beginning in the 1930s, those area properties deemed nonrepresentative, extraneous, incompatible with environmental protection or with the desired architectural style, or unsuitable for adaptation to park service or concession use, were

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<sup>36</sup> Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, pp. 138-140.

<sup>37</sup> Kenneth Chorley, quoted in Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, p. 128.

<sup>38</sup> Laurence Rockefeller, quoted in Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, "Proposal for Historic Teton Properties," n.d., on file at the WY SHPO office, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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destroyed or moved. In 1936, a geographer flying over Jackson Hole reported "a large part of the settlement has now been removed from this territory, removed so completely that only when viewed from the air or from the summit of the buttes can the faint traces of occupancy be discerned."<sup>39</sup>

The conflict between natural and cultural resources has continued within Grand Teton National Park. Park officials struggle to realize their congressional mandate to "preserve and protect" the natural environment while simultaneously respecting the cultural impetus behind the park's creation and addressing the concerns of the local community, the interests of the traveling public, and the legal obligations to identify and to protect the park's significant cultural resources.

### Context C. Park Administration and Development, 1929-1950

The Park Administration and Development context addresses federal (National Park Service) administration of Grand Teton National Park, from its inception in 1929, through the 1943 establishment of the Grand Teton National Monument, to the 1950 extension of park boundaries. Significant sub-themes include Depression Era construction efforts, when PWA funds allowed for a dramatic increase in park infrastructure, and National Park Service Rustic Architecture, design guidelines dictating the character and scope of man-made resources in a wilderness setting.

On June 4, 1929, Grand Teton National Park Superintendent Sam T. Woodring visited the nascent park for the first time. Encountering heavy snow on a rudimentary road system, Woodring abandoned his car at Victor, Idaho and proceeded over Teton Pass by sleigh and by foot. Once arrived, Woodring and his small staff established a temporary park headquarters, first in canvas tents (July-August) and, as winter approached, at the Snake River Land Company's Elbo Ranch where existing buildings were converted to a residence/office, a work shop, and a blacksmith shop (non-extant). From this base Woodring attempted to "establish friendly relations" with a distrustful local community and began preliminary surveys of the park's infrastructure needs.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Unidentified source quoted in Kathy L. McKoy, "Homesteading Context for Grand Teton National Park," 1991, draft report on file at the NPS Intermountain Field Office, Denver, Colorado.

<sup>40</sup> Sam T. Woodring, Superintendent, to The Director, National Park Service, July 4, 1929, October 11, 1929, January 6, 1930, Monthly Reports (1929-1931), Grand Teton National Park Archives (at Beaver Creek), Moose, Wyoming (hereinafter GRTE Archives).

The park headquarters were moved to the USFS-constructed Stewart Ranger Station (½ mile south of the Elbo Ranch), in December of 1931. In 1934, park personnel relocated once again, to the newly constructed Beaver Creek Headquarters.

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These needs were enormous. Woodring focused first on development of "one of the greatest trail systems in the country" — a Skyline Trail linking the spectacular lakes of the front country with Granite, Indian Paintbrush, Death and Cascade Canyons.<sup>41</sup> A fire-trail system, constructed at lower standards, to less spectacular and less accessible backcountry, would complement this tourist trail system. Along the trails, Woodring noted the need for shelters, fire caches, snowshoe cabins, and maintenance/patrol cabins. These resources were to be kept to a minimum, so as to "preserve the rugged mountain character." Within the front country, infrastructure needs included an improved road network, a permanent headquarters facility to replace the begged and borrowed encampments, a museum/visitor center, entrance gates at the primary east, north, and south access points, campgrounds and "comfort stations," ranger stations, and a park-service controlled concession village. Woodring and landscape architects from the National Park Service's Branch of Plans and Design in San Francisco articulated these needs on the first Grand Teton General Development Plan.<sup>42</sup>

Of these development plans, mandated for all parks in 1929 and renamed master plans in 1932, landscape architect Thomas Vint wrote:

It is like any other job of planning the use of land for human enjoyment. It is necessary to know the land involved thoroughly, to know how people are to use it, and about how many will use it at one time . . . . Then to make it a reality, all that is needed is to finance and build.<sup>43</sup>

Between 1930 and 1933, financing materialized only sporadically. A 1930 Road and Trail appropriation resulted in the delivery of a tractor, compressors, camp stoves, jack hammers, and miscellaneous heavy equipment, as well as the funds needed to let contracts to local crews. With this and a subsequent appropriation, Woodring directed construction of a trail around Jenny Lake, reconstruction of existing United States Forest Service trails to Taggart Lake, Bradley Lake, and Teton Glacier (routes described by Woodring as "poorly located" along the trail of least resistance), and initiated construction of the Skyline Trail. Additional accomplishments included construction of the White Grass Ranger Station at the south end of the park, construction of a comfort station at Jenny Lake, conversion of a homesteader's cabin at the foot of Granite Canyon to a patrol cabin, removal of the "antiquated

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<sup>41</sup> Sam T. Woodring, Superintendent, to The Director, National Park Service, July 4, 1929, Monthly Reports (1929-1931), GRTE Archives.

<sup>42</sup> Sam T. Woodring, Superintendent, to The Director, National Park Service, July 4, 1929, Monthly Reports (1929-1931), GRTE Archives; Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service 1916 to 1942* (USDI NPS: Interagency Resources Division, National Register of Historic Places, 1993), p. 173.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Vint, quoted in McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service 1916 to 1942*.

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and unsightly" Jenny Lake Inn from the shores of Jenny Lake, removal of the Lee Mangus cabin to Jenny Lake where it was converted to a visitor center/museum, and the initiation of clean-up tasks along Jackson Lake (outside the park). Yet other tasks remained uncompleted, as Woodring pleaded for additional staff, additional equipment, and additional funding.<sup>44</sup>

Congress appropriated this finding in response to the Great Depression and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal. On June 16, 1933, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 6174 establishing the Public Works Administration (PWA) under the authority of Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act. PWA appropriations funded capital improvement projects to be performed by private contractors to federal standards. Between 1933-1938, these appropriations included \$17,059,450 to the National Park Service Roads and Trails fund and \$2,145,000 to its general Capital Improvement program.<sup>45</sup>

On March 31, 1933, President Roosevelt signed the Federal Unemployment Relief Act, which included Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) monies needed to fund the deployment of a corps of unemployed and generally unskilled civilian men to our national parks, national forests, and state lands: a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Roosevelt extolled the value of the corps program in terms both of direct benefit to our national parks and forests and indirect benefit to our national psyche:

the training of these young men in woodsman craft and an appreciation of honest labor go hand in hand. We shall expect them to do a fair day's work . . . in turn we want to contribute to their self-respect and to give them a wholesome outlook on life . . . We hope to send them back to their homes . . . to carry . . . a love of nature and active desire to help protect and perpetuate the nation's most valued scenic area, the national parks.<sup>46</sup>

During June of 1933, three CCC camps of 231 men each were established in and near Grand Teton National Park — at Beaver Dick Lake, on the north shore of Jackson Lake, and on the east shore of Jackson Lake. These, and subsequent camps constructed at Hot Springs, Jenny Lake, and Cottonwood Creek, consisted of canvas tents

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<sup>44</sup> Sam T. Woodring, Superintendent, to The Director, National Park Service, June 3, 1930, July 7, 1930, October 11, 1930, September 4, 1931, Monthly Reports (1929-1931), GRTE Archives; Sam T. Woodring, *Annual Report*, 1931, GRTE Archives.

<sup>45</sup> McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, p. 196.

<sup>46</sup> Owen Tomlinson, quoted in McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, p. 201.

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arranged barracks style, in neat rows anchored by the more substantial CCC-constructed mess halls and shower houses. Spike camps established near construction sites augmented these central camps.<sup>47</sup>

In the realization of Roosevelt's most intangible goal, park superintendent Woodring reported that the Teton camps were effective. By the end of the 1933 season:

the boys were well organized and interested in their work, and were accomplishing practically as much as could have been done with ordinary labor. During their 4-month stay all of these boys showed decided improvement in morale and in physical condition.<sup>48</sup>

More concretely, the investment of PWA funds and CCC crews in Grand Teton National Park between 1933 and 1941 greatly reduced local unemployment and resulted in virtual completion of the 1929 GRTE General Development Plan and the 1933 and 1936 master plans. These plans centered around the pace and tone of backcountry development, management and redevelopment of the Jenny, Leigh, and String lakes region, and construction of the basic administrative, residential, and maintenance facilities needed to administer the park.

Although assisted by the CCC, local crews hired with PWA funds assumed primary responsibility for improvement of the road and trail systems, most notably for the completion of the Skyline Trail around the main portion of the Teton Range. Road tasks included construction of secondary access roads to the newly developed administrative complex at Beaver Creek and to the new NPS campgrounds. In addition, the Teton Park Road extending from Moose, past the String Lakes, and on to Yellowstone (now known as the "inside road") was widened, oiled, and fitted with strategically placed turnouts. Park officials described the local economic impact of these projects as striking: "with many projects in progress throughout this region, there is practically no unemployment in the valley."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Woodring, *Annual Report*, 1933. In 1936, Hot Springs Camp #NP-3 (originally located on USFS land at Jackson Lake's "Hot Springs," was moved to an unidentified location with the park boundaries.

<sup>48</sup> Woodring, *Annual Report*, 1933, GRTE Archives.

<sup>49</sup> Guy D. Edwards, GRTE Superintendent, to The Director, NPS, July 7, 1936, File No. 207-02, Monthly Reports [Jan. 1936-1937]; Allyn F. Hanks, Supt. Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park, to John S. McLaughlin, Supt. GRTE, 12/21/1949, File 640, Box 5, GRTE Archives.

Former GRTE ranger Allyn F. Hanks remembered packers Tom Jump, Olin Emory, Bahrd Tanner, and Harvey Ferrin as "mighty important" to the backcountry program. Hanks also commended Shorty Davis "for the many hundreds of feet of hard rock he has jackhammered" and Al Austin, Ed Stafrin, and Jim Budge for "all around resourcefulness."

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The CCC was equally vital to local economic recovery. A minimum of six supervisors staffed each of the Teton camps. Locally Experienced Men (LEMs), skilled in rock work, log construction, fire fighting, or trail construction, directed all field work. As importantly, as many as a third of the men enrolled in area camps hailed from Wyoming and Idaho — "a considerable help to unemployment relief in this region."<sup>50</sup>

The Jackson Lake and Beaver Dick crews, and the LEMs hired to supervise their efforts, concentrated first on the shores of dammed Jackson Lake where they cleared 7000 acres of 17,000 cords of deadfall created when the lake was inundated (see Conservation Context). Although outside the park boundaries, this work would become the CCC's most visible and oft-mentioned Grand Teton bequest, resulting in an aesthetic (albeit artificial) lake that could be deemed worthy of inclusion within the expanded park and that testified to the park service's commitment to the protection of the region.<sup>51</sup>

Crews assigned to the Hot Spring camp (#NP-3, 1933-1941), Jenny Lake camp (#NP-4, 1935-1941), and to the Cottonwood Creek camp (#NP-5, 1937-1941) were generally assigned to in-park duties. Although initially relegated to the relatively low-skill tasks of fire prevention, fire suppression, landscaping, and insect control, CCC projects under LEM supervision quickly escalated to include building construction. At its dissolution in 1942, the CCC program in Grand Teton could boast of construction of maintenance/patrol cabins in Death and Cascade canyons — locations from which trail-construction crews and park rangers could "work in three directions, using [the cabins] as a working base." (A third cabin proposed for Indian Paintbrush Canyon was dismissed as "too close to the eastern park boundary and other points of proposed park development to be very effective.") At the behest of climbing concessioner Paul Petzoldt and of Superintendent Whitcraft CCC crews constructed a shelter cabin in Garnet Canyon. (This project was completed only after heated debate as to the wisdom of structures designed to efface "the rugged mountain character" of the Tetons.) Additional backcountry projects included construction of a snowshoe cabin at the head of Granite Canyon; phone lines from headquarters to Death Canyon, to White Grass Ranger Station, and to Moran Bay; and construction of the Alaska Basin, Phelps Lake, Moran Canyon, and Granite Canyon trails.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Woodring, *Annual Report*, 1933; Guy D. Edwards, GRTE Superintendent, to The Director, NPS, July 7, 1936, File No. 207-02, Monthly Reports [Jan. 1936-1937], GRTE Archives.

<sup>51</sup> Philip W. Kearney, Assistant Landscape Architect, "Report to Thomas C. Vint - Chief Architect - through the Superintendent - Grand Teton National Park - From May 1 to October 15, 1935, E.C.W. - Fifth Period," October 21, 1935, File: 1935 Report (1), Box D37, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Mammoth Hot Springs, Wyoming (YNPA); Thos. E. Whitcraft, GRTE Superintendent, to The Director, NPS, January 6, 1937, File No. 207-02, Monthly Reports [Jan. 1936-1937], GRTE Archives; Righter, *Crucible for Conservation*, p. 90.

<sup>52</sup> File: Master Plans, April 28, 1933 to June 30, 1946, *passim*, GRTE Archives.

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This backcountry system opened the backcountry to tourists, rangers, wildlife biologists, and the park's fire-suppression force. In a ca. 1936 description of its fire control plan, the park service also identified snowshoe/patrol cabins at Taggart Lake, Moran Bay, and Leigh Lake. It is not known if these buildings represented new construction or the reuse of existing USFS and privately constructed resources. Rockefeller's J-Y Ranch, adjacent to the park, served as an auxiliary fire center, equipped with a standard tool cache (3 pulaskis, 3 mattocks, 3 asphalt rakes, 3 lady shovels, 1 6' two-man saw, and one water bag) as well as a pumper and 2000 feet of fire hose. Through the 1930s, the park service relied upon "the cooperation of the Forest Service for . . . systematic and continuous lookout protection" from the forest-service controlled lookout at Signal Mountain. Construction of park-service controlled lookouts on Blacktail Butte, Spalding Bay, and Phelps Lake was proposed for the 1939 and 1940 construction seasons.<sup>53</sup>

Within the front country, CCC crews constructed the Beaver Creek Headquarters, including landscaping and water systems; repaired and reconstructed the Jenny Lake museum and visitor center; constructed campgrounds and comfort stations at Jenny, Leigh, and String lakes; developed a picnic ground at Beaver Dick Lake; obliterated the Leigh Lake truck trail; and constructed miscellaneous rustic trail signs, picnic tables, benches, campground fireplaces, and stone walls.<sup>54</sup>

To a limited degree, conservation concerns slowed this development. As early as the fall of 1933, the Regional Landscape Architect warned that "the construction of trails on the standards which they have been constructed has added destruction beyond any point which we would have considered." Conservationists, including park resident Olaus Murie and Wilderness Society founder Bob Marshall, voiced concern over many of the park service's 'New Deal' building programs, particularly the intensive road and trail building campaigns. By 1939, NPS Region Two Director Allen and Regional Landscape Architect Thomas Vint criticized the "damage being done by extensive use and development" in the String Lakes region and called for more rigid implementation of the general park service position that no additional developments (either concessioner or administrative) be permitted within the boundaries of the 1929 park.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> File: Master Plans, April 28, 1933 to June 30, 1946, passim, GRTE Archives; "Descriptive Matter to Accompany Fire Control Plan," n.d., GRTE Archives.

<sup>54</sup> File: Master Plans, April 28, 1933 to June 30, 1946, passim, GRTE Archives.

<sup>55</sup> Regional Landscape Architect, to the Regional Director, November 15, 1933, file: Master Plan April 28, 1933 to June 30, 1946, GRTE Archives; Greg Kendrick, "Olaus Murie: An Environmental Spokesman," pp. 103-104; S. R. Tripp, Jr. Executive Officer, to The Director, April 13, 1940, File: Master Plans, April 28, 1933 to June 30, 1946, GRTE Archives.

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Continued uncertainty over the future status and scope of Grand Teton National Park also delayed construction. Resident Landscape Architect Sanford Hill complained that "everything has been held back within the existing boundaries of the park due to the possible extension of the boundaries; . . . Until the Teton planning problem is simplified, either by elimination or accession of the land extension, it is difficult to make comments without a great many conditions developing with the various projects" (see Conservation Context). This impasse was felt strongly at the Beaver Creek Headquarters, where construction of badly needed office, shop, housing, and storage facilities was stalled in anticipation of development of a greatly expanded facility; at Jenny Lake, where consolidation of tourist accommodations in a central park-service controlled complex awaited the anticipated park expansion; and at the northern edge of the park, where NPS officials were reluctant to proceed without the acquiescence and financial support of the US Forest Service and the Wildlife Service.<sup>56</sup>

By 1941, conservation concerns and roadblocks to long-term comprehensive planning dovetailed with World War II reductions in the labor force and restrictions on all construction. On August 9, 1941, Region Two of the NPS issued a memorandum to all park supervisors, advising them that

in a move to make all possible material and effort available for immediate war production, top officials of the War Production Board and the War and Navy Departments have established broad principles governing all war-time construction which will bring such building under more rigid conservation control. The program means that no new plants will be built unless they are absolutely essential and can meet seven newly established criteria. This applies not only to direct war plants but to all other construction, both publicly and privately financed.

The seven criteria included a mandate that all new projects be essential to the war effort and that existing resources be adapted to current needs whenever possible. "Reuse" efforts included the salvage of wall panels and other materials from CCC buildings, for use in seasonal employee housing at headquarters. The mess hall and shower house associated with the abandoned Jenny Lake CCC Camp were retained for use by the saddle horse and climbing concessioners.<sup>57</sup>

The years 1943-1945 witnessed the end of World War II; the establishment of the Jackson Hole National Monument, to be administered by the National Park Service; and the onset of the final legislative battle for creation of an expanded park. Despite legal challenges to the monument, NPS planners turned their full attention to the expanded land base, where they had long anticipated a museum, an enlarged headquarters complex with a visitor

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<sup>56</sup> Sanford Hill, memorandum to the Regional Landscape Architect, Region II, November 30, 1939 and November 26, 1940, File: Master Plans April 28, 1933-June 30, 1946, GRTE Archives.

<sup>57</sup> Region Two Headquarters Memorandum, August 9, 1941, File: C.W.A - F.E.R.A. - S.E.R.A., GRTE Archives.

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center, significant NPS-controlled accommodation facilities, and a new primary park access road to be located east of the Snake River. These development priorities shared a common impetus: to relieve the congestion at the base of the mountains and the shores of the String Lakes. As Hill explained;

We have in . . . the Teton mountain trails, some of the most beneficial recreation, both mental and physical, that the public could desire . . . The impression we permit the public to form in the area around the small lakes determines how successful we are in encouraging them to avail themselves of the real values of the back country . . . We can not stress too strongly the need of a strong policy which will minimize the development in this area.<sup>58</sup>

Proposed museum sites (to replace the museum at Jenny Lake) included Colter Bay, Menor's Ferry, or Cunningham Cabin. Regardless of the location, this would serve as a place to identify and to interpret the geological, biological, and historical significance of a region "wherein earth building processes are displayed in spectacular form . . . , in which is found the essential elements of an outstanding wildlife sanctuary, [and which] better than any other symbolizes two periods of American History, the Fur Trade Era and that of Frontier Settlement."<sup>59</sup>

The new headquarters complex demanded by increased NPS responsibilities was proposed for Jackson, Moose, Moran, or Jackson Lake. Although Beaver Creek would continue to be used as an outpost station or sub-headquarters, Hill maintained that the general policy of minimizing all development on the west side of the river "should automatically eliminate any consideration of retaining the present headquarters area in any long range planning program." Hill preferred the Jackson site, outside the park boundaries, because it eliminated a large development in the park and simplified winter administration. GRTE Superintendent Smith and others in the regional office preferred the Moose site, which provided a strong administrative presence within the park, was accessible during the winter, yet was removed from the sensitive String Lakes. Both the Moran and Jackson Lake sites (isolated at the north end of the proposed park, within an area of early and heavy snowfall) would necessitate a secondary winter office in Jackson. Neither was considered seriously.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Sanford Hill, memorandum to the Regional Landscape Architect, Region Two, November 26, 1940, File: Master Plans April 28, 1935-June 30, 1946, GRTE Archives.

<sup>59</sup> "A Museum Prospectus for Grand Teton National Park and Jackson Hole National Monument," 1947, GRTE Archives.

<sup>60</sup> Sanford Hill, memorandum to the Regional Landscape Architect, Region II, November 26, 1940, File: Master Plans April 28, 1935-June 30, 1946, GRTE Archives.

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GRTE planners reached general agreement that the "main through highway of the circulation system should be on the west side of the Snake River." The "inside road" inspired greater debate. Hill preferred stage travel only, thus reducing traffic and underscoring the region's frontier heritage. Hill's plan

would necessitate the removal of all automobile roads, and while this may seem to be a radical change it will automatically solve the problem of development control [around the small lakes] . . . . The return of the stage will be sponsoring one of the most unique and interesting types of recreation in this country. It will demotorize the tourist, and provide a desirable change of pace for the traveler in surroundings of real western atmosphere . . . . The historical significance and the unique adventure involved are bound to be attractive to the people. . . . Any organization can sponsor swimming pools, auto camps, shelter and golf courses, but few have the unusual opportunity of preserving a part of the Old West as presents itself in the Jackson Hole country.<sup>61</sup>

Ultimately, the stage route was dropped from the GRTE master plans for the 1940s, in favor of retaining the inside road and constructing parking areas at the principal trail heads at Moose, Jenny Lake, String Lake, and Signal Mountain. A tentative proposal to improve the Wilson to Moose road as a secondary southern access road received scant attention.<sup>62</sup>

Concentrated accommodation facilities were proposed for the shores of Jackson Lake, where they would be easily accessible from Yellowstone National Park and where they would compliment the proposed boat concession. This facility was ultimately designed by Gilbert Stanley Underwood, approved by park service architects, and paid for by the park's accommodation concessioner, the Grand Teton Lodge Company (of which J. D. Rockefeller was the principal shareholder).<sup>63</sup>

Implementation of this development program coincided with (or, some argue, inspired) the system-wide "Mission 66" program. Implemented in 1956 and aimed at the 1966, 50-year anniversary of the National Park Service, "Mission 66" was necessitated by "the growth of cities, the shorter work week, the advent of the family car, good

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<sup>61</sup> Sanford Hill, "A Plan for Teton," n.d., n.p., File: A Plan For Teton, GRTE Archives.

<sup>62</sup> Chas. J. Smith, GRTE Superintendent, "Adaptation of 'A Plan for Teton'" [title assigned by HRA], April 7, 1941, n.p., File: A Plan for Teton, no box #, GRTE Archives.

<sup>63</sup> Sanford Hill, memorandum to the Regional Landscape Architect, Region Two, November 26, 1940, File: Master Plans April 28, 1935-June 30, 1946, GRTE Archives.

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roads across the country" and the ensuing wave of visitors to ill-prepared national parks.<sup>64</sup> Implementation of Mission 66 included an

intensive study of the problems of protection, public use, interpretation, development, staffing, legislation, financing, and all other phases of park operation; and [was intended] to produce a comprehensive and integrated program of use and protection that will harmonize with the Service's obligations under the [National Park Service] Act of 1916.<sup>65</sup>

However, the service's obligations under the Act of 1916 had always inspired debate. The continued conflict between development of a pleasure ground and preservation of park resources — including the resources of wilderness and solitude — infused the "Mission 66" era. Development advocates struggled to expand administrative and interpretive facilities, to improve recreation options, and to increase "bed counts" in order to provide for the 80,000,000 national park visitors expected in 1966. Simultaneously, preservationists, both inside and outside of the federal bureaucracy, argued that the national parks were becoming "resorts" cluttered with "'contemporary' buildings of freak and austere design" when they were designed to be preserved as "wilderness."<sup>66</sup>

#### National Park Service Rustic Architecture

Criticism of Mission 66 development derived not only from the pace and volume of development but from use of a modern architectural style that deviated from the park service's architectural tradition. The roots of Rustic architecture in the national parks trace to many sources. Buildings that predate the creation of the park service, such as the Great Camps of the Adirondacks (ca. 1870-1930), Robert Reamer's Old Faithful Inn (Yellowstone National Park, 1904), and the turn-of-the-century-magazine *The Craftsman* popularized the Rustic style. Following the establishment of the National Park Service (1916) and its Landscape Division (1919), park service officials attempted to reconcile the incongruities of man-made improvements within national parks by the development of

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<sup>64</sup> "The U.S. is Outgrowing Its Parks," *U.S. News and World Report*, June 10, 1955, p. 79.

<sup>65</sup> Lon Garrison, "Mission 66" *National Parks Magazine*, July-September, 1955, p. 107. The national park system, designed for 25 million visitors a year, would receive in excess of 80 million visitors a year by the mid-1960s. Between 1940 and 1954, visitation to Teton National Park increased 932 percent, to Olympia National Park, 664 percent and to Glacier National Park, 264 percent. *Report of the Director, NPS, to SI, 1954*, reprint from the *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, Department of the Interior (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1954), p. 334.

<sup>66</sup> Devereux Butcher, "Our National Parks In Jeopardy: Resorts or Wilderness?" *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1961, p. 45.

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a landscape-architecture philosophy and the development of an architectural style compatible with the natural and the cultural environment — parks' "pioneer history." First NPS Director Stephen Mather wrote

in the construction of roads, trails, buildings, and other improvements, particular attention must be devoted always to harmonizing of these improvements with the landscape. This is a most important item in our programs of development and requires the employment of trained engineers who either possess a knowledge of landscape architecture or have a proper appreciation of the esthetic value of park lands. All improvements will be carried out in accordance with a preconceived plan developed in special reference to the preservation of the landscape.<sup>67</sup>

By the 1920s, a park service "exaggerated rustic"<sup>68</sup> style had evolved, utilizing "pioneer log construction" in a construction style that

through the use of native materials in proper scale, and through the avoidance of rigid, straight lines and over sophistication, gives the feeling of having been executed by pioneer craftsmen with limited hand tools. It thus achieves sympathy with natural surroundings and with the past. Exaggerated-rustic buildings were most-often constructed of log, with chopper cut ends, large porch areas extending the building's horizontal line, shingled roofs (doubled every fifth course for texture), and extensive use of stone in chimneys, foundations, access paths, and porch columns.<sup>69</sup>

The principles of rustic design were applied not just to buildings but to all man-made intrusions upon the landscape. NPS landscape architects encouraged the protection and preservation of natural scenery, vistas, and vegetation; prohibited the importation of exotic plants; and used "naturalistic techniques in planting, rockwork, or logwork." (At Grand Teton, rock walls constructed at vista points were "built only with moss- or lichen-covered stones, which, with the planting of native shrubs and trees, made these vistas very inconspicuous from the lakes.")<sup>70</sup> The Landscape Division strongly urged the placement of "telephone wires underground. . .in developed areas as it becomes possible" (as at GRTE's Beaver Creek Headquarters). "Excessive clearing" during the course of trail construction or maintenance was discouraged; trail landscaping requirements included review by the Branch

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<sup>67</sup> Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, "Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s" (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1983), p.25.

<sup>68</sup>Tweed, et al., *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942*, p.96.

<sup>69</sup> Albert H. Good, Architectural Consultant, *Park and Recreation Structures, Part I - Administration and Basic Service Facilities*, (USDl NPS) 1938, pp. 4-5.

<sup>70</sup> Guy D. Edwards, GRTE Acting Superintendent, *Annual Report*, 1934, GRTE Archives.

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of Plans and Design and a commitment to limiting "evidence of construction outside the trail prism." Landscape architects strategically cleared vista points, as along the old Teton Park Road where "vistas were cut so that views may be had of the lake and mountains." Guard "rails," parapet walls, water bars, and bridges were to be constructed of locally-available stone and log in simple and unobtrusive designs. Buildings were to be constructed whenever possible at unobtrusive sites screened by topography or native vegetation. Large complexes, as at the Beaver Creek headquarters, were to be "laid out on a curved design to avoid the city street appearance."<sup>71</sup>

And rustic design principles were applied not just to NPS constructed resources but also to those constructed by park service concessioners. Within Grand Teton, the NPS Branch of Plans and Design was associated with the final design of Reimer's cabin at the Jenny Lake boat concession complex; with the placement and layout of the horse concession complex south of Jenny Lake; with the remodel and addition to Crandall's studio; and with the final design of the Jackson Lake Lodge.<sup>72</sup>

The first NPS buildings constructed at Grand Teton in 1930 and 1931 followed the national policy as interpreted by the park service's Branch of Plans and Design and later the Omaha, Nebraska, regional office. As a result the first patrol cabins, such as the White Grass Ranger Station, were built in the Rustic style by rangers and local contractors. Yet, as John Daugherty noted in his Historic Resource Study, the first superintendent, while complying with the designs furnished him, also had to meet budgetary constraints and did so, by using manufactured windows and other building parts, by salvaging materials when possible, and by keeping labor costs to a minimum. The result was the use of logs for walls of the primary buildings, board-and-batten with exposed-log framing systems for secondary buildings, wood-shingled roofs, and a spirit of harmony with nature, but without the finer wood craftsmanship that was a hallmark of the exaggerated rustic style. By the mid 1930s, this simplified rustic style would take precedent throughout the park system.

National Park Service development escalated dramatically during the Great Depression, in response to PWA funds and CCC crews. Fear that the emergency pressures and hiring of dozens of new staff architects and designers by the National Park Service would result in buildings incongruous with the natural setting led to the 1935 publication of *Park Structures and Facilities*. Although the manual encouraged the use of exaggerated-rustic design on "the

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<sup>71</sup> Glacier National Park Archives, Glacier National Park, West Glacier Montana: "Development and Maintenance: Roads and Trails, General Correspondence, 1911 - ; Sam T. Woodring, Superintendent, to The Director, National Park Service, Sept. 4, 1931; October 4, 1931, Monthly Reports (1929-1931), GRTE Archives; Unsigned letter [Superintendent Edwards(?)] to The Director, National Park Service, 7/25/1934, File "Construction Projects," GRTE Archives; Woodring, *Annual Report*, 1930, GRTE Archives Linda McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, passim.

<sup>72</sup> Landscape Architect Reports, passim, YNPA.

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most important" or highly-visible buildings, the majority of park residential and administrative facilities were constructed in a simplified rustic style, again reminiscent of Craftsman architecture yet making "only minor concessions to the environment" — including simple massing, horizontal profiles, rustic siding, exposed log framing systems, stone fireplaces, and subdued paint tones of greens, browns, greys, and mustards. "Taking into account the demands of present day economy", the majority of the buildings constructed by CCC crews were "not intended for public view" and were "not highly stylized" but rather were designed for "efficiency and functionalism" using "more economical, even if less picturesque and durable, materials, and methods."<sup>73</sup>

Within these guidelines NPS architects were encouraged to develop local variations that reflected the history and vernacular forms of each park.<sup>74</sup> At Grand Teton, architect Sanford Hill described this architectural tradition as that of "the Old West" and recommended that all buildings within the park be constructed "along the lines as used by the early pioneers of this Valley. ... The typical Wyoming ranch with stables, corrals, and other characteristics of the Old West would form an ideal basis for all new development."<sup>75</sup>

These pioneer standards were to a small degree imposed on the park service by the same geographic and environmental restrictions faced by area pioneers. The absence of supply outlets (and the federal government's reliance upon stock orders) resulted in the repetitive use of standard materials: the park stocked one, two, and five-panel fir interior doors; standard exterior doors through the 1930s were V-cut slab, with or without a window (nine-light). Through the 1930s, the local front-country transportation system remained crude ("nearest rail shipping point: Victor, Idaho, 43 miles distant"). The local backcountry transportation system mimicked that faced by the earliest settlers (cement, glass, and hardware added substantially to the cost of backcountry construction and were thus kept to a minimum. Any milled lumber used was cut to a maximum length of 8' - the longest board that would fit a pack saddle). Local sand and gravel remained "unsatisfactory" for plaster work. Granite was abundant at area quarries, including one six miles from Beaver Creek, and logs were also cheap and in "sufficient" supply.

By no accident, then, privately constructed buildings within the park boundaries often conformed "near enough to our landscape division's ideas to be useful for a number of years." Buildings meeting this criteria included the Lee

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<sup>73</sup> William C. Tweed, Laura E. Soulliere, Henry G. Law, *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942*, National Park Service Western Regional Office Division of Cultural Resource Management, February 1977, p. 97; Albert H. Good, Architectural Consultant, *Park and Recreation Structures, Part I - Administration and Basic Service Facilities*, (USDI NPS) 1938, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> McClelland, *Presenting Nature*, p. 199.

<sup>75</sup> Hill, "A Plan for Teton," n.p.

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Mangus cabin, moved to Jenny Lake for use as a museum, the Shadwick Hobbs homestead cabin, converted to a patrol cabin, and the James Hogan residence [Buffalo Dormitory], converted to an administrative and residential facility.<sup>76</sup>

The final expression of the NPS Rustic philosophy at Grand Teton specifically and the national park system in general was constructed after World War II. In 1950 John D. Rockefeller, Jr., (principal shareholder of the Grand Teton Lodge Company) and Horace Albright convinced then Director of Design and Construction for the federal government and highly experienced Rustic architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood to make some overall recommendations for the development of tourist complexes in the park. As part of this effort Underwood, with much input from Rockefeller, set out basic ideas for Colter Bay Village, Jackson Lake Lodge, and Jenny Lake Lodge. Soon after the initial talks, Underwood, resigning from federal service, undertook the design of Jackson Lake Lodge. Work on the lodge gave Underwood the chance to draw on his vast experience both with Rustic and the more modern International style. His blending of those styles during the years he worked on the design, finally completed by 1954, led to a massive building that still draws comments from visitors. Located on a prominent point above Jackson Lake north of Mount Moran, Underwood appears to have been well aware of the building's exposed nature. Yet he hoped to make a statement that the International Style, with its flat and shed roofs and extensive use of glass and concrete, could be adapted to a rustic setting. Equally, he appreciated the view of the Tetons from the point and in the design of the building emphasized the grandeur by placing the entrance and business areas on the ground floor from which guests ascend to the main "great" room dominated by huge windows that look out on the lake and mountains. The interior view is complemented by exterior walks and decks. Finally, Underwood used as part of his design poured concrete textured and stained to have the appearance of wood for the exterior walls as he had done years earlier at the Awahnee Hotel in Yosemite National Park. Judicious landscaping hides the building's mass as visitors approach. Underwood, in directing the design of the entire complex, had the large window spaces and alternating shed roofs continued into the guest cabins. The cabins were offset to either side of the main lodge so as not to interfere with the visual impact of the lodge. Jackson Lake Lodge proved to be the capstone of Underwood's career and a lasting statement that interesting structures can come from the innovative mixture of styles.

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<sup>76</sup> Unsigned (Superintendent GRTE), to Harold P. Fabian, Snake River Land Company, November 6, 1929; Material list, 2/15/1940, file "Construction Projects," GRTE Archives.

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### Context D. Dude Ranching and Tourism, 1908-1948<sup>77</sup>

Western tourism dates to the years before the Civil War as visitors such as Rufus Sage and Sir George Gore travelled through the American West. However, it was not until after the spread of railroads and feeder stagelines and trails during the 1870s and 1880s that Western vacations became more and more popular with the growing American middle and upper classes. During the late nineteenth century, visitors began to filter into Jackson Hole and behold the spectacular scenery presented by the Tetons. President Chester A. Arthur toured Yellowstone and the future Grand Teton National Park during 1883, followed four years later by Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian*. By 1900 a few local settlers and pioneers had taken to housing guests and had built small lodges for paying guest sportsmen. Ranchers, unable to make a living at raising livestock, began to accept paying guests and from these early roots dude ranching within what became modern Grand Teton National Park evolved during the early years of the twentieth century. As visitation to the park increased and as the automobile replaced the railroad as the dominant means of transportation in the West, auto camps ("cabin courts") and lodges began to replace dude ranches as the primary accommodations in the Jackson Hole region. Although structurally distinct from dude ranches, these auto facilities maintained the "rustic" atmosphere for which Jackson Hole was increasingly renowned. The period of significance for area dude ranches extends from 1908, when Louis Joy opened the first area ranch (the JY), until the end of the historical period (1948). The period of significance for auto camps and concession lodges extends from the 1927 construction of the Jenny Lake Lodge and Kimmel Kabins until the end of the historic period (1948).

In 1842, Rufus Sage, who battled intemperate weather, rough roads, and poor food for the sake of spectacular scenery, reputedly made the first "travel-for-pleasure" trip in the American West.<sup>78</sup> However, those travelers suffering poor transportation and limited facilities were the exception. Wealthy easterners, in search of proof that the wilderness had been civilized, dominated travel to the Western states in the later decades of the nineteenth century. Patrons of coastal or lake resorts arrived on luxuriously appointed Pullman cars, described the Rocky Mountains as "America's Alps" and the California coast as "America's Riviera," and stayed in hotels mirroring the grand hotels of Saratoga, Newport, and Europe. Here the ladies' "breakfast toilets are good enough for the dinner-table, while for dinner they dress . . . as for the opera. [They] go out 'buggy-riding' in dancing shoes and ball dresses, or amble about on ponies in highly ornamental riding habits. All this seems very odd among the

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<sup>77</sup> Draft context prepared by Steven and Carol Mehls, 1988. Expanded by Historical Research Associates, Inc., 1996.

<sup>78</sup> Lawrence Borne, *Dude Ranching, A Complete History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), p. 10.

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mountains."<sup>79</sup> The hunter-tourist, though obviously drawn to the less urbane mountain areas, was often equally insistent upon eastern comforts: in the most dramatic example Sir George Gore of England hunted "with a retinue of 40 men, 112 horses, 12 yoke of oxen, 14 dogs, six wagons, and 21 carts."<sup>80</sup>

At a less extreme level, the hunter-tourist phenomenon and associated respect for the undeveloped reaches of the West, as well as the skills of marksmanship and horsemanship, were important precursors to the second wave of Western tourism. By the early 1900s, Americans, confronted with the "closing of the frontier" and with the sobering realities of industrialization and urbanization, embraced an idealized version of wilderness and of the Old West. The cowboy, the open range (once vilified as the Great American Desert), and belief in the morally uplifting qualities inherent in discipline and in nature were all critical components of this version of the West; support for and travel to the national parks and to America's dude ranches were outgrowths of the resultant travel movement.<sup>81</sup>

Although the identity of the first dude rancher is one of some controversy, historians generally honor Howard Eaton with the title. Faced with a deluge of non-paying hunters at his Medora, North Dakota ranch and with economic hardship generated by a range fire, Eaton broke the "code of Western hospitality" and accepted payment for accommodations from Bert Ramsay in 1882.<sup>82</sup> The cataclysmic winter of 1886-1887 and the ensuing demise of the open-range cattle industry solidified Eaton's commitment to the development of a Western ranch "attractive to easterners of the better and more influential classes." The ranch offered participation in America's cowboy heritage, solitude, communion with nature, isolation from immoral urban temptations, and the physical and emotional satisfaction of manual labor. In 1904, Eaton moved his operation from the range country of North Dakota to the scenic splendor of Wolf, Wyoming.<sup>83</sup>

In 1908, Louis Joy and Struthers Burt established the first Jackson Hole dude ranch (as distinguished in form and function from lodges and sets of guest cabins). Joy began the JY Ranch purely as a venture in guest wrangling,

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<sup>79</sup> An English visitor quoted in Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist In Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 21.

<sup>80</sup> Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, p. 75.

<sup>81</sup> Charles G. Roundy, "The Origins and Early Development of Dude Ranching in Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming*, vol. 10 (Spring 1973), p. 13; Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, p. vi.

<sup>82</sup> Borne, *Dude Ranching*, pp. 19-22.

<sup>83</sup> Quoted in Borne, *Dude Ranching*, p. 22.

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providing the dudes with a taste of ranch life replete with barns, horses, cattle, and the other popularly perceived elements of Western ranch life. In 1912, Struthers Burt, in partnership with Dr. Horace Carncross, filed a desert land claim to land in Jackson Hole along the Snake River in the shadow of the Grand Teton and established the Bar BC Ranch. Burt became one of the local leaders in defining dude ranching. A few years later, as dude ranching was reaching its growth peak, Burt authored *Diary of A Dude Wrangler*, which relates many of his and others' experiences in the business as it had developed in Jackson Hole (modern Grand Teton National Park). Along with the JY and Bar BC, other ranches were founded during the 1910s. One of them, the White Grass, founded by George T. Bispham and Harold Hammond, proved to be somewhat more reflective of the earlier dude ranch development. The partners originally intended to raise cattle, not to house guests, but by the end of World War I found, as had others before them, that they could make more money from wrangling visitors than bovines.

Despite the early example of Eaton and the Jackson Hole ranchers the "golden age" of American dude ranching did not begin until the 1920s when an unprecedented number of working ranches began accepting dudes to counteract the effects of the farm depression. These ranches were sustained by a public "receptive to a Rocky Mountain vacation." Nostalgic interest in the American West was at a peak and the American middle class, possessing leisure time and discretionary income, was both growing and traveling. In addition, automobile ownership and the Western road network remained limited, creating a class of "captive clientele" who generally traveled by rail and who committed to a two-week or longer stay at destination resorts.<sup>84</sup>

### Dude Ranches and Railroads

All early phases of the Western tourist industry depended upon the railroads: elegantly appointed Pullman cars eased the transition between Newport and the Newport of the West; the Wild West and the Western wilderness became popular destinations only after the West's "physical and psychological dangers" — including non-mechanized travel — had been tamed. Concessionaire facilities in the national parks and the grand resort hotels were often owned or subsidized by railroad interests who therein saw the means to increase passenger travel.<sup>85</sup>

In August of 1915, the first car to motor through Yellowstone National Park loaded with camping paraphernalia, portended the ultimate demise of this rail-hotel network. By the mid-1920s, passenger travel had decreased sufficiently that railroads were cultivating a partnership with the growing dude-ranch industry:

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<sup>84</sup> Borne, *Dude Ranching*, pp. 19-22.

<sup>85</sup> Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, p. 37.

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[Dude ranchers] kept saying what the railroad liked to hear, that ranchers in the dude business didn't care for sagebrushers [campers], who were inclined to drive on the next day. What they liked . . . were guests who'd leave family cars at home, buy rail tickets, and stay awhile. . . . A wishful statistician could calculate that 50 or more nice ranches along the Northern Pacific between the Badlands and Cascades could add accommodations for about 2500 dudes via rail. Turn 'em over three or four times a season and you generate a half million dollars in rail revenue.<sup>66</sup>

In anticipation of that revenue, Western railroads, including the Union Pacific (UP), promised dude ranchers the support of the railroads' advertising divisions. The Dude Ranch Association (DRA) — pledged to "establish cooperation and acquaintances among resort owners and railroad officials" — resulted from this newly articulated mutual interest.<sup>67</sup>

In September of 1926 the DRA held its first annual convention, with the owners of 26 Montana and Wyoming ranches, the governors of both states, and passenger agents for the Northern Pacific and Union Pacific railroads in attendance. The guest list reflected both the increasing importance of tourism to the Rocky Mountain economy and the havoc being played upon the railroads' passenger-travel trade by the automobile. The formal acknowledgement of the dude ranch industry and the delineation of industry standards marked the coming of age of what had been an informal, individualistic enterprise fostered by the economic hardship experienced by Western ranchers and by changes in the American social and cultural scene.

The DRA formally defined dude ranches as either working ranches of large acreage, generally located in the plains country or the foothills, or mountain ranches set in places of scenic beauty. Montana's Dick Randall is credited with successfully arguing at this first meeting for the continued use of the word "dude." Randall contended that the term was not derogatory, simply meaning "someone from outside the Rocky Mountain states," and was more picturesque than the term "guest."<sup>68</sup>

The railroads embarked on an extensive advertising campaign. In a typical appeal to America's infatuation with the Wild West, the Northern Pacific's *Ranch Vacation* guide contended that "one vacation is typically American. It is carefree days spent on a Western ranch, living the life of the open range, reveling in scenic beauty, tasting the

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<sup>66</sup> Max Goodsill, passenger agent for the Northern Pacific Railroad, quoted in Joel H. Bernstein, *Families That Take In Friends: An Informal History of Dude Ranching* (Stevensville, Montana: Stoneycdale Press Publishing Company, 1982), p. 46.

<sup>67</sup> *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, "Dude Ranches," 9/23/1926, Vertical File, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana (hereafter Burlingame Special Collections, MSU).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

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glamour and romance of the region . . . so free from artificiality, so full of spontaneous diversion." The Union Pacific echoed: "[Dude Ranch] hospitality is far more genuine, spontaneous and personal than that of an ordinary summer resort. . . . Theirs is a heritage that is genuinely American."<sup>89</sup>

Jackson Hole dude ranches almost wholly informed this Union Pacific description. With stations at Victor, Idaho; West Yellowstone, Montana; and Rock Springs, Wyoming, the Union Pacific provided the primary access to the Jackson Hole region, and its publication, *Dude Ranches Out West*, provided the primary advertising forum for Jackson Hole dude ranchers. The UP described Jackson Hole ("once the secluded refuge of outlaws and cattle 'rustlers'") as "one of the best fishing and hunting regions, and one of the most beautiful, scenically, in the country." Amenities varied from cabins with hot running water and private bath, to cabins with pitcher and basin and "private" outhouse. Ranch activities varied from "rugged outdoor exercise" (most often on horseback) to "quiet relaxation" and included the annual Jackson Hole rodeo and Sunday morning church service at the Jackson Hole's Chapel of the Transfiguration. Historically, client lists were always "exclusive" — "most ranches ask for references and investigate them carefully," exclusively Caucasian, and, by the 1930s, often composed primarily of upper class adolescent boys from the urban East. On these "boys' ranches," which included the Double Diamond and the Bar BC's adolescent camp (the J-O), boys had the "advantage of a Westerners' life" free from urban temptations.<sup>90</sup>

### Auto Camps

Three factors led to very distinct changes in the local tourism industry during the 1920s and 1930s. Two are interrelated and the third is the continuation and acceleration of an earlier trend that impacted many facets of northwestern Wyoming history and tourism. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the National Park Service took an active interest in the lands south of Yellowstone National Park during the 1920s (see Conservation Context). This interest led to the creation of Grand Teton National Park in 1929 and to Rockefeller's acquisition of large real estate holdings in adjacent Jackson Hole. For dude ranch development this meant two things. First, the rugged Teton Mountains would be preserved, important to the dude ranches that "sold" the spectacular scenery. Second, Rockefeller's acquisitions resulted in the removal of a number of would-be dude ranches and to control through long-term leasebacks of others. Effectively, the period of dude-ranch development came to an end during the early

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<sup>89</sup> Union Pacific, *Dude Ranches Out West*, n.d. (ca. 1935), Dude Ranch Vertical File, Yellowstone National Park Museum and Archives. Railroads associated with the DRA included the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, the Santa Fe, the Great Northern, and the Southern Pacific.

<sup>90</sup> Union Pacific, *Dude Ranches Out West*, n.d. (ca. 1935), Dude Ranch Vertical File, Yellowstone National Park Museum and Archives.

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1930s as the Rockefeller money and purchase offers led most of the dude ranchers to accept his proposals, given the alternative of slow starvation as the number of dudes and potential dudes dropped dramatically after the Great Depression began.<sup>91</sup>

The third factor that altered tourism in the area took the form of ever-improving roads and increased automobile ownership during the period between WWI and WWII, especially the 1920s. Beginning in the 1910s, Americans clamored for development of an automobile road network. Led by motorist clubs and "highway committees," the public clamored for federal and state help to build these new roads. The lobbying culminated in passage of the first federal highway acts during World War I and creation of state highway commissions or departments. Stymied by the needs of World War I, these new highway boards did little until after the war.

However, during the 1920s miles and miles of new highways were planned and constructed. These new roads encouraged vacationers to rethink their definitions of a vacation. No longer did the idea of extended stays at one place hold the fascination it once had. Instead, trips to include visits to as many sites as possible became more popular. The entrepreneurs along the front escarpment of the Tetons soon recognized that auto travellers required lodging, meals, gasoline, and other services. The Gabbeys' Danny Ranch (aka Jenny Lake Ranch), Kimmel Kabins, Leek's Lodge, and the Jimmy Manges' revamped Elbo Ranch met the needs of this new traveling public. Within these complexes, individual buildings were physically very similar to the dude ranches but differed in their spacial arrangement. The need for vehicular access and parking for each cabin resulted in development of a central court surrounded by cabins. Also, ranch infrastructure (barns, horse sheds, loafing sheds) disappeared from the motor court. Finally, the motor courts tended to be located within a short distance from a major highway.

After spending the summer of 1942 at the Jenny Lake Ranch, where he had the opportunity to "observe the attitude and demands of the tourist," Jackson Hole Preserve (Snake River Land Company) consultant A. E. Kendrew wrote

Although in planning general tourist accommodations in the whole area there will be a need of a wide scale of rates and types of lodging to meet the pocketbooks of the tourists. . . Mr. Average American Tourist is

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<sup>91</sup> Dude ranches received a brief respite in a rejuvenated and redefined "back-to-the-soil" movement, an outgrowth of the perceived economic, moral, and cultural impoverishment of industrial development. The recreational counterpart of this movement stressed the moral and physical benefits (especially for America's youth) of an escape from "pavements and from noise." Organizations such as the American Boy Expedition encouraged teens to spend entire summers in an agrarian setting, including that of the Grand Teton's Double Diamond and Skyline ranches, havens for teenager boys (see Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, pp. 155-156; John A. Garraty, *The Great Depression*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), pp. 199-201; L. W. Randall, *Footprints Along the Yellowstone*, (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1961), p. 77; Borne, *Dude Ranching*, p. 67.

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beginning to prefer rooms with bath [in contrast to area dude ranches and the earlier motor courts] . . . Throughout the West the fact that the development of the 'Autocourt' or 'Motel' has reached such a high standard, with rates very little above that of the former typical tourist cabins, may be the main reason for this demand for better facilities."<sup>2</sup>

Kendrew cited the "low rate standard cabins" operated by Gabby, Kimmel, Mangus, and Leek as the park's most dated tourist facilities. In the future he recommended

that the rooming facilities be confined to detached cabins [with private baths]. Quite a wide range of individual cabin sizes and arrangements should be planned so that the diversified requirements of the visitor may be fulfilled . . . and to provide for a variety of rates . . . The central building of the group would be principally for dining and kitchen facilities . . . [This] should also be adequate for quite a number of day visitors . . . The lobby and lounge need not be large, for the average visitor is not interested in social pastimes and is usually ready to retire early. . . . The design of the group should embody some of the characteristics of the early log buildings in this section . . . A conventional style of log construction should be developed, and every attempt should be made to make them attractive and inviting."<sup>3</sup>

Within Grand Teton National Park, this "conventional style" found expression in the privately developed Highlands Ranch and in the cabin complex constructed at the Jackson Lake Lodge.

**Grand Teton National Park Concessioners**

The 1929 Act creating Grand Teton National Park included provisions protecting the property rights of those owning land within the boundaries of the new park. Landowners with tourist facilities, however, were subject to park service control over their rates, their services, and the character of physical improvements (including architectural style). Concession licenses were most often renewed yearly, and could be revoked at the park service's discretion.

With the 1930 removal of the "tawdry and shabby" Jenny Lake Inn from the shores of Jenny Lake, Grand Teton accommodations were restricted to NPS-operated campgrounds and dude ranch and motor court facilities located outside the park. In-park tourist services were provided by photographer Harrison Crandall; saddle-horse concessioner Aubrey C. Lyon and, after 1937, Guy Sutton, followed by the Champmans, followed by Lowell Rudd; boat concessioners Charles Wort and, after 1932, Robert Reimer; climbing concessioner, noted

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<sup>2</sup> A. E. Kendrew, "Suggestions for Future Tourist Accommodations, Jackson Hole, Wyoming," August, 1942, pp. 1-4, folder "Kendrew Reports," GRTE file, WY SHPO, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

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mountaineer, and founder of the National Outdoor Leadership School (NOLS), Paul Petzoldt, followed by Glen Exum (Exum Climbing School); fishing guide Robert Carmichael; and the Shell Oil Company. With the exception of the fishing concession, managed from Carmichael's home in Moose, these services were concentrated at the foot of Jenny Lake.<sup>94</sup> With the 1950 expansion of Grand Teton National Park, the Rockefeller-owned Grand Teton Lodge Company joined the list of concessioners. Resources associated with concession development include not just the boat docks, stables, and storage sheds but also the private homes of those who made a living catering to the needs of Grand Teton visitors.

### Dude Ranch Architecture

Many of the decorative features of Jackson Hole's hobby ranches, dude ranches, auto camps, and concessioner complexes mimicked park service concession buildings and summer homes. To an enormous degree, the buildings were also either constructed as part of an earlier agricultural complex or were built to echo -- in materials, design, and placement -- buildings of the pioneer/homestead era. The vernacular, Rustic, and NPS-Rustic subcontexts should be consulted when evaluating these resources for architectural significance. Despite these similarities, construction styles and physical placement of "Dude Ranch Rustic" resources, however, are often distinct and are addressed below.

In a Jackson Hole anomaly, the vast majority of dude ranches were conceived and constructed as resort facilities; unlike their counterparts in Arizona, Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming's Wind River country, these ranches were most often not converted working ranches. The dude ranches, auto courts, and other tourist facilities reflected the deliberate attempt (culturally rather than environmentally imposed) to create a "Western style" attractive to eastern guests. As Struthers Burt and others in the industry learned, the dudes frequently had preconceptions about Western ranch life. Max Goodsill, advisor to the Dude Ranch Association, warned dude ranchers to "keep their ranches real, a genuinely Western spot" and cautioned them against the "mistake of having buildings and decorations that [didn't] look Western." In Grand Teton this led to the construction of log buildings conscientiously made to look like pioneer structures, long after the economic and environmental rationale for this vernacular style had waned. As dude rancher Arthur Carhart informed prospective guests in *Hi Stranger!*: "The main lodge of a highly developed dude ranch is the outgrowth of the owner's 'big house' . . . But they are a long way advanced over their counterparts of yesterday -- and you'll be glad of that."<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Sam T. Woodring, Superintendent, to The Director, National Park Service, November 5, 1929, Monthly Reports (1929-1931), GRTE Archives.

<sup>95</sup> "Montana Charms Dudes, Dude-ines; Ranches Hold to Theory that Good Time in Real Western Manner is What Guests Want and Appreciate, Not Chance to Face Privation," newspaper not identified, 9/26/1940, "Dude Ranches" vertical file,

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Brochures for Teton area dude ranches reveal a remarkable similarity in architectural style and services offered. Buildings were described exclusively as log and variously as "rambling," "well-furnished," "rustic, but comfortable," with "unobstructed views of the mountains." Amenities most often included "private outdoor toilets" and hot and cold water at the main ranch house "available 24 hours a day"; by the mid-1930s an occasional ranch advertised indoor plumbing. Meals were served "family-style" in a central lodge or dining hall, and consisted of home-grown vegetables, beef, poultry, and dairy products. Although the language differed, all ranches emphasized the degree to which "the comfortable simplicity" of the buildings, furnishings, and meals "conformed to ranch life as a whole." The stables, barns, corrals, saddle horses, and wranglers in full Western regalia served as integral accessories to this self-conscious Western style.\*

The emphasis on appearance, and the seasonal use of dude-ranch and auto court facilities, often led to the employment of less labor-intensive log construction styles, including box cornering and false-corner timbering. Cabin foundations were often shallow and insubstantial, reflecting seasonal habitation and the ease with which the small and easily constructed buildings could be replaced. Seasonal, vacation use was also reflected in the front porches (most often created by an extension of the gable end or eave), which not only mimicked the Western trapper cabin but also provided a semi-private outdoor room for guest use. Duplex cabins encouraged symmetrical fenestration, with each cabin half mirroring its neighbor. Cabins were arranged around the central lodge and/or dining hall, with privies tucked in the woods behind each cabin. In placement deliberately reminiscent of area working ranches, corrals, saddle sheds, barns (and the associated sounds and smells) were generally isolated from the primary residential compound: "all this to maximize the 'ranch' experience for dudes."<sup>7</sup>

Auto camps were similarly rustic, without the benefits of horse, corral, and stables. In deference to the short stay of most guests, and their tendency to own their own cars, the camps were more tightly clustered and were most often organized around a central drive. A community building, with dining hall, registration facility, lounge, mail room, and commissary anchored each complex in much the same fashion as the main lodge or "big house" of area dude ranches.

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<sup>6</sup>(...continued)

Burlingame Special Collections, MSU; Arthur Carhart, *Hi Stranger! The Complete Guide to Dude Ranches* (Chicago and New York: Zeff-Davis Publishing Company, 1949), pp. 30-31.

<sup>6</sup> Vertical File: "Dude Ranches," passim, Teton County History Center, Jackson, Wyoming.

<sup>7</sup> Steven F. Mehls and Carol Drake Mehls, "The Mirror of History: The Architecture of Grand Teton National Park Through Time," unpublished manuscript, Rocky Mountain Regional Office (RMRO), NPS, 1988.

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### F.      Description of Property Types and Associated Registration Requirements

The following property types are based on the theory that architectural contexts are most appropriately integrated with historic contexts; it is difficult, for example, to discuss NPS administrative policy without addressing the park service's evolving architectural philosophy and it is equally difficult to discuss vernacular architecture without addressing homesteaders' cultural backgrounds, distance from supply centers, and infrastructure needs. Resources associated with each of the property types identified below may be architecturally significant (criterion C), most often for their association with the architectural style identified as a "sub-context" of the applicable historic context (see Section E, above).

Regardless of their associated context or property type, resources eligible to the NRHP under criterion C must be significant representations of the style and must possess integrity of materials, workmanship, and design. For examples of Rustic architecture (federal or private), where integration of a building with its setting was a hallmark of the style, integrity of setting is also critical. As established by the National Register, moved buildings - those that possess no integrity of location - may remain architecturally significant if the resource retains physical integrity and if the new setting conforms generally to the historic setting (in which case the resource can be said to possess integrity of association and feeling).

The evaluation of physical integrity should focus on the retention of character-defining features - those materials and construction techniques that most specifically define a resource as an example of a design type. Evaluating integrity of setting requires a clear understanding of the historic context within which the resource was constructed. For example, within Grand Teton National Park, architect Eber Piers designed a massive home in the exaggerated Rustic style for hobby ranchers William and Elaine Hunter. In association with this home, Piers also designed a servant's cabin and a guest cabin - both of which shared design characteristics with the main house, albeit on a smaller and less extravagant scale. The main house has been moved to a dude ranch adjacent to the historic Hunter Hereford Ranch. This new setting, at the base of the Gros Ventre range with a spectacular view of Jackson Hole and the entire Teton Range, is only superficially consistent with the historic setting: although the view has been preserved, the original isolation from the working component of the ranch and the original juxtaposition with similarly designed buildings have been lost. (This loss of integrity of setting and of feeling is compounded by a loss of physical integrity: a massive new foundation, new fenestration, and the removal of the original stone fireplace.) Similarly, both the servant's cabin and the guest cabin have also been moved, from the Hunter Hereford Ranch to the historic Double Diamond Dude Ranch, where they have been incorporated within a circle of small cabins. Although the Hunter cabins retain physical integrity, their architectural significance was dependent in large part upon their physical similarities to, and functional association with, the primary Hunter residence. This association has been severed, e.g. the new setting is not consistent with the historic setting, and the cabins have been evaluated as ineligible to the NRHP. Moreover, the cabins' current placement within a circle of dude-ranch

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cabins conveys a false impression of their historic function, of Piers' design intent, *and* of the nature and scale of historic development at the dude ranch.

### 1. Property Types and Registration Requirements associated with the Settlement Context

There are three property types associated with the settlement context: Homesteads, Hobby Ranches, and Vacation Homes.

#### Homesteads

**Description:** The homestead properties extant within Grand Teton National Park occur both singly and in contiguous groups. In some instances, groups of contiguous resources form large districts with significant landscape components. Homesteads tend to be located on Holocene deposits such as alluvial fans and colluvial and flood plain deposits, all of which overlie the glacial outwash and moraines of the Pleistocene period. These Holocene deposits provided sufficient accumulations of topsoil at an acceptable degree of slope, both prerequisite to subsistence agricultural activity. Areas with these types of deposits were the earliest to be withdrawn from the public domain under the various homestead laws. Pleistocene glacial outwash and moraines, unsuitable for use as cultivated cropland, were incorporated into agricultural endeavors as grazing lands, usually through leases from a federal land-managing agency.

Homestead properties tend to share common physical characteristics which include a consolidated cluster of buildings and structures designed to house domestic and agricultural activities. These homesites include dwellings, secondary outbuildings such as tack sheds and garages, as well as agricultural outbuildings such as barns and associated corral systems. The residential component is usually spatially distinct from the area of agricultural activity and, in most cases, the homesites are separated from the remainder of the homestead land base by some type of barrier or fence.

In some cases, in addition to the built environment of the homesite, patterns associated with the agricultural use of the remainder of the land base also remain. This pattern of land use is exemplified in landscape features such as circulation systems (roads, irrigation systems), vegetative patterns indicative of agricultural land use (cultivated fields), and boundary demarcations such as fences that mark field and homestead boundaries.

**Significance:** The majority of the homesteads within GRTE will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and/or C. Properties may be eligible under criterion B, but this will be a unique

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characteristic of individual properties rather than a characteristic of homesteads as a property type. The areas of significance include Exploration/Settlement, Agriculture, and Architecture.

With regard to criterion A, homestead properties within Grand Teton National Park are representative of the final wave of homesteading in the West. The isolated character of the area, removed from major transportation routes, and limited by climatic factors, guaranteed that it would be by-passed by the first non-Indian settlers of the west. The area was not regarded as desirable for agricultural purposes until the final settlement period, 1890 until 1920, when the remaining open and unclaimed lands tended to be located in the higher elevation mountain valleys.

A second historic trend that influenced the homestead settlement of Jackson Hole is the continued outward migration of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (the Mormons) from Salt Lake City--the geographic heartland of their faith. However, although a large number of settlers in the valley were indeed Mormon, the area also contained non-Mormon settlers. In general, the homestead development within GRTE is more typically "agrarian" than "Mormon." One pattern of development that is evident is the tendency of family members to emigrate together. This trend can be seen in the contiguous homesteads of the three Moulton brothers in the vicinity of Mormon Row, and members of the Ferrin brothers in the vicinity of the Buffalo Fork of the Snake River.

In general, development during the initial settlement period responded to standard market trends. Subsistence homesteading was the norm, with people involved in a variety of agricultural endeavors which produced food for the family, as well as surpluses which could be turned into cash. Development was limited by the lack of transportation facilities that could move goods to larger regional markets. As was common in most remote high-elevation valleys of the West, the 160-acre homesteads did not provide a living beyond the subsistence level. Families who chose to stay in the valley did so through consolidating their efforts with relatives and neighbors in the construction of irrigation systems and cattle companies, wherein the work was shared. A gradual consolidation of the family land base, either through direct purchase or long-term leases, characterized the 1920s and 1930s. The homestead properties remaining within the park are associated with, and representative of, these general trends.

With regard to eligibility under criterion C, the majority of the improvements located at homestead properties reflect vernacular architectural trends, both in form and materials. The use of local, native building materials, such as log and stone, is realized at most homestead properties remaining in the park. Simple gabled roof forms, and less common cottage forms are represented. Functionality is demonstrated in the many barns that remain in the areas of concentrated agricultural settlement, most notably the Mormon Row Historic District. The function of these barns, designed to shelter livestock (mostly horses) as well as storage of livestock feed, is discernible from their form.

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**Registration Requirements:** Agricultural homestead complexes once were numerous within the boundaries of the area now included within Grand Teton National Park. However, due to park policy which recommended the removal the manifestations of early historic settlement patterns, these types of resources are now scarce. The registration requirements for this type of property take into account the scarcity of this type of resource both within and outside the park.

In order for a homestead property to qualify for listing in the National Register, it must date to the period of significance and retain integrity of materials, workmanship, design, setting and location, feeling, and association. Entire homestead properties, of 160 acres or more, may be eligible if, in addition to the integrity of the built environment of the homesite, patterns of land use are discernible within lands outside the homesite. In some instances, a series of contiguous homestead properties may form large historic districts with landscape components. Alternatively, in some cases, the built environment of the homesite may be the only component of a homestead that retains integrity. In these cases, integrity standards should be applied only to the homesite. Finally, individual buildings and/or structures within homesites may be considered eligible (under either criterion A or C), if they possess integrity of materials, workmanship and design—even if the built environment of the homesite as a whole lacks integrity.

### Hobby Ranches

**Description:** As indicated in the settlement context, hobby ranches built upon the pattern laid down by homestead withdrawals. In general, they occupy the same areas as homesteads. Homestead improvements are retained, and sometimes upgraded for the continued operation of the ranch. The presence of additional, more elaborate infrastructure such as architect-designed homes and agricultural outbuildings, as well as more elaborate types of fencing and gates, distinguishes these properties from the subsistence homesteads from which they evolved.

**Significance:** Hobby Ranches will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and/or C. Properties may be eligible under criterion B, but this will be a unique characteristic of individual properties rather than a characteristic of the property type as a whole. The areas of significance include Entertainment/Recreation, Agriculture, and Architecture.

With regard to criterion A, Hobby Ranches represent a late historic-period shift in western settlement patterns, namely the recognition of the value of the western landscape. Land within Grand Teton National Park became valuable for its scenic potential rather than its agricultural potential. Hobby ranching was a luxury available to a few individuals who possessed an inclination and sufficient capital to invest in necessities such as herds of registered breeding stock and the construction of specialty facilities to accommodate them. The fact that these ranches are located in scenic areas is central to, rather than incidental to, their development.

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With regard to criterion C, resources associated with the Hobby Ranch context will most often be associated with the late period of vernacular construction (1927-WWII) or with Rustic style. The use of an architect and/or the incorporation of non-functional stylistic details are generally recognized as defining the distinction between the vernacular and the formal style. Later-period settlers, not bound by those economic and environmental constraints that defined pioneer construction, also constructed low-style traditional buildings. Save for the presumed social/cultural impetus behind their construction, these buildings are physically indistinguishable from vernacular structures and are most often identified and evaluated as examples of vernacular construction. Examples within Grand Teton National Park include the barn and residence at the Aspen Ridge Ranch: Although constructed during the tenure of hobby rancher John Talbot, there is no evidence that the barn was designed by an architect and it has no significant stylistic details that would distinguish the building from vernacular barns on neighboring Mormon Row. The barn has been evaluated as a locally significant example of vernacular architecture.

Because of Jackson Hole's important role in the development of a distinguishable Rocky Mountain Rustic style, those GRTE hobby ranches, vacation homes, and dude ranches that are eligible to the NRHP under criterion C for their association with Rustic architecture will be significant at the State (regional) or National level of significance.

**Registration Requirements:** In order for an individual property to qualify for listing in the National Register, it must be significantly associated with the context of hobby ranching, must date to the period of significance, and must retain integrity of materials, workmanship, design, setting and location, feeling, and association. Individual examples of hobby ranches must retain the examples of the design elements that distinguish the infrastructure from that of subsistence homesteads. Distinguishing characteristics include the presence of architect-designed buildings, and other infrastructure indicative of the affluence of the owners, including bunkhouses, guest houses, and servants' quarters.

Like homesteads, the entire land base may be eligible if, in addition to the integrity of the buildings and structures, patterns of land use are discernible within these outlying lands. Alternatively, in some cases, the built environment of the building clusters may be the only component of a property that retains integrity. In these cases, integrity standards should be applied only to the building cluster. Finally, individual buildings and/or structures may be considered eligible (under either criterion A or C), if they possess integrity of materials, workmanship and design-- even if the complex as a whole lacks integrity.

Integration of a building with its setting was a "character-defining feature" of the Rustic style and Hobby-ranch buildings evaluated as examples of Rustic architecture must possess integrity of setting. As described above, in the introduction to GRTE property types, moved buildings *may* possess integrity of setting. This evaluation, however, is dependent upon a clear understanding of the historic context within which the building was constructed.

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### Vacation Homes

**Description:** Vacation homes in GRTE tend to be located on small tracts of fee or leased land, in areas of scenic appeal. Infrastructure is usually limited to a dwelling and a few ancillary buildings, such as a garage, an outhouse, and/or a storage building. The design characteristics of these homes may differ dramatically, from small summer cabins to elaborate Rustic buildings as found at the AMK Ranch and the Brinkerhoff Lodge. However, buildings at vacation homesites tend to share the tradition of Rustic architecture which was established early in Jackson Hole. In some cases, vacation homes are designed by trained architects and feature some of the elements of the exaggerated Rustic style.

**Significance:** Vacation homes in GRTE will most commonly qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A or C, for their association with a significant trend in area settlement/economic history and/or their association with vernacular or Rustic architecture. The use of an architect and/or the incorporation of non-functional stylistic details are generally recognized as defining the distinction between the vernacular and the formal style. However, later-period settlers, not bound by those economic and environmental constraints that defined pioneer construction, also constructed low-style traditional buildings. Save for the presumed social/cultural impetus behind their construction, these buildings are physically indistinguishable from vernacular structures and are most often identified and evaluated as examples of vernacular construction.

**Registration Requirements:** Eligible properties of this type must be significantly associated with the settlement context and must possess integrity of materials, workmanship, design, feeling, association, and setting. Since the quality of significance is inherent in the buildings at these properties, physical integrity is the principal concern when identifying significant properties.

Integration of a building with its setting was a "character-defining feature" of the Rustic style and Vacation-home buildings evaluated as examples of Rustic architecture must possess integrity of setting. As described above, in the introduction to GRTE property types, moved buildings *may* possess integrity of setting. This evaluation, however, is dependent upon a clear understanding of the historic context within which the building was constructed.

### 2. Properties Associated with the Conservation Context

**Description:** The properties associated with the Conservation context do not necessarily share similar functional or physical characteristics, rather their relatedness is in their common association with the theme of conservation, be it through the activities of individuals or institutions. Within Grand Teton National Park, significant examples of the conservation context include Maud Noble's Cabin, Murie Ranch, and the SRLC residence and office.

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**Significance:** The properties in GRTE associated with the conservation context will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A or B. Resources may also be architecturally significant. In contrast to, for example, homesteads, hobby ranches, or dude ranches, where architectural significance is closely tied to historical significance, design/construction features, however, will not relate directly to the historical context of conservation but will instead reflect the owner's personal taste and/or the site's prior use.

The conservation of Western natural and cultural resources in general, and of those in GRTE in particular, was a battle fought on various fronts and at various levels. It included the public and private activities of individuals and the corporate entities formed to carry out their agendas.

Thus, sites where important decisions were made, or that provided the inspiration for making those decisions may be considered eligible under the conservation context. Alternatively, properties used to facilitate specific goals of the conservation effort may also be important to the public's understanding of the complexity of the issues involved in the conservation dialogue.

**Registration Requirements:** Individual examples of conservation properties must date to the period of significance and retain integrity of materials, workmanship and design, setting, location, feeling and association. Their principal value will lie in their associative value, that is, their ability to evoke a connection between past activities and accomplishments of groups or individuals and the person experiencing the property in the present. Therefore, for this property type, integrity of feeling and association are critical to a determination of eligibility. Although integrity of feeling and association will always be critical, they will depend upon the qualities peculiar to each individual property.

### 3. Property Types and Registration Requirements associated with the Park Administration and Development Context

There are three property types associated with the Park Administration and Development Context: Park Service Administrative/Residential Complexes, Backcountry Patrol Cabins, and residential camps associated with the Civilian Conservation Corps.

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### Administrative/Residential Complexes

**Description:** Park service administrative/residential complexes are those that combine both administrative and residential functions. These complexes, designed to provide administrative office space, maintenance facilities, as well as housing for park staff, are located adjacent to major access roads, where they are easily accessible to the public, as well as to the many park service employees who used and/or lived at the facilities. They exhibit the characteristics that one typically associates with development plans originating from the park service Branch of Plans and Design in San Francisco, California, i.e. the plan of the building layout is irregular and designed to blend with the natural setting, and the character of the principal buildings is exaggerated rustic.

**Significance:** The administrative/residential complexes within GRTE will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and/or C. The areas of significance include Politics/Government and Architecture.

Because GRTE was established as a park rather late in comparison to other western "natural" parks, the majority of its administrative infrastructure was developed under the auspices of park service-trained architects and landscape architects, specifically, by those working in the park service Branch of Plans and Design in San Francisco. Under the direction of Chief Landscape Architect, Thomas C. Vint, architects and landscape architects worked with park personnel to design rustic building complexes that today typify the "exaggerated rustic" building style and naturalistic landscape design that are characteristic of the park service. For this reason, they may qualify for listing under criterion C.

These complexes are also significant for their association with the development of park infrastructure. The character of development reflects the needs of the park service during the historic period. For this reason, these complexes may also be eligible for listing under criterion A.

**Registration Requirements:** In order for administration/residential complexes to be considered eligible for listing, they must date to the period of significance and retain integrity of materials, workmanship and design, location, setting, feeling and association. With regard to materials, workmanship and design, the exterior appearance of the building is more critical than the interior appearance. In most cases, the remodeling of an interior will not affect the manner in which a building contributes to a district, if the exterior of the building retains integrity. Integrity of setting is also important for building complexes, since the character of the setting was usually an important aspect of the site design.

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If a complex as a whole lacks physical integrity, an individual building may be found to be eligible under criterion C if it is an exceptional example of park service rustic design.

Integration of a building with its setting was a "character-defining feature" of the Rustic style and NPS-designed and -constructed buildings evaluated as examples of NPS-Rustic architecture must possess integrity of setting. As described above, in the introduction to GRTE property types, moved buildings *may* possess integrity of setting. This evaluation, however, is dependent upon a clear understanding of the historic context within which the building was constructed.

### Backcountry Patrol Cabins

**Description:** Backcountry patrol cabins are located in the remote areas of the park adjacent to administrative trail systems. They are spaced along these trail systems approximately a day's travel apart, either by horseback or foot travel. These small, functional buildings are typically constructed of logs with front-gable roofs that project beyond the front wall to shelter an open front porch. An outhouse is usually present at the site, and other buildings such as small storage sheds, or even small horse barns, may also be present.

### Significance:

The backcountry cabins within GRTE will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and/or C. The areas of significance include Politics/Government and Architecture.

Historically, these buildings were constructed to provide shelter for park personnel working on temporary patrols or assignments in backcountry areas. In some instances, new buildings were specifically constructed for use as patrol cabins. In other cases, the park service incorporated previously existing buildings (such as trapper's cabins and homestead dwellings) into their new systems of backcountry infrastructure. (It should be noted that an important component of this system, was the trails that linked the cabins.) Under National Register criterion A, these buildings represent an important component of the backcountry infrastructure system (a large component of which is the trail systems themselves), which enabled park employees to accomplish their duties.

Several of these cabins were constructed during the 1930s, when almost every aspect of park development occurred under the auspices of the park service landscape architects. Some backcountry patrol cabins are representative of the standard plans drawn by architects and landscape architects working in the park service Branch of Plans and Design in San Francisco. These buildings will also qualify for listing under criterion C, since they are representative of park service-designed rustic architecture.

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**Registration Requirements:** Individual examples of backcountry cabins must date to the period of significance, must have been significantly associated with GRTE administration, and should retain integrity of materials, workmanship, design, setting, location, feeling, and association. The proximity of a maintained park service trail will enhance the integrity of setting, association and feeling of these properties. Indeed, where the trail has sufficient integrity, both the trail and the building(s) should be included in a district. The replacement of historic-age ancillary buildings, such as outhouses, with modern buildings should not eliminate a property from eligibility. However, the principal building at these sites, the patrol cabin, should retain a preponderance of its original materials, workmanship and design.

### CCC Camps

**Description:** CCC camps were located in various areas of the park--usually in proximity to a major roadway. The sites for the camps and sometimes the layout of the buildings and structures within them, usually were determined by park service landscape architects. In many cases, CCC camps were erected in a manner similar to military posts. An open central area, which functioned as an assembly point, was surrounded by groups of tent cabins (usually arranged in regular ranks), which housed the enrollees. Portable buildings, constructed by assembling prefabricated panels, were used to house infirmaries, personnel offices, classrooms, officers' quarters, and enrollee's messhalls. The complexity of the infrastructure depended upon the size of the camp.

**Significance:** CCC camps will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criterion A. The area of significance for this property type is Social History.

The CCC was a successful New Deal program designed to provide employment opportunities for the large numbers of young men who were unable to find jobs during the Great Depression. These "enrollees" provided the manual labor to accomplish a wide variety of conservation and construction projects for various federal agencies, including the park service. The camps, established and run by the U.S. Army, provided a structured environment which included regularly scheduled meals and physical fitness training. Enrollees were provided with adequate clothing, meals, medical attention, and educational opportunities.

**Registration Requirements:** The registration requirements for CCC complexes reflect the scarcity of these types of resources. The majority of the CCC camps were dismantled after their closure in 1942. For this reason, any building or building complex which retains sufficient physical integrity to convey historic use by the CCC program should be considered eligible for listing (e.g. the buildings must retain the characteristics of their original construction in terms of materials and design).

#### 4. Property Types and Registration Requirements associated with the Dude Ranching and Tourism Context

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There are three property types associated with the Dude Ranching and Tourism context:  
Dude Ranches, Auto Camps, and Concessioner's Facilities.

### Dude Ranches

**Description:** Dude Ranches in GRTE typically are located in areas of scenic quality. Their infrastructure is unique. At a minimum, it consists of a central lodge building, which sometimes served double-duty as a dining area and social hall, and an array of guest cabins arranged in irregular groupings in the vicinity of the lodge. In addition, buildings and structures are present to house and contain livestock, most commonly the horses used by dudes for trail rides. At more elaborate dude ranches, infrastructure includes specialty structures such as swimming pools and dance pavilions. Depending upon the size of the land base, dude ranches may also include elements that are typically found at agricultural complexes, such as irrigation systems to water hay meadows.

Architecture at dude ranches is usually "self-consciously" rustic. In contrast to the exaggerated-rustic buildings associated with area hobby ranches and vacation homes, dude ranch buildings were unlikely to be architect-designed. In most cases the craftsmanship in the construction does not meet the design standards of park service-designed rustic buildings or even the "homestead vernacular" that characterizes homestead properties. Log bearing buildings, made with the simplest corner joinery, (including the saddle notch as well as false notching techniques such as the box corner), are the most common type of building found at Jackson Hole dude ranches.

Although craftsmanship and formal design are not necessarily characteristics of the style, dude-ranch rustic architecture is distinguished from the vernacular tradition in the use of nonfunctional ornamental elements, in the placement of buildings, in the natural resources that dictated site location, and in the interior finishes -- all of which combined to create a "western" atmosphere. When they retain integrity, interior furnishings, finishes, and floor plan should be defined as significant, character-defining features: these materials and design not only represent dude-ranch style but also testify to the functional demands imposed on dude-ranch lodges: a central lounge with fireplace, large dining room with mountain views, large kitchen, and guest rooms.

**Significance:** Dude ranches within GRTE will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and/or C. Properties may be eligible under criterion B, but this will be a unique characteristic of individual properties rather than a characteristic of the property type as a whole. The areas of significance include Entertainment/Recreation and Architecture.

With regard to criterion A, the dude ranch industry represents a significant component of the western recreational industry. Dude ranches catered to the wealthy easterner's idea of what was typically western. As discussed in the context, the development of western dude ranches began as a typical response to the long-standing difficulty in

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making a living dependent entirely through ranching. From its "accidental" beginning, the dude ranch industry evolved to cater mostly to wealthy eastern clientele. These "dudes," enamored with the western experience, expected rustic accommodations without the sacrifice of entertainment and some creature comforts. At one of the most elaborate of the dude ranches, the Bar BC, guests shot trap in the afternoon, and gathered in the dance hall by the side of the swimming pool in the evening, or gambled at the roulette wheel.

Dude ranch complexes may also possess architectural merit, if the buildings located there are representative of dude ranch rustic architecture. For this multiple property submission, architecturally significant properties that do not possess the characteristics (and design pedigree) of Rustic architecture have been defined as examples of "dude ranch rustic," a distinct and recognizable form of vernacular construction.

**Registration Requirements:** Individual examples of dude ranches must date to the period of significance and retain integrity of materials, workmanship, and design, setting, location, feeling, and association. Besides physical integrity, it is important that the pattern and layout of the cabin groups and associated special use buildings be intact. The elimination or modification of some buildings within the complex would not be sufficient to eliminate a property from eligibility if the overall pattern is discernible. Since, in essence dude ranches "sold" scenery and the western mystique, integrity of setting is also critical to the eligibility of individual representatives of this property type.

Integration of a building with its setting was a "character-defining feature" of the Rustic style and Dude ranch buildings evaluated as examples of Rustic architecture must possess integrity of setting. As described above, in the introduction to GRTE property types, moved buildings *may* possess integrity of setting. This evaluation, however, is dependent upon a clear understanding of the historic context within which the building was constructed.

### Auto Camps

**Description:** Like dude ranches, auto camps display a rustic architectural theme, and feature clusters of cabins, usually in association with a larger lodge building sometimes used for dining and social activities. However, auto camps tend to be located close to main thoroughways, and generally lack a large land base and the facilities associated with the keeping of stock that characterize dude ranches.

The buildings located at auto camps continued the rustic theme that prevailed throughout the park in both private recreational developments and park service facilities. The use of native materials, such as log and stone, and simple building forms characterizes auto camps.

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**Significance:** The auto camps within GRTE will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and/or C. The areas of significance include Entertainment and Recreation and Architecture.

With respect to criterion A, auto camps are representative of a major shift in the recreation patterns of the American public, created by the almost universal availability of the automobile. People of modest income traveled through America's parks in their own automobiles, staying for perhaps a week or simply overnight. Auto camps, by design and layout catered to these short-term guests. Operators of some properties provided some of the amenities that one typically associates with dude ranches (e.g. family style meals, served in a communal lodge). However, the guest experience was quite different from that at a dude ranch.

Under criterion C, auto camps often demonstrate architectural merit in the character of construction.

**Registration Requirements:** The registration requirements for auto camps are similar to those for dude ranches. Individual examples of auto camps must date to the period of significance and retain integrity of materials, workmanship, and design, setting, location, feeling, and association. It is important that the pattern and layout of the cabin groups and associated special use buildings be intact. The elimination or modification of some buildings within the complex would not be sufficient to eliminate a property from eligibility if the overall pattern of building placement is discernible.

Although integrity of setting will enhance the eligibility of an auto camp, this aspect of integrity is not as critical to the eligibility of a specific property as it is for dude ranches. By definition, auto camps are located in areas where development is more likely to occur. Application of the various aspects of integrity should be directed inward, towards the complex itself.

In addition, individual buildings with good physical integrity may be found to be eligible under criterion C, even if the complex as a whole lacks integrity.

### Concessioner's Facilities

**Description:** Concessioner's facilities tend to be located in areas of high visitor use, such as the shore of Jenny Lake—an area that was the focus of tourist activity prior to the establishment and extension of the park. At one time, Jenny Lake resources included residential complexes as well as the specialized infrastructure to support the commercial enterprise. However, at this time, only the boat house associated with the boat concession remains in place. Historic resources associated with the horse concession have been recently removed from the park.

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**Significance:** Concessioner's facilities within GRTE will qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and/or C. The areas of significance include Entertainment/Recreation and Architecture.

With respect to criterion A, park concessioners provided services desired and, more to the point, expected by tourists, and which the park administration was unable to provide given their limited funding. From this standpoint, they represent an important component of the total infrastructure within the park. With regard to criterion C, the degree to which the park service controlled the development of concession infrastructure is represented by the character of that infrastructure. Concessions improvements constructed after the establishment of the park, were subject to the same level of scrutiny as park service improvements, and exhibit the same architectural characteristics as park service administrative resources.

**Registration Requirements:** Individual examples of concessions properties must date to the period of significance and retain integrity of materials, workmanship, and design, setting, location, feeling, and association. Individual buildings may be found eligible under criterion C, if they meet the descriptions of park service-designed rustic architecture. In contrast, eligibility under criterion A will be dependent upon the presence of special-purpose resources that reflect the specific function of a complex.

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### G.      Geographical Data

This Multiple Property Submission addresses properties within the Congressionally established lands of Grand Teton National Park, in which the National Park Service has a legal interest. Grand Teton National Park is located in northwestern Wyoming's Teton County, west of the Continental Divide and south of Yellowstone National Park. See attached map.

### H.      Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This Multiple Property Documentation Form amends the 1988 Grand Teton National Park Multiple Property Documentation Form.

In August 1994, the Rocky Mountain System Support Office of the National Park Service Intermountain Field Area contracted with HRA, Inc., to conduct research and field documentation of selected historical cultural resource properties located within Grand Teton National Park (GRTE). For the most part, the properties included in the current study were also part of a 1988 inventory and evaluation project that resulted in a Multiple Property Submission (MPS) for historical resources in the park.<sup>98</sup> However, the eligibility of several properties evaluated in 1988 remained unresolved. This project was designed to address the deficiencies of the original multiple property submission by reinventorying and reevaluating all resources whose eligibility status was left undetermined by the original survey, by revising the multiple property cover form to meet NPS/RMSSO, WYSHPO, and NRHP requirements; and by preparing determinations of eligibility and nominations for evaluated resources. In addition, the project required the inventory and evaluation of a small number of properties not included in the original 1988 MPS.

Accordingly field and research tasks included field documentation of individual buildings and structures; research in local and state archival repositories in order to develop new historic contexts and to revise contexts prepared under the 1988 submittal; the preparation of new property types and registration requirements to accompany the amended MPS; the evaluation of all project properties for National Register eligibility.

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<sup>98</sup> Steven F. Mehls and Carol Drake Mehls, Western Historical Studies, "Grand Teton National Park Historic Resources Multiple Property Submission, prepared for the NSP Rocky Mountain Regional Office, 1988.

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The majority of the resources included in the current study result from development within the private sector; only a few relate directly to the activities of federal land managing agencies, namely, the United States Forest Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the National Park Service. The building-specific documentary records that are available for most park service improvements, and which provide reliable dates of construction and modification, were not available for privately developed resources.

Whenever possible, HRA conducted oral history interviews while in the field: Clark and Veda Moulton were interviewed on-site at Mormon Row; Bud Chambers was interviewed on-site at the Elk Ranch; Inger Koedt was interviewed on-site at Murie Ranch; and Chris and Brent Miller were interviewed on-site at the Jenny Lake Boat Concession area. When this was not possible, interviews were conducted by telephone. Draft maps and determinations of eligibility were mailed to John and Ruth Anderson (Hunter Hereford Ranch), C. Byron Jenkins (The Highlands), and Bonnie Kreps (Murie Ranch) for review.

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