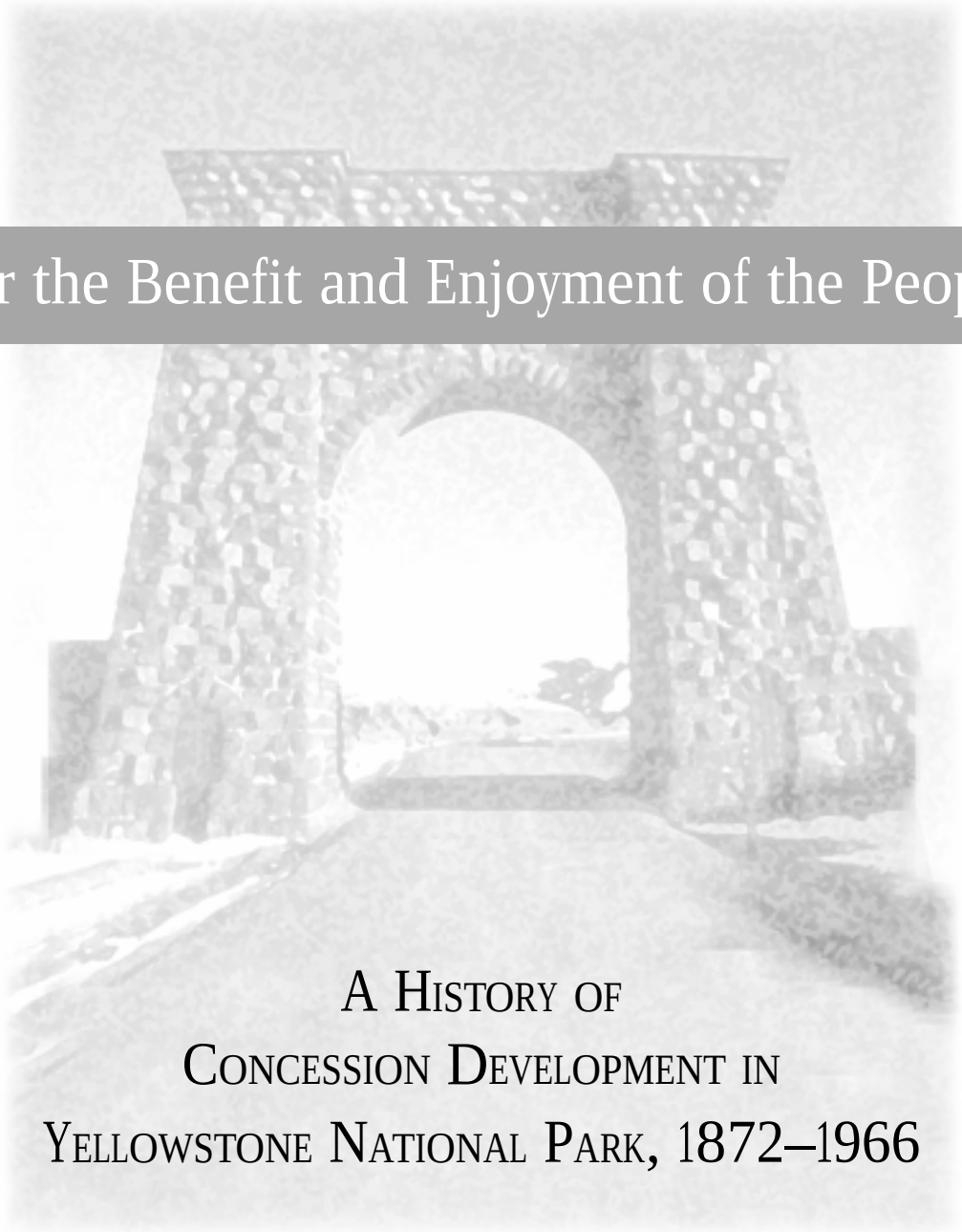
"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People"

A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966

By Mary Shivers Culpin

National Park Service, Yellowstone Center for Resources
Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming
YCR-CR-2003-01, 2003



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Preface

In 1994, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966* was published. During the course of that project, I found the research very interesting, voluminous in size, and, surprisingly, to be of interest to many people. When I began researching *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People": A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1996*, I already knew that the research would be interesting and that there would be large amounts of material to review. I had no idea, however, of the richness and the possibilities for other projects that this study would present.

"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People": A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1996 focuses on the development of the concession operations from before the park was established through the Mission 66 era. Originally, the project was to include concessions history through 1985 and serve as a portion of the administrative history for the park. However, the project was changed to address only the development of the concessions in the park. The collection of documents used for this manuscript will be deposited in the Yellowstone National Park Archives for further uses, including the writing of an administrative history.

The manuscript collection will be beneficial to anyone writing a company or business history of the different concessioners; the collection is rich in material relating to aspects of social history and tourism in the West; the collection offers aspects of visitation to national parks; the history of individual hotels; the history of camping, including early auto camping; foreign appreciation of the natural parks in the United States; or many other related topics.

An additional study, focusing on the history of administration of Yellowstone National Park, is scheduled for future publication. The topics covered range from military, conservation, administration, education, and interpretation, to water.

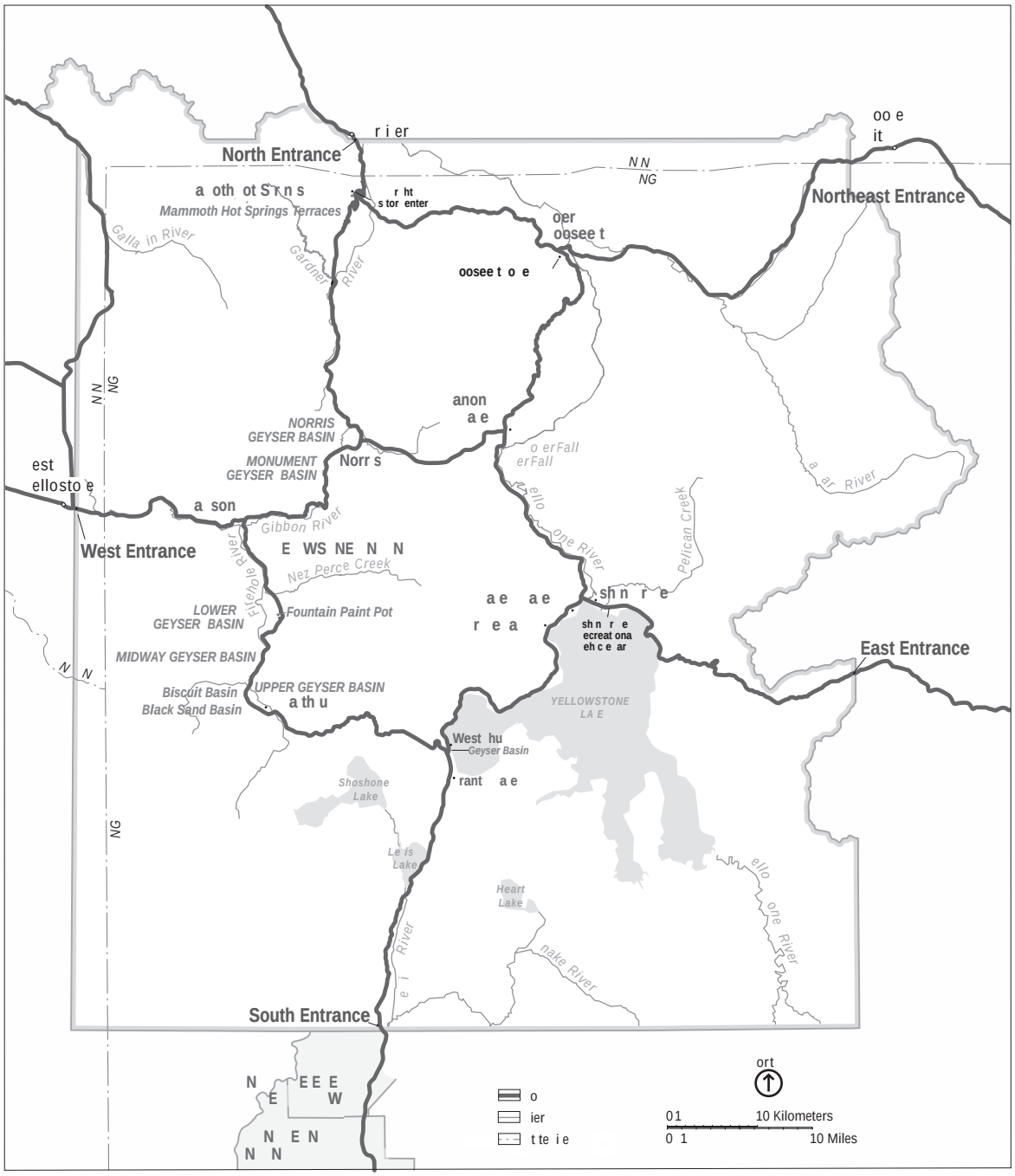
The main purpose of *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People": A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1996* is to develop a historic context in which to evaluate the significant resources associated with concession development in the park. In addition to fulfilling the main purpose, the study should provide information for the Divisions of Interpretation, Concessions, and Maintenance, and the branches of Cultural and Natural Resources. The information will also be of interest to the park concessioners.

My thanks extend to many across the West. I am indebted to the superintendent and staff at Yellowstone National Park, particularly former employees Laura Joss, Chief of the Branch of Cultural Resources, Cultural Resource Specialist Catherine Lentz, Curator Susan Kraft, and Library/Museum Technicians Vanessa Christopher and Anne Lewellen, and current employees Elaine Hale, Cultural Resource Assistant, Dr. Ann Mary Johnson, park archeologist, and last but certainly not least, Archivist/Historian Lee Whittlesey, who worked with me on research aspects of the project and for his general and willing assistance in many areas. I would like to express my appreciation to the park's Chief of Business Management, Edna Good and her staff for the interest they have shown in the project and to Barry Cantor, Director of Engineering, Xanterra Parks and Resorts. A very special thanks to the Assistant Regional Director, Cultural Resources and Partnerships, Intermountain Regional Office, Rodd Wheaton, who was always available to offer information from his wealth of knowledge of the park resources. I would also like to thank Joe Swartz of the National Archives, College Park, Maryland, for his assistance in enabling me to complete my research in a timely manner. My thanks go to Beth Kaeding of Yellowstone National Park and to Marti Succec whose editorial assistance contributed greatly toward the completion of this study. In preparing the final version, Yellowstone's former historic architect Lon Johnson, the current Cultural Resource Branch Chief Sue Consolo Murphy, and editors Roger J. Anderson, Alice Wondrak Biel, Tami Blackford, and Sarah Stevenson contributed editorial and administrative support. Funding from both Yellowstone National Park and the NPS Intermountain Regional Office made this printing possible.

My sincere thanks goes to Marian Albright

Schenck, who was always available for extensive research questions, just a quick call, or for providing an adjustment to one's perspective. Marian knew many of the figures associated with the concession history and her background knowledge was invaluable.

Finally, I wish to extend a special tribute to all of the major concessioners that over the years added character, humor, architecturally significant buildings, and interesting tales to the Yellowstone story. Their contributions have helped to make the park a special place in the minds of not only the American people, but to many across the world.



Map of Yellowstone National Park.

CHAPTER ONE

The Early Years 1872–1881

The Organic Act creating Yellowstone National Park on March 1, 1872, not only preserved the park's wonders "from injury or spoilation" and retained them "in their natural condition," but also set the area aside as a "pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." These two precepts provided the foundation and influenced the development of both concession and conservation policy in the National Park Service. In more instances than not, Yellowstone National Park became the proving ground for many of the new policies.

Providing "for the benefit and enjoyment of the people" became a major issue for the young Department of the Interior after the creation of the park in 1872. Requests for permission to build hotels immediately began to arrive in Washington. How to address the existing facilities in the northern portion of the park was also an issue.

Wording in Yellowstone's Organic Act established the precedent for private enterprise in the park and gave some parameters for granting leases:

> The Secretary may in his discretion, grant leases for building purposes for terms not exceeding ten years, of small parcels of ground, at such places in said park as shall require the erection of buildings for the accommodation of visitors; all of the proceeds of said leases, and all other revenues that may be derived from any source connected with said park, to be expended under his direction in the management of the same.[1]

Two months after the creation of the park, the Secretary of the Interior appointed Nathaniel P. Langford, resident of Montana Territory and one of the leaders of the Langford-Washburn-Doane expedition into the Upper Yellowstone, as Yellowstone's first superintendent (an unpaid position). Langford, who

Nathaniel Pitt Langford. 1871.

at the time of his appointment was a U.S. bank examiner for the states on the West coast and the territories, did not reside in the park and only visited during 1872 and briefly in 1874. Despite this, he recognized some of the potential problems in providing services for the visitor. In his 1872 annual report, he pointed out the need for good wagon roads to the different wonders, which, in turn, would encourage the leasing of hotel sites, thus providing revenue for the government and funds for any needed improvements. Langford, however, turned down several applications for the construction of toll roads believing the government should construct free roads for the traveling public.[2]

Also immediately after the park's creation, Langford started receiving requests for permission to construct hotels. In a letter to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, he recommended granting leases to two or three people or, at least to one person who could provide a "stopping place for tourists" during 1872. He also asked Secretary Delano to clarify his authority in allowing the construction of a hotel and "generally, for the protection of the rights of visitors, and the establishment of such rules as will conduce to their comfort and pleasure."[3]

Shortly thereafter, however, the Department of the Interior advised Langford that regulations for managing the park would be forthcoming, but he was at "liberty to apply any money, which may be received from leases to carrying out the object of the act of Congress, keeping account of the same, and making report thereof to the Department."[4]

In addition to Langford's concern for providing adequate accommodations for visitors, he faced the problem of the dealing with different pre-park entrepreneurs—Matthew McGuirk, James McCartney, Harry Horr, and C. J. "Yellowstone Jack" Baronett—who resided in the park's northern section. The men began almost immediately to pursue claims against the U.S. government for improvements. While having no personal objection to them as tenants, Langford did not want to set a precedent by approving their application of pre-emption of property. He believed that the realty of the park should be held by the government and any facilities should function under Department of the Interior's rules and regulations. Therefore, Langford believed that the government should purchase the improvements made prior to March 1872 and that the owners be given "a preference, upon equal terms, over other applicants for the rental of the premises they have improved."[5]

Langford's cause for concern was prompted by the quick action of Matthew McGuirk, who, one week after the Yellowstone Organic Act passed, appeared before the Gallatin County Clerk, Montana Territory, to file claim to a tract of land in the newly created park. McGuirk, a citizen of Wyoming Territory, maintained that he had a valid right to the land he had settled on in November 1871. Two witnesses gave sworn testimony of McGuirk's settlement near the bank of the Gardner River.[6]

At the time of his claim, the improvements at "McGuirk's Medicinal Springs" were a house, fence, ditch, and a barn. The site, on Boiling River about 145 yards from where it empties into the Gardner River, had originally been called "Chestnutville." It had first been opened as a camp for invalids, who mostly suffered from rheumatism. Scientist Ferdinand V. Hayden, of the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories and early park explorer, described the 1871 camp as a "party of invalids, who were living in tents, and their praises were enthusiastic in favor of the sanitary effects of the springs. Some of them were used for drinking and others for bathing purposes." Although he never received title to the claim, McGuirk ran his operation until 1874 when Superintendent Langford requested his removal from the park. The improvements were razed in 1889 by Superintendent Moses Harris. Ten years later McGuirk received a settlement from Congress for $1,000.[7]

The park's first hotel, built in the Clematis Gulch area of Mammoth Hot Springs by Harry Horr and James McCartney was a one-story, sod-covered log building, 25 by 35 feet. The November 2, 1871, issue of the Bozeman *Avant Courier* described the Horr and McCartney cabin as "nestled snugly in a gulch, covered with tall straight pines, while running down its bed and near the cabin, is a stream of water with a temperature of 40 degrees, while on the other side of the cabin is a stream having a temperature of 150 degrees." The reporter, "Buckskin," predicted "that in five years from this date these springs will achieve a world-wide reputation, and two years succeeding will make the greatest inland resort in the world."[8]

The first bathhouse, a tent located near the main basin on Hymen Terrace in Mammoth Hot Springs, was built by McCartney over an oblong, human-sized hole fed by nearby spring water through a hollow trough. A wooden bathhouse with wooden bathtubs was constructed later. In 1872, McCartney added a storehouse and, in the following year, a 16- by 50-

McCartney's Hotel, Mammoth Hot Springs. 1885.

foot stable and another house.

Three years after McCartney began the hotel/bathhouse operation, the Earl of Dunraven described it as a "little shanty which is dignified by the name of hotel."[9]

The Irish Earl of Dunraven, who chronicled about his travels in the park and the West, predicted that the springs would "someday become a fashionable place," but in 1874 it was mostly being frequented by:

> a few invalids from Helena and Virginia City, and is principally known to fame as a rendezvous of hunters, trappers, and idlers, who take the opportunity to loiter about on the chance of getting a party to conduct to the geysers, hunting a little, and selling meat to a few visitors who frequent the place in summer; sending the good specimens of heads and skeletons of rare beasts to the Natural History men in New York and the East; and occupying their spare time by making little basket-work ornaments and nicknacks…coated with white silicates, they sell to the travelers and invalids as memorials of their trip.[10]

By 1874, advertisements for McCartney's hotel, which was now run by John Engessor, highlighted "…a handsome club house—bar attached—billiard hall will be added—number of visitors not large.…" The following year, "Dutch John" Engessor advertised the hotel as the National Park Hotel and declared the "fare equal, if not superior, to any other house in the territory." However, three years later, Ferdinand Hayden described the fare as "simple, and remarkable for quantity rather than quality or variety" and the accommodations as "very primitive, consisting in lieu of bedstead, 12 square feet of floor room" with the guest providing his own blankets. Until 1880, the hotel offered the only accommodations in the park.

The third privately held business, a toll bridge near the confluence of the Yellowstone and Lamar rivers, was built by a Scotsman, C. J. "Yellowstone Jack" Baronett, in 1871 to serve the miners traveling to the New World Mining District on the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone, just east of the park. (In 1870, silver and lead deposits attracted the attention of many local miners who had been working earlier discoveries in the Upper Yellowstone.) Baronett's well-chosen site, at a point about 100 feet wide, had sound rock bases on either bank to provide the footings for rock-filled, log-crib piers, 20 feet high. One 60-foot span and one 30-foot span bridged the river. The superstructure consisted of a 10-foot roadway carried on three stringers, which were supported by a pair of queen-post trusses in each span. In addition to the bridge, Baronett also constructed several outbuildings.

The bridge was partially destroyed by the Nez Perce in August 1877 while being pursued through the park by U.S. Army General O. O. Howard. It was repaired and remained in service until 1880. In 1899, Congress awarded Baronett $5,000 for the bridge.[11]

Superintendent Langford made repeated requests to the Secretary of the Interior for appropriations to protect and improve the park, but to no avail. It appears Langford was not aware that during discussions about establishing the park, Ferdinand Hayden, was

Baronett Bridge. 1913.

"…compelled to give a distinct pledge that he would not apply for an appropriation for several years at least." Without the pledge, Hayden believed the legislation would not pass.[12]

In 1873, Langford asked for money to construct roads, as the opening of roads would attract "men of entire reliability" to lease sites, which would in turn "lead them to preserve, in all their beauty, the surroundings of the springs." Hayden also felt that good roads would lead to the construction of facilities by private entrepreneurs and that the government could use the lease income to maintain the government-built roads.[13]

Citing the fact that private enterprise was prepared to start both stage lines and telegraph service in the park, Langford called upon the Secretary of the Interior to take the necessary steps "toward opening the park, granting leases, fixing the rate of charge and private enterprise will be only too willing to do whatever is needed after that." However, Secretary Delano's December 1873 letter to a potential hotel lessee applicant, expressed the policy of the Department, "It has been inadvisable to grant leases for any purposes in said Park until Congress shall by a suitable appropriation, provide for its government, and for opening it to the public."[14]

In early 1874, Langford wrote to the Secretary of the Interior pointing out the need for protection of the park and also for a survey to establish the boundary because people wanted to settle nearby. With 500 people visiting the park in 1873 and the prospect of more visitors coming during the 1874 season, Langford urged Congress to award an immediate appropriation for the park's protection. He cited the need for "commodious public houses" at the Falls, Yellowstone Lake, Mammoth Hot Springs, and in each of the geyser areas, but he did not think it prudent to grant the leases to applications already received until "proper police regulations were established." Langford believed that hotel owners at the different locations would be "interested in the protection of the curiosities, and might be clothed with Government authority for that purpose."[15] Hayden also suggested that leaseholders at different park locations could serve as "deputy superintendent…without charge."[16]

Park roads around 1916.

In response to Superintendent Langford's urging for park protection and to a petition signed by 72 concerned residents of Montana Territory, Secretary Delano appealed to Congressman James Blaine for a $100,000 appropriation to enable the Department to carry out the wishes of Congress as described in the act creating the park. Delano asked for an amendment to the Organic Act specifying the term of 20 years instead of 10 years for leaseholders. The extended term would bring more money into the Treasury and could possibly "in a few years reimburse the Government for all the expense that may be incurred by it on account of the park."[17]

Reaction to the proposed amendment was not long in coming as Harry Horr and James McCartney applied to the Secretary of the Interior for a lease to "that portion of the National Park embracing the Mammoth Hot Springs," citing their earlier claim under local laws governing Montana Territory. At this time they also notified the Department that they had conveyed one-third interest in all their rights to Dr. Henri Crepin.[18]

The year before, Harry Horr had written to Montana's Congressman W. H. Clagett asking for either remuneration for his improvements or a lease, citing the importance of their caretaking of the springs at Mammoth. Clagett supported Horr's request and recommended a 10-year lease. However, Superintendent Langford was not fully supportive of the request. In his letter to Secretary Delano, he suggested that a temporary right to occupy the site of the improvement be granted "with the full understanding that such occupancy does not establish, or imply the existence of any rights of pre-emption, or priority of claim for a lease in his favor."[19] Horr responded to Secretary Delano by stating that he would submit a claim for reimbursement of the value of his property to Congress, but that he was "remote from Washington and

may suffer from lack of means to make clear and emphatic the Justice" of his claim. However, he also asked that this claim for reimbursement not jeopardize the "considerate offer to continue in the temporary occupancy" of the claim.[20]

The other Mammoth Hot Springs entrepreneur, Matthew McGuirk, made a similar request to the Secretary of the Interior and received a similar answer through Superintendent Langford. In both cases, Langford made it clear that a temporary lease would cover only cover the site of the improvement and not the 160 acres that the two men also claimed.

On April 18, 1877, Philetus W. Norris replaced Nathaniel Langford as Superintendent, and the following day Norris appointed James McCartney assistant superintendent until he could reach Yellowstone in June.[21] Norris, a Michigan businessman and early park explorer, visited the park during the summer of 1877 and spent most of his time exploring new travel routes. He had left the park by the time the Nez Perce came through in August, but his annual report for the year mentions the burning of the Baronett Bridge in his appeal for an appropriation for road and bridge construction. He also mentioned James McCartney when he addressed the pre-park built facilities. He cited Baronett's and McCartney's operations as having been:

> constantly and more beneficially to the public than to themselves held peaceable possession of them until the Indian raid, it seems but fair they should either be paid a reasonable remuneration for surrender of their improvements, if taken by the Government (which I do not recommend) or allowed a fair preference in securing ten or twenty years' leases for bridge and hotel rights at their respective localities.[22]

Norris further called upon Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to provide leases for hotel development at the falls of the Yellowstone River, Yellowstone Lake, Firehole geyser basins, and for yacht and ferry licenses on Yellowstone Lake.[23] Perhaps it was Norris's well-chosen words or maybe it was Ferdinand Hayden's influence, but Congress passed the park's first appropriation of $10,000 in June 1878.[24]

Because of the Nez Perce campaign during the previous year as well as the continuing potential threat from the Bannocks, Norris decided to construct a road to the Lower Geyser Basin instead of building a headquarters building at Mammoth Hot Springs. This

Philetus Norris. 1889.

north-south road would not only aid the movement of the military from Fort Ellis, Montana Territory, to either Henry's Lake or Virginia City (both west of the park), but it would also be helpful in transporting the growing numbers of park visitors.[25]

Road construction activities occupied much of Norris's time in 1878, but he did inspect potential building sites for hotels, assessing the available water, pastures, and a wood supply. He also looked for good boat landing sites on Yellowstone Lake for steamboat launches.[26]

Getting to Yellowstone was as much a problem as the lack of facilities and roads within the park. While the park area was within Wyoming Territory, all entry to Yellowstone was from Montana Territory. However, no rail lines extended into Montana in the 1870s; the nearest railhead from which travelers could take a stage was at Corrine, Utah, where the Union Pacific Railroad ended. The Northern Pacific Railroad lines ended at Bismarck, Dakota Territory. Alternatively, travelers could board a steamboat in St. Louis for the 3,100-mile journey to Fort Benton, Montana Territory, and then travel by stage to the Yellowstone Valley. While awareness was growing that the sights of Yellowstone would attract large numbers of

travelers, it would be nearly a decade before the Northern Pacific Railroad would become a major player in advertising the park and developing park concessions.[27]

Before Yellowstone legislation was introduced into Congress, many newspaper and magazine articles extolled the beauties of the Yellowstone area. Nathanial Langford traveled to the East Coast to present informative and interesting lectures about the area in order to solicit support for the park's establishment. One lecture was given in the home of Jay Cooke, whose financial firm had floated a loan for the extension of the Northern Pacific Railroad into Montana. When the Organic Act was introduced in Congress in 1871, Northern Pacific Railroad officials and their friends assured Congress of the company's plan to construct a narrow-gauge connecting rail line to the park's northern entrance. However, the year following establishment of Yellowstone National Park, the Northern Pacific Railroad company collapsed due to financial problems and halted construction of the rail line westward. In 1878, Ferdinand Hayden commented that the collapse of the Northern Pacific Railroad "retarded the development of the Park for years."[28]

By 1880, the Northern Pacific had been reorganized under new leadership, first Frederick Billings and later Henry Villard, and the rail line's extension into Montana resumed. At the same time, the Union Pacific Railroad was extending its narrow-gauge Utah Northern branch line to within 30 miles of the park's western entrance. Hayden believed these new developments would revive Congressional interest in the park and lead to needed appropriations for the park.[29]

Good roads and nearby rail lines were crucial to sustain public attention on the park. In his 1878 annual report, Norris showed his optimism about the improvements in transportation by comparing detailed descriptions of the two existing itineraries (Northern Pacific Railroad and Utah Northern Railroad) and associated costs with the proposed new routes. Without exhibiting any preference between the two railroads, Norris suggested that park travelers use both routes.[30]

By 1879, other park issues occupied Superintendent Norris's time. By 1879, his displeasure with the large liquor sales at McCartney's hotel prompted him to write a diplomatic letter to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz suggesting a one-year lease on all or a portion of McCartney's buildings. He suggested that if McCartney refused, he be ejected from the park by the military (from Fort Ellis).[31]

In Norris's candid letter to the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, he explained his reasons for the discretionary tone of his letter to Secretary Schurz. Norris had no hope that McCartney would accept the conditions of a one-year lease. He also knew Ferdinand Hayden would oppose McCartney's ejection and that McCartney would have the sympathy of the miners and military at Fort Ellis "with whom they habitually…drink and enjoy a frolic instead of hunting Indians; the active sympathy of the Delegate from Montana and also the most drunken and debased portion of the Mountaineers."[32] Norris feared McCartney might retaliate by burning the buildings or even ambushing and killing him. In his effort to subdue the rowdy atmosphere in the Mammoth area, Norris suggested that the Department modify the park governing rules by "prohibiting sale of stimulants upon all national reservations."[33]

Schurz asked Norris to designate a certain boundary for the McCartney site, to inform McCartney that he was bound by the rules and regulations governing the park as well as any that might be prescribed, and to ask McCartney to inform the Department of the years he wanted the lease.[34] Immediately after Norris arrived in the park in June 1879, he met with McCartney and explained the new terms. McCartney informed Norris that he would meet with friends in Bozeman before giving him his decision.[35]

By the end of July, McCartney presented several proposals to Secretary Schurz, including securing an appraisal from three appraisers as to the value of his property, having the government pay him $30,000 for his improvements for which he would give up all rights, or securing a free 10-year lease of lands and springs within a contiguous area plus rights to "certain springs and bath-houses erected…at a point near sluice to reservoir."[36] By the time Norris left the park in September, no action had occurred on the McCartney issue.

In 1879, 1,030 people visited the park, including many families from nearby Montana and Idaho who used their own wagons, carriages, horses, and pack animals. Other visitors included Pennsylvania railroad officials, military officers from the United States Army as well as different armies of Europe, noted American and European scientists, and other "prominent gentlemen and ladies from various regions."[37]

Norris's annual report for 1897 indicated his op-

timism about pending propositions for hotels at Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone Lake, and "Soda Butte Medicinal Springs" in the eastern part of the park. Overly optimistic, he predicted that a time would come when the medicinal qualities of Soda Butte Springs would rival the springs at Hot Springs, Arkansas. In addition to a bathhouse and hotel at Soda Butte, Norris even suggested that the lessee could also be the "keeper of wild and domesticated animals indigenous to the park." Other duties Norris envisioned for lessees at various locations in the park included assisting the Superintendent in implementing the rules and regulations for the proper management of the park.[38]

In the first inspection trip to the park by a Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz personally experienced the need for adequate visitor accommodations. An account of the 1880 trip written by G. W. Marshall relates the manner in which the first permit for hotel purposes was given and how Marshall fared:

> Carl Schurz, Sec. of Interior, was out visiting the Park in 80 and had to sleep out under the trees near my cabin. One night it rained. He told me next morning I would have given twenty dollars ($20.00) to have got into a house last night and suggested that I should prepare to keep travelers, said he would see that I got a permit from the Government and when they got their leases fixed, would see that I got a lease. I remained on a permit till last year when Sec. of Interior granted me a lease for 10 years. My first year I did not make any thing, second year came out $180.00 in debt.[39]

In addition to bright prospects for the hotel business, Marshall and his partner, John Goff, offered travelers more convenient transportation. They brought the first passengers on their coach line from Virginia City, Montana, to the Marshall Hotel at the forks of the Firehole River on October 1, 1880. By this time, the Utah Northern Railroad had been extended into Montana from the south, and the Northern Pacific Railroad now extended into Montana from the east and was expected to be close to Miles City and Yellowstone River by the coming season.[40]

Secretary Schurz also favored establishment of a mail route in the park.[41] Before winter set in, G.W. Marshall and John Goff had built the Riverside mail station (an earthen-roofed loghouse and barn below the canyon of the Madison River and on the road to Henry's Lake), the mail station at Norris (a "rude, earth-roofed cabin and barn"), and a "fine-shingle roofed mail station and hotel with barn and outbuildings" just west of the forks of the Firehole River.[42]

Norris wrote in his 1880 annual report that he expected the terms of the leases for hotels to be extended from 10 to 30 years. Perhaps this was in response to Secretary Schurz's reply to A. W. Hall of Fargo, Dakota Territory, who had applied for a hotel lease. Schurz stated "as the law now stands we cannot give leases except for ten years, and that is scarcely long enough to induce responsible parties to erect buildings of a sufficiently substantial character."[43] Hall responded that he and his partner had considered the "ten year term taking our chances of obtaining an extension of the time of Congress," and that they were prepared to build "on a scale commensurate with the magnificent region."[44] The Halls were highly recommended by Congressman W. D. Washburn of Minnesota, Senator William Windom of Minnesota, and four other prominent men, but no lease was given.[45]

By the end of 1881, the Utah Northern Railroad extended to Silver Bow, Montana (near Butte). A survey was planned for extending a branch line to Virginia City, then along the upper Madison River, and terminating at the forks of the Firehole River within the park. The Northern Pacific Railroad lines had reached the vicinity of Miles City, Montana, and according to Norris, rail officials believed the line would be within 30 miles of the park by the following year. Shortly after that, a branch line would extend to the "mouth of the Gardiner [*sic*]." Confident that the improved rail routes would make the park more accessible, Norris anticipated "a visit to the Park will become national in character and popular with our people so they will no longer have to loiter the antiquated paths to pygmy haunts of other lands, before seeking health, pleasure, and the soul expanding delights of a season's ramble amid the peerless snow and cliff encircled marvels of their own."[46]

Despite 10 years having passed since the Organic Act specified the granting of leases for the erection of hotels, no formal leases had been granted in the park (Marshall's was apparently a verbal permit.). The McCartney Hotel claim had not been settled, but Norris gave him written permission to make some improvements to his property. Norris also gave McCartney written permission for one more year based upon his adherence to the rules and regulations just approved by the newly appointed Secretary of the Interior,

Samuel Kirkwood. Kirkwood added a prohibition of liquor sales to the park rules and regulations, and McCartney rented his hotel and other buildings for the season to "a responsible party with a family" and left for Gardiner where he could sell "grog."[47]

During 1881 the groundwork was laid for one of the important and long-lasting concession leases. A petition signed by the General Manager and General Land Agent of the Northern Pacific Railroad and several prominent Fargo, Dakota Territory, businessmen proposed that F. Jay Haynes of Fargo be the official photographer of Yellowstone National Park with the privilege of erecting a studio in the park. The petition cited the immense circulation and impact that Haynes's landscape photography had on attracting attention to that part of the country.[48] With encouraging words from the Department of the Interior, Haynes left for the park at the end of August 1881 for a month's work. While there he selected a 10-acre tract of land that "contains no wonders" near Beehive Geyser on the west bank of the Firehole River.[49]

The Department of the Interior policy at the time prohibited the granting of titles to "any portion of the soil, nor licenses to persons or companies for toll roads or bridges, but rather to make and manage all the improvements of a general nature," however, those of a "local or private nature" such as hotels, should be left to private enterprise. Norris continued to suggest a longer lease term (but not to exceed 30 years) thinking that the longer extension would encourage the construction of a "better class of structure."[50]

The season of 1881 would be Norris's final one in the park, although he remained Superintendent until February 1882. Then, with a new presidential administration and a new Secretary of the Interior, politics began to influence the events in Yellowstone.

Unfortunately, the first decade of the nation's first national park ended with little progress toward providing for the "benefit and enjoyment of the people."

CHAPTER TWO

Suspicion, Chaos, and the End of Civilian Rule 1883–1885

Yellowstone National Park's second decade began with great interest by officials in developing the park for the visitor, but no firm concession policy was in place in the Department of the Interior. Within 18 months, three different men held the job of Secretary of the Interior. Because the Department had no real bureaucracy in place and no official had been assigned to the only national park, there was little hope that a concession policy could be formulated. In addition to the changes in Washington, the very able and experienced Superintendent Norris was replaced by the far less competent Iowan P. H. Conger.

This change could not have come at a more inopportune time for the fledgling national park. With the Northern Pacific Railroad tracks drawing closer to the park, accommodations and local transportation facilities were totally inadequate to handle the potentially large increase in the number of visitors. Previously, Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz had opposed the idea of exclusive privilege or monopoly,[1] but with the political changes in Washington and the obvious need for immediate visitor facilities, the circumstances were right for choosing an easy course.

By 1882, the Secretary's office was receiving numerous applications for hotel leases, including one from a consortium of 10 men, one of who was George Marshall. The application proceeded through the established process: review by the superintendent who made recommendations to the Secretary who replied to the applicants. Secretary Henry Teller's reply to this application indicated "a sincere intention to process the proposed lease in an honest and businesslike manner," however, the lease application was never processed and soon another monopolistic proposal was before the Department.[2] This one, which developed into the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company, would set the stage for concession policy well into the twentieth century.

A January 1882 *New York Times* article identified a syndicate of "wealthy gentlemen, more or less intimately connected with the Northern Pacific to build a branch tourist's line…to the heart of the Yellowstone National Park, and erect there a large hotel for the accommodation of visitors." The list of investors included Senator William Windom of Minnesota,[3] Northern Pacific Railroad superintendent Carroll Hobart, and other prominent men in the Minnesota-Dakota Territory area. The article stated that the syndicate planned to erect a 500-room hotel with an investment of $150,000.[4]

The syndicate's proposal did not arrive in the Secretary's office until late July, and its propositions were slightly different than described in the newspaper article:

> First: The erection of a first class hotel costing not less than $100,000 with such additional hotels as the wants of the public may require.
> Second: The construction and operation of one or more steamboats on the Yellowstone Lake.
> Third: The establishment of stage lines and livery accommodation for all railroads and other highways reaching the Park to all points of interest within the Park.

> Fourth: To supply guides and other facilities necessary to enable visitors to see the wonders of the Yellowstone Park.
> Fifth: All employees of the company to be uniformed and render strict discipline; all changes of every kind to be scheduled, published and approved by the Secretary of the Interior; and all extra charges and fees strictly prohibited.[5]

Two of the principals, Hobart and Henry Douglas, also asked for the rights to use local materials in the construction of the boats and buildings, in addition to the use of "refuse and worthless timber" for fuel.[6]

The proposal was personally transmitted to the Department of the Interior by Minnesota Senator William Windom. The Senator followed up with a letter to the Secretary stating that he "will take occasion to see you in regard to this matter in a few days."

Hobart had already met with the Secretary of the Interior a few days prior to sending the proposal. Thus, Senator Windom's political influence and Hobart's personal attention paved the way for a timely acceptance of the proposal by the Department of the Interior.[7]

Within a month of receiving the longer detailed proposal from Secretary Teller, Superintendent Conger replied that despite their highly placed recommendations, "they ask to cover entirely too much ground. The National Park is a great Territory and the day is not distant in my opinion when the franchise they ask will be worth a very large sum of money, besides [*sic*] I believe the Public would be restive were all these privileges granted to a single Party or Corporation."[8] However, his negative comments about the proposal were in vain: nearly three weeks before, a contract for a lease was signed in Washington between Assistant Secretary of the Interior Merritt Joslin and Carroll Hobart and Henry Douglas. Because Hobart was operating within a narrow timeframe to complete facilities by the opening of the next travel season, he urged the Secretary to consider his request to use local materials for construction; this was granted.[9] By the time the snow fell in 1882, they had erected a sawmill, cut needed timber, and begun the foundation for the hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs.[10]

The newly signed agreement, which was the epitome of a monopoly, was the beginning of the park's major concessioner, initially the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company, which was to last almost 100 years. Whether this new venture is considered good, bad, or indifferent, it marked the first organized approach to the needs of the visitor to the park.

Teller's optimistic view of the contract with the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company was not shared by people in the park nor by General James Brisbin, the new recipient of the contract for steamboat services on Yellowstone Lake.[11] Brisbin complained to a Colorado colleague of Secretary Teller that Hobart, Douglas, and their new business partner, Rufus Hatch of New York, "cut under us and have secured the right to put on all the additional steamers required in the next ten years together with all sail boats." Brisbin went on to state that the agreement with the new syndicate was not between a "sensible and good friend Secy. Teller but from the 'Associate Secy' whoever he may be."[12]

Despite these sentiments, the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company moved ahead with its plans. Carroll Hobart, along with a team of surveyors, engineers, and others, inspected the park in the autumn of 1882. In a strongly worded letter to Secretary Teller, Hobart advised him to request a substantial appropriation of $500,000 instead of $75,000 in order to make permanent improvements to the roads and bridges, stating that "a petty annual appropriation may be made for fifty successive years, but it will never develop or improve the Park, because they are exhausted each year for repairs, practically, and simple maintenance and salaries for government employees." Hobart, who was to become the executive officer of the company in the park, pledged his personal support backed with "facts, figures, and reasonings, either in committee or on the floor of Congress."[13]

The following year, the Northern Pacific Railroad completed its branch line to Cinnabar, which was within a few miles of the northern boundary of the park. Land acquisition litigation spoiled the railroad's intention of terminating at Gardiner, a tent town of nearly 200 people and 21 saloons, 5 general merchandise stores, and 6 restaurants. Jubilant officials of the Northern Pacific Railroad marked the completion of the branch line by hosting several tours of the park for important people from both the United States and Europe. Visiting journalists advertised the wonders of the park from London to San Francisco, and newspaper accounts of President Chester Arthur's trip to the park in 1883 received wide coverage across the country, introducing the park to many.[14]

With completion of the terminus at Cinnabar,

railroad officials began discussing extending the rail line to Cooke City on the park's northeastern boundary where the New World mining district was located. Because the most desirable route would traverse the park through the Lamar River Valley, the stage was set for a multi-decade struggle for park protection.

Just after the New Year in 1883, the issue of park concessioner monopolies was debated in Congress. Because of the controversy, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Joslyn sent a modified form of the 1882 lease for the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company to the Senate Committee on Territories. This modified lease denied exclusive privileges to the company but granted them the use of one section (640 acres) of land at Old Faithful Geyser and a half section of land at six other areas in the park at a rent not to exceed two dollars an acre.[15] Former Superintendent Nathaniel P. Langford sent an immediate protest to Senator George Vest, an important supporter of park protection, denouncing the terms of the modified lease as a "practical monopoly of the entire park." He pointed out that such a generous grant of land in the geyser basin and 320 separate acres at the other wonders in the park could prevent "parties from camping out near the springs, and deprive them of one of the greatest pleasures of a trip to the Park, if they liked camp life." Langford informed Senator Vest that when he and others were working on the initial legislation, they gave careful consideration to avoiding this sort of grant by including the term "small parcels of land."[16]

In the end, the modified concession lease language was included within the park protection bill that Senator Vest was trying to get through Congress. After one attempt to deny the Secretary of the Interior the right to lease any portion of the park, the bill passed, giving the Secretary the authority to "lease small portions of the ground in the park not exceeding 10 acres in extent for each tract, no such leased land to be within one-quarter of a mile of any of the geysers or of the Yellowstone Falls."[17]

On March 9, 1883, Secretary Henry Teller; Carroll Hobart of Fargo, Dakota Territory; Henry Douglas of Fort Yates, Dakota Territory; and Rufus Hatch of New York City signed the modified contract that agreed to the following:

1. two acres, more or less,—Mammoth Hot Springs
2. one and one-half acres, more or less—Old Faithful
3. one and one-half acres, more or less—Madison River
4. one acre, more or less,—Soda Butte Spring
5. one and one-half acres, more or less,—Tower Falls
6. one and one-half acres, more or less,—Great Falls
7. one acre at Yellowstone Lake
8. no parcel within one quarter mile of geysers or falls
9. build at least a 250 room hotel at Mammoth, necessary outhouses, furniture, bath and ice houses and electric-light machinery for cost of not less than $150,000.
10. at other locations build hotels or other buildings as approved by Secretary
11. Secretary of Interior allowed to grant other leases of land at other points for same purpose
12. a rental rate of $2 per year per acre
13. procedure for property in case of lease forfeiture
14. submittal of tariff of charges for approval by Secretary of Interior
15. all employees must obey all park regulations and rules; all employees must wear a uniform or badge to distinguish their employment with company
16. company does not have right to mine or remove any precious mineral, mine coal, cut or remove timber, except as authorized by Secretary; not to injure or destroy game, natural curiosity or wonder of park
17. may not interfere with visitors access to wonders of park
18. may not transfer lease without approval of Secretary
19. no member of Congress shall be admitted to any share or part in agreement or derive any benefit therefrom[18]

Within a few months, Secretary Teller approved the plans for the hotel at Mammoth, and, by June, Hobart reported that the hotel "now approaches completion and we are now locating and providing accommodations [*sic*] for the entertainment of tourists at other points throughout the Park." Hobart asked permission to use discarded telegraph lines found along the Northern Pacific Railroad route through the Yellowstone Valley. However, plans had already been approved by the Secretary of War that allowed the Chief Signal Officer to have the discarded lines.[19]

In Superintendent Conger's 1883 annual report to the Secretary, he wrote, "There is much dissatisfaction and resentment manifest amongst the people of the Territories, especially amongst those living in the Yellowstone Valley, in the vicinity of the Park, against and with the claims that the 'Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company' asserts, to wit, that this company holds the exclusive right and privilege to do all business of whatever kind or character (aside from that which is done by the Government) within the limits of the Park." Conger's correspondence during the last few months of 1883 reveals that he was also at odds with the company's general manager, Carroll Hobart.[20]

At the close of 1883, the president of the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company tried to smooth over the bad relations that had developed between Superintendent Conger and Carroll Hobart. In his first annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, Rufus Hatch described the recently completed main portion of the National Hotel, designed by St. Paul, Minnesota architect, L. F. Buffington, as a "graceful and elaborate style of architecture." The 151-room principal building was 414-feet long and 54-feet deep, varied in height from three to four stories, and cost $140,000. Two wings of 250 feet each would be built when needed, bringing the total cost of the hotel to $180,000. Hatch reported on the construction of various service buildings at Mammoth and the establishment of hotel camps at Norris, the Upper Geyser Basin, and the Great Falls of the Yellowstone. In anticipation of providing better stagecoach and saddle service in the park, Hatch appealed for more improvements to the roads. Luckily, no accidents occurred during the travel season despite the terrible condition of the roads. Hatch expressed a negative opinion on the construction of railroads within the park, but did ask for the construction of an assay office at Mammoth Hot Springs, citing the midway location between the Clarks Fork mines and the mines at Emigrant Gulch, Bear Gulch, and Crevice Gulch. He ended his report by reiterating the company's support for strong protective measures of the wonders and game in the park.[21]

A few weeks later, Hatch wrote to Secretary Teller denying the rumor that the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company was constructing a telegraph line from the Cinnabar railroad terminus to Mammoth Hot Springs and on to the Clarks Fork. He did state that his general manager, Carroll Hobart, was instructed to erect poles from Cinnabar to the National Hotel at Mammoth, but no farther.[22]

In other actions in 1883, the Wakefield and Hoffman Company received the contract to deliver the U.S. mail between Livingston and Cooke City via Mammoth Hot Springs, resulting in the construction of a mail station on the East Fork of the Yellowstone River. Just before the year ended, the general agent, George Wakefield, requested permission from the Secretary of the Interior to build two more stations along the route and for permission to cut hay for the horses.[23] Wakefield and Hoffman also provided stage service between the Northern Pacific Railroad terminus at Cinnabar, which opened on August 1, and the National Hotel.[24]

One final development in 1883 involved F. Jay Haynes's application to lease a parcel of land for his photographic studio, which had been delayed due to the pending Congressional legislation concerning the park. In May 1883, Haynes was appointed the official

Haynes Studio on Parade Ground at Fort Yellowstone. Late 19th century.

F. J. Haynes third from left. 1886.

Haynes Postcards

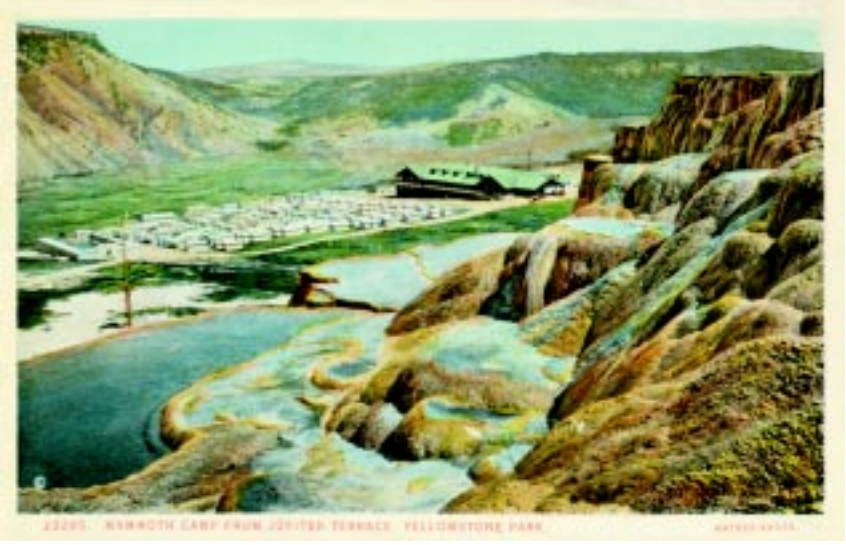
The history of Yellowstone National Park is, in many ways, the history of F. Jay and Jack Haynes, a father and son team of photographers who lived and worked in the park from 1881 through Jack's death in 1962. The elder Haynes, immortalized in the book *Following the Frontier with F. Jay Haynes*, established the family businesses in the park that included photograph sales, picture postcard sales, guidebook sales, souvenir shops, a stagecoach company, a bus company, and a camping company. His years in Yellowstone (1881–1921) are commemorated by the place-name Mount Haynes, located on the Madison River within the park.

F. Jay's son Jack Ellis Haynes, who grew up at Mammoth Hot Springs, took over the family business in 1916 and continued to produce photographs (hundreds of thousands of them) for the rest of his life. Together the two men marketed and sold Yellowstone to the nation's tourists, so much so that Jack referred to himself as "The Postcard Man." Jack spent nearly all of his seventy-eight years in the park, and as a result became familiarly known to park residents as "Mr. Yellowstone." He worked with Aubrey L. Haines for many years on the large history of the park that Haines later published (and dedicated to Jack) after Jack's death.

The Haynes family postcards, some of which are depicted here, have been discussed in detail in Richard Saunders' book *Glimpses of Wonderland: The Haynes and Their Postcards of Yellowstone National Park* (1997). All postcards are courtesy of the author.

Mammoth and Gardiner Area

Mammoth Camp main entrance. 1923.



Mammoth Camp from Jupiter Terrace. 1923.

Mammoth Camp Lodge cabin. 1923.

Mammoth Camp Lodge cabin interior. 1923.

Mammoth Lodge dining room. 1923.

Haynes Studio after relocation to edge of Capitol Hill. ca. 1934.

Pryor Coffee Shop (Park Curio Shop) at Mammoth Hot Springs. ca. 1930s.

Northern Pacific Station, Gardiner, Montana, at Northern Entrance to Yellowstone. ca. 1910.

Canyon Area

Canyon Hotel. 1913.

Canyon Hotel dining room. ca. 1911.

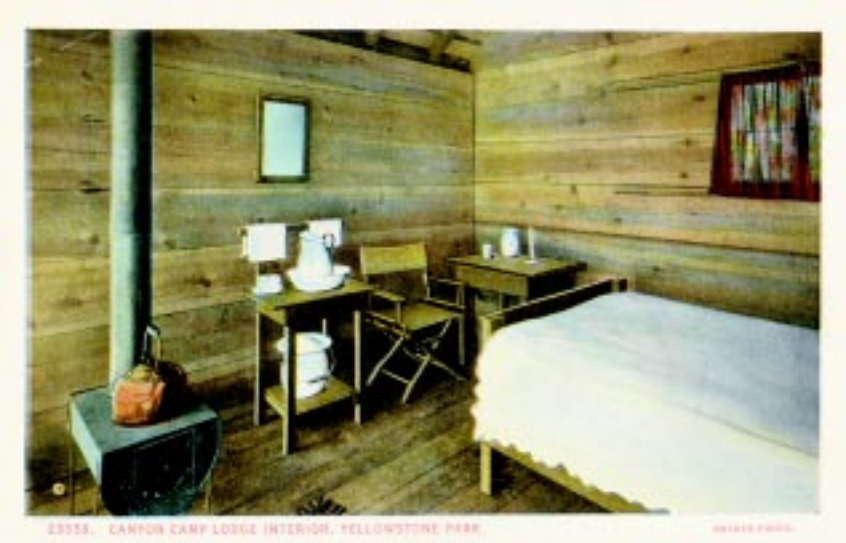
Canyon Hotel lounge staircase. ca. 1911.

Canyon Hotel lounge. ca. 1910.

Canyon Hotel lounge. 1936.

Canyon Lodge. 1935.

Canyon Lodge lounge. 1929.



Canyon Lodge cabin interior. 1923.

Old Faithful Area

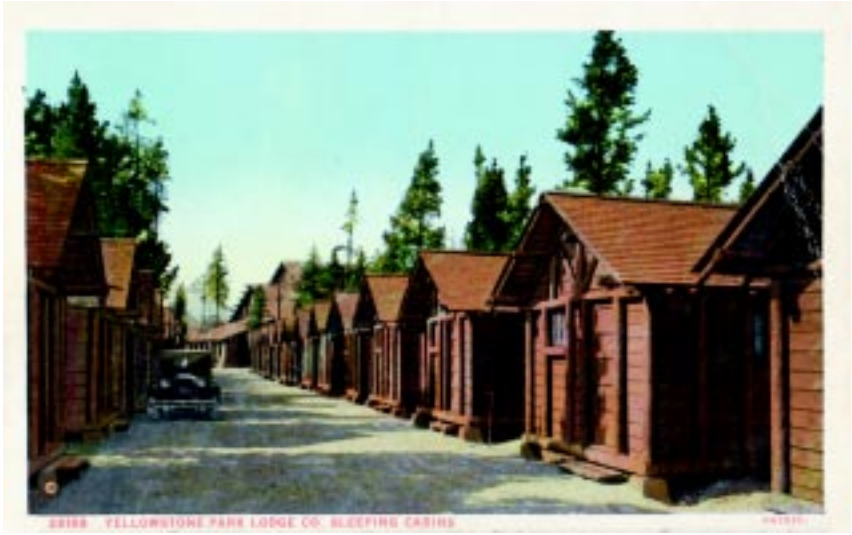
Old Faithful Inn. 1938.

Old Faithful Inn dining room. 1923.

Old Faithful Inn "Bear Pit." 1936.

Old Faithful Inn lobby. ca. 1904.

Geyser Water swimming pool—Old Faithful. 1934.



Old Faithful Lodge sleeping cabins. 1928.

Lake and East Entrance Area

Lake Hotel. ca. 1905.

Lake Hotel dining room. ca. 1900.

Lake Hotel dining room. 1925.

Lake Hotel lobby. 1923.

Lake Lodge. 1929.

Sylvan Lunch Station on Cody road. ca. 1925.

Sylvan Pass Lodge on Cody road. 1924.

Wylie Tent Camps

Wylie Camp. ca. 1910.

Wylie Camp single tent cabin. n.d.

Wylie Camp single tent cabin interior. 1912.

Wylie two-compartment tent interior. 1912.

Wylie dining tent interior. 1912.

photographer and Superintendent of the Art Department for the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company with headquarters at Mammoth Hot Springs.[25]

Chaos reigned in 1884. Suspicions about Yellowstone Park Improvement Company's "steal" of the park were rampant in the Yellowstone area, the company went through a financial crisis, there was a general state of bad feelings among residents of the park, and Superintendent Conger was relieved of his job.[26]

Early in the year, Secretary Teller sent Superintendent Conger a strongly worded letter stating, "I call your attention to the fact that no parties have been granted exclusive privileges, as such grants are not only contrary to law and contrary to the express terms, of their lease or permitted. It is not the policy of the government to fill the Park with settlers, but to allow a sufficient number of hotels to be established to accommodate the visiting public." Teller also warned Conger to take prompt action against the hotel company or any others that grazed more than the needed cows or horses on park lands.[27]

In January 1884, the Department of the Interior granted G. W. Marshall a lease for four acres of ground at the site of the Marshall Hotel, and Marshall responded to Teller with plans for new buildings. In the meantime, Superintendent Conger complained to Teller that he "ordered Marshall to vacate his house at the Fire Hole Basin…for the reason of his outrageous treatment of tourists." Conger added that "he refused to be governed by the rules and orders…and always has treated the same with contempt…Marshall is a bad man and I do not believe a respectable man can be found in this section who is acquainted with him that would believe him under oath."[28] Unfortunately, the controversy with G. W. Marshall continued. Plans for the Marshall Hotel and the cutting of timber for its construction as well as the unauthorized removal of his buildings to a new site were not resolved. An additional disagreement between Marshall and the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company about the erection of its tent camps also flared later in the year.[29]

In March 1884, F. Jay Haynes received a 10-year lease, which allowed him eight acres of land at the Upper Geyser Basin and permission to erect any needed building or buildings for the purpose of preparing photographic views and selling them to tourists. The lease contained the same provisions as the earlier leases issued with regard to cutting of timber, approval of rates, and hiring reputable employees. In July, Haynes's rates for sales of his photographs were accepted.[30] In October, Haynes received permission to split his approved eight-acre lease into four acres at the Upper Geyser Basin and four acres at Mammoth Hot Springs.[31]

In April 1884, Secretary Teller granted John L. Yancey a 10-year lease to operate his Pleasant Valley Mail Station near the route to the Clarks Fork mines despite the fact that Yancey had been accused of killing park game a few months earlier.[32] Previously, Yancey had been given verbal permission to operate a hotel in 1882, but no formal lease had ever been granted. The 10-acre tract was established with his facility as the center point.[33]

In 1882 when Yancey first approached the Superintendent about erecting a mail station, Superintendent Conger had given him verbal permission to erect two other mail stops, one to George Jackson for a stop 12 miles east of Yancey's and another one to Billy Jump for a stop at Soda Butte. During the autumn of 1883, Conger took over the mail station at Soda Butte from Mr. Jump for use as a government station for his assistant.[34]

Another long-time resident, C. J. Baronett, and his new partner, J. W. Ponsford, asked for a lease to use his old toll bridge which spanned the Yellowstone River on the Cooke City route. According to Baronett, he had the support of generals Philip Sheridan, William Sherman, and Delos Sackett as well as President Chester Arthur for receiving a lease or credit for his contribution of the bridge. In fact, General Sheridan called it "a great public benefit" in his letter of endorsement for Baronett's lease to the Secretary of the Interior.[35] However, nothing transpired in 1884 to aid Baronett.

Despite "opening" the National Hotel and several tent camps during 1883, the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company began 1884 in financial trouble. The company found it harder to attract investors due to the restrictive 1883 lease of 10 acres rather than the more generous terms of 4,400 acres envisioned by Hatch, Hobart, and Douglas. Consequently, the company found itself in debt for almost $85,000 and unable to make its payroll or pay off its creditors.[36]

Livingston businessman George Carver filed a lien and legally attached the company's sawmill, a herd of horses, and 180 head of cattle. President Rufus Hatch filed for bankruptcy, and a Livingston banker,

A. L. Love, was appointed receiver. Unhappy with Hatch and the turn of events, Hobart and Douglas (the other two signatories to the lease) managed to have another, more favorable receiver chosen through the Federal District Court in Wyoming Territory; George Hulme was selected to be the legitimate receiver.[37] Hulme directed the affairs of the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company through 1884 and 1885 with the assistance of the resident manager, Carroll Hobart. Further problems developed when some of the construction workers building the National Hotel staged a sit-down strike, demanding their long overdue wages and defending themselves with rifles.

With the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad's branch line to Cinnabar in August 1883, record numbers of visitors were expected for the 1884 travel season and the hotel strike posed a major problem for the hotel company. Until the strike was settled, the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company provided arriving tourists with free lodging in three sleeping cars and a hotel car at the Cinnabar terminus; meals were offered for 75 cents. The company erected large hotel boarding tents at Norris, the Lower Firehole Geyser Basin, and the Upper Geyser Basin, which were rumored to have been provided by the Northern Pacific Railroad. The erection of these tents in the Lower Firehole Geyser Basin caused Marshall and Henderson to complain of "impingement of their rights under their Lease" and asked the assistant superintendent to take the tents down.[38]

The Improvement Company's General Manager and Vice President Carroll Hobart apologized to Secretary of the Interior Teller for all of the problems, but pointed out that "it is impossible, in a country so far removed from law and order, to organize and have everything work as perfectly as it would in less remote portions of the country." He called many of the strikers "unscrupulous," and hoped the Secretary would be as "patient as possible under these trying circumstances."[39] A settlement was finally reached in late June, in large part due to receiver George Hulme's efforts. The hotel formally opened to visitors on July 4, 1884.

After struggling to open the Mammoth hotel, Hobart faced another problem with Superintendent Conger who forbade the company's use of the hot springs for the bathhouses. Conger drove off the men repairing the pipes and confiscated the tents belonging to the company.[40] Shortly thereafter, Conger requested that the company close the tent camp at the East Fork of the Firehole River, but he was immediately overruled by the Department of the Interior.[41]

In August, Hobart received permission to alter the location of the lease at the Lower Geyser Basin to the following:

> Beginning at a point one hundred feet North of the end of the foot bridge across the East Fork of Fire Hole River, near the Government buildings, thence East 100 feet, thence North 200 feet, thence West 812 feet, thence East 212 feet to the place of beginning, containing one and one-half acres.[42]

In November, Hobart submitted a more definite description for the 1.5 acre site at the Upper Geyser Basin:

> Commencing at a hub twenty-five feet west of Crystal Creek [present Myriad Creek], at the intersection of the bluff, thirteen hundred and twenty feet from Old Faithful Geyser, thence, running east two hundred and fifty-five and six-tenths feet, thence south two hundred and fifty-five and six-tenths feet, thence west two hundred and fifty-five and six-tenths feet, thence north two hundred and fifty-five and six-tenths feet to the place of beginning. Containing about $1^1/_2$ acres.[43]

A new superintendent, Robert C. Carpenter, arrived in the park late in the 1884 season. In his brief report to Secretary Teller, he expressed a concern for the numbers of settlers who lived in the park without lease or permit. He thought the upcoming cold winter weather would drive some of them from the park, but the long-time residents would pose another problem.[44]

Superintendent Carpenter was particularly concerned about J. C. McCartney's group of buildings within the northern boundary near Gardiner. In addition to McCartney's holdings at Mammoth Hot Springs, he had built four small houses, one of which was a saloon, and a large barn used as a livery and feed stable, and he had fenced 80 acres. Carpenter, who called McCartney "the boldest and most conspicuous trespasser now within the limits of the Park," knew that because McCartney's site was in Montana Territory, Wyoming officials could not enforce any legal action. Consequently, Carpenter needed permission to remove McCartney using his assistants or officers of

the park or, if necessary, soldiers from the nearest military post. Carpenter very astutely discussed law and order on the frontier in his report to Secretary Teller, "Of one thing I am convinced and that is that if I cannot summarily deal with the men who thus openly defy the authority of the Government, it will be impossible to enforce the laws in the Park against offenders who are less conspicuous."[45]

In the beginning of 1885, Carroll Hobart began putting the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company's different leases in order. He submitted plans for the construction of a hotel at the Upper Geyser Basin estimating the total construction cost at about $20,000, and he received approval for a corrected survey and hotel plans for the facility at the Great Falls of the Yellowstone and for a corrected survey for the lease at the Norris Geyser Basin.[46] Shortly after the new lease was signed, Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow asked the Superintendent to make sure the company buildings were located on the correct tracts identified in the lease.

By summer creditors began seeking payment for goods and services provided to the bankrupt Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company.[47]

In September, Hobart reported that the company had used 173,000 feet of lumber in the construction of the hotel at the Upper Geyser Basin. He projected the completion of the hotels at Canyon and Lake by June 1, 1886.[48]

Unfortunately, the park hotels did not receive favorable publicity. One letter the Department received described the hotel accommodations as "insufficient, unsuitable and managed in such a way as to make it unfit for any but very strong persons to subject themselves to the discomfort and possible danger of occupying them."[49] Upon receiving several complaints about the condition of the hotels, George Hulme, the receiver for the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company sent C. V. Sims from New York City to Yellowstone to report on all the affairs of the company. As a result of Sims's report, the receiver George Hulme felt Carroll Hobart should be removed as company manager in the park, citing the fact that Hobart had failed to get a functioning organization together during the previous two years. Mr. Hulme also was uneasy because the buildings were not insurable during the transition from one company to another.[50]

The following week, the new Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Lamar, received a petition from Rufus Hatch that supported the removal of Hobart but did not support the sale of the property. Hatch believed that new management would turn the business around and soon produce enough of a profit to satisfy the creditors. He also believed that under the terms of the 1883 lease, the government could not legally sell the property without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.[51]

In mid-November, Hulme wrote to Secretary Lamar requesting that no new leases for hotels be approved. He based his request upon his new re-organization plan, which specified that new management would go into effect on December 23. He pointed out that if the new leases were granted, the property of the Improvement Company "will be practically valueless and the creditors of the Company will suffer a serious loss."[52]

The day prior to the new management taking effect, the acting Secretary of the Interior sent a letter to the Improvement Company attorney, John Newton, stating that "no assurance was given you at that interim further than to the effect that when the Improvement Company could satisfy the Department that it was in a condition to carry out the terms of its lease the question as to the desired extension of time would be considered." But more important, the Acting Secretary informed him that "the Department has been urged to take early action upon an application of Mr. Frederick Billings and others for a lease of ground for

Upper Geyser Basin Hotel. 1889.

hotel purposes in the Park." He did allow Mr. Newton to make an appointment in Washington to present the views of the Improvement Company.[53]

The Department was also dealing with other concessioners' requests that year. On February 1, 1885, a request for a 10-year lease for 10 acres at Mammoth was received at the Department of the Interior. The plans were submitted by Eva Mary Errett proposing construction of the Cottage Hotel. Five days later, J. A. Clark requested a 10-year lease to construct the Cottage Hotel.[54] Then, on April 2, Walter and Helen Henderson applied for a lease modification at Mammoth Hot Springs that was clearly intended to allow construction of a hotel, the Cottage Hotel. The application was accompanied by the endorsement of five assistant superintendents—and J. A. Clark! Within three months, three people had applied for separate leases to construct the same hotel.[55] And, on the day that the Hendersons sent in their request for approval of the hotel rates, Mr. Clark also sent in a request for approval of rates adding that he had "consulted other parties engaged in the same business and equally interested in making prices as low as is compatible with the comfort, economy and safety of visitors and a reasonable compensation to them and they concur in the reasonableness of the charges."[56]

Before the hotel was constructed, Clark had sought permission from Lt. Dan Kingman, the Army Corps of Engineers officer in charge of road construction, to use the government sawmill for two or three days to cut his timber for his Cottage Hotel and livery stable. Kingman denied approval on the grounds that it was government property and not for the free use of private parties. However, Kingman knew that Clark held a valid lease at Mammoth Hot Springs and feared that if he were denied the use of the sawmill, he would erect a "building of rough logs and mud, and it will be an eyesore, and will disfigure the Park." Thus, he recommended that Clark and any future users furnish the Engineers with a complete bill of lumber required and attach a certified check for the cost.[57]

As a final problem, when F. Jay Haynes arrived for the 1885 season, he found that Clark's lease overlapped with his lease. But, before Superintendent Carpenter arrived in the park for the 1885 season, Clark selected another site, began building a house, and then applied to the Secretary for his approval.[58] In addition to the problem of Clark's tract overlapping Haynes's tract of land, Arnold Hague of the United States Geological Survey (and a strong protector of the park's resources) objected to Clark's site for his hotel. Hague opposed Clark's use of the broad terrace in front of the National Hotel asserting that it should be "kept free, and which every person interested in the Park, would be sorry to see occupied." He also wrote to Clark "You will show yourself open to serious criticism if you do not locate your place where it was intended you should be."[59]

It is apparent that Hague had long been in a position that allowed him to at least unofficially review leases and recommend approvals. When Clark's lease first came before Secretary Teller, Hague told the Sec-

Cottage Hotel. 1888.

retary that "injury would be done to the springs and natural curiosities by leasing more grounds upon the broad open terraces." Teller and Clark agreed that the lease should be placed northeast of Capitol Hill.[60]

By the end of 1885, Clark had moved his recently constructed buildings at the Department's request. However, by that time, the new Superintendent, David Wear (who was appointed in July 1885), remarked to Secretary Lamar, "Had I known as much of Clark at the time as I do now I would not have recommended that he be granted a lease in the Park." These feelings correspond to those of Army Corps of Engineers Lt. Dan Kingman.[61]

The Hendersons began construction of the Cottage Hotel in August 1885 and the first wing of the hotel was near completion by November. (An additional wing would be built later as needed.) The three-story hotel was 40 by 36 feet with a two-story veranda 10 feet wide, stretching across the front and the east elevation for 70 feet. The rustic log hotel was set on a wooden foundation. Upon its completion in November 1885, the hotel was described by owner G.L. Henderson in the *Livingston Enterprise*, "three stories high, built of round, peeled logs but very finely finished, [it] is an imposing as well as unique structure."[62]

Hague continued to pressure the Department of the Interior about the kinds and numbers of leases being awarded in the park. His letter to Secretary Lamar in June 1885 represents the first comprehensive overview of how best to protect the park from frivolous leases. Basing his premise that "successful management of the Park largely depended [*sic*] upon the nature of the leases and the character and standing of the persons to whom such leases are granted," Hague suggested a full investigation into the condition of the of the leases and leased lands with recommendations for future transactions. Hague believed the Interior Department should consider awarding leases for stage lines between the hotel areas, licenses for "pack-trains and outfits for the accommodation of those who wish to leave the beaten tracks and camp out in the mountains," and leases for stables, storehouses, and stores. Hague felt that if fewer leases were granted, it would be easier to manage them and that would benefit visitors.[63]

The following month Superintendent Wear made his own inspection of the park and reported to Secretary Lamar, "I regret to say that I find nearly every building is erected on ground not embraced in the leased lots or parcels of land, [and] especially is this so at the Upper Geyser Basin." Wear confronted Carroll Hobart about the placement of his hotel within 300 yards of Old Faithful. Hobart claimed it to be on the legal tract, but was not able to produce documents to prove that. Wear learned from Henderson and his son-in-law, Henry Klamer, that they were seeking an addition of six acres to their initial lease in order for their buildings to be located on a legal tract.[64]

Growing pressure for reform led the Department of the Interior to appoint Special Agent William Hallett Phillips to investigate the state of affairs in the park. After spending six weeks in the park, Phillips's report first attacked the lack of Congressional attention to providing sufficient governing authority for such an important area and then outlined the conflicts of the existing territorial jurisdictions.

Phillips opposed the unrelenting pressure on the Department to allow the building of a railroad to the Cooke City Mines. Back in 1884, Secretary of the Interior Teller had not opposed Senate Bill No. 1373, which granted a right-of-way to the Cinnabar and Clarks Fork Railroad. In a letter to Senator George Vest, Teller wrote that the railroad would not "detract from the beauty or grandeur nor would it interfere with the operations of the park to a greater extent than the wagon teams by means of which communications between the points named is now carried out."[65]

Phillips, however, stated in his report, "A railroad through the Park would go far to destroy the beauty and besides is not demanded by the public." He added, "If there is one subject which should be kept in view more than any other, it is that of preserving the Park as much as possible in a state of nature." Phillips reported to Secretary Lamar that "your predecessors have granted a number of leases in various portions of the Park. It is now plain that many of such leases were granted to unfit persons and at locations where they should never have been granted." He called upon the Department to use the "discretion conferred by the Act…sparingly…" in the granting of leases. Phillips was against the hotel owners also having the transportation privileges and the right to operate stores. He recommended that the Department award store privileges at Mammoth Hot Springs and at one of the geyser basins.

Phillips found the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company to have abused its right to two acres at Mammoth Hot Springs by scattering buildings across almost 40 acres. He found conditions in the "half-

National Hotel, Mammoth Hot Springs. After 1884.

finished" National Hotel unsanitary and the bathhouse was an "eye-sore" and recommended removal. Phillips believed the company had no regard for the preservation of natural objects of interest. He recommended the company confine its activities to the leased tract.[66]

Special Agent Phillips recognized that the Henderson's lease overlapped the Improvement Company's existing tract, and he recommended that Henderson be awarded the land in question. He acknowledged the substantial hotel being erected by the Hendersons but suggested that they remove the "unsightly buildings on or near his [Henderson] lease."[67]

Phillips discussed the problem of James A. Clark's lease overlapping that of F. Jay Haynes's and agreed with Arnold Hague that Clark should never have been given a lease. However, he did think that a modification to the lease could solve the problem, but wanted Clark to remove the bathhouse at once. He found F. Jay Haynes to be the only lessee at Mammoth Hot Springs to have his affairs in order.

At Norris Geyser Basin, Phillips found that the tents erected by the Improvement Company were not on its designated land assignment. Because the lease required hotel construction in a reasonable amount of time and because no buildings had been erected on the site, Phillips called for forfeiture of the lease.[68]

In the Lower Geyser Basin, Phillips again found a conflict between legal descriptions and the improvement sites. He noted that George Marshall had been allowed four acres of land, however, he had never built on that land, but built across the river. He called the hotel "unsatisfactory" and recommended changes and improvements be made to the hotel as well as clearing up the legal tracts.[69]

Phillips found Hobart's "undressed pine slab" hotel at the Lower Geyser Basin, which had cost $450, to be no more than a "shanty." Since Hobart did not have a lease in the Lower Geyser Basin, Phillips recommended that Superintendent Wear have it removed. He found Hobart's half-built hotel in the Upper Geyser Basin not located on the correct tract and within a quarter of a mile of the geysers; however, he found "the site itself a suitable one for a hotel." Phillips described the Upper Geyser Basin hotel as having a "very unsubstantial character and the accommodations for guests inadequate." He decided to leave that matter to the Secretary of the Interior, but suggested that the Company submit plans for a hotel building by December 1 for consideration.[70]

He found no problem with F. Jay Haynes's lease. He did find "a number of squalid buildings at the Upper Geyser Basin, erected without authority of law, which should be at once removed."[71]

Phillips found that there had been no building improvements at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, even though the Improvement Company held a valid lease. However, about one mile from the leased land, the company had erected a number of tents with 21 beds. Phillips believed that the company had had

sufficient time to meet the terms of its lease, which called for a hotel. He believed the company should be granted a 1.5 acre lease on the site on the tents. He strongly believed that no buildings should be put at Point Lookout as "it is too near the finest portion of the Grand Canon, and buildings erected on the ground leased would greatly mar the beauty and grandeur of the scene." He recommended that no lease be granted in the immediate vicinity of the Grand Canyon.[72]

Phillips called for the forfeiture of the other leases that the Improvement Company held at Soda Butte Springs and at Yellowstone Lake. The company had already exchanged its 1883 rights to Tower Fall and the south bank of the Madison River for the Lower Geyser Basin and Norris Geyser Basin tracts. Phillips suggested that in the future all leases in the park should specify the schedule for completion of improvements.[73]

Phillips recommended that the 1882 boating privilege given James Brisbin be revoked because Brisbin had not put a steam vessel on Yellowstone Lake. He also recommended revoking Mrs. E. McGowan's 1884 grant to complete a telegraph line from Cinnabar to Cooke City as because only a few poles had been erected by 1885.[74]

Phillips made the following recommendations on new applications:

> Elwood Hofer—Calling Hofer the "leading guide and out-fitter in the Park," Phillips highly recommended that Hofer receive a lease. He called him a man of "high character and in a very way worthy of the confidence in the Department."
>
> Hofer's lease was for two acres at Mammoth on which he could erect a stable and corral.
>
> Wakefield and Hoffman—Phillips found these men to be of "high financial" standing and recommended a lease of one acre be given for the erection of a stable and corral at each of the geyser basins, at Lake, and at the Falls. He recommended that they should also be allowed the privilege of cutting hay and grass at each point in amounts designated by the Department. Phillips acknowledged the relationship the firm had with the Improvement Company for use of the stable and corral at Mammoth Hot Springs. The companies had jointly built the facility, which Wakefield and Hoffman were willing to buy from the Improvement Company. Phillips supported that approach as the buildings were not on the actual tract held by the Improvement Company, and he recommended to Wakefield and Hoffman that they have a survey done at Mammoth Hot Springs for the occupied site.
>
> Bassett Brothers—Phillips recommended they be given a lease to erect a stable and corral on the west side of the Firehole River at the Lower Geyser Basin as well as another site to be determined by the park superintendent along the west entrance road. The Bassett Brothers furnished the transportation for visitors coming to the park via the Utah and Northern Railroad.
>
> Nelson Catlin—Phillips recommended that he be given the right to erect a corral and stable at Mammoth Hot Springs for his business of transporting people through the park.
>
> C. J. Baronett and J. W. Ponsford—Phillips recommended purchasing the toll bridge for $1,500 because he believed there should be no toll bridges in the park.
>
> R. P. Vivian—Phillips thought that the Soda Butte Springs area did not receive much visitation, thus no lease should be given for a hotel at this location.
>
> George Jackson—Phillips regarded Jackson's application for a lease at Soda Butte Springs in the same way as he did Vivian's.[75]

Phillips additionally recommended denial of F. Hass's request for an observatory, G. Rea's request for a natural history museum, Thomas Ludlow's request for operating a steamboat on Yellowstone Lake, A. Brown's request for boat privileges, F. Pettigrew's request for erecting a hotel at Yellowstone Lake, J. Baldwin's request for erecting a hotel at Yellowstone Lake, and Mary Fouts's request for opening a boarding house.[76]

Another policy issue that arose before the end of 1885 concerned the sale of liquor in the park. Superintendent Wear sought verification from Secretary Lamar that the prohibition of liquor sales had not

changed since the rule had been issued in May 1881, and he asked whether wines and beer fell within the rule. Wear found that the rule was being abused, particularly at the Upper Geyser Basin and the Firehole where drinking and gambling took place in tents.[77]

At the end of 1885 the park's largest lessee, the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company, was in financial trouble, and the Phillips's report had alerted Washington to the mismanagement of the park. This would be the last full year of civilian management for 30 years.

CHAPTER THREE

Gibson and the Yellowstone Park Association 1886–1891

The second day of January 1886, Charles Gibson of the newly formed Yellowstone Park Association (which took over the now bankrupt Yellowstone Park Improvement Company) met with Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow in Washington. Gibson was asked to provide descriptions of various sites in the park where he and others desired leases and to supply estimates for the cost of the buildings scheduled for erection. This information had previously been requested in October 1885.[1]

When the Department of the Interior awarded a new lease to Charles Gibson in 1885, the legal counsel for the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company tried to delay it by filing a brief that alleged the government was obligated to protect the first lessee. Nevertheless, on March 20, 1886, Charles Gibson and his partners were awarded a 10-year lease of seven acres at four different sites: Mammoth Hot Springs, Norris Geyser Basin, Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, and Yellowstone Lake.[2] The legal counsel for the Improvement Company filed more protests asking that transactions be delayed until there was a decision from the Attorney General, but to no avail. According to historian Richard Bartlett, "Now that it (the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company) had fallen on hard times, it seemed rather callous of the Northern Pacific people to abandon him (Rufus Hatch). Yet this is exactly what they did…." Most of the new investors in the Yellowstone Park Association were "heavy investors" in the Northern Pacific Railroad.[3]

In April, Western Union Telegraph Company sought permission to erect a telegraph line in the park, but the Department instructed the Superintendent to award Charles Gibson the right to erect telegraph and telephone lines between his hotels. This was to be done by August. For this right, the government would have free use of the lines.[4] By the end of the year, Gibson reported that telephones had been successfully installed in all of the hotels.[5] Gibson was given permission to erect temporary buildings on the tent site at Canyon to accommodate visitors during the 1886 season and to establish a store for "sale of supplies upon ground embraced in his lease." H. C. Davis, the manager of the National Hotel, was replaced by J. N. Strong.[6]

Included in the supplies that the Yellowstone Park Association had brought in was $10,000 worth of liquor. This put Superintendent Wear in a predicament because one of the new Department regulations prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors except to hotel guests for table use and stated that no saloons or bar-rooms were allowed. Gibson argued that the Department of the Interior had approved his construction plans that had indicated bar-rooms and, thus, he had been given approval to have them. The situation was not to be settled in 1886.[7]

For many years, Congress had been hearing of the inept management of the park. The reports finally caused Congress to cancel all funds for administration of the park in early August 1886. The Secretary of the Interior had no choice but to ask the Secretary of War to send in the Army. By the end of the 1886, the U.S. Cavalry was in charge of the park with Captain Moses Harris replacing D. W. Wear as Superintendent.

During the spring of 1887, Captain Moses Harris directed the different lessees to clean up around their properties. This order resulted in the removal of many unsightly barns, stables, and other shacks.[8] During an inspection tour of the park, Harris found the Marshall Hotel in the Lower Geyser Basin (which came under control of Yellowstone Park Association the previous year) and the adjacent outbuildings to be of "poor and mean construction, and should be replaced by a commodious and well-constructed building capable of accommodating at least one hundred guests." He described the buildings as "needlessly ugly in architectural design, resembling nothing so much as the section houses of a railroad." He reported the Upper Geyser Basin Hotel as "more dilapidated than last year" and "not worth repairing."[9]

In July, a faulty chimney flue caused a fire that burned the newly built hotel at Norris. A hotel tent camp and a temporary structure suitable for the accommodation of 60 guests were approved by Captain Harris and hastily built to accommodate the touring parties.

Confusion about a change from logs to lumber for Walter and Helen Henderson's new addition to the Cottage Hotel delayed construction. However, the hotel was sufficiently complete at the end of 1885 for the Hendersons to welcome the first five registered guests on Christmas Day 1885 (the guests braved the winter conditions and swam in Bath Lake),[10] and in February 1886, the Hendersons hosted a "masquerade ball."[11] By 1887, the hotel accommodated 100 guests at $2.50 per night or $10.00 per week. John Yancey, who operated a small hotel in Pleasant Valley on the route to the Lamar Valley, could accommodate 20 guests at $2 per day or $10 a week. Yancey's hotel continued to attract trout fishing enthusiasts.[12] In December, Secretary Lamar approved the transfer of James Clark's livery stable lease at Mammoth Hot Springs to T. Stewart White, Thomas Friant, and Francis Leterllier, a Michigan group who had loaned Clark considerable funds to keep his operation in business. The following year, the Michigan firm transferred its rights to George Wakefield, who was also an agent for the Yellowstone Park Association.[13]

The well-equipped Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, formerly called the National Hotel, was wired for additional electric lights during 1887, which helped reduce the risk of fire. At Canyon, temporary facilities accommodating about 70 tourists, under G. F. Haraden as manager, were still allowed, and permission was given to the company to erect tents at Lake with the understanding that all debris would be removed by the end of the 1887 season.[14]

Harris felt that all of the Yellowstone Park Association hotels, which were under General Manager E. C. Waters, were well conducted, the food adequate, and the rooms clean. He did not think their daily charge of $4 per day or $3 per day for an extended stay unreasonable, considering the fact that the business was providing a service and supplies in such an isolated part of the country.

Despite 1887 visitation being somewhat lower than the year before, numerous visitors arrived in the park until the end of September. Later arrivals were accommodated by some of the hotel winter keepers in the interior of the park and by the Hendersons at the Cottage Hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs.[15]

Hotel and camping registers indicated the 1888 season set a record for numbers of visitors—6,000. But, Captain Harris's 1888 report to the Secretary of the Interior reveals that he had begun to lose patience with the Yellowstone Park Association and with Charles Gibson, in particular. He was disturbed by the lack of information regarding the ownership of the company, and he believed that most of the stockholders were associated with the Northern Pacific Railroad.[16] He complained that the company began the 1888 operations "with great vigor," but had been remiss in fulfilling the obligations of constructing the hotels identified in their lease and were now providing the visitors with inadequate service. Harris recommended to the Secretary that Gibson be given notice of possible forfeiture. He described the condition of the park facilities and strongly emphasized to the Secretary that "Eminent men from all parts of the civilized world, scholars, law makers, divines, and soldiers come here, attracted by the fame of this land of wonders, and by the invitation implied in its dedication as a National Park, to have their senses offended and their enjoyment of nature's most wonderful and beautiful gifts destroyed by the presence of unsightly filth and rubbish."[17]

The nebulous arrangements between Charles Gibson, of the Yellowstone Park Association, and the park were clarified in March 1889. All leases held by Charles Gibson were surrendered to the Department of the Interior, and the Department issued six new leases to the Yellowstone Park Association for:

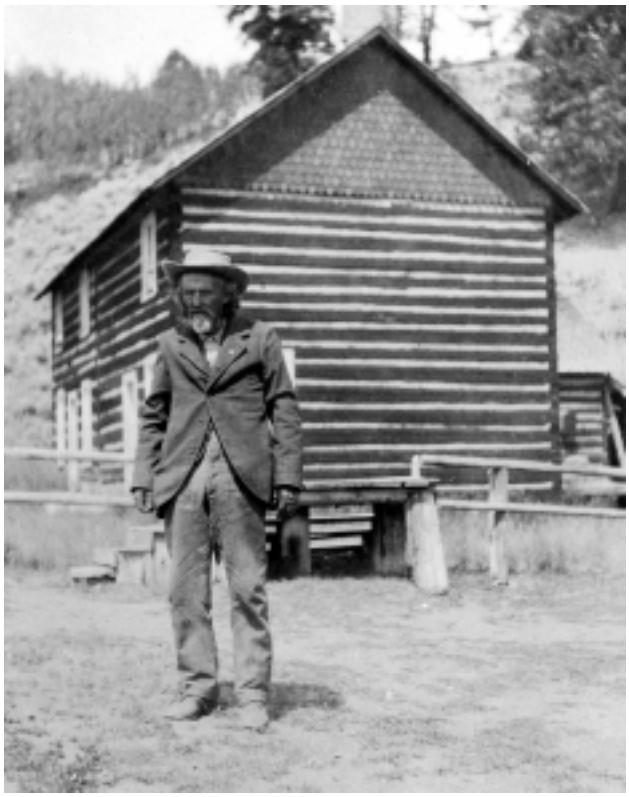
Yancey's Hotel. 1905.

Mammoth Hot Springs	3 acres
Norris Geyser Basin	1 acre
Lower Geyser Basin	2 acres
Grand Canon	2 acres
Yellowstone Lake	1 acre
Thumb or Shoshone Lake	1 acre

These new leases specified time limits for completion of construction of hotels and allowed manufacturing of bricks, quarrying for stone, and the use of dead or fallen timber in the construction of buildings in the park. The Yellowstone Park Association was also given permission to maintain a naphtha launch on Yellowstone Lake.[18]

With the increase in visitation and the accumulation of downed timber near the roads, Captain Harris's replacement in the summer of 1889, Captain F. A. Boutelle, suggested that designated campsites should be spaced a few miles apart and inspected daily by the patrols to help prevent forest fires.[19]

The photographic work of F. Jay Haynes as well as his association with the Northern Pacific Railroad gave the park international publicity. His photographs and albums were not only sold to visitors, but could also be seen on different Atlantic steamers, at resorts in Europe, and in advertisements in Thomas Cook's internationally distributed publication *Excursionist*.[20] Haynes maintained a very open relationship with the Northern Pacific Railroad, and after the lease agreement was signed between the Secretary of the Interior and the Yellowstone Park Association in 1889, Haynes signed an agreement with the Yellowstone Park Association in which he agreed to:



Uncle John Yancey. Date unknown.

> the exclusive sale of such goods as are sold in the hotels…furnish suitable space or rooms in any or all hotels desired by [Haynes]…goods embraced in this agreement are plain and coloured photographs, photo-gravures, lithographic Souvenir albums, guide books, transparencies, and all similar landscape views of the Yellowstone National Park, made and published by [Haynes]…[Haynes] to pay…eighteen per cent of the gross sales of such goods in the hotels, and in the studio except upon proceeds of portraits of private individuals.[21]

In 1889, D. B. May of Billings, Montana, received permission to install an elevator or incline at the Lower Falls. After making a carefully examining of the plans with Arnold Hague, Captain Boutelle recommended that May's lease be cancelled, that a more sensitive location be selected for the incline, and that no structures or buildings be allowed at the bottom of the canyon.[22] Also in 1889, Ole Anderson received a personal and non-transferable privilege to "engage in

the business within the Park of placing small articles in the waters of the hot springs, to be encrusted with the deposit left by the water, and of selling such coated articles to tourists." (Anderson had been unofficially selling coated specimens in the park since 1883.) The Mammoth Hot Springs postmistress, Mrs. Jennie Henderson Dewing, received permission to sell stationery, photographic views, and other such items in the post office during her term as postmistress. And, because the doctor practicing in the park, Dr. Pettigrew, did not come back after his first year, the Department authorized the Army medical officer to practice medicine within the park.[23]

The transportation situation in the park in 1889 was not as good as it had been in previous years, but the following year, George Wakefield was praised by the new acting superintendent, Captain F. A. Boutelle, as running it [transportation concession] almost to "perfection." Wakefield willingly paid nearly twice as much for good horses that were brought in from Iowa rather than purchase local ones, and he provided excellent carriages. Because his record was exemplary with no passenger injuries in the seven years he had operated in the park, Wakefield had a good reputation as a lessee. In 1889, for the first time, Wakefield offered a daily stage service that allowed stop-overs in addition to a regular route.

Just prior to the beginning of the 1890 season, George Wakefield sold his company to the National Park Transportation Company, a subsidiary of the Yellowstone Park Association. This marked the beginning of the Yellowstone Park Association acquiring control over a diversity of private activities in the park. The company had bought the Cottage Hotel in 1889.[24]

Boutelle was optimistic about Yellowstone Park Association improving the hotel situation. Instead of placing blame on the indifference of the company officials toward park problems, Boutelle believed that the company officers probably had more pressing matters than giving the park their personal attention.[25]

While on an inspection of the park, the company's acting president, T. B. Casey, recognized the "bad condition of affairs" and indicated that improvements would be made. Casey saw firsthand the insufficient equipment, inadequate numbers of accommodations, and management problems. Boutelle informed the company that construction of a road to Thumb from Old Faithful would probably not receive appropriations soon. Consequently, despite the fact that the company had received approval for a hotel at Lake and at Thumb, it was decided only to cut the timber during 1890 and build only a portion of the Lake Hotel that year. Work on the Lake Hotel began during the winter of 1889–1890 and in May 1890, Yellowstone Park Association Assistant Treasurer W.G. Johnson wanted some minor changes made in the plans for the location of water closets. He recommended seeking approval from the builder, R. Cummins and also the Department of Interior. After receiving numerous complaints about the Lower Geyser Basin Hotel, the company decided to construct a new hotel there. They decided that the visitors to the Upper Geyser Basin could backtrack to the Lower Geyser Basin and spend the night at the new hotel.[26]

In July, the Yellowstone Park Association expected the "entire frame of Lake Hotel [to be raised inside of two days." The company hoped to install electric lights during the summer, but had to delay installation until the following spring. The furniture ordered at the request of E. C. Waters did not meet the expectations of the Assistant General Manager, W. G. Johnson. Johnson suggested that it could be used in the third story of Lake Hotel, but according to Johnson, the furniture was not good enough for the Lake Hotel.[27]

Despite "bad conditions" at the hotels, the wines, teas, and foods served there were often first-class. Anxious for publicity, the shipper who supplied the park hotels with wine wanted to advertise his firm on a wine list card. This did not happen because Yellowstone Park Association general manager, E. C. Waters, objected to making "our dining room an advertising medium." Among the wines served in the park in 1890 were St. Julien, Pontet Canet, Chateau la Rose, Haut Sauternes, Chateaau Yquem and Latour Blanc.[28] Waters had formerly been in the tea business for 12 years and was very particular about the quality and types of tea used in the park; he was willing to pay more for a superior tea. He preferred to use a New York importer instead of the having the "very poor stuff" shipped from St. Paul. Guests were offered Oolong, Young Hyson, and a good Japan tea.[29] Other delicacies ordered in 1890 were sweet breads, oysters, and truffles.[30]

By the end of the summer and after Casey's visit to the park, W. G. Pearce, Yellowstone Park Association official, was placed in charge of all of the

Lake Hotel. ca. 1895.

company's interest in the park, including the responsibility held by former general manager E. C. Waters, who had been removed from his position by the company. Waters had secured for himself a lease authorizing a general boat business on Yellowstone Lake. The Yellowstone Park Association wasted no time in planning its strategy for getting a similar lease.[31] Waters hoped to take advantage of the increased visitation and have his steamboat on Yellowstone Lake in July of the next year. The 10-year lease allowed him to carry passengers and transport. In addition to Waters, the other directors of the new boat company were M. B. A. Waters, George Gordon of Livingston, A. L. Smith of Helena, and J. A. Hays of Beloit, Wisconsin.[32]

The 1891 season saw major changes in the transportation business. In March, Charles Gibson of the Yellowstone Park Association appointed George Wakefield as the Master of Transportation in the park at a salary of $250 a month, including use of the James Clark cottage for his family and free board for himself at the hotels. A few weeks later, the Department of the Interior annulled the lease held by the Yellowstone Park Association for transportation and awarded it to Silas Huntley of Helena, Montana, effective November 1, 1891.[33]

Visitation in 1891 seemed off to a better start than the previous year.[34] The Yellowstone Park Association noticed that the profile of the visitors seemed to be changing, with entire families including small children coming to the park. The company partially attributed the change to the positive publicity about the ease of traveling to and within the park and the modern conveniences now available in the park. One could now buy a Boston *Herald*, Cincinnati *Enquirer*, St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, or Chicago *Tribune* at the Mammoth News Stand![35]

During the summer of 1891, different kinds of fire extinguishers were tested and the question of fire escapes was discussed. Yellowstone Park Association official W. G. Johnson prepared sketches for potential locations of fire escapes for the Mammoth, Grand Canyon, and Lake Hotels. Johnson felt that a wooden escape was just as effective on a frame building as an iron one, but the company officials in Minnesota favored iron ladders without a platform on each floor. Johnson responded, "I believe it would be politic, however, to go into this matter with more detail."[36]

By mid-summer 1891, the construction work on Lake Hotel was finished; Fountain Hotel and dining room wing were completed and furnished, with the exception of the hall carpet en route from New York. The siding for the other wing of Fountain Hotel and for the Help's Hall was in progress. R. Cummins supervised the construction of Lake, Fountain, and Canyon hotels.[37]

Fountain Hotel. n.d. Collection of Mary Shivers Culpin.

Despite strained relations with Secretary of the Interior John Noble, the Yellowstone Park Association was pleased overall with the 1891 season. Company President Casey reported that "hotels are well and economically conducted. The transportation is excellent. Both give as much and general satisfaction as could be expected.…There is decidedly less fuss and friction, and as far as I can learn the amount made on the same business is equal to and perhaps a little more than it was formerly."[38]

CHAPTER FOUR

Camping Gains a Foothold 1892–1899

Politics involving the park reached new intensity in 1892. For much of the year, Washington and Yellowstone Park Association officials were embroiled in arguments over and new legislation for the leases in Yellowstone. Congressional hearings revealed the extent to which politics affected staffing, strategic road construction, appropriations, and protection of resources, all of which had implications for concession development.

In 1891, the Department of the Interior changed the owner of the lease for the transportation privileges in the park. The Yellowstone Park Association had met with Silas Huntley, the new operator, and had reacted positively to his character. However, within a few weeks of the park's 1892 opening, Yellowstone Park Association Vice President and General Manager W. G. Pearce wrote, "A great many complaints are being made against the Huntley transportation.…"[1] Acting Superintendent Captain George Anderson reported to Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble, the only major complaint was the lack of stop-over privileges and suggested that perhaps tourists who wanted more time than a regularly scheduled park trip allowed should use the camping-party approach. While Anderson expressed serious misgivings about the independent camping companies, he believed that "these parties be given greatest latitude consistent with proper park management."[2]

The most organized and long-term company of this type was the Wylie & Wilson Company operating out of Bozeman, Montana. The company planned to introduce a new type of accommodation to supplement their tent camps, a McMaster Camping Car. W. W. Wylie advertised the camping car, which was slightly wider and longer than an omnibus, as being "thoroughly equipped" for the normal 12-day trip, which allows one "as much time as desired at all points of interest." Wylie boasted that he frequently camped at excellent trout fishing points and that his cost of $5 per day per person was cheaper than what a hotel guest had to pay ($10) for a hotel and stage ride.[3]

Wylie, who had operated in the park since the early 1880s, tried to negotiate reduced rail line tickets for his customers who traveled to the park on the Northern Pacific branch line. He argued that his advertisements on the East and West coasts yielded large numbers of customers for the Northern Pacific Railroad. The Yellowstone Park Association flatly rejected Wylie's request for lowering rates by stating "we would not care to excite their [investors—Northern Pacific Railroad] comment by extending special favors to parties proposing to handle park tourist business on a plan antagonistic to their interest." Wylie responded in a letter that he understood the company's position, but that he was also very aware of past illegal actions in selling liquor. This so angered the Yellowstone Park Association that the company declined to respond.[4]

In May 1892, the Norris lunch station burned, which left the manager providing service to visitors in tents. Acting Superintendent Captain Anderson favored rebuilding the Norris facility. Although the Yellowstone Park Association had its architect, R. Cummins, draw plans for a building at Norris, at

Erecting Lunch Station chimney. 1905.

the end of the season the company instead put its efforts toward getting another site near the geyser basin rather than building on the old site. The lunch stations located on the Grand Loop Road provided a noon-day stop on the scheduled park tours. In addition to the one at Norris, there was a lunch station at Trout Creek, which operated for several years (1888–91). In 1892, it was abandoned when the Old Faithful to West Thumb road was completed, but a new lunch station opened at Thumb.[5] Another lunch station operated from Carroll Hobart's "shanty hotel" for about 10 years. (The hotel was built in 1884 and burned in 1894.)[6]

A change in president and a new Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, encouraged the Yellowstone Park Association to make additional proposals in 1893. Not knowing how Congressional legislation would affect the Association, Charles Gibson made plans to approach the Secretary with a proposal to form a new company that would authorize the existing leases and return the transportation company to the Yellowstone Park Association. Just before the season began, however, the Department granted numerous transportation privileges to a variety of others and denied these privileges to the Yellowstone Park Association in its lease in the Lower Firehole. The Yellowstone National Park Transportation Company headed by Silas Huntley had the exclusive lease and license for carrying Northern Pacific Railroad passengers, and George Wakefield was granted the same privilege for carrying passengers coming in through the west entrance from the Union Pacific Railroad terminus. Additional grants were given to W. S. Dixon of Livingston, M. R. Johnson of Bozeman, A. L. Ryan of Bozeman, and A. W. Chadbourne of Livingston. W. W. Wylie also received a permit to conduct camping parties throughout the park.[7]

Financial problems faced all of the park lessees in 1893. After the decline in the U.S. gold reserve below the $100 million mark, the Yellowstone Park Association warned its bankers to "be particularly careful this year about your bank balance. Some of the western banks may be in trouble." The company advised its western banker to keep only a small balance and transfer any excess to the Yellowstone Park Association office in Minnesota.[8]

Instead of the expected increase in visitation due to the World's Fair, there were fewer visitors than the year before. Foreign travelers dominated the guest registers, a fact that company officials anticipated when they ordered an ample supply of European wines, noting "indications are that our travel will be nearly all foreign this year, and as that is the case, we must be prepared to take advantage of their taste for wines and to make some money out of it."[9]

Visitation prospects for the 1894 season appeared bleak as spring floods along the rail lines in the Northern Pacific's Western Division and other rail service completely stopped until the third week in June. About the time the trains began to move again, the "Debs strike" stopped rail service from Ohio to California from June 26 to July 18. Of course, with a general economic depression in the country, many people did not venture far from home. At the end of the year, the Yellowstone Park Association reported a decrease in visitation from 1893, which had been a poor year. Nevertheless, 1894 year-end financial figures indicated that the company was free of debt and even had a small cash balance.[10]

In addition to the decrease in visitation due to weather and economic conditions, Captain Anderson noted that perhaps the lack of information about the park and lack of interest in it, even among the better educated and informed, could account for some of the decline. He noted that 60 percent of all foreign travelers came from Germany where the importance of the scientific aspects of Yellowstone was taught in the public schools. He urged Secretary Smith to consider that "some means be adopted for bringing the mass of the people to realize what a store of wonders and beauties they have within their boundaries. It would be valuable to them as a part of an education, even if they should not be able to see the Park for themselves."[11]

Captain Anderson believed that the best way to

see the park was by camping and traveling on horseback, especially for local people and those who could not afford the "hotel way." There were, however, negative sides to camping parties—their carelessness about camp fires, the fact that they often left camp sites untidy, and that many campers wrote inscriptions on park features. For these reasons, Anderson opposed establishing semi-permanent camping facilities for fear that the areas would turn "into ill-kept, unsightly structures, fit breeding places for vermin of all kinds."[12]

Despite low visitation, much transpired in the park that year. Good news came to the Yellowstone Park Association in August 1894. The long-awaited legislation covering leases in the park was signed by the President Cleveland. Many changes in the act gave the company the conditions it desired, including an increase from 10 to 20 acres for one lessee or company and a decrease in the distance of a leased tract from geysers (from 1/4 mile to 1/8 mile). These changes now allowed the construction of a good hotel at the Upper Geyser Basin. A few months later in November 1894, the old hotel in the Upper Geyser Basin, which had also been used as a lunch station, burned.[13]

F. Jay Haynes and John Yancey were each given new leases in 1894. Haynes in turn signed a Memorandum of Agreement with the Yellowstone Park Association, which granted him the privilege of continuing to operate his shop within the Mammoth Hot Springs hotel as well as exclusive privileges in the other company hotels, with the exception of the Grand Canyon Hotel, where water colors and oil paintings of other artists could be sold.[14]

Also during 1894, a small parcel of land at Mammoth Hot Springs was leased to Postmaster George Ash to erect a post office and small store.[15] Finally the park hotels were inspected by C. S. Bihler from the Chief Engineer's office of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Bihler recommended an improvement program for the hotels. He suggested ways to correct problems with the "V-crimp roofing" used on all hotels, pointed out the costs of relocating the Fountain Hotel to the Upper Geyser Basin ($33,500 as opposed to constructing a new hotel for $42,000), and compared the costs of remodeling the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel ($51,700) to the construction of a new modern hotel ($85,000).[16]

Good weather greeted visitors at the opening of the 1895 season, but visitation still had not reached the 7000+ figures of the early 1890s. The Yellowstone Park Association lowered the daily hotel rate from $5 to $4 in hope of attracting more guests. Huntley's transportation company made a generous attempt to relieve the previous stop-over schedule problem, now allowing passengers to choose routes and dictate some schedules.

Among the new permits issued in 1895 was a permit allowing Ole Anderson to construct a small building to house his specimen-coating business. He built an attractive cottage for his business on a site immediately north of the commissioner's new residence. Mr. Roseborough, who took over the mail route from Mammoth to Cooke City from Mr. French, was given a permit to erect a small building at Mammoth with the understanding that it would be removed upon the Superintendent's request. (It remains today, on a

Ole Anderson's coated specimens site on Mammoth Hot Springs. 1883 or 1884.

Fountain and Specimen House, Mammoth Hot Springs. ca. 1900.

Mail carrier residence. 1917.

site just north of the Mammoth Clinic.)

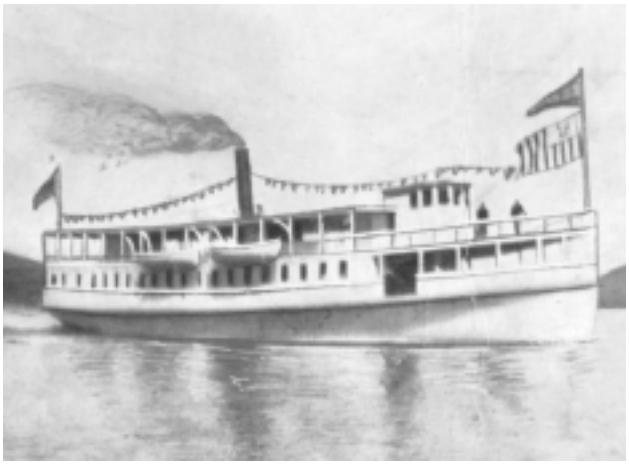
E. C. Waters's boat operation on Yellowstone Lake was running smoothly, transporting guests from Thumb to Lake, and he also provided a side trip to Natural Bridge, just west of the Lake area. Waters also ran a small shop where he sold grocery items to camping parties and provided blacksmithing to those parties.[17]

The officials of the Yellowstone Park Association spent much of the year in debate over the issuance of a dividend; thus, no construction occurred in 1895. Without a lease at the Upper Geyser Basin, some of the officials were worried that another operator might get a foothold in the area. However, the company did erect a temporary lunch station. The company relinquished its hotel leases at Norris and Thumb but wanted permission to run lunch stations at both locations.[18]

In September 1895, F. Jay Haynes requested a lease for a tract of land at both the Upper Geyser Basin and at Canyon. It was not long before the Yellowstone Park Association objected to the site that Haynes had selected at the Upper Geyser Basin. While acknowledging the fact that it did not have a lease in the area, the company still objected to the site that Haynes had selected stating that it was immediately in front of the plot they desired. Surprisingly, the year ended with the Yellowstone Park Association "working in perfect harmony in this matter" with Haynes.[19]

In April 1896, Haynes received an eight-year lease for two acres at the Upper Geyser Basin with permission to erect a building or buildings from plans approved by the Department of the Interior. Just four days before the agreement was signed, J. H. Dean, the Yellowstone Park Association General Manager, wrote to the Association president about a rumor that Haynes and Huntley were planning to erect log cabins at the Upper Geyser Basin to accommodate guests, but the cabins were never built.[20]

Visitation during the 1896 season did not improve, and Captain Anderson began questioning the theory that the country was in a depression since all of the Atlantic steamers were filled with American tourists going abroad. He noted that the visitors who did come to the park were staying longer and that more people were entering the park from Wyoming via the recently improved road from the south entrance, which he felt called for some sort of guest accommodations at Thumb. He also suggested that consideration should be given to providing accommodations near Soda Butte and constructing a better hotel at Tower or near Yancey's.[21]



Steamer E. C. Waters*, Yellowstone Lake. n.d. Collection of Mary Shivers Culpin.*

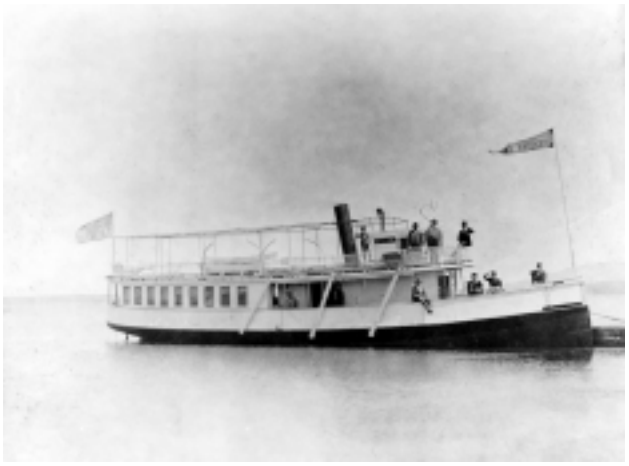
Old Boathouse—Lake. n.d.

Much to Captain Anderson's regret, W. W. Wylie was given permission to erect four permanent tent camps. While praising all of the lessees in a report to Secretary Smith, Anderson did state he believed that having so many operators with different objectives would be harder to manage. He strongly favored the idea that "all the interests in the park should be placed under a single management."[22]

Silas Huntley disliked the Yellowstone Park Association's idea of guests being encouraged to stay longer at the different hotel locations as this would benefit the hotel company, but not his transportation company.[23]

While tourists liked to take Waters's boat trip from Thumb to Lake, they disliked paying extra for it. Waters received permission to build several small landing docks, including one on Dot Island where in 1896 he placed some bison, mountain sheep, and elk (all of which he obtained from outside the park).[24]

Various other concession improvements were made during 1896. Mammoth Hot Springs storekeeper, Mrs. Jennie Ash, built a small cottage from which she was permitted to sell notions and needed supplies for the tourists. Immediately thereafter, the old log post office was torn down. After many years of claims being submitted by J. C. McCartney, Matthew McGuirk, and J. C. Baronett, a bill to reimburse the men, which had passed the Senate and received a positive report in the House, was moving forward. They were to be reimbursed as follows: McCartney—$4,000, McGuirk—$1,000, and Baronett—$5,000. Captain Anderson felt the claims were just and hoped the bill would be signed.[25] Captain Anderson also approved the operation of the "Tourist Supply Store" managed by E. F. Allen, an Idaho outfit, at the Lower Firehole Basin. It is not known whether this was in the Fountain Hotel or at another location. Mr. Allen advertised groceries, provisions, vegetables, fruits, and all kinds of camper's supplies.[26] And, as a new potential for income, Yellowstone Park Association President Pearce suggested a trial period of renting bicycles.[27] It is not known if the company did indeed rent bicycles at this time.



Steamship Zillah. *1890. The steamship ran between West Thumb and Lake Hotel.*

The business situation between the Yellowstone Park Association and the Northern Pacific Railroad remained unclear, thus, no substantial progress was made on a building program in 1896. However, the company did not delay planning for the future. The well-known architect Cass Gilbert was sent to the park to assess hotel needs, to make suggestions for improvements to existing buildings, and to present ideas for new construction.[28]

The deteriorating relationship between some stockholders of the Yellowstone Park Association and the railroad resulted in the hotels closing in September rather than the normal date of October 1. The stockholders, led by Charles Gibson, resented the railroad's position of not needing to make a profit on the hotels as long as they made a profit on the railroad service. Because visitation was poor for several years, the Association continued to loose money.

The business situation did not change at all in 1897, but the visitation numbers increased dramatically, from 4,659 in 1896 to 10,825. Organized camping parties and private parties with their own transportation increased, forcing Captain Anderson to limit the campers to two days at any one spot. By the beginning of August, all camping and stock grazing between Mammoth Hot Springs and Gardiner had to be banned to save the grass for the wintering mountain sheep and antelope.[29]

In 1897, Captain Anderson's replacement, Colonel S. B. M. Young, who served only from June to November 1897, issued new rules for persons traveling through the park, including specific directions on how to leave a campsite (clean, with trash either buried or removed so as not to offend other visitors); a ban on camping within 100 feet of a road; a ban on hanging clothing, hammocks, or other similar articles within 100 feet of a road; and a ban on bathing without suitable clothes near a road.[30] Colonel Young also issued instructions for the lessees at Mammoth to not use any of the previous "dump piles" but to haul such

Klamer Store at Upper Geyser Basin. Before 1907.

matter "to a general dump over a cliff above the Gardiner [*sic*] River, opposite the Government ice house."[31]

A number of construction projects were completed in 1897. Haynes erected his log building at the Upper Geyser Basin. Anderson called it "the most beautiful and most appropriate in the park." H. E. Klamer built a two-story frame building at the Upper Geyser Basin (the present Lower Hamilton Store) for use as a house and store. At Mammoth Hot Springs, the old dairy buildings about one mile from the hotel were torn down and the debris burned. A new dairy facility was erected at Swan Lake Flat out of sight of the road and in a safe drainage area.[32]

By the end of the 1897 season, Yellowstone Park Association officials believed that a new location for a hotel should be considered in the Tower Fall area and that a lease should be obtained prior to the Mount Washburn road being completed.[33]

Just as the year ended, F. Jay Haynes and W. W. Humphrey sought permission to transport passengers through the west entrance, most of whom were expected to arrive at the park via the Union Pacific Railroad. Hoping to operate under the name "Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company," the men assured the Department of the Interior that they had $20,000 cash on hand with available resources of up to $50,000, if needed. They had a verbal agreement with the Union Pacific that the railroad would advertise and sell tickets for the stage company provided there was an agreement with the Department of the Interior.[34] Haynes and Humphrey (a 15-year stage business veteran and for the past five years the superintendent of Silas Huntley's Yellowstone National Park Transportation Company) proposed to start their service for the season of 1898 in Monida, Montana, 60 miles west of the west entrance to the park. The company planned to operate in relays with an overnight stop at the Grayling Inn at Dwelle's, west of the park. They would use the latest Concord Coaches, Hill Manufacture harnesses, and the best horses obtainable. They proposed relays throughout the park to allow visitors more time at different points. A stocktender would service each station, and the drivers would be trained to act as guides with no extra charge for side trips. Because this route would be quicker than the Northern Pacific Railroad route by two days from New York and because of the probability that they would attract the Colorado- and California-bound tourists, Haynes and Humphrey predicted that the company would handle 75 percent of the transportation business in the park in less than five years. (In 1897, 5,000 tourists had used first-class service on the Northern Pacific Railroad while only 125 came via Union Pacific Railroad.) The two men received an affirmance from the Union Pacific.[35]

By the end of the 1898 season, the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company was well on its way to an established position in the park. The company had 25 employees, 12 11-passenger Concord coaches, four three-passenger Concord surreys, 80 horses, and two Concord buggies. The company constructed barns at Upper Geyser Basin, Norris, and Mammoth Hot Springs, and with the approval of the Yellowstone Park Association they used barns at Fountain, Lake, and Grand Canyon until they could construct their own. Additional equipment and employees were kept at Monida and Dwelle's, and plans were made to winter Haynes's horses outside the park in the physically lower Centennial Valley.[36]

Additional lessees, the increase in visitation, and the rise in the number of private parties and camping trips necessitated a more tightly managed park by Captain James Erwin, who had taken over as the acting Superintendent of the park in November 1897. (Col. S. B. M. Young held the post for only five months.) Captain Erwin was kept busy making inspection tours of all the different operations, and in his annual report, he was quite complimentary about all of the lessees, stating, "No better accommodations and food are furnished anywhere in the United States, under like conditions." He also noted that all food, with the exception of meat, some dairy products, and occasional vegetables, must be shipped in. By the end

of 1898, camping parties accounted for about half of the park's visitation. In addition to Wylie's Camping Company, 23 different independent operators were given permits to guide camping parties during 1898.[37]

Wylie established permanent camps at Apollinaris Spring, Upper Geyser Basin, Yellowstone Lake, and Canyon; he also operated lunch stations about halfway between the Lower Geyser Basin and Norris (a place called "Sleepy Hollow") and near Yellowstone Lake. E. C. Waters's Yellowstone Lake Boat Company received leases for two acres near Lake Hotel, two acres on Frank Island, two acres on Stevenson Island, one acre on Dot Island, one acre at West Thumb, two acres at the Southeast Arm of Yellowstone Lake, two acres at the Dot Island Game Corral, and an additional six acres to be located by the Superintendent.[38]

During 1898, the Yellowstone Park Association received a lease for the Upper Geyser Basin but did not begin construction of the hotel. The company had about half the number of guests (2,207) during 1898 as during the previous year, resulting in another loss. The company estimated it would need about 4,000 guests to be self-sustaining. Despite massive advertising campaigns in both the United States and Europe and with a reduction in the daily rates, visitation remained low. Some repairs were done during 1898 but no major construction was undertaken.[39]

After the disappointing 1898 season, the Yellowstone Park Association began to reduce spending by opening the hotels two weeks later and closing them two weeks earlier in 1899. At one point it was uncertain whether or not the hotels would be open at all. The company did not renew their leases for Norris or Thumb and abandoned the lunch station business altogether.[40] In separate unsuccessful attempts, E. C. Waters and others, as well as H. W. Child, S. Huntley, and others, tried to purchase the Northern Pacific Railroad's interest in the Yellowstone Park Association.[41] As the nineteenth century ended, the Yellowstone Park Association was on unstable ground.

Although few major buildings were constructed during the past few years, the roots of a unique architectural style had begun. Very shortly after its construction, E. C. Waters wanted to copy the style for his buildings at Yellowstone Lake. Ironically, as the Yellowstone Park Association's finances became less certain, they once again had hired one of Minnesota's (and later the country's) leading architects, Cass Gilbert, to report on the architectural needs of the hotels. (Documents do not credit which particular company official hired Gilbert.) Up until that point, the hotels had been described as "barn-like," with the large buildings never having received a coat of paint. Just before the season ended in 1899, Gilbert made suggestions for both interior and exterior paint schemes for

Stereograph of Monida and Yellowstone stage. 1912.

Stereograph of Wylie Camp at Canyon. 1912.

the Canyon and Fountain hotels.[42] Although these two buildings were frame ones, the park had numerous smaller log buildings, and those were beginning to influence architects. Seeking the advice and opinions of leading architects for the new concession buildings and the recognition that log buildings were a desirable architectural style would influence not only concessions development in the park, but also the buildings and structures constructed by the government in the park.

Despite being faced with erratic visitation and the lack of major construction projects by the concessioners during the century's last decade, many smaller concession developments did take place. Now catering to the camping crowd as well as the scheduled rail passenger guests, new permanent tent camps, new stores, new lunch stations and several permanent camps were built. The new century would see the rise in new trends for visitation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Competition Among Concessioners 1900–1914

The year 1900 began with an uneasy situation with major lessees in the park. One issue was the room and board of the different companies' employees. In the past, the Yellowstone Park Association had given discount rates to both Haynes's and Huntley and Child's transportation drivers and other employees; most of the employees stayed at the Cottage Hotel, now owned by the Yellowstone Park Association. The Association wanted to keep employees separate from visitors and disliked the drivers and other employees coming into the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel for billiards or other amusements. The Association's position on the issue was revealed in a letter from the company's park manager to headquarters in St. Paul:

> While this class of people is very hard to please in the matter of meals, though they are served the same class of food that is served to the tourists, and their complaints are many and mostly unreasonable ones, and their deportment is often very insulting to hotel managers and employees, yet the Association had some compensation for all this in the price, 50 cents per meal.

While the Yellowstone Park Association liked the income derived from the meal charges, $8,212.49 in 1899, they decided that if Silas Huntley of the transportation company declined the hotel services for his employees, then they would retaliate with higher rates

Mammoth Hotel front desk. ca. 1908.

Hotel Company waiters. n.d.

for Huntley's transportation office rental at the hotel, and they would begin charging for telegraph services.[1]

F. Jay Haynes's Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company built accommodations for its employees at Norris, Fountain, Lake, and Canyon, but still needed boarding service from Yellowstone Park Association at Upper Geyser Basin, Thumb, and Mammoth. Their plan called for hiring a married stocktender whose wife would do the cooking. Haynes felt that his move was "simply one of economy" and if his expenses "got in the neighborhood of 50 cents per meal we would much prefer to have the Ass'n board our men and avoid the annoyance of running these stations."[2]

Two other issues between major lessees were the schedules and tourist routes. As early as 1901, Haynes began examining the possibility of better service for customers by using automobiles between Monida and Dwelle's. However, with the cost of cars at about $3,000 each and the need for between 16 and 20 cars, it was not yet economically feasible.[3] Tensions arose between the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company and the Yellowstone Park Association over schedules and routes within the park for the Monida-arriving tourists. Haynes pointed out that the hotels were receiving Colorado- and Utah-bound tourists, who normally would not have gone to the park, via the Union Pacific and the Oregon Short Line. Thus, the Yellowstone Park Association was making money because of the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company.[4] In other areas, the two major lessees cooperated. For instance, the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company signed an agreement with the president of the Yellowstone Park Association to pay $150 per year for use of the intra-park telephone and telegraph service and for use of office space in the hotels.[5]

Other disputes arose between concessioners. One that would become an ongoing issue was the type of goods sold at the different establishments. In 1903, Haynes objected to items for sale in Mrs. Ash's store at Mammoth and in E. C. Waters's store at Lake; he considered those items an infringement of his privilege to sell park photographic views. He believed Mrs. Ash took advantage of the fact that she was allowed to sell the newly popular Kodak film supplies by stretching her sales to include other photographers views. Because Haynes's photographs were not copyrighted, they were being reproduced by many other firms and publishers. At that time, Haynes was providing both park companies with a 25 percent discount on his products, including his popular guidebook that sold about 4,500 copies a year.[6]

In June 1901, proposed hotel plans were sent from the Northern Pacific Railway's Chief Engineer E. H. McHenry to the Yellowstone Park Association General Manager of park hotels, J. Dean. One of the plans, drawn by architect A. W. Spalding, was for a proposed hotel at the Upper Geyser Basin; another plan, drawn by St. Paul, Minnesota, architectural firm, Witsie, Teltz, and Joy, was for the Norris Geyser Basin Hotel (to replace the hotel burned in 1892); and, a set of 1892 plans, with no architect listed, was for the Upper Geyser Basin Hotel.[7] The question of hotel construction immediately became an issue after Harry Child gained one-third interest in the Yellowstone Park

Norris Hotel. 1904.

Old Faithful Inn. 1912.

Association in 1901. Apparently, prior commitments from the Yellowstone Park Association to its hotel needs as well as requests from the Department of the Interior were not clearly detailed prior to the transfer of stock. Because the hotels never made a real profit and while the passenger service directly related to the park had made a substantial profit since 1898 (about $50,000 per year), Child sought some consideration in regard to freight rates on supplies and material and fares paid by Yellowstone Park Association employees from the railway division for which he received a favorable response.[8]

In January 1903, E. C. Waters, who several years earlier had proposed to buy the Yellowstone Park Association, questioned C. S. Mellen, president of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, on the 1901 change in ownership. Mellen explained, "Certain parties who were interested became impossible in connection with the management of the property, and it was necessary they should be removed, and in order to accomplish this we were obliged, temporarily, to become the purchaser of an interest in the Park Companies, which today only represents one third of the whole." Mellen went on to suggest, "It was not the intention of this Company to remain a stockholder in either the Transportation or the Hotel Company, and we shall undoubtedly dispose of our interest at an early opportunity."

In August 1903, Mellen and H. W. Child worked out a deal whereby Child received an equal amount of stock of the Northwest Improvement Company (a subsidiary company of the Northern Pacific Railroad) for the cost of $82,179.88.[9] During the same year, 1901, that Child took over the Yellowstone Park Association, Silas Huntley, Child's partner in the transportation business, died. By a series of stock exchanges and purchases, Child now owned 50 percent of both the transportation and the hotel companies; by 1907, Child held all of the stock of the railroad's subsidiary, the Northwest Improvement Company. The Northern Pacific Railroad held Child's note.

In 1903, the Northern Pacific Railway Company completed its branch line to Gardiner and erected "a handsome and comfortable depot," designed by Robert Reamer. Tourists could now enter the park through the North Entrance Arch, which had been dedicated by President Theodore Roosevelt in April 1903, and know "they are within the bounds of the park."[10]

Construction started this same year on the hotel at the Upper Geyser Basin, the Old Faithful Inn, which was designed by Robert Reamer. Renovation work

Old Faithful Inn bedroom. 1917.

Old Faithful Inn bathroom. 1912.

was also under way on the Lake Hotel. Between the two projects, 90 men were still working in December, and the costs had come to $72,416.77 for the Old Faithful Inn and $55,296.02 for the Lake Hotel.[11] At the end of 1903, the Yellowstone Park Association had a total of 476 hotel rooms accommodating 1,288 guests with 677 beds and 78 cots; there were 120 tent rooms.[12]

In 1904, F. Jay Haynes suggested to Union Pacific Railroad's general passenger agent that if the Oregon Short Line built a line to the west entrance of the park, perhaps he (Haynes) should consider seeking a lease to build a hotel, "The Monida," near the west entrance. The hotel could be located on the east side of Christmas Tree Park, on the south bank of the Madison River allowing views of the Madison River and the Gallatin Mountains. Haynes, whose transportation company would benefit by having a hotel near the west entrance, believed that because the Northern Pacific was "making an effort to make the hotel at Mammoth a resort, there is no reason why a hotel at this point would not be fully as attractive."[13] In January 1906, Haynes and Child met in Washington regarding Haynes's interest in securing a hotel lease for the Madison River site. Because the Department of the Interior preferred to have the Yellowstone Park Association operate all of the hotels, Child and Haynes came to an amicable agreement whereby Child would accommodate Haynes's needs. The evidence that a personal relationship was developing between the two major concessioners can be seen in their correspondence. The two businessmen began to work together to fashion the development of modern concessions in the park.[14]

The 1905 visitation numbers (26,188) were double the previous year's figure. Nearly half of the visitors toured with licensed camping parties or were private campers. With the rising popularity of the camping experience, it wasn't long before discussions were held in the offices of the Northern Pacific Railroad and in Washington about buying out the Wylie Camping Company and extending Wylie's government lease for another 10 years.[15] Before that could happen, Livingston businessman, A. W. Miles bought out W. W. Wylie in 1906. He continued to use Wylie's name, calling the company Wylie Permanent Camping Company.[16]

With Child's purchase of the Northern Pacific Railroad's stock in 1907 and Congress passing a law allowing leases not to exceed 20 years, the Yellowstone Park Association seemed set for a rather stable period. Visitation was down in 1906–07 from the record year of 1905 (from 26,188 in 1905 to 17,102 in 1906 to 16,414 in 1907), but the Yellowstone Park Association and the Northern Pacific Railway made major efforts to advertise the park through publications such as *Land of Geysers* and by sponsoring a lecture series in conjunction with the Department of the Interior.[17]

Haynes became upset with Child after the Yellowstone Park Association raised the rates at its hotels from $4.00 to $5.50, and the Wylie Permanent Camping Company followed suit by raising its rates. (While upset, Haynes did not think it strange that the camping company had raised its rates as he had heard that Yellowstone Park Association had controlling interest in the Wylie Permanent Camping Company.) Haynes wanted to avoid putting in another class of hotels for those who could not afford the $5.50 per night. While good relations between Haynes and Child resumed, Haynes remained concerned about the high costs of staying in the park.

All three companies were competing for stage service into and through the park. Haynes tried to put a stop to the rumor that Child was also interested in his stage company: "It has been intimated that Mr. Child was interested in our Company. For your information I will say that Mr. Child never held one dollar's worth of interest in our Company, and it has been my intention not to combine in any way to the detriment of the traveling public. Socially, we are on good terms, but as far as any business matters are concerned we are absolutely separate."[18]

Haynes made plans in 1907 to secure office space and a business counter in the lobby of the proposed depot of the Oregon Short Line Railroad at the west entrance. In addition to planning his space, he reviewed plans for a depot design. Haynes needed an additional building for an office, three bedrooms, and a bathroom near the depot, and he requested of the Union Pacific that the "…style of building should be in harmony with the depot building. We would be willing, if it is agreeable to your company, to stand the expense of a stone building, gotten up in artistic shape, but not large."[19]

Haynes, who had earlier looked at the possibilities of using automobiles between Monida and the west entrance, sought permission from the Department of the Interior to conduct a night time experimental ride in an automobile through the park with Child and the park superintendent. Haynes believed that it would not be too many years before automobiles would be allowed into the park; hence he thought a test ride would be informative to the automobile manufacturer about vehicle performance at the different altitudes and atmospheric conditions. Department of the Interior official W. B. Acker suggested that he should wait for a few weeks and approach the new incoming Secretary with his idea as it was rumored that a reorganization was in store for the Department.[20] However, another eight years would elapse before automobiles were allowed into the park.

In 1908, Haynes received permission from the Department of the Interior to construct a telegraph line between the newly opened depot at the west entrance and the Fountain Hotel where it would connect with the Yellowstone Park Association line that ran between developed areas in the park.[21] He also constructed numerous buildings around the park in anticipation of large numbers of tourists coming in 1909. This increase was expected because of the Alaska-Yukon Exposition in Seattle and the accompanying increased advertising of the park conducted by several railroads. Probably looking to 1909, Haynes ordered additional passenger coaches and surreys and planned to purchase between 50 and 100 new horses. At the west entrance, he built a coach house that held 64 vehicles and a paint shop, and he made some additions to his other buildings, painting them all mineral red.[22]

By 1909, the Department of the Interior was responsible for 12 national parks, many of which also had extensive concession operations. After visiting both Yellowstone and Yosemite, Secretary of the Interior R. A. Ballinger announced that the "parks have ceased to be experimental as to the operation of transportation lines, hotels, and other concessions, because of the steady stream of travel frequenting them, and the large profits in most cases should require the devotion of a reasonable share thereof to the maintenance of the parks." Thus, for the first time, a use tax that was based upon gross earnings was imposed on the concessioners to enlarge the maintenance fund. Also for the first time, when new leases were written the rental and franchise charges were proportionate to the privileges enjoyed. The Secretary planned to create an accounting and inspection system for concessions.[23]

Before the 1909 season began, Haynes pressured the Yellowstone Park Association to house his expected passengers for the season. Besides the Alaska-Yukon Exposition in Seattle, a Christian Endeavor group was meeting in Denver, and the Grand Army of the Republic was meeting in Salt Lake City. Haynes believed many of these people would book an extension to the park.[24] However, the Yellowstone Park Association did not anticipate that the 1909 season would set a visitation record, and the tension between Haynes and "Lord Harry" (as Haynes sometimes called Harry Child) mounted. When he did not get a positive commitment from the Yellowstone Park Association that

they would take care of his passengers, Haynes appealed to the Department of the Interior for a permit to operate a system of tent camps or, preferably, log cabin camps. In addition to covering his immediate needs, Haynes believed this type of accommodation would offer a system of "second-class accommodations" to complement the Yellowstone Park Association system of hotels. (Haynes also knew that a Salt Lake City firm had made such an application for camping and transportation privileges.) In a letter to Secretary Ballinger, Haynes noted that during the summer of the 1905 Portland Exposition more than 26,000 people visited the park, but 15,000 people were refused the cheaper tours because of the lack of a second-class type of accommodation. Haynes believed that 60 percent of the park visitors were of moderate means.[25]

Previously, Haynes had objected to Ballinger's limiting words in his lease, "Continuance hereafter to be dependent upon manner in which service conducted and necessity thereof." Haynes believed that this put him at the mercy of "Lord Harry" and "Slick Tom" (Senator Thomas Carter of Montana), both of whom had better Washington connections. In April, however, "Lord Harry" approached Haynes about the camping business. Because Child had recently returned from Washington, he probably discerned the likelihood of Haynes getting a permit. Haynes commented that Child "seems quite anxious that I join in with him and work in harmony." One month later, Haynes and Child signed an agreement for Haynes to buy one-third interest in the Wylie Permanent Camping Company for a total of $60,000. It was approved by Secretary Ballinger. This now allowed Haynes to get into the camping business without having to submit an independent application.[26] Park visitation for 1909 did set a record: 32,545 visitors.

In April 1910, the Department assessed Haynes use-tax amounts of $940 and $470, respectively, for his photographic privileges at Mammoth and Upper Geyser Basin. Because he did not have an exclusive privilege for the sale of photographs and pictorial souvenirs, he believed that the Department's use-tax assessment was excessive. Haynes defended the higher costs of having his postcards done in Germany because, he said, the well-traveled tourists demanded higher quality. The current park Superintendent, Major Benson, also thought the amount assessed Haynes was high compared to the other companies.[27] In May 1910, the Department of the Interior gave Haynes permission to make additions to his studio located on Avenue A in Mammoth and to his studio at the Upper Geyser Basin.[28]

In 1910, the Yellowstone Park Association began planning an extensive construction program for a new hotel at Canyon and, later, for a new hotel at Mammoth. In need of cash, Child wrote the Northwest Improvement Company for a loan to finance the new projects. Despite the Northwest Improvement Company's lean financial position, Elliot agreed to loan him $100,000 in both 1910 and 1911 (total of $200,000) with terms of five percent for five years toward the construction of the Canyon Hotel. Elliot also strongly indicated that money would be forthcoming for the Mammoth hotel when that project began.[29]

During 1910, Child decided to upgrade some of the services at the hotels in order to justify a rate increase for some rooms. The regular charge of $5 a day still applied, but an approved increase for special accommodations went into effect on July 15, 1910. An ordinary room with bath would be $6; a special room without bath, one that was large with good location and specially furnished, including special table assignments and service in the dining room, would be $6; and a special room with bath would be $7. Haynes disapproved of the new rates (except for the added charge for a private bath) in a letter to Major Benson, "I think there should be a uniform charge in the hotels for rooms, and front rooms should be assigned to ladies and married couples; gentlemen traveling alone are not as particular. The expense of maintaining a front room is not more than that of a back room."[30]

Despite Haynes's opposition to the increased rates, he decided to assist Child in his efforts to raise capital for the Canyon Hotel construction by paying his $15,000 note (due to Child on June 1, 1911) in advance.[31]

At the end of 1910, the Yellowstone Park Association had eight hotels that included lunch stations, three dwellings, two commissaries, five root houses, six ice houses, three laundry and engine rooms, two storehouses, one bath house, and one water tank and windmill. The company also operated 116 miles of telegraph and telephone lines.[32] Haynes reported at the end of 1910 that his stage company had 18 buildings at Yellowstone, Montana (now known as West Yellowstone); four buildings at Fountain; five buildings at Upper Basin; two buildings at Thumb; three buildings at Lake; four buildings at Canyon; three buildings at Norris; and four buildings at Mammoth. He owned 325 horses, 122 passenger vehicles, and 20

Canyon Hotel. 1914.

miles of telegraph line with 30 miles of leased line from West Yellowstone to Mammoth.[33]

In 1911, almost 40 years after Yellowstone had been established, serious discussions about park issues began when a distinguished group of men representing concessions, park officials, well-known landscape architects, railroad officials, and others interested in the betterment of the national parks met in Yellowstone for the first National Park Conference. The new Secretary of the Interior, Walter Fisher, described the past administration of the parks as "unsystematic, unscientific, and uneconomic."[34] This was not news to Yellowstone concessioners who by this time had invested millions in the park while the government had made only minimal contributions. Thomas Cooper, Assistant to the President of the Northern Pacific Railroad, responded to Fisher's comments by noting that his criticisms were not with the administration but, with Congress who he claimed had been "parsimonious in its treatment of national parks to a degree that largely defeats the very purpose of their creation." He cited as an example the fact that the concessioners had been somewhat successful in getting visitors to the parks, but because of a lack of coordination and funding from the government, nearly one third of the travel season would pass before sufficient sprinkling of the roads would allow comfortable road conditions for travelers.[35]

Secretary Fisher discussed visitation and complimented the railroads for taking the lead in advertising the parks and in facilitating the ease with which visitors could now travel. Louis Hill, president of the Great Northern Railway, which had interests in the newly created Glacier National Park, discussed their "See America First" campaign and how they hoped to reach Yellowstone visitation figures in a few years.[36] Haynes called upon Secretary Fisher to consider turning the use tax over to individual parks for improvements. There was much discussion of the benefits of regulated monopolies as opposed to a more competitive system.[37]

In July 1912, Haynes signed an agreement with the Department of the Interior for a new relay station, lunch stop, and stable near Tower Fall. With completion of the Mount Washburn road, this facility would serve visitors traveling between Canyon and Mammoth.[38] An independent operator, Tex Holm of Cody, used Haynes's buildings at the Tower Fall location.[39] The previous year, Tex Holm had sought a permit to build permanent log camp buildings in the park, and in April 1912, he was given permission to build at Sylvan Lake, Grand Canyon, Norris, Upper Geyser Basin, and Yellowstone Lake.[40]

Shortly after the close of the 1912 season, the second National Park Conference was held at Yosemite National Park with the same issues raised as the year before when the officials met in Yellowstone. There were discussions on automobiles in the parks, lack of government investment in the parks, the need for a bureau of national parks, and ideas on how to attract

more visitors. Mr. Child was praised by Senator Flint of California in his remarks:

> the country will [should] adopt plans of encouraging people of the United States to remain at home and see wonders that we have here that are just as grand and beautiful as in any other part of the world, …two men who have done great work in bringing to us in this country our American tourists, keeping them at home. One is Mr. Child, with the magnificent service that he has given to the people in the Yellowstone Park—and the other would be Mr. Harvey…for the service we have at the Grand Canyon.[41]

Haynes had high expectations for the 1913 season due to numerous advanced bookings from people attending the Knights Templar Conclave in Denver, the National Education Association in Salt Lake City, and the Christian Endeavor conference in Los Angeles. However, much of his time in 1913 was occupied with defending the stage company from charges of violating a clause in his lease; he then faced the cancellation of his stage contract by Secretary of the Interior Lane. Secretary Lane and his assistant Adolph Miller suggested that Haynes distance himself from the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company, reorganize, and seek a new permit, all of which Haynes did.[42]

In 1914, Haynes began operating as the Yellowstone-Western Stage Company. Competition from Child had been strong before, and Haynes felt that Child and his former partner, W. Humphrey, were behind the 1913 cancellation of his Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company permit. Nevertheless, while he was trying to reorganize, he sent his wife a positive telegram from Washington, "Matters are proceeding entirely satisfactory [*sic*]…have had three calls and one lunch from Lord Harry. Quite like old times indications are he will get on the band wagon and join the popular theme of reduction that I suggested. Don't worry."[43]

The strained competitive relationships in Yellowstone were not limited to those of Child and Haynes. George Whittaker and Mrs. George Pryor were both vying for the postmaster position at Mammoth. John Meldrum, the United States Commissioner, believed that someone from Harry Child's operation was backing Whittaker's purchase of the Lyall and Henderson store at Mammoth in order that Whittaker could slip into the postmaster's job. Mrs. Pryor had the support of the superintendent, Colonel Brett, and most of the Army officers. Judge Meldrum wrote to Haynes seeking his support, "Now, I know that you are a little prejudiced against women wearing the trousers, but you know that this State, Wyoming, was the pioneer proclaimer of 'Equal Rights' to the fair sex; and you also know that Mrs. Pryor is a bright and exceedingly capable woman."[44]

Child announced the transfer of the lease from Lyall and Henderson to George Whittaker on March 3, 1913, and Child immediately organized a petition on behalf of Whittaker for the position of postmaster. In Mrs. Anna Pryor's letter to Haynes seeking his support for her appointment, she wrote, "Now here is a

Lyall and Henderson Store—Mammoth Hot Springs. ca. 1914.

Rear of Lyall and Henderson Store—Mammoth Hot Springs. ca. 1914.

J. E. Haynes residence and studio. 1917.

secret far as I know, [and] it may help you if you do not know it. Huntley Child bought Park post cards to sell in the hotels this season and said they would not handle yours."[45]

Obviously the debate over who handled what merchandise in the different establishments was continuing. In May, Huntley Child complained to Colonel Brett that Haynes was selling "souvenir jewelry and leather sofa pillows at his stands in the park" which Child felt interfered with his license. This drew a response from Colonel Brett who quoted the Department's decision:

> The complaint of Mrs. Ash and Mr. Klamer in this case is not well founded. Mr. Haynes having the right, under the schedule of rates in question, to dispose of in the Park all souvenirs [of] embellished park views.[46]

Brett pointed out to Child that his permit of May 1912 for the Canyon store, which was "revocable at the will of the Secretary of the Interior" was for "such articles, knickknacks and tourist supplies as present conditions at this point require, in order to make proper provisions for the demands of the traveling public."[47]

In 1913, the Shaw and Powell Camping Company was given a permit to establish permanent camping facilities in the park. The move upset the Northern Pacific Railroad's Vice President, J. M. Hannaford, who wrote to Child:

> It seems to me that the Park authorities allowing construction of buildings of this character cannot but work to the material disadvantage of the Hotel Company, and that lobbies, dining rooms, etc. will soon be followed by sleeping quarters, and that you are going to find your expensive hotels running in competition with a very smaller investment, and in that way the value of the securities you have out are going to be considerably lessened.[48]

Haynes's son, Jack, was now taking a more active role in the business. He visited Salt Lake City to examine the competition's advertising methods and to explore the possibility of opening an office there. The Wylie company and the Shaw and Powell company both maintained a presence there.[49]

In August, Haynes, who had decided that he needed better lodging for his employees at Canyon, submitted plans for a new bunkhouse to replace the 1898 building, which he felt was too near his barn. With this project Haynes was introduced to the newly organized system of project review within the Depart-

ment of the Interior. Secretary Franklin Lane had appointed Mark Daniels as the General Superintendent and Landscape Engineer of National Parks. He would, among other duties, review and approve the design for buildings erected in the parks. Daniels approved Haynes's design, but recommended that the building be set up high enough to allow for some stone foundation and that the pitch of the roof be less than 45 degrees. Having had many years of experience with Yellowstone winters, Haynes objected to flattening the roof, citing the snow-load problems. Daniels eventually agreed with Haynes, but only after Haynes disputed Daniels's comparison with buildings in Switzerland.[50]

World War I broke out in Europe before the 1914 season was over, but no one knew if it would cause impacts to the park. With the Army still in control of park administration, it was unclear unknown if a shift in the Army's priorities would impact the management of the park. However, the hiring of Mark Daniels in the Department of the Interior brought the appearance of a more organized approach to park management and was encouraging to the concessioners.

CHAPTER SIX

Changes Sweep the Park 1915–1918

After more than four decades, the Department of the Interior finally began focusing some attention on the parks, and there was a strong indication that a bureau of national parks would be created. While secretaries Walter Fisher and Richard Ballinger had taken some measures toward creating such a bureau, Franklin Lane took a giant step in that direction with his appointment of Stephen Mather as Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior in 1915. The 3rd National Park Conference, which convened in Berkeley, California, and coincided with the Panama-Pacific Exposition, outlined a progressive program that greatly affected concessioners.

One of the main topics of discussion at the Park Conference was how to get people to the parks. While this issue was nothing new for Yellowstone officials, it was new to have a Departmental appointee discussing it. Mark Daniels, General Superintendent and Landscape Engineer, stated that for the parks to be a success, "We are going to put them to the use for which they were set aside, in other words, if they are going to bring in dividends, not only in money, but in health, happiness, and increased intelligence, they must certainly be visited by the people." Daniels believed the three key ingredients to success for parks were transportation facilities, publicity, and accommodations—

Loading of stage coaches at Mammoth Hotel (formerly National Hotel). Pre-1914.

the same three elements that the concessioners in Yellowstone and other parks had been investing in for years. Now, the Department of the Interior appeared ready to assume more responsibility in these areas, particularly in publicity. Daniels urged that a bureau of information be created, and he reported that Secretary Lane had begun a "campaign of publicity" by securing the services of a nationally known journalist to steer the effort.[1] A good friend of Stephen Mather, Robert Sterling Yard, had been hired as the national parks publicity chief. Yard had been the editor of *Century* and was currently the Sunday editor of the *New York Herald.*[2]

In order to promote accommodations and reach all classes of tourists, Daniels called for a three-tiered system of accommodations: (1) a hotel or chalet system for sleeping and dining, (2) a system of permanent camps where the traveler slept in tents but ate in dining rooms, and (3) facilities for individual campers who rented a tent and cooked their own food. Earlier Haynes had called for an additional type of accommodation—the second-class hotel, perhaps the antecedent of the lodge system.

Daniels pointed out that private camping parties would present problems that required new investments by the government. With hundreds or even thousands of private campers congregating in a park, municipal-type problems would arise. The park would need to provide water, electricity, telephones, and a system of ranger patrols for the campgrounds. Daniels suggested a "village" prototype and noted that trial examples were planned in Yosemite, Crater Lake, Mount Rainier, and Glacier. Daniels knew the success of this system was based on sufficient congressional appropriations, and the justification for increased appropriations was based on increased visitation.[3]

Fred Harvey, whose family was a concessioner in Grand Canyon, frowned on what he perceived as the prevailing attitude: "In our parks today the man who is operating the accommodation for the service of the public is regarded as if he was there simply to make as much money as he could out of it. He must be watched."[4] Pointing out that providing good service is no easy task in the remote national parks, Harvey believed that a regulated monopoly should protect the companies that had invested large sums of money in order to provide good accommodations and service. And he believed that all hotels in a park should be under one owner. Stephen Mather agreed and added that park concessioners should be of the very highest character and "should have the interest on his investments thoroughly protected. He should have his operating expenses deducted, and then the profits should be divided, possibly 50 per cent to the Government and 50 per cent to the concessioner." Mather, being very new to his position, also knew that what he proposed might not be practical, but thought it should be tried in some parks. [5]

For the concessioners of Yellowstone National Park, 1915 was also an important year as visitation more than doubled from 20,250 in 1914 to 51,895 and, late in the season, automobiles were allowed to travel throughout the park. The admission of automobiles would change the character of the visitor experience, the character of park development, and the investments of the concessioner. Because Yellowstone's roads had been designed for wagons or stages, the immediate problem would be the mixing of the two different modes of transportation. The plan issued by Secretary Lane's office called for the stages to leave 30 minutes after the automobiles had left on their one-way circuit around the Grand Loop Road. [6] Quickly that year, Holm Transportation Company and the Wylie Permanent Camping Company applied for permits to allow transport of passengers in motor vehicles. They were denied on the grounds that the admission of automobiles was for "pleasure purposes only." [7]

Mammoth Hot Springs store concessioners, Anna Pryor and Elizabeth Trischman sought permission to sell gasoline and lubricating oils in addition to numerous items not included in the original lease to Ole Anderson for coating of specimens. The lease, which was approved for one year, allowed them to sell souvenirs, confectionery, fresh fruit, cigars, tobacco, tourist hats and veils, colored glasses, books, magazines, stationery, along with maintaining a complete soda fountain, coffee, tea, and non-alcohol beverages; but they could not sell automobile-related items or Indian or fur rugs.[8]

Haynes was in an awkward position in preparing for the expected record season of 1915. He only had a one-year permit for his stage company, and he was faced with purchasing new equipment to meet increased needs; at the same time, he knew that drastic changes would be taking place in the near future because of the probable admission of automobiles into the park. He requested a longer lease from the Department of the Interior and outlined his projected purchases: 100 new stage horses, 12 eight-passenger Concord coaches, 100 five-passenger surreys, addi-

Buses and touring cars. 1920s.

tional harnesses and other related equipment, 500 tons of hay and 500,000 pounds of oats, additional lodging, and horse sheds. Despite his presenting a good case, the Department of the Interior renewed his lease only for one year.[9] At the end of 1915, his Yellowstone-Western Stage Company owned 472 horses and 228 passenger vehicles.[10]

The year 1916 was one of profound change for Yellowstone. The most important change was the creation of the National Park Service in August, with Stephen Mather selected as the Director. Among those who had lobbied for the creation of a bureau of national parks was a group of the leading landscape architects in the country. A committee was formed to support the Congressional legislation and included the Yellowstone concessioner, H. W. Child, as well as Frederick L. Olmstead, Enos Mills, Warren Manning, Percival Gallagher, and Harris Reynolds. They prepared a report about park issues, part of which addressed a question that is just as relevant at the end of the twentieth century as it was in 1915: the "advisability of establishing a populous village within the park for concessionaires and employees, or for visitors," or whether such housing should be built outside the park, "where, of course, it would not be under the direction of the government."[11]

In the park itself, F. Jay Haynes transferred his concession business, Haynes Park Studio, to his son, Jack, in January 1916. (The lease arrangements with the Department of the Interior remained the same).[12] F. Jay Haynes was focusing his time and attention on the transition of his transportation business from horses to motors. With additional advertising and promotion by the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad many people were expected to come into the park via the east entrance. In preparing for providing motor transport at the east entrance, Haynes and his attorney, J. Hickey, along with A. W. Miles of the Wylie Permanent Camping Company, Huntley Child, and representatives of the Shaw and Powell Camping company met in Helena to discuss the formation of the Cody-Sylvan Pass Motor Company.

Most of March was spent comparing different vehicles. A representative from the White Company met with the group, and, eventually, it received an order for two 10-passenger buses similar to the buses used in Glacier National Park. Haynes visited Pence Auto Company in Minneapolis and ordered five Buick seven-passenger cars.[13] In June, the Cody-Sylvan Pass Motor Company became official and made up of all former transportation companies. Fifty shares of stock were issued: Haynes held 16.5 shares; Huntley Child, 1 share; William Nichols, Huntley Child's brother-in-law, 14 shares; A. W. Miles, 10 shares; Leo Shaw, 6.5 shares; John Powell, 1 share; and Haynes's attorney, James Hickey, 1 share. Haynes served as president of the company. Cooperation among the former competitors was high, including the loan of equipment and sharing of services, particularly at Tower Fall.[14]

By the end of the summer, park officials termed the first full season of automobile touring (3,445 automobiles carried 14,930 people for pleasure) a "tremendous success." They made plans to withdraw all horse-drawn vehicles from the park roads by the open-

ing of the 1917 season.[15]

Meanwhile, the disposal of the horses and the horse-drawn vehicles and equipment of the Yellowstone-Western Stage Company kept Haynes busy. With World War I raging in Europe, Haynes's attorney, James Hickey, met with representatives of an English commission who were in this country purchasing horses for military use. The commission members were looking for heavy and strong horses and did not think that the stage-company horses would do. They were also very specific in what they would buy, only dark sorrels or dark bays. However, they suggested that the French commission might be interested, and they would represent the stage company to the French. But, after a German submarine sank five ships off the Atlantic coast, munitions transportation slowed down somewhat, and Haynes said, "I think this was the reason why horse buyers held back." In the spring, Howard Eaton, an outfitter and owner of the Eaton Ranch in Wolf, Wyoming, offered to buy some of the coaches, many of the horses, and all of the harness equipment.[16]

Also during the summer of 1916, Mather and his new assistant, Horace Albright, made a general inspection of all parks and found an overall lack of good sanitary systems. Armed with a special report written by a Department of the Interior special investigator, Mather planned to approach Congress for an appropriation to cover sanitation and water systems for all of the parks.[17] The special investigator, J. A. Hill, wrote a scathing report on the camp operations, stating "The manner in which the camps are conducted would not be tolerated in any city large enough to have a Board of Health." The hotels received good marks for being well-managed and well-equipped. Overall, Hill made some rather profound recommendations for concession operations in the Yellowstone:

1. Have one motor vehicle transportation company.
2. Have one hotel company.
3. Have one camping company.
4. Make Wylie and Shaw & Powell consolidate.
5. Eliminate all horse-drawn vehicles.
6. Permit different companies to haul its own merchandise.[18]

In late November, the stockholders of the various transportation and camping companies met with Horace Albright in Chicago to plan for the complete reorganization of the park transportation system, a subject that had been discussed at an earlier meeting with Mather. By the end of the session, the different concessioners could not reach a consensus so John Carroll, who represented the Northern Pacific Railroad, suggested that Director Mather "suggest the terms and propositions deemed by him just and proper in which the concessioners may participate in the motorization of the Yellowstone National Park." All concessioners voted "Aye."[19]

In a December meeting in Washington between the concessioners and Director Mather agreed upon the reorganization of the transportation business in Yellowstone:

1. The YP Hotel Company would maintain and operate hotels in Park.
2. The YP Transportation Company would be charged with the duty of motorizing the Park and conducting transportation through the Park; purchase the "good will" of the Yellowstone Western Stage Co. for a cash consideration; to purchase the "good will," so far as the transportation of tourists is concerned, of the Wylie Permanent Camping Co. and the Shaw and Powell Co., and to give in payment therefore $^2/_3$ of the capital stock of the Wylie Permanent Camping Co. owned by Haynes and Child, which stock the Transportation Company agree to acquire and transfer to Miles and Powell or one of them, in trust for a new camping company to be formed and known as the Yellowstone Park Camping Company at its par value which stock shall be fully paid and non-assessable, and issued to Miles and Powell.
3. F. Jay Haynes retires from [transportation] business in Park and the Yellowstone Park Transportation Co. having contracted for and completed purchase of his interest in the Wylie Permanent Camping Co. for purpose of transferring it to Miles and Powell.
4. Miles and stockholders of Shaw and Powell shall form corporation which will establish and maintain permanent camps in Park.
5. All concessioners are to co-operate and that the "convenience and pleasure of the public visiting the Yellowstone National Park may be best served at reasonable expense.
6. The Cody-Sylvan Pass Motor Company is dissolved.[20]

Clearly, 1916 was a year of tremendous change for Yellowstone National Park. The creation of the National Park Service immediately brought the influence of Stephen Mather and Horace Albright to park is-

sues. The transformation of travel in the park from the horse-drawn era into the motor age changed forever who came to Yellowstone and how they saw the park. Added to this was the retirement of F. Jay Haynes, one of the park's most influential concessioners, and the consolidation of the concession companies very much along the lines that Department of the Interior Inspector Hill had recommended.

In 1917, the newly organized National Park Service offered a concerted, businesslike approach to the operation of the national park system. This was in sharp contrast to the past 44 years when the parks were managed with a miscellaneous group of reservations and institutions. For the first time, concessions policy would be examined on a systemwide basis, and conflicting policies on administering the different parks would be addressed.

It was anticipated that rules and regulations would be published for the parks. In the Director's annual report for 1917, very positive words described the purpose of the parks:

> What benefits for the people of our time and for posterity in the direction of safeguarding health and providing recreational facilities are promised. What splendid recognition is given to the economic and educational value of our wonderful playgrounds. The statement breathes hope and encouragement and inspiration to all who study, enjoy, and love the wild places and the sublime works of nature.[21]

Just after the beginning of the New Year, another national parks conference was held in Washington, D.C. An entire session was devoted to motor travel to the parks, and it addressed many of the new and challenging issues facing the National Park Service and the concessioners—publicity, good roads, good accommodations, reasonably priced gasoline in the parks, and the designation of a park-to-park highway.[22]

America's entry into World War I caused some uncertainties about expected visitation and a general unrest in financial markets. Tighter money prevented the Northern Pacific Railway Company from loaning the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company additional money to purchase the needed automobile fleet. However, Huntley Child did secure a loan from the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad and the Union Pacific Railroad that enabled the company to buy 222 vehicles and other needed equipment. The

Yellowstone-Western Stage Company bunkhouse. 1917.

Northwest Improvement Company also advanced the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company and the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company an additional $150,000 on their 1914 loan so that the two companies were in good financial shape to begin the season of 1917.[23]

Haynes had turned down an offer to be a partner in the transportation business, stating:

> I had an opportunity of joining the company and have a minority holding in the stock, but I did not feel like obligating myself for $250,000 without control in the enterprise, especially one I did not know much about. Considering the fact that the Government expect to participate in the profits to quite an extent and the jitney business that will develop in competition, I thought it better to withdraw than to commence life over again, as I did not feel like beginning all over and start to make a fortune on borrowed capital.[24]

By October, Haynes had sold 406 horses for $32,490 which left him with a few horses at his ranch in Lakeview, Montana. Although the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company assumed it had a right to the former Yellowstone-Western Stage Company buildings throughout the park, Haynes still had a year remaining on his transportation lease, and he thus used the buildings for the storage of his wagons and equipment.

Late in 1917, Jack Haynes requested permission to use the buildings on the one-acre tract near Tower Fall that had formerly been used by the Yellowstone-

Western Stage Company for a picture shop and "information station." (Haynes had received temporary permission to run a shop at that location during the latter part of 1917 as an experiment.) Acting Superintendent Chester Lindsley supported the request because he found motorists who had come over Dunraven Pass were anxious to have a place to stop for water and to allow their smoking brakes a chance to cool off after the six-mile descent. Lindsley considered the Dunraven descent the "worst grade for automobiles in the park." Haynes planned to specialize here in the sale of photographs and postcards of the Buffalo Farm, Tower Fall, Grand Canyon, Mount Washburn, and the Petrified Trees.[25]

The sale of merchandise and meals was an issue in 1917. Anna Pryor and Elizabeth Trischman were now allowed to sell Indian rugs and postcards (as agents for Haynes), but they were denied the privilege of selling inexpensive meals—a service that would be handled by the new Mammoth Hot Springs permanent camp, which was moving in from Willow Park and Swan Lake Flats as a consolidation of the Willow Park and Swan Lake camps.[26]

In March 1917, George Whittaker and C. A. Hamilton were authorized to operate general stores in the Upper Geyser Basin and at Mammoth Hot Springs.[27] Hamilton also rented the old E.C. Waters store at Lake during the 1917 season. In November, W. M. Nichols, president of the Yellowstone Park Boat Company, suggested that C. A. Hamilton buy the store and dwelling from the boat company, move the buildings at least 100 feet back from Yellowstone Lake to improve the lake view from the hotel, and make alterations to the store to improve its appearance.[28]

Yellowstone Park Boat Company. 1917.

Following the 1916 reorganization of Yellowstone concessions operations, boat company officials had re-examined the company in light of recent changes in its finances and how the visitors traveled around the park. They found that the company, which had always had marginal financing, lacked sufficient funds to pay the interest on the note; more people were taking their automobiles from West Thumb to Lake Hotel, bypassing the boat ride; and, most of the boating revenue came from row boats, excursions, and fishing trips. Nichols proposed that the steamer, *E. C. Waters* be cut up, transported out of the park and sold to a railroad company that operated on Coeur D'Alene Lake. The 600-passenger capacity steamer was "in good shape, her timbers are sound, and her machinery and boilers, insofar as we have been able to discover, are just as good as new. The boat was run only 10 days after being built." Nichols also suggested selling the 150-passenger capacity gas boat, *Jean D.* He felt the machinery and boilers of the old *Zillah* might be used, but the hull was "too far gone to be of any use."[29]

In 1917, with the administration of the park changing from the military to the National Park Service, several concessioners wanted to use the stone "Bachelor's Quarters" (today's Albright Visitor Center) in Mammoth. Anna Pryor and Elizabeth Trischman wanted to convert it into a winter hotel as the hotel company had been told that a hotel needed to be open during the winter season "for the accommodation of tourists who visit the park for the purpose of seeing the wild animals and enjoying winter sports." Pryor and Trischman also wanted to lease one of the stone troop stables for garage purposes. Huntley Child wanted to use the Bachelor's Quarters for concession-employee quarters and a mess house as well as for additional hotel rooms for tourists who arrived prior to the official opening of the season. Both of these requests were denied.[30]

After the country's 1917 entry into World War I, rumors began to circulate about the park's possible closure. Although the park hotels closed early because of a railroad strike, the camping companies continued to be open. In December, Mr. Mather wrote to A. W. Miles, president of the Yellowstone Park Camping Company, denying rumors that the park would be closed in 1918. He went on to urge Miles to proceed with improvements as early in the spring as possible in order to be ready for the season opening. Mather wrote, "We expect to operate the entire national park

system during the period of the war because we realize the fact that the people of the country must have rest and recreation in war times as in time of peace."[31]

The park also experienced changes in social mores. During 1917, a friend of Secretary Franklin Lane from Washington, D.C., visited the park with a party that included "a colored maid." The hotel company's policy had been to serve the maids in "their room without any extra charge." In a letter from Huntley Child to Secretary Lane, Child asked the Secretary if that procedure was agreeable to him. He noted that in the past "about one colored maid comes to the Park every three years." Horace Albright suggested a response that indicated that Child should take up the matter in person with the Secretary on his next visit to Washington, but the new chief clerk, Frank Griffith, wanted to sidestep the issue and not go on record with a response to Child's letter. Assistant Superintendent Cotter wanted to file the Child's letter without a reply.[32] No reply was given.

The Secretary of the Interior planned to open all of the parks in 1918, with all hotels, camps, and transportation companies operating as usual.[33] However, by the first of June, Huntley Child and his father, H. W. Child, convinced Mr. Mather that the lack of sufficient hotel staff, the general unrest in the country, changes in rail service, and an increase in rail ticket prices all indicated that it would be a dismal season for the hotels. After much negotiating, Huntley Child announced that the hotels would not open. Citing fixed costs of $125,000, Child suggested that someone else run the hotels for the season; however, that did not transpire and the hotels remained closed. At the end of the season, the hotel and transportation companies could not meet their interest payments. The hotel company lost $74,640.47, and the transportation company lost $33,955.57.[34]

The question of coal mining by the hotel company arose again when the company sought permission to obtain coal from the McMinn mine, which the Army Corps of Engineers had recently reopened in the park. (The mine had been closed for about 30 years.) While Director Mather denied use of that particular mine because the deposits were limited, he did allow the hotel company "to open up any other deposits of coal in the park" under the authorization and supervision of the National Park Service as allowed under their concession permit.[35]

In May, the Secretary published and distributed a "Statement of National Park Policy" in which he outlined the first guidelines for running the parks. These guidelines were based upon the principles that the parks were "to be maintained in absolutely unimpaired form for the use of future generations," that "they are set apart for the use, observation, health, and pleasure of the people," and, finally, that "the national interest must dictate all decisions affecting public or private enterprise in the parks." In addressing concessions, the Secretary stated that concessions would be under "strict Government control" and "confined to tracts no larger than absolutely necessary for the purposes of their business." The policy statement called for "low-priced camps operated by concessioners should be maintained, as well as comfortable and even luxurious hotels wherever the volume of travel warrants the establishment of these classes of accommodations." He mentioned that as funds allowed, free camping areas would be built in the parks. In regard to fees and rates, the Secretary recognized that the concessioners (for the most part) had invested great sums of money and "…as the obligation to render service satisfactory to the department at carefully regulated rates is imposed, these enterprises must be given a large measure of protection, and generally speaking, competitive business should not be authorized where a concession is meeting our requirements."[36]

One of the most important elements in the Statement of Policy that affected concession development as well as park development was the attention given to architecture and landscape architecture. The Department called for hiring trained people familiar with landscape architecture who would operate under the philosophy of harmonizing new development with the landscape using a "preconceived plan."[37] While the concessioners had used prominent architects in the past and plans for construction had been presented to the Department for approval, this new policy meant that trained people would be reviewing development in a more highly organized manner. These employees would also make periodic visits to the parks in order to make recommendations for improvements or new construction.

The first report on Yellowstone improvements was prepared by Charles Punchard, Jr., a National Park Service landscape engineer, in September 1918. Punchard's thorough report on the permanent camps in the park presented general recommendations for all camps as follows:

1. Topographic map of each camp.

H. W. Child residence, built in 1908. 1917.

"Chinaman's" house in Gardner Canyon. 1917.

2. General plan for development of each camp.
3. Competent architect employed by camp company.
4. Installation of proper sanitary facilities.
5. Gravel walks and drives.
6. Policing of camps to ensure cleanliness.
7. Central laundry for all camps.
8. Hot and cold baths, plus private bath in few tents.
9. Permanent adequate water system.
10. Color of paint to be used on permanent parts of bldgs.
11. Shingled roofs painted sage green at Mammoth and dark brown at other camps.
12. Guest tents of a more permanent material and good design.
13. All buildings to conform to exterior architecture of main building.
14. All buildings and locations need approval by National Park Service.
15. Submit list of contemplated work for following season at the end of season.[38]

Punchard did not believe that the same color needed to be used consistently, but that each camp should be studied for the selection of an appropriate color. He recommended "the soft gray" used on the Child's house for the Mammoth camp to blend with the terraces and a "soft warm brown stain" for the Old Faithful, Canyon, and Lake camps. He strongly suggested not using the brown and yellow paint scheme currently used. Punchard found that often "A spirit of 'good enough' prevailed" as the concessioners tried to meet their immediate needs, which in most cases did not meet the newly established principle of harmonizing with nature.[39]

Another example of the new National Park Service adopting a more businesslike approach in managing of the parks was that the United States Bureau of Animal Industry was brought in to Yellowstone by Acting Superintendent Chester Lindsley to inspect the hotel company's herd of milk cows from Idaho. Lindsley had heard that Idaho was not strict with the enforcement of laws governing diseases of livestock.[40]

Due to the lack of material and labor during 1918, new construction was discouraged, but small projects did occur. Visitation dropped from 35,400 in 1917 to 21,275 in 1918. Only the Upper Geyser Basin, Mammoth, and Canyon camps were opened. George Whittaker, who kept the post office at Mammoth opened all year and his store at Canyon opened during the summer season, took over the hotel company's garden located at the head of Gardner Canyon at the request of Director Mather. He sold produce to the road camps at cost. Hamilton ran his Upper Geyser Basin and Lake stores. Pryor and Trischman remained open during the season. [41]

During these few short years, some of the most dramatic and far-reaching changes occurred in Yellowstone and the other parks. Times were changing, and the parks were keeping a pace with the changes. The transition from horse to motor vehicles, major changes in concession companies, transfer of Park administration from military to civilian rule, the beginning of a National Park Service management policy, and changes in concession activities from to the impacts of world events on the park all made for a different Yellowstone in the next decades.

CHAPTER SEVEN

"The Business of All of Us is a Gamble Anyway" 1919–1922

H. W. CHILD, 1921

A new era for Yellowstone National Park began in 1919. Horace Albright was selected as the park's first civilian superintendent since the 1880s. Albright's attention to park development and his mere presence would directly affect the course of concessions.

National Park Service Director Mather urged the formation of a National Park Service division of travel to coordinate with other travel organizations and resorts in the country and to "meet the competition of Europe from the beginning of its renewed activity" after the end of World War I. Interest in the national parks was reflected in the enormous numbers of requests for information pouring into the Washington office; the office received several hundred requests a day during the spring of 1919. Thousands of park visitors traveled across the country by rail, but large numbers also traveled in their private automobiles, some staying in the park hotels and permanent camps while others used their personal camping equipment in the free campgrounds.

In 1919, 62,261 visitors came to Yellowstone; this was three times the 1918 visitation figure. Records show that 10,737 private automobiles brought 39,886 tourists to the park that year, with more than half of these people bringing their own camping equipment. During 1919, conventions were held in a number of parks, and inter-park tours brought in many more people. The Montana's Banker's Association, the National Touring Association, the Western Governor's Conference, the Brooklyn Eagle Tour, the International Association of Rotary Clubs, the Massachusetts Forestry Association, the Travel Club of America, and members of the United States Chamber of Commerce all met in the park during 1919.[1]

Because the popularity of independent and organized camping was burgeoning, the National Park Service landscape engineer, Charles Punchard, Jr., strove to improve the camping companies. With his aid a complete camp system was planned for Yellowstone.[2]

Superintendent Albright, who did not assume his new position until July 1, began making his presence felt just after the New Year. In a letter to A. W. Miles, President of the Yellowstone Park Camping Company, Albright recommended improvements for the various camps and urged Miles to submit his drawings and site locations for early approval. After several meetings with Miles in California, Albright had Punchard's comfort station and bathhouse drawings sent to him.

Yellowstone Park Camp Company tents—Upper Geyser Basin. 1917.

These early National Park Service-designed bathhouses provided eight tub baths and wash basins, two showers, six toilets, an attendant's room, and linen closet in the women's building and six showers, two tub baths, five toilets, linen room, and eight wash basins for the men's building; both buildings housed a heating plant. These log buildings were designed to be compatible with the main building in the campground.[3]

In May 1919, the former head of the United States Railroad Administration's Bureau of Service, National Parks and Monuments, and the former general advertising manager of the Union Pacific and North Western Railroad, Howard Hays, bought the Yellowstone Park Camping Company. Director Mather believed Hays would bring to Yellowstone a distinct advantage based on his experience in the recreational and educational aspects of travel across the country.[4]

During this record year, visitors often found the campgrounds overcrowded and the hotels and permanent camps "overflowing," perhaps in part a result of the Lake facilities being opened on an emergency basis only. However, good service at all locations was reported by the visitors, despite a severe shortage of good help.[5]

Sensing the trend would not change for the 1920 season, plans were made to get Lake Hotel and camp into good condition before the season opened. The Lake Camp was being rebuilt and extensive repairs to the hotel were completed during 1919.[6]

Camp Roosevelt, which began as a Wylie camp in 1906 and was renamed in 1913, operated near Lost Creek for two months during the summer. Mr. Albright reported that, "This camp is destined to be very popular as a fishing and riding resort. It is in the neighborhood of some of the best fishing waters of the park, and is a radiating point for numerous very interesting trails."[7]

By 1919, automobile services, gasoline, oil, garages, and repairs were offered at Mammoth Hot Springs, Lake, Canyon, and the Upper Geyser Basin, and plans were made to sell automobile parts at these places the following year.[8] The Yellowstone Park Transportation Company and George Whittaker jointly operated the filling stations at Mammoth and Canyon with Whittaker owning the Canyon station and the transportation company owning the station at Mammoth. The filling stations at Upper Geyser Basin and Lake were jointly operated by the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company and Charles Hamilton with Hamilton owning the two stations.[9]

The rush of visitors to the parks in 1919 and again in larger numbers in 1920 led Director Mather to claim that despite "trying economic conditions throughout the country, inflated values, increased prices of labor and materials have caused disturbances in every line of human activity and contributed to the general unrest of the masses, [and thus] our people have turned to the national parks for health, happiness, and a saner view of life." The visitation across the system broke the million mark in 1920, with Yellowstone accounting for 79,777 people. Of that number, 30,286 visitors came by rail, and the others traveled to the park by private automobile.[10]

With the tremendous increase in the numbers of travelers to parks across the country and the resulting impact on concessions and their operations, the concessioners were praised by the National Park Service for meeting the unusual demands on the park facilities. New regulations required all new construction and any remodeling be approved by the agency's

Camp Roosevelt. 1922.

Camp Roosevelt interior. 1922.

landscape engineer, and Director Mather urged the concessioners to undertake an "organized scheme of development" using "intelligent, well-prepared plans for submission to the landscape engineer."[11]

Shortly after Superintendent Albright arrived in Yellowstone in 1919, he quickly grasped the concession situation and assessed the major companies' attributes and deficiencies. However, Director Mather decided to deal personally with the Yellowstone Boat Company situation. He disliked the company's uneasy financial position and wanted it to clean up the Lake area. He wanted to see a thriving boat business in Yellowstone, something the park had not seen since 1916.

Mather wrote to one of the three owners, Howard Elliot, President of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and explained that he had not pursued a change in the situation during the war because other more important problems faced the park. He recognized that not having scheduled business at Lake diminished the possibilities of a good return, but upon inspection in 1919, he found the boats and buildings in a "serious state of disrepair, and in fact I found much of it already useless." The harsh weather had taken a toll on the boats beached near the hotel, and the *E. C. Waters*, anchored on Stevenson Island, was being beaten to ruins by the waves. The piers, landings, and buildings were "almost wholly wrecked." Mather called the buildings the "most unsightly in the park" and ordered Superintendent Albright to remove them before the 1921 season opened. Mather asked the boat company to either comply with their contract or sell the property and allow the Interior Department to find a new company to operate boats on Yellowstone Lake.[12]

H. W. Child, another of the boat company owners (Warren Delano of New York was the third), believed that Mather had only superficially reviewed the situation and that during the few days Mather spent in the park, he had been with parties of personal friends and most of his attention was to "the social nature of the trip." Child felt that Mather "gave us an arbitrary order and does not consider in any way the effect his orders will have on the care and handling of the tourists and no argument that I have found seems to penetrate; he is a good deal like President Wilson in his autocratic ways." Harry Child wanted to settle the problem after Albright returned to the park, as he believed the Superintendent had a different view of the situation from Director Mather. However, Child recognized that Albright would not be in "any position to criticize his chief and must of course carry out his orders." Child just hoped that Albright could change Mather's views.[13]

Heavers at Mammoth Lodge. 1925.

While Child was counting on Albright to support his position on the boat company, he realized that Albright was there to put the concessions in order and to get the park ready to meet the needs of the ever-growing numbers of people who wanted to enjoy the wonders of Yellowstone. Albright wrote a comprehensive, candid report on Child's Yellowstone Park Hotel Company and Yellowstone Park Transportation Company at the end of the 1920 season. The report identified finances of the companies, the companies' attitudes toward the government, needed improvements, and recommendations for the betterment of the park. For the hotel company, Albright concluded:

> that the company needed to enlarge the Mammoth hotel dining room, more rooms added some with baths, and the hotel should be painted. Old Faithful Inn should be enlarged by a new wing of rooms, with and without baths, lobby should be enlarged, and grounds should be planted with shrubbery and grass; Lake hotel needs many more rooms with and without baths, a new annex should be built for the rooms, lobby, and dining room; the grounds should be planted and otherwise improved from the standpoint of landscape architecture. The old hotel [which Albright called the 'weakest link of the chain'] should be painted. Canyon needs a large dining room, the exterior and roof need new stain, and the grounds improved. The old Fountain Hotel and lunch stations at Thumb

> and Norris should be dismantled, torn down, and the valuable lumber salvaged. Dining room service could be improved by use of more fresh fruit and vegetables. Company [should] be directed by Park Service to pay its porters, bellboys, and waiters high enough wages to mitigate the tipping evil to a considerable extent. That all guiding hereafter be handled by the National Park Service. This will require about four more rangers. That the present wood-cutting policy be made permanent and strictly enforced. That curtailment of service during the last thirty days of the season be prohibited. That the basis of compensation for the franchise be changed to two and one half or three per cent of the gross revenues, in order that ll branches of the hotel establishment shall bear their share of the Government tax and in order to afford an easier means of ascertaining what the Government should receive.[14]

In addition to the hotel company needs, Albright wanted Yellowstone Park Transportation Company to purchase at least 20 cars for the next season's operation.[15]

Albright had been in the park only slightly more than a year, but he quickly ascertained the problems and potential problems with concessioners who had had free reign over the management of their businesses. He felt that perhaps "threat of competition in the operation of the transportation line or in the maintenance of gasoline and supply stations would bring these companies in line quicker than anything else."[16]

In contrast to his assessment of the Child operations, he found Jack Haynes to be:

> one of the best men to deal with that we have in any national park; not only is he interested in the development of the parks, but he is also willing to help in the work of the National Park Service whenever and wherever possible. I will say further that no rule or regulation, request or policy, which has affected Mr. Haynes has had anything but his respect and strict compliance. I have found it a pleasure to do business with him at all times, and I wish that all of the other operators in Yellowstone National Park were as interested in the work of the Service and as easy to get along with as Mr. Haynes is.[17]

Early in 1921, H. W. Child was in a struggle with Director Mather over reducing the rates he owed the government in order for his companies to make a profit. While the previous year the government had investigated the charges of "double-bookkeeping" brought against the transportation and hotel companies, the retired company accountant had cleared up any misconceptions. Child explained to Mather that through the years he had met his financial obligations mainly based "entirely on personalities and long standing friendships, and not on any financial report of any kind." He pointed out that he had tried to meet the ever-changing needs of the visitors despite the many changes in government officials and the railroads. He wrote, "I might be able to satisfy one set of officials, but new ones, who come in, have entirely different views, and this, in a measure, is what has called for the large expenditures of money by me." He added that he and the other concessioners "have been in a very unsettled frame of mind for quite a number of years, as the business of all of us is a gamble anyway, ...with the uncertainties in their connections with the Government, and it is only a question of time before bankruptcy will hit all of us."[18]

In the past, the hotel and transportation companies had not paid a return on their gross receipts as the camping company and other companies did. Child paid only on meals, lodging, and passenger transport, not on gasoline, pictures, and other sales. Mather and the Department attorney decided that the money owed, $25,000, would be forgiven, but new percentage rates would go into effect immediately. The new rates were 2.5 percent of the gross receipts of the hotel company and four percent of the gross receipts of the transportation company.[19]

By the end of the year, the matter was still not settled as Child did not like the terms. Child was upset with the government and fearful of a Congressional investigation into the concession operation. He hoped that the upcoming change to a Republican administration would be more favorable to his needs. Child appealed to Northern Pacific Railroad President, Howard Elliot, to be liberal in the company's expectations from his hotel and transportation companies.[20]

In contrast, Jack Haynes's rates were readjusted downward as his company had been paying at a higher percentage than the other concessioners. His new contract reflected the same four percent of gross to the government that Child's new rate did.[21]

Sadly, one of the earliest and most respected

concessioners, F. Jay Haynes, died in March 1921. The park flags flew at half-mast for 30 days in his honor. In tribute to Haynes, Horace Albright wrote:

> While due to his careful management and keen business acumen, all of Mr. Haynes's concessions in the park have proven satisfactory from a financial standpoint. He also had always the keen sense of obligation towards the park and its development as the property of the public. His dealings with the park officials, the public, his employees, and others was always characterized by a spirit of fairness, which stands out forcibly in the minds of those with whom he was associated. His splendid photographs of the park scenery have been widely distributed all over the world for many years, and their influence in bringing the National Park into its present prominence is beyond estimate.[22]

Visitation in 1921 increased visitation to 81,651 people, with the rail travel figures showing a slight decrease.[23] Toward the end of the travel season, Howard Hays, President of the camping company proposed new services for visitors, housekeeping cabins. This type of cabin, which was already used at Yosemite and Mt. Rainier, would offer a furnished room with beds, wood supply, tables, chairs, and small cook stove.

A new request came before Mr. Albright in 1921. Jack Haynes requested permission for a former Army pilot to fly over the park taking aerial photographs. The pilot also wanted to take passengers up for a fee of $1 per minute. Albright responded quite strongly:

> We are very anxious to keep Yellowstone Park a wild place, and the one thing that would remove even its distant points from a state of wilderness would be the aeroplane. I think I told you one time how the use of aeroplanes in the park probably would affect people who come year after year and who desire to get away from all forms of civilization. Imagine, for instance, that you and I should take a trip into the Upper Yellowstone for a rest and recreation in that wonderful wild country. We think we have gotten away from automobiles, telephones, mail, and telegrams, and are cooking our bacon over a camp fire and reveling in the spirit of the wild country. Moose and elk are about us, grizzly bears are not far away. We are talking about how fine it is to be away from civilization, when suddenly an aeroplane flies over and drops the *Chicago Tribune* right at your feet. Would it not make you sore?[24]

Roosevelt Lodge cabin interior. 1929.

In late January 1922, H. W. Child sent Albright the financial reports for both the hotel and transportation company, detailing past record keeping. Child hoped this report would satisfy any misunderstandings about his past business practices. Explaining that his transportation company had always assisted the hotel company with obligations, Child went on to state that this method of business was common knowledge in the Department of the Interior. He acknowledged the proposed new rates suggested by the Department the previous year, but wanted Mather to analyze the newly submitted annual report before implementing the rates. He stated that he was eager "to co-operate with the Government and work with it in all its Yellowstone Park activities, and I am particularly anxious to meet Mr. Mather's desires whenever and wherever it is possible." He added that "I realize that we have drifted apart on certain matters, and I, thru accustomed methods of doing business, have certainly had as much, or more, to do with this as anyone, but all along I have been willing and ready to do the right thing as I have seen it, always bearing in mind as a business man that the financial status of my properties must be very carefully watched, as I am engaged in a hazardous business." Child reiterated the many changes in government personnel over the decades he had been associated with the park, and he reminded Albright that both he and his wife had worked with the American Civic Association and others towards the creation of the National Park Service. He wrote that he was "thankful now that the Service is so auspi-

ciously established and carrying out a definite policy." With a willingness to fully cooperate with Mather, he closed by saying, "We will try as always to keep a step ahead of the demands."[25]

In April, Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall responded to Child. Fall wrote that if Child would build a new Lake hotel this year (1922) and increase his transportation equipment plus complete a few other improvements, he would receive a new 20-year contract based upon the earlier stated rates. Fall did recognize the interdependence of the hotel and transportation companies.[26] The day after Fall sent the letter, Child presented his plans for an extensive addition to Lake Hotel to Albright in Washington. Evidently, Mather had already approved the floor plans, and much discussion about this plan had already taken place. With Child's acceptance of the contract, Albright sent the plans to the National Park Service landscape architect, Daniel Hull, with instructions to address them as soon as possible so the company could begin work as of June 1 and have the facility completed by December 1.[27]

In 1922, the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company had 125 eleven-passenger cars, 29 touring cars, and numerous freight and gasoline trucks. As a means of advertising, the company sent several of the bright yellow cars, so identifiable with the park, on a tour of the country in the off-season.[28]

The questions of "who sells what" continued in 1922 when Pryor and Trischman requested permission to open a refreshment booth at the head of the Mammoth Hot Springs Terraces, an idea that Albright did not altogether oppose. But he did agree with Mather that no more unnecessary buildings should be erected in the park. Mather approved the drawings for the booth, but declined permission to build at that time. He compromised by allowing Pryor and Trischman to serve lunches and dinners at their curio and ice cream parlor, knowing that the hotel dining room and the camp dining rooms were always congested.

The following year, Pryor and Trischman requested permission to build and operate a "tourist food shop" in the Mammoth Public Auto Camp and sent plans drawn by Mr. Merritt Tuttle for approval. Albright solicited comments from Howard Hays of the camping company and William Nichols of the hotel company. Naturally, both objected to the proposal, citing impingement of their privileges. Hays pointed out that he had been given permission to open such a shop at Old Faithful as a "one year experiment" and

Park Curio shop at Mammoth Hot Springs. 1917.

that the year was not yet up. He stated that he could very well have opened it at Mammoth. After hearing the protests, Mather delayed granting approval.[29]

Hays believed that a "tourist food shop" would meet the needs of the ever-increasing class of visitors known as "campers." He also felt that the kitchen service should be extended to provide "hot pies (whole or by the slice), pastry, doughnuts, sliced roast beef and pork, bread, bottled milk, and other delicatessen items."[30]

Shortly thereafter, Hays received permission from Albright and Mather to open housekeeping camps at Old Faithful, Lake, Mammoth, and Canyon for the 1922 season. He was also given permission to operate a delicatessen at Old Faithful as a one-year experiment.[31]

At the end of 1922, Albright was proud of the improvements in the park, particularly in landscaping by both the government and the concessioners. He attributed the positive results to the work of National Park Service landscape architect, Daniel Hull. In thanking Hull, Albright wrote:

> Much of this interest I feel must be attributed to your own personality which has made you a popular figure in Yellowstone Park, to your broad comprehension of our problems which has won for you the respect and confidence of everybody here, [and] to your ability to harmonize your work with the practical business requirements of the park, which has made it possible to plan improvements with the knowledge that you would not put theoretical obstacles in the way that would delay or make work impossible on account of greatly increased costs.[32]

CHAPTER EIGHT

From Camps to Lodges 1923–1928

Visitation jumped 41 percent in 1923, with 138,352 people enjoying Yellowstone National Park. Rail traffic accounted for 44,806 of the tourists; about 75,000 tourists used the public campgrounds. The service by the concessioners was considered excellent with many new improvements completed prior to the opening of the season. The Yellowstone Park Transportation Company, which had a difficult time keeping up with the demands, purchased an additional 20 new 11-passenger cars, two new 25-passenger cars, one new two-ton truck, and they bought nine touring cars from the Yosemite Park Company.[1]

Taking into account the major investments of the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company, the Yellowstone Park Camping Company, and the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company, the Department issued new 20-year contracts beginning January 1, 1923. George Whittaker received a 10-year contract to operate stores and filling stations at Mammoth and Canyon. C. A. Hamilton received a 10-year contract to operate stores and filling stations at Lake, Old Faithful, and West Thumb. Jack Haynes was operating on a 15-year contract that would end in 1936; Pryor and Trischman's contract would end in 1926, and Henry Brothers's contract for the swimming pool and baths operation at Old Faithful would end in 1924.[2] Near the end of the 1923 season, the Department sent approval for a new camp company lunch station to be built just inside the east entrance on site of the old Wylie camp. This would become the Sylvan Pass Lodge in 1924.[3]

In order for the National Park Service to keep abreast of the many different franchises and permits

Charles Hamilton in front of Lower Geyser Basin Store. n.d.

Hamilton's Auto Camp Store—Old Faithful. 1929.

issued across the system, Francis Farquhar was hired at a salary of $6,000 a year to be the official accountant. While the work was not needed for the full 12 months, an annual scrutiny was felt necessary to "enable the service to function intelligently and decide upon questions of rates, returns to the United States, earnings and the like in complete justice and fairness to the operators, the public, and the Department of the Interior."[4]

Knowing that the Yellowstone Park Boat Company privilege would be up for renewal, William Nichols understood that it was the time to either invest in more boats for better service or lose the contract. Although the company had provided very poor service and had had few returns in the past, Nichols was optimistic that the company could be salvaged with the new Lake Hotel being open and more visitors staying in the area. Recognizing that the existing facilities were an "eye-sore," Nichols proposed constructing a new boathouse and purchasing new boats to augment the speed boat purchased in 1922. Nichols admitted that the boat company's stock "isn't worth the paper it is written on," but he bought partner Warren Delano's stock from the Warren Delano Estate for $100. The executor of the estate thought the estate came out ahead! H. W. Child was willing to pay the Northwest Improvement Company $100 for their stock.[5] At the end of 1923, Superintendent Albright stated in his annual report that the boat company had made no improvements that year, thus their franchise (which was extended for the 1923 season) would not be renewed unless the company reorganized its finances and purchased equipment to run a general boating business.[6]

Stairs and skids at Yellowstone Park Boat Company. 1936.

Boats at Lake. 1922.

In 1924, Pryor and Trischman received a temporary permit to operate a stand to serve cold drinks and ice cream to visitors on the terraces; it was known as the "Devil's Kitchenette." They were also given a 10-year contract starting in 1924 to continue operating their curio and ice cream shop, an extension allowing them time to make needed additions to the store.[7] Henry Brothers was also given a 10-year contract in 1924 for the operation of his bathhouse and swimming pool at Old Faithful.[8]

Due to failing health, Howard Hays sold the Yellowstone Park Camping Company to Vernon Goodwin of Los Angeles. Upon his departure, Albright praised Hays, "Very few men in America know more of the national parks than Mr. Hays does. He has visited nearly all of them, and is familiar with their problems. There is still a broad field in the national parks for his boundless energy, fine personality, and great activity.…"[9] Goodwin, who immediately took over, inherited an aggressive improvement program.[10]

In 1925, the Eighth National Park Conference was held in Mesa Verde National Park. In the sessions on concessions, it was noted that the large numbers of camping tourists now expected to find housekeeping-type facilities in the national parks like those in municipal campgrounds. The conversion of the housekeeping facilities (addition of running water and some limited type of kitchen facility) would put an additional financial burden on some of the operators. Nevertheless, Mather believed this kind of service should be offered, and it was up to each Superintendent to deal with his specific concessioner on this issue. Mather told the group that the housekeeping service had already been started at Yellowstone. Mather cited a lodge development in Jasper Park, Canada, as

a good example for the parks; he felt the lodge being built in Zion was also "admirable." During the meeting, it was noted that the sanitation developments in the parks were good examples for the country in general. (In the previous year, incinerators and new water systems had been built in several areas in Yellowstone[11] and during 1925, all of the concession dump grounds in Yellowstone were cleaned up, with tins and glass buried and all other garbage not eaten by the bears burned. As well as tin crushers, incinerators were used at Upper Geyser Basin, Lake, and Canyon.[12])

A disastrous fire occurred March 31, 1925, at the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company facilities in Mammoth. It destroyed 53 buses, 35 touring cars, trucks, spare parts, and the important machine shop. The company immediately ordered replacement vehicles and by the opening day, 90 new buses and 10 new trucks were delivered. Albright praised the company in his annual report:

> This remarkable performance resulted in giving the transportation line more facilities for the opening than it would have had had the fire not occurred. The officers of the company are to be commended for the courage and vigorous action in making the great expenditures necessary to completely reestablish the transportation facilities in time for the accommodation of park visitors.[13]

Meanwhile, the new steel and concrete, fireproof transportation facility at the north entrance was nearing completion. The big storage garage was finished and the new machine shops would be finished shortly.[14]

Devil's Kitchenette. 1929.

Visitation in 1925 showed a small increase of 10,124 people for a total of 154,282, and the rail service also showed a slight increase with 44,786 visitors.[15] As a result of several years of improvements and much cooperation among landscape architect Dan Hull, Horace Albright, and the different concessioners, the park's developed areas began to take on an attractive appearance. A park visitor wrote, "One thing im-

Yellowstone Park Transportation Company. 1917.

Old Faithful Lodge. 1928.

Old Faithful Lodge lobby. 1928.

Old Faithful Lodge cabins. 1983.

Old Faithful Lodge recreation hall. 1928.

Old Faithful Lodge dining room. 1929.

pressed me as I traveled about the park and that was the unique and picturesque method in which the buildings were built. They were of such simple and rough style that they formed a unit and part of the scheme of things there in the forests." The visitor then requested information or plans for the log and frame cabins for his use as a design for a cabin on the Housatonic River.[16]

In moving towards a four-tier level of accommodations in the park, major improvements and new construction at the permanent camps transformed them into lodge-type developments. Hotels, existing lodges, the existing housekeeping cabins, and the free public auto campgrounds were also improved. The use of the term "lodge" as suggested by Superintendent Albright received much attention from the

Old Faithful Lodge employees. 1928.

concessioners as well as from the Washington office. Albright wanted to change the name "permanent camp" to "lodge" in order to distinguish these facilities from camping in the public auto campgrounds. He believed the term "camp" was overused and confusing to the travelers. With the "permanent camps" now offering a central building, which housed a dining room, lobby, and recreation hall, Albright argued that the term was outdated. The different railroad officers, the officers of the Yellowstone Park Camps Company and the officials of the different touring groups were all consulted. Most agreed with the new term "lodge." Albright sought permission from the Department to make the change. He thought there would be no problem with the YP Camps Company as they had already changed the sign in the window at their Livingston office to "Yellowstone Lodges and Camps Company." [17]

In addition to the visitors' changing preference for accommodations, other changes in 1920s society were reflected in the park. For example, the hotel company questioned the mandatory rule that men must wear a coat at dinner. In response to William Nichols on the applicability of the rule, Albright said:

> I think the National Park Service has full power to regulate anything it desires to undertake in the national parks and there will be no question but that we can insist upon the abrogation of the coat rule if we want to do this and at the present time it is our disposition to have the rule abrogated. Mr. Mather was particularly strong about this matter as he had it brought to his attention by a very prominent Congressman.[18]

Albright also suggested that the company purchase an ample supply of "new and good-looking coats and have them available at each hotel."[19]

Again the question of the boat company had not been settled, and the company operated on a year-to-year permit. Albright believed that the Department should demand "a complete financial liquidation," and that if the company did not reorganize, it should voluntarily withdraw and allow the Department to seek another boat service.[20]

In 1926, visitation once again increased significantly (by 18 percent). A total of 187,807 tourists came to Yellowstone. The striking change in the type of Yellowstone visitor is seen in the fact that 125,000 people preferred to camp rather than to stay at the hotels and lodges. A small increase in rail travel was noted.[21]

Before year's end, the question of allowing rental cars in the park arose. An organization called "Drive

Your Own" was pushing for rights in the park that Child thought should be killed before it got started. He was also concerned that the Hertz Drivurself Company and "every other jitney outfit in Montana and the surrounding states would demand the same privilege and how Albright could operate Yellowstone Park with this bunch of bandits, I do not know." Child knew that Albright was against the rental car schemes but feared the political influence of General Motors. In a meeting held with park concessioners from across the system, railroad officials, National Park Service officials and car representatives, the rental car people said they wanted to target the arriving rail passengers. Mather feared putting urban drivers onto the park roads without any experience in mountain driving. He believed it was because of the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company's careful operation that only one fatality had been recorded since buses had been allowed on the Yellowstone roads in 1917. Albright added that if someone drove across country to get to the park, he was probably used to the conditions; however, a few motorists had not been allowed in the park after the rangers "sized up" their abilities. Other issues concerned Mather and Albright as well, such as the protection of the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company, which had invested heavily in equipment and facilities; their objection to the "more go-as-you-please autoist" hurrying through the parks without seeing them; the problem of unloading at the hotels at unexpected times; the lack of preparation on part of petitioners; the national policy against introducing competing interests into parks; and the apparent lack of demand for "drive yourself" cars. Albright stated that there had never been a request in Yellowstone for that type of service. The issue was resolved with the understanding that the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company might consider providing "drive yourself" cars if a demand arose.[22]

A major landscape improvement occurred in 1926. The National Park Service and the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company jointly removed all of the telephone lines along the road between Mammoth Hot Springs and Lake Hotel via Norris and Canyon. New lines were installed in less conspicuous areas through the forests or in locations some distance from the road.[23]

Improvements continued at the campgrounds and the lodge areas. The old Fountain Hotel and old Norris lunch station were taken down and the sites cleaned. As the 1920s ended, the physical appearance of the park began to improve.

CHAPTER NINE

From the Depression to World War II 1929–1941

On February 1, 1929, Roger Toll, the superintendent of Rocky Mountain National Park, was named as Horace Albright's replacement in Yellowstone when Albright assumed Stephen Mather's position as National Park Service Director. Albright would continue to monitor the concessioners' improvement programs initiated during the past few years.

In March, Jack Haynes entered into a new contract with the government which allowed him to open a delicatessen and lunch counter at Tower Fall and to establish motion picture theaters within the park.[1]

As part of the continuing sanitation program, U.S. Health Service official, H. B. Hommon, worked with William Wiggins of the park maintenance staff to improve the garbage disposal in both the concessions and government areas. Six one-ton trucks and five teams with wagons made daily rounds to the main areas of the park and every other day visits to the outlying camps to collect garbage and clean the comfort stations. The four-ton incinerators at Old Faithful, Lake, and Canyon burned the garbage for those areas, and the Fishing Bridge area garbage was sent to the Lake incinerator. "Bear-proof" garbage cans were installed in the camping areas.[2]

During 1929, several important Eastern landscape architects visited the park, probably as a result of the influence of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who was interested in the park's aesthetics. Fine Arts Commissioner Ferruccio Vitale made a return visit, and Grosvenor Atterbury visited the park in the summer. Vitale suggested numerous improvements throughout the park but determined that it was most important to come up with a plan for Mammoth Hot Springs. He was initially concerned with locating a Mammoth Hot Springs museum, but he quickly recognized that a site could not be chosen until a close examination of the entire development was completed. He was not the only person with such concerns. Dr. Frank Oastler, who was interested in the educational aspects of the park and was a member of the Fine Arts Commission, suggested that Atterbury also examine the need for a general plan for Mammoth. Atterbury concluded that "a restudy of the roads with proper provision for future growth in each case is the only way in which a proper and permanent site for the Museum, as well as certain other future buildings such as a Post Office can be secured."[3]

The discussion of a proposed Mammoth plan caused some uncertainty among the concessioners, including Anna Pryor, who wanted to make additions on her property. Director Albright suggested that she postpone any changes until the Mammoth plan was under way.[4]

In response to the need for a Mammoth plan, Major Gilmore Clark of the Westchester County Park Commission, of New York, prepared a plan for the Mammoth area and also to inspected the park for other landscaping needs.[5] Over the next few years, some aspects of Gilmore Clark's plan for Mammoth were adopted, but many were not.

Rail passenger numbers to the park decreased from 41,697 in 1928 to 38,979 in 1929. However, total visitation figures for Yellowstone again increased from 230,984 in 1928 to 260,697 in 1929.[6] The early

Concessions buildings behind the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel. 1936.

1930s was a time of general economic depression throughout the country. For the first time in years, the park experienced a drop in visitation, with the decrease most notable in rail service passengers. The declining trend continued through 1932. Rail traffic in 1932 was down 55 percent from the 1931 figures, and total visitation was down about 30 percent from 1931 to 157,624. The concessioners suffered losses for three straight years, with 1932 being the worst; business losses were 50 to 60 percent of their 1931 business revenues. The travel and spending trends indicated people went through the park "as quickly as possible with the least expense."

Superintendent Roger Toll predicted that the "experience of this past summer will probably result in extensive changes in the operations of the hotels and lodges in order to meet the wishes of the traveling public." Toll complimented the concessioners, who, despite the continuing financial losses, provided services "of the highest order and few complaints were received despite the fact that the crews were kept to a minimum."[7] The hotels were particularly affected by the decrease in rail travel, and the transportation company now had a surplus of buses. Late in 1930, after several months of negotiation among the concessioners, Albright and the Department wrote a new agreement for the sales of particular items in the park. Much of the agreement covered merchandise, but food services were covered as well. The agreement called for Haynes to be the sole provider of pictures, postal cards, film, Kodaks, and guide books.[8]

In 1931, the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company purchased six Ford roadsters and eight 14-passenger White buses.[9] Construction projects already scheduled continued, but the long-range program was stalled. Visitation across the system showed a very slight increase over the previous year with most visitors camping. Director Albright expressed concern about the Depression's effect on the concessioners in his annual report for 1932:

> I have been seriously concerned over the lack of patronage of the hotels and transportation lines. These operations, carried on under Government supervision and at rates approved by the Government, have suffered big losses, largely because of the decline in rail travel. The

White bus at canyon rim. 1931.

> public-utility operators render an efficient and highly essential public service. Many of the stockholders in these companies have invested their money solely from a sense of public obligation, in some cases at the urgent suggestion of Government officials. Several of the individual operators and some companies, too, are now in dire financial straits, and all aid consistent with Government policy and procedure must be extended to them in order that their facilities may be kept available to the public. During the season we encouraged and occasionally suggested changes in the types of service, special rates to encourage longer stays, and other measures to attract patronage. To conserve utility-operator resources and reduce losses we permitted curtailment of service, and some plants were authorized to be closed when it was apparent that the public demand for the facilities would not justify their availability during the entire season.[10]

The only major change in the concessions operation was the naming of William "Billy" Nichols as president of the hotel and transportation companies in 1931 following the death of H. W. Child.[11] A minor disturbance arose when George Whittaker sold his interest in the stores and filling stations at Mammoth and Canyon to Anna Pryor and Elizabeth Trischman for less than what he had told Jack Haynes he would sell for; Haynes had even agreed to pay the higher amount. C. A. Hamilton was also disappointed with this deal because he had wanted to make an offer on the Canyon store and filling station. The National Park Service's Chief Auditor believed that while Pryor and Trischman had been successful at Mammoth, extending their business into the park might be another issue. He favored the sale of Canyon operations to Hamilton.[12]

Indian goods at Lyall's Store at Mammoth. n.d.

The sale of Indian items and foreign-made goods became an issue in 1932 for the National Park Service nationwide, with the sale of foreign goods being a particular issue in Yellowstone. During the summer of 1932, a park visitor purchased an item made in Germany. Upon returning home and realizing the origins of his "Yellowstone" souvenir, he became furious and complained to Congressman Robert Simmons, "My opinion as a good American Citizen, an Ex-service man who served on foreign soil, fought for the country, think that such goods should be burned or at least forbidden to be sold on the lands owned and maintained by the government." According to Jack Haynes, the parks were not allowed to sell German goods for a period of time. But in 1931, with "the belief that now there would be no objection since our new treaty with Germany was signed." (C. & A. Richards of Boston provided a line of art from Germany). C. A. Hamilton, who had about one percent of his merchandise made in other countries (mainly Switzerland), believed that "articles made in Germany, or any other are plainly marked, and anyone that is adverse to foreign merchandise is certainly not compelled to purchase same." He went on to write, "I wonder if the party raising this complaint refrains from drinking coffee or tea, or ever uses silk in any form!" Since World War I, not only did the issue of who sold what remain a problem, but where merchandise was made was also an issue.[13]

The slight increase in park travel in 1933 did not mitigate the losses the operators faced. Rail traffic now accounted for only 4.2 percent of visitors, with the hotel business mostly affected. Several actions were undertaken to protect concessioners from further losses. It was decided that Lake Hotel and Lodge, Mammoth Hotel, and Roosevelt Lodge would remain closed during the 1933 season. Old Faithful Inn and Canyon Hotel offered both the American Plan (room, meals, and services included in price) and the European plan (only room and services included in price with meals at additional cost) as a means of lowering prices for the visitors. Haynes also lowered some of his prices. In June, Hamilton took over the Brothers bathhouse and swimming pool operation. Because the nights were cool, he first decided to enclose the

pool at Old Faithful with glass, but instead built a new building over the pool. One other event of note for that year was the legalization of beer by the state of Wyoming in May. An April 8, 1933, National Park Service policy allowed "the sale of wine, beer and other beverages containing legal percentage of alcohol in national parks and monuments, when consistent with the laws of the state."[14] Thus, beer went on sale in the park following the repeal of the eighteenth amendment.

In 1934, park visitation jumped by almost 100,000 people, bringing the total to 260,775 visitors, but Lake and Mammoth hotels remained closed for the season. Demand for housekeeping cabins and the cafeterias increased, and it became apparent that these were the types of services visitors preferred during these times.[15] In May 1934, a joint meeting of the superintendents and the operators was held in Grand Canyon National Park to develop a policy on the establishment of motor camps, housekeeping cabins, and similar facilities in the national parks. Vernon Goodwin of the Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Company explained that the housekeeping cabins in Yellowstone were different from what the industry considered this type of accommodation to be ("a place where a man can come in with his family and live as at home, doing washing and cooking"). In Yellowstone, the cabins were more like "shelter cabins, to relieve the visitors of carrying three things: stoves, mattresses, and tents." Goodwin explained that 65 percent of the cabin guests used the cafeterias. He called the term "housekeeping" a misnomer.[16]

The group also discussed the possibility that the government would take over the concessions in the parks, however, with the poor state of the national economy no one thought this likely. As for the sale of Indian-made items and foreign-made items in the concession stores, Superintendent Toll believed that the sale of foreign-made goods should be allowed, but that the Secretary of the Interior would not allow the sale of factory-made Indian goods. Sale of handmade Indian goods would be allowed in the hopes of stimulating the trade of such goods. It was pointed out in the meeting that a recent Federal Trade Commission ruling denied the sales or shipment of machine-made jewelry under an "Indian made" label.[17]

Because park concessioners were required to follow many government regulations and standards and because many parks had a limited travel season, many of those attending the meeting concluded that the park operators could not compete with the "mom and pop" campgrounds or the private auto camps outside the parks. The conference attendees hoped to devise some cost-cutting methods for building in parks, with many wanting the government to provide more assistance with utilities. On the question of air service within the parks, the vote was about equal with Fred Harvey, a Grand Canyon concessioner, supporting the proposal. The group wrote a resolution recognizing the emergence of air travel:

> It is the opinion of this conference that the importance of the airplane problem in connection with travel to the National Parks should be recognized and that study should be made to determine the extent to which facilities shall be

Old Faithful area—housekeeping office and cabins. 1934.

> provided eventually at Park gateways and to what extent commercial and private flying over the Parks should be regulated to the public interest.[18]

In November 1934, at the park superintendents' conference in Washington, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes explained his philosophy about concessions and the parks' role in providing for the enjoyment of the people:

> I do not want any Coney Island. I want as much wilderness, as much nature preserved and maintained as possible.…parks ought to be for people who love to camp and love to hike and who like to ride horseback and wander about and have a real community of interest, a renewed communion with Nature. That is what they ought to be. I am afraid we are getting gradually alienated from that ideal. We are becoming a little highbrow; we have too many roads….they were beginning to demand showerbaths and running hot and cold water and all the rest of it. That is perfectly natural. And that is what I am trying to emphasize. There is no limit to it. If you give them hot and cold running water for shower-baths the next thing they will want will be their breakfasts in bed. Frankly, we don't want that kind of people in the park.…We must forget the idea that there is competition between the parks and the seaside or mountain resorts or that we must have share of the trade.…I suspect that a great deal of that feeling that we are unduly giving away to its pressure from the concessionnaires. I have a lot of sympathy with them. Certainly with our acquiescence and probably as the result of our urgent representations in many cases, they have gone into the parks and invested their money and put up hotels and established various conveniences for tourists. I wish we had the statutory power and the money to take over all of these concessions and run them ourselves.[19]

Ickes continued with his theme that the parks were not "Coney Islands" and not a place for alien entertainment. He did not want Indians to be used in "Wild West" type entertainment, but did support a dignified, legitimate role for Indians, citing Yosemite as a park that gave preference to hiring Indians. Ickes disliked the "expensive hotels" calling them the "wrong concept to begin with."[20] Ickes made himself abundantly clear—he would prefer that the government own and operate the concessions and that the experience of the visitors be more consonant with nature.

Concession improvements in Yellowstone had slowed considerably during the Depression due to lack of demand and the heavy financial losses incurred by the owners. Government improvements, however, increased due to public works programs. With the increase in the number of visitors in 1934, the park anticipated that 1935 would produce concession improvements to meet renewed demands. Late in 1934, Superintendent Toll reminded the operators that extensive alterations would receive the same level of review as new construction and all exterior painting needed approval. He issued new orders concerning the construction, painting, and placement of signs. The erection of signs on concession buildings and sign details such as the size of sign, size of lettering, color of both and type styles needed approval.[21]

Visitation increased in 1935 to 317,998 people; even the numbers of visitors arriving by rail increased. However, Lake Hotel remained closed for the season, and only one wing of the hotel at Mammoth was open. Hamilton continued to accommodate early visitors (beginning May 15) and late-season visitors at Old Faithful and Lake as he had done the previous year. Just before the season opened, the concessioners learned that the Director had approved the sale of alcoholic beverages by the drink at the lodges and hotels, as well as the sale of packaged alcohol goods in the stores, hotels, and lodges. Because the park complied with Wyoming state law, liquor could not be sold on Sundays nor to anyone under 21 years of age.

The concessioners responded to the new rule by changing use areas in some of the buildings. The company stressed that they would serve drinks at a bar.[22] At Canyon Hotel and at Old Faithful Inn, the hotel company planned to serve guests drinks in a wine room and one main room connected to the dining room. They planned to also serve guests drinks in their rooms.[23]

Cabin accommodations were the subject of considerable discussion in 1935 about cabin accommodations, particularly after National Park Service Landscape Architect Thomas Vint suggested that Mammoth Lodge be taken down and the hotel converted to a

Mammoth Lodge being demolished. 1949.

lodge-type facility. Vernon Goodwin was eager to determine the needed number of cabins throughout the park as well as the best design for them. He considered the possibility of following the design of the Swiftcurrent Cabins in Glacier National Park, but because 100 cabins needed to be built in 1936, cost became a factor.[24]

The beginning of 1936 was marked by sadness in the National Park Service ranks with the untimely death of Superintendent Roger Toll in an automobile accident in New Mexico. Edmund Rogers, Superintendent of Rocky Mountain National Park, succeeded Toll.

Visitation in 1936 jumped by more than 100,000 people to 432,570; Rail service increased about 28 percent. In June, the hotel, the transportation, the lodge and camps, the boat, and fuel companies consolidated under the name Yellowstone Park Company with William Nichols as president and Vernon Goodwin as vice president.[25] Not enough cabins had been built at the start of the season to accommodate tourists who preferred them to hotels. But, the increased rail traffic eased the situation somewhat because rail passengers still preferred to stay in hotels. Lake Hotel, which had been closed for the past four years, remained closed in 1936. Plans were made in 1936 for the transformation of the Mammoth Hotel into a lodge-type facility.[26] In 1936, fuel changed from wood and coal to oil, provided by Conoco Oil Company.[27] The transportation division bought 27 new White, stream-lined 14-passenger busses, three Ford Sedans, and two Ford dump trucks.[28]

Visitation in 1937 was just short of a half-million (499,242). The Lake Hotel once again opened, and by mid-July, 43 rooms in the girls' dormitory were used as lodge-type guest rooms. The Yellowstone Park Company focused on the project at Mammoth, which coincided with an overall redevelopment of the area as outlined in the earlier park Master Plan. The company installed oil tanks throughout the Park to accommodate the change to oil fuel.[29]

In 1938, visitation declined to 466,185, but rose again in 1939 to 486,936. In these years, travel trends were clearly changing; by mid-summer, hotel sales were up, and lodge and housekeeping sales were down. A park official attributed the change to the fact that many people were beginning to stay outside the park and come in for day trips.[30] Western Air Express, which operated out of West Yellowstone for a few years, experienced a 30 percent increase in business in 1938; 1102 park visitors arrived via Western Airlines. In 1938, the company offered flights over the park on Saturdays and Sundays, serving 116 passengers, but the service was discontinued in 1939. Another emerging trend was the entry of travel trailers into the park. Despite an additional $1 entry fee, about

Mammoth Motor Inn. 1953.

Mammoth dining room. 1937.

500 to 700 trailers had come into the park since 1936.[31]

A major reorganization of the lodge areas began in 1939, starting at Old Faithful. After many discussions with architects, landscape architects, engineers, Yellowstone Park Company managers, and National Park Service officials, it was decided that all cabins would have electricity and running water; the cabins would be spaced 14 feet apart; lap siding would be used on new cabins; and, in the Old Faithful area, brown stain would be used with red paint for the window trim, at the suggestion of Landscape Architect Thomas Vint.[32]

Late in 1939 at a National Park Service conference was held in Santa Fe, new policies were issued for park concessioners. One new policy required concession operators to "include with plans of public facilities submitted for approval, details as to cost of construction, proposed rates, and estimated revenue expense, and resulting net profit, to provide reasonable assurance of satisfactory operation of the proposed facilities on a socio-economic basis." The government strongly favored the development of accommodations outside park boundaries; in fact, in many of the newly created eastern parks, a policy was being formulated "whereby only the daytime needs of visitors for gasoline, oil, food, and picnic supplies shall be met by operations within the parks."[33] Another new policy that received high visibility required the use of park timber instead of logs in the constructing new lodges in the park. In a letter to President Franklin Roosevelt, Secretary Ickes explained that in order to preserve "the scenic and natural conditions within the parks and monuments," only "material salvaged from clearings for roads, buildings, or other developments, or from insect and tree disease control and fire hazard reduction operations" could be used for construction purposes. He emphasized to the President that "there is no proposed new construction in Yellowstone that would utilize [new forest] logs."[34]

Early in 1940, the Yellowstone Park Company decided to erect slightly larger cabins, 14 by 16 feet, which delighted the Washington office because it wanted newly constructed cabins to be 12 by 15 feet. Associate Director Arthur Demaray also liked William Nichols's experiment of adding small porches to the cabins.[35]

In October 1940, Superintendent Rogers asked the Yellowstone Park Company for a status update on the recommendations made in 1938 for fire protection in the concessions buildings, particularly retarding the spread of fire and allowing prompt egress of the guests in the event of a fire. The company had followed most of the recommendations outlined in the 1938 report, and some action was in progress such as the installation of fire detectors and installation of some "Exit" signs. The National Park Service was concerned about the installation of the oil storage tanks so close to buildings. While the spacing met a municipal code, park officials were worried about the locations of tanks in areas without facilities for fighting an oil fire. They feared the possibility that "the temperature of the oil in the tanks [could rise] so that vapors will be given off which will increase the pressure within the tank and cause a tank rupture." Park officials stressed the need for extra fire prevention and precaution in these areas, and they demanded that no combustibles be allowed within the dikes built around the oil tanks. The trees in these areas were removed as an extra precaution. More hose houses and fire hydrants were also recommended.[36]

In August, after seven years as National Park Service Director, Arno Cammerer resigned, and Sec-

retary Harold Ickes selected Newton Drury for the post.[37] As the world situation became more tense with the approach of war in Europe, an order was issued from Washington "restricting employees of the Park Operators to citizens and those in the process of becoming citizens of the United States."[38] Visitation broke the half-million mark in 1940 with 526,437 people coming into the park. Visitation would again rise in 1941 to 581,761, and the park concessioners remained busy trying to meet visitor needs. With the lodge improvements completed or underway at Old Faithful, Lake, (construction of new cabins and installation of new utilities) and Fishing Bridge (new utilities installed and cafeteria enlarged), the Yellowstone Park Company began addressing needs in the Tower Fall/Roosevelt Lodge area. The company wanted to abandon the Roosevelt Lodge development, but Edmund Rogers refused to consider the idea because he saw a need for facilities in that part of the park. Rogers wanted to have both a campground and lodge facilities available for travelers coming in through Cooke City.[39]

Also in late summer, C. A. Hamilton requested permission to build a new store on the site of the Old Faithful bathhouse/swimming pool, which meant a total of three Hamilton stores in this development. This raised the issue of "how far beyond supplying basic necessities merchandizing in the national parks should be permitted to expand." Rogers was opposed to a third Hamilton store. He believed that "appropriate curios have a legitimate place in the national park," but that "some standard should be established and some control be maintained over what articles are sold in the national parks under the guise of park souvenirs." He knew that many parks had curios that were indigenous to their area, but did not think this was the case in Yellowstone—the practice was to stamp the name "Yellowstone" on any kind of item, the cheaper the better, and call it a park souvenir. Rogers pointed out that Hamilton's recently submitted plans distinguished between the areas of "low quality" and "quality" curios. Rogers told Hamilton to dispose of the cheaper goods in order to achieve the extra space he wanted. He believed this was a issue in Yellowstone and that it was probably systemwide.[40]

Hamilton also presented his architect's plans for a new store at West Thumb in 1941, which drew harsh comments from the Regional Chief of Planning, Howard Baker. Baker disliked the use of "gable and flat roofs, the use of two different kinds of materials on such a small structure and the introduction of a few modernistic details." While not objecting to using concrete, he did contend the building needed to reflect park character. Baker went on to suggest that "it would not be out of line at all for the Service to insist that the operators use the same architect and have him present to the Service a sketch, probably in perspective, of all of the proposed buildings for our review prior to our giving approval on any one individual structure.[41]

With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, all improvement programs and plans Yellowstone National Park changed. The Yellowstone Park Company's ambitious lodge transformation plans would be put on hold, and concession activity would become uncertain. Once again, world affairs would impact the park and its concessioners.

CHAPTER TEN

War-Time Rationing to Post-War Scarcity 1942–1949

While the first two years of the 1940s were generally good years for park concessioners, the growing crisis in Europe and the Far East signaled the approach of another troubled period for them. The concessioners could anticipate a dramatic drop in visitation if war started. They also knew their building program would be hampered by an insufficient labor force and shortages in materials, tires, and gasoline. But, they could not anticipate the National Park Service's response to the national crisis.

Selective Service registration for men who had reached the age of 21 by October 17, 1940, began in the park in July 1941. One hundred fifty-three men registered at Mammoth, Old Faithful, Lake, and Canyon. The following year, 239 men enlisted during registration, and some park employees in isolated areas registered by telephone or radio with Wyoming Selective Service offices.

At the end of December 1941, after America's entry into the war, the rationing of vehicle tires began across the country; the following month, a rationing board was created in the park. Tire rationing was followed a few months later by sugar rationing.[1]

William Nichols, hotel and transportation companies president, began in 1942 trying to be optimistic. In a letter to his park construction manager, B. O. Hallin, Nichols wrote, "It is too early now, of course, to say what we can do in the way of construction for next summer. It all depends on what kind of a season we can anticipate and I may not know the answer until May. If the War situation does not get too acute, I think we should have a pretty good season."[2] Nichols began plans for completing the cabin construction behind Lake Hotel and relocating and remodeling the Lake Lodge cabins to the Fishing Bridge area. He had hoped to complete improvements at Fishing Bridge that year and to bring the area up to the same standard as the Old Faithful area. He knew that labor would be a problem, and indeed it was when the Army began construction of a camp for 30,000 men near Henrys Lake, in Idaho. This project's better pay lured away some of the best park and concession employees. Other park workers were attracted to the construction of the Heart Mountain Relocation Project near Cody, Wyoming. Nichols also knew that he probably needed to place an order early for plywood and lumber with Monarch Lumber Company in Bozeman for a May delivery before the Navy and Army placed a priority claim on these materials.[3]

Lake cabins. n.d.

In February 1942, the National Park Service approved plans with some modifications, for the new cabin layouts at Lake Lodge, the Mammoth housekeeping area, and West Thumb. The Safety Division requested spacing of 20 feet between single cabins, 30 feet between double cabins, and water lines for fire protection in each development. For the West Thumb development, the Branch of Forestry expressed concern about the "conservation of the fine growth of spruce in the area" and requested an onsite study of the area.[4] In response to a query by the Chief of Park Operators Division about the types of cabins in each park, Yellowstone came up with 44 different types of cabins.[5]

In the early spring, the operators began to sort out what parts of their operations should open for the season. In assessing the "increasing seriousness of the war situation and the definite influence on Park travel," Anna Pryor proposed to close her auto camp (present campground) cafeteria and grocery store and open only the coffee shop and general store at Mammoth. This was approved by the Director.[6] In April, the Director issued guidance to the operators about services they must provide for the public:

> Because of the war situation and the incidental unpredictable volume of business, the probability of rapidly changing costs, and the difficulty of securing materials and supplies to maintain proper standards of service furnished by the operators for the accommodation of the public in the national park areas during the coming season, unusual authority must be vested in local administrative officials during the war period. Authority, therefore, is hereby given to the superintendents . . . to discontinue, curtail, or extend the various authorized accommodations and services of park operators. Authority is also given to the superintendents to revise upward or downward all park operators' rates, except those approved for housing and bus transportation . . . This memorandum does not apply to the established fees for automobile licenses, or for entering national park areas.[7]

In May, the Office of Defense Transportation (ODT) issued General Order 10, affecting rail and bus transportation across the country. The National Park Service interpreted the order "to mean that Park bus operations between railhead[s] and hotels in the Parks are not prohibited and such types of operation does not fall within the Order's definition of either charter or sight-seeing service." With trains carrying mostly war material, the Northern Pacific Railroad was limited in the numbers of passenger cars it could attach to trains. Early in the season, the Northern Pacific Railroad planned to serve Gardiner, Cody, and, if the number of travelers justified it, provide an extra car to Billings and Red Lodge; one car was planned from Seattle to Gardiner. However, the railroad was quite concerned with the mixed messages it received from the different government departments about publicity on travel and also on the openings of parks across the country.[8]

Acting National Park Service Director Arthur Demaray informed the Northern Pacific Railroad on June 2 that the National Park Service did not intend to issue any special notice about whether the parks would be open for the season. General Passenger Agent Goodsill found the "attitude taken by the ODT and NPS is so negative that the situation is bad, and a pall has been smothering over the travel market, which is unprecedented and the results are unpredictable." Goodsill believed that the National Park Service's "hands are tied and they are subordinate to the war-emergency bureau of the ODT" and they can't publicly say "everybody come out and enjoy the parks" at this particular time. Goodsill urged Nichols to "cut down to skeleton staffs everywhere and not open any units not absolutely necessary. Also get ready to close some, if travel is meager."[9]

The Office of Defense Transportation General Order 10 affected chartered bus tours to the parks, but some companies quickly reorganized by providing auto tours with escorts. It seemed to Northern Pacific Railroad officials that Yellowstone was still a popular destination point. In early summer many continued to hope that western states might get some relief from gas rationing and that rail traffic might provide some visitors. However, the Northern Pacific Railroad's general passenger agent believed, "Adding all favorable factors and setting the total against the unfavorable ones, still leaves a poor season in prospect, with every reason [to believe] that the Yellowstone Park Company needs to cut everything to the bone."[10]

Government price-freezing regulations, which would affect the concessioners, came out in June. The freeze did not apply to "meal prices where the foods or beverages are prepared and sold for consumption

on the premises," nor did it apply "to perishable products such as eggs, fresh fruits and vegetables." The regulations stipulated that the highest price charged in March 1942 would the base price. The National Park Service recognized that many isolated parks were not operating in March and thus an exception to the general regulation provided that "the highest price charged during such months by the most closely competitive seller of the same class for the same commodity or services or if no charge was made for the same commodity or service then for the similar commodity or service most nearly like it, would apply."[11]

On June 14, National Park Service Director Drury released a statement on national parks and monuments. He stated that the service would be flexible in order to meet the changing needs "of adapting all civilian activities to the furthering of the winning of the war." At that point overall visitation was half of what it had been at the previous time in 1941. Drury mentioned that in "Yellowstone National Park, for instance, the hotels now are about ready for opening, with nearly 1,000 summer employees on the company's payroll. Unless the demand later on justifies reversal of the present plan, the lodges will not be opened; but the hotels will handle those visitors who ordinarily would patronize the lodges, at comparable rates." He elaborated on General Order 10 and announced that sightseeing tours in the parks would be eliminated as they are in the "luxury class and not an integral part of transportation from the visitor's home to the park." He found the Order's exclusion of the National Park Service "not entirely an unmixed hardship." Noting that most of the "choicest portions of the wilderness parks often are off the automobile roads, reached by trail," he advised the public that saddle horses were available and stated, "Family type vacations, with longer stays at a given location, should lead to increased horseback riding and hiking." Director Drury noted that overall visitation was down, but that visitation by members of the armed forces had increased and that their entrance fees had been waived. In many cases, the concessioners offered special rates for men in uniform. Director Drury ended his release by stating that he believed:

> in wartime the need for maintaining unimpaired the scenic national parks and the great national historic shrines is more imperative than ever before. Even were there no travel to them, it would be important that they be guarded as an intrinsic unit of our total national treasure, for use and enjoyment after the war.[12]

In mid-July of 1942, the general manager of the Hamilton Stores, Gar Helppie, requested and received permission to close the gas stations at Old Faithful auto camp as soon as the gas supply was exhausted.[13]

Old Faithful, Mammoth, and Canyon hotels and the Mammoth cottages closed on August 27 as did all park transportation. The Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge cabins and cafeterias remained open until September 10, and, as usual, C. A. Hamilton agreed to furnish lodging and meals at Lake and Old Faithful until the middle of October or as long as travel continued. In August 1942, the Weather Bureau service closed at Mammoth after operating there for 39 years and relocated to West Yellowstone.[14]

Late in 1942, the concessioners were advised that the military was interested in leasing different resort-type facilities across the country for use as rest centers. Each park reviewed the military's requests. Because Yellowstone was not available year-round, it was ultimately not considered for the program.[15]

By the end of 1942, rumors were rampant that Lake Hotel was going to be demolished. These rumors had spread to area salvage companies, who naturally wanted to bid on the rumored demolition project, but the superintendent could not confirm the rumor.[16]

Visitation had dropped from a high in 1941 of 581,761 tourists to 191,830 in 1942, prompting a grim prediction for the 1943 season. (In fact, only 64,144 people visited Yellowstone in 1943.) None of the hotels, lodges, or cafeterias was scheduled to open in 1943, and the park buses were not scheduled to run. The park made plans to accommodate only visitors from nearby areas who had the gas and tire rations to

Fishing Bridge cafeteria. 1929.

come to the park as well as any cross-country travelers moving to new assignments (such as armed forces members and their families or people involved in war work). There was no promotion of travel to the park, and the operators were asked to provide only limited services. Tourist cabins were opened at Fishing Bridge and Old Faithful, and Hamilton again provided meals and took in guests at both Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge. Pryor's coffee shop at Mammoth served meals and provided some overnight accommodations. Superintendent Rogers noted that the smaller operators might "be able to meet expenses through their curtailed operations," but "the Yellowstone Park Company would take a heavy loss this War year due to its tremendous investments."[17]

As part of the war effort, scrap iron drives were initiated in the park in 1943, and the Yellowstone Park Company sold 268,990 pounds of scrap, plus 15 tons of rails and dollies to Murray Baum of Ashton, Idaho.[18]

In March 1943, Jack Haynes visited local citizens and discussed the possibility of the park not opening for the 1943 season. He reported to Director Drury:

> Under present conditions, I think that no one would be surprised if the park was not opened at all this summer. He went on to say that if in the interest of conservation of rubber, gasoline, food and man power the National Park Service decided not to open the park, there might be some people who would complain, but the National Park Service is strong enough to absorb those complaints easily because its action would be in line with the all out war effort which seems to be essential to winning the war.[19]

Haynes found that some Bozeman and Livingston citizens to have the same attitude. He told Drury, "I am gratified to learn that the National Park Service stands high in the esteem of these neighbors." Haynes offered to open with a skeleton crew wherever he was needed, knowing that he was "going to lose money anyway, and it's just a matter of degree." He wrote Director Drury that he had told Superintendent Rogers in 1942 that "the thing to do was to board up the park entrances until the war is won."[20]

Prior to the 1943 season opening, Hamilton requested a slight increase in room rates and meals in order to cover his fixed costs. He reported that he had to pay maids $90 a month and had other fixed expenses such as gasoline, lights, linen, and fuel. He added that he probably would not be able to take on any more guests than he had in the past.[21] Hamilton was also concerned about gasoline delivery from Continental Oil Company and suggested to William Nichols that Yellowstone Park Company rent one of its tanker trucks on a mileage basis to deliver needed gas. Hamilton estimated that he had enough canned goods to supply his winterkeepers, and he would find a way to secure perishables because he did not think the vegetable peddler, Happy Lyman, or Wilcoxson Dairy, or the bakery would make deliveries to the park. Finally, Hamilton said it was difficult to plan for opening by April 11, as he did not know when power would be on at Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge.[22]

In June, Director Drury issued a statement on available public facilities in the national parks during the 1943 season. Drury stated that the national emergency would cause some functions to be curtailed, but "the responsibility for the administration and protection of the national park areas has not been reduced or materially changed because of the war." He also stated that a sufficient force was maintained in the parks "to protect it adequately and to keep the park and monuments open." Public campgrounds and museums would be open and naturalist services would be offered on a limited schedule. He advised visitors that since the concessioners had to abide by the same OPA rules regarding meals and housing ceilings and food rationing, visitors should bring their ration books if they planned to be in the park for a lengthy stay.[23]

Despite the grim times, there were many instances of humor. For example, early in 1944, Hamilton, still at his home in California, wrote to park officials, Joe Joffe and Fred Johnston, stating that due to a shortage in points, the one government board "placed him on a pork diet" during the summer of 1943. He suggested to Joffe that if he was still on pork rations in 1944, he might substitute with buffalo![24]

At the beginning of 1944, however, Hamilton was worried as he had not received even one application for employment for the upcoming season. And, as time moved closer to the opening date, Hamilton reviewed his stock remaining from the previous year. He noted that souvenirs and curios did not sell well, but candy, gum, cigars, Pendleton shirts, hunting knives, liquor, and beer sold very quickly. He still had a sufficient stock of canned goods for the season, but would probably have to purchase 10 to 15 sacks of sugar.[25]

Hamilton suggested to Superintendent Rogers

Haynes Photo Shop. 1951.

Hamilton's Upper Geyser Basin Store. 1951.

that because gasoline rations were cut to two gallons per week, perhaps the upper portion of the park should be closed for the season, and he advised putting barriers across the road at Madison Junction and Norris. He informed Rogers that if the geyser basin and Lake/Fishing Bridge were open, he would want to be at his business to prevent theft. Citing previous thefts at closed facilities, including the old Fountain Hotel, Hamilton suggested that he would even remain as a "watchman" until the winterkeeper returned in the fall.[26] When it was announced that Fishing Bridge and Old Faithful would be open to the public, Hamilton responded, "Was hoping the poles would remain across the roads at Madison Junction and Norris and that my '40th' summer would be confined to fishing. My first entrance into the Park was the spring 1905."[27]

After a meeting in Chicago with the National Park Service Director Drury, Edmund Rogers announced that Hamilton would operate the Old Faithful store, but no cabins would be opened; the stores and cabins would be opened at Fishing Bridge; and Anna Pryor would operate her coffee shop at Mammoth.[28] Hamilton experienced an unexpected increase in the number of visitors at Old Faithful in late May, three times more than the 1943 numbers. He urged the government to turn on the power at the campground because he was being overrun with visitors wanting to use his washrooms.[29] As the summer progressed, Hamilton began to need meat, cheese, and butter, but he kept a good attitude, "No one will fight his war game harder than myself but the picture is getting impossible."[30] Jack Haynes, who planned to open only his stores at Old Faithful and Mammoth, presented a positive attitude to Superintendent Rogers, "Please be assured, however, that if further operations are required, we will be glad to comply."[31]

Despite another poor year for the concessioners, Mr. Hamilton continued to be very generous. He again led the donations in the park's Loan Drive (its fifth), by buying a Series G Bond for $10,000. (The park quota for 1944 was $28,400.[32]) He also purchased a Hammond organ for the chapel in Mammoth as a remembrance of the silver anniversary of his marriage there on September 20, 1920. In remitting a second check to Rogers for the balance on the organ, Hamilton noted, "I enclose herewith a check for $202 in order that our little clan may chant hymns on Easter and pray for a wayward soul." The purchase of an organ during wartime was not an easy task. Organs could be sold only to churches and educational institutions and not to private homes or night clubs. Superintendent Rogers, who lived in Denver, arranged for the purchase through the Wells Music Store, with an allotment for only three during the first quarter of 1945. Hamilton paid $1,702 for the organ.[33]

At the beginning of 1945, the concessioners predicted a very grim season indeed. Nichols wrote to Superintendent Rogers in January recommending that with the "extreme man-power shortage and the evident feeling in Washington and around the country that non-essential industries should be discouraged," and no accommodations should be offered in the park during 1945. He pointed out that if the park was not so isolated or if it was near a military installation, then it would be able to offer rest and recreation to soldiers. However, because of the restricted rationing of gasoline and tires, the continued restrictions on rail and bus travel, and the shortage of labor, "the National Park Service should receive credit for being realistic over the situation in advising the public that on ac-

count of war restrictions, there will be no accommodations for visitors in Yellowstone National Park next summer." Haynes agreed with Nichols up to a point, but because he had had 25 percent more business in 1944 than in 1943, he was not sure the park should be totally closed. His position was slightly different from that of the concessioners who provided accommodations and served meals. He pointed out to Nichols that he was allotted so much film each year, and, if he did not open, he would loose his allotment. As Haynes saw it, even the minimal amount of sales helped offset the fixed depreciation he took on his park properties. Because these depreciations would happen whether he was opened or closed, he believed ("being too old to help with the war very much") he might as well stay open and continue "plodding along as usual." He told Nichols that he would speak to Superintendent Rogers about the plight of the concessioners who provided accommodations. Evidently, the fact that Hamilton did not want to open in 1945 really surprised Jack Haynes. In a letter to Nichols, he wrote, "It is hard for me to imagine CAH [Hamilton] not wanting to open up, considering the volume of business he did in 1943 and 1944, but I'm not too old to learn a lot!"[34]

Director Drury did not agree with Nichols and called for the same level of services as was available in 1944.[35] In fact, almost 13 percent (10,898) of the visitors to the park in 1944 were military men.[36] Before the end of the season the war was over, and Director Drury issued the following remarks to the concessioners:

> Now that the war has ended, there will undoubtedly be a considerable immediate increase in travel to areas administered by the Service. Accordingly, our concessioners should be urged to make every effort to meet the demands of the public for meals, lodging, transportation, and other public service facilities insofar as they can within the manpower and other limitations which may still be imposed upon them. I believe, too, that the concessioners in the park areas normally closed in early winter should be asked to keep their public facilities open as long as possible this year, if justified by public demands for accommodations, as I feel sure that there will be many who will desire to visit those areas this year after the normal travel season, as we know it before the war, ends.
>
> Park concessioners should also be urged to begin planning for the necessary rehabilitation of their public service facilities so that they may be placed in good condition at the beginning of the busy season next year.[37]

In late September, Director Drury wrote to Nichols acknowledging his letter describing the increased visitation toward the end of the season. Drury noted that upon the release of gasoline rationing, Mount Rainier experienced an all-time record high for the first Sunday in September. He stated that he would shortly call a conference of the concessioners to discuss problems and to plan for the rush on the parks expected for 1946.[38]

By the end of the 1945 season, Yellowstone's visitation was 178,296 people, an increase of 108 percent over the 1944 total of 85,347. Superintendent Rogers noted that even with an increase of gasoline rationing in the early summer, the park experienced an increase in visitation as war workers shifted to the West Coast after the European war ended. Visitation for the year was up 56.4 percent prior to V-J Day, with another big surge after V-J Day.[39]

After several years of falling visitation during the war, no one could have anticipated the dramatic increase in visitors to Yellowstone in 1946. During May and June alone, 199,390 people came through the entrance stations! During the war years, the concessioners probably dreamed of the days when huge numbers of tourists flooded the park, but with post-war labor problems, continued scarcity of materials, and the general deteriorated condition of park facilities, they incurred an unprecedented nightmare.[40]

The lodges and hotels, which had been closed, needed extensive repairs, and it was impossible to open them by the time visitors started to arrive in 1946. A lumber shortage prevented early construction, and consideration was given to tearing down buildings around the Mammoth Lodge area to secure the needed material. Because Monarch Lumber Company in Bozeman could not furnish the needed supplies, Yellowstone Park Company construction manager B. O. Hallin received a commitment from Bonner Lumber Company of Missoula. Unfortunately, heavy snow and labor troubles prevented an early delivery of materials. At this time, the purchase of lumber for a hotel or resort for amounts under $1,000 did not have to go through the allocation process handled by the Civilian Production Administration, so Nichols sug-

gested Hallin prepare cost estimates for the jobs and be prepared to go to Helena with Huntley Child to secure the needed lumber.[41]

In the meantime, Hallin learned that the $1,000 amount must also include labor, so he sought permission from Yellowstone Park Company official Ed Moorman to tear down two of the old dormitories and several cabins. That would provide the needed wood to repair the floors at Roosevelt Lodge and Old Faithful Lodge plus take care of needed repairs at a few cabins.[42] Hallin was able to salvage 5,000 feet of lumber from each building, mostly shiplap 2 x 4s, 1 x 6s, and 1 x 8s. This amount of material allowed him to also make repairs at Canyon Lodge. Hallin also supervised the cleanup around the Mammoth housekeeping cabins. In a letter to Nichols, he wrote, "I do not think that the grounds have ever been cleaned up since the cabins were built. You can readily see how much dirt there is when we can find six dump truck loads of tin cans, bottles, rags, and old stove pipes in one day." He planned to do a similar cleanup behind the Mammoth Hotel the following week.[43]

In January 1946, Director Drury, who favored showers over tubs, wanted assurance that bathing facilities would be adequate in Yellowstone and urged the Yellowstone Park Company to install new facilities in other buildings if they could not get the older bathhouses ready.[44]

Most of the facilities were opened by June 20, except for Lake Hotel, which did not open. Haynes Picture Shop, the cafeteria, and the store in the campground in Mammoth opened later in the summer. Camp Roosevelt opened by June 20, but a labor shortage caused it to close before the month was over. Only 75 percent of park accommodations were available for occupancy; consequently, many people stayed in the surrounding communities or in their autos. Not only did the Yellowstone Park Company have to cope with the unprecedented numbers of guests, but they also received many complaints, which could be attributed mainly to inexperienced help. Prior to the war, two clerks could manage the reservations, but in 1946 the company had to employ 12 people to accomplish the task. In 1941, the telegraph office had handled about 200 messages per day; in 1946, the number had risen to 800 or 900 per day. Finding competent and reliable staff was a post-war problem as the attitude of "labor expecting to receive high wages with little work" was prevalent. During June, the Yellowstone Park Company had 260 employees quit for one reason or another; some were dismissed due to drunken behavior.[45]

In March, F. E. Kammermeyer, who had managed the transportation division for more than 25 years, had returned to get his operation going again—the buses had not run since 1942. Again Western Air Lines began regular flights to West Yellowstone, and rail service resumed after being discontinued during the war.[46]

Rumors about Lake Hotel's fate began again in June. Assistant to the Superintendent Joe Joffe received an inquiry from S. E. Boyer of Casper, Wyo-

Lake Hotel. 1953.

ming, about possibly buying the hotel for salvage material so he could build needed homes for veterans. Joffe responded with the news that the Company planned to tear down part of the building, but because materials were scarce, he was sure the Yellowstone Park Company would use all of it for its own needs. Joffe portrayed the acute situation in the Park in his letter, "They are really up against it themselves in trying to meet the demand. The Park is getting travel exceeding even the wildest expectations, and it is truly a mad house here. Accommodations are sold out every night, and hundreds of persons are being turned away."[47] Fortunately, the Yellowstone Park Company did not have time to start work on the Lake Hotel.

During the summer, Nichols received permission to remove or tear down the auto repair shop and gas station buildings at Tower Fall and move the tank and pumps to use at Roosevelt Lodge. With a change in the road configuration, the facility was not needed at Tower. Nichols believed that once a decision had been reached on the construction of the Northeast Entrance road, a filling station would be needed at the junction.[48]

In July 1946, Haynes reported to Superintendent Rogers that most of his film-processing business was with park employees and that "the guests of the park make notoriously rapid trips through the park and do not stay long enough in one place for us to process their films." Thus, he requested permission to eliminate this expensive and unprofitable operation. He also noted that he was not selling grocery items, operating long-distance telephone service, or operating the contract postal station at the Tower Fall store.[49]

In August, Hamilton wrote Anna Pryor proposing to purchase her interests in the park. He reminded her that he knew that all of her buildings were subject to demolition just as some of his buildings were, with the exception of the Fishing Bridge and the Basin Auto Camp store. In closing the letter, Hamilton wittingly wrote, "If we can agree, the deal would be all cash and then you could live the life of Riley until St. Peter happens to call your number. In the usual turmoil, C. A. Hamilton."[50] Informing Superintendent Rogers of his intentions, Hamilton stated that he would construct a modern store at Mammoth on the designated site and that he thought he and Nichols could "reach an understanding so that he would take over the cafeteria setup at that point." He also requested a site at Gardiner for a warehouse, which he would use as a central distribution point for all his stores.[51]

In October, construction manager Hallin began tearing up the Mammoth tennis court, but by November he had only removed 16 feet of it; the debris was deposited at the Mammoth dump. Hallin was still examining all areas in the park for potential salvage, but Nichols denied Hallin's request to tear down the old bunkhouse at West Yellowstone; it was still being used.[52] The other major cleanup was the demolition of the Shaw and Powell camp buildings in Willow Park. Built in 1913, the buildings, had been abandoned in 1917.[53]

A planning conference held in January 1947 to outline the Yellowstone Park Company's improvement program and to prioritize construction, was attended by park staff and company officials. With the nightmarish year of 1946 behind them, it was imperative that they prepare for the expected high visitation of 1947 despite the continuing post-war problems. The company planned to resume projects that had been planned prior to the war within the constraints of a continuing shortage of building materials. The company's improvement priorities for 1947 were the installation of additional public bathing facilities at Fishing Bridge and Old Faithful; installation of toilet and bathing facilities in the manager's and cook's cabins at Old Faithful, Fishing Bridge and West Thumb; installation of water and sewer systems and bathroom facilities in the Lake Lodge cabin area; initiation of planning for buildings at West Thumb; and preliminary discussions on the development at Canyon.[54] The park's priorities were slightly different from the company's. Yellowstone Park Company had prioritized the work at Lake, Old Faithful, and the Canyon development ahead of West Thumb. But what concerned Superintendent Rogers more was the absence of an architectural style guideline for all of the concessioners to follow. The National Park Service had promised an architectural guideline (being prepared by National Park Service architect Halsey Davidson) to the Yellowstone Park Company, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Haynes, but it had not been presented by the time of the planning meeting. Superintendent Rogers was afraid that "we may lose the advantage of this initiative if the Service is not able to present such plans to the concessioners within another six weeks or less."[55]

C. A. Hamilton was the first concessioner to become a victim of the regional architect's failure to produce the guideline for the West Thumb area in a timely manner. On February 4, Hamilton sent in plans for

approval for a type of service station that many major oil companies were beginning to build. These stations were pre-fabricated to control costs and allow a minimum set-up time. The pre-fabricated facility could also be relocated to other sites if necessary. Assistant Superintendent Fred Johnston urged Regional Director Merriam to have Architect Davidson finish the architectural guidelines so the park could comment on Hamilton's proposal and not delay his project.

The intent of a National Park Service architectural style guideline was to produce a "design which would provide harmony in appearance among the various structures to be built by the several concessioners and also provide some scheme of floor layout which would permit economical operation of the facilities during periods of light travel." Davidson's work was not intended to be preliminary drawings for the concessioner, but only to create a style from which the concessioner's architect could work. Yellowstone Park Company architect, Fred Willson of Bozeman, agreed that there was a need for "improved building design." The park recognized that:

> each concessioner wishes to have a certain amount of individuality reflected in his buildings so that they do not appear to come from the same mold, and that character should not be difficult to obtain with a good style of architecture.[56]

On June 25, Hamilton received the approval for the preliminary plans for the station. In the interim, there was much discussion, both philosophical and technical, about the station's design. Hamilton's initial design was for a modern station, but the park wanted a design that reflected more of a "park feeling." Park staff believed that the use of "enameled steel would not be suitable since it would be impossible by texture of construction or color to make this building harmonize with other buildings in the locality." They wanted the station to be constructed of reinforced concrete so it would be strong enough to withstand heavy snow loads. Hamilton then began planning the construction of a store at West Thumb. Hillory Tolson, the acting director, delayed approval for this plan until the Department of the Interior completed a concessions policy.[57]

During the summer, Hamilton sought and received permission to reshingle the roof of the dwelling behind the Lake store as well as the lower store at Old Faithful. In the approval letter for the reshingling of the lower store, Rogers advised Hamilton to use the most economical roofing material since that store was scheduled for demolition in a few years. He suggested a composition shingle, but the color or color mixtures would need park approval.[58]

C. A. Hamilton's daughter and son-in-law, Trevor and Ellie Povah, had joined the business in 1945 and needed a place in the Old Faithful area to live. The first proposal was to move the Fishing Bridge laundry-and-bathhouse to Old Faithful and remodel it as a residence. Superintendent Rogers delayed giving final approval for the building relocation, but did recommend a site in the government apartment and dormitory area. For the first few years, the young Povah family lived in two cubicles, separated by a public hall, just beyond the entrance to the swimming pool. Later, they rented the winterkeeper's cottage while still using the rooms at the pool.[59]

The Yellowstone Park Company was also involved in the architectural style issue at West Thumb because of its plans to construct a tourist building. They were eager for their architect, Fred Willson, to prepare the drawings.[60]

In 1947, Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug paid a visit to Yellowstone and came away with the feeling that perhaps the Old Faithful swimming pool should not be scrapped in 1949 as previously decided. He wrote Director Drury, "I appreciate that the swimming pool is not the sightliest building in the park, but it certainly is no more grotesque than many of the others, and it seems to me to be serving a very useful purpose. I should like to be consulted concerning any plans you might have for the scrapping of this structure."[61]

Earlier in the year, Krug had issued a statement on safety in the park hotels and called for sprinkler systems in all old hotels of combustible construction exceeding two stories. The Secretary also called for the enclosure of stairways and other open shafts, installation of adequate lighting systems in the enclosed area, exit doors hung in the direction of exit, installation of panic hardware, and installation of exit lights. He pointed out that these regulations did apply to the Old Faithful Inn. The Yellowstone Park Company was in the process of installing sprinklers in the Old Faithful Inn and Canyon Hotel at the time of the announcement.[62]

The Bureau of Public Health had put pressure on the Yellowstone Park Company to improve its

Roosevelt Lodge and Haynes Store. 1950.

kitchen facilities at Roosevelt Lodge after a 1947 inspection. Nichols presented two alternatives to Superintendent Rogers, one in which the Lodge would be abandoned and the cabins would be moved to Fishing Bridge (a place he believed visitors preferred to stay), and the other to remodel the existing kitchen at a cost of $20,000 to satisfy the recommendations of the Bureau of Public Health. The National Park Service did not want to abandon the Lodge so Nichols's proposal to remodel the kitchen was sent to the Bureau of Public Health for approval.[63]

The Yellowstone Park Company also had to make a decision on the future of the Lake Hotel. In the spring of 1948, the company intended to make significant improvements to the older part of the hotel, but they soon discovered that part of the foundation under the south portion of the dining room would need to be redone. There was a shortage of cement and no labor crew, so the work was not done. The company decided to do the work in 1949 so the hotel would be ready for the 1950 season. With Krug's new regulations on sprinkler systems for the older hotels, the company was also faced with that project and expense. Nichols wrote to Director Drury explaining that prewar plans called for the conversion of the Lake Hotel to a lodge-type facility similar to what had been done at Mammoth. He reported that the north wing of the hotel had been torn down (a decision he regretted), and there had been talk of tearing down the remaining wing. In 1946 and 1947, he told Drury, the company had accommodated 200 people a night in the wing, but no one could have anticipated the huge increase in visitation or the tremendous increase in the costs of materials and labor. He sought permission from Drury to operate the newer section of the hotel with the sprinklers in 1949.[64]

At the end of the 1949 season, the park had the following number of rooms:

Mammoth Hotel	105 rooms
Canyon Hotel	377 rooms
Old Faithful Inn	363 rooms
Lake Hotel	110 rooms
Mammoth cottages	134
Mammoth cabins	163
Canyon Lodge	270
Canyon cabins	140
Old Faithful Lodge	270
Old Faithful cabins	406
Lake Lodge	167
Fishing Bridge cabins	300
Roosevelt Lodge	97
West Thumb	60
Total number of rooms	2,962 rooms[65]

Souvenirs and curios became a systemwide issue in 1948 with a new order being issued to the concessioners:

> Items may be recognized works of art, or useful or durable goods, manufactured in neighboring countries—such as Canada and Mexico—when place of manufacture is indicated by conspicuous label.[66]

Rogers issued the following guidelines for Hamilton Stores:

1. Items should be recognized works of art, or useful or durable goods representative of Yellowstone National Park or the surrounding area.
2. Items may be representative of other National Parks areas.
3. Cheap and shoddy items should in all cases be eliminated upon disposal of present stock.
4. Vulgar items and those of obvious bad taste should be destroyed and in no case displayed or offered for sale.[67]

Superintendent Rogers informed Director Drury that Mr. Povah was responding to the new regulations with "fine cooperation" and had "expressed a willingness to eliminate all items which are not satisfactory to the Superintendent."[68]

The question of the Old Faithful swimming pool came up again in 1948 after the high-profile involvement of Secretary of the Interior Krug in 1947. Trevor Povah wrote to the Secretary and said that he had been "waiting a reply since last Spring to his proposal to transfer title to the swimming pool at Old Faithful and requested an extension of the deadline for its removal." Krug asked Director Drury to make sure Povah got a prompt reply and that "some plan be worked out for maintaining a satisfactory swimming pool convenient to park visitors in the Old Faithful area." A Montana State College scientist "expressed doubt that the chlorine content of the water which leaves the pool as overflow is sufficient to have a detrimental effect upon aquatic life [in Firehole River]," but more tests of the effluent were scheduled for the time the pool would be drained next season and while the pool was in full operation. Povah suggested that a dechlorinator compound such as sodium thiosulfate be added. He also wanted the park to consider the two nearby government drainage systems that also used chlorine when a study of the pool drainage was done. Because the pool would probably be demolished in 1949, Povah did not want to add any undue costs to the operation of the pool. Then, Povah expressed an interest in relocating to a more convenient location near the projected new road at Old Faithful.[69]

Director Drury approved an agreement between Hamilton Stores, Inc. and Yellowstone Park Company for the lease of store and stand space in the Canyon, Lake, and Old Faithful lodges and for the operation of the service stations in the park. The agreement allowed the Yellowstone Park Company 12.5 percent of Hamilton's gross sales in lieu of rent and stipulated that Hamilton Stores would continue to furnish meals and lodging during the pre-season and post-season, before and after the Yellowstone Park Company was open for business. One clause stated that the agreement would extend beyond the Hamilton Store, Inc. contract, which expired on December 31, 1950.[70]

In another development, Anna Pryor wrote to the National Park Service Supervisor of Concessions in Washington and indicated that she would like to trans-

Pryor Filling Station at Canyon Junction. 1947.

fer her lease to Mr. and Mrs. Trevor Povah, a couple she admired. She felt confident of Povah's "ability and integrity." Pryor later said "the past few years has been a strain on us" and when the Povahs had approached her, she was receptive. She felt that they measured up to her requirements.[71]

The concessioners were upset with Harry Truman's successful bid for the presidency in 1948 because the Democratic Secretary of the Interior, Julius Krug, wanted the National Park Service to take over concessions as each lease expired. The National Park Service would then offer each concession at public bid for the privilege of the operation.[72] Julius Krug followed in the footsteps of Harold Ickes, who as Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, had tried for many years to have legislation introduced authorizing government ownership of the concessioners' facilities.[73] Haynes, who was in Washington to negotiate a new contract, heard Assistant Secretary Girard Davidson and National Park Service Assistant Director Arthur Demaray "in my presence state that it isn't the Haynes, Inc. buildings that the Government is most desirous of buying, it is those used for meals and lodgings that they want to take over first."[74]

In November 1948, the Secretary received a copy of the proposed new concession policies written by the National Park Service's Concessions Advisory Committee. The study of the concessions was initiated because of criticism of the fact that the Yosemite Park and Curry Company had a gross income of $2,445,251 in 1948, but from the government only received $6,000 in franchise fees.[75] During much of 1949, the new concessions policy, especially the provision for the government to purchase the concession facilities, was debated.

Naturally, Yellowstone concessioners were upset by this new policy and they worked with concessioners in other parks to get their message before the different Congressional committees. Haynes was absolutely opposed to the new policy, but in a letter to Nichols, Povah, and Daggett Harvey (Chairman of the Western Conference of National Park Concessioners), he wrote, "I am preparing a statement to read at the preliminary meeting in Santa Fe of concessioners, if I have an opportunity. I do not plan to testify at the hearing. (Wouldn't make a good witness, being a post card seller only)."

Business went on in the park. Employee housing had been a problem for all the concessioners from the time they began operating in the park. In the spring of 1949, the Yellowstone Park Company received a request from an employee to be allowed to bring his own trailer into the park as housing. Nichols replied to the prospective employee that there were no accommodations for trailers, other than the government trailer camps that allowed only a 30-day stay. Despite the continual problem of employee housing, Nichols was worried that if he allowed even one employee to bring a trailer into the park he would be creating a bad precedent. Because the labor situation had eased the previous year, he believed "we can tighten up a little bit on our requirements."[76]

Before the war started, there had been plans to eventually abandon the Lake Lodge area; some cabins were even moved to Fishing Bridge. However, by 1949, critical shortages of tourist accommodations led the National Park Service to ask the Yellowstone Park Company to not abandon Lake Lodge and to start making plans for bringing it up to the standards of the Old Faithful lodge area. Plans were made in 1949 to house guests in the Lake Hotel's east wing assuming all of the safety measures were completed by the opening of the season. Director Drury dispelled any rumors about abandoning the hotel by asking the Yellowstone Park Company to rehabilitate it and reported that the National Park Service "will provide access roads thereto so as to make the north or rear of the building readily convenient for guests arriving by auto or bus." [77]

That year the term "operators" was officially changed to "concessioners," as Director Drury, in his written order to the field offices wrote, "I dislike to seem over-meticulous in relatively minor matters" but he disliked the terms "operators or concessionaires"[78]

The park and the concessioners had experienced nightmares on either end of the 1940s—the beginning of World War II, which brought an extraordinary drop in visitation and closure of facilities, and an explosion of visitation coupled with inadequate facilities.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

"More or Less Hardened to Turmoil" 1950–1955

C. A. Hamilton, 1950

The concessioners began the new decade with almost as much uncertainty as they had experienced in late 1941. A threat of war loomed in Korea, the Department of Commerce's National Production Authority imposed a national policy of limited building and the National Park Service issued a new concessions policy. The new policy not only made business decisions more difficult, but also angered the concessioners.

Hamilton outlined his grievances in a letter to Director Drury in January 1950. Upset over the delays in approval for his West Thumb building design and then for a definite location to erect a modern store at West Thumb, he told Director Drury that it was difficult to get financing without a proper lease. He listed several other issues, including the high price of electrical power compared to rates in the surrounding communities and cancellation of his lease on the Old Faithful swimming pool.[1] In a letter to Jack Haynes he wrote, "You relieved me some time ago as 'Peck's Bad Boy,' and as the time is fast approaching the expiration of my lease, will once more enter the fight and take you off the limb, as I am more or less hardened to turmoil."[2] Within a few days, the normally agreeable Haynes responded:

> Thanks for your letter of January 26 and the copy of your letter to Director Drury, which I have read with great interest and I hope that you, being brighter than I am, will be able to get these things across with the government.
> I have been three or four years trying to negotiate a contract that Mr. Albright and I could have negotiated in two hours, but, as you know, we have not finished it yet.
>
> We will be glad to go along with you on the question of power and propane, but I think that the government officials are enveloped in a mood of frustration and are being carried along by the urgent needs of the task they are attempting to perform, instead of raising the leadership level, which should enable them to direct answers to the problems confronting them. They are floating upstream instead of downstream and do not have the guts enough to help row.
>
> The above analysis is not quoted from Kiplinger—it is from the Public Relations Department of Haynes Studios, Inc., of Bozeman, Montana.[3]

Nichols was encouraged with newly appointed Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman's attitude toward the concessioners. Nichols had heard that Chapman did not endorse the limits on the concessioners' profits to six percent and he "was favorable to a discussion of a Bill which we might introduce in Congress which would give us more protection than we now have on our equity in Park property." But several concessioners from the West met with Chapman and Director Drury, and it was reported that Chapman said:

> I want it understood that, from now on, the National Park Service is going to run the national parks and not keep running to me about them.[4]

Before the 1950 season started, the Yellowstone Park Company received permission to change the official name of "Camp Roosevelt" to "Roosevelt Lodge" because Nichols believed that it now operated like a lodge facility.[5] The park requested that the term "filling station" be changed to "service station."[6]

The Yellowstone Park Company started the new decade with plans to concentrate on the Lake improvements, beginning with the construction of cottages behind the hotel. Following the advice of the park landscape architect, the company made changes to the approved pre-war cabin plans by adding a bathroom and adjusting the height of the chimneys. The company wanted to build pre-fabricated units using processed logs that were seven inches in diameter with a flat surface on the inside. The buildings would be placed on a concrete floor that had a three-inch curb for the wall support and would be covered with a plastic flooring of some type. The nearly flat roof would be built up and covered with gravel. Frank Mattson, the park landscape architect, liked the low cost per unit and the possibility of building multiple-unit structures (which would conserve space as opposed to the single cabins), but he was concerned about some technical aspects of the buildings and thought that "the modern style seemed to lack the permanence and durability which to my way of observation is the greatest weakness of most modern dwelling designs." The company and the park compromised, and the company agreed to build a few experimental cabins.[7] Child did not plan to build the new type of cabin until 1951, but he agreed with the park that multiple-unit structures would be just as acceptable. He told the park that in addition to the Lake Hotel cabins, the company would focus its efforts at Fishing Bridge in 1951.[8]

Recognizing that the Yellowstone Park Company's building program would be extensive for the next few years, the superintendent thought that a "thorough and complete study to establish good designs and standards [must be done] before commencing work."[9]

The company did plan to construct cottages at Lake Hotel during 1950 with material on hand. In a letter to the regional director, Superintendent Rogers used the term "cottage" instead of "cabin" to distinguish it from the cabins at the Lake Lodge.[10] Another company project at Lake was the repainting of the hotel and cottages. Superintendent Rogers approved painting the hotel "the original" yellow with white trim. He advised that the "intensity of brightness should not be any greater than the original wet paint used and preferably less intense or bright." Rogers also approved the color scheme for the cottages:

> The major portions of those cottages now built will be painted a Colonial yellow with a light yellow trim. This color would reach east to cottage 7-C.
>
> Single cottage trim: light yellow; verge, rafter ends, rafter face, under porch ends, door frame and window.
>
> Body: Colonial yellow same as hotel, all walls, gable face, under gable roof, base and door.
>
> Double cottage: Same as single room cottage except that the corner posts will be painted the trim color.
>
> Cottage east of 7-C will be painted soft green comparable to what we are now calling the "Tower Falls Green," but somewhat richer in tone. The trim will be determined on ground and a light shade of green is favored. The zone of the cottages to be painted green will be included in the east end of the southern block and the two eastern most blocks. Cottages west of the plaza will remain the Yellowstone gray with doors of different colors…Labor dormitories are to be painted the Tower Falls green.[11]

Most of the improvements at Lake were in the hotel area, but a stationary bar for serving liquor, similar to ones at Old Faithful and Canyon, was constructed in the Lake Lodge.[12]

In October, Secretary Chapman issued a statement on concessions policies that superseded all previous policies. He began his statement by acknowledging that the Organic Act of 1916 prescribed both preservation and use of the parks. In order to balance these two objectives, the policy would be:

> to permit the development of accommodations within the areas…only to the extent that such

> accommodations are necessary and appropriate for the public use and enjoyment of the areas, consistent with their preservation and conservation. Where adequate accommodations exist or can be developed by private enterprise outside of such areas, accommodations shall not be provided within the areas.[13]

In addition to requiring concessioners to provide a "reasonable proportion of their accommodations as low-priced accommodations," the Secretary also reassured the Yellowstone concessioners with this section:

> Where public accommodations are necessary for the enjoyment of an area and the basic facilities with which to provide such accommodations and services cannot be provided by private capital, it shall be the policy of the Department to provide such basic facilities… There is no intention that the Government should operate Government-owned concession facilities.…It is the desire of the Department to assure the concessioners of the security of their investments in buildings, structures, and other improvements provided by them on Federally owned lands…[14]

Despite all of the tension surrounding the changes in concession policy, personal relationships between concessions and the National Park Service seemed to remain cordial as exemplified by a letter from Director Drury to William Nichols, which began, "My dear Billie," and went on to say that he will probably include Yellowstone in an upcoming trip as "there is always something important going on there and I like to keep in touch."[15]

By midsummer, the potential international crisis in Korea began to affect business in the park. Nichols was anxious to get approval for the girls' dormitory at Lake so that they could order materials before a sudden drop in visitation and revenue might prevent him from having the building ready for the 1951 season.[16] Other major decisions for 1950 were the demolition of the Mammoth Lodge and Mammoth swimming pool.[17]

Just before the season closed, Nichols received a request to convert the transportation division's repair garage in Gardiner into a manufacturing plant for war material. National Park Service Acting Director Paul Franke, who thought the possibility of the park being closed during 1951 season premature at that point, opposed the "conversion to a use that is so foreign to the purpose for which the Park was established, except in case of dire [national] emergency."[18] By the end of October, Nichols advised Pete Hoffman, manager of the Transportation Division, "On account of the present international situation and the uncertainty as to what may happen between now and the opening of the Park season next year, it seems essential that we curtail our activities as much as possible at this time." Nichols added that if the situation with Russia should worsen, the same kind of restrictions experienced in World War II might go into effect.[19]

> Hamilton, also worried about the Korean situation, hesitated to pour more money into his Old Faithful swimming pool until he had an extension on his lease. Based on his recent experience with the park's planning process, he was a little suspicious of the "master planning process" due to a bad experience he had had earlier: one Master Plan had located his Old Faithful auto camp on one location, then in the next Master Plan, the road had been moved behind his store and station. He said he had "heard rumblings of a super-Master Plan that is underway!", so he hoped an extension would be granted until "their Master Plans are definitely arrived at and world conditions are on a more settled basis."[20]

In 1951, the following facilities were in place in the park:

Mammoth swimming pool. 1912.

Mammoth Hotel	98 rooms	196 capacity
Mammoth Cottages	129 rooms	272 capacity
Mammoth Camp	154 rooms	433 capacity
Canyon Hotel	353 rooms	700 capacity
Canyon Lodge	265 rooms	710 capacity
Canyon Camp	140 rooms	430 capacity
Old Faithful Inn	338 rooms	750 capacity
Old Faithful Lodge	278 rooms	815 capacity
Old Faithful Camp	417 rooms	1,188 capacity
Lake Hotel	196 rooms	433 capacity
Lake Lodge	169 rooms	450 capacity
Lake Hotel cottages	64 rooms	192 capacity
Fishing Bridge	298 rooms	955 capacity
Roosevelt Lodge	92 rooms	313 capacity
West Thumb Cabins	60 rooms	195 capacity[21]

The Yellowstone Park Company outlined ambitious construction plans for 1951: 48 new guest cottages at Lake Hotel, a tourist cabin office, a dormitory and shower, and seven quad cabins and one double cabin at Old Faithful. Still experiencing the effects of World War II, the company's plans were denied by the National Production Authority. Huntley Child appealed the decision and explained to the agency that because no construction had been done during the war years, nor after the war when materials and labor were rationed, the company and the National Park Service had developed a building program of which this was one project. The project, which had already received National Park Service approval, was scheduled to begin as soon as weather allowed. Child emphasized the need for the improvements, citing prewar visitation figures of 580,000 visitors compared to the current figure of 1,110,000 visitors. He also stressed the importance the park played in the morale of the country and noted that the company had a substantial amount of the needed materials on hand. Despite these arguments and some Congressional pressure, the projects were again rejected. Then, without explanation and far beyond the time they could initiate construction in the Yellowstone climate, the Yellowstone Park Company received permission to begin the project.[22]

Early in 1951, Secretary Chapman asked for the resignation of Director Drury, and he then appointed Arthur Demaray to the post. Hamilton remarked in a letter to Haynes, "I always liked Drury personally even though he did nothing apparently to help me save the pool from demolition"—to which Haynes responded that he "could write a book-of-the-month best seller about the idiosyncrasies of the Krug-Davidson administration of the Service, but I of course like yourself am too much of a gentleman." Haynes, always the optimist, ended his note, "Indications are that, if Truman kicks Stalin out, travel will be as good as last year."[23]

In May 1951, the National Park Service Chief of Concessions Management in Washington, Donald Lee, and his assistant, George Hartzog, Jr., were as they put it, "in the need of considerable 'seasoning' in the operational aspect of concessions." As the agency grew, and many of the older employees left or retired, the Washington office found "our information seems…to be rather sketchy and incomplete which led to the need for comprehensive information as to the amount of number of buildings, grounds leased, types of improvements, utility facilities, values of improvements and other necessary information in order to negotiate new leases." Lee and Hartzog felt that the report submitted by Assistant Superintendent Fred Johnston on the Hamilton Stores' history and business could be used as a model.[24]

In 1951, the question of the admission of "casual tours" and chartered buses came before the National Park Service. In parks without transportation companies, this was not an issue; but, it was an issue in parks with these companies, such as Yellowstone, Yosemite, and the Grand Canyon. Arthur Demaray, who served as National Park Service Director only for a short time, protected the transportation companies' interests by not allowing the organized tours.[25] Conrad Wirth succeeded Arthur Demaray as director in 1951.

In 1952, the service stations in Yellowstone (owned jointly by Hamilton Stores and the Yellowstone Park Company), under contract with Continental Oil Company for gasoline and supplies, implemented new policies in order to meet customer expectations. The companies increased the pay for employees, initiated a training program, emphasized hiring older and more experienced managers, and planned the installation of telephones at the stations. After much discussion, Director Wirth announced that the Conoco credit card, as well as other credit cards Conoco recognized at its stations, would be accepted in Yellowstone beginning in the 1953 season. Wirth pointed out that "service station credit is now standard practice practically everywhere in the United States, and the traveling public has come to expect such service."[26]

Service Station at Mammoth Hot Springs. 1951.

In December 1952, Hamilton approached the superintendent about his plans for building "a most modern filling station at Tower Falls." The park, however, favored a Tower Junction location. Unfortunately, officials could not authorize a site until the question of relocating of the intersection of the Grand Loop Road and the Northeast Entrance Road was settled, a problem they had had earlier.[27]

Before the year ended, Hamilton purchased Anna Pryor and Elizabeth Trischman's business in the park for $333,000. He decided to wait until after the new Secretary of the Interior was in office January 20, 1953, before negotiating his new lease. In a letter to Superintendent Rogers, Hamilton wrote, "perhaps it might be well to consider the Hamilton Stores lease around that time when there might be a change in the general policy, as I want to be at peace with all concerned."[28] In January 1952, Haynes signed a new contract with the Department of the Interior covering the period January 1, 1951 to December 31, 1970.[29]

The Western Conference of National Park Concessioners, which met in Washington in March 1953, received reassurances from the new Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, that he "strongly favored a policy of private enterprise" and would not vary much from former Secretary Chapman's policy statement of 1950. However, if needed policy changes did arise, he would refer them to "Assistant Secretary Orme Lewis and Director Wirth to work out with the concessioners and that he, Secretary McKay, would act as referee in the event that became necessary." Wirth announced that the 1935 ban on the sale of foreign-made curios by concessioners would be lifted.[30]

In recent years, the National Park Service had made efforts to have franchise fees deposited into special fund accounts to be used for improvements in the parks. However, the Attorney General ruled against this idea in January 1953 and directed Director Conrad Wirth to tell the concessioners to forward all franchise fees to the United States Treasury. Disappointed with the ruling, Director Wirth promoted a new bill in Congress that would allow the franchise fees to be used through a special account for developing and improving roads, walks, parking areas, and utilities. The concessioners opposed the bill, stating that their franchise fees were insignificant in comparison to the National Park Service entrance fees, which also went into the general treasury. Wirth was disappointed by the concessioners' lack of support. He needed to secure more appropriations for improvement in the parks.[31]

About the same time the Attorney General denied use of franchise fees, Congressman William Harrison of Wyoming called for an investigation of concessions in the parks. The concessioners did not believe that Congressman Harrison was antagonistic toward them; thus, at their annual meeting they took no action on this pending investigation. Wirth, also interested in seeing an investigation develop, believed that an investigation by a private industrial engineering firm would be more meaningful than one by a committee of Congressmen. Wirth was not interested in a complete report on each concessioner, but wanted a comprehensive look at charges for operations, franchise fees, construction needs, problems of rate control, and financing needs. Wirth, a landscape architect by training and a planner by experience, naturally

tended toward a holistic approach to the concessions needs for the system.[32] Perhaps, this was the beginning of the idea for Mission 66.

In Yellowstone, coordination between the National Park Service improvement program and the concessioners was managed through the Master Planning process. By the end of 1953, the Yellowstone Park Company had agreed to assume the cost of new development at the Lake Lodge based upon the park completing the street surfacing, curbing, and water and sewer lines up to the buildings. The work, which would begin in 1954 and be completed in 1955–56, involved rehabilitating 84 cabins (including new foundations and relocation), constructing 112 new cabins, and relocating (and rehabilitating) 55 cabins to Fishing Bridge. Because the company had recently spent $125,000 for a new girls' dormitory at the lodge (in 1950 and 1951) and funded a new foundation and floors for the Lake Lodge lobby in 1952–53, the Yellowstone Park Company stipulated that these Lake Lodge projects were based upon its receiving a new 20-year contract to replace the current one that was to expire December 31, 1955.[33]

The cost of the Lake project and the other Yellowstone Park Company project at Canyon was estimated to be $1.5 million over the next five years. At Canyon, the plans called for an all-new-motor-lodge facility, including a new main building with lobby, dining room, and cafeteria, and recreation hall. New cabins with a total of 300 rooms would be built, and existing cabins would be moved to the new "village area" and used for lower cost accommodations and employee housing.[34]

Just after the New Year of 1954, Huntley Child, Jr., and his architect, Fred Willson, met with park officials to discuss the proposed Canyon project. All agreed that the buildings should be "modern rustic," a term Child said they invented. He was emphatic that it was not to be like the Jackson Lake Lodge, designed by Old Faithful Lodge architect, Gilbert Stanley Underwood. They also favored a flat roof for the buildings, as Child believed it tended to reduce snow shoveling.[35]

Hamilton called the Canyon project a "mess" and stated that he would not build there until the Yellowstone Park Company had started its facilities. The two companies agreed to build a joint messhouse for all of the employees if the park agreed.[36]

Hamilton and William "Billie" Nichols both celebrated their 50th anniversaries in the park in 1954. Hamilton said that after "educating and hounding" Trevor Povah and Gar Helppie through the years, they "will probably do a better job than I."[37] By this time, Hamilton had begun to turn over his operation to his son-in-law, Trevor Povah.

By 1954, Americans were increasingly vacationing with their own travel trailers. Since the end of World War II, visitors bringing house trailers to the park had increased significantly; in 1954, 6,332 trailers entered the park. In response to this change, Trevor Povah began investigating commercial trailer camp layouts and plans. Povah's idea was "for a camp with complete up-to-date facilities for fifty trailers, but which could be expanded, should the need arise, and still retain its architectural unity and integrity." He asked National Park Service landscape architect Tho-

Lake Lodge lobby. 1953.

Canyon Lodge. 1958.

Canyon Lodge cabins. 1958.

mas Vint if the National Park Service had any such plans. Vint explained that concession-operated trailer camps in parks "has [sic] just started becoming a reality this year." He told Povah that a few such camps had been installed in southwestern parks, but that the agency really did not have sufficient knowledge about providing utilities or the number of sites that produced an economical unit. Director Wirth had recently approved Vint's proposal to send a landscape architect across the south from Florida to California to study existing trailer camps and produce a booklet for distribution to the parks.[38]

On a related issue, well before the 1955 season began, Povah, with the park's approval, planned to install liquefied petroleum gas dispensing plants at the rear of and adjacent to the Old Faithful and Fishing Bridge service stations. Previously, visitors had to obtain butane or propane from Gardiner or West Yellowstone in order to cook or heat their trailers.[39]

Another new trend with long-term implications in the park, was the use of snowmobiles in the winter. In October 1955, John Nichols, vice-president of the Yellowstone Park Company, notified a company named "Snowmobiles of West Yellowstone" that, subject to conditions set by the park, the Yellowstone Park Company did not object to operating snowmobiles between West Yellowstone and Old Faithful for the 1955–56 winter season.[40]

The Canyon Village development was the major focus for the concessioners and park staff during 1955. While it had been thought that Lake would be the top priority, Canyon seemed to move in front. The Yellowstone Park Company hired Beckett and Associates of Los Angeles as the architects and McNeil and Company as contractors. Superintendent Rogers advised both Haynes and Hamilton that the Yellowstone Park Company's design, which would be determined during the winter of 1954–55 in consultation with the National Park Service Western Office of Design and Construction in San Francisco, will "have a great deal of influence" on what concessioners could build. Hamilton planned on building the same style of store that he had at Fishing Bridge, except that the design at Canyon would be modern. Hamilton also notified the park that he would be submitting his service station drawings soon.[41]

The Yellowstone Park Company, whose contract expired at the end of 1955, began its renewal process in April 1954 when William Nichols asked Director Wirth whether a draft contract had been written. Wirth responded that "it would be necessary to sit down and talk over a number of points to be incorporated in a new contract, one of which was the need for a comprehensive development program."[42] One of the points to be discussed was Regional Director Howard Baker's belief that a concessioner should be required to provide some of the utilities and road work within its developed areas.[43]

Concurrently with trying to negotiate a new contract, Nichols offered the company for sale. Early in 1955, the Wyoming legislature authorized $50,000 for a study to assess the practicality of the state taking over the concession operations in Yellowstone. Many issues complicated the plan, including the federal legislation a state needed to run an operation in a national park, the fact that any price agreed upon by Wyoming and the Yellowstone Park Company required approval by the Secretary of the Interior, and the fact that Wyoming would need to sell bonds to purchase and run the concessions. Needless to say, that plan

fell through.[44]

By the end of 1955, a contract between the Yellowstone Park Company and the government finally seemed complete, with only Congressional approval now needed. In the new contract, the company agreed to spend $3.5 million during the first five years of the 20-year contract at Canyon, Lake, and other locations. Additionally, within the first 10 years construction would take place at Grant Village and Bridge Bay, if needed and economically feasible.[45]

Again the tension between business and a government process surfaced when the contract was delayed in being sent to Congress for a required 60-day review. With a projected busy construction year for 1956, any delay caused by protracted hearings after Congress reconvened could delay awarding construction contracts and starts. The contract cleared the Department of the Interior and was sent to Congress on December 1. The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs scheduled hearings for January 6, 1956. Finally, after a delay instigated by senators O'Mahoney and Barrett of Wyoming in the Senate Committee, the contract was executed on February 3.[46]

CHAPTER TWELVE

Mission 66— A Concessioner's Obituary 1956–1966

During the first week in February 1955, the idea for Mission 66 came to Director Conrad Wirth. He pondered how he could obtain the needed funds to get the national park areas up to a reasonable standard, not only in public use, but in resource protection, interpretation, development, legislation, financing, and other park operation needs. Aware that other agencies, which had long-term and very costly projects (such as Bureau of Public Roads, the Army Corps of Engineers, and Bureau of Reclamation), had been successful in submitting detailed, long-range plans and budgets to Congress, Wirth decided that perhaps the National Park Service could get Congressional attention with this approach. After setting up steering and working committees, Wirth named the new long-term project Mission 66. The name reflected the emotion of the committee "who felt a sense of mission" and the fact that the 10-year project would end on the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service in 1966. Filled with excitement and drive, the committees got off to a very fast start. Wirth expected each park to respond to his call for its course of action by April 11. Wirth, knowing that Yellowstone's 20-year concession contracts would expire in 1955, believed this was the perfect time to make sure the park and the concessioners "would be in harmony."[1] Yellowstone Superintendent Edmund Rogers, Landscape Architect Mattson, Chief Ranger Otto Brown, and the Chief Naturalist Dave Condon, all went to Washington to meet with the committee and discuss in detail the current Yellowstone master plan.

In response to Wirth's call, Yellowstone submitted its current and future needs in a report which, in regards to concessions, covered the following points:

1. Development and circulation should be spread within the Park much along the present system of use with planned withdrawals from the immediate vicinity and scenic features.
2. New hotels shall not be proposed. Present hotels should be placed into disuse and ultimately removed as they deteriorate and become marginal in income.
3. The spread between hotel rooms and deluxe cottage rates and tourist cabins shall be closed with a medium-priced cabin room.
4. Room units should be provided preferably in multi-room structures in the most economical manner as regards to cost and use of ground in different classes, ranging from rooms with bath, toilet, and hot and cold water to unfurnished type with beds, sink and running cold water.
5. Expansion should be based upon visitor demand and on the part of the gateway communities to develop more overnight accommodations.
6. No new road locations proposed.
7. One trailer village for concession operations is proposed.
8. Recommended inviting other applicants to operate facilities on competitive bid basis to develop new facilities at specific sites.
9. Consider proposals to use house trailers as facilities for room rental.

10. A reservation system should be developed by concessioner.
11. Concessioner should institute experimental sightseeing tour service at reasonable rates. Drive-your-self cars and non-scheduled motor vehicle tours shall be admitted under existing regulations.

Under site development, the following were proposed:

Lake-Fishing Bridge

Remove the boating facilities at Lake Boat Dock, Fishing Bridge, Fish and Wildlife Service and National Park Service. These facilities then to be provided at Bridge Bay.
Remove present trailer house camp from Fishing Bridge area. Provide new concessioner operating trailer village at new proposed site.
Retain and add as follows to existing developments:

Concessioners—hotels, cottages, lodge and cabins, cabins at Fishing Bridge, general store, eating places, photo shops, service stations, fuels, self-service laundry, garages, recreation halls, employees recreation center and boating.

Present capacity of Lake Hotel Cottage area—749, increase to 1,500 guests. Construct 150 medium class A cottage rooms, capacity 450. Provide several Class A housekeeping units in area.

Lake Lodge—rehabilitate and increase present capacity from 400 to 1,200 guests; rehabilitate 168 shelter cabin rooms, capacity 440; convert lodge dining room to cafeteria; construct 240 Medium Class C cabin rooms, capacity 720; construct helps dormitory.

Fishing Bridge—increase capacity to 1,200; rehabilitate present cabin rooms as maintenance to shelter cabins; construct 32 Medium Class C cabins rooms, capacity 96; construct new cafeteria and cabin office.

West Thumb

Working group suggests the Service abandon and remove present development at the junction of the present road within the thermal area. Develop only an orientation station at thermal area, self-service and manned. Develop new area, to be called Thumb Bay, on West Thumb Lake Shore, 1½ miles south of present development, providing accommodations and rooms, capacity, 2,500; eating facilities—cafeteria, coffee shop, lunches, and refreshments; general store, service stations, fuels, garage, photo shop, boating dock and employee recreational center. The committee recommended this concession be opened to competition which would permit immediate action based upon the National Park Service being able to install the utilities.

Bridge Bay

Group considers this location a suitable site for installation of new overnight accommodations and the development of sheltered boating operations. The group suggested the concession be opened to competition which would permit immediate construction based upon National Park Service providing utilities. The new development would have a capacity for 1200 guests, cafeteria, coffee shop, general store, photo shop, service station, boat docks, and other needed service buildings.

Old Faithful

The Service should abandon [the area] because of intrusion upon present day use and overnight of concessioner and government facilities, in-

Bridge Bay. 1964.

cluding administration, services, and utilities moving these out of existing areas. Provide a new area, which is to be selected and to be known as Firehole, for development which shall provide overnight accommodations and rooms with a guest capacity of 3,500. (Never built) The area would include all of the usual accompanying services.

Tower Fall
Continue present development; relocate campground to vicinity of Tower Junction; enlarge Haynes Store as required.

Roosevelt
Increase guest capacity to 500 with new cabin rooms; rehabilitate present facilities of the lodge and cabin rooms; recommend consideration of this area for new concessioner.

Mammoth
Remove present National Park Service housing and concessioner buildings from foot of Mammoth Terrace; remove present store, service station and photo shop and construct a new plaza area; remove present tourist cabins and use in other areas (town of Gardiner could absorb some of slack).

Canyon
Remove present lodge and cabins, service building, tourist cabins, cafeteria service buildings, photo shop, general store, service station, ranger station from present location on rim of Canyon. Construct new facilities at new Canyon Village area as follows: cabin rooms, capacity 1500 (guest capacity can be increased to 2500 with new development); construct the other accompanying services; recommend consideration of trailer room rental at site.

The staff suggested that this plan would increase the guest capacity from 8,417 to 13,891 at an approximate cost (to the concessioner) of $13,654,000 for new construction and $721,200 for rehabilitation.[2] The plan was enthusiastically endorsed by all and became the basis for many decisions in Yellowstone from that point forward.

The Yellowstone Park Company's new 20-year contract was executed on February 3, 1956, which left little time to secure financing and initiate the building program by the April 1 deadline set in Section 2 of the contract. However, on March 30, the Yellowstone Park Company secured a loan of $3,000,000 from Security-First National Bank in Los Angeles. Work began on prefabricated cabins for Canyon at a facility in Gardiner by April 1, but excessive snow at Canyon delayed site work until May 25. On June 25, the Yellowstone Park Company directors held a special meeting in which it was announced "there had been a mistake of some $1,500,000 in the original estimate and the total [cost] would be $4,500,000." The Yellowstone Park Company Board of Directors decided to build only 200 motel-type units instead of 300, eliminate the recreation hall, reduce the size of the administration building, build only three dormitories and not build a main building. In August, the company made arrangements to obtain an additional $5 million loan, which led to the decision to construct more revenue-producing buildings (such as 500 motel-type units instead of the original 300) and to revise the plans for the administration building to a "lower scale." By the end of August, 300 motel-type units were almost finished, the three Yellowstone Park Company dormitories were almost completed, and the foundation for the administration building (visitor center) was almost finished. Work was scheduled to continue on the other 200 units, and they were expected to be 90 percent completed by December 1. The contract specified a final completion date of July 1, 1957.[3]

Mammoth Motor Inn cabin. 1951.

In late 1956, two of the major players in the park changed. John Q. Nichols, (son of William "Billie" Nichols) was named president of Yellowstone Park Company, with William "Billie" Nichols moving to chairman of the board, and Edmund Rogers was replaced by Lemuel Garrison as the park's new superintendent. Garrison had recently been the chairman of

the Mission 66 steering committee in the Washington office.

Early in March 1956, Hamilton had submitted his plans for a new general store and dormitory in the Canyon Village area. Taking the superintendent's advice, he hired the same firms as the Yellowstone Park Company, Welton Beckett of Los Angeles as the architect and McNeil Construction as the contractor.[4] The following year, Hamilton became upset with the Yellowstone Park Company over the change in plans for the types of cabins that would be open at Canyon in July 1957. In writing to "Billie" Nichols, he stated "When I agreed to my most expensive building program at Canyon, it was with the understanding that you were going to have 200 shelters (economy cabins) and 300 new modern cabins." Now that there would be 500 modern cabins, Hamilton was worried about the lack of affordable cabins in the area, so he asked Nichols to relocate some tourist cabins from other areas to Canyon. He said he would not have spent nearly a million dollars on his new store if he had known the final plan.[5]

Nevertheless, the new Hamilton Store at Canyon Village opened on July 15, 1957. The total cost of the store and equipment was $650,000. The store, which had 12,000 square feet of retail space, had a modern fountain with seating capacity for 100 guests, a large self-service grocery area, additional areas for dry goods, clothing, gifts, souvenirs, drugs, and cigarettes. The building also contained warehouse space and five apartments for employees. The new dormitory, which was also completed by the middle of July, housed 100 employees and cost $250,000. The new service station, which opened on June 1, 1957, cost $99,000. The old Hamilton dormitory at Canyon was moved to Old Faithful for employee housing.[6]

Charles Hamilton died in his apartment at Old Faithful on May 28, 1957, just six weeks before the opening of the new store at Canyon. A few days later, Jack Haynes delivered a moving tribute to Charles Hamilton in the Mammoth Chapel, where Hamilton had married many years before. Haynes remembered many of Hamilton's generous works, including helping young people through school, but Hamilton always tried to cover up his good works. Haynes described him as "dedicated to his business, he was dedicated to the task of serving the visitors to Yellowstone National Park. He did that with greater zeal than anyone else I have ever known who had anything to do with business in the park." Haynes called him a "warm friend [who] tried to cover it up with that brusqueness we knew." He concluded by saying, "You [the group at the memorial service] and I will never again find a warmer, more sincere, honest and capable friend than Charles Ashworth Hamilton.[7] The park again lost one of its most colorful and interesting characters.

In the summer of 1958, Superintendent Garrison changed the long-standing practice of allowing concessioners to use hot water from the different springs in the park. Garrison notified the Yellowstone Park Company and Hamilton Stores that the use of Myriad Spring near Old Faithful would stop. He added, "The use is a contradiction of appropriate preservation of the park thermal resources and we wish to eliminate it as soon as practical the use of this water for domestic purposes." He went on to reveal his philosophy of park protection:

> You, of course, understand our objectives. Many of the practices of past years, although considered wise at the period they were first started, do not conform with the legislation governing the park and conflict very seriously with conservation policies. Therefore, we wish to correct every encroachment as soon as it is physically possible.[8]

Garrison's philosophy conflicted with some of the new revenue-raising ideas the Yellowstone Park Company was considering. For example, just before the season opened in 1958, the company approached a Billings, Montana, consulting firm regarding a study of the company's operations. The company wanted to find new ways to increase its revenue such as attracting visitors to the park in May and September and October for conventions and similar events. The company listed several ideas for the consulting firm to consider, including turning the Gardiner transportation buildings into a manufacturing plant for pre-fab cabins, leasing the transportation buildings to the National Park Service or another concessioner, using the "abundance of natural hot-water from the Mammoth Terraces" for a modern swimming pool with adjacent bar and buffet service (and possibly including a solarium and "pseudo beach" at the pool to attract sun bathers) offering late spring skiing on Mt. Washburn, building a golf course on Cascade Creek Meadows, and numerous other ideas.[9]

With the new Canyon Village opened to the public, the Yellowstone Park Company turned its thoughts

to the fate of the Canyon Hotel. Superintendent Garrison realized that much of the building was beyond repair and considered certain portions dangerous, but he wondered if part of the hotel could be stabilized. One thought was to move the best portions to the Village area. However, it was decided to demolish the hotel the following year.[10]

During 1958, the question of employee trailer housing came up again. It was decided that employees who wanted to bring in 10-foot wide trailers had to have the District Ranger's permission, had to furnish a pilot car during transport, and could only move the trailer between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. during the pre- and post-seasons.[11]

In May 1958, all of the park concessioners agreed to hold regular business meetings with the superintendent from May through September to discuss pertinent issues. At the first meeting, it was decided to invest either the concessioner or the National Park Service with "complete operating jurisdiction" over the trailer situation. At the same meeting, Superintendent Garrison also expressed his hope that Roosevelt Lodge would be developed as a type of "dude ranch" center with horse activities and "various accoutrements" of such an operation.[12]

After reading the Yellowstone Park Company's annual report for 1958, Superintendent Garrison told the regional director that while the company's finances were not quite as dire as he had thought, there was certainly a problem. He did not think the company would have sufficient financing for the extensive Mission 66 construction program that the park needed, particularly funds for the Grant Village development. Garrison believed that this was a joint problem and supported a proposal by the company's lawyer, Hugh Galusha, for "full scale exploration of financing alternatives to be spearheaded by NPS to retain control, including bankers, financiers, hotel people, and concessioners." Garrison believed that the concessions should remain in the National Park Service's hands, because the park and the public welfare should be a higher priority than the prosperity of the concessioner. Garrison emphasized to the regional director that the Haynes and Hamilton operations were on sound footing.[13] In the meantime, the Yellowstone Park Company prepared a new plan, "Operation Bootstrap," which advised Director Wirth that the company was planning to resolve its financial troubles. With regard to the Mission 66, Hugh Galusha wanted to make certain it did not become "a concessioner's obituary."

Later that summer, the National Park Service hired a consulting firm to conduct a statistical survey to establish visitor preference for the different types of accommodations offered in the park. This study was timely in view of the proposed new development at Grant Village, just south of West Thumb. The analysis revealed that visitors from the surrounding states preferred the least expensive accommodations, while visitors from the rest of the country and those from foreign countries were willing to pay more. The results also indicated that families with two children came in greater numbers, and visitors between 35 and 64 were the most predominant visitor group. These results, in addition to other indicators, led the consulting firm to recommend that for every 100 cabins built, three should be the most basic cabin without toilet, water, or bedding and only a wood stove; 11 should have hot and cold running water, toilet, electric heat, and electric stove; 24 should have hot and cold running water, toilet, electric heat and stove, linen and bedding, and maid service; 16 should have hot and cold running water, electric heat and stove, maid service, linen and bedding, and a refrigerator; 38 should have hot and cold running water, electric heat, linen and bedding, maid service, shower, and no stove or refrigerator; and eight should have all of the conveniences except the wood stove.[14]

In 1959, Garrison sent the regional director the results of an informal park survey conducted done for a five-year period beginning in 1955. In 1955, 32 percent of the visitors preferred the campground to 48 percent in 1959; 30 percent of visitors preferred the camper's cabins in 1955 to 22 percent in 1959; 19 percent preferred the lodge area in both 1955 and 1959; 19 percent preferred the hotels in 1955 to 11 percent in 1959.[15]

In June 1959, the Yellowstone Park Company began plans for the demolition and salvage operation of the Canyon Hotel. Prior to awarding the contract, Trevor Povah requested permission to bid for some of the hotel chairs. (Just the month before, Charles A. Hamilton, founder of Hamilton Stores, died in his apartment at Old Faithful.[16]) In September, after deliberating about whether to move Canyon Hotel's newest wing to Lake for renovation (which they did not do), Carlos Construction Company of Cody was awarded the contract for demolition and salvage. For $25, Carlos Construction Company bought Canyon Hotel and the rights to take 900 days to remove it af-

ter which the Yellowstone Park Company would be responsible for landscaping the site.[17]

Just before 1959 ended, the Yellowstone Park Company changed the name of its long-range plan from "Project Bootstrap" to "Roche Jaune." One interpretation of the name was given by company official, Thomas Hallin who wrote:

> The first commercial ventures in this remarkable area can be traced to the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company. Imagine a rendezvous of a French-Canadian entrepreneur and his voyagers at the mouth of the "Roche Jaune" as they sit around a council fire planning an expedition up this promising stream. The flickering illumination of the fire, the gray wisps of wood smoke drifting slowly skyward and the occasional mournful call of a coyote lend a mystic quality to the scene as these men rise to speak. Although their Gallic speech is supplemented by Indian dialects and sign language, it is clear that carefully laid plans are of paramount importance for their own survival in this wilderness as well as the success of the business undertaking. Thus, there is an analogy between this first entrepreneur and the present executives of the Yellowstone Park Company in that both face countless operational problems requiring the development of long-range programs. What could be more appropriate today than "Project Roche Jaune?"[18]

At the first meeting of the concessioners and Superintendent Garrison in 1960, several development issues were on the agenda, including a report that boat usage on Lake Yellowstone was up and the numbers of boats was continuing to increase. As a result of the ranger naturalists' studies of the lake area, it was decided to close the arms of the lake to motor boats and clean up the shoreline. A new dock for ranger use was scheduled to be built at Frank Island and a public campground would be built at Eagle Bay. In response to changes in the boating activities the park recommended, Haynes defended the park position in a letter to Hugh Galusha:

> Hugh, we employ the best talent available to determine policies and for the control and preservation of our national parks; and in fairness, we should heed any constructive ideas conceived by the experts who are devoting their lives to this task. I agree, however, that concessioners are not in position to take sides in this instance gracefully.[19]

Opinion also differed on the proposed layout for Grant Village. The Yellowstone Park Company's architect planned to consolidate all of the units while the National Park Service's Western Office of Design and Construction planned for the units to be spread out. Immediately, the park announced that this difference had to be reconciled as the National Park Service could freeze the master plan. Because about $2,000,000 would be spent on roads, utilities and campgrounds, it would be difficult to alter the plans later.

In addition to financial troubles, the concessioners were also jolted by the August 17, 1959, earthquake causing damage throughout the park, but heavily felt on the western side of the park and at Old Faithful in particular. The concessioners reported that Yellowstone Park Company had an "excellent season until the earthquake," but ended in the red; Hamilton Stores had a one-eighth of one percent increase in sales over 1958; and Haynes, while about 10 percent ahead of 1958 until the earthquake hit, ended the season about even.[20]

Just before the 1960 season opened, the Yellowstone Park Company held a meeting where major reorganizational changes were announced. The Yellowstone Park Company and the Child Corporation intended to merge, however, one beneficiary of the Child Trust would not go along with the merger unless some changes to the plan were made. As a result, all stockholders and beneficiaries decided to sell. Unfortunately, the next month, the company found out that the prospective buyer was not able to finalize the sale due to personal obligations. The company's bankers, the prospective buyer, and a neutral outsider believed that the company could be operated in a profitable manner, but only if some management changes were made. In the end, Huntley Child, Jr., resigned, leaving John Nichols as president with two vice presidents, Thomas Hallin in charge of the Operating Department and F. T. Burke in charge of the Auditing Department. The minutes of the meeting reflect the feelings of company management and set standards for the employees to meet:

> This is a good Company, and can be a prosper-

> ous Company, but it must go back to the thinking of Harry Child that the success of any service company is service—the main objective is serving the customer—as he is the most important and only indispensable person in Yellowstone Park. Each person working for this Company must have enthusiasm for service to the guest, and it is up to each department head to impart this enthusiasm to each employee in his department. This will make a successful Company, and it will work if each person will meet the challenge.[21]

Garrison supported the Yellowstone Park Company changes, and Galusha responded that "without the support and cooperation you have given us since your arrival in the Park, the strides that have been made in the last three years would not have been possible."[22]

In July 1960, a Housing Building Conference was held at Canyon Village at which the National Park Service, the concessioners, the architects and designers, the contractors, manufacturers, and trade associations discussed the problems of visitor housing in a national park. Former park landscape architect, Sanford "Red" Hill, who was currently chief of the Western Office of Design and Construction, reiterated the difficulty of coordinating yearly appropriations for agency development work with the spiraling high costs of construction, brief building and operating seasons, isolated building sites, and private financial investments.

In August 1960, the Canyon Hotel mysteriously burned after being condemned for foundation damage and sold to a salvage company for $25. A Cheyenne, Wyoming, newspaper described it as "The Great Lady was outraged. She could not, she would not, accept the indignity of laborious, prolonged, and piecemeal destruction. She chose sudden death."[23]

Canyon Hotel fire. 1960.

By 1961, Director Wirth was being criticized for the development portion of his Mission 66 program. This prompted him to reassess the program at its midterm in a letter to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. Wirth defended the 10-year development and conservation plan:

> Development is beginning to come abreast of the need. The second stage will see greater action in the completion of a truly adequate and representative National Park System, more emphasis on research to provide the facts upon which a more vigorous preservation program must be based, and the strengthening and broadening of park interpretation so as to bring out to the fullest measure the true social, educational, cultural, and patriotic values of the System.[24]

Wirth pointed out that in most parks, about 99 percent of park use occurred on 1 to 5 percent of the total park land. He described the developed areas as the "zones of civilization" in a wilderness setting and pointed out that most park visitors do not get far away from the road corridor or developed areas. He called for the architects "to keep all plans as simple as possible so that buildings will not in themselves be an attraction, and to cost as little as possible. Construction, however, must be durable and attractive."[25] He called the management of a park "tremendously complex requiring much adjustment between types of areas preserved,…helping to preserve the balance of nature in those portions of the parks most affected by man, and adjusting to the political realism of serving many elements within our society."[26]

Udall responded to Wirth's letter, noting that "these wild areas are available to those who will make the small effort necessary to reach out from the road ends and away from the parking areas." In discussing the proposed National Wilderness System, he stated that by using the Wilderness Act standards "at least 98 percent of park lands will qualify as wilderness." While being a strong proponent of wilderness preservation, he was opposed to the people calling the park visitor "invading locusts," "tin can tourists," or "invading hordes." Udall called upon National Park Service interpretive services to assist in educating visi-

tors on conservation by stimulating their interests in "inspiring surroundings." He was convinced that part of the answer lay in the expansion of the nation's recreation program, which also might "solv[e] the problem of passing the National Park System on unimpaired to future generations."[27]

In November 1962, George Beall, the former general manager of the Del E. Webb Hotel Company in Phoenix with 30 years of hotel experience, joined the Yellowstone Park Company as general manager.[28] One year later, he presented Superintendent Garrison with a five-year improvement and maintenance program. A budget of $450,000 listed $350,000 as having been spent on improvements and $100,000 on maintenance. The priority improvements were: Fishing Bridge—repainting 112 cabins, new furniture for 321 cabins, and 40 new cabins to be relocated from Canyon Lodge; Old Faithful Inn—new furniture, 50 new baths, and investigate need to rewire Inn; Lake Hotel—new furniture for 100 rooms, 50 new baths, and investigate wiring needs; Lake Lodge—repaint 86 cabins and new furniture for 86 cabins; and finally Canyon Village—repaint 100 units and remodel one block of units to test sound proofing. Other desirable improvements included West Thumb—relocate 21 cabins from Canyon Lodge to replace deteriorated cabins and recommend that West Thumb be abandoned in three years with the move to Grant Village beginning in 1966; Old Faithful Lodge—move three dormitories from the old Canyon Lodge area for employee housing and paint 50 cabins; Old Faithful Campers Cabins—some repair and maintenance work such as exterior painting and roof and step repairs; Roosevelt Lodge—install water and toilets for 15 cabins and consider relocating 12 cabins within area to improve appearance and relieve crowded conditions; Mammoth Hotel and Cottages—50 new baths and new furniture for 100 rooms (this was a lower priority than other areas). The park recommended that the company spend $20,000 to modernize comfort stations, including combining toilet, shower, and laundry facilities into a single unit.[29]

In June 1962, Jack Haynes died. His wife, Isabel Haynes, then took over as president of Haynes, Inc. Later, toward the end of 1967, Mrs. Haynes negotiated with Hamilton Stores to sell the Haynes's business in the park. Director George Hartzog, Jr., approved the sale with two stipulations: "Hamilton Stores would agree to sell merchandise to the Yellowstone Park Company for retail sales at its outlets at

Old Faithful Inn bedroom. 1968.

Hamilton's cost, plus a reasonable surcharge for handling and that following the expiration of the remaining term of Haynes's contract it will not be renewed and the preferential right privileges now included in Haynes contract will terminate." Hartzog praised Jack Haynes and his father for their contributions to Yellowstone National Park and suggested to Mrs. Haynes that she donate the Haynes Shop at Mammoth to the National Park Service "so that an attractive, interesting display of the Haynes collection may be made available to park visitors." However, this never happened.[30]

After several years of supporting the Yellowstone Park Company through its financial woes, Superintendent Garrison finally lost patience after the newly appointed general manager let the service deteriorate to an unacceptable level. In a strongly worded letter to George Beall, he emphasized his displeasure and told him that it was up to him straighten things out. He ended his letter by stating, "Actually it is doubtful if your operation could survive without the protecting umbrella of the franchise. We look to a fresh, alert, alive, progressive program of operations improvements to keep pace with the plant improvements being achieved. Both are needed—how can we help you achieve them?"[31]

In addition to its drop in standards, inefficiency, a lack of customer service, and a disregard for environmental issues, the Yellowstone Park Company obviously could not keep up with the Mission 66 program. Director Wirth appointed a committee to develop a plan for Yellowstone with a particular emphasis on concession operations. Wirth and the Secretary's office considered the Yellowstone situation the most

serious in the Service. The Yellowstone Park Company welcomed the study, which would also involve the expertise of economists and hotel professionals who were to arrive at a method of "achieving our overall objective of use and preservation."[32]

In a more cordial letter to John Nichols, Superintendent Garrison reviewed the successful history of the company in Yellowstone, but pointed out that "many of the Company's operating patterns and procedures that were suitable in bygone years are outmoded today.…it is frankly suggested that real top-flight men be located and employed to take over the food and hotel services." Garrison recommended that the best possible people be hired, writing "we simply state such men will be worth what they may cost and if they are cheap, you do not want them."[33]

In June 1963, the dedication of Grant Village took place with General U.S. Grant III, grandson of the president, in attendance. Only the first phase of development had been completed by the National Park Service: the 383-unit campground, 15 group campsites, a picnic area, boat launching ramp, and 180-car capacity parking lot.[34] In 1964, the dredging of the marina and construction of the bulkheads were completed; the docks would be built in 1965. The plans called for a dock that could handle 164 boats of varying lengths (up to a maximum length of 32 feet). Boat rentals, guide services, tackle, and equipment would be handled by the Yellowstone Park Company.[35]

By 1964, the new National Park Service plan for Yellowstone was called "Road to the Future" with a special emphasis on providing services for increased visitation while at the same time moving development as far away as possible from natural features. Day-use areas were proposed for Fishing Bridge, Old Faithful, and Mammoth. The concessioners knew that if this happened they would soon be receiving complaints, particularly about Old Faithful.[36]

In trying to placate the concessioners, Superintendent Garrison's replacement, John McLaughlin, told the concessioners that the park was already receiving complaints, not about prices, etc., but about the attitude of park employees. A special investigator was in the park studying the complaints and attitudes of the park employees. He urged the concessioners to encourage people to give their complaints to the rangers so any necessary action could be taken at the local level. He also told them "the Director of the National Park Service had come and gone; the Master Planning Committee had also come and gone, and that they have had a Staff Committee from Washington and the regional office who seek a long look at their organization here in the Park" in their efforts to streamline the organization.[37]

The next year the Yellowstone Park Company also experienced personnel changes. Chairman of the

Grant Village marina. 1960s.

Board Herrick Low resigned; George Beall went on a leave of absence, and Art Bazata was appointed executive vice president and general manager.[38] However, management changes did not turn company into a desirable investment in 1965. At the end of the summer, the company presented McLaughlin with its revised program as well as proposed improvements and also a review of its projects from October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1964. In June, Newell Gough, Jr., a member of the Yellowstone Park Company's Executive Board, wrote to Director Hartzog about the proposed development at Grant Village, which the Service now predicted to cost about six million dollars. Gough stated that the company management thought the immediate development of 400 motel units, 300 cabins, dormitory space for 200 employees, food facilities, and related construction would exceed seven million dollars. He noted that in the past eight years, the company had paid architects, engineers, and other consultants many thousands of dollars to examine the "economic feasibility and the potential of Grant Village." He explained to Hartzog that the company had had "an understanding with the former Director that this construction would be [done] on a step-by-step basis" due to the many unknown factors such as visitor use patterns (the site was off the main loop road), weather patterns, the relationship of this facility with the fishing season, and other factors. He said that the company was:

> Ready and willing to commit two and a half million dollars to an initial phase of this project but would have to have a new 30 year contract before starting. It was the result of our study (and at one time we thought this result had been concurred in by the Service) that an investment of a greater sum would not be economically feasible. This, we understand, is the test of construction requirements under our contract. As a practical matter, unless it is economically feasible, the construction capital cannot be secured from any source, whether we went into equity financing or attempted to borrow the money. Therefore, most reluctantly, and without waiving any of its rights, the Yellowstone Park Company must inform you that it is unable to comply with the Park Service construction program at Grant Village as set out by you in our recent meeting.[39]

During the previous 10-year period, the company had spent $8,356,831 on new facilities and $1,937,296 on repairs to buildings and equipment. During the first eight months of 1965, the company spent $772,317 on capital improvements and repair and maintenance with the authorization to spend an additional $324,000 for more repairs and maintenance. However, by December, the National Park Service faced the uncertainty of the company's future. The company had been for sale for the past several years, but it appeared that no qualified buyers could be found. The National Park Service was faced with examining alternatives for developing Grant Village if the Yellowstone Park Company could not meet its obligations.[40]

In the spring of 1966, the final year in the Mission 66 program, the Yellowstone Park Company was sold to the Goldfield Corporation. A few months later, Goldfield sold its tourism interests, including the Yellowstone Park Company and the Everglades National Park Company, to General Baking, which became General Host, Inc. in 1967. A former Yellowstone Park Company official, Art Bazata, remained as president for the Yellowstone division. As part of the government contract with General Host, Inc., the company agreed to invest a minimum of $10,000,000 by December 1975 or its 30-year contract would terminate. At the end of December 1975, the company had not met its commitment, but it was given a two-year extension pending further study. The study team investigating the concession contract recommended in 1976 that the contract be terminated, and the former Yellowstone Park Company was sold to the United States government for 19.9 million dollars. The operation of the concessions was then awarded to TWA Services in November 1979 on a two-year interim contract, after which they were awarded a 10-year contract (November 1, 1981, to October 31, 1991, and followed by another 10-year contract covering November 1, 1991, to October 31, 2001). As part of the first 10-year contract, 22 percent of the company's gross revenue, in addition to all pre-tax profits over five percent was to be spent on capital improvements and repair and maintenance of the concession buildings.[41]

The following 1,418 buildings belonged to the Yellowstone Park Company just prior to its sale to the Goldfield Corporation:

Gardiner—21
general repair shop
storage garage
commissary & warehouse
mens' dormitory
power house
3 residences
duplex
12 other misc. bldgs.

Mammoth—127
hotel
dining room
recreation hall
boys' dormitory & laundry
girls' dormitory
mens' dormitory
repair garage
barn
ice vendor
118 cabins & other bldgs.

Norris—1
1 residence

Riverside—7
(obliterated 7 bldgs.)

Canyon Village—96
lodge
3 dormitories
ice vendor
67 multi-units (508 rooms)
23 new cabins (100 rooms)
1 linen room

Old Canyon Hotel area—4
winterkeeper's house
horse barn
wranglers' bunkhouse
horse rental office
(obliterated—old mess house, bull pen, tin shed and 19 other bldgs.)

Lake Hotel—97
hotel
boiler room
girls' dorm
boys' dorm
2 bus drivers' dorms
ice plant-boys' dorm
winter power plant
winterkeeper's house
84 cabins
boat storage shed
boat repair bldg.
boat residence

Lake Lodge—198
lodge
laundry
2 dorms
power plant
winterkeeper house
186 rooms-cabins
3 other bldgs.
3 restrooms

Fishing Bridge—323
cafeteria
office
boiler room
boys' dorm
3 storage rooms
9 restrooms
305 cabins
recreation bldg.
ice vendor

Roosevelt—122
lodge
power plant
restrooms
horse barn
89 cabins
21 employee cabins
2 storage sheds
wood shed

Old Faithful Lodge—169
lodge
boys' dorm
2 girls' dorms
2 residences
power plant
162 cabins & other bldgs.

Old Faithful Inn—14
Inn
power plant
plumbing shop
carpenter shop
paint shop
girls' dorm
boys' dorm

Old Faithful Campers' Cabins—240
234 cabins
cabin office
cafeteria
power plant
laundry—self service
ice vendor
"H" dorm—removed
bus compound—removed
mess house—removed
garage—removed
horse barn—removed
fire wood shed—removed
2 mens' dorms
wash room
laundry repair shop
2 residences
horse ride office

West Thumb—190
All YP Company 190 buildings been removed from West Thumb: cabins, office building, recreation building, cafeteria, garbage room, ice vendor and boat house.[42]

In September 1975, an accounting of the park cabins indicated that 64 Lake Lodge cabins were removed in 1967 and nine in 1975; 114 campers cabins were removed from Old Faithful area in 1970, and 37 Fishing Bridge cabins were removed in 1974.[43]

Following purchase by the National Park Service, the new concessioner, TWA Services, now known as Xanterra, has made extensive improvements to the facilities.

In just over 100 years, the manner in which the National Park Service interprets Yellowstone's mandate "for the benefit and enjoyment of the people," has changed tremendously, just as other aspects of the National Park Service mission have changed. During earliest Yellowstone days, the concessioners, for the most part, offered the most stability at the park. The secretaries of the Interior, with very few exceptions, paid little attention to the park and certainly did not invest financially in its protection or interpretation. The constant turnover in the Secretary's office did not allow for development of a concession policy; thus, for many years directions were not consistent. After the turn of the century, more attention was paid to the parks, but it was not until the creation of the National Park Service under the guidance of Stephen Mather and Horace Albright that a systematic approach was brought to the policies that affected concessioners.

Despite the fact that the major goal of the

concessioners as businessmen was to make a profit and that one of the goals of park management was to protect the park, they both were joined in the goal of "providing for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." For many decades the relationships between the concessioners and park managers were of a personal nature. As the government bureaucracy grew, the relationship became less personal, and tensions increased. This became particularly apparent after the creation of the National Park Service regional office in the 1930s.

The one constant aspect in the last hundred years has been the salient role of politics. Both concessioners and the park accomplished more when both concession officials and National Park Service managers were adroit and consummate politicians. However, just as National Park Service managers can sometimes be subject to the whim of politics and social trends, the concessioners over the years often became vulnerable. In addition to political whims, the concessioners have faced uncertainties and impacts of changes in visitor use patterns brought about by such things as travel by horse to travel by auto; the popularity of hotels giving way to cabins, camping and lodges, and then back to hotels, World War I; the Depression; World War II; the Korean conflict; and the extensive expansion of development spurred by the Mission 66 program. In addition, both the park and its concessioners have been affected by the rise in the environmental movement of the last 20 years. The recognition of impacts that developed areas have on natural resources has prompted many changes.

When one compares the appearance of the park today, particularly of its developed areas, with scenes of the past (even in the 1950s), one cannot help but notice that the difference is astounding. The concession areas appear more manicured and tidy; gone are the shacks, sheds, fences, and debris. Some of the improvements can be attributed to either master planning or environmental awareness, but more can be attributed to the park's and concessioners' response to visitor expectations. The history of concessions development in Yellowstone National Park has, after all, been driven by what the visitor wanted, needed, and expected.

Appendix A

The following applicants for leases or favors during the first twelve years illustrate the wide variety of interest in the park, the distribution of interest and a view of what the public perceived as the role of a national park. Most of the applications were found in the archives at Yellowstone National Park, particularly in the Microcopies of the Records of the National Archives. Note there is not a particular citation for each reference.

10/28/72 H. F. Williams; Bozeman, Montana Territory; erect hotel in geyser basin.

09/29/73 G. H. Dillinbaugh; Bozeman, Montana Territory; hotel on route to geysers.

11/14/73 William Thompson; Virginia City, Montana Territory; hotel; support of Gov. B. Potts, Montana Territory.

12/12/73 W. T. Sanders, Helena, Montana Territory; hotel.

12/29/73 John Potter; Gallatin County, Montana Territory; "Potters Place" hotel and general merchandising near lake.

01/15/74 Knut Forsberg; Washington D.C.; surveying park/artistic topographic map/relief cork model for Centennial Exhibition of 1876—approximately $116,000.

01/24/74 Gilman Sawtelle; Virginia City, Montana Territory; superintendent of park.

03/20/74 Walter Gusfenhoven; Laramie, Wyoming Territory; hunt/fish/cultivate soil, build/serve visitors.

05/10/74 L. M. Black; Bozeman, Montana Territory; build toll road/erect hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs, falls, lake and geyser basin—endorsed by Congressman Martin Maginnis, Montana Territory and Supt. Langford.

06/01/74 Col. J. D. Chestnut; Bozeman, Montana Territory; small supply store at Mammoth Hot Springs endorsed by Montana Governor Potts.

01/04/78 J. H. Triggs, Emporia, Kansas; assistant superintendent of park; wanted to settle 40 families there to guard the park, erect hotels, liveries, etc. for visitors.

n.d. Dr. George Monroe, Bozeman, Montana Territory; erect hotel and sanitorium at Soda Butte Springs.

05/07/79 A. W. Rose; Dixon Co. Nebraska; steamer on Yellowstone Lake.

07/21/79 Samuel J. Hoyt and others; town company townsite and steamer on Yellowstone Lake.

01/10/80 Carl Zeus; Grand Island, Nebraska; landscape gardening plan; series of large sketches.

10/08/80 A. B. and A. W. Hall; Fargo, Dakota Territory; erect hotels—supported by Senator Windom, Congressman W.D. Washburn and Hon. I. Washburn of Maine.

02/04/81 Wallace Sterling; Elysian, Minnesota; erect hotel.

02/10/81 James Beatty; Bozeman, Montana Territory; lease Soda Butte Springs.

07/04/81 C. R. Brodix; one year lease in Upper Fire Hole Basin for season of 1881; the exclusive use of the cabin in the Upper Basin for purpose of keeping hotel and supply accommodation; all necessary pasturage and fuel—applied for 30 year lease.

08/15/81 W. H. Thurston; Bismarck, Dakota Territory; erect three hotels.

08/31/81 Capt. E. Topping and Capt. E. Russell; Mandan, Dakota Territory; steamboat on Yellowstone Lake.

09/30/81 Ed Barker; Cable City, Montana Territory; establish zoological garden—Sept. 18, 1882. Supt. Conger recommended that it not be granted.

10/08/81 William Kirkwood; Virginia City, Montana Territory; establish hotel at Riverside station with 10 acres on either side of Madison River—Sept. 18, 1882. Supt. Conger recommended that it not be granted.

11/12/81 Richard Treven; Powder River, Wyoming Territory; "some privileges."

12/08/81 James Gourley and R. Rowland; Bozeman, Montana Territory; hotel site, right of pasturage and hay meadow at the Grand Falls of the Yellowstone—30 year lease.

02/21/82 W. A. Burleigh; Miles City, Montana Territory; Steamboat on Yellowstone Lake—Sept. 19, 1882 Supt. Conger recommends not to grant lease.

03/27/82 George W. Monroe; Bozeman, Montana Territory; sanitorium or hospital at Soda Butte Springs—recommended by Congressman M. Maginnis of Montana—Sept. 18, 1882. Supt. Conger recommended that the lease be granted.

04/15/82 Davis and Odell; Minneapolis, Minnesota;

erect the National Park Hotel and Excursion Company.

05/12/82 H. B. Allen; Waterloo, Iowa; steamboat on Yellowstone Lake.

09/02/82 H. Avery; Minneapolis; transportation company to carry passengers and guides.

09/08/82 Thomas Carroll; Billings, Montana Territory; wants two acres for office and residence—currently with Northern Pacific Railroad.

01/15/83 F. Hess; Fort Dodge, Iowa; erect observatory provided with telescopes, microscopes etc. for the edification and instruction of visitors; permission to plant 1,000 trees of seven species and grading an avenue, walks and drives; erecting 50 tablets of suitable dimensions delineating in base relief one century of the worlds history; erection of 12 groups of statuary typical of the 12 signs and constellations of the Lodices with their attending star groups with life-sized forms of man and beast according to astronomy of primeval man; erection of building dedicated to the arts, sciences and religion of the future.

03/01/83 P. Schuyler; Minnesota; 40 acres for gardening.

03/03/83 Bassett Brothers; erect hotel at either Upper Geyser Basin or other points.

03/07/83 R. Blakely; St. Paul, Minnesota; lease land 1,320 feet from Yellowstone Park Improvement Company land at Lower Falls of Yellowstone for tents, stables, etc.

03/07/83 George Hamilton; Washington, D.C.; lease land 1,320 feet from Yellowstone Park Improvement Company land at Old Faithful or tents, stables, etc.

03/07/83 Thomas Sedgwick; Washington, D.C.; land adjoining the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company land one mile east of western boundary on south side of Madison River for stables, tents, etc.

03/07/83 S. Mailes, Washington, D.C.; land adjoining Yellowstone Park Improvement Company land at Lake outlet for stables, tents, etc.

03/07/83 John Williams; Mankato, Minnesota; land adjoining Yellowstone Park Improvement Company land 1,320 feet from Soda Butte Springs for stables, tents, etc.

03/12/83 Edward Voigt; Denver, Colorado; one or two acres for hotel.

03/15/83 W. S. Libby; Fairbault, Minnesota; ten acres.

04/15/83 H. J. Hoppe; Bozeman, Mt. T.; keeping dairy cows near mouth of Gardner River within Park to supply Govt. and hotel.

07/23/83 Warren Pendleton; Bozeman, Mt. T.; erect 4 small buildings at Mammoth, Upper Geyser Basin, Lake and at the Falls to sell newspapers, fruit, confectionery and periodicals.

08/31/83 H. Allen; Waterloo, Iowa; steamboats.

09/25/83 W. Hall; Jefferson, Iowa; open a saloon.

10/20/83 David Barmore; steamboat and other watercraft.

11/22/83 G. O. Eaton, Republic Mining Co. Cooke City, Montana Territory; 150 acres of meadow land at bottom of East Fork of Yellowstone and 150 acres of meadowland on or near Slough Creek for raising and cutting hay; would include right to irrigate with ditches. Conger was in favor of granting lease.

12/04/83 Silas McMinn, Pierce Folk and Harry Keefer; coal mine on Mt. Everts.

12/17/83 S. W. Downey; Laramie City, Wyoming; hotel sites.

12/19/83 P. H. Fisher; Livingston, Montana; ten acres on Clark's Fork mine roads for hotel purposes.

01/14/84 P. Fisher; Livingston, Montana; erect hotel.

01/15/84 John Potter; Hamilton, Montana; lease of land.

01/31/84 Oscar Swanson and J. Clark; each to build cottage in park their family's exclusive use; Supt. Conger endorsed the request based on his not wanting land that the Govt. would need. They had been appointed deputy U.S. Marshals.

02/05/84 J. W. Ponsford and J. S. Sanborn; Bozeman, Montana; ten acres for keeping a "stopping place" for travelers one mile west of Baronett's Bridge at junction of road to Clark's Fork and Mount Washburn.

06/09/84 Robt. Lilley; Cooke City, Montana; graze horses.

02/16/84 L. Pickering; Mammoth Hot Springs; construct lime kilns at Mammoth Hot Springs from limestone ledges between Mammoth Hot Springs and the Limestone ledges for a distance of about 3 miles; he had already burned lime and supplied the Park Improvement Company with about six thousand bushels.

03/07/84 H. G. Hamer; Bozeman, Montana; permission to transport tourist through park.

03/20/84 James McDowell; Helena Montana; exclusive privilege of cutting hay on Yellowstone and its tributaries near Soda Butte; right to erect hotel at Soda Butte; denied by Teller.

03/25/84 Thomas J. Farrell; Virginia City, Montana; permission to continue taking tourist parties into Park and permission to build stable and corrals.

04/01/84 Christian Ames; Ennis, Montana; permission to erects corral in Upper Geyser Basin for horses.

04/04/84 H. E. Klamer; lease of two acres at Mammoth Hot Springs for ten years in order to erect buildings to be used as livery stable and feed store. Secretary Teller deemed it "not advisable at the time."

04/04/84 E. S. Topping; Bozeman, Montana; privilege of

navigating on Yellowstone Lake.

05/01/84 Eleanor McGowan; York, Pennsylvania; constructing operating telegraph between Cinnabar and Clark's Fork for ten years—permission was given on May 1, 1884 by Secretary of Interior Teller.

05/15/84 Warren Pendleton; Bozeman, Montana; ten year lease for newsstand and stand for fruits, confectionery, cigars, tobacco, and smoked goods in the Lower Geyser Basin on the north side of the East Fork of the Fire Hole River opposite the government buildings.

06/15/84 W. J. Harber; Fort Benton, Montana; small pleasure steam launch on Yellowstone Lake.

06/23/84 William Lindstrom; Mammoth Hot Springs, Wyoming Territory; erect tent at Mammoth Hot Springs to sell articles of interest to public.

07/26/84 Bassett Brother; Beaver Canyon, Idaho; put up office, stable and cut about 5 tons of hay at Fire Hole Basin for passenger business.

11/24/84 J. H. Baldwin; New York City; put boats on Yellowstone Lake, build small house for supplies.

11/20/84 Thomas Cavanaugh; Mammoth Hot Springs; erection of hotel and transportation service.

Appendix B

Some Early Special Permits and Franchises

1878 • M. J. Beattie permit to pasture 300 cattle on Blacktail Deer Plateau.

1879 • H. W. Comfort and wife drove 400 head of cattle with a team and trail wagon through the park on their route from Oregon via Henrys Lake to the Lower Yellowstone Valley; the payment was to give two milk cows to the authorities at Mammoth for their use.

1880 • C. J. Baronett and J. Pritchard to rebuild Baronett Bridge.

1881 • John McKenna of Deadwood, South Dakota permit to construct fencing to protect livestock at Soda Butte.

1883 • Unnamed party given permit to make 200,000 bricks from natural clays, to mine coal on Mt. Everts and to harvest timber for building and for fuel.

• H. J. Hoppe given permit to operate dairy to supply government employees and hotels.

• George Wakefield and Charles Hoffman permit to carry mail from Livingston, Montana, to Cooke City, Montana, via Mammoth Hot Springs.

• Silas McMinn permit to mine coal on Mt. Everts.

• Henry Klamer permit to:

1. provide fresh meat to camps and hotels.
2. slaughter beef cattle.
3. operate dairy herd.

1885 • Elwood "Billy" Hofer permit to operate a stable and corral for horses at Mammoth.

• Wakefield & Hoffman lease to erect house, stables and corrals at Geyser Basin, at Lake and at the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.

• Wakefield & Hoffman permit to cut, stack, and sell hay to travelers with teams and to provide for their own use at their facilities.

• Wakefield & Hoffman permit to operate stables and corrals at Mammoth Hot Springs.

• Bassett Brothers permit to operate stables and corrals at Lower Geyser Basin.

• Melson Caitlin permit to operate stables and corrals at Mammoth Hot Springs.

• James A. Clark license to operate a stable and blacksmith shop near Capitol Hill at Mammoth Hot Springs.

1888 • Mrs. M. A. Baronett, Postmistress, permit to sell photographic views of Yellowstone, stationery and small curio items in Post Office building.

1889 • Mrs. Jennie Henderson Dewing replaced Mrs. Baronett as postmistress and given permit to continue selling items.

1890 • Uncle Tom Richardson permit to operate a ferry across Yellowstone River, a mile above the Upper Falls and to operate a carriage ride to the canyon or an all day tour into canyon via the "Uncle Tom Trail."

1896 • Yellowstone Lake Boat Co. permit showing tourists corralled buffalo and mountain sheep on Dot Island.

1897 • Yellowstone Park Association permitted to establish dairy on Upper Swan Lake Flats-Clematis Gulch dairy closed due to unsanitary drain off from the dairy corrals and barns into the living areas at Mammoth.

1903 • Gardiner, Montana, received permission to receive sufficient water from Gardiner River one mile above the new arch via ditch to supply a hydroelectric plant for the residents of Gardiner, Montana.

1916 • Robert J. McKay license to use trucks and trailers for transporting ore and supplies between Gardiner and Cooke City.

• Nels Solderholm license to operate a 2-ton truck to carry employees and supplies to Cooke City mines.

• G. L. Tanger license to use motor equipment for mining operations between Gardiner and Cooke City.

1917 • Jim Parker and Jay Wilcox permit to cultivate between and 4 acres of land between a mile and two miles up the Yellowstone River in Turkey Pen Pass in order to raise potatoes for sale to passing travelers. It operated for two seasons.

1918 • The hotel company's Chinese gardener planted vegetables in garden two miles up Gardner River from Gardiner. Late in year, Mr. George Whittaker took over the garden and marketed the vegetables at his store in Mammoth Hot Springs.

1920 • Robert J. McKay permit to build metal road from Gardiner to Cooke City.

1923 • Frank B. Tolhurst of Livingston, Montana, given first mail contract in Yellowstone National Park to deliver mail from main post office at Mammoth to all of the upper park areas (contract discontinued in 1928).

Appendix C

The following list indicates the kinds of items brought into Yellowstone National Park. The list should not be considered inclusive, but it reflects items found listed in documents used in the preparation of this volume. The items are listed as food, furnishings, crockery and other kitchen items, transportation, and miscellaneous. A notation is made if a specific item was identified in a specific area.

Specific major or significant items found in specific buildings or structures are also listed.

Food

Wine—quarts and pints of Medoc, St. Julien, Pontet Canet, Chateau la Rose, Haut Sauterne, Chateau Yquem, Latour Blanche 1890

Peaches—canned—Bear brand (used at Trout Creek Lunch Station) 1891

Sliced Lemon Cling Peaches, peeled Apricots, Green Gage Plums, White and Black Royal Anne Cherries, Bartlett Pears, Yellow Crawford Peaches, Muscat Alexandria (White) Grapes (JF Orchards and Cannery—J.H. Fliekinger's San Jose, California) 1891

Kelly coffee/McCormick coffee 1891

Sauternes, Reislings, Heirstimer and Laubenheiners wines 1893

Furnishings

Porcelain rosettes (ceiling blocks)—25 (Northwest Thomson-Houston Electric Co., St. Paul, Minn.) 1891

Crockery and other Kitchen Items

Round Pattern Wash-bowls, Chambers, Ewers and Slop Jars 1890

Octagon Ewers and Wash-bowls

The following information is from "Hotels and Machinery Record," Yellowstone Park Company Papers—Box 151, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

Mammoth Hotel—1883

Kitchen

1 10' steam table
1 N. M. Simmons range—Chicago
1 copper stock boiler
1 vegetable boiler
1 dish warmer
2 ten gallon urns; 1 thirteen gallon urn
1 B.D & Co. bake oven
1 steel broiler—March 31, 1893
1 #3 Cooley Creamer, C.C. & G. Co. Michigan
1 Kohler & Henricks refrigerator—May 9, 1896

Water Supply

1 Reservoir tank 8' x 16'—installed May 1892
1 Reservoir tank 5' x 5' (wood) installed March 1896

Engine Room

1 Erie Cast Iron Works 12' x 54" boiler
1 Return tank
1 Hot Water tank
1 No. 4 Blake pump (No. 20329)
1 50HP Ideal 10' x 10' engine June 1890—moved 1903
1 Nagle engine
1 Weston dynamo U.S. Electric Lighting Co.
1 Armature—June 1892
1 Metropolitan #8 Automatic Injector Crane—April 1893
1 Locomotive Boiler, Northern Pacific RR Co. March 1895
1 Edison 15 Kilowatt Shunt wound. 125 volt dynamo Brush Electric Co. June 1896

Laundry

1 50" Empire mangle—July 1889
1 Dolph wringer—transferred to Canyon Hotel ca. 1900
1 Empire Mach. Co. shirt ironer
1 gas machine
1 reg. wooden washer April 1900
1 Troy Laundry Manufacturing Co. triple mangle 1905
1 Shirt Starcher
1 baby ironer gasoline 1902
1 smoothing machine 1905
1 hand sharper Clark & Hoff 1906
1 steam puffer improved design 1906
1 iron framer washer 1906
2 folding tables 1906
1 auto seam dispenser 1906
1 neck band ironer 1905

Cottage Hotel

Kitchen

1 W. H. & Co. Broiler
1 52 gallon water heater
1 B. D. & Co. Bake oven
1 Walterstoff-Haskell Commander Steel range transferred from Norris Hotel 1900

Water Supply
1 hot water heater 1905

Laundry
1 Chicago Nickel Works #4 Laundry equipment
1 stationary tub 1905
1 wood tub 1906

Norris Hotel

1 upright boiler—sold 1906
1 No. 4 Blake pump
1 plain Walterstoff-Haskell steel range
1 Jorsting & Schilling bake oven 1895
Tents at Norris 1893
6 24' x 24' Pyramid tents
1 20' x 20' tent
9 smaller tents
1 refrigerator 1899
1 8' x 8' reservoir 1896
1 Seneca Falls Force pump 1896
1 13 HP Robinson and Co. steel boiler 1891
1 No. 4 1/4' Blake Steam Pump

Fountain Hotel—1890–91

1 Dirbold fire proof safe 1898
1 steel boiler 1890
1 35 HP Ideal Engine 1890
2 Edison dynamo 1890
1 No. 2 Knowles pump 1893
1 hot water tank
1 return tank 1891
1 water heater 1904
2 steam gauges
1 Walterstoff-Haskell 12' 3-hole range
1 22' broiler
1 stock boiler
1 vegetable boiler
1 steam table
1 15 gallon coffee urn
1 10 gallon tea urn
1 No. 7 Waslterstoff-Haskell bake oven 1893
1 Cooley Creamer 1895
1 refrigerator 1891
1 broiler 1897
1 Walterstoff-Haskell laundry stove 1893
1 hand mangle
1 gasoline heated hand mangle 1904
2 wood tubs 1906

Upper Geyser Basin Hotel— 1885–1886 (Burned 1894)

1 No. 5 Sikver & Demming Hydraulic ram
1 No. 9 Simonds 6' Range
1 20" Bramhall & Dran. broiler
1 bake oven
1 Walterstoff-Haskell iron laundry stove 1893

Hotel—Upper Basin—1895

1 No. 14 Walterstoff-Haskell range 1895
1 Laundry stove 1895
1 No. 6 Douglas Ram
1 6' x 8' water tank 1895
1 52 gallon water heater 1895
1 Cooley Creamer 1895

Old Faithful Inn—1903–1904

1 Brownell Hot tubular boiler 1903
1 50 HP Ideal Engine
1 Gibbs-Stewart low speed engine
1 hot water heater 1903
1 Blake pump
1 3-roll mangle 1906
1 family ironer 1905
1 improved sectional dry room 1903
1 washer 1903
1 extractor 1903
3 sinks 1903
1 wood tub 1906

Lake Hotel—1889–1890

1 Derbold fireproof safe 1898
1 No. 7 Hydraulic ram 1889 (sent to commissary 1895)
1 No. 6 Hydraulic ram 1889 (transferred to W. Basin 1894)
1 No. 5 Hydraulic ram (sent to commissary in 1895)
1 Bramhall 12' range—hard coal changed to burn wood
1 copper stock boiler
1 Walterstoff-Haskell broiler
1 steam table
1 15 gallon coffee urn
1 10 gallon tea urn
1 bake oven
1 Cooley Creamer 1895
1 Crawford # Walker & Pratt Manufacturing Co. stove for winter keeper
1 refrigerator 1890
1 Hopkins upright steel boiler 1890
1 35 HP Ideal engine 1890
1 Edison Dynamo 1890
1 Robinson heater 1890
1 No. Knowles steam pump 1890
1 No. 4 Blake Pump 1893
1 Horizontal Tubular Boiler received from Northern Pacific RR Co. 1898
1 Cole & Maxwell Steam Pump received from Northern Pacific RR Co.
1 Dynamo 1900
1 Dynamo 1903
1 Brownell Horizontal Tubular Boiler 1904
1 water heater 1904
1 Walterstoff-Haskell iron laundry 1893

1 family iron 1905
1 wood washer 1903
1 wood tub 1906
1 small mangle 1906

Grand Canon Hotel—1889

Engine Room
1 Fireproof Derbold safe 1898
1 35 HP Ideal engine 1891
2 Edison dynamo 1890
1 hot water heater 1889

Pumping Station
1 13 HP upright steel boiler 1891
1 duplex Blake pump 1891
1 Seneca Falls pump 1891
2 steam gauges

Kitchen
1 Bramhall Dran & Co. 3-hole range
1 steam table
1 boiler
1 Bramhall Dran & Co. iron stock boiler
1 vegetable boiler
1 15 gallon coffee urn
1 10 gallon tea urn
1 Cooley Creamer 1890
1 refrigerator 1890
1 oven 1896

Laundry
1 iron laundry stove 1893
1 steam trap 1892
1 hand mangle 1896
1 extractor from old Mammoth Hotel
1 washer 1896
1 centrifugal wringer 1904
a triplex mangle 1905

Thumb

1 No. 2 Army Range
3 large Pyramid tents
12 smaller tents
2 8' x 9' wood tanks 1898
1 60' wood tower
1 syphon pump 1898
1 log ice house 16' x 40' x 10' with shingle roof 1898
1 2 HP gasoline engine
1 engine house in wind mill tower 1906

Saw Mill Machinery

At Saw Mill
1 8' x 12' Gibbs & Stewart steam engine
1 8/16 Buckeye steam engine
1 log carriage and saw frame
1 42' x 10' Erie City Iron Works Boiler (38-3" flues)
1 condenser
375 ft. $1^1/_2$" pipe

At Fountain Hotel
1 Tompkins Champion planer & edger 1889
1 rip saw & frame 1889 transferred to Mammoth 1893
1 10 HP Batavia portable boiler and engine transferred to Mammoth 1893
1 wood saw and frame—sent to Mammoth and rebuilt
1 American Insertes tooth saw with No. 2 teeth 1889

At Grand Canon
1 siding resaw 1890

At Mammoth
1 upright pump transferred to Norris 1892
1 70 HP Batavia portable boiler and engine
1 Gibbs & Stewart steam engine transferred to Old Faithful Inn
1 Buckeye steam engine
1 wood saw frame (rebuilt—from Fountain Hotel)
1 rip saw and frame 1889

Appendix D

Concession Buildings Removed

This incomplete list of removed concession buildings does not include the numerous individual cabins removed from the developed areas throughout the park's history, but it does list numerous types of buildings. Most of these buildings were removed as a part of the National Park Service Mission 66 program. Note that some buildings, particularly cabins, are noted as removed to other park locations. The Old Faithful cabins that were relocated post-1983 are also listed.

Mammoth Hot Springs

Bldg. No. 2035	Cottage Hotel	1964
Bldg. No. 2037	Gardener's cabin	N.D.
Bldg. No. 2041	Garage	
Bldg. No. 2046	Garage	
Bldg. No. 2047	Oil house	
Bldg. No. 2048	Bus shed	
Bldg. No. 2049	Repair shop	
Bldg. No. 2050	Storage & wash rack	
Bldg. No. 2052	Haynes Picture Shop	
Bldg. No. 2059	Cafeteria and dormitory	
Bldg. No. 2062	Grocery store and quarters	
Bldg. No. 2065	Stationary engineer quarters	
Bldg. No. 2264	Housekeeping cabin office	
Bldg. No. 2265	Comfort station	
Bldg. No. 2266	Comfort station	
Bldg. No. 2267	Comfort station	
Bldg. No. 2268	Wood storage	
Bldg. Nos. 6367–6377	Tourist cabins	

Unnumbered bldgs.

- 131 Mammoth campers' cabins were removed.
- The cabin office, wood shed and 58 cabins moved to West Thumb.
- 59 cabins moved to Old Faithful, 34 of which will be modernized.
- One restroom and one cabin sold and moved from park.
- Two cabins given to NPS and moved to Canyon for use of the Blister Rust Control Crew.
- 8 cabins were given to N. J. Olson Construction Company who removed 6 from the park and moved to two to Lake.
- Three restrooms and the utility lines were removed in 1958.

Canyon

Bldg. No. 180	Pump house on Cascade Creek
Bldg. No. 182	Chlorine house behind Haynes
Bldg. No. 5703	Girls' dorm at hotel
Bldg. No. 5704	Storage and shops at hotel
Bldg. No. 5705	Canyon Hotel
Bldg. No. 5706	Root cellar at hotel
Bldg. No. 5707	Power house for Caretaker's quarters
Bldg. No. 5708	Garage
Bldg. No. 5709	Dry cleaning shop at hotel
Bldg. No. 5721	Stable at lodge
Bldg. No. 5722	Carpenter shop at lodge
Bldg. No. 5723	Employee dormitory at lodge
Bldg. No. 5724	Employee dormitory at lodge
Bldg. No. 5725–5731	7 similar dormitories at lodge
Bldg. No. 5732	Temporary, portable dormitory
Bldg. No. 5733	Haynes Picture Shop
Bldg. No. 5734	Saddle shop and storage
Bldg. No. 5735	Pipe shop at lodge
Bldg. No. 5736	Bath house at lodge
Bldg. No. 5737	Storage at lodge
Bldg. No. 5738	Club house at lodge
Bldg. No. 5739	Winterkeeper's quarters at lodge
Bldg. No. 5740	Pryor's store
Bldg. No. 5741	Garage, storage, power plant at Pryor's
Bldg. No. 5742	Dorm and mess hall at Pryor's Store
Bldg. No. 5743	Service station at Pryor's Store
Bldg. No. 5744	Horse stable at lodge 1958
Bldg. No. 5745	Nurse's dispensary at lodge
Bldg. No. 5746	Pump house at lodge
Bldg. No. 5747	Lodge manager's quarters
Bldg. No. 5748	Dormitory and linen room at lodge
Bldg. No. 5749	Chlorine house at lodge
Bldg. No. 5750	Lodge—dining room, cabin office
Bldg. No. 5751–5752	Comfort station
Bldg. No. 5753	Ironing room at lodge
Bldg. No. 5754	Temporary bathhouse at lodge
Bldg. No. 5755	Fire hose shelter at lodge
Bldg. No. 5902	Cafeteria & housekeeper's quarters
Bldg. No. 5903	Boiler room, toilets, laundry power house; cafeteria
Bldg. No. 5904	Shed
Bldg. No. 6072	Transportation metal shed
Bldg. No. 6073–6075	Bunkhouses constructed in "U" around wash house
Bldg. No. 6076	Wash room
Bldg. No. 6077	Wash house
Bldg. No. 6078–6079	Quarters
Bldg. No. 6080	Shop
Bldg. No. 6081	Bus storage
Bldg. No. 6082	Horse barn
Bldg. No. 6083	Gasoline pump house
Bldg. No. 6084	Saddle horse barn
Bldg. No. 6085	Bus drivers' dormitory
Bldg. No. 6088	"Club House" cabin

Unnumbered bldgs.

- Old Hamilton general store 1958

adjacent service station and underground storage facilities.
- Two-story dormitory moved to Old Faithful for use of the Old Faithful Service Station employees.
- 52 buildings at the old Canyon Lodge development moved to other locations in the park—45 cabins were moved to West Thumb, 2 cabins to Lake, 1 cabin to Fishing Bridge, and 3 to Roosevelt Lodge. The carpenter shop and horse stalls were moved to Roosevelt Lodge.
- 28 other structures from the lodge area were removed from the site in 1959.

Tower Fall		
Bldg. No. 6101	Store and quarters	
Bldg. No. 6102	Cellar in hill	
Bldg. No. 6103	Power house	

Fishing Bridge		
Bldg. No. 5100	Cafeteria	
Bldg. No. 5103	Split wood sales	
Bldg. No. 5507	Boathouse on bank-store	
Bldg. No. 5508	Boathouse rental	

Old Faithful		
Bldg. No 151	Bath house	
Bldg. No. 157	Chlorine house No. 1 at old sewer collecting tank, Firehole River	
Bldg. No. 2317	Apartment house	
Bldg. No. 2318	Mess house	
Bldg. No. 2320	Drivers' bunkhouse	
Bldg. No. 2321	Garage compound	
Bldg. No. 2322	Horse barn	
Bldg. No. 2324	Housekeeping headquarters	1955

Old Faithful Camp		
Bldg. No. 2323	Cafeteria	1980
Bldg. No. 2328	Split wood shed	
Bldg. No. 2329	Garage	
Bldg. No. 2832–2864	33 cabins—east of bus compound	
Bldg. No. 2777	Warehouse-Hamilton Stores, Inc.	
Bldg. No. 2778	Hose house east of laundry	
Bldg. No. 2779	Cleaning room	

- Bldgs. Nos. 7463, 7466, 7467, 7523, 7529, 7531, 7532, 7534, 7456, 7457, and 7567 were relocated to the Roosevelt Lodge area—post-1983.
- Bldgs. Nos. 7473, 7568, and 7569 were relocated to the Old Faithful Maintenance Yard—post-1983.
- Bldgs. Nos. 7476, 7477, 7546, 7547, 7548, 7549, 7550, 7551, 7552, 7553, 7554, and 7592 were relocated to Grant Village—post-1983.
- Bldg. No. 7527 relocated to Indian Creek Campground—post-1983.
- Bldg. No. 7537 relocated to Mammoth Corral—post-1983.
- Bldg. No. 7478 relocated to Canyon—post-1983.

West Thumb	
Bldg. No. 3103	Hamilton—bunkhouse
Bldg. No. 3109	Hamilton—bunkhouse
Bldg. No. 3104	Hamilton—storage shed
Bldg. No. 3107	Cafeteria/dormitory
Bldg. No. 3108	Laundry, shower, recreation bldg.
Bldg. No. 3109	Boathouse and bunkhouse
Bldg. No. 3110	Cabin office
Bldg. No. 3111	Linen room
Bldg. No. 3112	Wood/fuel shed

Lake		
Bldg. No. 4056	Lumber storage at lodge	
Bldg. No. 4057	Quarters at lodge	
Bldg. No. 4058	Dormitory at lodge	
Bldg. No. 4060	Employees' laundry at lodge	
Bldg. No. 4061	Bunkhouse "Duck Inn" at lodge	
Bldg. No. 4302	Ice house at hotel	
Bldg. No. 4304	Mess house at hotel	1970
Bldg. No. 4305	Bunkhouse at hotel	1980
Bldg. No. 4306	Bunkhouse at hotel—Unit B	1982
Bldg. No. 4308	Bunkhouse at hotel—Unit C	1982
Bldg. No. 4307	Recreation room	1980
Bldg. No. 4315	Pump house at hotel	1980

Riverside	
Bldg. No. 2276	Pump house over a well
Bldg. No. 2277	Bus repair garage
Bldg. No. 2278	Employees' bunkhouse
Bldg. No. 2279	Winter keeper's residence
Bldg. No. 2280	Mess house
Bldg. No. 2281	Power house
Bldg. No. 2282	Walk-in cooler
Bldg. No. 2283	Storage
Bldg. No. 2284	Wood or chicken shed
Bldg. No. 2285	Warehouse behind old granary
Bldg. No. 2286	Storage shed
Bldg. No. 2287	Bunkhouse—old dorm
Bldg. No. 2288	Woman's dormitory
Bldg. No. 2289	Bunkhouse No. 2 next to garage
Bldg. No. 2290	Old granary—warehouse
Bldg. No. 2291	Employees' residence
Bldg. No. 2292	Pump house on Madison River

Norris Junction	
Bldg. No. 2274	Wood shed and toilets
Bldg. No. 2275	Storage shed

Some of the information relating to the removal of the buildings in 1958–1959 comes from a memorandum to the Regional Director from Superintendent Lemuel Garrison, January 23, 1959. This document, which formerly was stored in the National Archives and Records Center, Denver, Colorado, in Box D158–D3415—Buildings (General) 1959–1960) can now be found in the park archives.

Appendix E

Timeline of Concessioners in Yellowstone National Park

1871 James McCartney hotel and bathhouse in **Clematis Gulch at Mammoth.**
Matthew McGuirk bathhouse near **Mammoth at Boiling River.**
C. J. Baronett—bridge over **Yellowstone River.**
1872 Alfred Hawkes granted concession to build and operate hotel at **Lower Geyser Basin.**
1875 Captain E. S. Topping granted temporary permit to operate boat on Yellowstone Lake—the *Topping.*
1878 McGuirk surrendered is property to government.
1879 McCartney's log hotel closed.
1881 McCartney property dismantled (bathhouse).
1899 McGuirk paid $1,000 by U.S. Government for property.
McCartney paid $3,000 by U.S. Government for property.
1915 McCartney's old hotel burned on December 4.

John Yancey

1882 John Yancey erected mail station in **Pleasant Valley.**
1884 John Yancey erected hotel in **Pleasant Valley.**
1886 Received lease of 10 acres in **Pleasant Valley.**

Henry Klamer—Charles A. Hamilton—Hamilton Stores Inc.

1882 Given permit to provide meat to camps and hotels, to pasture beef cattle, to slaughter beef cattle, to operate a dairy herd and to operate a general store at **Upper Geyser Basin.**
1885 Operated with father-in-law, George Henderson, the Firehole Hotel at Lower Geyser Basin.
1908 Contract—10 year contract from June 1, 1907.
1897 Contract—built general store at **Upper Geyser Basin.**
1914 Henry Klamer died August 1.
Mary Klamer received 3 year contract beginning August 13.
1915 Charles A. Hamilton bought the Klamer Store at **Old Faithful**.
1917 Subleased Boat Co. store at **Lake outlet** from YP Co.
1919 Bought the **Lake outlet** store from YP Co.
Received 10 year contract.
1920 New store at **Lake outlet.**
Transportation company and stores were granted joint to build and operate filling stations at **Mammoth and Old Faithful.**
1921 Made additions to **Old Faithful** store.
Transportation Company and stores received permit to build and operate filling station at **Canyon** near George Whittaker's store.
1922 Store, residence and filling station at **Lake outlet.**
1923 Small store at **Old Faithful Campground.**
Received new 10 year lease from NPS after surrendering and cancelling the 1919 contract.
1924 Store at **West Thumb** and **Fishing Bridge.**
Addition to **Old Faithful** store.
1925 Enlarged store at **Fishing Bridge.**
Enlarged store at **Old Faithful Campground.**
1927 Built filling station at **Old Faithful.**
1931 Received 20 year contract and surrendering and cancelling the earlier 1923 contract. Now called Yellowstone General Stores. (Delaware North).
1933 Secured the bathhouse and swimming pool concession from Henry Brothers at **Old Faithful.**
1934 Remodeled and enlarged swimming pool at **Old Faithful.**
1947 Yellowstone Park Service Stations organized with Trevor Povah as General Manager. It a was joint operation with between Hamilton Stores, Inc. and YP Company.
1951 Swimming pool and bathhouse at **Old Faithful** razed.
1953 Purchased Pryor Stores, Inc. at **Mammoth and Canyon.**
1957 Charles A. Hamilton died.

George Marshall—Hotel

1880 Verbal permission—erected Marshall House at **Firehole.**
Erected mail stations at **Riverside and Norris.**
1884 1/2 assigned to G. L. Henderson; operated under the name of **Firehole Hotel.**
1885 Bldgs. out on lease—applied for change of lease.
1886 Two cottages built.
1888 Contract rewarded by YPA.
1891 Vacated—Supt. tired to secure for Government. Hotel burned.
1895 Cottages still standing.

Henderson and Lyall Co.

1911 Held post office lease—**Mammoth.**
1913 Sold to George Whittaker.

George Whittaker

1906 Scout and guide until 1911.
1911 Became transportation agent at **Canyon Hotel** until 1913.
1913 Bought out Henderson and Lyall—**Mammoth.**

1914 Extensive enlargement of Post Office Store—**Mammoth.**
1917 Received permit to build and operate store at **Canyon.**
1919 Received permission to build new log store at **Canyon.**
1920 Completed log store at **Canyon** .
1922 Made additions to log store at **Canyon.**
1923 Received new 10 year lease.
1924 Established a store/delicatessen at **Mammoth Auto Camp.**
Enlarged store at **Canyon.**
1925 Enlarged the summer branch store in the **Mammoth Auto Camp.**
1932 Sold business to Anna Pryor.
1961 George Whittaker died at age 91 in Los Angeles.

Jennie H. Ash

1895 Granted permit to operate a post office and build general store at **Mammoth.**

Jennie Henderson, Walter Henderson and Alexander Lyall

1882 Granted permit to operate store at **Mammoth.**

Walter and Helen Anderson—Cottage Hotel

1885 Built **Cottage Hotel** at **Mammoth.**
1887 Enlarged **Cottage Hotel** at **Mammoth.**
1921 **Cottage Hotel at Mammoth** remodeled as men's dorm.
1964 **Cottage Hotel** razed.

Ole A. Anderson

1889 Secured permit to operate store at **Mammoth—** Bottles of native colored sand and items coated with minerals from hot springs.
1908 The Park Curio Shop at **Mammoth** bought out Ole Anderson.

Anna Pryor & Elizabeth Trischman—The Park Curio Shop

1908 Took over Ole Anderson's store at **Mammoth.**
1924 Granted permit to operate a delicatessen stand in **Mammoth Auto Camp** and another stand for soft drinks on the Terraces near **Devil's Kitchen at Mammoth.**
1925 Enlarged the **Devil's Kitchen** stand.
Granted permission to also operate general store at the **Mammoth Auto Camp**.
1932 Received permission to purchase the Whittaker stores at **Mammoth** and **Canyon**.
1939 Closed **Devil's Kitchen**.
1948 Pryor & Trischman operated as Pryor Stores, Inc.
1952 At end of season, bought by Hamilton Stores, Inc.

Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company

1882 Yellowstone Park Improvement Co. received lease on Dec. 6.
1883 Began construction of **Mammoth Hotel.**
Erected tent hotels at **Lower Geyser Basin, Upper Geyser Basin** and **Canyon.**
1884 C. T. Hobart built hotel on lease near junction of **Nez Perce Creek and Firehole River—**near **Marshall House.**
Granted leases for 7 acre sites at **Mammoth, Norris, Canyon, Lake** for construction of hotels.
1885 C. T. Hobart and Robert Carpenter built a frame hotel at **Upper Geyser Basin** (according to Wayne Replogle), on the site of the Old Faithful Inn.
1886 Yellowstone Park Association acquired leases of the defunct Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company.
Completed **Mammoth Hotel.**
Built a hotel at **Norris** and erected tent hotels at **Lower Geyser Basin, Upper Geyser Basin and Canyon.** The **Norris Hotel** was destroyed by fire July 15, 1887.
Acquired the **Marshall House and Hobart Hotel** for $6,000.
1887 Built tent hotels at **Fishing Bridge and at Norris** to replace the hotel that burned.
1889 Granted license to place a naphtha launch on **Yellowstone Lake.**
1890 **Canyon Hotel** constructed.
Began construction of **Lake Hotel.**
1891 **Fountain Hotel** built north of **Fountain Paint Pot**
Small hotel near **Nez Perce Creek** abandoned.
1892 **Norris Tent Hotel** burned in May and replaced
Lunch station was built at same location.
1893 Hobart's hotel at **Old Faithful** destroyed by fire
1894 Temporary hotel built at **Old Faithful.**
1895 Old hotel at **Fountain Flat** razed and replaced by new building. **Marshall House** and other structures in vicinity of **Nez Perce Creek** razed.
1896 Boat Co. granted permit to take tourists to view mountain sheep corralled on Dot Island.
1897 YP Co. granted permit to establish dairy on **Upper Swan Lake Flats—Clematis Gulch Dairy** closed due to unsanitary drain off from the dairy corrals and barns into living areas of Mammoth.
1898 Company granted permit to operate lunch stations at **Norris, Upper Geyser Basin, and Lake.**
1900 New **Norris Hotel** built—faced **Porcelain Basin.**
1901 Additions and remodelling of **Mammoth, Norris, Canyon, and Lake hotels.** New **Norris Hotel** opened.
1902 Gardiner Depot opened after Northern Pacific extended the line from **Cinnabar to Gardiner.**

1903 Began construction of **Old Faithful Inn.**
Permit given to town of Gardiner to transfer sufficient water from Gardner River one mile above the gate to run a hydroelectric plant for use of "unincorporated citizens and residents of Gardiner."

1904 **Old Faithful Inn** opened.
Lake Hotel was enlarged.
William Nichols's first year at park as 2nd Lt. in 3rd U.S. Cavalry.

1905 William Nichols resigned from Army.

1907 William Nichols became secretary to H. W. Child, president of Yellowstone Park Association.

1910 Began the remodeling of **Canyon Hotel.**

1911 **Canyon Hotel** (third) was remodelled and enlarged.

1913 The south wing of **Old Faithful Inn** was completed.
The north wing of **Mammoth Hotel** was completed.
Boys' dorm built at **Old Faithful.**

1914 The roof of the **Mammoth Hotel** was removed and replaced with a flat roof in the spring.

1916 First auto camps established at **Old Faithful, Mammoth, Fishing Bridge, and Canyon.**

1917 Yellowstone Park Transportation Company motorized Yellowstone Park Camping Company takes over Wylie and Shaw & Powell operating camps at **Mammoth, Riverside, Upper Geyser Basin, Lake outlet, Canyon and Tower Junction.**
The **Mammoth Camp** was established.
Fountain Hotel and lunch stations at Norris and West Thumb abandoned.
YP Camping Co. given 20 year lease.

1918 Only **Mammoth, Upper Geyser Basin and Canyon** were opened.
Hotel Company employed Chinese gardener to grow vegetables two miles up **Gardner River** from Gardiner. Late in 1918, George Whittaker operated the garden and sold the produce through his store at **Mammoth.**
YP Camping Co. built office, dining hall and recreation room at **Mammoth** and built a laundry at **Old Faithful.**

1919 Began construction of **Lake Lodge.**
Yellowstone Park Camping Company changed name to Yellowstone Park Camps Co. owners were Walter White, Roe Emery, Howard Hays, and E. H. Moorman.
Began construction of girls' dorm at **Canyon;** completed in 1920.
Changed driveway at **Mammoth Lodge.**
Reopened Tower Junction camp as **Camp Roosevelt** (under Howard Hays).
Extended dining room at **Old Faithful camp.**

1920 **Lake Lodge** completed as well as several other buildings.
YP Camps Co. got permit to build concrete, open air plunge at **Mammoth Lodge, south of Capitol Hill.** Laundry and dancehall built at **Mammoth Lodge.**
Lodge building and swimming pool built at **Camp Roosevelt.**

1921 YP Camps Co. built a new bakery and steam laundry at **Mammoth campground.**
Camps Co. received permit to build and operate a small swimming pool at **Roosevelt Camp.**
Built boys' dorm at **Canyon.** YP Camps Co. add dining room at **Canyon.**

1922 Auto camps established at **Madison Junction, Tower Falls, and West Thumb. Lake Hotel** enlarged.
South dining room built at **Old Faithful Inn.**
Dining hall at **Mammoth Lodge** enlarged.
YP Camps Co. built amusement hall at **Upper Geyser Basin.**
YP Camps Co. 1917 lease cancelled; received new 20 year lease.
Began construction of **Sylvan Pass Lodge.**

1923 William Nichols became Assistant to President H. W. Child.
Mammoth Lodge completed—$70,000.
The kitchen at **Lake Hotel** was remodeled.
Wing added to **Lake Hotel.**
H. W. Child became president of YP Transportation, YP Hotel and YP Boat Co. YP Hotel, Transportation and Camps companies got new 20 year leases. The YP Boat Co. got new 1 year franchise.

1924 Yellowstone Park Camps Co. became The Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Co.
Hotel Co. given permit to operate the **Cody Road Lunch Station** at East Entrance.
YP Camps Co. extends kitchen and dining room at **Lake and Mammoth;** built lunch station at **Sylvan Lake;** built large lodge at **Upper Geyser Basin**—most of older central bldg. razed. Howard Hays sells YP Camps Co. to Vernon Goodwin.
Housekeeping cabins built at **Canyon.**

1925 **Canyon Lodge** built; began remodeling lobby and addition to dining room at Lake Lodge. Shop, engine room, bunkhouse, Rose, Hallin, and Hoffman residences begun and completed in 1926.
West wing of **Old Faithful Inn** constructed.

1926 Improvements made to **Lake Lodge** including enlargement.
YP Camps Co. given permission to operate a bathhouse and modern toilet at **Roosevelt Camp.**
New kitchen and help's dining room built at **Old Faithful.**
Built new garage at **Old Faithful.**
Additions were made to the engine room at **Lake.**

Built a new boys' dorm at **Canyon.**
Camps Co. given permission to operate lunch station at **Fishing Bridge and West Thumb.**

1927 **Old Faithful Inn's** north wing completed.
Fountain Hotel razed.
Norris Hotel razed.
Garage built at **Lake.**
New laundry built at **Old Faithful.**
Began construction of **Old Faithful Lodge recreation hall;**
New lobby and dining room under construction at **Old Faithful Lodge**.
Mammoth Lodge Laundry burned in November.

1928 South dining room of **Old Faithful Inn** remodeled in 1928.
Girls' dormitory built at **Old Faithful.**
Recreation Hall at **Old Faithful Lodge** built.
Girls' dorm built at **Lake.**
Fishing Bridge boat house built.
YP Lodge & Camps Co. took over interest of YP Camps Co. in September.

1929 Built a modern laundry at **Fishing Bridge.**

1930 **Canyon Hotel**—began construction of large wing
Swimming pool at **Roosevelt Lodge** razed.
Housekeeping cabins were added to **Old Faithful, Canyon, Mammoth, Fishing Bridge, West Thumb, Lake and Roosevelt.**

1931 William Nichols became president of the various YP companies, including the boat company.

1934 **Canyon Hotel**—construction of large wing completed.
Cabins moved from **Mammoth Lodge to Fishing Bridge, West Thumb, and Camp Roosevelt.**

1936 William Nichols became president of Yellowstone Park Company; Vernon Goodwin, who had been vice-president of the Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camp Co., became vice-president of YP Company; The new company was a result of consolidation of the different divisions.
YP Co. given permit to build and operate a bathhouse at **Fishing Bridge.**
Began tearing down **Mammoth Hotel.**

1937 Parts of old **Mammoth Hotel** razed and new hotel completed.
Gardiner commissary built.

1938 Remodeled **Old Faithful Lodge and Housekeeping Office.** Completed in 1939.
Made addition to **Old Faithful cafeteria and housekeeping office.**
Construction of warehouse at **Gardiner** built.

1939 **Fishing Bridge tourist cabins** remodeled.

1940 **Mammoth Lodge** abandoned. **Lake Hotel** closed.
Fishing Bridge tourist cabins remodeled.
Began construction of cabins at **Lake** in 1941–42.

1941 **Lake Hotel and Mammoth Lodge** closed.
Annex to cafeteria at **Fishing Bridge** built.

1945 **Sylvan Lodge** at East Gate razed.

1946 Completed cabin construction at **Lake.**

1947 **Lake Hotel** reopened.
New laundry at **Mammoth** begun in 1947 and finished in 1952.
Built an addition to laundry at **Canyon.**
Yellowstone Park Service Stations organized as a joint venture with Hamilton Stores, Inc. with Trevor Povah as General Manager.

1948 Engine room at **Fishing Bridge** built.
Remodeled kitchen at **Roosevelt.**

1950 Swimming pool at **Mammoth Lodge razed.**

1951 **Mammoth Lodge bldg.** razed.

1952 Laundry completed and cleaning plant built at **Mammoth**.
The old garage (probably built in 1917) was gone by this year.

1957 **Canyon Village** opened in July; discontinued use of **Canyon Lodge**.

1958 **Mammoth** camper cabins closed.

1959 **Canyon Hotel** closed.

1960 **Canyon Hotel** burned and razed.

1966 Yellowstone Park Company sold its franchise to General Host Corporation.

Camping Concessions

1880 A. W. Miles, nephew of General Nelson Miles, became associated with permanent camping business in park.

1895 12 parties granted license to conduct movable camps.

1899 The following were granted temporary licenses to conduct camping parties:
Marshall Brothers
A. W. & C. C. Chadbourne
E. C. Sandy
C. T. Smith
Frank Holm
Adam Gassert
W. J. Kupper
Henry George
J. W. Taylor
H. M. Gore
Capt. Amos Shaw
R. H. Menefee
Alfred Lycan
W. S. Dixon
B. S. Thresher
J. V. & S. S. Blankenship
B. S. Cobb
Albert Hill
Ed Staley
John Dewing
Frank Sebastian

B. D. Sheffield
George Reese

1900 The following were granted temporary licenses to conduct camping parties:
A. W. & C. C. Chadbourne
Charles Gassert
Marshall Brothers
Capt. Amos Shaw
J. D. Powell
R. H. Menefee
Sarah Gassert
Alfred Lycan
Frank Lyons
Ed Staley
H. M. Gore
B. D. Sheffield
Lionel Compiegne
J. & H. Blankenship
E. C. Sandy
Frank Scott
B. S. Thresher

1915 W. N. and O. M. Hefferlin granted permit to operate permanent camps under The Old Faithful Camping Co.

William W. Wylie

1883 Wylie Camps created; granted permit to conduct camping business.

1890 Permit renewed to transport tourist through park and house them in permanent camps.

1896 Granted franchise to transport tourists through park and house them in permanent camps.
Wylie Permanent Camps created (four).

1898 Granted concession to operate a lunch station between **Norris and Lower Geyser Basin and near West Thumb;** and permanent camps at **Apollinaris Spring, Upper Geyser Basin, Lake outlet and Grand Canyon.**

1905 W. W. Wylie sold company and retired.

1906 Business taken over—now known as The Wylie Permanent Camping Co. with A. W. Miles as president.
Camp Roosevelt was built by A. W. Miles.
Established **Upper Swan Lake Valley Permanent Camp and** abandoned **Apollinaris Camp.**

1912 Granted concession to extend lunch station service to patrons entering East Entrance at **Sylvan Lake Camp.**

1913 Abandoned **Sylvan Lake Camp** and established new camp at **East Gate**.

1917 Wylie Permanent Camping Co. Transportation division was consolidated with YP Transportation Co.; thus only conducting camping business; merged with Yellowstone Park Camping Co.

1920 **Roosevelt Lodge** built.

Shaw & Powell Camping Company

1900 Shaw & Powell replaced the Shaw Camping Co.

1913 Amos Shaw and J. D. Powell receive permit to transport visitors through park and provide permanent camps at Willow Park, Gibbon Falls, Nez Perce Creek, Upper Geyser Basin, West Thumb, Tower and Grand Canyon.

1917 The business was terminated.

F. Jay Haynes—Jack Haynes—Haynes Stores, Inc.

1884 Built first studio on parade ground at **Mammoth**
Received 10 year contract for **Upper Geyser Basin and Mammoth.**

1885 Bought his Haynes Palace Studio Car.

1886 Operated the Wakefield & Haynes Yellowstone Park Stage Co.

1890 Published first guide book.

1894 Received new 10 year contract for **Mammoth and Upper Geyser.**

1895 Operated first stand in **Grand Canyon Hotel.**

1897 Built Log Cabin Studio at **Old Faithful.**

1903 Moved studio to north base of Capitol Hill at **Mammoth.**

1904 Received new 10 year contract for **Mammoth.**

1905 Discontinued use of his Palace Studio Car.

1910 Remodelled and bldg. built for finishing—**Mammoth.**

1911 Added rear wing to Log Shop at **Old Faithful.**

1912 Monida & Yellowstone Stage built lunch station at **Tower Fall.**

1914 Received 3 year contract for **Mammoth, Upper Geyser Basin, Grand Canyon—**cancelled 1916.

1916 J. E. Haynes took over from father, F. Jay Haynes.
Received new 1 year contract for **Canyon, Upper Geyser Basin, and Mammoth.**

1917 Established picture shop at **Tower Junction.**
Received new 10 year contract for all locations.

1918 Stable converted into garage in utility area **Mammoth.**

1920 Built new shop at **Mammoth**—NE Capitol Hill.
Converted stable/garage taken over by Yellowstone-Western **Mammoth Utility area.**

1921 F. Jay Haynes died.
Existing contracts surrendered and cancelled; awarded new 15 year contract.

1922 Stand established at **Old Faithful Inn.**
Made an addition on the **Tower Fall** store.
Small govt. bldg. used at **Canyon**—collapsed under winter snow; site surrendered.

1923 Shop at **Mammoth** enlarged with addition of wing.
Stand at **Lake Hotel** established.
Log Shop at **Canyon;** 114' x 221' plat approved.
Remodelled Log Shop at **Old Faithful.**

1924 Dormitory at **Mammoth utility area** built by

Camps Co. in exchange for use of building south of Capitol Hill.
First incorporated as Haynes Picture Shops, Inc.

1926 Existing contract cancelled; new 20 year contract awarded.

1927 Shop at **Mammoth** converted into residence.
Shop built in **Old Faithful Campground.**
Shop built in **Mammoth Campground.**
Shop built in **Fishing Bridge Campground.**
Stockroom and warehouse built in **Mammoth utility area.**
Temporary dormitory placed on site at **Tower Fall.**

1928 Razed the studio at base of Capitol Hill at **Mammoth.**

1929 Photo finishing plant built at **Mammoth utility area**
New shop built at **Mammoth.**
Remodelled shop—installed photo finishing plant—**Canyon.**

1930 Plat approved for original site at **Tower Fall** (now utility area).
Abandoned Log Shop at **Old Faithful.**
Erected temporary dormitory at **Canyon.**

1932 Opened shop at **West Thumb** in temporary building relocated from **Fishing Bridge** to site north of Hamilton store.
Opened temporary shop with dorm above at **Tower Fall** parking area.

1933 Moved the Log Cabin Studio to **Old Faithful utility** area for use as a finishing plant.

1935 Opened general store in cabin at **Camp Roosevelt.**
Remodelled Log Cabin at **Old Faithful.**
The temporary dormitory at **Tower Fall** moved to parking area as shop.

1936 Built new shop and power house **Tower Fall** parking area.
Old shop at **Tower Fall** converted into dormitory.
Built new shop at **Camp Roosevelt.**
Made addition on the temporary bldg. store **West Thumb.**

1937 Began operating as Haynes, Inc. (Minn. corporation).
Remodelled shop/removed finishing plant at **Canyon.**

1938 Moved to new site at triangle at Junction—**West Thumb.**

1939 Constructed warehouse in utility area at **Old Faithful.**

1941 Built new dormitory and power house (Diesel)—**Tower Fall.**
Built cellar in hill **Tower Fall.**
Moved to new site south of Ranger Station at **West Thumb.**

1945 Began operating as Haynes, Inc. (Montana corporation).

1948 Haynes operated at **Mammoth, Old Faithful, West Thumb, Lake, Fishing Bridge, Canyon, Tower Fall, and Camp Roosevelt.** Some are in lodges and hotels.

1949 Began operating as Haynes Studios, Inc.

1956 **Canyon Lodge** shop closed (in Upper Falls parking area).

1957 Opened picture shop in main lodge bldg. at **Canyon Village.** Plans made to open a new shop between the **Visitor Center and Hamilton Store.**

1958 Shop in **Canyon Hotel** closed.

1959 Old **Tower Fall store** razed.

1960 New **Tower Fall store** opened.

1961 Old **Canyon store** (in parking area near Upper Falls) razed.
Old **Canyon store** razed.

Monida & Yellowstone Stage Co.

1898 Partnership between W. W. Humphrey and F. Jay Haynes to operated from Monida, Montana, to park.

1900 Built a granary bldg. behind stable at **Mammoth.**

1904 Changed name to Monida & Yellowstone Stage Co.

1902 Built office at Tower Junction.

1906 Hauled from Marysville, Idaho.

1913 Reincorporated as Yellowstone-Western Stage Co.

1917 Terminated business when park became motorized; sold to YP Transportation Company.

Cody-Sylvan Pass Motor Co.

1916 First motor line in park. F. Jay Haynes, president; line operated from Cody, Wyoming, to Yellowstone Lake.

George Wakefield

1884 Began his Concord Stagecoach line.

1885 Bought out Charles Hoffman's interest in stagecoach line.
Given permit to erect horse stable and corrals at Geyser Basin, Lake, and Canyon.
Given permit to cut and stack hay for sale to travelers with teams and to supply their own needs.
Given permit to operate stables and corrals at **Mammoth.**

1936 Sold his Yellowstone interests and retired.

Tex Holm

1908 Was in partnership with Charles Gogel in Tex Holm Transportation company.

1914 Ceased operations.

1945 Tex Holm died.

Bassett Brothers

1885 Given permit to operate stables and corrals at **Mammoth.**
Given permit to operate stables and corrals at **Lower Geyser Basin**.

Nelson Catlin

1885 Given permit to operate stables and corrals at **Mammoth.**

James A. Clark

1885 Given license to operate a stable and blacksmith shop near Capitol Hill at **Mammoth.**
Given permission to operate a bathhouse at **Mammoth.**

Uncle Tom Richardson

1890 Given permit to operate a ferry across the **Yellowstone River** a mile above **Upper Falls** and to operate a carriage ride to the canyon on an all day conducted tour into the canyon—became known as "Uncle Tom's Trail."

Boat Concessioners

1872 James Stevenson granted temporary permit to operate boat the *Anna*. Named by members of F. V. Hayden's survey to honor the daughter of Senator Dawes of Massachusetts. It was a canvas boat.

1875 Captain E. S. Topping granted temporary permit to operate the *Topping*. It was a small sail boat made by Capt. Topping from green whipsawed timber at his cabin near the Lake outlet in 1875. It was abandoned in 1876.

1882 Major J. S. Brisbin granted the first boat concession. Carroll Hobart and Henry Douglas were also involved. They were granted permit to operate a steamboat.

1883 H. B. Allen granted permit to operate a steamboat and other craft on lake.

E. C. Waters

1889 Organized Yellowstone Lake Boat Company—**Lake.**

1890 Granted permit to transport tourists by boat to connect with stage coach stops—granted permit to sell candies, nuts, small groceries—blacksmithing jobs and transport tourists to Natural Bridges.

1892 Granted permit to operate the *Zillah* between **West Thumb** and **Lake**.

1907 T. E. Hofer succeeded Waters as president of Yellowstone Lake Boat Company.

T. E. Hofer

1907 Bought the boat concession. He first named it the T. E. Hofer Boat Co., but later changed it to the Yellowstone Park Boat Co. in 1912.

1880 Granted temporary permit to operate *The Explorer.* Built by the Hoffer brothers at Topping's Point during summer of 1880, the boat was 20' long, 6' wide and 2½' deep. It was wrecked and abandoned near Topping's Point.

1885 Permit given to operate a stable and corral for horses at **Mammoth.**

Henry and Francis Brothers

1914 Erected swimming pool at **Old Faithful.**

1915 Five small plunges were opened at **Old Faithful.**

1918 Francis Brothers secured concession from Henry Brothers.

1924 Henry Brothers given permission to operate the **Old Faithful Baths**.

1927 Henry Brothers given permit to built and operate a bathhouse in **Old Faithful campground.**

1933 C. A. Hamilton secured concession of bathhouse and swimming pool at **Old Faithful.**

1951 The baths and swimming pool at **Old Faithful** were razed.

Miscellaneous

1878 J. Beattie received permit to pasture a herd of 300 cattle on **Blacktail Deer Creek.**

1881 John McKenna of Deadwood, S.D., given contract to erect fencing for the livestock at **Soda Butte.**

1883 Warren Pendleton granted permit to operate store at **Mammoth, Upper Geyser Basin, Lake and Canyon** to sell fruits, confections, newspapers and periodicals.

1885 Mrs. C. M. Furch of Bozeman granted lease to build and operate hotel about ½ mile north of Lookout Point and ½ mile northeast of Crystal Creek at **Canyon.**

1889 Mrs. M. A. Baronett granted permit to operate post office at **Mammoth**—also to sell small articles.

1890 Lunch station concession granted to unnamed permission at **Trout Creek.**

1892 **Trout Creek** lunch station abandoned.

1905 Old barn, cache shed, bunkhouse and messhouse built at **Gardiner**.

1917 Jim Parker and Jay Wilcox were granted permit to cultivate between one and four acres of land one or two miles up the **Yellowstone River in Turkey Pen Pass** from **Gardiner** for the purpose of growing potatoes to sell in stores and to the passing tourists. They operated this for two years.

1923 Messhouse built at **Lake.**

1924 Made an addition to messhouse at **Canyon.** Storage shed and ranger station built at **Gardiner.**

1925 Barn and cache shed at **Gardiner** dismantled.

1926 Built a garage and bull pen at **Canyon.**

1937 Bunkhouse and messhouse built in 1937 at **Mammoth.**

1952 The messhouse and bunkhouse are Egger's and Steffen's residences—**Gardiner**.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. 17 *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 350.

2. U.S. Senate, *Letter From the Secretary of the Interior, Accompanying a Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1872*, 42nd Cong., 3rd sess., 1873. S. Ex. Doc. 35.

3. Nathaniel P. Langford to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 20 May 1872, microcopy of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

4. *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1872*, 2–4.

5. Ibid., 2–4.

6. Legal notice signed by Matthew McGuirck, March 9, 1872, accompanied by signed testimony of Henry R. Horr and James Pencil, March 9, 1872, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior relating to the Yellowstone National Park 1872–1886, Letters Received, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

7. E. S. Topping, *Chronicles of the Yellowstone* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1968), 70. Lee Whittlesey, *Yellowstone Place Names* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1988), 27. Compilation of Notes of Aubrey Haines, 26, Land Alteration File, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

8. Doris Whithorn, *Twice Told on the Upper Yellowstone* (Livingston, Montana: Doris Whithorn, 1994), Vol. I., 63–65. The chapter, "James C. McCartney Mayor of Gardiner," gives a detailed account of McCartney's life.

9. Richard Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 116. Whithorn, *Twice Told on the Upper Yellowstone*, Vol. I., 66–67. Windom Thomas, the Earl of Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), 193–194. Ray Mattison, "Report on Historical Structures at Yellowstone National Park," September 1960. The Bartlett history is a good source regarding McCartney's claim against the government.

10. Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874*, 207–208.

11. Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966*, Historic Resource Study, Volume I, Selections from the Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, No. 5, 1994, 311–316. The bridge site is being nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as part of the context—Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966.

12. Ibid., 3.

13. Ibid., 3–4.

14. Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano to W. T. Sanders, 12 December 1873, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

15. Nathaniel Langford to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 6 February 1874, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

16. Ferdinand Hayden to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 14 November 1873, Letter printed in 43rd Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. 147.

17. Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano to Congressman James Blaine, 17 February 1874, Letter included in 43rd Cong. 1st sess., House of Representative, Ex. Doc. 147.

18. Henry Horr and James McCartney to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 12 February 1874, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

19. Henry Horr to Congressman W. H. Clagett, 5 February 1873, with attached letter from Congressman Clagett, n.d.; Superintendent N. Langford to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 11 April 1873, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

20. Henry Horr to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 12 June 1873, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

21. Philetus W. Norris to J. C. McCartney, 19 April 1877, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

22. Philetus W. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park Year 1877* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), 841.

23. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park Year 1877*, 841.

24. Louis Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relation to National Park Policies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 41.

25. Culpin, 7. A detailed account of the Nez Perce retreat from the park can be found in Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park* (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), Vol. I, Chapter 8, "Warfare in Wonderland." Possible influence by Ferdinand Hayden can be seen in his letter to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz on 21 February 1878, in which he presented the history of the passage of the bill. Microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

26. Philetus W. Norris, "Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1878, to the Secretary of the Interior." In *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1878* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), 986.

27. Norris, "Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1878," 995.

28. Ferdinand Hayden to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 21 February 1878, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

29. Ferdinand Hayden to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 21 February 1878, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

30. Norris, "Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1878," 995.

31. Philetus W. Norris to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 06 May 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

32. Philetus W. Norris to Assistant Secretary of the Interior A. Bell, 06 May 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

33. Norris to Bell, 06 May 1879.

34. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to Philetus W. Norris, 23 May 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

35. Philetus W. Norris to Carl Schurz, 14 June 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

36. J. C. McCartney to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 31 July 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No.62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

37. Philetus W. Norris, *Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1879* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 22.

38. Norris, *Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1879*, 22.

39. Handwritten report of dictation by G. W. Marshall [1885], Pacific Ms. R3C4D3, Bancroft Library, University of California. Copy in Box 17-C, Folder: G. W. Marshall, Yellowstone National Park Archives. An informative account of the Marshall Hotel can be found in an article by Lee Whittlesey, "Marshall's Hotel in the National Park," *Montana the Magazine of Western History*, Autumn 1980.

40. Philetus W. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), 48.

41. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to Postmaster General, 07 June 1880, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

42. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880*, 37.

43. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to A. W. Hall, 29 October 1880, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No, 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

44. A. B. Hall and A. W. Hall to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 23 November 1880, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

45. Hall and Hall to Schurz, 23 November 1880.

46. Philetus W. Norris, *Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), 68–69.

47. Philetus W. Norris to Secretary of the Interior S. J. Kirkwood, 30 June 1881; Philetus W. Norris to J. C. McCartney, 30 May 1881, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62 Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

48. Petition suggesting the appointment of F. Jay Haynes as official photographer of Yellowstone National Park, 1881, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

49. F. Jay Haynes to Secretary of the Interior S. J. Kirkwood, 29 August 1881; F. Jay Haynes to Secretary of the Interior S. J. Kirkwood, 30 December 1881, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

50. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880*, 73.

CHAPTER 2

1. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to J. B. and A. W. Hall, 13 January 1881.

2. Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 124. This book provides an in depth history of the controversy surrounding the concession development in the park. Perhaps the missing links in Bartlett's book and in this study will be identified when an administrative history of park is done.

3. Senator Windom had supported the application of J. B and A. W. Hall for the erection of hotels within the park two years earlier, however, Secretary Schurz denied them a monopoly at the time. Perhaps a better political environment existed in 1882.

4. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 124–125.

5. C. T. Hobart and H. M. Douglas to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 28 July 1882, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

6. Ibid.

7. Senator William Windom to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 31 July 1882, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park. Senator William Windom had been Secretary of the Treasury during the brief administration of President Garfield and was appointed to the same position in 1889 by President Benjamin Harrison. Bartlett, 125.

8. Superintendent P. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Teller, 20 September 1882, Box. C-17, Folder: Hobart, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

9. Carroll Hobart to the Secretary of the Interior, 18 November 1882, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

10. Bartlett, 129.

11. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to General James S. Brisbin, 26 September 1882, microcopies of records of National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

12. General James Brisbin to James Belford, 25 September 1882, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Rufus Hatch, a Wall Street financier, joined Hobart and Douglas in September 1882 bringing needed finances to support their venture.

13. Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 18 November 1882, microcopies of records in the National Ar-

chives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

14. Bartlett, 44–45.

15. Copy of telegram to *Pioneer Press*, 12 January 1883, microcopies of records in National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

16. Nathaniel P. Langford to Senator George Vest, 15 January 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

17. Louis Cramtom, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relations to National Park Policies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 42.

18. Copy of Indenture, 9 March 1883, Box C-17 Letter Box: Concessions, Folder: C, Hobart—Yellowstone Park Improvement Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

19. Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior, 27 June 1883; Chief Clerk, Department of War to Carroll Hobart, 18 July 1883, microcopy of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

20. P. H. Conger, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1883* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 10. Several of Conger's letters regarding Carroll Hobart can be found in the microcopies of records of the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

21. Rufus Hatch to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 01 December 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

22. Rufus Hatch to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 23 December 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

23. Wakefield and Hoffman to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 16 December 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

24. P. H. Conger, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1883*, 6.

25. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to F. Jay Haynes, 26 February 1883; C. T. Hobart to F. Jay Haynes, 05 May 1883, Box: C-17, Folder: Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

26. An excellent coverage of the early days of the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company can be found in Richard Bartlett's *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*. Bartlett calls the organization the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company.

27. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to P. H. Conger, 05 June 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

28. Acting Secretary of Interior W. Joslyn to P. H. Conger, 31 January 1884; G. W. Marshall to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 15 March 1884; P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 13 March 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

29. G. W. Marshall to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 15 March 1884; P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 25 June 1884; Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to G. W. Marshall, 02 July 1884; Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to Superintendent P. H. Conger, 03 July 1884; P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 31 July 1884.

30. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to F. Jay Haynes, 03 July 1887, Box: C-17, Folder: Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Haynes's 1884 rates were as follows: Stereoscopic and Cabinet—25 cents each, $2.00 per dozen; Imperials (7" x 10")—50 cents each, $5.00 per dozen; Mammoths (20" x 24")—$3.00 each, $30.00 per dozen; Groups of private parties—double the above prices; National Park Souvenir Album—75 cents each; National Park Guide Book (Winser)—50 cents each.

31. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to F. Jay Haynes, 07 October 1884, Box: C-17, Folder: Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Mammoth Hot Springs tract—"commencing at a point two hundred and fifty-nine feet from the South East Corner of the National Hotel and running four hundred and sixteen feet South East, thence four hundred and sixteen feet South West, thence four hundred and sixteen feet North West, thence four hundred and sixteen feet North East to the place of beginning, containing about four acres." Upper Geyser Basin tract "Commencing at a stake two hundred and fifty-five and six-tenths feet East from a Hub twenty-five feet West of Crystal Creek [present Myriad Creek] at the intersection of the Bluff thirteen hundred and twenty feet from Old Faithful Geyser, from thence running East four hundred and sixteen feet, thence South four hundred and sixteen feet, thence West four hundred and sixteen feet, thence North four hundred and sixteen feet to the place of beginning, containing about four acres."

32. John L. Yancey to Superintendent P. H. Conger, 06 January 1884; John L. Yancey to Superintendent P. H. Conger, 11 January 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

33. Copy of Indenture between John L. Yancey and the Department of the Interior, 1 April 1884, Box: C-16, Folder: Yancey, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

34. Superintendent P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior, 05 January 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

35. C. J. Baronett and J. W. Ponsford to Superintendent R. E. Carpenter, 22 November 1884; Lt. General Philip Sheridan to Secretary of the Interior, 26 November 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, Roll No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

36. Rufus Hatch to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 29 May 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

37. J. A. Williamson to Acting Secretary of the Interior M. Joslyn, 22 March 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

38. P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 31 July 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

39. C. T. Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 25 June 1884; P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

40. C. T. Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 11 July 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

41. Copy of telegram to Acting Secretary of the Interior M. Joslyn from C. T. Hobart, 29 July 1884; Copy of Telegram to Superintendent P. H. Conger from Acting Secretary of the Interior M. Joslyn, 30 July 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

42. M. Joslyn to C. T. Hobart, 07 August 1884, microcop-

ies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

43. C. T. Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 06 November 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives Records, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

44. Robert C. Carpenter to the Secretary of the Interior, 13 November 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 4, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

45. Superintendent R. C. Carpenter to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 22 October 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

46. Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 05 January 1884; Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 16 February 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to Carroll Hobart, 03 March 1885, Box: C-17, Folder: C. Hobart, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

47. Frank Auerbach and Van Slyck; DeCoster and Clark; Wilson and Rogers; and Craig, Larkin and Smith to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 01 May 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives. The creditors used the address St. Paul, Minnesota, so it is assumed all were from that city. The following were services or goods they provided: Auerbach, Frank and Van Slyck—carpets, curtains, etc.; DeCoster & Clark—furniture, mattresses, etc.; Wilson & Rogers—wrought iron pipe for piping water to hotel and the plumbing fixtures for hotel; Craig, Larkin, & Smith—crockery, lamps, etc.

48. Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 09 September 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

49. Edward Atkinson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 30 September 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

50. George Hulme to Presiding Judge 3rd Judicial District Court S. C. Parks, 08 October 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

51. Petition from Rufus Hatch, 13 October 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

52. George Hulme to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 18 November 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

53. Acting Secretary of Interior H. Muldrow to John Newton, 22 December 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

54. Eva Mary Errett to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 01 February 1885; J. A. Clark to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 06 February 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

55. Walter and Helen Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 01 April 1885. Walter and Helen Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 02 April 1885. The tariffs proposed at Henderson's establishment were the following: board & lodging, single room per day: $3.00; Two persons in one room per day, each: $2.50; Single meals: $.75; Meals served in room: $1.00; Hot Baths: $.50; Imported Beer per bottle: $1.00; Domestic Beer per bottle: $.75; Superior imported wines per quart: $5.00; Domestic wines and brandies per quart: $2.50; Cigars, each: $.25; Tobacco per lb.: from $.60 to $4.00; Board & lodging for camping parties, each per day: $4.00; Saddle horse per day: $2.50; Pack horse per day: $2.00; Wagon or carriage, two horses and driver per day: $10.00; Wagon, four horses and driver per day: $15.00; Single horse and buggy per day: $6.00; Trip around Park with two or more persons: $25.00; Single horse to hay and grain per night: $1.00; Use of corral, per head: $.15; Use of corral per team, one night: $.25; Oats per 100 lb.: $2.75; Hay per 100 lb.: $2.50; Milk per quart: $.15; Billiards per game: $.25; Pool for each player: $.10; Blacking boots, per pair: $.10. Helen and Walter Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 14 April 1885. The questions of the very first claims on the Cottage Hotel remain murky. The records used in this report do not clarify a transfer of claim from Clark to the Hendersons, but Clark did sign the endorsement for the Hendersons to modify their existing lease.

56. J. A. Clark to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 14 April 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

57. J. A. Clark to Lt. Dan Kingman, 19 March 1885, Lt. Dan Kingman to Secretary of the Interior, 25 March 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, Yellowstone National Park Archives. The sawmill was a Buckeye Portable Steam mill with 30 horsepower and a 58-inch saw. Kingman's sensitivity to the appearance of the park can also be found in his treatment of the road construction in the park. See Part I Historic Resource Study, History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966.

58. F. Jay Haynes to the Secretary of the Interior, 29 April 1885; R. C. Carpenter to Acting Secretary of the Interior W. Muldrow, 21 May 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

59. Arnold Hague to James A. Clark, 06 April 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

60. Arnold Hague to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 30 April 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

61. Superintendent David Wear to Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow, 29 December 1885. Kingman's opinion of Clark can be found in his letter to the Secretary of the Interior, March 25, 1885. He states, "I am not assured that Mr. Clark is a responsible man, and indeed it could hardly be admissible under any circumstances to lend in this way the public property (sawmill) to private individual." Microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

62. Walter and Helen Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 16 November 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives. *Livingston Enterprise*, 1 August 1885. *Livingston Enterprise*, 7 November 1885.

63. Arnold Hague to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 10 June 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

64. Superintendent D. W. Wear to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 13 July 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

65. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to Senator George Vest, 29 February 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

66. "Report of W. H. Phillips to Secretary of the Interior L. Lamar, September 12, 1885," microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

67. "Report of W. H. Phillips to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, September 12, 1885."

68. Phillips Report.

69. Phillips Report.

70. Phillips Report.

71. Phillips Report.

72. Phillips Report.

73. Phillips Report.

74. Phillips Report.

75. Phillips Report.

76. Phillips Report.

77. Superintendent D. W. Wear to Secretary of the Interior L. Lamar, 21 September 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62. Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

Chapter 3

1. Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow to Charles Gibson, 02 January 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

2. John Ellis to Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow, 25 March 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3; Lease to Charles Gibson, Box: C-16, Folder: YP Assoc., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

3. John Ellis to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 03 April 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 152.

4. Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow to Superintendent D. Wear, 28 April 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

5. Charles Gibson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 15 November 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

6. Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow to Superintendent D. W. Wear, 25 May 1886; Secretary of the Interior L. Lamar to Superintendent D. W. Wear, 25 June 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

7. Superintendent D. W. Wear to Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow, 03 June 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

8. Captain Moses Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1887* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 4.

9. Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1887*, 8.

10. *Livingston Enterprise*, 29 January 1886.

11. *Livingston Enterprise*, 13 February 1886.

12. Walter and Helen Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 14 June 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

13. M. H. Ford to Lucius Lamar, 11 July 1887; Lease Agreement of James Clark, 30 November 1887, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Captain Moses Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1888* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 7.

14. Harris, 8.

15. Ibid., 4.

16. Ibid., 9.

17. Ibid., 9, 10, 15.

18. Lease to Yellowstone Park Association—1889, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Yellowstone Park Association, Box: 2 Records of Hotels 1892–96, Subject File 8300-437-186996 (137.J.18.3B), Folder: Lease to YPA—1889 Thumb, Lease to YPA— Norris, Minnesota Historical Society. Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1889*, 5.

19. Captain Moses Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1889* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 3, 21. Attached to this report is a supplemental report written by Harris's replacement, Captain F. A. Boutelle.

20. Charles S. Fee to F. Jay Haynes, 24 August 1887; E. Eade to F. Jay Haynes, 14 November 1887; F. Jay Haynes Papers, No. 1500, Series III, Box: 8, Folder: 14, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

21. Haynes Agreement with YP Association, 15 September 1889, Series III, Box: 8, Folder: 18, F. Jay Haynes Papers.

22. Captain F. A. Boutelle, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 10–11.

23. Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1889*, 5.

24. E. C. Waters to G. L. Henderson, 21 May 1889; G. L. Henderson to C. S. Mellen, 20 February 1900, Ash Collection, Manuscript File, Yellowstone National Park Library.

25. Boutelle, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1890*, 10.

26. W. G. Johnson to W. C. Pearce, 10 April 1890; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 27 May 1890; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 31 May 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June, Minnesota Historical Society.

27. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 4 July 1890; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 12 August 1890; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 08 September 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3 (B), File: YPA J July–August 1890, Minnesota Historical Society.

28. E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 27 June 1890; E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 15 June 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA J Jan.–June 1890, Minnesota Historical Society.

29. E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 26 June 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June, Minnesota Historical Society.

30. Telegram from W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 28 September 1890; Telegram from E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 27 June 1890; Telegram from E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 30 June 1890,

Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June1890, Folder: YPA—September 1890, Minnesota Historical Society.

31. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 21 October 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3.(B), Folder: YPA Oct. 1890, Minnesota Historical Society.

32. Statement regarding the Yellowstone Lake Boat Co., June 6, 1891; Northern Pacific Railroad Records, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June 1891. A.L. Smith had been a cashier of the Merchants Bank of Glendive, Montana. Waters had been in the hotel business in Glendive as well as being with Meagher & Co., another hotel concern in Miles City, Montana. E. C. Waters had also been a partner with C. W. Savage & Co. running the Albemarle Hotel in Livingston, Montana.

33. Charles Gibson to George Wakefield, 10 March 1891; George Wakefield to W. G. Pearce, 12 March 1891; W. G. Pearce to George Wakefield, 03 April, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPS O-Z 1891. Captain George S. Anderson, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1891* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 7.

34. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 09 June 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

35. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 07 July 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA J 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

36. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 29 June 1891; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 08 August 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3.(B), Folder: YPA J 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

37. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 24 July 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3 (B), File: YPA J July 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

38. T. Casey to T. F. Oakes, 07 September 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA O-Z 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

Chapter 4

1. W. G. Pearce to T. Casey, 22 June 1892, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.4(F), Folder: YPA C. 1892, Minnesota Historical Society.

2. Captain George Anderson, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 5–6.

3. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1892*, 6–7. W. W. Wylie to Charles Fee, 30 January 1892, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.4(F), Folder YPA F 1892, Minnesota Historical Society.

4. W. W. Wylie to Charles Fee, 30 January 1892; Charles Fee to W. W. Wylie, 26 February 1892; Charles Fee to W. G. Pearce, 08 March 1892, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.4(F), Folder: YPA F 1892, Minnesota Historical Society. According to Yellowstone National Park Historian, Lee Whittlesey, Wylie is known to have been in the Yellowstone in 1881; he published his guidebook in 1882. He started his camping business in either 1883 or 1884. Scrapbooks containing Wylie advertising pamphlets imply that the camping operations began in either 1883 or 1884.

5. Anderson, 6.

6. Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* Vol. II. (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), 120–121.

7. Charles Gibson to W. G. Pearce, 05 February 1893; "Park Privileges" *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 13 June 1893, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Box: 137.A.4.5(B), Folder: YPA G 1893, Minnesota Historical Society.

8. W. G. Pearce to P. H. Hansen, 21 June 1893, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.5(B), Folder: YPA H 1893, Minnesota Historical Society.

9. Captain George Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1894* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 3. W. G. Pearce to J. H. Dean, 19 June 1893, Northern Pacific Railway Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.4(F), Folder: YPA D 1893, Minnesota Historical Society.

10. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1894*, 3. W. G. Pearce to Board of Directors of Yellowstone Park Association, 03 December 1894, Northern Pacific Railway Papers, YPA Box: 2 137.J.18.3(B), Folder: 414 Annual Meetings, Minnesota Historical Society.

11. Captain George Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1895* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 4.

12. Anderson, 1895, 4.

13. W. G. Pearce to Board of Directors of Yellowstone Park Association, 03 December 1894; *Livingston Enterprise*, 21 November 1894.

14. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1895*, 3. Memorandum of Agreement between F. Jay Haynes and the Yellowstone Park Association, May 19, 1894, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 8, Folder: 26, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

15. Anderson, 5.

16. C. S. Bihler to E. H. McHenry, 20 October 1894, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 2 137.J.218.3(B), Folder: 375, C. S. Bihler's Trip Report Oct. 1894, Minnesota Historical Society.

17. Anderson, 5, 6, and 9.

18. W. G. Pearce to Captain George Anderson, 11 March 1895; W. G. Pearce to Receivers of the Northern Pacific Railroad Co., 10 July 1895; Charles Givson to T. Casey, 28 October 1895, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box 2: 137. J.18.3(B), Folder: 414, Annual Meeting, Folder: 400 Special Meeting of Stockholders, 8 July 1895, Minnesota Historical Society.

19. W. P. Couper to F. Jay Haynes, 17 September 1895; W. G. Pearce to F. Jay Haynes, 18 October 1895, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 14, Folder: 14, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

20. Lease Agreement between F. Jay Haynes and Department of the Interior, 18 April 1896, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 15, Folder: 15. J. H. Dean to W. G. Pearce, 14 April 1896, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 137.4.6(F), Folder: YPA D 1896, Minnesota Historical Society.

21. Captain George Anderson, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the*

Interior 1896 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 9.

22. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1896*, 4.

23. Ibid., 4.

24. Ibid., 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10.

25. Ibid., 5, and 11.

26. J. H. Dean to W. G. Pearce, 27 June 1896, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 137.A.4.6(F), Folder: YPA D 1896, Minnesota Historical Society.

27. W. G. Pearce to J. H. Dean, 28 May 1896, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 137.A.4.6(F), Folder: YPA D 1896, Minnesota Historical Society.

28. W. G. Pearce to Cass Gilbert, 06 August 1896, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 137.S.4.6(F), Folder: YPA D 1896, Minnesota Historical Society.

29. Col. S. B. M. Young, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1897* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 4, 5, and 22. Record of the Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Yellowstone Park Association, December 20, 1997, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, File: 209A, Folder: 2, Minnesota Historical Society.

30. Young, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1897*, 17.

31. Circular from Col. S. Young to F. Jay Haynes, 14 July 1897, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 14, Folder: 20, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University. It is not known if the dump was near the site of the school or the incinerator site.

32. Young, 5.

33. Records of the Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Yellowstone Park Association, December 20, 1897, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA File: 209 A - [1], File: 2, Minnesota Historical Society.

34. F. Jay Haynes to Thomas Ryan, 30 December 1897, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 2, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

35. Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company to H. G. Burt, 20 January 1898, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 2, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

36. Report to Captain James B. Erwin, Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park by Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company, September 28, 1898, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 5, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

37. Captain James B. Erwin, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1898* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), 5, 19, 20.

38. Erwin, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1898*, 20.

39. J. H. Dean to Board of Directors of Yellowstone Park Association, 05 December 1898, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA File: 209 B, Folder: 11, Minnesota Historical Society.

40. C. S. Mellen to F. Jay Haynes and W. W. Humphrey, 01 March 1899; J. H. Dean to C. S. Mellen, 25 March 1899, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA File: 210A, Folder: 13, Minnesota Historical Society.

41. C. S. Mellen to E. C. Waters, 18 May 1899; C. S. Mellen to Daniel Lamont, 24 February 1899, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA File: 209A, Folder: 4, Minnesota Historical Society.

42. Specifications for E. C. Waters at Yellowstone Lake, 28 September 1898, Box: C-16, Folder: T. E. Hofer, Yellowstone National Park Archives. E. H. McHenry to Cass Gilbert, 19 July 1899; C. H. McHenry to F. G. Prest, 12 August 1899, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 134.I.5.111(B), Folder: 619, Minnesota Historical Society.

Chapter 5

1. J. H. Dean to C. S. Mellen, 30 January 1900, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210A, Folder 12, Minnesota Historical Society.

2. F. Jay Haynes to J. H. Dean, 10 March 1900, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210A, Folder: 13, Minnesota Historical Society.

3. Jenkins Automobile Company to F. Jay Haynes, 31 October 1901, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 9, Burlingame Special Collection, Montana State University.

4. Telegram to Thomas Ryan from H. W. Child, 10 August 1902; F. Jay Haynes reply to charges in telegram. n.d., F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 12, Burlingame Special Collection, Montana State University.

5. Agreement between F. Jay Haynes and Yellowstone Park Association, 27 September 1902, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 14, Folder: 32, Burlingame Special Collection, Montana State University.

6. F. Jay Haynes to Major John Pitcher, 26 August 1903; F. Jay Haynes to Major John Pitcher, 04 September 1903, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 14, Folder: 33, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

7. R. H. Relp to E. H. McHenry, 01 June 1901, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 134.I.5.11(B), Folder: 619, Minnesota Historical Society.

8. J. M. Hannaford to C. S. Mellen, 30 January 1902, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210A, Folder: 11, Minnesota Historical Society.

9. C. S. Mellen to E. C. Waters, 18 January 1903; Memorandum, Yellowstone Park Adjustment, September 5, 1903, Northern Pacific Railway Papers, YPA Box: 209A, Folder: 3, Minnesota Historical Society.

10. Major John Pitcher, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 3.

11. Yellowstone Park Association Annual Report—Season of 1903, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 209A, Folder: 3, Minnesota Historical Society.

12. Capacity of Hotels, 1903, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210A, Folder: 11, Minnesota Historical Society.

13. F. Jay Haynes to D. E. Burley, 10 September 1903; F. Jay Haynes to D. E. Burley, 20 September 1903, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 14, Minnesota Historical Society.

14. F. Jay Haynes to A. L. Smith, 30 January 1906; A. L. Smith to F. Jay Haynes; H. W. Child to F. Jay Haynes, 12 April

1906, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 28, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

15. J. Carroll to Howard Elliot, 03 April 1905, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210B, Folder: 6, Minnesota Historical Society. Captain John Pitcher, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1905* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), 11.

16. John Ise, *Our National Park Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), 40.

17. Howard Elliot to J. M. Hannaford, 26 February 1907, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, Box: 210B, Folder: 6, Minnesota Historical Society.

18. F. Jay Haynes to W. S. Acker, 29 April 1907, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 1, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University. Perhaps the mention of another set of lower priced hotels is the origin of the lodge system.

19. F. Jay Haynes to D. S. Spencer, 08 September 1907, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 1, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

20. F. Jay Haynes to W. B. Acker, 12 February 1907; W. B. Acker to F. Jay Haynes, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 8, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

21. Acting Superintendent to F. Jay Haynes, 23 June 1908, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, File: 11, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

22. Annual Report of President and Treasurer for the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company for the Season 1908, December 30, 1908, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 12, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

23. R. A. Ballinger, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1907* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 42.

24. Major H. C. Benson to F. Jay Haynes, 16 March 1909; F. Jay Haynes to R. A. Ballinger, 18 March 1909, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 14, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

25. F. J. Haynes to the Secretary of the Interior, 18 March 1909, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 16, File: 14. F. J. Haynes to E. L. Lomax, 06 April 1909, F. J. Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, File: 15, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

26. Frank Pierce to D. S. Spencer, 03 April 1909; F. Jay Haynes to D. E. Burley, 16 April 1909; F. Jay Haynes to E. L. Lomax, 06 April 1909; Agreement between H. W. Child and F. Jay Haynes, 14 May 1909; R. Ballinger to H. W. Child, 10 July 1909, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 15, Box: 16, Folder: 11, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

27. Captain H. C. Benson to F. Jay Haynes, 04 April 1910; F. Jay Haynes to Major H. C. Benson, 16 April 1910, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 19, Folder: 10, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University. The records that were found for the other companies for 1910 did not contain information regarding the use tax.

28. Acting Secretary of Interior to F. Jay Haynes, 02 May 1910; Assistant Secretary of Interior to Lt. Col. L. M. Brett, 29 May 1910, Box: 23-1, Item 45, Letter Box: Bldg. & Bldg. Sites 1911–1916, Folder: Haynes, F. Jay, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

29. H. W. Child to Howard Elliot, 26 January 1910; Howard Elliot to H. W. Child, 14 February 1910, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, Box: 210A, Minnesota Historical Society.

30. F. Jay Haynes to Major H. C. Benson, 15 September 1910; H. W. Child to Major H. C. Benson, 26 September 1910, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Central Classified Files, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box 495.

31. F. Jay Haynes to A. L. Smith, 27 December 1910, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 16, Folder: 14, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

32. Annual Report of the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company, September 30, 1910, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Central Classified Files, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park, Box: 494.

33. Annual Report of Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company, December 31, 1910, Box: 26-1, Letter Box: Financial Reports, Folder: Monida & Yellowstone Stage Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

34. *Proceedings of the National Park Conference held at the Yellowstone National Park September 11 and 12, 1911* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 8.

35. *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at the Yellowstone National Park September 11 and 12, 1911*, 7.

36. Ibid., 7.

37. Ibid., 37, 51.

38. Agreement between the Department of the Interior and F. Jay Haynes, July 29, 1912, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 19, Folder: 15, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

39. Preliminary Annual Report, 1912 by the President of the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company, December 16, 1912, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 19, Folder: 23, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

40. Tex Holm to Col. L. M. Brett, 06 December 1911; Lt. Col. L. M. Brett to the Secretary of the Interior, 16 September 1912; Col. L. M. Brett to Secretary of the Interior, 12 December 1912, Item 42, Box: 23-1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

41. *Proceedings of the Second National Park Conference Held at the Yosemite National Park October 14, 15, and 16, 1912* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 54, 56, 57, 61.

42. Charles W. Cobb to the Secretary of the Interior, 14 June 1913, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 20, File: Jack Haynes to F. J. Haynes, 04 September 1913, F. J. Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 20, File: 9, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

43. Jack Haynes to F. Jay Haynes, 01 September 1913; Telegram to Mrs. F. Jay Haynes from F. Jay Haynes, 13 November 1913; Certificate of Incorporation of the Montana & Yellowstone Transfer Company, January 24, 1914. This story should be told in full in an either a business history of the Haynes business in Yellowstone and/or another history that looks at the competitive business and warm personal relationships between the leading concessioners in Yellowstone National Park. The postcard story has been told in Richard Saunders, *Glimpses of Wonderland* (1997).

44. Judge John Meldrum to F. Jay Haynes, 19 February 1913, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 9, Folder: 16, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

45. Anna Pryor to F. Jay Haynes, 03 March 1913, F. Jay

Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 9, Folder: 16, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

46. Lt. Col. L. M. Brett to Huntley Child, 13 May 1913, Box: C-17, Folder: Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

47. Brett to Child, 13 May 1913.

48. J. M. Hannaford to H. W. Child, 21 November 1914, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 496.

49. Jack Haynes to F. Jay Haynes, 09 August 1914, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 21, Folder: 11, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

50. Lt. Col. L. M. Brett to Mark Daniels, 28 August 1914; F. Jay Haynes to Col. Brett, 22 September 1914; Mark Daniels to Col. L. M. Brett, 29 September 1914, Box: 323-1, Item 45, Folder: Yellowstone Western Stage Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

Chapter 6

1. *Proceedings of the National Park Conferences Held at Berkeley, California March 11, 12, and 13, 1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), 106–107.

2. Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 59.

3. *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at Berkeley, California March 11, 12, and 13, 1915*, 15, 17–20.

4. Ibid., 23–24.

5. Ibid., 23–24.

6. Memorandum for the Press, Department of the Interior, 21 April 1915.

7. Telegram from E. J. Ayers, Acting Secretary to Col. L. M. Brett, 17 July 1915, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

8. Stephen Mather to Col. L. M. Brett, 18 December 1915. National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

9. F. Jay Haynes to Secretary of the Interior, 20 November 1915; Stephen Mather to F. Jay Haynes, 17 December 1915, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 21, Folder: 30, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

10. *Annual Report of Yellowstone—Western Stage Company*, 31 December 1915, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder; 12, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

11. Committee on National Parks to James Sturgis Pray, 08 January 1916, Olmstead Portfolio, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley,

12. Document—"pertaining to Sale of F. Jay Haynes Photographic Business in Yellowstone National Park to J. E. Haynes, January 3, 1916," F. Jay Haynes Papers, Manuscript Collection 1504, Box: 11, Folder: 3. Attached to this document is a comprehensive list of the inventory of the merchandise at Mammoth, Upper Geyser Basin, and Canyon stores.

13. Excerpts from the Journal of Haynes, 1916, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Manuscript Collection 1502, Book 127.

14. James Hickey to F. Jay Haynes, 06 May 1916, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 29. Stephen Mather to Col. L. M. Brett, 27 June 1916, Box: 20-1, Folder: Cody-Sylvan Pass Motor Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives. "Inventory of Equipment Loaned Shaw & Powell for Their Use 1916, By the Yellowstone-Western Stage Company at Tower Falls Station. Equipment Turned Over to Shaw & Powell, July 1st, at Tower Falls 1915–1916," F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 15. This list indicates what types of items were in the Tower Fall area during this period. The document can be found in this study's manuscript collection in the Haynes folder for 1916.

15. Colonel Lloyd Brett, "Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1916," 6.

16. F. Jay Haynes to James Hickey, 04 August 1916; James Hickey to F. Jay Haynes, 10 August 1916; Howard Eaton to F. Jay Haynes, 20 December 1916; F. Jay Haynes to R. Duff, 23 November 1916, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 15 and Folder: 11, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State Library.

17. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), 15, 40.

18. J.A. Hill to Franklin Lane, 08 August 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box 495.

19. "Minutes of a Meeting of the Concessioners of Yellowstone Park, with Secretary Albright, Held in Room 1124 Congress Hotel, Chicago, Nov. 18, 1916," F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 20, Montana State University.

20. "Minutes of a Meeting Held in Washington, D.C. of the Transportation Concessioners in Yellowstone National Park and the Director of the National Park Service, Stephen Mather, December 10, 1916," F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 21, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

21. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of National Parks to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916*, 15, 40.

22. *Proceedings of the National Parks Conference* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 223, 275–315.

23. "Indenture between Yellowstone Park Transportation Company and the Union Pacific Railroad and Chicago. Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, June 1, 1917." This document lists the factory numbers and the related Yellowstone Park Transportation Company number for each vehicle. "Indenture between the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company and the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company and the Northwest Improvement Company, June 1, 1917," Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, File: 210-I, Folder: 1, Minnesota Historical Society.

24. F. Jay Haynes to Robert Duff, 15 January 1917, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 24, Folder: 15, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

25. J. E. Haynes to C. A. Lindsley, 15 December 1917; Chester Lindsley to Stephen Mather, 17 December 1917; J. E. Haynes to Horace Albright, 01 January 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7. 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 489. Special Permit to F. Jay Haynes by Horace Albright, 27 November 1917, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 24, Folder: 10, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

26. Horace Albright to Chester Lindsley, 16 June 1917; Horace Albright to Chester Lindsley, 21 May 1917; Telegram from Yellowstone Camping Company to Horace Albright, 31 May 1917, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Boxes: 489, 490.

27. J. J. Cotter to J. E. Haynes, 19 March 1917, National

Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 489.

28. "Yellowstone Park Boat Co. Memorandum by W. M. Nichols, November 6, 1917," Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Box: 137.I.16.4(F), File: 45, Minnesota Historical Society.

29. Ibid.

30. Joseph Cotter to Chester Lindsley, 21 March 1917; Chester Lindsley to Stephen Mather, 21 April 1917, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Boxes: 490, 493.

31. Stephen Mather to A. W. Miles, 07 December 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79. Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490. Col. L.M. Brett to Stephen Mather, 01 September 1917, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Item 39, Box: 20—Letter Box: Accommodations—Hotels and Camps, 1909–1917.

32. Huntley Child to Franklin Lane, 22 July 1917; Horace Albright to Huntley Child, 27 July 1917, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

33. F. Jay Haynes to Sam Hurless, 23 January 1918, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 24, Folder: 21, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

34. H. H. H. to Horace Albright, 03 June 1918; Telegram from Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 08 June 1918; Stephen Mather to Huntley Child, 14 June 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Yellowstone National Park—900. Box: 495.

35. Chester Lindsley to Stephen Mather, 27 March 1918; Stephen Mather to Chester Lindsley, 05 April 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495. No other documentation was found regarding the other locations of mines or whether the other locations were actually opened for mining.

36. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 273–275.

37. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918*, 273–275.

38. Charles Punchard, Jr. to Stephen Mather, 15 September 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

39. Charles Punchard, Jr. to Stephen Mather, 15 September 1918.

40. Chester Lindsley to Stephen Mather, 23 May 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

41. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918*, 122.

Chapter 7

1. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1919* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 11–16, 178. Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, Vol. II (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), 478.

2. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1919*, 26.

3. Horace Albright to A. W. Miles, 06 January 1919; Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 23 February 1919; Charles Punchard, Jr., to Stephen Mather, 03 April 1919, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

4. *Annual Report for 1919*, 46.

5. *Annual Report for 1919*, 44–45.

6. Ibid., 45.

7. Ibid., 164.

8. Ibid., 164, 176.

9. H. W. Child to Horace Albright, 30 January 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

10. *Annual Report of the National Park Service Director to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 13, 16. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, Vol. II, 478.

11. *Annual Report of the National Park Service Director to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920*, 94–95.

12. Stephen Mather to Howard Elliot, 27 February 1920, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, Box: 137.I.16.4(F), File: 45, "Yellowstone Park Boat Company, 1915–1923," Minnesota Historical Society.

13. H. W. Child to Warren Delano, 21 March 1920, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, Box: 137.I.16(F), File: 45, "Yellowstone Park Boat Company, 1915–1923," Minnesota Historical Society.

14. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 21 October 1920, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

15. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 21 October 1920.

16. Albright to Mather, 21 October 1920.

17. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 27 September 1920, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 493.

18. H. W. Child to Stephen Mather, 08 January 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

19. Stephen Mather to Horace Albright, 12 January 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

20. H. W. Child to Howard Elliot, 14 February 1921, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, Box: 137.I.4(F), File 44. This situation is most interesting and should be covered in a business history of the Yellowstone Park companies. It reveals information about the minds of the businessmen and the mode of operations.

21. Memorandum to Mr. Safford from Arno Cammerer, 19 January 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 493.

22. Horace Albright, "Monthly Report for March 1921."

23. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1921* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 155.

24. Jack Haynes to Horace Albright, 16 April 1921; Horace

Albright to Jack Haynes, 30 April 1921, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 12, Folder: 3, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

25. H. W. Child to Horace Albright, 30 January 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

26. Albert Fall to H. W. Child, 11 April 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

27. Horace Albright to D. Hull, 12 April 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 493.

28. H. W. Child to Horace Albright, 30 January 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

29. Pryor and Trischman to Albert Fall, Stephen Mather, and Horace Albright, 27 March 1922; Howard Hays to Horace Albright, 29 April 1922; William Nichols to Horace Albright, 10 May 1922; Stephen Mather to Horace Albright 31 May 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

30. Howard Hays to Horace Albright, 01 August 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

31. B. L. Vipond to Horace Albright, 01 December 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

32. "Report on Construction to Mr. D. R. Hull by Horace Albright, October 27, 1922," National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Yellowstone National Park—610–620, Box: 470.

Chapter 8

1. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended 1923 and the Travel Year 1923* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), 47, 121.

2. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended 1923 and the Travel Season 1923*, 121.

3. Telegram from A. Finney to Horace Albright, 11 September 1923, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

4. *Annual Report for 1923*, 44.

5. William Nichols to Howard Elliot, 31 January 1923, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, Box: 137.F.16.4(F), File: 45, Minnesota Historical Society.

6. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923 and the Travel Season 1923* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), 121.

7. Horace Albright, "Annual Report for 1924," 31.

8. Albright "Annual Report for 1924," 31.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. "Minutes of the Eighth National Park Conference Held In Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, October 1, to 5, 1925, Inclusive," Yellowstone National Park Library.

12. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1925 and Travel Season 1925* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 79.

13. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service for the Fiscal Year 1925 and Travel Season 1925*, 25.

14. Ibid., 25.

15. Ibid., 77.

16. Howard Reffelt to Horace Albright, 01 July 1925, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900. Albright sent Reffelt the information regarding the drawings that had just been published by the United States Health Service in Volume 40, Number 24, 12 June 1925, pages 1252–1254.

17. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 21 September 1926, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—503–601.3, Box: 462.

18. Horace Albright to W. M. Nichols, 26 February 1926, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

19. Albright to Nichols, 26 February 1926.

20. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 03 April 1926, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900.

21. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1926 and Travel Season 1926* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1926), 24.

22. Horace Albright to Charles Donnelly, 08 June 1926; H. W. Child to Charles Donnally, 01 June 1926; A. B. Smith to Mr. Woodworth, 28 June 1926, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, File 210.I-2, Minnesota Historical Society.

23. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended 1926 and Travel Season 1926*, 27.

Chapter 9

1. Roger Toll, "Monthly Report for April 1929," 6. The documents used in this study did not reveal the kinds of motion pictures shown in the park, but it could be assumed that some of Haynes's own film relating to wildlife and historical events in Yellowstone were shown. Some of his 1929 correspondence discusses his presentation of his film (2,000 feet of 35-mm wildlife pictures to a group in Minnesota). He also discussed taking some of his Yellowstone movies to Washington; he mentioned in particular a film about Ray L. Wilbur, who was Secretary of the Interior at the time. J. E. Haynes to H. M. Albright, 25 March 1929; J. E. Haynes to H. M. Albright, 29 October 1929, J. E. Haynes Papers, MS 1504, Box: 15, File: 10, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

2. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1929*, 19–20.

3. Grosvenor Atterbury, "Notes on the Architectural and Other Esthetic Problems Involved in the Development of Our Great National Parks, Made during August and September 1929," Series Post 1926, Box: Landscape Architect Files, File: No. 239, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Roger Toll, *Monthly Report for July 1929.*

4. Horace Albright to Anna Pryor, 20 March 1929, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 490.

5. Roger Toll, *Monthly Report for June 1930.*

6. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1929* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), 130–131.

7. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1932,* 1.

8. C. A. Hamilton to Roger Toll, 20 August 1930; Roger Toll to Horace Albright, 21 November 1930, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 493.

9. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1931.*

10. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932 and the Travel Season, 1932* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 1.

11. Horace Albright to W. M. Nichols, 31 March 1931, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 495.

12. A Sunday morning newspaper, name unknown, dated 20 March 1932, "Park Concession Bought Saturday by Anna K. Pryor," Box: 2, File: Historical, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Jack Haynes to Horace Albright, 28 March 1932," Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 10, File: 22. Chief Auditor Gable to Horace Albright, 01 March 1932, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 494, File: Whittaker Contracts.

13. Letter to Hon. Robert Simmons, 3 July 1932 from citizen; Roger Toll to Horace Albright, 29 August 1932; Joseph Joffe to Horace Albright, 03 September 1932, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 489. A discussion on the Indian made items can be found in the "12th Conference of National Park Executives Held at Hot Springs National Park, Arkansas, April 3 to 8, 1932," A copy may be found in the Yellowstone National Park Library.

14. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1933,* 1–6.

15. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1934.*

16. "Proceedings of Joint Council of National Park Operators and Superintendents Held at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona—May 1–5, 1934," Yellowstone Park Library.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. "Address by Hon. Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, November 20, 1934," Box: 2, File: Historical, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

20. Ibid.

21. Roger Toll to W. Nichols, Vernon Goodwin, C. A. Hamilton, Anna Pryor, J. E. Haynes, and George Larkin, 21 May 1935, Box: Bldg. Park Gen. 1935–51, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

22. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1935,* 4.

23. William Nichols to Arno Cammerer, 25 April 1935, Box: YPC-5, File: Liquor in Park, 1934–46, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

24. Vernon Goodwin to Roger Toll, 06 August 1935, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1933–1947, Yellowstone Box: 1790, File: YP Lodge & Camp Co. Bldgs.

25. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1936,* 1–3.

26. Ibid.

27. Sanford Hill, "Monthly Narrative Report to Chief Architect Through the Superintendent on Major and Minor Roads and Trails and Projects Other Than E.C.W. for Yellowstone National Park," June 24–July 25, 1936, Landscape Architect— Engineer Box: 10, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

28. William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, 14 October 1936, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1933–1949, Yellowstone National Park Box: 1785, File: YP Co.

29. Edmund Rogers, "Annual Report for 1937," 41–43.

30. Sanford Hill, "Narrative Report on Yellowstone National Park, July, 1939," Landscape Architect—Engineer Box: 10, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

31. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1939,* 1–3.

32. Sanford Hill, "Narrative Report on Yellowstone National Park, September 1939," Landscape Architects—Engineers Box: 10, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Rogers, "Annual Report for 1939."

33. Harold Ickes, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), 196–197.

34. Harold Ickes to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 22 January 1940, Roosevelt Library, No. 6, Department of Interior, Box: 16, NPS-1940.

35. A. E. Demaray to William Nichols, 23 February 1940, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

36. Edmund Rogers to William Nichols, 05 October 1940, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 3, PUO, YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

37. Ickes, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940*, 204.

38. J. E. Haynes to Edmund Rogers, 14 May 1941, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 3, PUO, Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

39. Howard Baker, "Comments of Branch of Plans and Design, October 10, 1941," Box: 079-63A-570, File: 3, Bldgs. Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

40. Edmund Rogers to Newton Drury, 30 September 1941, Box: 070-067A-0570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

41. Howard Baker, "Comment of Branch of Plans and Design, October 3, 1941," Box: 079-63A-570, Box: Bldgs. C. A. Hamilton, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

CHAPTER 10

1. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1942,* 5.

2. William Nichols to B. O. Hallin, 22 January 1942, Box: YPC-143, File: Construction Div. 1940–46, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

3.William Nichols to B. O. Hallin, 22 January 1942.

4. Memorandum to Superintendent from Chief, Project Development Division, 16 February 1942; Memorandum to Superintendent from Chief, Project Development Division, 18 February 1942, Box: 079-063-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

5. Edmund Rogers to Newton Drury, 20 July 1942, Box: 079-063-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

6. Anna Pryor to Edmund Rogers, 20 March 1942; J. W. Emmert to Anna Pryor, 07 April 1942, Box: 079-063-570, File: 2, PUO, Pryor Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

7. Edmund Rogers to Park Operators, 04 May 1942, Box:

079-063A-570, File: 2, PUO, Pryor Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

8. C. E. Denney to William Nichols, 01 June 1942, Box: 079-063A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

9. M. M. Goodsill to William Nichols, 04 June 1942, Box: YPC-4, File: WWII 1942–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

10. M. M. Goodsill to William Nichols, 04 June 1942, Box: 079-063A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

11. Edmund Rogers to Operators, 13 June 1942, Box: 079-063A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

12. Department of the Interior Information Service, National Park Service for Release Sunday, June 14, 1942, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 28, File: 4.

13. Gar Helppie to Edmund Rogers, 15 July 1942, Edmund Rogers to Gar Helppie, 16 July 1942, Box: 079-631-570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

14. Edmund Rogers to Operators, 24 August 1942, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 2, PUO, Pryor Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

15. "Report of Meeting with Representatives of the Western Park Operators' Conference, Chicago, Illinois—December 1, 1942, Box: YPC-125, File: Lodge Division,1941–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

16. J. W. Emmert to Leo Petrie, 10 December 1942, Box: 079-063-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

17. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1943*, 2–3.

18. Edmund Rogers to C.R. Franks, 20 January 1943, Box: YPC-4, File: WWII, 1942–1945, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

19. J. E. Haynes to Newton Drury, 01 March 1943, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1933–1949, Yellowstone—900, Box: 1780, File: Haynes.

20. J. E. Haynes to Newton Drury, 01 March 1943.

21. C. A. Hamilton to Edmund Rogers, 05 April 1943, Box: 079-63A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

22. C. A. Hamilton to William Nichols, 11 April 1943, Box: YPC-5, File: Accommodations, 1943–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

23. Newton Drury, "Statement Concerning Facilities Available to the Public in National Park Areas During the 1943 Season," Box: YPC-5, File: Accommodations 1943–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

24. C. A. Hamilton to Joe Joffe and Fred Johnston, 11 January 1944; C. A. Hamilton to Joe Joffe, 27 January 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2 PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

25. C. A. Hamilton to Edmund Rogers, 11 March 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

26. C. A. Hamilton to Edmund Rogers, 30 March 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

27. C. A. Hamilton to Fred Johnston, 17 April 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

28. Edmund Rogers to C. A. Hamilton, 20 April 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

29. C. A. Hamilton to Ed Moorman, 04 June 1944; C. A. Hamilton to William Nichols, 01 June 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

30. C. A. Hamilton to Joe Joffe, 12 July 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

31. J. E. Haynes to Edmund Rogers, 13 May 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 3, PUO, Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

32. Joseph Joffe to Federal Reserve Bank, 09 June 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

33. Joseph Joffe to C. A. Hamilton, 19 December 1944; Joseph Joffe to Edmund Rogers, 30 December 1944, Box: 079-63A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

34. Jack Hayes to William Nichols, 26 January 1945, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504. Box: 29, File: 16.

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