

# Notes

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## PREFACE

1. Major, Fifth Cavalry, Superintendent, Letter to the Secretary of the Interior, December 14, 1908, document #8249, item 29, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

2. From the Yellowstone National Park Organic Act, “An act to set apart a certain Tract of Land lying near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a public Park,” March 1, 1872, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., as given in Appendix A of Louis Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relation to National Park Policies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 76.

3. From the National Park Service Act, “An Act to Establish a National Park Service, and for Other Purposes,” 64th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. 15522.

## CHAPTER 1

1. Philetus W. Norris, *The Calumet of the Coteau* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1883), 190. Norris attributed this stanza to a poem he wrote in 1878, while trying to secure the first appropriations for Yellowstone National Park..

2. Several good accounts of the park delve into the reasons why the park was set aside and the process involved. See for example, Louis Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relation to National Park Policies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932); Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park: Historical and Descriptive*, 5th ed. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1905); Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, revised ed. (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1996), vol. 1 [hereafter Haines, vol. 1 or 2]; Paul Schullery, *Searching For Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997); Paul Schullery and Lee Whittlesey, “Yellowstone’s Creation Myth: Can We Live with Our Own Legends?” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 53(1)

(Spring 2003): 2–13; and Paul Schullery and Lee Whittlesey, *Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

3. “The Original Yellowstone Park Act,” in Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park*, Appendix A, 76.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Haines, vol. 2, 448–449.

8. Ibid., 449–450.

9. Nathaniel P. Langford to the Secretary of the Interior [C. Delano], May 20, 1872, as quoted in Haines, vol. 1, 180, and Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park*, 38.

10. Ibid.

11. Ferdinand V. Hayden, Letter, in H. Ex. Doc. 75, 45th Congress, 2nd Session, as quoted in Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park*, 37.

12. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 108.

13. Ibid.

14. Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park*, 38.

15. Nathaniel P. Langford, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for 1872* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1873), 4, hereafter *Annual Report for [year]*.

16. Langford, *Annual Report for 1872*, 4.

17. W. E. Strong, *A Trip to the Yellowstone National Park in July, August, and September, 1875* (Washington, D.C., 1876), 92–93, as quoted in Haines, vol. 1, 208.

18. William Ludlow, *Report of a Reconnaissance from Carroll, Montana Territory, on the Upper Missouri to the Yellowstone National Park, and Return, Made in the Summer of 1875* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876), 26, as cited in Haines, vol. 1, 200.

19. Langford, *Annual Report for 1872*, 4.

20. He visited the park only twice, once during the summer of 1872, and once to evict squatters in 1874. Haines, vol. 1, 212.

21. Haines wrote that the two visits by Langford and “perhaps a visit by David Folsom to the Park following his appointment as assistant superintendent in 1873, was the extent of ‘on site’ management” (Ibid.).

22. Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park*, 39.

23. Ibid., 40.

24. Ludlow, *Report of a Reconnaissance*, 26.

25. Ibid., 38.

26. *Bozeman Avant Courier* (Bozeman, Mont.), Aug. 20, 1875, as quoted in Haines, vol. 1, 204–205.

27. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 108; Haines, vol. 1, 214; Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 108.

28. Langford, *Annual Report for 1872*, 3.

29. Haines, vol. 1, 214.

30. Ibid.

31. Langford, *Annual Report for 1872*, 3.

32. Haines, vol. 2, 450.

33. Ibid.

34. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 109.

35. Ibid.; Lee H. Whittlesey, *Yellowstone Place Names* (Helena, Mont.: Montana Historical Society Press, 1988), 113.

36. See Norris’s *Annual Report for 1880*, 51–52, and his *Annual Report for 1881*, 75.

37. Norris, *Annual Report for 1877*, 844.

38. Mary Shivers Culpin, personal communication to editor, August 10, 2005.

39. Norris, *Annual Report for 1878*, 992.

40. Haines, vol. 2, 450.

41. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 9.

42. Haines, vol. 1 (1977 ed.), 242.

43. Yellowstone National Park, *The State of the Park* (Mammoth Hot Springs, Wyo.: National Park Service, 1999), 1–4.

44. Norris, *Annual Report for 1877*, 841.

45. Norris, *Annual Report for 1878*, 985

46. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 13.

47. Ibid., 20.

48. Ibid., 13.

49. See Norris, *Annual Report for 1878*, 993, and *Annual Report for 1880*, 51–52.

50. Norris, *Annual Report for 1878*, 992.

51. Norris, *Annual Report for 1877*, 837.

52. Ibid., 843.

53. See the Rules and Regulations in Norris, *Annual Report for 1878*, 993.

54. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 21; Norris laid out

his plan in his *Annual Report for 1877*, 843.

55. Norris, *Annual Report for 1877*, 843.

56. Norris, *Annual Report for 1878*, 896–897.

57. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 20.

58. Ibid., 21.

59. Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 26.

60. Norris, *Annual Report for 1877*, 843, and *Annual Report for 1880*, 15.

61. Park appropriations were increased to \$15,000 in 1880 (Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 34).

62. Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 50.

63. Ibid.

64. Norris, *Annual Report for 1881*, 27, 62–63.

65. Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 20, 18–19, 7.

66. Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 35.

67. Ibid., 35.

68. Norris, *Annual Report for 1877*, 840.

69. Ibid., 842.

70. Norris, *Annual Report for 1878*, 981–983.

71. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 10.

72. Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 7, 36.

73. Norris, *Annual Report for 1881*, 7.

74. Norris found utensils, weapons, and other implements near the Indian-built game driveways leading into the canyons of the Clark’s Fork of the Yellowstone River and Crandall Creek. One stone vessel found in the upper Madison Canyon was eleven inches in diameter and ten inches in height; others were found in a burned area at the upper end of Pleasant Valley, at the head of Soda Butte Creek, and in an apparent ancient campsite on the eroded banks of Blacktail Deer Creek. Implements and arrowheads were found in various areas of the park. Norris found the recently constructed fortified camp (from 1877) of the Nez Perce to be of interest, as well as a corral just to the east of Mary’s Lake, another corral and breastworks between Mud Volcano and the Yellowstone River, and others near Pelican and Cache creeks (Norris, *Annual Report for 1881*, 36–38).

75. Norris, *Annual Report for 1881*, 32–47.

76. Ibid., 31.

77. Norris, *Annual Report for 1877*, 844.

78. Ibid., 845.

79. For a complete study of the road building projects undertaken by Norris and subsequent superintendents, see Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966*, vol. 1 of *Historic Resource Study* (Selections for the Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, 1994).

80. Norris, *Annual Report for 1878*, 986–987.

81. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 3–4. Philetus W. Norris to the Secretary of Interior Carl Schurz, October 1, 1879, microcopies of records of the National Archives, no. 62, roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives [hereafter YNPA].

82. *Ibid.*, 4. Norris described the fence as having “posts sustained at an angle of some 60 degrees by smaller posts or legs through holes near the top, surmounted and faced by poles pinned or spiked horizontally upon them.”

83. *Ibid.*, 5.

84. *Ibid.*; Norris to Schurz, Oct. 1, 1879, microcopies of records of the National Archives, no. 62, roll 1, YNPA.

85. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 4, 6, 9.

86. Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 4, 36–37.

87. *Ibid.*

88. Haines, vol. 1, 249.

89. Aubrey L. Haines, *Yellowstone Place Names: Mirrors of History* (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1996), 138.

90. Norris, *Annual Report for 1881*, 69.

91. Norris, *The Calumet of the Coteau*, 252.

92. Lon Johnson, “Queen’s Laundry Bathhouse,” National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, February 1, 2001, Yellowstone Center for Resources [hereafter YCR], 5; W.W. Wylie, *The Yellowstone National Park, or the Great American Wonderland* (Kansas City, Mo.: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1882), 26.

93. Johnson, “Queen’s Laundry Bathhouse.”

94. Johnson, “Queen’s Laundry Bathhouse,” 4.

95. Aubrey Haines to Chief Park Naturalist, Memorandum, March 17, 1964, in Queen’s Bathhouse Laundry, vertical files, YNPL.

96. Norris, *Annual Report for 1877*, 840.

97. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 7, 16.

98. Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 14–15.

99. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 7, 16.

100. Norris, *Annual Report for 1881*, 12, 68–70.

101. Norris, *Annual Report for 1879*, 30.

102. Norris, *Annual Report for 1880*, 14–15.

103. *Ibid.*, 20.

104. *Ibid.*, 20.

105. *Ibid.*, 24.

106. Norris, *Annual Report for 1881*, 25–26.

107. *Ibid.*, 74.

108. Haines, vol. 2, 449.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Mary Shivers Culpin, “*For the Benefit and Enjoyment*

*of the People.*” *A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966* (Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.: National Park Service/Yellowstone Center for Resources, YCR-CR-2003-01), 9.

2. Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985), 235.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Hiram M. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 5th ed. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1905), 109.

5. Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, revised ed. (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1996), vol. 2, 450–451, [hereafter Haines, vol. 1 or 2].

6. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 235–236.

7. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 109.

8. Patrick H. Conger, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1882*, 9, hereafter *Annual Report for [year]*.

9. Conger, *Annual Report for 1882*, 8; “Congress Proposes to Check the Yellowstone National Park Grab,” *The American Field*, January 20, 1883. These reports by Generals Sheridan and Sackett were also directed at the 1882 lease of large areas in the park to the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company.

10. Louis Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relation to National Park Policies* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 60.

11. Haines, vol. 1, 268.

12. *Ibid.*

13. “Mr. Vest’s Victory,” *Forest and Stream* (March 8, 1883). Sundry Civil Bill for March 3, 1883, U.S. Stat. at Large, Vol. 22, 626.

14. Haines, vol. 1, 292.

15. As quoted in Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 242.

16. Haines, vol. 1, 293.

17. H. M. Teller to Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park [Robert E. Carpenter], September 29, 1884, document #1, letter box 1, item 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives [hereafter YNPA]; Secretary H. M. Teller to Mr. P. H. Conger, July 14, 1883, document #85, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

18. Haines, vol. 1, 299–300.

19. Acting Secretary M. L. Joslyn to the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park [Robert E. Carpenter], October 12, 1884, document #7, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

20. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 238;

Joslyn to Superintendent, October 12, 1884.

21. William Chambers, Jr., to Mr. Patrick H. Conger, March 20, 1884, document #1340, letter box 5, item 9, YNPA.

22. Lee H. Whittlesey, "The First National Park Interpreter: G. L. Henderson in Yellowstone, 1882–1902," *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 46(1) (Spring 1996): 26–41.

23. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 240. For more information on Henderson, see Whittlesey, "The First National Park Interpreter."

24. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 240.

25. *Ibid.*, 241–242.

26. *Ibid.*, 238; Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 113.

27. Conger, *Annual Report for 1883*, 5.

28. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 237–238.

29. Haines, vol. 1, 294.

30. James H. Dean to Maj. P. H. Conger, Supt., July 31, 1883, document #1368, letter box 5, item 9, YNPA.

31. E. I. Fish to Major Conger, May 12 [1884? See Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 252, note 17], document #1420, letter box 5, item 9, YNPA.

32. James H. Dean to Maj. P. H. Conger, Supt. Park, August 26, 1884, document #1355, letter box 5, item 9, YNPA.

33. Conger, *Annual Report for 1883*, 7.

34. James H. Dean to Maj. P. H. Conger, July 31, 1883.

35. Acting Secretary M. L. Joslyn to P. H. Conger, August 3, 1883, document #153, letter box 1, item 1, and Acting Secretary M. L. Joslyn to P. H. Conger, March 24, 1884, document #160, letter box 1, item 1, both in YNPA.

36. Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller to the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park [Patrick H. Conger], January 15, 1883, document #162, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

37. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 112.

38. Conger, *Annual Report for 1883*, 3.

39. William Chambers to Maj. P. H. Conger, November 22, 1883, document #1345, letter box 5, item 9, YNPA.

40. E. I. Fish to Major Conger, May 12, [1884?].

41. Haines, vol. 1, 264. For a full account of all issues and events related to the history of concessions in Yellowstone, see Culpin, "For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People."

42. General Philip H. Sheridan, as quoted in Haines, vol. 1, 263.

43. Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone*, 42.

44. Patrick H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior [Henry M. Teller], March 7, 1883, document #164, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

45. Conger, *Annual Report for 1883*, 3–4, 6.

46. Haines, vol. 1, 291.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 243.

49. Haines, vol. 1, 305.

50. P. H. Conger to the Secretary of the Interior, January 5, 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 2, YNPA.

51. Haines, vol. 1, 314.

52. Conger, *Annual Report for 1882*, 4, 5, 6. For more details on road work during this period and for all other periods, see Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966*, vol. 1 of *Historic Resource Study* (Selections for the Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, 1994).

53. Haines, vol. 1, 262–263.

54. Conger, *Annual Report for 1882*, 3.

55. *Ibid.*, 6–7.

56. *Ibid.*, 7.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Conger, *Annual Report for 1883*, 3.

59. *Ibid.*, 5, 6.

60. Conger, *Annual Report for 1882*, 8.

61. Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller to Mr. P. H. Conger, July 14, 1883, document #85, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

62. Conger, *Annual Report for 1883*, 5.

63. M. L. Joslyn, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park [Robert E. Carpenter], October 30, 1884, document #30, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

64. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 238.

65. Haines, vol. 1, 300.

66. Conger, as quoted in Aubrey L. Haines, Charles S. Pope, and Erwin N. Thompson, "Norris Soldier Station, Yellowstone National Park: Historic Structures Report," Sept. 1969, 8, vertical files, YNPL.

67. Haines, vol. 1, 300, and M. L. Joslyn to Superintendent, October 30, 1884.

68. *Livingston Enterprise*, July 5, 1884, as quoted in Haines et al., "Norris Soldier Station," 8.

69. Apparently Robert Carpenter, Conger's replacement, wrote to the Interior Department asking for permission and funding to build three cabins for "the comfort of the Assistant Superintendents": "one at the Upper Geyser Basin, one

near Marshall's Hotel and the third at Soda Butte." In a return letter to Carpenter, Joslyn wrote: "A letter was addressed to the Superintendent [Conger] April 18, 1884, approving the plan [Conger's plan to build "a sufficient number of cabins, at such points as they might be required for the use of the assistants"]. The Department has not since been advised whether any of the buildings contemplated in the correspondence referred to were ever erected" (Joslyn to Superintendent, October 30, 1884).

70. P. H. Conger to Lt. Dan Kingman, November 7, 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 2, YNPA.

71. Lt. Dan Kingman to P. H. Conger, November 19, 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 2, YNPA.

72. P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior, December 2, 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 2, YNPA.

73. Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller to P. H. Conger, April 18, 1884, document #26, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

74. Secretary of the Interior [Henry M. Teller] to P. H. Conger, Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park, April 29, 1882, document #112, letter box 1, item 1, and H. L. Muldrow, First Assistant Secretary of the Interior to the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park [David W. Wear], February 18, 1886, document #110, letter box 1, item 1, both in YNPA.

75. Conger, *Annual Report for 1882*, 6.

76. "Report on the National Park," February 4, 1884, *Livingston Daily Enterprise*, 1.

77. M. L. Joslyn, Acting Secretary of the Interior to P. H. Conger, Superintendent National Park, August 3, 1883, document #153, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

78. "Major Conger strenuously denies. . .," February 4, 1884, *Daily Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), 2.

79. Haines, vol. 2, 451.

80. M. L. Joslyn to Superintendent, October 30, 1884.

81. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 113.

82. See Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 243–244, and Haines, vol. 1, 315–318.

83. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 243.

84. Acting Secretary M. L. Joslyn to Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park [Robert Carpenter], November 6, 1884, document #156, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

85. Haines, vol. 2, 452.

86. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 244; Senator George Vest to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, April 14, 1885, as quoted in Bartlett, 244.

87. Arnold Hague to Senator George Vest, December 28, 1883, folder "Records Relating to Yellowstone National Park," box 63, entry 4[?], record group 57, National Archives. Copy in folder "History—Boundaries," Marcy Culpin's files, Historian's Office, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Montana.

88. John W. Powell to the Secretary of the Interior, May 9, 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 5, YNPA.

89. Powell to the Secretary, May 9, 1885.

90. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 244.

91. David W. Wear, *Annual Report for 1885*, 3.

92. *Weekly* (Livingston) *Enterprise*, Livingston, Mont., June 1885, as quoted in Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 244.

93. From *Laws Appertaining to the Yellowstone National Park* as quoted in Haines, vol. 1, 312.

94. J. W. Weimer to the Hon. Supt. N. Park [P. H. Conger], August 29, 1884, document #1585, letter box 5, item 9, YNPA.

95. Haines, vol. 1, 313.

96. "The New Park Superintendent," *Livingston Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), June 6, 1885, 3.

97. [Editorial], *Livingston Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), May 30, 1885, 2.

98. From a series of letters by David Wear to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, in July and September 1885, as quoted in Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 244 and 254 (note 37).

99. Wear, *Annual Report for 1885*, 3.

100. L. Q. C. Lamar to D. W. Wear, August 26, 1885, document #3, letter box 1, item 1, YNPA.

101. Haines, vol. 1, 320.

102. *Ibid.*

103. *Livingston Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), November 7, 1885, as quoted in Haines, vol. 1, 321.

104. Wear, *Annual Report for 1885*, 3, 4.

105. *Ibid.*, 4.

106. Henry Page to Secretary of the Interior, August 30, 1885; D. W. Wear to the Secretary of the Interior, December 10, 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 63, roll 3, YNPA.

107. R. E. Carpenter to Secretary of the Interior, January 15, 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 4, YNPA.

108. Wear, *Annual Report for 1885*, 3, 4.

109. *Ibid.*, 4.

110. *Ibid.*, 5.

111. W. Hallett Phillips to Secretary of the Interior,

December 12, 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 63, roll 3, YNPA.

112. *Livingston Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), August 29, 1885, as quoted in Haines, vol. 1, 322.

113. Haines, vol. 1, 323; also see Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 247–248.

114. “An unextinguished campfire,” *Livingston Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), August 29, 1885, 3; Haines, vol. 1, 321.

115. “An unextinguished campfire,” *Livingston Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), August 29, 1885, 3.

116. “Noticed in the Park,” *Livingston Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), September 19, 1885, 1.

117. *Ibid.*

118. Haines, vol. 2, 4.

119. Haines, vol. 1, 324–325.

120. “Delegated Toole Returns,” *Livingston Enterprise* (Livingston, Mont.), August 14, 1885, 2.

121. A. B. Freeze to Secretary of the Interior L. Lamar, March 29, 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 5, YNPA; Haines, vol. 2, 58.

122. Wear, *Annual Report for 1885*, 5.

123. “Mr. Hague on the Park,” *Forest and Stream* (February 25, 1896). More information regarding efforts toward the park’s enlargement can be found in Mary Shivers Culpin, “Yellowstone and Its Borders: A Significant Influence Toward the Creation of the First Forest Reserve,” *The Origins of the National Forests* (Durham, North Carolina: Forest History Society, 1992), 276–287.

124. Haines, vol. 1, 323.

125. Many historians have speculated about this connection between the protection of Yellowstone and the degradation of Niagara Falls. Landscape architect Ethan Carr, for example, refers to Niagara Falls’s “descent into a commercialized attraction.” Ethan Carr, *Wilderness By Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 42.

126. House Report 1076, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, as quoted in Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone*, 44.

127. First Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, March 6, 1886; Acting Secretary of the Interior to Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, June 8, 1886, both microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 6, YNPA.

## CHAPTER 3

1. Arnold Hague, “The Yellowstone National Park,”

*Scribner’s Magazine* 35 (May 1904): 527.

2. Secretary of the Interior to Secretary of War, August 6, 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 6; Lt. Gen. P. H. Sheridan to Secretary of War, August 9, 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 3, both in Yellowstone National Park Archives [hereafter YNPA]. For good accounts of this period, see H. Duane Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1971); Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, revised ed. (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1996), vol. 2, chapter 12 [hereafter Haines, vol. 1 or 2]; and Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), chapter 9.

3. Captain Moses Harris, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889*, 11, hereafter *Annual Report for [year]*.

4. Haines, vol. 2, 4.

5. *Ibid.*, 453.

6. Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, 94. Harris, *Annual Report for 1888*, 3.

7. As quoted in Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 259.

8. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 14.

9. Haines, vol. 2, 454. For a detailed discussion of these issues, see Haines, vol. 2, chapter 1, 19–21.

10. *Ibid.*, 454–455.

11. *Ibid.*, 455.

12. David G. Battle and Erwin N. Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone: Historic Structures Report* (Denver: National Park Service, 1972), 14.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Haines, vol. 2, 457.

15. Arnold Hague to H. Muldrow, September 21, 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 3, YNPA.

16. H. Muldrow to Captain Moses Harris, September 30, 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 3, YNPA.

17. Captain Moses Harris to Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow, October 8, 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 3, YNPA.

18. Lee Whittlesey, personal communication, November 18, 2003.

19. Haines, vol. 2, 6. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 11, 12. Captain Moses Harris to Adjutant General, [?] 3, 1886, consolidated file “Fort Sheridan–Camp Sheridan,” box 1026, Record Group [hereafter RG] 92, National Archives; Capt. Moses Harris, “Inspection Report of Camp Sheridan made the

- 5th day of August, 1887, by Captain Moses Harris, 1st Cavalry,” box 117, entry 464, RG 94, National Archives. Copies of both in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1892–1900,” Marcy Culpin’s files [hereafter Culpin’s files], Historian’s Office, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Montana [hereafter HRC].
20. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 5.
  21. Memorandum from Moses Harris, May 18, 1887, box 117, entry 464, RG 94, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1892–1900,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  22. Edwin C. Mason, Acting Inspector General, to the Adjutant General, September 8, 1887, box 117, entry 464, RG 94, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1892–1900,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  23. Harris, “Inspection Report of Camp Sheridan,” August, 5, 1887.
  24. Mason to the Adjutant General, September 8, 1887.
  25. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 4.
  26. Harris, *Annual Report for 1886*, 11.
  27. *Ibid.*, 13.
  28. Harris, *Annual Report for 1889*, 11.
  29. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
  30. G. Chandler, Acting Secretary of the Department of the Interior, to Captain F. A. Boutelle, Acting Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, October 23, 1890, document # 217, letter box 1, item 2, YNPA.
  31. Quartermaster, U.S.A., Chief Quartermaster to Quartermaster General, U.S. Army, February 25, 1890, consolidated file “Fort Sheridan–Camp Sheridan,” box 1026, RG 92, National Archives. Copy in folder “Camp Sheridan—General Correspondence, 1883–1891,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  32. Thomas H. Ruger, Brigadier General, Commanding to the Adjutant General, U. S. Army, January 16, 1891, document #301, letter box 1, item 2, YNPA.
  33. *Ibid.*
  34. *Ibid.*
  35. John W. Noble to Secretary of War, February 27, 1891, consolidated file “Fort Sheridan–Camp Sheridan,” box 1026, RG 92, National Archives. Copy in folder “Camp Sheridan—General Correspondence, 1883–1891,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  36. Haines, vol. 2, 454.
  37. *Ibid.*, 162.
  38. G. H. Sands, 1st Lieutenant, to the Secretary of the Interior, February 16, 1891, as quoted in Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 9.
  39. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 9.
  40. R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, National Historic Landmark Nomination: Fort Yellowstone, Draft, May 10, 2000, 5.
  41. Simmons and Simmons, National Historic Landmark Nomination, 5.
  42. George Anderson, *Annual Report for 1892*, 5, and Captain George Anderson to Adjutant General, August 13, 1892, box 117, entry 464, RG 94, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1892–1900,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC. *See also* Assistant Adjutant General to Captain George Anderson, June 16, 1892; Captain George Anderson to Adjutant General, August 13, 1892; and Assistant Adjutant General Indorsement, September 16 1892; all in box 117, entry 464, RG 94, National Archives. Copies in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1892–1900,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  43. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 11.
  44. Simmons and Simmons, National Historic Landmark Nomination, 5.
  45. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 13.
  46. Captain George Anderson to Adjutant General, U.S. Army, April 10, 1894, and Adjutant General to Commanding Officer, Department of Dakota, May 2, 1894, both in box 117, entry 464, RG 94, National Archives. Copies in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1892–1900,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  47. Simmons and Simmons, National Historic Landmark Nomination, 6.
  48. Oscar J. Brown, *Annual Report for 1899*, 9.
  49. *Ibid.*
  50. John Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1901*, 7.
  51. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 34.
  52. *Ibid.*, 15. For a thorough discussion of the engineer officer’s involvement in the construction of the roads and bridges in Yellowstone National Park, *see* Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966, Historic Resource Study* volume 1 (Denver: National Park Service, 1994).
  53. Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park: Historical and Descriptive*, 5th ed. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1905), 278.
  54. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1901*, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 11.
  55. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 36. Chittenden served two tours of duty in the park. The first ran from 1891 to 1892; the second from 1899 to 1906 (Haines,

vol. 2, 465).

56. Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 47.

57. Haines, vol. 2, 165.

58. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 16.

59. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1902*, 13.

60. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 35.

61. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1902*, 12, 13.

62. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1903*, 3, 4, 8.

63. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1904*, 11.

64. Haines, vol. 2, 165.

65. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1902*, 4, 13.

66. Simmons and Simmons, National Historic Landmark Nomination, 7.

67. Battle and Thompson (*Fort Yellowstone*, 7) wrote, “Unfortunately, despite an intensive search of written documents and maps, it has not been possible to prove by historical methods that the house he planned is the building standing.”

68. Hiram Martin Chittenden, “Improvement of Yellowstone National Park.” Appendix GGG of the *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army Upon the Construction, Repair, and Maintenance of Roads and Bridges in the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 2889.

69. Chittenden, “Improvement,” 2889.

70. This excerpt was taken from Roosevelt’s complete speech as it appeared in Lee H. Whittlesey and Paul Schullery, “The Roosevelt Arch: A Centennial History of an American Icon,” *Yellowstone Science* 11(3) (Summer 2003): 2–24.

71. Acting Superintendent Pitcher referred to the arch as Roosevelt Arch in his *Annual Report for 1905*, page 3.

72. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1903*, 7.

73. Chittenden, “Improvement,” 2890.

74. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1904*, 3, 11. Major Hiram Chittenden to Major John Pitcher, June 1, 1904, document #7988, letter box 15, item 29, YNPA.

75. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1905*, 3.

76. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 61.

77. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1906*, 5.

78. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1902*, 5; Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1903*, 4.

79. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1904*, 9–10.

80. *Ibid.*

81. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1905*, 10. Pitcher used the statistic of 4,000 visitors in 1892, but Aubrey Haines listed the visitation number for 1892 at 7,290 (Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1906*, 9; Haines, vol. 2, 478).

82. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1903*, 4.

83. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 19.

84. *Ibid.*, 15, 19–20.

85. Major W. E. Wieden [?], Assistant Adjutant General, to the Commanding Officer, Fort Yellowstone, October 13, 1904, box 1, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1904–1907,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

86. U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Seattle District, *Context Study of the United States Quartermaster General Standardized Plans, 1866–1942*. November 1972 [hereafter *Context Study*].

87. *Ibid.*, 31.

88. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 231.

89. *Ibid.*, 15.

90. Captain Moses Harris to H. Muldrow, September 1, 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, no. 62, roll 3, YNPA.

91. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 3, 28; Haines, vol. 2, 6, 11.

92. Harris, *Annual Report for 1886*, 6.

93. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 15. For information on Wilson, see Haines, vol. 2, 448.

94. Haines, vol. 2, 448. Harris’s men went on daily patrols from each station, usually under the direction of the park scout. Even with the help of these guides, Harris felt the available force was inadequate for protecting the park, and hoped to supplement his one troop of cavalry with the addition of a company of infantry and two more scouts (Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 12).

95. According to Robert Flather, retired park ranger and authority on snowshoe cabins in the park, six cabins were authorized, but only five were built under contract to Lawrence Link of Gardiner, Montana. Robert Flather, personal interview, October 2003.

96. John Noble, Secretary of the Interior, to Capt. F. A. Boutelle, Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park, September 25, 1890, document #236, letter box 1, item 2, YNPA.

97. George Smith Anderson, *Annual Report for 1891*, 4, 5.

98. *Ibid.*, and Anderson, *Annual Report for 1892*, 5. See also Captain George Anderson to Adjutant General, August 13, 1892, box 117, entry 464, RG 94, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1892–1900,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

99. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1893*, 7.

100. Haines, vol. 2, 191.

101. Lieutenant Colonel 6th Cavalry, Acting Inspector



- General, to Inspector General, U.S. Army, August 30, 1899, 2, file "Fort Yellowstone," box 1269, RG 92, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1892–1900," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
102. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1894*, 6.
  103. *Ibid.*, 6.
  104. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1895*, 7.
  105. *Ibid.*
  106. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1894*, 8–9.
  107. Samuel B. M. Young, *Annual Report for 1897*, 7.
  108. Col. S. B. M. Young to Secretary of the Interior, July 10, 1897, Item 218, Letters Sent, July 24, 1896–October 1, 1897, YNPA.
  109. Station logs are still kept, but rangers are no longer required to submit monthly reports.
  110. Young to Secretary of the Interior, July 10, 1897.
  111. James B. Erwin, *Annual Report for 1898*, 6.
  112. Oscar J. Brown, *Annual Report for 1899*, 3.
  113. *Ibid.*, 9.
  114. It is unclear if Brown used the snowshoe cabin at Hellroaring Creek as his "new station." He could have adjusted the number of men at the cabin and decided to keep it manned year round (Brown, *Annual Report for 1899*, 4, 13).
  115. Oscar J. Brown, *Annual Report for 1899*, 4.
  116. *Ibid.*
  117. Brown listed the routes soldiers were to take from the various stations in Brown, *Annual Report for 1899*, 12–13. According to a Yellowstone National Park and Forest Reserve map by the U.S. Geological Survey for 1900, there were twenty-one snowshoe cabins in 1900. A copy of the map can be found in the original bound copies of *Annual Reports* vol. 5, 1895–1900, YNPL.
  118. George W. Goode, *Annual Report for 1900*, 4, 8.
  119. *Ibid.*
  120. John Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1901*, 10.
  121. Chittenden, "Improvement Yellowstone National Park," in Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1901*, 11.
  122. Chittenden, "Improvement Yellowstone National Park," in Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1902*, 14.
  123. Chittenden, "Statement of Work Done During Year 1903, Improvement of Yellowstone National Park," in Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1903*, 9.
  124. Captain Hiram Chittenden to Major John Pitcher, September 28, 1903, document #6049, letter box 12, item 24, YNPA.
  125. Robert Flather, written correspondence with author, June 9, 2003.
  126. Chittenden, "Improvement of Yellowstone National Park," in Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1905*, 13; Chittenden, "Improvement Yellowstone National Park," in Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1904*, 13; Major Hiram Chittenden to Major John Pitcher, June 1, 1904, document #7988, letter box 15, item 29, YNPA.
  127. Wieden [?] to Commanding Officer, October 13, 1904.
  128. Albert [?], Military Secretary, to Commanding Officer, Fort Yellowstone, September 13, 1905, box 1, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1904–1907," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
  129. John H. Dean, Assistant Superintendent, to Maj. P. H. Conger, Superintendent, July 31, 1883, document #1368, letter box 5, item 9, YNPA.
  130. Harris, *Annual Report for 1886*, 6.
  131. *Ibid.*, 8.
  132. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 14.
  133. Harris, *Annual Report for 1886*, 6.
  134. Harris, *Annual Report for 1889*, 10.
  135. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 12.
  136. Harris, *Annual Report for 1889*, 7.
  137. *Ibid.*
  138. Harris, *Annual Report for 1888*, 13.
  139. Haines, vol. 2, 54. For an excellent discussion of the wildlife policies of this period, see Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, vol. 2, chapter 14, and Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), chapter 7.
  140. Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 113.
  141. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 12, 13.
  142. Harris, *Annual Report for 1888*, 6.
  143. As quoted in Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, 91.
  144. *Ibid.*
  145. Frazier A. Boutelle, *Supplemental Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 21, 22.
  146. Frazier A. Boutelle, *Annual Report for 1890*, 5.
  147. *Ibid.*, 6.
  148. Boutelle, *Supplemental Report*, 22.
  149. Boutelle, *Annual Report for 1890*, 7.
  150. Boutelle, *Supplemental Report*, 22.
  151. Boutelle, *Annual Report for 1890*, 6.
  152. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, to Capt. F. A. Boutelle, Acting Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, August 25, 1890, document #271, letter box 1, item 2, YNPA.
  153. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, to Capt.

F. A. Boutelle, Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park, December 12, 1890, document #265, letter box 1, item 2, YNPA.

154. James A. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 24.

155. Haines, vol. 2, 89.

156. Boutelle, *Annual Report for 1889*, 22, 23.

157. See Paul Schullery, *Searching For Yellowstone*; John D. Varley and Paul Schullery, *Freshwater Wilderness* (Yellowstone Park: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association, 1983).

158. Boutelle, *Annual Report for 1890*, 7, 8.

159. Boutelle, *Supplemental Report*, 23.

160. Boutelle, *Annual Report for 1890*, 11.

161. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1891*, 8.

162. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1892*, 7, 9.

163. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1894*, 9–10.

164. From the Lacey Act and the "Rules and Regulations of the Yellowstone Park" by Secretary of the Interior Michael Hoke Smith, as printed in Anderson, *Annual Report for 1894*, 12–15.

165. Anderson was also pleased by the entertainment value of the park's bears. While he found bears troublesome, they "are not in the least dangerous," he noted in 1892, and again in 1895. In fact, he found their presence near the hotels to be "a source of great amusement." Anderson, *Annual Report for 1892*, 10, and *Annual Report for 1895*, 13.

166. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, to Captain George Anderson, June 13, 1892, document #371, letter box 1, item 2, YNPA.

167. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1893*, 14, and *Annual Report for 1894*, 11.

168. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1892*, 10.

169. Ibid.

170. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1895*, 13.

171. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1896*, 13.

172. Ibid., 12.

173. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1894*, 8.

174. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1895*, 11.

175. "Instructions to Persons Traveling Through Yellowstone National Park," in Young, *Annual Report for 1897*, 17.

176. Haines, vol. 2, 91.

177. Schullery, *Searching For Yellowstone*, 166.

178. Ibid., 253.

179. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1895*, 6–7.

180. Young, "Supplemental Report," *Annual Report for 1897*, 23.

181. Young, *Annual Report for 1897*, 9.

182. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1904*, 7.

183. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1905*, 9.

184. Young, "Supplemental Report," *Annual Report for 1897*, 25.

185. James B. Erwin, *Annual Report for 1898*, 13.

186. Haines, vol. 2, 92.

187. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1903*, 4.

188. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1906*, 9–10.

189. Young, *Annual Report for 1897*, 8.

190. Elmer Lindsley ["report regarding the fishes, birds, and animals in the park"], in Young, *Annual Report for 1897*, 27.

191. Erwin, *Annual Report for 1898*, 11.

192. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1901*, 6.

193. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1902*, 9.

194. Haines, vol. 2, 72–74. For more information on Buffalo Jones, see Paul Schullery, "Buffalo Jones and the Bison Herd in Yellowstone," *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 26(3) (July 1976): 40–51.

195. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1902*, 10.

196. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1906*, 8–9.

197. Ibid., 5.

198. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1905*, 6.

199. Ibid.

200. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1902*, 7.

201. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 14–15.

202. Harris, *Annual Report for 1888*, 14–15.

203. George W. Goode, Second Lieutenant First Cavalry, Post Adjutant, Orders No. 37 as given in Section E of Harris's *Annual Report for 1887*, 28.

204. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 8.

205. Harris, *Annual Report for 1889*, 12.

206. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1895*, 4, and *Anderson, Annual Report for 1896*, 5.

207. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1894*, 12.

208. Director, U.S. Geological Survey to Secretary of the Interior, September 3, 1897, box 54, entry 1, RG 57[?], National Archives. Copy of cover letter in folder "History—Boundaries," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

209. Erwin, *Annual Report for 1898*, 4–6.

210. Noble to Anderson, June 13, 1892.

211. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1894*, 4.

212. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1895*, 4.

213. Anderson, *Annual Report for 1896*, 3–4.

214. Young, *Annual Report for 1897*, 4–5, 17.

215. Young, "Supplemental Report," in *Annual Report for 1897*, 23.

216. Erwin, *Annual Report for 1898*, 6.

217. Ibid., 6–8.

218. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1906*, 12.
219. Young, "Supplemental Report," in *Annual Report for 1897*, 24.
220. Director, U.S. Geological Survey to Secretary of the Interior, September 3, 1897.
221. Goode, *Annual Report for 1900*, 10–11.
222. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1904*, 13.
223. Ibid.
224. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1906*, 14, 15.
225. Ibid.
226. Ibid., 14.
227. Ibid., 12.
228. Ibid., 14.
229. Noble to Anderson, June 13, 1892.
230. Pitcher, *Annual Report for 1906*, 12.
231. Harris, *Annual Report for 1887*, 24.

## CHAPTER 4

1. Hiram M. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park: Historical and Descriptive*, 5th ed. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1905), 115.
2. Samuel B. M. Young, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1907*, 24–26, hereafter *Annual Report for [year]*.
3. Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, revised ed. (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1996), vol. 2, 457 [hereafter Haines, vol. 1 or 2].
4. Haines, vol. 2, 458.
5. See Haines, vol. 2, chapter 9, "Enter the Rangers," and H. Duane Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971), chapter 9, "The Culmination of an Idea."
6. See chapter 3 of this document.
7. Young, *Annual Report for 1907*, 25.
8. Ibid.
9. Horace M. Albright, Acting Director of the National Park Service, memorandum to Secretary of the Interior, September 24, 1917, folder "Troops in Park," box 253, entry 6, record group [hereafter RG] 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "History—Military—1917–1921," Marcy Culpin's files [hereafter Culpin's files], Historian's Office, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Montana [hereafter HRC].
10. Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, 176.
11. Young, *Annual Report for 1907*, 25.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 26.
14. Ibid.
15. Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, 175–176.
16. [Major General J. F.] Bell, Chief of Staff, to General S. B. M. Young, January 18, 1908, folder "Fort Yellowstone," box 218, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1908–1910," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
17. S. B. M. Young to Maj. Gen. J. F. Bell, U.S. Army, Chief of Staff, January 31, 1908, folder "Fort Yellowstone," box 218, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1908–1910," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
18. Lieut. Gen. U.S. Army, retired, S. B. M. Young, to James Rudolph Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, February 1, 1908, folder "Fort Yellowstone," box 218, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1908–1910," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
19. Alexander Lambert to Theodore Roosevelt, September 9, 1908, folder "Troops," box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.
20. Young, *Annual Report for 1908*, 14.
21. Alexander Lambert to Secretary of the Interior James Garfield, September 29, 1908, box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.
22. James Garfield, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1909* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 42.
23. Haines, vol. 2, 457.
24. Robert Shaw [?], Acting Secretary of War, to Secretary of the Interior, December 6, 1909, folder "Fort Yellowstone Military Post," box 218, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1908–1910," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
25. Congressman Harry Coudrey to Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger, April 11, 1910, and Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger to Congressman Harry Coudrey, April 13, 1910, both in box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.
26. Secretary of the Interior to Secretary of War, April 13, 1910, box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives; Secretary of War to Secretary of the Interior, April 28, 1910, file "Troops: Required in Park and Use of," box A-7, Yellowstone National Park Archives [hereafter YNPA].
27. Acting Secretary of the Interior to Secretary of the Interior, August 12, 1910; Secretary of the Interior to R. B. Marshall, August 31, 1910; Telegram from Richard Ballinger

to Frank Pierce, August 25, 1910, all in folder “Troops,” box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.

28. *Ibid.*

29. M. J. V. to George Ward, April 4, 1911, and George Ward to Comptroller of the Treasury, June 21, 1911, both in folder “Troops,” box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.

30. Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 8, and Haines, vol. 2, 284.

31. Haines, vol. 2, 284; Ethan Carr, *Wilderness By Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 70.

32. “Introduction,” *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at Yellowstone National Park September 11 and 12, 1911* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 1.

33. “Remarks by Lieutenant Colonel L. M. Brett, Acting Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park,” *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at Yellowstone National Park September 11 and 12, 1911* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), 154–155.

34. As quoted in Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 72.

35. Haines, vol. 2, 284.

36. *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at the Yellowstone National Park, September 11 and 12, 1911* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912); Lt. Col. L. M. Brett, *Annual Report for 1912*, 15.

37. Brett, *Annual Report for 1912*, 15.

38. Brett, *Annual Report for 1915*, 30.

39. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 72–73.

40. By 1913, there were eleven national parks: Yosemite (1890), Sequoia (1890), General Grant (1890), Mount Rainier (1899), Crater Lake (1902), and Wind Cave, Sully’s Hill, Platt, Mesa Verde, and Glacier (1910).

41. Department of the Interior, 1913 Annual Reports, as quoted in Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 73 and note 66, 323.

42. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 73.

43. Col. L. M. Brett to Adolph Miller, Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, October 21, 1913; Telegram from Adolph Miller, Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, October 25, 1913; Adolph Miller to Col. L. M. Brett, October 28, 1913, all in box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.

44. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 73.

45. *Ibid.*, 74.

46. Adolph Miller, Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior to Secretary of War, March 21, 1914, file “Troops: Required in Park and Use of,” box A-7, YNPA.

47. Secretary of War Lindley Garrison to Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane, May 1, 1914, file “Troops: Required in Park and Use of,” box A-7, YNPA.

48. Secretary of War Lindley Garrison to Hon. J. J. Fitzgerald, January 30, 1915, file “Troops: Required in Park and Use of,” box A-7, YNPA.

49. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 74.

50. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 124.

51. Stephen Mather to Col. L. M. Brett, May 20, 1915, and Col. L. M. Brett to Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane, May 26, 1915, both in file “1913–1915,” letter box 41, item 87, YNPA. H. M. Albright to Col. L. M. Brett, June 4, 1915, file “Employees, Assistants Secretary of the Interior,” letter box 60, item 102A, Employees, Assistants Secretary of the Interior, YNPA.

52. Stephen Mather to Col. L.M. Brett, December 28, 1915, file “1913–1915,” letter box 41, item 87, YNPA.

53. Haines, vol. 2, 287.

54. As quoted in *ibid.*, 289.

55. *Ibid.*, 286.

56. *Ibid.*, 287.

57. *Ibid.*, 286.

58. Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*, 178–179.

59. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of National Parks to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), 13–14, hereafter *Director’s Report for [year]*.

60. Memorandum from J. Cotter to Stephen Mather, April 14, 1916, folder “Troops,” box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.

61. Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane to Secretary of War Newton Baker, July 18, 1916, and Secretary of War Newton Baker to Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane, July 20, 1916, both in file “Troops: Required in Park and Use of,” box A-7, YNPA.

62. Memorandum from Adjutant General W. M. Wright to Commanding General, Western Department, August 1, 1916, folder “Inspections & Investigations,” box 218, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives; Franklin Lane to Newton Baker, June 15, 1917, folder “Troops in Park,” box 253, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “History Military—1917–1921,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC; and Robert Marshall to Stephen Mather, September 7, 1916, file “Troops Required and Use of,” box A-7, YNPA.

63. Acting Secretary of the Interior to Secretary of War, September 11, 1916, folder “Inspections & Investigations,” box 218, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.

64. David G. Battle and Erwin N. Thompson, *Fort*

- Yellowstone: Historic Structures Report* (Denver: National Park Service, 1972), 23.
65. *Ibid.*, 239.
  66. *Context Study of the United States Quartermaster General Standardized Plans, 1866–1942* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Seattle District, 1997), 40.
  67. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 82.
  68. *Context Study*, 227.
  69. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 81; *Context Study*, 227.
  70. *Context Study*, 227.
  71. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 81.
  72. As quoted in *ibid.*, 93–94.
  73. *Ibid.*, 94.
  74. *Context Study*, 39.
  75. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 94.
  76. *Ibid.*, 88.
  77. *Ibid.*, 223–224.
  78. *Ibid.*, 245–246.
  79. *Ibid.*, 27, 151–152.
  80. *Context Study*, 39.
  81. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 140.
  82. Aubrey L. Haines, *A History of the Yellowstone National Park Chapel* (Yellowstone National Park, 1963), 3–7.
  83. Clement Ucker, “Report of the Chief Clerk of the Department on the Yellowstone National Park, September 22, 1910,” folder “Inspections and Investigations,” box 218, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.
  84. *Context Study*, 204–205.
  85. Haines, *A History of the Yellowstone National Park Chapel*, 7–8.
  86. Battle and Thompson, *Fort Yellowstone*, 159.
  87. Major W. H. Gordon, Inspector General, to Commanding Officer, May 19, 1911, folder “Inspection of Post,” box 15, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  88. L. M. Brett to [Inspector General?], [May 1911?], folder “Inspection of Post,” box 15, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  89. Robert L. Louwburg [?], 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Cavalry, Adjutant, “Re new bakery and riding hall,” folder “Buildings new, #942,” box 15, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  90. Robert L. Louwburg [?], 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Cavalry, Adjutant, “Report of irregularities and deficiencies noted by Major Alonzo Gray, I.G., during recent inspection of post,” September 16, 1912, III Quartermaster’s Department: #62, folder 1156, box 16, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder “Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  91. Ucker, “Report of the Chief Clerk, September 22, 1910.”
  92. Colonel L. M. Brett to Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane, November 4, 1913, folder “Accommodations at Hotel and Camps, 1901–1917,” box 20, item 39, YNPA.
  93. Superintendent Young to the Secretary of the Interior, December 14, 1908, document #8249, letter box 15, item 29, YNPA.
  94. R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, Draft “National Historic Landmark Nomination Fort Yellowstone,” May 10, 2000, 21. Copy available in YNPA and YCR.
  95. According to retired park service ranger Robert Flather, the cabin at Buffalo Lake was built earlier than 1912, but the exact date is not known. The cabin, he writes, was in existence by August 1911, according to the Bechler Station Log. Flather claims that the Buffalo Lake cabin is the “oldest existing snowshoe cabin still serving its original purpose.” “The oldest cabin is what is now the Hellroaring barn built in Oct. 1898.” Quotes are from Flather’s unpublished comments, dated June 9, 2003, located in folder “Slough Creek,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.
  96. Aubrey L. Haines, Charles S. Pope and Erwin N. Thompson, *Norris Soldier Station, Yellowstone National Park: Historic Structures Report* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1969), 30.
  97. See chapter 2 of this document.
  98. Haines et al., *Norris Soldier Station*, 20.
  99. *Ibid.*, 26.
  100. Simmons and Simmons, Draft “National Historic Landmark Nomination Fort Yellowstone,” 19.
  101. Haines et al., *Norris Soldier Station*, 31.
  102. Simmons and Simmons, Draft “National Historic Landmark Nomination Fort Yellowstone,” 19, note 29.
  103. As quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 434.
  104. *Ibid.*, 103.
  105. Simmons and Simmons, Draft “National Historic Landmark Nomination Fort Yellowstone,” 19–20.
  106. *Ibid.*, 20.
  107. *Ibid.*, 20–21.
  108. Young, *Annual Report for 1907*, 8.
  109. This according to Robert Flather, retired park ranger, who has studied the park’s soldier stations and snowshoe cabins extensively, from a personal interview with Flather in October 2003.

110. Brett, *Annual Report for 1911*, 12.
111. "List of Buildings Owned by Interior Department," January 21, 1918, "Dates of Construction or Improvements Made to Structures in YNP; List of Buildings, Memoranda, 1918, 1920," vertical files, History—YNP—Structures, YNPL.
112. Robert Flather, "Gallatin Station," [no date], unpublished report, according to a copy acquired from the author in October 2003.
113. Brett, *Annual Report for 1912*, 14–15.
114. Brett, *Annual Report for 1914*, 17.
115. Haines, vol. 2, 183; Culpin, "Ranger Stations/Patrol Cabins," note 18.
116. Acting Adjutant General to Commanding Officer, Telegram, June 21, 1910, and H. C. Benson to Quartermaster General, rough draft of letter, box 13, RG 393, National Archives, as cited in Mary Shivers Culpin, "Ranger Stations/Patrol Cabins, Yellowstone NP, April 23, 1997," unpublished paper, Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
117. Culpin, "Ranger Stations/Patrol Cabins," 4.
118. "Report of irregularities and deficiencies noted by Major Alonzo Gray, I.G., during recent inspection of post," September 16, 1912, IV sub Stations need repair as follows: #85, folder "Inspections and Investigations," box 16, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
119. Inspector General to the Commanding Officer [L. M. Brett], Fort Yellowstone, Wyoming, October 6, 1911, Quartermaster's Department: #22, 4, folder 859, box 15, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
120. Ucker, "Report of the Chief Clerk, September 22, 1910."
121. Culpin, "Ranger Stations/Patrol Cabins," note 18.
122. Brigadier General Marion Maus to the Adjutant General of the Army, October 14, 1911, folder 880, box 15, RG 393, National Archives, as quoted in Culpin, "Ranger Stations/Patrol Cabins," 5.
123. Inspector General to the Commanding Officer [L. M. Brett], Fort Yellowstone, Wyoming, October 6, 1911, Quartermaster's Department: #22, 3, folder 859, box 15, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
124. L. M. Brett, Lieutenant Colonel, 1st Cavalry, to the Adjutant General, Department of the Columbia, October 12, 1911, 2, folder 859, box 15, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
125. Marion P. Maus, Commanding General, to Adjutant General of the Army, October 24, 1912, #20, 5, folder "Inspections Post and Park Stations," box 16, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
126. Colonel J. L. Chamberlain, Inspector General, to Commanding Officer, Fort Yellowstone, Wyoming, September 15, 1913, Soldier Stations: #36, 4, folder "Inspection Annual," box 17, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
127. Brett, *Annual Report for 1913*, 9–10.
128. Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Secretary of Commerce, August 6, 1913, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives.
129. Brett, *Annual Report for 1913*, 7, 6.
130. Brett, *Annual Report for 1914*, 13.
131. Brett, *Annual Report for 1915*, 25.
132. *Ibid.*, 16–24.
133. Young, *Annual Report for 1907*, 8.
134. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 73–74 and note 69, page 323.
135. From the *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at Berkeley, California, 1915*, as quoted in Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 75, and note 74, page 323.
136. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 74.
137. From the *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at Berkeley, California, 1915*, as quoted in Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 75, and note 74, page 323.
138. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 124.
139. Frederick Law Olmsted, "The Distinction Between National Parks and National Forests," *Landscape Architecture* VI(3) (April 1916): 114–115.
140. W. H. Gordon, Inspector General, to Commanding Officer [L. M. Brett], May 19, 1911, Commanding Officer: #9, 2, folder "Inspection of Post," box 15, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
141. Alonzo Gray, Major, Inspector General, to the Adjutant General, Western Division, August 30, 1912, 3, 6, folder 1156, box 16, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
142. Chamberlain to Commanding Officer, September

- 15, 1913.
143. Gray to Adjutant General, Western Division, August 30, 1912.
144. Chamberlain to Commanding Officer, September 15, 1913.
145. Maus to Adjutant General of the Army, October 24, 1912.
146. Colonel J. L. Chamberlain, Inspector General, to Commanding Officer [L. M. Brett], Fort Yellowstone, Wyoming, August 24, 1914, #1, 1, folder 1956, box 18, RG 393, National Archives. Copy in folder "Fort Yellowstone—General Correspondence, 1911–1914," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
147. Maus to Adjutant General of the Army, October 24, 1912.
148. Brett, *Annual Report for 1911*.
149. *Ibid.*, 11.
150. Young, *Annual Report for 1908*, 9.
151. *Report of the General Superintendent of Parks to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916*, 30–36.
152. Young, *Annual Report for 1908*, 8.
153. Brett, *Annual Report for 1914*, 17.
154. Brett, *Annual Report for 1916*, 34.
155. Benson, *Annual Report for 1909*, 11.
156. *Ibid.*
157. Young, *Annual Report for 1907*, 14, and *Annual Report for 1908*, 11.
158. Brett, *Annual Report for 1915*, 19.
159. Brett, *Annual Report for 1912*, 13, and *Annual Report for 1916*, 38.
160. Benson, *Annual Report for 1910*, 10.
161. *Ibid.*
162. Brett, *Annual Report for 1911*, 11.
163. Brett, *Annual Report for 1913*, 13, and *Annual Report for 1916*, 36.
164. Mark Daniels to Secretary of the Interior, October 23, 1914, folder "Inspections and Investigations," box 218, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.
165. T. M. Koel, J. L. Arnold, P. E. Bigelow, P. D. Doepke, B. D. Ertel, and D. L. Mahony, *Yellowstone Fisheries and Aquatic Science: Annual Report, 2003* (Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.: National Park Service, Yellowstone Center for Resources, YCR-NR-2004-03, 2004), 2.
166. Brett, *Annual Report for 1916*, 28–29.
167. James Rudolph Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, to Major John Pitcher, Acting Superintendent, April 2, 1907, document #8079, letter box 15, YNPA.
168. Young, *Annual Report for 1907*, 12–13.
169. Though not purposely introduced, mountain goats have been extant in Yellowstone National Park since the 1980s, when herds introduced to surrounding areas by the Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks in the 1940s and 1950s, and the Idaho Department of Fish and Game in 1969–1971, were found to have colonized in the park. Yellowstone National Park, *Yellowstone's Northern Range: Complexity and Change in a Wildland Ecosystem* (Mammoth Hot Springs, Wyo.: National Park Service, 1997), 93.
170. Paul Schullery and Lee Whittlesey, "Mountain Goats in the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem: A Prehistoric and Historical Context," *Western North American Naturalist* 61(3) (July 2001), 298.
171. Brett, *Annual Report for 1913*, 13–14.
172. Young, *Annual Report for 1907*, 11, and Benson, *Annual Report for 1910*, 11.
173. *Ibid.*
174. Benson, *Annual Report for 1910*, 11.
175. Ucker, "Report of the Chief Clerk, September 22, 1910."
176. Brett, *Annual Report for 1911*, 12.
177. Brett, *Annual Report for 1912*, 14.
178. Brett, *Annual Report for 1913*, 13–14.
179. Brett, *Annual Report for 1914*, 17.
180. *Ibid.*, 19.
181. Brett, *Annual Report for 1915*, 25.
182. *Ibid.*
183. Brett, *Annual Report for 1914*, 20.
184. Young, "Instructions of July 2, 1908," *Annual Report for 1908*, 16–17.
185. Young, *Annual Report for 1907*, 8.
186. *Ibid.*
187. Ucker, "Report of the Chief Clerk, September 22, 1910."
188. Major Wallace DeWitt to Captain H.C. Benson, October 26, 1910, folder "Repairs/Improvements," box 240, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.
189. Brett, *Annual Report for 1914*, 18–19.
190. Brett, *Annual Report for 1912*, 5.
191. *Ibid.*, 14–15.
192. Brett, *Annual Report for 1913*, 5.
193. *Ibid.*, 14.
194. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 63.
195. Brett, *Annual Report for 1913*, 14, and Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 73.
196. Brett, *Annual Report for 1914*, 7.
197. *Ibid.*, 18–19.
198. Brett, *Annual Report for 1915*, 24–25.
199. Colonel L. M. Brett to Secretary of the Interior,

January 20, 1910; Bo Sweeney to R. B. Marshall, January 29, 1916; Ashland Commercial Club to Colonel L. M. Brett, April 14, 1916; R. B. Marshall to Colonel L. M. Brett, June 27, 1916, all in folder “Repairs/Improvements,” box 246, entry 6, RG 79, National Archives.

200. Brett, *Annual Report for 1916*, 42, 44.

201. As quoted in Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 79.

## CHAPTER 5

1. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1917* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 32, cited hereafter as *Director’s Report for [year]*.

2. Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, revised ed. (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1996), vol. 2, 458, [hereafter Haines, vol. 1 or 2].

3. Haines, vol. 2, 458–459.

4. See papers regarding the exchange in folder “History—Military—1917–1921,” Marcy Culpin’s files [hereafter Culpin’s files], Historian’s Office, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Montana [hereafter HRC].

5. *Director’s Report for 1918*, 38.

6. *Ibid.*

7. As reprinted by Tom Stout in *Montana, Its Story and Biography* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1921), vol. 1, 480, as quoted in Haines, vol. 2, 290.

8. *Director’s Report for 1917*, 32–33.

9. Chester A. Lindsley to Horace M. Albright, Assistant Director of National Parks, February 1, 1918, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Miscellaneous Buildings—Mammoth, 1 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

10. Chester A. Lindsley to Commanding Officer, Fort Yellowstone, January 28, 1918, National Archives, RG 79, entry 7, CCF Yellowstone National Park, box 620.01-630. Copy in folder “Miscellaneous Buildings—Mammoth, 1 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

11. Stephen M. Mather, Director of the National Park Service, to Mr. Lindsley, Acting Superintendent, February 20, 1918, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Miscellaneous Buildings—Mammoth, 1 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

12. Mather to H. M. Albright, telegram, February 23, 1918, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Miscellaneous Buildings—Mammoth, 1 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

13. Alexander Vogelsang, First Assistant Secretary, Department of the Interior, to the Secretary of War, March 2, 1918, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Miscellaneous Buildings—Mammoth, 1 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

14. Haines, vol. 2, 289–290.

15. *Director’s Report for 1917*, 33.

16. Haines, vol. 2, 289–290. In a memorandum to the secretary of the interior, acting NPS director Horace Albright noted that tourists had been complaining about the troops in the park and inquiring “as to why troops were patrolling the park when their sons and brothers were being drafted for service in the Army.” See Horace M. Albright, Acting Director of the National Park Service, to Secretary of the Interior, memorandum, September 24, 1917, folder “Troops in Park,” box 253, entry 6, record group [hereafter RG] 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “History—Military—1917–1921,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

17. *Director’s Report for 1918*, 39–40.

18. Haines, vol. 2, 290.

19. *Director’s Report for 1918*, 39.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Haines, vol. 2, 293.

22. Horace M. Albright, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior, 1920*, 4–6, hereafter *Annual Report for [year]*.

23. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921–1922*, 2.

24. Haines, vol. 2, 293–294.

25. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921–1922*, 2.

26. See Superintendent’s Annual Reports for the years 1920 through 1929.

27. From an undated form letter signed by Superintendent Roger Toll (who became superintendent in 1929) as quoted by Haines, vol. 2, 296.

28. Haines, vol. 2, 299. Haines described the “routines of rangers” in chapter 19, “Enter the Rangers.”

29. Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park: Historical and Descriptive* (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1905), 120.

30. As quoted in Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 12.

31. *Director’s Report for 1918*, 10.

32. As quoted by Ethan Carr in *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 81.

33. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 11.

34. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 78.

35. As quoted in McClelland, *Building the National*



- Parks*, 10.
36. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 135–136.
  37. *Ibid.*, 136.
  38. *Director's Report for 1919*, 25.
  39. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 88.
  40. Charles P. Punchard, Jr., "Landscape Design in the National Park Service," *Landscape Architecture* 10(3) (1920): 144–145, as quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 137.
  41. Charles P. Punchard, Jr., to Superintendent [Horace M. Albright], August 28, 1919, 1, folder 1, box D-38, Yellowstone National Park Archives [hereafter YNPA].
  42. *Ibid.*, 1–2.
  43. *Director's Report for 1919*, 26.
  44. Punchard to Superintendent, August 28, 1919, 2.
  45. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 150.
  46. Punchard to Superintendent, August 28, 1919, 3–4.
  47. *Ibid.*, 6.
  48. *Ibid.*, 4 and 6, Punchard's emphasis.
  49. Charles P. Punchard, Jr., to Horace M. Albright, July 21, 1920, 1, folder 1, box D-38, YNPA.
  50. Charles P. Punchard, Jr., to Horace M. Albright, Supt., September 20, 1919, folder 1, box D-38, YNPA.
  51. Punchard to Albright, July 21, 1920, 3.
  52. *Ibid.*
  53. Punchard to Albright, September 20, 1919.
  54. *Director's Report for 1920*, 96.
  55. *Director's Report for 1921*, 169–171.
  56. Punchard to Albright, July 21, 1920, 3.
  57. *Ibid.*, 1–2.
  58. *Director's Report for 1919*, 52.
  59. Punchard to Superintendent, August 28, 1919, 9–10.
  60. *Director's Report for 1919*, 52.
  61. Albright, *Annual Report for 1920*, 53–54.
  62. *Ibid.*, 54.
  63. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 149–150.
  64. *Ibid.*, 149.
  65. Albright, *Annual Report for 1920*, 53.
  66. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 149.
  67. *Director's Report for 1919*, 26.
  68. Stephen T. Mather to Mr. Horace M. Albright, January 10, 1922, folder 2, box D-38, YNPA.
  69. Horace M. Albright to Director, January 30, 1922, folder 2, box D-38, YNPA.
  70. *Director's Report for 1917*, 31.
  71. *Ibid.*, 39.
  72. *Ibid.*
  73. See Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 85–88, and note 109, 325–326, for an illuminating discussion of Mather's contention that the entrance fees automobilists paid were an essential part of the effort to have the parks pay for themselves.
  74. Stephen T. Mather, "The Ideals and Policy of the National Park Service Particularly in Relation to Yosemite National Park," in Ansel F. Hall, ed., *Handbook of Yosemite National Park* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), 77–86, as quoted in Carr, 86.
  75. *Director's Report for 1919*, 46.
  76. *Ibid.*
  77. Albright, *Annual Report for 1919*, 100.
  78. "Memorandum for the press," November 1, 1919, 2, as part of Albright's Annual Report for 1919. See also *Director's Report for 1919*, 46, in which Mather claimed that "nearly half of the [more than 62,000] tourists [visiting the park that season] camped out."
  79. *Director's Report for 1919*, 26; Albright, *Annual Report for 1920*, 54–57.
  80. Albright, *Annual Report for 1920*, 54–57.
  81. Punchard to Albright, July 21, 1920, 4.
  82. *Ibid.*, 5.
  83. *Director's Report for 1921*, 56.
  84. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 159–160; notes 1 and 2, 542–543.
  85. Albright, *Annual Report for 1919*, 101.
  86. *Director's Report for 1920*, 105.
  87. Haines, vol. 2, 303–304.
  88. D. R. Hull, Acting Landscape Engineer, to Director of the National Park Service, April 6, 1921, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Miscellaneous buildings—Old Faithful, 2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
  89. Stephen T. Mather, Director, to Mr. Albright, April 13, 1921, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Miscellaneous buildings—Old Faithful, 2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
  90. D. R. Hull, Landscape Engineer, to Director, April 26, 1921, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Miscellaneous buildings—Old Faithful, 2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
  91. Horace Albright to Daniel Hull, May 25, 1921. Copy in folder "Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture, 1921," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
  92. Horace M. Albright to Director, June 24, 1921, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Miscellaneous Buildings—Old Faithful, 2 of 2,"

Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

93. "Construction Contract Bond—Individual," July 30, 1921, box 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Miscellaneous Buildings—Old Faithful, 2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

94. Albright to Director Mather, Telegram, July 27, 1921, box 620.31-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Miscellaneous Buildings—Old Faithful, 2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

95. Albright to D. R. Hull, Telegram, July 26, 1921, box 620.31-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Miscellaneous Buildings—Old Faithful, 2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

96. Stephen T. Mather to Mr. Albright, January 10, 1922, folder 2, box D-38, YNPA.

97. Horace M. Albright, Field Assistant to the Director, to Director, National Park Service, Attention of Mr. Cammerer, July 26, 1922, folder 2, box D-38, YNPA.

98. Horace M. Albright to Mr. D. R. Hull, October 27, 1922, file "Report of Construction to Mr. D. R. Hull, (Landscape Engineering Division), from Horace M. Albright (Superintendent), October 27, 1922," box L-56, YNPA.

99. Horace M. Albright to Paul P. Kiessig, Assistant Landscape Engineer, October 25, 1921, box 610-620, #470, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Ranger Stations—Canyon," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

100. *Director's Report for 1921*, 58.

101. Horace M. Albright to Mr. D. R. Hull, October 27, 1922.

102. Horace M. Albright to Hull, Memorandum, May 24, 1922, folder 2, box D-38, YNPA.

103. *Director's Report for 1922*, 37–38.

104. Horace M. Albright to Hull, August 9, 1922, folder 2, box D-38, YNPA.

105. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921–1922*, 19.

106. D. R. Hull to Horace M. Albright, July 31, 1922, folder 1, box D-26, YNPA.

107. D. R. Hull to Horace M. Albright, August 12, 1922, folder 1, box D-26, YNPA.

108. Haines, vol. 2, 414, note 46.

109. The authors are indebted to retired Yellowstone Park ranger Robert Flather and his unpublished report "Slough Creek History" (October 10, 2002) for information on the Lower and Upper Slough Creek developments. Flather's report is located in folder "History and Archeology," box H-40, YNPA.

110. Horace Albright to Daniel Hull, May 25, 1921. Copy in folder "Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture, 1921," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

111. *Ibid.*

112. Albright, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," June 1921, 15.

113. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921*, 177, in *Director's Report for 1921*, 170.

114. *Ibid.*

115. National Park Service, "Hellroaring Snowshoe Cabin," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE892, LCS #50930, 6.

116. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921*, in *Director's Report for 1921*, 170.

117. National Park Service, "Fox Creek Snowshoe Cabin," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE933, LCS #51026, 6.

118. National Park Service, "Assistant Buffalo Herder's Cabin at Slough Creek Hay Ranch," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE939, LCS #50932, 8.

119. Albright, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," August 1921, 11, and July 1921; National Park Service, "Crevice Mountain Ranger Station," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #24YE35, LCS #50980, 4–6.

120. Albright, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," August 1921, 9; *Director's Report for 1921*, 171–72.

121. *Director's Report for 1921*, 170, 189.

122. *Ibid.*, 169.

123. *Ibid.*, 171, 176, 189.

124. "From Hull, [Trip Report] Yellowstone National Park," July 12, 1921, 2, in folder "Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture—1921," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

125. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 98.

126. Yellowstone National Park historian Lee Whitesey, November 2003.

127. Stephen Mather to Horace Albright, January 10, 1922, folder 2, box D-38, YNPA.

128. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921–1922*, 19–20.

129. *Ibid.*, 34–36.

130. *Ibid.*, 23–24; *Director's Report for 1922*, 37; and Horace Albright to Daniel Hull, October 27, 1922, box 470, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture—1922," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

131. Horace M. Albright to Hull, February 10, 1923, folder 3, box D-38, YNPA, and Horace M. Albright to Hull, August 9, 1922, folder 2, box D-38, YNPA.

132. Albright, *Annual Report for 1923*, 29.

133. Albright, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," September 1924," 10.

134. Albright, *Annual Report for 1923*, 28.

135. *Ibid.*, 31.
136. Albright, *Annual Report for 1924*, in *Director's Report for 1924*, 96–97.
137. Arno B. Cammerer, Acting Director, to Mr. Albright, June 27, 1924, folder 3, box D-26, YNPA.
138. Albright, *Annual Report for 1924*, 9.
139. Albright, *Annual Report for 1924*, in *Director's Report for 1924*, 96, and *Annual Report for 1924*, 9.
140. National Park Service, "Heart Lake Snowshoe Cabin," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE896, LCS #51007, 3–6.
141. Albright, *Annual Report for 1924*, in *Director's Report for 1924*, 96.
142. National Park Service, "Heart Lake Snowshoe Cabin," 6.
143. National Park Service, "Cache Creek Snowshoe Cabin," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE928, LCS #50000, 6.
144. Albright, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," August 1924, 18.
145. *Director's Report for 1925*, 23.
146. *Ibid.*, and Daniel R. Hull to Mr. Albright, March 17, 1925, folder 4, box D-38, YNPA.
147. National Park Service, "Ranger Station/HS-0201 [West Thumb Area]," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE998.
148. Albright, *Annual Report for 1925*, in *Director's Report for 1925*, 79.
149. National Park Service, "Blacktail Deer Creek Snowshoe Cabin," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #24YE37, LCS #50915, 6.
150. *Director's Report for 1925*, 23. For a more in-depth study of the Apollinaris Spring area, see Lee H. Whittlesey, "The Changing Face of Apollinaris Spring," *Yellowstone Science* 11(1) (Winter 2003):2–8.
151. Hull to Albright, March 17, 1925; Daniel R. Hull to Superintendent Albright, Memorandum, June 17, 1925, folder 4, box D-38, YNPA.
152. Albright, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," June 1925, 20.
153. Horace M. Albright to Daniel R. Hull, June 27, 1925, folder 4, box D-38, YNPA.
154. Horace M. Albright to Daniel R. Hull, July 21, 1925, folder 5, box D-38, YNPA.
155. Albright to Hull, July 21, 1925.
156. Albright to Hull, June 27, 1925.
157. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 171–174.
158. Gilbert Stanley Underwood to Horace Albright, August 4, 1926, folder 5, box D-38, YNPA.
159. Paul Kiessig, "Landscape Engineering in the National Parks," 1, draft of manuscript in folder 3, box D-38, YNPA.
160. Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984), 43.
161. Paul Kiessig to Horace M. Albright, December 2, 1922, folder 3, box D-38, YNPA.
162. Horace M. Albright to Paul Kiessig, January 6, 1923, folder 3, box D-38, YNPA.
163. Lee H. Whittlesey, "Handkerchief Pool," *Yellowstone Place Names* (Helena, Mont.: Montana Historical Society Press, 1988), 70.
164. Kiessig, "Landscape Engineering in the National Parks," 11.
165. Horace M. Albright to Paul Kiessig, January 6, 1923, folder 3, box D-38, YNPA.
166. Horace M. Albright to Mr. Hull, Memorandum, June 3, 1925, folder 4, box D-38, YNPA.
167. See, for example, letters Albright wrote to the director of the National Park Service in Hull's defense on July 26, 1922, and July 11, 1926, in folders 2 and 3 respectively, box D-38, YNPA.
168. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 163.
169. *Ibid.*, 195–196.
170. *Ibid.*, 196–197.
171. *Ibid.*, 197.
172. *Ibid.*, 198.
173. Vint, "Job Analysis, Assistant Landscape Architect," ca. June 1928, as quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 199.
174. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 200.
175. *Ibid.*
176. Horace M. Albright to Mr. Hull, March 9, 1926, and Sam T. Woodring, "Memorandum to Mr. Albright," n.d. ca. March 1926, both in folder 5, box D-38, YNPA.
177. Albright, *Annual Report for 1926*, in *Report of Director of National Park Service for 1926*, 86.
178. National Park Service, "Equipment Storehouse/Bunkhouse at Slough Creek Hay Ranch," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE939, LCS #50933, 4.
179. Sam T. Woodring, "Memorandum to Mr. Albright," n.d. ca. March 1926.
180. National Park Service, "Equipment Storehouse/Bunkhouse at Slough Creek Hay Ranch," 4.
181. T. C. Vint, memorandum to Mr. Hull, June 2, 1926, folder 5, box D-38, YNPA. See also Albright, *Annual*

*Report for 1926*, in *Report of Director of National Park Service for 1926*, 86, 88.

182. Albright, *Annual Report for 1927*, 12.

183. National Park Service, "Lamar Buffalo Ranch Barn," Single Entry Report-LCS, HS-0109, 2, [August 17, 2000]. Copy available in Yellowstone Center for Resources, Mammoth Hot Springs, Wyo.

184. Albright, *Annual Report for 1927*, 9; National Park Service, "Fawn Pass Snowshoe Cabin," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE931, LCS #51016, 6; and National Park Service, "Mary Lake Snowshoe Cabin," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE935, LCS #50941, 6.

185. Albright, *Annual Report for 1927*, 9.

186. *Ibid.*, 8–9.

187. A. H. Abbott, Forest Supervisor, Gallatin National Forest, to Superintendent Toll, October 13, 1930, as part of the National Park Historic Structure Survey information for Dailey Creek Snowshoe Cabin, YCR.

188. *Director's Report for 1925*, 8; see Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone* (Denver: National Park Service, 1994) for a discussion of the roadside cleanup project funded by the John D. Rockefeller family.

189. Albright, *Annual Report for 1927*, 9.

190. See, for example, Albright, *Annual Report for 1927*, 10, and *Annual Report for 1926*, 5, for number of campers.

191. Horace Albright to Director, National Park Service, November 1, 1926, 4, at end of "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," July 1926.

192. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 234.

193. *Ibid.*, 234–236.

194. *Ibid.*, 244.

195. *Ibid.*

196. National Park Service, "Messhouse/Quarters/HS-0112," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE78, LCS #50935, 2.

197. National Park Service, "Norris Road Camp Bunkhouse/HS-0113," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE87, LCS #50936, 2. Leroy Hill, Acting Superintendent, advocated a particular floor plan for bunkhouses. He promoted sketches that were "a departure from the standard plans . . . especially in the case of the separate sleeping rooms planned for the bunkhouses instead of the usual 'bullpen,' and a separate room and office of the foreman" (Leroy Hill, Acting Superintendent, to Mr. Vint, March 24, 1927, folder 6, box D-38, YNPA).

198. Albright, *Annual Report for 1928*, 7.

199. National Park Service, "Fishing Bridge Ranger

Station," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE675, LCS #50495, 2,3.

200. Albright, *Annual Report for 1928*, 7–8.

201. Other mess- and bunkhouses were built in 1929: one of each at Norris Junction, a bunkhouse each at Lewis River and at Madison Junction, and a messhouse at Tower Junction. The ranger station at the South Entrance was completed, and a three-lane checking station was built at the East Entrance (Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1929*, in *Report of Director of National Park Service for 1929*, 134).

202. National Park Service, "Lamar Buffalo Ranch bunkhouse/HS-0107," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE675, LCS #10627, 2.

203. *Director's Report for 1917*, 32.

204. *Director's Report for 1918*, 10.

205. *Ibid.*, 10.

206. *Director's Report for 1919*, 29–31.

207. Denise S. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo., 1986, 60.

208. Albright, *Annual Report for 1919*, 28–29.

209. Haines, vol. 2, 307–308, and note 52, 414; Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 59.

210. Albright, *Annual Report for 1920*, 39.

211. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921*, in *Director's Report for 1921*, 169.

212. *Ibid.*

213. Haines, vol. 2, 308.

214. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921–1922*, 33.

215. *Director's Report for 1921*, 35–36.

216. *Ibid.*, 36–37.

217. Albright, *Annual Report for 1920*, 41.

218. Haines, vol. 2, 304.

219. From Lemuel Garrison to Chief, Division of Interpretation, Memorandum, October 25, 1961, in Aubrey L. Haines, "Memorandum of the History of Women in Uniform (National Park Service) in Yellowstone National Park, October 1961," vertical files, YNPL.

220. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 58.

221. Albright, *Annual Report for 1920*, 41. Vick asserted that there is some uncertainty as to where Albright first heard Bassett lecture (Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 256, note 8).

222. *Director's Report for 1919*, 30.

223. *Director's Report for 1921*, 34.

224. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921*, in *Director's Report for 1921*, 163.

225. Horace Albright to Isabel Wasson, October 8,

- 1921, as quoted in a memorandum from Lemuel Garrison to Chief, Division of Interpretation, October 25, 1961, in Haines, "Memorandum of the History of Women in Uniform."
226. Ibid.
227. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921*, in *Director's Report for 1921*, 163.
228. Albright, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," June 1921, 11.
229. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921*, in *Director's Report for 1921*, 163.
230. *Director's Report for 1921*, 162–163.
231. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921–1922*, 34.
232. Ibid.
233. Haines, vol. 2, 303–304.
234. From the National Park Service's "General Plan of Administration for the Educational Division," June 4, 1929, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 70.
235. Haines, vol. 2, 308.
236. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 39; Haines, vol. 2, 308.
237. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 38.
238. Haines, vol. 2, 308.
239. *Director's Report for 1926*, 6–7, 28.
240. From the address by a committee of the American Association of Museums to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial on June 18, 1924, as quoted in *Director's Report for 1924*, 8.
241. *Director's Report for 1924*, 9.
242. *Director's Report for 1925*, 12.
243. *Director's Report for 1925*, 13. Ansel Hall mentioned the opening of a branch museum in Yellowstone, "Report of the Educational Division, Ansel F. Hall, Chief Naturalist," in Albright, *Annual Report for 1926*, 41.
244. "Report of the Educational Division, Ansel F. Hall, Chief Naturalist," in Albright, *Annual Report for 1926*, 40–42.
245. Albright, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent," July 1927, 17.
246. Horace M. Albright, Assistant Director (Field), Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, to the Secretary of the Interior, January 27, 1928, folder 620.046, box 620.10-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Museums—2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
247. Ibid.
248. Secretary of the Interior to Chauncey J. Hamlin, President, American Association of Museums, n.d. ca. January 1928, folder 620.046, box 620.10-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Museums—2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
249. Hubert Work to The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, February 9, 1928, folder 620.046, box 620.10-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Museums—2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
250. Ibid.; Ansel F. Hall and F. R. Oastler, "Organization Plan for the Educational Division of the National Park Service," typescript, Interpretation Correspondence, 1922–1928, YNPA, as cited by Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 40.
251. Frank Oastler, "Report on Educational Survey National Park Service, Summer 1928," folder 43, box 79, subseries 2E, series 3, Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York. Copy in folder "Education/Interpretation," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
252. *Director's Report for 1924*, 8. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial also provided funds for the construction of at least two other trailside museums: one for the rim of the Grand Canyon in Grand Canyon National Park and the other near Bear Mountain in the Interstate Palisades Park in New York. H. C. Bumpus, as chairman of the Committee on Museums in National Parks of the American Association of Museums, hoped that similar structures would be used by other agencies ("Trailside Museum - Interstate Park" William Carr, "Blazing Nature's Trail," File 743, Box 79, subseries 2E, series 3, Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York). The illustration of the Bear Mountain Trailside Museum was similar in design to the museums built in Yellowstone; Beard-sley Ruml to Hubert Work, March 2, 1928, folder 620.046, box 620.10-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder "Museums—2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
253. Ibid.
254. "A History of the Educational Department in National Parks," undated typescript, ca. 1930, vertical files, YNPL, 7, as quoted in Haines, vol. 2, 310.
255. *Director's Report for 1925*, 13.
256. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 124.
257. Albright, *Annual Report for 1928*, 8.
258. Horace M. Albright to Director, National Park Service, October 25, 1928. Copy in folder "Museums—2 of 2," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC, and in "Report on Yellowstone Park Museum Development and New Fish Hatchery at Lake Yellowstone," folder 1, box D-17, YNPA.
259. K. McCarter, "Weekly Report of Week Ending Sept. 22, 1928." Copy in folder "Construction Projects/Land-

scape Architecture—1928–1929,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

260. Toll, *Annual Report for 1929*, 40.

261. National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, “Norris, Madison, and Fishing Bridge Museums,” in Laura Soulliere Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks: National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Nov. 1986), 312. For a clear discussion of the campsite legend, see Paul Schullery and Lee Whittlesey’s *Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

262. Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999; reprint of 1938 edition published by National Park Service), 178.

263. National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, “Norris, Madison, and Fishing Bridge Museums,” in Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks*, 313.

264. *Ibid.*, 317.

265. *Ibid.*, 318.

266. *Ibid.*

267. Herbert Maier, “The Purpose of the Museum in the National Parks,” *Yosemite Nature Notes* (May 1926): 37, as quoted in National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, “Norris, Madison, and Fishing Bridge Museums,” in Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks*, 320.

268. National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, “Norris, Madison, and Fishing Bridge Museums,” in Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks*, 320.

269. Albright to Director, October 25, 1928.

270. Albright, *Annual Report for 1928*, 8.

271. Horace M. Albright to Director, National Park Service, August 30, 1928, folder 601.01, box 503-601.13, #462, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Architectural History,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

272. Horace M. Albright to the Director, National Park Service, September 27, 1928, folder 601.01, box 503-601.13, #462, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Architectural History,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

273. Albright to Director, August 30, 1928.

274. Arno B. Cammerer, Acting Director, to Horace M. Albright, Assistant Director (Field), National Park Service, September 20, 1928, folder 601.01, box 503-601.13, #462, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Architectural History,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

275. Horace M. Albright to Kenneth Chorley, October 13, 1928, folder 620.046, box 620.10-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Museums—2 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

276. Albright to Director, October 25, 1928.

277. *Director’s Report for 1924*, 35. The total number of visitors to the park in 1924 was 138,352, thus slightly more than half used the lecture service at Mammoth.

278. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 65, 84–85.

279. *Ibid.*, 103.

280. Horace Albright, Preface, *Ranger Naturalists’ Manual of Yellowstone National Park* (Yellowstone National Park: National Park Service, 1927), ii, as quoted in Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 139.

281. Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 140.

282. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 116.

283. *Ibid.*

284. Newell F. Joyner, “An Outline of the History of Educational Activities in Yellowstone Park,” *Ranger Naturalists’ Manual* (Yellowstone National Park: Educational Department, 1929), 173–174, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 116.

285. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 44 and Haines, vol. 2, 310.

286. H. C. Bumpus to Horace M. Albright, September 20, 1929, folder 620.046, box 620.10-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Museums—2 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

287. Albright to Director, October 25, 1928.

288. Oastler’s mention of the stagecoach actually caused a bit of a brouhaha, leading to a Congressional inquiry questioning the park’s preservation of the stagecoach. Park officials assured Congress that the stagecoach was only outside during the summer season, and would be exhibited indoors and given preservation treatment if a large museum was built at Mammoth (Roger Toll to Horace Albright, August 23, 1929, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives).

289. Oastler, “Report on Educational Survey National Park Service, Summer 1928.”

290. Toll, *Annual Report for 1929*, 41.

291. *Ibid.*

292. *Ibid.*

293. *Director’s Report for 1917*, 34.

294. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

295. *Director’s Report for 1918*, 44; Albright, *Annual Report for 1918*, 39.

296. Albright, *Annual Report for 1918*, 39.

297. *Ibid.*, 41.

298. See James A. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone’s Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

299. Thomas R. Dunlap, "Wildlife, Science, and the National Parks, 1920–1940," *Pacific Historical Review* 59(2) (May 1990), 189.

300. *Ibid.*, 187–202.

301. *Director's Report for 1926*, 14

302. *Director's Report for 1929*, 25–26.

303. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions*, 134–136.

304. Yellowstone National Park, *Yellowstone's Northern Range: Complexity and Change in a Wildland Ecosystem* (Mammoth Hot Springs, Wyo.: National Park Service), 7. According to Pritchard (*Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions*, 138), 67,440 elk were removed between 1934 and 1967 by means of live-shipping, direct reductions, and high hunter quotas outside the park boundary.

305. *Director's Report for 1922*, 23, and *Director's Report for 1924*, 35.

306. *Director's Report for 1924*, 97–98.

307. Thomas Cochran to Arthur Wood, December 14, 1925, folder 772, box 83, subseries 2E, series 3, Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York. Copy in folder "History—Boundaries," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

308. *Director's Report for 1926*, 29.

309. *Director's Report for 1929*, 4.

310. *Ibid.*, 4–5.

311. Oastler, "Report on Educational Survey National Park Service, Summer 1928."

312. Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 144.

313. Albright, *Annual Report for 1918*, 41–42.

314. Albright, *Annual Report for 1922*, 40.

315. Albright, *Annual Report for 1925*, as part of *Director's Report for 1925*, 79.

316. Albright, *Annual Report for 1921*, as part of *Director's Report for 1921*, 179.

317. For excellent studies of the park's policies regarding bears see Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, and Paul Schullery, *The Bears of Yellowstone* (Worland, Wyo.: High Plains Publishing Co., 1992).

## CHAPTER 6

1. Roger W. Toll, *Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1930*, 1, Yellowstone National Park Library (hereafter *Annual Report for [year]*).

2. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1931* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931), 2, cited hereafter as *Director's Report for [year]*.

3. *Director's Report for 1932*, 1.

4. *Director's Report for 1931*, 1–2.

5. William C. Tweed, *Parkitecture: A History of Rustic Building Design in the National Park System, 1916–1942*, 78, unpublished manuscript, vertical file "History—YNP—Structures," Yellowstone National Park Library [hereafter YNPL].

6. *Ibid.*, 1–2.

7. *Director's Report for 1932*, 1.

8. James A. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 96.

9. Alice K. Wondrak, *(Do Not) Feed the Bears: Policy, Culture and the Historical Narrative of the Yellowstone Bear*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo., 2002, 137. Copy in YNPL.

10. Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, revised ed. (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1996), vol. 2, 460, [hereafter Haines, vol. 1 or 2].

11. *Ibid.*, 460–461.

12. Toll, *Annual Report for 1930*, 2; Toll, *Annual Report for 1931*, 1.

13. Toll, *Annual Report for 1932*, 2; Toll, *Annual Report for 1933*, 2.

14. Guy Edwards to Roger Toll, August 31, 1933, folder 5, box D-26, Yellowstone National Park Archives (hereafter YNPA).

15. "Public Number 5 and Executive Order 6101 Affecting the Civilian Conservation Corps," as found in Matthew A. Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps as a Tool of the National Park Service: The Development of Glacier and Yellowstone National Parks, 1933–1942*, (M.A. thesis, University of Montana, 1988), 125–126.

16. Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 103.

17. Edmund B. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1936*, 31.

18. Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 328.

19. Timothy Mann's study is cited and discussed in Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*.

20. Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 60–61.

21. Toll, *Annual Report for 1936*, 31.

22. Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 58–59.

23. *Ibid.*, 62–66.

24. *Ibid.*, 61–62, 67–71.

25. *Ibid.*, 79.

26. Stephen J. Pyne, *Fire in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 360, as quoted Redinger, *The*

*Civilian Conservation Corps*, 82.

27. Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 85.

28. *Ibid.*, 71–72.

29. *Ibid.*, 75–76.

30. *Ibid.*, 54.

31. In October 1932, approximately 7,600 acres were added to the park by presidential executive order in an area extending 3.5 miles from Gardiner toward the north and west. President Hoover signed the proclamation for inclusion of the land on October 20, 1932. The land, set aside under a Congressional Act of May 26, 1926, was to provide additional winter grazing for the antelope and elk. The addition covered all of the land except a 38.2-acre parcel owned and operated as a slaughterhouse ranch by Albert Hoppe (Section 14, T9S, R7E, Montana Principal Meridian), which the government and the Game Preservation Company finally bought in September 1933 (Toll, Annual Report for 1933, 4). For a complete discussion of the newly acquired land, see Haines, vol. 2, 332, and Toll, *Annual Report for 1933*, 4. See Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 53–54 for a discussion of the nursery. According to Redinger, the 18-acre nursery produced 500,000 seedlings a year from a variety of species: “lodgepole pines, Douglas firs, birches, willows, aspens, and poplars.” The nursery closed in May 1941.

32. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 345.

33. Toll, “Monthly Report of the Superintendent,” July 1933, as quoted in Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 55.

34. Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 55.

35. Robert Fechner, “Objectives,” 15, as quoted in Redinger, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 56.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Fred T. Johnston, “Plans for the Restoration and Regulation of Camp Grounds in Yellowstone National Park,” January 19, 1933, 3. Copy in folder “Campgrounds,” Marcy Culpin’s files [hereafter Culpin’s files], Historian’s Office, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Montana [hereafter HRC].

38. E. P. Meinecke, “Camp Planning and Camp Reconstruction,” [1934?], 4–5, vertical file “Recreation,” YNPL.

39. *Ibid.*, 4.

40. *Ibid.*, 6.

41. *Ibid.*, 16–18.

42. E. P. Meinecke, “A Camp Ground Policy,” [1932?], 15, vertical file “Recreation,” YNPL.

43. Johnston, “Plans for the Restoration and Regulation of Camp Grounds in Yellowstone National Park,” 4–5.

44. *Ibid.*, 5.

45. *Ibid.*, 8.

46. *Ibid.*, 10–12, 14–15, 17, 18.

47. Guy D. Edwards, Acting Superintendent, to Mr. Baggley, Chief Ranger, March 11, 1933, folder “Campsites and Campgrounds,” box D-156, YNPA.

48. Frank Mattson, “Report to the Chief Architect Through the Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, Period July 26 to August 29, 1934,” folder “1934 Reports,” box D-37, YNPA.

49. George F. Baggley to John D. Coffman, September 4, 1934, folder 5, box D-26, YNPA.

50. Roger W. Toll to The Director, June 26, 1935, folder 4, box D-29, YNPA.

51. Frank E. Mattson and Robert G. Hall, Assistant Landscape Architect, “Report to the Chief Architect, Period May 26 to June 25, 1935,” folder “1935 Reports (2),” box D-37, YNPA.

52. Anonymous letter to Yellowstone National Park officials, n.d., ca. 1930s, copy in folder “Campgrounds,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

53. Mrs. Miriam C. England to Charles West, Under Secretary of the Interior, ca. July 12, 1937, folder 600.03, box 1731 600.02-601.18, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Campgrounds,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

54. Mattson and Hall, “Report to the Chief Architect, Period May 26 to June 25, 1935.”

55. Mary Shivers Culpin, “Campgrounds,” 5. Copy in folder “Campgrounds,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Tweed, *Parkitecture*, 79.

58. *Ibid.*, 80.

59. *Ibid.*, 55, 58.

60. Toll, *Annual Report for 1930*, 15.

61. Tweed, *Parkitecture*, 55, 90; McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 330.

62. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 292.

63. *Ibid.*, 293.

64. “General Planning,” Tentative Outline, February 1929, RG 79, National Archives, as quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 293–4.

65. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 301–302.

66. Ethan Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 239.

67. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 294.

68. Thomas Vint, “National Park Service: Master Plans,” *Planning and Civic Comment* (April/June 1946), as



quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 304.

69. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 304.

70. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 241–242.

71. Memorandum for the Director [Horace M. Albright], February 16, 1932, transmitted with a letter from Roger W. Toll to Director Albright, March 14, 1932, filed “Yellowstone General file No. 169, Trees-Insect Control-Surves-Etc., F.Y. 1932,” as quoted in the narrative “Developed and Special Areas,” of the master plan, 1939, YNPA.

72. *Ibid.*

73. Because there was some confusion as to the process of formally designating special areas, the areas Toll designated in 1932 were indicated as “proposed” on the revised master plan of 1939 (except for the Old Faithful and Canyon–Tower Fall sacred areas, which were indicated as “existing”). The revised 1939 master plan also recommended including seven special areas as wilderness, four research areas, and seventeen sacred areas. The seven special areas as wilderness were 1) Upper Yellowstone–Snake River, 2) Lamar River–Mirror Plateau, 3) Bechler River–Pitchstone and Madison Plateaus, 4) Central Plateau, 5) Washburn Range, 6) Gallatin Range, and 7) Northern. Recommended research areas included 1) White–Tern–Fern–Wapiti lakes, 2) Specimen Ridge Fossil Forest, 3) Specimen Creek–Big Horn Peak Fossil Forest. Number 4, the Electric Peak area, should be omitted, the narrative of the revised master plan argued. Sacred areas were 1) Mammoth Hot Springs, 2) Norris Geyser Basin, 3) Midway and Lower Geyser Basins, 4) Upper, or Old Faithful, Geyser Basin, 5) West Thumb Hot Springs, 6) Yellowstone Canyon–Tower Fall, 7) National Park Mountain, 8) Petrified Tree, 9) Obsidian Cliff, 10) Roaring Mountain, 11) Frying Pan Spring, 12) Monument Geyser Basin–Beryl Spring–Artist Paintpots, 13) Terrace Spring, 14) Shoshone Geyser Basin, 15) Heart Lake Geyser Basin, 16) Mud Volcano–Dragons Mouth, and 17) Lone Star Geyser (“Recommendations,” narrative to the master plan, 1939, YNPA).

74. David A. Jay, “The History of Masterplanning in Yellowstone,” unpublished paper, December 22, 1986, 2, copy in folder “Master Plans,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

75. U.S. Department of the Interior Office of National Parks, Buildings & Reservations, *The Master Plan for Yellowstone National Park, Coordinated by Branch of Plans & Design, 1933*, YNPL. Tweed (*Parkitecture*, 55) discusses Carpenter’s background.

76. This is one of four things David A. Jay notes in “The History of Masterplanning in Yellowstone,” 3.

77. U.S. Department of the Interior Office of National Parks, Buildings & Reservations, *Master Plan for Yellowstone*,

13.

78. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 300.

79. Gilmore D. Clarke, “Report to Accompany Plan of Mammoth Hot Springs Area, Yellowstone National Park, June 1930,” 7, box L-56, YNPA.

80. See page 7 of the 1933 master plan for Clarke’s vision of the Mammoth Hot Springs area.

81. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 300–01.

82. A. C. Stinson, Chief Engr. Insp. Supt., “Report of Reconnaissance Survey of Mammoth Entrance Roads,” January 31, 1930, as quoted in Clarke, “Report to Accompany Plan of Mammoth Hot Springs Area,” 4.

83. Copies were sent to “Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Company; Yellowstone Park Hotel and Transportation Companies; Park Curio Shop; George Whittaker; J. E. Haynes, President of Haynes Picture Shops, Inc.; American Association of Museums (via Dr. Bumpus); Mr. C. A. Lindsley, Postmaster; Mr. Robert Lathrop, Weather Bureau; Mr. C. F. Capes, Bureau of Public Roads; Mr. Herbert Maier, Architect for the American Association of Museums; Mr. John Nolen, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass.” (“Memo to Files,” August 28, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA).

84. Kenneth C. McCarter, Assistant Landscape Architect, to John Nolen, August 28, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

85. Vernon Goodwin, Yellowstone Park Lodge and Camps Company, to Roger W. Toll, September 3, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

86. W. M. Nichols, Assistant to the President, to Roger W. Toll, August 28, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*

89. George Whittaker, Manager, to Mr. Kenneth McCarter, September 1, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

90. Anna K. Pryor, Manager, to Mr. Toll, September 30, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

91. J. E. Haynes to Mr. Toll, August 21, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

92. Kenneth McCarter, Memorandum to Mr. Toll, August 28, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

93. Tweed, *Parkitecture*, 57.

94. Thomas C. Vint to Mr. Director, September 24,

1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

95. H. C. Bumpus to Roger W. Toll, September 9, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

96. The only parts of the plan to be built, according to Jay, were “[t]he esplanade and a French Provincial style post office” (Jay, “The History of Masterplanning in Yellowstone,” 3). Jay’s assessment, although technically incorrect—the apartment house for park employees was built in 1935—is not far from the mark. The phrase “a satisfactory plan toward which to work” is from Toll’s letter to Director Albright, March 26, 1931, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

97. Thomas C. Vint to Roger W. Toll, March 18, 1931, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

98. Roger W. Toll to Director Albright, March 26, 1931, file 329, folder “FY 1931, FY 1932, Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

99. Vint to Toll, March 18, 1931.

100. These modifications may also show up in the master plan of 1935. The Yellowstone National Park Archives does not have a copy of that master plan.

101. U.S. Department of the Interior Office of National Parks, Buildings & Reservations, *Master Plan for Yellowstone*.

102. See the master plan for 1939 and 1940 for Yellowstone National Park. The master plan for 1940 had a description for the “North Entrance Area” on page 14. The map is called “North Entrance Part of the Master Plan for Yellowstone National Park, 1940.”

103. U.S. Department of the Interior Office of National Parks, Buildings & Reservations, *Master Plan for Yellowstone*, “Bridge Bay.”

104. U.S. Department of the Interior Office of National Parks, Buildings & Reservations, *Master Plan for Yellowstone*, “Canyon Area Proposed Development.”

105. Tweed, *Parkitecture*, 56.

106. Laura Soulliere Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks: National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1986), 6.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid., 7.

110. Randall J. Biallas, “Foreword,” in *Park and Recreation Structures*, by Albert H. Good (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999; reprint of 1938 edition published by National Park Service), i.

111. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 429, 432.

112. Ibid., 335, 433–441.

113. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, 5.

114. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 394.

115. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 398.

116. Carr, *Wilderness by Design*, 145.

117. See, for example, Roger W. Toll to Mr. Jacob M. Hoffman, June 18, 1931, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

118. “Yellowstone National Park, Construction Report on Two Snowshoe Cabins—Lamar & N. Bdry. Project F.P. 140,” October 30, 1936, folder 4, box D-25, YNPA.

119. “Construction of Physical Improvements—Outline of Work. Yellowstone National Park, 1929, 1930, and 1932,” file “Landscape Division,” entry 7, RG 79, National Archives, as quoted in Mary Shivers Culpin’s “Ranger Stations/Patrol Cabins, Yellowstone NP,” April 23, 1997, unpublished document, Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

120. Leroy Hill to Mr. Vint, March 24, 1927, folder 6, box D-38, YNPA.

121. Yellowstone Plan No. 328, microfiche, YNP Maintenance Division, as cited in Lon Johnson and Christine Whitacre, “Snowshoe Cabins Yellowstone National Park,” [no date, 2000?], 4, unpublished document, Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

122. Johnson and Whitacre, “Snowshoe Cabins Yellowstone National Park,” 4.

123. Yellowstone Plan No. 3037, microfiche, YNP Maintenance Division, as cited in Johnson and Whitacre, “Snowshoe Cabins Yellowstone National Park,” 4.

124. National Park Service, “Miller Creek Snowshoe Cabin,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE936, LCS #51028, 6.

125. Ibid., 4.

126. Ibid., 6.

127. Ibid., 6–7.

128. Guy Edwards to Horace Albright, June 11, 1931, and Guy Edwards to Horace Albright, August 13, 1931, file 620-008, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives, as quoted in National Park Service, “Fern Lake Snowshoe Cabin,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE932, LCS #51021, 6.

129. National Park Service, “Fern Lake Snowshoe Cabin,” 6.

130. National Park Service, “Upper Miller Creek Buffalo Herder’s Cabin,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE942, LCS #51018, 5, 6.

131. “Yellowstone National Park Construction Report

on Two Snowshoe Cabins,” October 30, 1936.

132. National Park Service, “Buffalo Plateau Snowshoe Cabin,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #24YE34, LCS #51017, 6.

133. National Park Service, “Cold Creek Snowshoe Cabin,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE929, LCS #51020, 6.

134. National Park Service, “Blacktail Deer Creek Snowshoe Cabin and Barn,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #24YE37, LCS #50915 and #50914, 6–7. In 1935, a snowshoe cabin at Cougar Creek northwest of Madison Junction was built, as was a cabin at Pelican Creek in 1937. Both cabins followed standard designs and are extant (National Park Service “Cougar Creek Snowshoe Cabin,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE930, LCS #51004).

135. “Lake Fish Hatchery Historic District,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Sheet, Draft 1/19/01, 2–6, Historian’s Office, HRC.

136. Guy D. Edwards to Mr. Toll, August 9 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

137. Roger Toll to Thomas Vint, August 23, 1930, and Thomas Vint to Roger Toll, September 8, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA. Copy in folder “Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1930,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

138. Good as quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 439–440.

139. Thomas Vint to Guy Edwards, April 27, 1931, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA; K.C. McCarter and Howard Baker, “Report to the Chief Landscape Architect Through the Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, May 9–16, 1931,” copy in folder “Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1930,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

140. Sanford Hill, Resident Landscape Architect, “Narrative Report on Yellowstone National Park,” July 1939, box L-56, YNPA.

141. F. Mattson to Mr. Toll, Memo, July 3, 1934, folder 6, box D-26, YNPA.

142. Roger W. Toll, “Memorandum to Operators,” July 9, 1934, folder 6, box D-26, YNPA.

143. Toll, *Annual Report for 1932*, 18; National Park Service, “West Yellowstone Ranger Station/HS-0133,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE, LCS #10650, 1, 2; Toll, *Annual Report for 1935*, 17; National Park Service, “Cooke Ranger Station/Residence/HS-0251,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE,

LCS #10624, 2; National Park Service, “Northeast Entrance Station/HS-0254,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE, LCS #10625, 2

144. The Bureau of Fisheries was alerted to the new policy in regard to its planned fish hatchery buildings at Lake. The other design decision involved the switch from the “dull brown stain” to using a grey-green color on most of the buildings to be built in the future. The Bureau of Fisheries’ Regional Director was directed to paint all of the new buildings at Lake grey-green, and within a short time he would be expected to paint the existing fish hatchery buildings grey-green (Paul Brown to Fred Foster, January 17, 1940, file “Fish Hatchery Part 2, January 1, 1940 to December 31, 1943,” box D-157, YNPA.

145. C. A. Lord, Engineer, “Final Report Reconstruction Checking Station and Equipment Gardiner Checking Station, Project No. F.F. 601,” folder 6, box D-25, YNPA.

146. Ibid.

147. “Lookout—Mount Holmes, Project #832,” Report of Progress of Approved Construction Projects of Fiscal Years 1931 and 1932 Built During Season of 1931, and K. C. McCarter and H. W. Baker, “Report to the Chief Landscape Architect Through The Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, June 1, 1931, 5, both in folder “Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1931–1934,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC. The information regarding Mt. Sheridan’s lookout tower is from Toll, *Annual Report for 1930*, 14. The annual report establishes that a tower was built but it does not mention where; that information can be found in Toll, “Monthly Report of the Superintendent,” August 1930, 6.

148. Toll, *Annual Report for 1931*, 14; Rogers, *Annual Report for 1938*, 33.

149. Sanford Hill, “Monthly Narrative Report to the Chief Architect,” August 26–September 30, 1937, 17, folder “Landscaping and Landscape Architects,” box L-56, YNPA.

150. Sanford Hill, “Special Report to the Chief Architect,” March 3 to March 15, 1938, 5–6, folder “Landscaping and Landscape Architects,” box L-56, YNPA.

151. “Final Report, One Primary and Three Secondary Fire Lookouts, Project O.P. 267,” December 30, 1942, folder 6, box D-35, YNPA.

152. Sanford Hill, “Narrative Report on Yellowstone National Park,” June 1939, 10, folder “Landscaping and Landscape Architects,” box L-56, YNPA.

153. “Final Report, One Primary and Three Secondary Fire Lookouts, December 30, 1942.

154. “Apollinaris Spring Comfort Station,” Classified Structure Field Inventory Report, copy in folder “94 Comfort

Station Apollinaris Springs,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC; Thomas Vint to Joseph Joffe, Assistant to the Superintendent, July 18, 1931, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

155. “Comfort Station/HS-0201,” National Park Service—Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE998, LCS #50560, 2; the hand-written note on the top of page 1 of the survey form indicates that the structure was moved to the Mammoth campground in 2000. This is the only extant structure of the original four.

156. Roger W. Toll to Thomas C. Vint, July 17, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

157. Kenneth C. McCarter to Roger W. Toll, Memorandum, July 22, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

158. Guy D. Edwards, Acting Superintendent, to Thomas C. Vint, April 2, 1931, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA. Copy in folder “Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture—1930–1934,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

159. Toll, *Annual Report for 1933*, 10.

160. Kenneth McCarter to Thomas Vint, May 21, 1933, folder 5, box D-26, YNPA.

161. Guy D. Edwards to W.G. Carnes, March 16, 1934, folder 5, box D-26, YNPA.

162. Frank E. Mattson, “Report to the Chief Architect,” June 26–July 20, 1935, box L-56, YNPA. By 1937, Gebhardt had taken over supervision of the EWC architectural work and became Associate Architect.

163. R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Mammoth Hot Springs, Draft, July 6, 2000, 27–28.

164. Edmund Rogers, “Annual Report of Roads and Trails Construction Activities for the Fiscal Year June 30, 1936,” file “631 Construction Under Road Budget Program Part 1, Jan. 1, 1936 to December 31, 1939,” box D-13, YNPA.

165. Sanford Hill, “Monthly Narrative Report to Chief Architect,” May 3–May 20, 1937, box L-56, YNPA.

166. Howard W. Baker, Assistant Landscape Architect, “Report to the Chief Architect on Yellowstone National Park,” June 5–June 22, 1937, box L-56, YNPA.

167. Simmons and Simmons, National Register Nomination, Mammoth Hot Springs, Draft, 27–28.

168. *Ibid.*, 29–30. By September 1938, the Mammoth road project was nearly complete. Superintendent Rogers found a “much improved appearance at park headquarters.” Landscape Architect Sanford Hill was not pleased with the size

of the chips used in the sidewalk, however; he believed they lent a “rough appearance” to the surface. He also thought the top dressing should have been a finer aggregate, and he believed additional sidewalks should have been built for pedestrian travel. (Sanford Hill, “Report on Yellowstone National Park, September, 1938,” Box D-38, YNPA.) The road project, combined with the development of the cottages behind the Mammoth Hotel and the improvements and extension of the Mammoth Auto Campground, made for a busy construction period. (Rogers, *Annual Report for 1939*, 2.)

169. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1935*, 17; Edmund B. Rogers to the Director, June 28, 1939, copy in folder “Lamar Buffalo Ranch,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

170. “Lamar Buffalo Ranch Asst. Buffalo Keeper’s House,” Single Entry Report—LCS, HS-0108, [August 17, 2000], 3, copy available in YCR.

171. Rogers to Director, June 28, 1939.

172. *Ibid.*

173. National Park Service, “Lamar Buffalo Ranch Generator House/HS-0273,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE, LCS #10630, 1–3; National Park Service, “Lamar Buffalo Ranch Fire Hose Houses #1 and #2/HS-0996, HS-0997,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE, LCS #101347 and #101346, 1, 2.

174. National Park Service, “Stephens Creek Administration Area Residence/HS-0102,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #24 YE, LCS #51012, 2–4; Guy D. Edwards, Acting Superintendent, to Mr. T. C. Vint, January 4, 1934, folder 5, box D-26, YNPA.

175. Roger W. Toll to Dr. H. C. Bumpus, July 16, 1930, file “Museums,” box 471, 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Museums, 2 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

176. Bumpus to Horace M. Albright, telegram, July 15, 1930, file “Museums,” box 471, 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Museums, 2 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

177. Albright to Roger W. Toll, telegram, July 16, 1930, and Roger W. Toll to Dr. H. C. Bumpus, July 16, 1930, both in file “Museums,” box 471, 620.01-630, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives. Copy in folder “Museums, 2 of 2,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

178. National Park Service, “Fishing Bridge Museum,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE675, LCS #50573, 3.

179. *Ibid.*, 2.

180. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, 177.

181. R. W. T. [Roger Toll] to [Kenneth] McCarter, Memorandum, August 31, 1933, folder 5, box D-26,

YNPA.

182. National Park Service, "Naturalist's Residence," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE675, LCS #50574, 2.

183. National Park Service, "Comfort Station/HS-0116," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE, LCS #10622, 2; National Park Service, "Norris Barn/HS-0118," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE820, LCS #10621, 2.

184. Joseph Joffe to Director, July 14, 1931, box 1737, entry 7, RG 79, National Archives, as cited in National Park Service, "Lake Comfort Station/HS-0197," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE852, LCS #50601, 2.)

185. National Park Service, "Lake Ranger Station/HS-0191," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE852, LCS #10636, 3. The octagonal room's integrity—spoiled at some point in the history of the building—was restored in a major restoration effort in the mid-1980s.

186. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 400.

187. *Ibid.*, 252, and note 7, 547.

188. *Ibid.*, 254.

189. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, Part 2, 210.

190. National Park Service, "Fishing Bridge Amphitheater," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE675, 2.

191. *Ibid.*, 1.

192. Toll, *Annual Report for 1934*, 8.

193. Toll, *Annual Report for 1935*, 7.

194. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1936*, 12; Rogers, *Annual Report for 1937*, 16; Rogers, *Annual Report for 1938*, 15.

195. Toll, *Annual Report for 1935*, 7. Concessioner employees in those days were commonly known as "savages"—a self-moniker referring to their location in the "wilderness" of the national parks.

196. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 254.

197. *Ibid.*, 249–250.

198. *Ibid.*, 364.

199. *Ibid.*

200. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, Part 2, 169.

201. *Ibid.*, 169–170.

202. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 250.

203. *Ibid.*, 252.

204. *Ibid.*, 251.

205. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, Part 2, 176.

206. National Park Service, "Obsidian Cliff Nature

Shrine/HS-0983," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE, LCS #10649, 2.

207. Toll, *Annual Report for 1933*, 10; McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 409; Lee Whittlesey, *Wonderland Nomenclature*, (unpublished manuscript, 1988), 588, copy available in YNPL.

208. National Park Service, "Natural Bridge Sign and Kiosk," Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE, LCS #[,], 2.

209. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, Part 2, 175.

210. H. C. Bumpus, *Trailside Notes for the Motorist and Hiker: Mammoth to Norris Geyser Basin, Number One*, [Yellowstone Park, Wyoming]: National Park Service, 1930, in Bumpus, H. C., *Rare Separates*, YNPA. *Trailside Notes* were added for Mammoth-to-Old Faithful in 1933, Fishing Bridge Museum-to-Mammoth Hot Springs in 1936, and Old Faithful-to-Yellowstone Lake and Fishing Bridge Museum in 1939.

211. R. M. Taylor to H. C. Bumpus, postal card, September 1929, card found in *Trailside Notes for the Motorist*, Yellowstone Education Department, 1929, in Bumpus, H. C., "Trailside Notes for the Motorist and Hiker, 10 booklets dated from 1929–1939," *Rare Separates*, YNPA.

212. Edward N. Jones, "Report on Yellowstone Park Educational Activities," as quoted in Denise S. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo., 1986, 119.

213. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 119.

214. Jones, "Report on Yellowstone Park Educational Activities," 9, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 119.

215. Hermon C. Bumpus, "Outdoor Education: The Part Played By Our National Parks," *Hobbies* 10(10), June 1930, 326, Bumpus, Hermon C., "Outdoor Education," vertical files, YNPL.

216. *Director's Report for 1931*, 17.

217. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 120.

218. Fred J. Foster, "Report of Fish-Cultural Activities," in *Director's Report for 1930*, 146.

219. Toll, *Annual Report for 1931*, 13.

220. *Ibid.*

221. Christine Whitacre, "Otter Creek Bear-Feeding Station," no date, archeological report, 3, copy in folder "Bear Feeding Grounds—Otter Creek," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

222. C. A. Lord, Park Engineer, "Final Report, Loop

Betterment-Project #525.6, Otter Creek Road and Bear Feeding Ground,” January 26, 1932, 2, as quoted in Whitacre, “Otter Creek Bear-Feeding Station,” 3.

223. Roger W. Toll to Mr. McCarter, Memorandum, August 23, 1930, file 329, folder “FY 1932, FY 1932 Landscape Division,” box D-66, YNPA.

224. Toll, *Annual Report for 1932*, 3.

225. Toll, *Annual Report for 1933*, 3–4.

226. Toll, *Annual Report for 1935*, 13.

227. Bears Playground was located near a small pond “just west of the bridge that crosses the Firehole River on the Grand Loop Road downstream from Kepler Cascades (1.5 miles from Old Faithful)” [Lee H. Whittlesey, *Yellowstone Place Names* (Helena, Mont: The Montana Historical Society Press, 1988), 21].

228. Mattson, “Report to the Chief Architect, Period July 26–August 29, 1934.”

229. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1936*, 20.

230. *Ibid.*

231. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1937*, 26.

232. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1938*, 15.

233. <[www.nps.gov/yell/nature/animals/bear/infopaper/info1.html](http://www.nps.gov/yell/nature/animals/bear/infopaper/info1.html)>; Kerry Gunther and Mark Biel, eds., *Yellowstone National Park Bear Information Book* (Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.: Yellowstone Center for Resources Bear Management Office, 1994), 40.

234. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1937*, 26.

235. *Ibid.*, 14–16.

236. In 1933, the park’s educational department (which replaced the information department in 1928) became the Naturalist Department. This change took place in all national parks after park superintendents meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1932 decided that “naturalist” was more “distinctive and accurate” than “educational” (see Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 136). As early as 1930, park superintendents had decided that the term “education” seemed “open to misinterpretation, as perhaps implying the formal type of education dispensed in institutions of learning.” Park superintendents expressed concern that visitors would not understand that education in the parks meant “imparting to the visitor something which is a blending of the recreational, intellectual, and spiritual.” They sought a term that would “define the educational functions [of the parks’ various services] in terms of use and enjoyment of the national parks” (*Director’s Report for 1930*, 19).

237. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1938*, 15.

238. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1937*, 16.

239. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1938*, 22.

240. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone’s Natural Condi-*

*tions*, 143.

241. <[www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/fauna.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/fauna.htm)>.

242. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone’s Natural Conditions*, 87.

243. George M. Wright, Joseph S. Dixon, and Ben H. Thompson, *Fauna of the National Parks of the United States, Fauna Series No. 1*, May 1932 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), iv.

244. *Ibid.*, 3–4.

245. *Ibid.*, 82–84.

246. *Ibid.*, 84.

247. See “An Act to Establish a National Park Service, and for Other Purposes,” 64th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. 15522. For a good discussion of the issues surrounding the dichotomous message, see Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), chapter 8.

248. George M. Wright and Ben H. Thompson, *Fauna of the National Parks of the United States: Wildlife Management in the National Parks. Fauna Series No. 2*, July 1934 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), 23.

249. Mattson, “Report to the Chief Architect, Period July 26–August 29, 1934,” and Wright and Thompson, *Fauna Series No. 2*, 23.

250. Wright and Thompson, *Fauna Series No. 2*, 23.

251. “Outlying Areas,” [Narrative Description of Existing and Proposed Facilities in Outlying Areas], Master Plan, 1939.

252. Roger Toll to Horace Albright, May 12, 1930, copy in folder “Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1930,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

## CHAPTER 7

1. Park officials recorded a new high of 814,907 visitors to the park in 1946 (<[www.nps.gov/yell/stats/historical.htm](http://www.nps.gov/yell/stats/historical.htm)>).

2. Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park*, revised ed. (Niwt, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1996), vol. 2, [hereafter Haines, vol. 1 or 2], 462.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Edmund B. Rogers, *Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1942*, Yellowstone National Park Library, 11, hereafter *Annual Report for [year]*; Rogers, *Annual Report for 1943*, 1; Rogers, *Annual Report for 1944*, 1.

5. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1942*, 12.

6. Newton Drury, “Statement Concerning Facilities

Available to the Public in National Park Areas During the 1943 Season,” folder “Accommodations in Park, 1943–45,” Yellowstone Park Company Papers, box 5, Yellowstone National Park Archives [hereafter YNPA].

7. Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 460.

8. For further reading on the campfire discussion, see Paul Schullery, *Searching For Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), chapter 4 and 51–67, and Paul Schullery and Lee Wittlesey, *Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

9. Robin Smith, “The History of Grant Village,” unpublished study, April 24, 1988, 13, Yellowstone National Park Library [hereafter YNPL].

10. Hillory A. Tolson to Regional Director, August 20, 1945; Lawrence Merriam to Edmund Rogers, September 27, 1945, copies of both in folder “Administration Buildings–Mammoth Hot Springs,” Marcy Culpin’s files [hereafter Culpin’s files], Historian’s Office, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park, Montana [hereafter HRC].

11. “Park Office Move Advances,” March 3, 1960, copy of clipping, folder D3415 “Buildings (General) 1959–60,” box D-158, YNPA. Copy in folder “Administration Buildings–Mammoth Hot Springs,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

12. Roger Ernst to Senator Mike Mansfield, March 29, 1960; Senator Mike Mansfield to Conrad Wirth, March 8, 1960; Conrad Wirth to Senator G. W. McGee, April 5, 1960, copies of all in folder “Administration Buildings–Mammoth Hot Springs,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

13. Edmund Rogers, “Monthly Report of the Superintendent,” September 1944, 5, YNPL; National Park Service, “Nez Perce Snowshoe Cabin,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE937, LCS #51000, 1–7.

14. Newton Drury, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946*, 307–308, hereafter *Director’s Report for [year]*.

15. Frank Mattson, “Resident Landscape Architect’s Monthly Report, July 10, 1946”; Frank Mattson to Edmund Rogers, November 1, 1946, both in file “207-02.7 Monthly Narrative Landscape Report,” box D-157, YNPA.

16. Warren Hamilton to Regional Director, January 31, 1957, file “D22, Book #2, January 1957–January 1959,” box D-223, YNPA.

17. George Baggeley to Lemuel Garrison, June 11, 1959;

“Memorandum for the Press for Immediate Release, June 30, 1959,” book 5 “November 1958–July 1959,” box D3415, record group [hereafter RG] 79, National Archives and Record Center, Kansas City, Missouri [hereafter NAKC]. Copies of both in folder “Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1959,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

18. Denise S. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo., 1986, 156–157.

19. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1942*, 6.

20. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1944*, 16. Rogers wrote, “Every effort has been made to provide for prompt removal and disposal of garbage, which during the 1943 season was burned in pits well removed from the utility areas, since incinerators were not operated, and the same practice was followed in 1944.”

21. *Ibid.*

22. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1946*, 20.

23. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1944*, 13.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1947*, 8, 10–11. The park biologist position was established on November 26, 1946.

26. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1949*, 12–13.

27. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 159.

28. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1949*, 12–13.

29. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 159.

30. C. Max Bauer, “Report of the Naturalist Division for August 1946,” *Reports of the Naturalist Division, Yellowstone National Park*, YNPA, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 159.

31. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 85, 462–63.

32. William Nichols to Conrad Wirth, December 17, 1953, folder “Lake,” box YPC-125, YNPA.

33. Conrad Wirth to William Nichols, June 16, 1955, folder “Lake,” box YPC-125, YNPA.

34. National Park Service, *Mission 66 in Action: Report on the First Year of Mission 66* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1957), 3, as quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 462.

35. Conrad Wirth, “The Basic Purpose of the National Park System,” in National Park Service, “Mission 66 for the National Park System,” 1956, 26–27, as quoted by McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 463.

36. National Park Service, “Mission 66 for the National Park System.” See Brian Kenner, *An Examination of National Park Service Decision Making: A Case Study of Grant Village*,

*Yellowstone National Park*, M.S. thesis, University of Montana, Missoula, Mont., 1984. Copy in YNPL.

37. See Kenner, *An Examination of National Park Service Decision Making*, for a discussion of anthropocentric versus biocentric ideologies of park management.

38. Kenner, *An Examination of National Park Service Decision Making*, 53.

39. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 464.

40. Conrad Wirth, "The Landscape Architect in National Park Work: His Projects, Opportunities, Problems, and Obligations," *Landscape Architecture* 46(1), 9, as quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 464.

41. *Ibid.*, 464–465.

42. Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000), 11–13.

43. Ernest Mickel, *Architectural Record* 120 (2) (August 1956), 32, as quoted in Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 11–12.

44. Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 23–24.

45. *Ibid.*, 22, 13.

46. Edmund Rogers to Regional Director, Memorandum, May 21, 1954, binder "Museum Plans Madison, Mammoth, Norris, West Entrance," box D-66, YNPA.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Howard W. Baker to Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, Memorandum, May 28, 1954, folder [binder] "Museum Plans Madison, Mammoth, Norris, West Entrance," box D-66, YNPA.

49. Baker to Superintendent, May 28, 1954.

50. Warren Hamilton, Acting Superintendent, to Superintendent, Grand Canyon National Park, Memorandum, October 15, 1954, binder "Museum Plans Madison, Mammoth, Norris, West Entrance," box D-66, YNPA.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Baker to Superintendent, May 28, 1954.

53. Rogers to Regional Director, May 21, 1954.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Hamilton to Superintendent, October 15, 1954.

56. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 470.

57. Conrad Wirth, "Mission 66 in the Headlines," *National Parks Magazine* 32(132) (1958): 8, as quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 470.

58. "Report of Working Committee, April 11–15, 1955, Statement of Current and Future Park Visitor Needs for Accommodations and Facilities in Yellowstone National Park," file 2, box 188, Ms. 1504, Haynes Papers, Montana State University, Bozeman, Mont.

59. National Park Service, "Mission 66 for Yellowstone

National Park," [n.d., ca. 1957], 3, "Mission 66," NPS–Development, USDI–NPS, vertical files, YNPL.

60. *Ibid.*, 5.

61. *Ibid.*, 3.

62. *Ibid.*, 6.

63. *Ibid.*, 9.

64. *Ibid.*, 7.

65. "Canyon Area Proposed Development," Master Plan for 1939, YNPA.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Mark Daniel Barringer, "Mission Impossible: National Park Development in the 1950s," *Journal of the West* 38(1) (January 1999), 23.

68. Kenner, *An Examination of National Park Service Decision Making*, 82.

69. See Barringer, "Mission Impossible," generally, and Haines, vol. 2, 369.

70. Barringer, "Mission Impossible," 23.

71. *Ibid.*, 24.

72. Superintendent Rogers had mentioned this "revolt" to Regional Director Baker (Rogers to Regional Director, May 21, 1954).

73. G. R. Brosius, M.D., to Mr. W. M. Nichols, May 17, 1956, and a note on a prescription form dated May 14, 1956, both in folder "D 3415, Book 2, Jan. 1955–Sept. 1956," box D-266, YNPA.

74. E. T. Scoyen, Acting Director, to Hon. Mike Mansfield June 8, 1956, folder "D 3415, Book 2, Jan. 1955–Sept. 1956," box D-266, YNPA.

75. *Ibid.*

76. Devereux Butcher, "Our National Parks in Jeopardy: Resorts or Wilderness?" *Atlantic Monthly* (February 1961): 45–51.

77. Smith, "The History of Grant Village," 18.

78. "Proposed Prospectus For Grant Village," as part of a memorandum from Lemuel Garrison to Regional Director, Region Two, regarding Pre-Planning conference for Grant Village, November 13, 1957, 2, folder "Development–Grant Village," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.

79. The Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC) was the successor in 1954, along with its eastern equivalent (EODC), to the Division of Design and Construction. According to Allaback's *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, the Division of Design and Construction was transformed into the two offices, east and west, in June 1954 (see endnote 15 on page 248). In 1971, the two offices were consolidated in the Denver Service Center, which, according to McClelland, "continues to provide the National Park Service with multidisciplinary expertise in planning and design," (see McClelland,



*Building the National Parks*, 483).

80. Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park to Chief, Western Office, Division of Design and Construction, Memorandum, March 26, 1957, 2–4, book 2, Jan. 1956–Jan. 1958, box D-18, YNPA. Copy in folder “Development–Grant Village,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

81. “Proposed Prospectus for Grant Village,” 3–4.

82. Lemuel Garrison to Regional Director, April 2, 1958, file “D18, Book #3, January 1958–January 1959,” box D-233, YNPA.

83. *Ibid.* According to Garrison, the project would not cause conflict or “destroy any primary values,” because the “forest scene [was] not a superior or unique characteristic of the site, and [was] duplicated in many places elsewhere in the Park.” Furthermore, the site warranted development for its “recreational and interpretive use.” Boating and fishing were high priorities for visitors, Garrison noted, and the area deserved “a full-scale interpretive plan” as well (“Proposed Prospectus For Grant Village,” 5). Contrarily, according to park archeologist Elaine Hale, the Grant Village development destroyed some of the park’s oldest archeological sites (personal communication to editor, August 9, 2005).

84. “Proposed Prospectus For Grant Village,” 7–8.

85. *Ibid.*, 6.

86. “Grant Village: Dedication and Opening Ceremony,” Yellowstone National Park, June 23, 1963, photocopy of program in folder “Development–Grant Village,” Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC.

87. According to a post-1981 NPS Denver Service Center report on Grant Village, the National Park Service “completed its portion of the primary utility system, a 400-site campground, a visitor center and ranger station, and roads” in the village “in anticipation that the park’s principal concessioner would establish the necessary overnight accommodations and restaurant complex.” The NPS also built a marina and trails. But by 1976, General Host, the company responsible for operating concessions and constructing the facilities related to them, had built only a service station and camper service facility. General Host claimed that more detailed financial analyses had shown that the project would be fiscally unprofitable (John D. Amerman, President and General Manager of Yellowstone Park Company, to Andrew C. Wolfe, Chairman, Yellowstone Concessions Review Group, May 25, 1976, “Other Correspondence About Grant Village,” NPS–Development, vertical files, YNPL). Finally, because of General Host’s resultant failure to make progress on dining and lodging facilities, the NPS terminated the contract in 1979, and purchased the existing facilities (National Park Service (Denver Service Center), “Grant Village,” and National Park

Service, “Other Correspondence About Grant Village,” both in NPS–Development, vertical files, YNPL). In a 1976 letter to Andrew Wolfe, Group Leader of the Yellowstone Concessions Review Group, Trevor S. Povah, president of Hamilton Stores, Inc. (which had purchased the Haynes Picture Shops in 1968), and a member of the same group, claimed that the Grant Village project had been doomed from the start (Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* [Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1985], 379). Grant Village, he complained, “is the first location to get snow in the fall and the last location that can be opened in the spring due to snow. Millions of dollars were spent on sewage, marina, roads, etc., and none of it has proved to be economically feasible or advantageous to the traveling public. There is a big mosquito problem in this area. The limited season makes it impossible to recover any investment.” Povah strongly recommended that no further building be done at Grant Village, and favored a trailer village for recreational vehicles to replace plans for a motel unit. John D. Amerman, President of the Yellowstone Park Company, also preferred a trailer park. However, he wanted the government to build the project and for the Yellowstone Park Company to operate it (Trevor S. Povah, President of Hamilton Stores, Inc., to Andrew C. Wolfe, May 27, 1976, “Other Correspondence About Grant Village,” NPS–Development, vertical files, YNPL). In his own letter to Wolfe, Amerman also argued that the campground at Grant Village and campgrounds elsewhere in the park should be concessioner-operated—a policy change in which he understood Secretary of the Interior Thomas Kleppe to be interested (John D. Amerman, President of Yellowstone Park Company, to Andrew C. Wolfe, May 26, 1976, 2, “Other Correspondence About Grant Village,” NPS–Development, vertical files, YNPL).

88. Haines, vol. 2, 378; Barringer, “Mission Impossible,” 22–24; Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, chapter 14.

89. McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 465–466.

90. *Ibid.*, 466.

91. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Our Heritage, A Plan for Its Protection and Use: “Mission 66”* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), as quoted in Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 17.

92. Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 17.

93. Conrad Wirth to Washington Office and field offices, Memorandum “Visitor Centers; Park Roads,” February 10, 1956, as quoted in Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 18.

94. Western Office of Design and Construction,

“Summary of General Discussions of Visitor Center Design Problems,” February 4, 1958, 7, as quoted in Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 18.

95. Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 22–24.

96. *Ibid.*, 24–25.

97. Mission 66 visitor centers were also planned for Mammoth Hot Springs, Madison Junction, and the ill-fated Firehole Village. When the Firehole Village project was abandoned in 1971, a new visitor center was built at Old Faithful, instead.

98. National Park Service, “Canyon Village Visitor Center,” Historic Structure Survey Form, 1999, Smithsonian #48YE999, 3.

99. Jerry A. Riddall, Chief Architect, WODC, to Regional Director, Midwest Region, Memorandum, October 1, 1963, folder “D3415, #17 Oct. 1963–Jan. 1964,” box D-245, YNPA.

100. Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 16, 104.

101. *Ibid.*, 17.

102. Instead of planning to hire and then, once the program was completed in 1966, lay off the many architects needed to design the new Mission 66 visitor centers, the NPS opted to contract out work to different architectural firms (Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 25).

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*, 261, and Riddall to Regional Director, October 1, 1963.

105. Warren F. Hamilton, Acting Superintendent, to Director, Region Two, Memorandum, January 5, 1956, folder “D3415, Book 2 Jan. 1955–Sept. 1956,” box D-226, YNPA.

106. Frank Mattson to Lemuel Garrison, September 19, 1957; Lemuel Garrison to Thomas Vint, October 11, 1957; Lyle Bennet to Cop Construction Company, August 28, 1957; and Earl Brown to Cop Construction Company, September 27, 1957, as quoted in Mary Shivers Culpin, draft “History of Administration,” chapter 9, page 15, Culpin’s files, Historian’s Office, HRC. The colors selected for the visitor center were Sanitas colors T520 and T510. The exterior colors for the camp manager’s residence were planned to be the same as those of the District Ranger’s residence. The selection for the asphalt tile for the visitor center was Matico - Exhibit Room Floor - CK 1005; all other asphalt tile floors were to be CK 1003.

107. M. E. Beatty, Regional Chief of Interpretation, to Superintendent, September 28, 1960, folder “D3415, Book #9, Aug. 1960–Jan. 1961,” box 243, YNPA.

108. *Ibid.*

109. For an excellent discussion of Doty’s association

with the National Park Service, see Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, chapter 6. See endnote 15 on page 248 for a discussion of Lyle Bennett and page 189, for example, for a discussion of Sanford Hill.

110. Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 221.

111. *Ibid.*, 265.

112. *Ibid.*, 34.

113. *Ibid.*, 34.

114. *Ibid.*, 31.

115. *Ibid.*, 26, 29.

116. For a brief discussion of this activity, see *ibid.*, 30.

117. *Ibid.*, 31.

118. *Ibid.*, 25.

119. *Ibid.*, 25.

120. *Ibid.*, 27.

121. For example, Roy Appelman and Ronald Lee, two historians with the NPS in the 1960s, favored “right-on-top” siting (*ibid.*).

122. From “A Report on Visitor Centers” (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, ca. January 1960), as quoted in Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 28.

123. From “A Survey of the Public Concerning the National Parks,” (Princeton: Audience Research, Inc., December 1955), as quoted in Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, 4.

124. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 133–136.

125. *Ibid.*, 134–135.

126. Vick documented the interim names: Branch of Natural History (1943), Natural History Division (1948), and Research and Interpretation (1951) (*ibid.*, 139).

127. *Ibid.*

128. Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Third ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 8, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 181.

129. Freeman Tilden, *The Fifth Essence* (Washington, D.C.: The National Park Trust Fund Board, n.d.), 60, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 179. Tilden wrote three books on national parks: *The National Parks: What They Mean to You and Me* (1951), *The Fifth Essence: An Invitation to Share Our Eternal Heritage* (circa 1953), and *Interpreting Our Heritage* (1957).

130. Paul E. Schulz, “Interpretation of Park Values,” *Park Practice Guidelines* (March 1962): 49, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 183.

131. Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 9, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 181.

132. Ibid., 8, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 181.
133. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 179.
134. Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 9, as quoted in Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 181.
135. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 183.
136. See Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, chapter 9 and page 234; Haines, vol. 2, 382.
137. From Lemuel A. Garrison, *The Making of a Ranger: Forty Years with the National Parks* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1983), 279.
138. Lon Garrison, "Interview with Lon Garrison, with Alan Mebane, Chief Naturalist, Yellowstone National Park," February 22, 1973, transcribed by Cheryl Moore, February 1977, 12, vertical file "Biography," YNPL.
139. Haines, vol. 2, 379.
140. Lon Garrison, "Interview with Alan Mebane," February 22, 1973, 12.
141. Haines, vol. 2, 379.
142. Lon Garrison, "Interview with Alan Mebane," February 22, 1973, 12.
143. Vick, *Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 200–201.
144. According to Vick (*Yellowstone National Park and the Education of Adults*, 202–204), the *Manual of General Information* replaced the *Ranger Naturalists' Manual* (last updated in 1945), and park historian Aubrey Haines introduced *The Yellowstone Interpreter* to replace *Yellowstone Nature Notes*, which was discontinued in December 1958.
145. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1948*, 10.
146. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1949*, 18.
147. See Howard Baker to Mr. S. S. Kistler, September 10, 1953, and S. S. Kistler to Mr. Gerald [sic] L. Wirth, August 9, 1953, both in folder "601-03 Campsites and Campgrounds," box D-156, YNPA.
148. S. A. Mendenhall to Idaho Senator, August 10, 1957, Yellowstone National Park, book 1 "Yellowstone 1953–1964," box L3415, RG 79, NAKC. Copy in folder "Campgrounds—General," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
149. Assistant Superintendent to Superintendent, Memorandum, July 6, 1959, folder "D32, Grounds, Parking Areas, Campgrounds, General, 1958–60," box D-159, YNPA.
150. Lemuel A. Garrison, Superintendent to Mr. C. E. Stinson, September 1, 1961, folder "D32—Grounds—General (Parking Areas, Campgrounds) 1961–1962," box D-159, YNPA.
151. Park Engineer, Assistant Superintendent, Chief Ranger, Assistant Park Naturalist, Park Landscape Architect, and District Ranger to Superintendent, April 2, 1959, folder "D32, Grounds, Parking Areas, Campgrounds, General, 1958–60," box D-159, YNPA.
152. M. H. Harvey, Acting Regional Director, to Superintendent, Memorandum, August 21, 1959, book 1 "Yellowstone Jan. 1953–Jan. 1964," box L3415, RG 79, NAKC. Copy in folder "Campgrounds—General," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
153. Lemuel A. Garrison to Mr. E. W. Woodger [?], September 3, 1959, book 1 "Yellowstone National Park, Jan. 1953–Jan. 1964," box L3415, RG 79, NAKC. Copy in folder "Campgrounds–Pelican Creek," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
154. Lemuel A. Garrison to Regional Director, May 18, 1961, book 1 "Yellowstone National Park, Jan. 1953–Jan. 1964," box L3415, RG 79, NAKC. Copy in folder "Campgrounds–General," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
155. Lemuel A. Garrison to Regional Director, Region II, Memorandum, June 18, 1962, folder "D5039, book 17, Jan.–July 1962," box D-244, YNPA.
156. Yellowstone National Park, "Visitor Days in Yellowstone Breaks All-time Record," Memorandum of the press for immediate release, October 7, 1963, book 1 "Yellowstone National Park, Jan. 1953–Jan. 1964," box L3415, RG 79, NAKC. Copy in folder "Campgrounds–General," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
157. Roger W. Toll to Mr. Mattson, Memorandum, July 14, 1935, copy in folder "Campgrounds–Bridge Bay," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
158. Jerry A. Riddall, Chief Architect, WODC, to Regional Director, Region II, April 20, 1962, folder "D3415, book 16, Aug. 1961–May 1962," box D-243, YNPA; Luther T. Peterson, Jr., Regional Engineer, to Acting Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, Long Distance Telephone Call, June 21, 1960, folder "D46, book 3, Jan. 1960–Jan. 1961," box D-243, YNPA; Luther T. Peterson, Jr., to Chief, Western Office, Design and Construction, Memorandum, December 30, 1960, folder "D32, Grounds, Parking Areas, Campgrounds, 1958–1960," box D-159, YNPA.
159. M. H. Harvey to Superintendents, August 9, 1956, as quoted in Culpin, draft "History of Administration," 14.
160. Thomas Vint to Lemuel Garrison, May 10, 1957, as quoted in Culpin, draft "History of Administration," 14.
161. Lon Garrison, "Interview with Alan Mebane," February 22, 1973, 2.
162. Ibid.

163. For a more thorough analysis of the Leopold Report and a discussion of A. Starker Leopold's life and career, see Carol Rydell, *Aldo Starker Leopold: Wildlife Biologist and Public Policy Maker*, M.A. thesis, Montana State University, 1993.
164. Kenner, *An Examination of National Park Service Decision Making*, 59.
165. Alice K. Wondrak, *(Do Not) Feed the Bears: Policy, Culture and the Historical Narrative of the Yellowstone Bear*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo., 2002, 275–276. Copy in YNPL.
166. Schullery, *Searching For Yellowstone*, 168.
167. Robert Barbee, in a personal interview with Brian C. Kenner, September 15, 1983. See Kenner, *An Examination of National Park Service Decision Making*, 59.
168. For an excellent discussion of this period in Yellowstone's wildlife management history, see *Yellowstone Science* 8(2) (Spring 2000), 2–22.
169. A. Starker Leopold, Stanley A. Cain, Clarence Cottam, Ira N. Gabrielson, and Thomas L. Kimball, "Wildlife Management in the National Parks," *Transactions of the North American Wildlife Conference* 28 (1963): 34, 35.
170. George Baggley to Regional Director, August 14, 1957, copy in folder "Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1958," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
171. Leopold et al., "Wildlife Management in the National Parks," as quoted in Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 169.
172. Baggley to Regional Director, August 14, 1957.
173. Howard Baker to Lemuel Garrison, November 13, 1959, copy in folder "Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1959," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
174. Ray H. Mattison, "Report on Historical Structures at Yellowstone National Park," September 1960, 1, vertical files, YNPL.
175. *Ibid.*, 3–7.
176. A. L. Haines to R. N. McIntyre, Memorandum, October 26, 1960, in Mattison, "Report on Historical Structures."
177. Mattison, "Report on Historical Structures," 6.
178. Horace Albright to Conrad Wirth, February 10, 1960, copy in folder "Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1960," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Ibid.*
181. *Ibid.*
182. Conrad Wirth to Horace Albright, January 9, 1961, copy in folder "Construction Projects/Landscape Architecture–1960," Culpin's files, Historian's Office, HRC.
183. Haines, vol. 2, 379.
184. Albright to Wirth, February 10, 1960.
185. Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 186.
186. *Ibid.*, 186–187.
187. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 384.
188. Schullery, *Searching For Yellowstone*, 183.
189. Haines, vol. 2, 383.
190. *Ibid.*
191. Smith, "The History of Grant Village," 46.
192. Conrad Wirth, Director National Park Service, to Washington Office and All Field Offices, Memorandum, February 27, 1959, folder "#9, 1959: Memorandum Regarding Increased Public Relations Effort For Mission 66," box D-20, YNPA. As is often the case with requests that memo recipients destroy the document after reading it, some survived; the existence of this one is a case in point.
193. Haines, vol. 2, 383.
194. Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone*, 192.
195. Smith, "The History of Grant Village," 28–29; see Garrison, *The Making of a Ranger*, as quoted in Smith, "The History of Grant Village," 47.
196. Kenner, *An Examination of National Park Service Decision Making*, 59.
197. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 183; Smith, "The History of Grant Village," 47.