

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. 17 *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 350.
2. U.S. Senate, *Letter From the Secretary of the Interior, Accompanying a Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1872*, 42nd Cong., 3rd sess., 1873. S. Ex. Doc. 35.
3. Nathaniel P. Langford to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 20 May 1872, microcopy of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
4. *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1872*, 2–4.
5. *Ibid.*, 2–4.
6. Legal notice signed by Matthew McGuirk, March 9, 1872, accompanied by signed testimony of Henry R. Horr and James Pencil, March 9, 1872, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior relating to the Yellowstone National Park 1872–1886, Letters Received, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
7. E. S. Topping, *Chronicles of the Yellowstone* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1968), 70. Lee Whittlesey, *Yellowstone Place Names* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1988), 27. Compilation of Notes of Aubrey Haines, 26, Land Alteration File, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
8. Doris Whithorn, *Twice Told on the Upper Yellowstone* (Livingston, Montana: Doris Whithorn, 1994), Vol. I., 63–65. The chapter, “James C. McCartney Mayor of Gardiner,” gives a detailed account of McCartney’s life.
9. Richard Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 116. Whithorn, *Twice Told on the Upper Yellowstone*, Vol. I., 66–67. Windom Thomas, the Earl of Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), 193–194. Ray Mattison, “Report on Historical Structures at Yellowstone National Park,” September 1960. The Bartlett history is a good source regarding McCartney’s claim against the government.
10. Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874*, 207–208.
11. Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966*, Historic Resource Study, Volume I, Selections from the Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service, No. 5, 1994, 311–316. The bridge site is being nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as part of the context—Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966.
12. *Ibid.*, 3.
13. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
14. Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano to W. T. Sanders, 12 December 1873, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
15. Nathaniel Langford to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 6 February 1874, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
16. Ferdinand Hayden to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 14 November 1873, Letter printed in 43rd Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. 147.
17. Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano to Congressman James Blaine, 17 February 1874, Letter included in 43rd Cong. 1st sess., House of Representative, Ex. Doc. 147.
18. Henry Horr and James McCartney to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 12 February 1874, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
19. Henry Horr to Congressman W. H. Clagett, 5 February 1873, with attached letter from Congressman Clagett, n.d.; Superintendent N. Langford to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 11 April 1873, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
20. Henry Horr to Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, 12 June 1873, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
21. Philetus W. Norris to J. C. McCartney, 19 April 1877, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
22. Philetus W. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park Year 1877* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), 841.
23. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park Year 1877*, 841.
24. Louis Cramton, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relation to National Park Policies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 41.
25. Culpin, 7. A detailed account of the Nez Perce retreat from the park can be found in Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park* (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), Vol. I, Chapter 8, “Warfare in Wonderland.” Possible influence by Ferdinand Hayden can be seen in his letter to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz on 21 February 1878, in which he presented the history of the passage of the bill. Microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
26. Philetus W. Norris, “Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1878, to the Secretary of the Interior.” In *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1878* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), 986.

27. Norris, "Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1878," 995.

28. Ferdinand Hayden to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 21 February 1878, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

29. Ferdinand Hayden to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 21 February 1878, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

30. Norris, "Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1878," 995.

31. Philetus W. Norris to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 06 May 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

32. Philetus W. Norris to Assistant Secretary of the Interior A. Bell, 06 May 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

33. Norris to Bell, 06 May 1879.

34. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to Philetus W. Norris, 23 May 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

35. Philetus W. Norris to Carl Schurz, 14 June 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

36. J. C. McCartney to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 31 July 1879, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

37. Philetus W. Norris, *Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1879* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 22.

38. Norris, *Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park for the Year 1879*, 22.

39. Handwritten report of dictation by G. W. Marshall [1885], Pacific Ms. R3C4D3, Bancroft Library, University of California. Copy in Box 17-C, Folder: G. W. Marshall, Yellowstone National Park Archives. An informative account of the Marshall Hotel can be found in an article by Lee Whittlesey, "Marshall's Hotel in the National Park," *Montana the Magazine of Western History*, Autumn 1980.

40. Philetus W. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), 48.

41. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to Postmaster General, 07 June 1880, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

42. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880*, 37.

43. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to A. W. Hall, 29 October 1880, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

44. A. B. Hall and A. W. Hall to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, 23 November 1880, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

45. Hall and Hall to Schurz, 23 November 1880.

46. Philetus W. Norris, *Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), 68–69.

47. Philetus W. Norris to Secretary of the Interior S. J. Kirkwood, 30 June 1881; Philetus W. Norris to J. C. McCartney,

30 May 1881, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62 Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

48. Petition suggesting the appointment of F. Jay Haynes as official photographer of Yellowstone National Park, 1881, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

49. F. Jay Haynes to Secretary of the Interior S. J. Kirkwood, 29 August 1881; F. Jay Haynes to Secretary of the Interior S. J. Kirkwood, 30 December 1881, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

50. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880*, 73.

CHAPTER 2

1. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to J. B. and A. W. Hall, 13 January 1881.

2. Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 124. This book provides an in depth history of the controversy surrounding the concession development in the park. Perhaps the missing links in Bartlett's book and in this study will be identified when an administrative history of park is done.

3. Senator Windom had supported the application of J. B. and A. W. Hall for the erection of hotels within the park two years earlier, however, Secretary Schurz denied them a monopoly at the time. Perhaps a better political environment existed in 1882.

4. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 124–125.

5. C. T. Hobart and H. M. Douglas to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 28 July 1882, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Senator William Windom to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 31 July 1882, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park. Senator William Windom had been Secretary of the Treasury during the brief administration of President Garfield and was appointed to the same position in 1889 by President Benjamin Harrison. Bartlett, 125.

8. Superintendent P. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Teller, 20 September 1882, Box. C-17, Folder: Hobart, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

9. Carroll Hobart to the Secretary of the Interior, 18 November 1882, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

10. Bartlett, 129.

11. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to General James S. Brisbin, 26 September 1882, microcopies of records of National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

12. General James Brisbin to James Belford, 25 September 1882, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Rufus Hatch, a Wall Street financier, joined Hobart and Douglas in September 1882 bringing needed finances to support their venture.

13. Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 18 November 1882, microcopies of records in the National Ar-

chives, No. 62, Roll 1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

14. Bartlett, 44–45.

15. Copy of telegram to *Pioneer Press*, 12 January 1883, microcopies of records in National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

16. Nathaniel P. Langford to Senator George Vest, 15 January 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

17. Louis Cramtom, *Early History of Yellowstone National Park and Its Relations to National Park Policies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 42.

18. Copy of Indenture, 9 March 1883, Box C-17 Letter Box: Concessions, Folder: C, Hobart—Yellowstone Park Improvement Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

19. Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior, 27 June 1883; Chief Clerk, Department of War to Carroll Hobart, 18 July 1883, microcopy of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

20. P. H. Conger, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1883* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 10. Several of Conger's letters regarding Carroll Hobart can be found in the microcopies of records of the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

21. Rufus Hatch to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 01 December 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

22. Rufus Hatch to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 23 December 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

23. Wakefield and Hoffman to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 16 December 1883, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

24. P. H. Conger, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1883*, 6.

25. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to F. Jay Haynes, 26 February 1883; C. T. Hobart to F. Jay Haynes, 05 May 1883, Box: C-17, Folder: Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

26. An excellent coverage of the early days of the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company can be found in Richard Bartlett's *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*. Bartlett calls the organization the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company.

27. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to P. H. Conger, 05 June 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

28. Acting Secretary of Interior W. Joslyn to P. H. Conger, 31 January 1884; G. W. Marshall to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 15 March 1884; P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 13 March 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

29. G. W. Marshall to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 15 March 1884; P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 25 June 1884; Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to G. W. Marshall, 02 July 1884; Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to Superintendent P. H. Conger, 03 July 1884; P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 31 July 1884.

30. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to F. Jay Haynes,

03 July 1887, Box: C-17, Folder: Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Haynes's 1884 rates were as follows: Stereoscopic and Cabinet—25 cents each, \$2.00 per dozen; Imperials (7" x 10")—50 cents each, \$5.00 per dozen; Mammoths (20" x 24")—\$3.00 each, \$30.00 per dozen; Groups of private parties—double the above prices; National Park Souvenir Album—75 cents each; National Park Guide Book (Winsor)—50 cents each.

31. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to F. Jay Haynes, 07 October 1884, Box: C-17, Folder: Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Mammoth Hot Springs tract—"commencing at a point two hundred and fifty-nine feet from the South East Corner of the National Hotel and running four hundred and sixteen feet South East, thence four hundred and sixteen feet South West, thence four hundred and sixteen feet North West, thence four hundred and sixteen feet North East to the place of beginning, containing about four acres." Upper Geyser Basin tract "Commencing at a stake two hundred and fifty-five and six-tenths feet East from a Hub twenty-five feet West of Crystal Creek [present Myriad Creek] at the intersection of the Bluff thirteen hundred and twenty feet from Old Faithful Geyser, from thence running East four hundred and sixteen feet, thence South four hundred and sixteen feet, thence West four hundred and sixteen feet, thence North four hundred and sixteen feet to the place of beginning, containing about four acres."

32. John L. Yancey to Superintendent P. H. Conger, 06 January 1884; John L. Yancey to Superintendent P. H. Conger, 11 January 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

33. Copy of Indenture between John L. Yancey and the Department of the Interior, 1 April 1884, Box: C-16, Folder: Yancey, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

34. Superintendent P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior, 05 January 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

35. C. J. Baronett and J. W. Ponsford to Superintendent R. E. Carpenter, 22 November 1884; Lt. General Philip Sheridan to Secretary of the Interior, 26 November 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, Roll No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

36. Rufus Hatch to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 29 May 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

37. J. A. Williamson to Acting Secretary of the Interior M. Joslyn, 22 March 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

38. P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 31 July 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

39. C. T. Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 25 June 1884; P. H. Conger to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

40. C. T. Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 11 July 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

41. Copy of telegram to Acting Secretary of the Interior M. Joslyn from C. T. Hobart, 29 July 1884; Copy of Telegram to Superintendent P. H. Conger from Acting Secretary of the Interior M. Joslyn, 30 July 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

42. M. Joslyn to C. T. Hobart, 07 August 1884, microcop-

ies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

43. C. T. Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 06 November 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives Records, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

44. Robert C. Carpenter to the Secretary of the Interior, 13 November 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 4, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

45. Superintendent R. C. Carpenter to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 22 October 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

46. Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 05 January 1884; Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 16 February 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to Carroll Hobart, 03 March 1885, Box: C-17, Folder: C. Hobart, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

47. Frank Auerbach and Van Slyck; DeCoster and Clark; Wilson and Rogers; and Craig, Larkin and Smith to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 01 May 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives. The creditors used the address St. Paul, Minnesota, so it is assumed all were from that city. The following were services or goods they provided: Auerbach, Frank and Van Slyck—carpets, curtains, etc.; DeCoster & Clark—furniture, mattresses, etc.; Wilson & Rogers—wrought iron pipe for piping water to hotel and the plumbing fixtures for hotel; Craig, Larkin, & Smith—crockerly, lamps, etc.

48. Carroll Hobart to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 09 September 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

49. Edward Atkinson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 30 September 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

50. George Hulme to Presiding Judge 3rd Judicial District Court S. C. Parks, 08 October 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

51. Petition from Rufus Hatch, 13 October 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

52. George Hulme to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 18 November 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

53. Acting Secretary of Interior H. Muldrow to John Newton, 22 December 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

54. Eva Mary Errett to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 01 February 1885; J. A. Clark to Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, 06 February 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

55. Walter and Helen Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 01 April 1885. Walter and Helen Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 02 April 1885. The tariffs proposed at Henderson's establishment were the following: board & lodging, single room per day: \$3.00; Two persons in one room per day, each: \$2.50; Single meals: \$.75; Meals served

in room: \$1.00; Hot Baths: \$.50; Imported Beer per bottle: \$1.00; Domestic Beer per bottle: \$.75; Superior imported wines per quart: \$5.00; Domestic wines and brandies per quart: \$2.50; Cigars, each: \$.25; Tobacco per lb.: from \$.60 to \$4.00; Board & lodging for camping parties, each per day: \$4.00; Saddle horse per day: \$2.50; Pack horse per day: \$2.00; Wagon or carriage, two horses and driver per day: \$10.00; Wagon, four horses and driver per day: \$15.00; Single horse and buggy per day: \$6.00; Trip around Park with two or more persons: \$25.00; Single horse to hay and grain per night: \$1.00; Use of corral, per head: \$.15; Use of corral per team, one night: \$.25; Oats per 100 lb.: \$2.75; Hay per 100 lb.: \$2.50; Milk per quart: \$.15; Billiards per game: \$.25; Pool for each player: \$.10; Blacking boots, per pair: \$.10. Helen and Walter Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 14 April 1885. The questions of the very first claims on the Cottage Hotel remain murky. The records used in this report do not clarify a transfer of claim from Clark to the Hendersons, but Clark did sign the endorsement for the Hendersons to modify their existing lease.

56. J. A. Clark to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 14 April 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

57. J. A. Clark to Lt. Dan Kingman, 19 March 1885, Lt. Dan Kingman to Secretary of the Interior, 25 March 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, Yellowstone National Park Archives. The sawmill was a Buckeye Portable Steam mill with 30 horsepower and a 58-inch saw. Kingman's sensitivity to the appearance of the park can also be found in his treatment of the road construction in the park. See Part I Historic Resource Study, History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872–1966.

58. F. Jay Haynes to the Secretary of the Interior, 29 April 1885; R. C. Carpenter to Acting Secretary of the Interior W. Muldrow, 21 May 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

59. Arnold Hague to James A. Clark, 06 April 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

60. Arnold Hague to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 30 April 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

61. Superintendent David Wear to Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow, 29 December 1885. Kingman's opinion of Clark can be found in his letter to the Secretary of the Interior, March 25, 1885. He states, "I am not assured that Mr. Clark is a responsible man, and indeed it could hardly be admissible under any circumstances to lend in this way the public property (sawmill) to private individual." Microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

62. Walter and Helen Henderson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 16 November 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives. *Livingston Enterprise*, 1 August 1885. *Livingston Enterprise*, 7 November 1885.

63. Arnold Hague to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 10 June 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

64. Superintendent D. W. Wear to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 13 July 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

65. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller to Senator George Vest, 29 February 1884, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

66. "Report of W. H. Phillips to Secretary of the Interior L. Lamar, September 12, 1885," microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

67. "Report of W. H. Phillips to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, September 12, 1885."

68. Phillips Report.

69. Phillips Report.

70. Phillips Report.

71. Phillips Report.

72. Phillips Report.

73. Phillips Report.

74. Phillips Report.

75. Phillips Report.

76. Phillips Report.

77. Superintendent D. W. Wear to Secretary of the Interior L. Lamar, 21 September 1885, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

CHAPTER 3

1. Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow to Charles Gibson, 02 January 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

2. John Ellis to Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow, 25 March 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3; Lease to Charles Gibson, Box: C-16, Folder: YP Assoc., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

3. John Ellis to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 03 April 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged*, 152.

4. Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow to Superintendent D. Wear, 28 April 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

5. Charles Gibson to Secretary of the Interior Lucius Lamar, 15 November 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

6. Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow to Superintendent D. W. Wear, 25 May 1886; Secretary of the Interior L. Lamar to Superintendent D. W. Wear, 25 June 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

7. Superintendent D. W. Wear to Acting Secretary of the Interior H. Muldrow, 03 June 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

8. Captain Moses Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1887* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 4.

9. Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1887*, 8.

10. *Livingston Enterprise*, 29 January 1886.

11. *Livingston Enterprise*, 13 February 1886.

12. Walter and Helen Henderson to Secretary of the Inte-

rior Lucius Lamar, 14 June 1886, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 63, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

13. M. H. Ford to Lucius Lamar, 11 July 1887; Lease Agreement of James Clark, 30 November 1887, microcopies of records in the National Archives, No. 62, Roll 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Captain Moses Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1888* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 7.

14. Harris, 8.

15. *Ibid.*, 4.

16. *Ibid.*, 9.

17. *Ibid.*, 9, 10, 15.

18. Lease to Yellowstone Park Association—1889, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Yellowstone Park Association, Box: 2 Records of Hotels 1892–96, Subject File 8300-437-186996 (137.J.18.3B), Folder: Lease to YPA—1889 Thumb, Lease to YPA—Norris, Minnesota Historical Society. Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1889*, 5.

19. Captain Moses Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1889* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 3, 21. Attached to this report is a supplemental report written by Harris's replacement, Captain F. A. Boutelle.

20. Charles S. Fee to F. Jay Haynes, 24 August 1887; E. Eade to F. Jay Haynes, 14 November 1887; F. Jay Haynes Papers, No. 1500, Series III, Box: 8, Folder: 14, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

21. Haynes Agreement with YP Association, 15 September 1889, Series III, Box: 8, Folder: 18, F. Jay Haynes Papers.

22. Captain F. A. Boutelle, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 10–11.

23. Harris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1889*, 5.

24. E. C. Waters to G. L. Henderson, 21 May 1889; G. L. Henderson to C. S. Mellen, 20 February 1900, Ash Collection, Manuscript File, Yellowstone National Park Library.

25. Boutelle, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1890*, 10.

26. W. G. Johnson to W. C. Pearce, 10 April 1890; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 27 May 1890; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 31 May 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June, Minnesota Historical Society.

27. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 4 July 1890; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 12 August 1890; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 08 September 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3 (B), File: YPA J July–August 1890, Minnesota Historical Society.

28. E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 27 June 1890; E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 15 June 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA J Jan.–June 1890, Minnesota Historical Society.

29. E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 26 June 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June, Minnesota Historical Society.

30. Telegram from W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 28 September 1890; Telegram from E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 27 June 1890; Telegram from E. C. Waters to W. G. Pearce, 30 June 1890,

Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June 1890, Folder: YPA—September 1890, Minnesota Historical Society.

31. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 21 October 1890, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Oct. 1890, Minnesota Historical Society.

32. Statement regarding the Yellowstone Lake Boat Co., June 6, 1891; Northern Pacific Railroad Records, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June 1891. A.L. Smith had been a cashier of the Merchants Bank of Glendive, Montana. Waters had been in the hotel business in Glendive as well as being with Meagher & Co., another hotel concern in Miles City, Montana. E. C. Waters had also been a partner with C. W. Savage & Co. running the Albemarle Hotel in Livingston, Montana.

33. Charles Gibson to George Wakefield, 10 March 1891; George Wakefield to W. G. Pearce, 12 March 1891; W. G. Pearce to George Wakefield, 03 April, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPS O-Z 1891. Captain George S. Anderson, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1891* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 7.

34. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 09 June 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA Jan.–June 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

35. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 07 July 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA J 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

36. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 29 June 1891; W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 08 August 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA J 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

37. W. G. Johnson to W. G. Pearce, 24 July 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3 (B), File: YPA J July 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

38. T. Casey to T. F. Oakes, 07 September 1891, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.3(B), Folder: YPA O-Z 1891, Minnesota Historical Society.

CHAPTER 4

1. W. G. Pearce to T. Casey, 22 June 1892, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.4(F), Folder: YPA C. 1892, Minnesota Historical Society.

2. Captain George Anderson, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 5–6.

3. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park 1892*, 6–7. W. W. Wylie to Charles Fee, 30 January 1892, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.4(F), Folder YPA F 1892, Minnesota Historical Society.

4. W. W. Wylie to Charles Fee, 30 January 1892; Charles Fee to W. W. Wylie, 26 February 1892; Charles Fee to W. G. Pearce, 08 March 1892, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.4(F), Folder: YPA F 1892, Minnesota Historical Society. According to Yellowstone National Park Historian, Lee Whittlesey, Wylie is known to have been in the Yellowstone in 1881; he published his guidebook in 1882. He started his camping business in either 1883 or 1884. Scrapbooks

containing Wylie advertising pamphlets imply that the camping operations began in either 1883 or 1884.

5. Anderson, 6.

6. Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* Vol. II. (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), 120–121.

7. Charles Gibson to W. G. Pearce, 05 February 1893; “Park Privileges” *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 13 June 1893, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Box: 137.A.4.5(B), Folder: YPA G 1893, Minnesota Historical Society.

8. W. G. Pearce to P. H. Hansen, 21 June 1893, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.5(B), Folder: YPA H 1893, Minnesota Historical Society.

9. Captain George Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1894* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 3. W. G. Pearce to J. H. Dean, 19 June 1893, Northern Pacific Railway Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 137.A.4.4(F), Folder: YPA D 1893, Minnesota Historical Society.

10. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1894*, 3. W. G. Pearce to Board of Directors of Yellowstone Park Association, 03 December 1894, Northern Pacific Railway Papers, YPA Box: 2 137.J.18.3(B), Folder: 414 Annual Meetings, Minnesota Historical Society.

11. Captain George Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1895* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 4.

12. Anderson, 1895, 4.

13. W. G. Pearce to Board of Directors of Yellowstone Park Association, 03 December 1894; *Livingston Enterprise*, 21 November 1894.

14. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1895*, 3. Memorandum of Agreement between F. Jay Haynes and the Yellowstone Park Association, May 19, 1894, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 8, Folder: 26, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

15. Anderson, 5.

16. C. S. Bihler to E. H. McHenry, 20 October 1894, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Branch Lands, Box: 2 137.J.218.3(B), Folder: 375, C. S. Bihler’s Trip Report Oct. 1894, Minnesota Historical Society.

17. Anderson, 5, 6, and 9.

18. W. G. Pearce to Captain George Anderson, 11 March 1895; W. G. Pearce to Receivers of the Northern Pacific Railroad Co., 10 July 1895; Charles Givson to T. Casey, 28 October 1895, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box 2: 137. J.18.3(B), Folder: 414, Annual Meeting, Folder: 400 Special Meeting of Stockholders, 8 July 1895, Minnesota Historical Society.

19. W. P. Couper to F. Jay Haynes, 17 September 1895; W. G. Pearce to F. Jay Haynes, 18 October 1895, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 14, Folder: 14, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

20. Lease Agreement between F. Jay Haynes and Department of the Interior, 18 April 1896, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 15, Folder: 15. J. H. Dean to W. G. Pearce, 14 April 1896, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 137.A.4.6(F), Folder: YPA D 1896, Minnesota Historical Society.

21. Captain George Anderson, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the*

Interior 1896 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 9.

22. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1896*, 4.

23. *Ibid.*, 4.

24. *Ibid.*, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10.

25. *Ibid.*, 5, and 11.

26. J. H. Dean to W. G. Pearce, 27 June 1896, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 137.A.4.6(F), Folder: YPA D 1896, Minnesota Historical Society.

27. W. G. Pearce to J. H. Dean, 28 May 1896, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 137.A.4.6(F), Folder: YPA D 1896, Minnesota Historical Society.

28. W. G. Pearce to Cass Gilbert, 06 August 1896, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 137.S.4.6(F), Folder: YPA D 1896, Minnesota Historical Society.

29. Col. S. B. M. Young, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1897* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 4, 5, and 22. Record of the Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Yellowstone Park Association, December 20, 1997, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, File: 209A, Folder: 2, Minnesota Historical Society.

30. Young, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1897*, 17.

31. Circular from Col. S. Young to F. Jay Haynes, 14 July 1897, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 14, Folder: 20, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University. It is not known if the dump was near the site of the school or the incinerator site.

32. Young, 5.

33. Records of the Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Yellowstone Park Association, December 20, 1897, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA File: 209 A - [1], File: 2, Minnesota Historical Society.

34. F. Jay Haynes to Thomas Ryan, 30 December 1897, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 2, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

35. Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company to H. G. Burt, 20 January 1898, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 2, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

36. Report to Captain James B. Erwin, Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park by Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company, September 28, 1898, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 5, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

37. Captain James B. Erwin, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1898* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), 5, 19, 20.

38. Erwin, *Annual Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1898*, 20.

39. J. H. Dean to Board of Directors of Yellowstone Park Association, 05 December 1898, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA File: 209 B, Folder: 11, Minnesota Historical Society.

40. C. S. Mellen to F. Jay Haynes and W. W. Humphrey, 01 March 1899; J. H. Dean to C. S. Mellen, 25 March 1899, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA File: 210A, Folder: 13, Minne-

sota Historical Society.

41. C. S. Mellen to E. C. Waters, 18 May 1899; C. S. Mellen to Daniel Lamont, 24 February 1899, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA File: 209A, Folder: 4, Minnesota Historical Society.

42. Specifications for E. C. Waters at Yellowstone Lake, 28 September 1898, Box: C-16, Folder: T. E. Hofer, Yellowstone National Park Archives. E. H. McHenry to Cass Gilbert, 19 July 1899; C. H. McHenry to F. G. Prest, 12 August 1899, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 134.I.5.111(B), Folder: 619, Minnesota Historical Society.

CHAPTER 5

1. J. H. Dean to C. S. Mellen, 30 January 1900, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210A, Folder 12, Minnesota Historical Society.

2. F. Jay Haynes to J. H. Dean, 10 March 1900, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210A, Folder: 13, Minnesota Historical Society.

3. Jenkins Automobile Company to F. Jay Haynes, 31 October 1901, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 9, Burlingame Special Collection, Montana State University.

4. Telegram to Thomas Ryan from H. W. Child, 10 August 1902; F. Jay Haynes reply to charges in telegram. n.d., F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 12, Burlingame Special Collection, Montana State University.

5. Agreement between F. Jay Haynes and Yellowstone Park Association, 27 September 1902, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 14, Folder: 32, Burlingame Special Collection, Montana State University.

6. F. Jay Haynes to Major John Pitcher, 26 August 1903; F. Jay Haynes to Major John Pitcher, 04 September 1903, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 14, Folder: 33, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

7. R. H. Relp to E. H. McHenry, 01 June 1901, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 134.I.5.11(B), Folder: 619, Minnesota Historical Society.

8. J. M. Hannaford to C. S. Mellen, 30 January 1902, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210A, Folder: 11, Minnesota Historical Society.

9. C. S. Mellen to E. C. Waters, 18 January 1903; Memorandum, Yellowstone Park Adjustment, September 5, 1903, Northern Pacific Railway Papers, YPA Box: 209A, Folder: 3, Minnesota Historical Society.

10. Major John Pitcher, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 3.

11. Yellowstone Park Association Annual Report—Season of 1903, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 209A, Folder: 3, Minnesota Historical Society.

12. Capacity of Hotels, 1903, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210A, Folder: 11, Minnesota Historical Society.

13. F. Jay Haynes to D. E. Burley, 10 September 1903; F. Jay Haynes to D. E. Burley, 20 September 1903, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 14, Minnesota Historical Society.

14. F. Jay Haynes to A. L. Smith, 30 January 1906; A. L. Smith to F. Jay Haynes; H. W. Child to F. Jay Haynes, 12 April

1906, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 17, Folder: 28, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

15. J. Carroll to Howard Elliot, 03 April 1905, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, YPA Box: 210B, Folder: 6, Minnesota Historical Society. Captain John Pitcher, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1905* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), 11.

16. John Ise, *Our National Park Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), 40.

17. Howard Elliot to J. M. Hannaford, 26 February 1907, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, Box: 210B, Folder: 6, Minnesota Historical Society.

18. F. Jay Haynes to W. S. Acker, 29 April 1907, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 1, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University. Perhaps the mention of another set of lower priced hotels is the origin of the lodge system.

19. F. Jay Haynes to D. S. Spencer, 08 September 1907, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 1, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

20. F. Jay Haynes to W. B. Acker, 12 February 1907; W. B. Acker to F. Jay Haynes, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 8, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

21. Acting Superintendent to F. Jay Haynes, 23 June 1908, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, File: 11, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

22. Annual Report of President and Treasurer for the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company for the Season 1908, December 30, 1908, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 12, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

23. R. A. Ballinger, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1907* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 42.

24. Major H. C. Benson to F. Jay Haynes, 16 March 1909; F. Jay Haynes to R. A. Ballinger, 18 March 1909, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 14, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

25. F. J. Haynes to the Secretary of the Interior, 18 March 1909, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 16, File: 14. F. J. Haynes to E. L. Lomax, 06 April 1909, F. J. Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, File: 15, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

26. Frank Pierce to D. S. Spencer, 03 April 1909; F. Jay Haynes to D. E. Burley, 16 April 1909; F. Jay Haynes to E. L. Lomax, 06 April 1909; Agreement between H. W. Child and F. Jay Haynes, 14 May 1909; R. Ballinger to H. W. Child, 10 July 1909, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 18, Folder: 15, Box: 16, Folder: 11, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

27. Captain H. C. Benson to F. Jay Haynes, 04 April 1910; F. Jay Haynes to Major H. C. Benson, 16 April 1910, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 19, Folder: 10, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University. The records that were found for the other companies for 1910 did not contain information regarding the use tax.

28. Acting Secretary of Interior to F. Jay Haynes, 02 May 1910; Assistant Secretary of Interior to Lt. Col. L. M. Brett, 29 May 1910, Box: 23-1, Item 45, Letter Box: Bldg. & Bldg. Sites 1911–1916, Folder: Haynes, F. Jay, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

29. H. W. Child to Howard Elliot, 26 January 1910; Howard Elliot to H. W. Child, 14 February 1910, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President's Subject File, Box: 210A, Minnesota Historical Society.

30. F. Jay Haynes to Major H. C. Benson, 15 September 1910; H. W. Child to Major H. C. Benson, 26 September 1910, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Central Classified Files, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box 495.

31. F. Jay Haynes to A. L. Smith, 27 December 1910, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 16, Folder: 14, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

32. Annual Report of the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company, September 30, 1910, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Central Classified Files, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park, Box: 494.

33. Annual Report of Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company, December 31, 1910, Box: 26-1, Letter Box: Financial Reports, Folder: Monida & Yellowstone Stage Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

34. *Proceedings of the National Park Conference held at the Yellowstone National Park September 11 and 12, 1911* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 8.

35. *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at the Yellowstone National Park September 11 and 12, 1911*, 7.

36. *Ibid.*, 7.

37. *Ibid.*, 37, 51.

38. Agreement between the Department of the Interior and F. Jay Haynes, July 29, 1912, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 19, Folder: 15, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

39. Preliminary Annual Report, 1912 by the President of the Monida & Yellowstone Stage Company, December 16, 1912, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 19, Folder: 23, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

40. Tex Holm to Col. L. M. Brett, 06 December 1911; Lt. Col. L. M. Brett to the Secretary of the Interior, 16 September 1912; Col. L. M. Brett to Secretary of the Interior, 12 December 1912, Item 42, Box: 23-1, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

41. *Proceedings of the Second National Park Conference Held at the Yosemite National Park October 14, 15, and 16, 1912* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 54, 56, 57, 61.

42. Charles W. Cobb to the Secretary of the Interior, 14 June 1913, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 20, File: Jack Haynes to F. J. Haynes, 04 September 1913, F. J. Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 20, File: 9, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

43. Jack Haynes to F. Jay Haynes, 01 September 1913; Telegram to Mrs. F. Jay Haynes from F. Jay Haynes, 13 November 1913; Certificate of Incorporation of the Montana & Yellowstone Transfer Company, January 24, 1914. This story should be told in full in an either a business history of the Haynes business in Yellowstone and/or another history that looks at the competitive business and warm personal relationships between the leading concessioners in Yellowstone National Park. The postcard story has been told in Richard Saunders, *Glimpses of Wonderland* (1997).

44. Judge John Meldrum to F. Jay Haynes, 19 February 1913, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 9, Folder: 16, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

45. Anna Pryor to F. Jay Haynes, 03 March 1913, F. Jay

Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 9, Folder: 16, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

46. Lt. Col. L. M. Brett to Huntley Child, 13 May 1913, Box: C-17, Folder: Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

47. Brett to Child, 13 May 1913.

48. J. M. Hannaford to H. W. Child, 21 November 1914, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 496.

49. Jack Haynes to F. Jay Haynes, 09 August 1914, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 21, Folder: 11, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

50. Lt. Col. L. M. Brett to Mark Daniels, 28 August 1914; F. Jay Haynes to Col. Brett, 22 September 1914; Mark Daniels to Col. L. M. Brett, 29 September 1914, Box: 323-1, Item 45, Folder: Yellowstone Western Stage Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

CHAPTER 6

1. *Proceedings of the National Park Conferences Held at Berkeley, California March 11, 12, and 13, 1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), 106–107.

2. Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 59.

3. *Proceedings of the National Park Conference Held at Berkeley, California March 11, 12, and 13, 1915*, 15, 17–20.

4. *Ibid.*, 23–24.

5. *Ibid.*, 23–24.

6. Memorandum for the Press, Department of the Interior, 21 April 1915.

7. Telegram from E. J. Ayers, Acting Secretary to Col. L. M. Brett, 17 July 1915, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

8. Stephen Mather to Col. L. M. Brett, 18 December 1915. National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

9. F. Jay Haynes to Secretary of the Interior, 20 November 1915; Stephen Mather to F. Jay Haynes, 17 December 1915, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 21, Folder: 30, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

10. *Annual Report of Yellowstone—Western Stage Company*, 31 December 1915, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 12, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

11. Committee on National Parks to James Sturgis Pray, 08 January 1916, Olmstead Portfolio, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

12. Document—“pertaining to Sale of F. Jay Haynes Photographic Business in Yellowstone National Park to J. E. Haynes, January 3, 1916,” F. Jay Haynes Papers, Manuscript Collection 1504, Box: 11, Folder: 3. Attached to this document is a comprehensive list of the inventory of the merchandise at Mammoth, Upper Geyser Basin, and Canyon stores.

13. Excerpts from the Journal of Haynes, 1916, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Manuscript Collection 1502, Book 127.

14. James Hickey to F. Jay Haynes, 06 May 1916, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 29. Stephen Mather to Col. L. M. Brett, 27 June 1916, Box: 20-1, Folder: Cody-Sylvan Pass Motor Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives. “Inventory of Equipment Loaned Shaw & Powell for Their Use 1916,

By the Yellowstone-Western Stage Company at Tower Falls Station. Equipment Turned Over to Shaw & Powell, July 1st, at Tower Falls 1915–1916,” F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 15. This list indicates what types of items were in the Tower Fall area during this period. The document can be found in this study’s manuscript collection in the Haynes folder for 1916.

15. Colonel Lloyd Brett, “Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1916,” 6.

16. F. Jay Haynes to James Hickey, 04 August 1916; James Hickey to F. Jay Haynes, 10 August 1916; Howard Eaton to F. Jay Haynes, 20 December 1916; F. Jay Haynes to R. Duff, 23 November 1916, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 15 and Folder: 11, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

17. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), 15, 40.

18. J.A. Hill to Franklin Lane, 08 August 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box 495.

19. “Minutes of a Meeting of the Concessioners of Yellowstone Park, with Secretary Albright, Held in Room 1124 Congress Hotel, Chicago, Nov. 18, 1916,” F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 20, Montana State University.

20. “Minutes of a Meeting Held in Washington, D.C. of the Transportation Concessioners in Yellowstone National Park and the Director of the National Park Service, Stephen Mather, December 10, 1916,” F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 22, Folder: 21, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

21. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of National Parks to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916*, 15, 40.

22. *Proceedings of the National Parks Conference* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 223, 275–315.

23. “Indenture between Yellowstone Park Transportation Company and the Union Pacific Railroad and Chicago. Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, June 1, 1917.” This document lists the factory numbers and the related Yellowstone Park Transportation Company number for each vehicle. “Indenture between the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company and the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company and the Northwest Improvement Company, June 1, 1917,” Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President’s Subject File, File: 210-I, Folder: 1, Minnesota Historical Society.

24. F. Jay Haynes to Robert Duff, 15 January 1917, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 24, Folder: 15, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

25. J. E. Haynes to C. A. Lindsley, 15 December 1917; Chester Lindsley to Stephen Mather, 17 December 1917; J. E. Haynes to Horace Albright, 01 January 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7. 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 489. Special Permit to F. Jay Haynes by Horace Albright, 27 November 1917, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 24, Folder: 10, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

26. Horace Albright to Chester Lindsley, 16 June 1917; Horace Albright to Chester Lindsley, 21 May 1917; Telegram from Yellowstone Camping Company to Horace Albright, 31 May 1917, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Boxes: 489, 490.

27. J. J. Cotter to J. E. Haynes, 19 March 1917, National

Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 489.

28. “Yellowstone Park Boat Co. Memorandum by W. M. Nichols, November 6, 1917,” Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, Box: 137.I.16.4(F), File: 45, Minnesota Historical Society.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Joseph Cotter to Chester Lindsley, 21 March 1917; Chester Lindsley to Stephen Mather, 21 April 1917, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Boxes: 490, 493.

31. Stephen Mather to A. W. Miles, 07 December 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490. Col. L.M. Brett to Stephen Mather, 01 September 1917, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Item 39, Box: 20—Letter Box: Accommodations—Hotels and Camps, 1909–1917.

32. Huntley Child to Franklin Lane, 22 July 1917; Horace Albright to Huntley Child, 27 July 1917, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

33. F. Jay Haynes to Sam Hurless, 23 January 1918, F. Jay Haynes Papers, Series III, Box: 24, Folder: 21, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

34. H. H. H. to Horace Albright, 03 June 1918; Telegram from Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 08 June 1918; Stephen Mather to Huntley Child, 14 June 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

35. Chester Lindsley to Stephen Mather, 27 March 1918; Stephen Mather to Chester Lindsley, 05 April 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495. No other documentation was found regarding the other locations of mines or whether the other locations were actually opened for mining.

36. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 273–275.

37. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918*, 273–275.

38. Charles Punchard, Jr. to Stephen Mather, 15 September 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

39. Charles Punchard, Jr. to Stephen Mather, 15 September 1918.

40. Chester Lindsley to Stephen Mather, 23 May 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

41. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1918*, 122.

CHAPTER 7

1. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1919* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 11–16, 178. Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, Vol. II (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University

Press, 1977), 478.

2. *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1919*, 26.

3. Horace Albright to A. W. Miles, 06 January 1919; Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 23 February 1919; Charles Punchard, Jr., to Stephen Mather, 03 April 1919, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

4. *Annual Report for 1919*, 46.

5. *Annual Report for 1919*, 44–45.

6. *Ibid.*, 45.

7. *Ibid.*, 164.

8. *Ibid.*, 164, 176.

9. H. W. Child to Horace Albright, 30 January 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

10. *Annual Report of the National Park Service Director to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 13, 16. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story*, Vol. II, 478.

11. *Annual Report of the National Park Service Director to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920*, 94–95.

12. Stephen Mather to Howard Elliot, 27 February 1920, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President’s Subject File, Box: 137.I.16.4(F), File: 45, “Yellowstone Park Boat Company, 1915–1923,” Minnesota Historical Society.

13. H. W. Child to Warren Delano, 21 March 1920, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President’s Subject File, Box: 137.I.16(F), File: 45, “Yellowstone Park Boat Company, 1915–1923,” Minnesota Historical Society.

14. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 21 October 1920, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

15. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 21 October 1920.

16. Albright to Mather, 21 October 1920.

17. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 27 September 1920, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 493.

18. H. W. Child to Stephen Mather, 08 January 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

19. Stephen Mather to Horace Albright, 12 January 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

20. H. W. Child to Howard Elliot, 14 February 1921, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President’s Subject File, Box: 137.I.4(F), File 44. This situation is most interesting and should be covered in a business history of the Yellowstone Park companies. It reveals information about the minds of the businessmen and the mode of operations.

21. Memorandum to Mr. Safford from Arno Cammerer, 19 January 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 493.

22. Horace Albright, “Monthly Report for March 1921.”

23. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1921* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 155.

24. Jack Haynes to Horace Albright, 16 April 1921; Horace

Albright to Jack Haynes, 30 April 1921, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 12, Folder: 3, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

25. H. W. Child to Horace Albright, 30 January 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

26. Albert Fall to H. W. Child, 11 April 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 495.

27. Horace Albright to D. Hull, 12 April 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 493.

28. H. W. Child to Horace Albright, 30 January 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

29. Pryor and Trischman to Albert Fall, Stephen Mather, and Horace Albright, 27 March 1922; Howard Hays to Horace Albright, 29 April 1922; William Nichols to Horace Albright, 10 May 1922; Stephen Mather to Horace Albright 31 May 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

30. Howard Hays to Horace Albright, 01 August 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

31. B. L. Vipond to Horace Albright, 01 December 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 490.

32. “Report on Construction to Mr. D. R. Hull by Horace Albright, October 27, 1922,” National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, Yellowstone National Park—610–620, Box: 470.

CHAPTER 8

1. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended 1923 and the Travel Year 1923* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), 47, 121.

2. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended 1923 and the Travel Season 1923*, 121.

3. Telegram from A. Finney to Horace Albright, 11 September 1923, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

4. *Annual Report for 1923*, 44.

5. William Nichols to Howard Elliot, 31 January 1923, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President’s Subject File, Box: 137.F.16.4(F), File: 45, Minnesota Historical Society.

6. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923 and the Travel Season 1923* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), 121.

7. Horace Albright, “Annual Report for 1924,” 31.

8. Albright “Annual Report for 1924,” 31.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. “Minutes of the Eighth National Park Conference Held In Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, October 1, to 5, 1925, Inclusive,” Yellowstone National Park Library.

12. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended*

June 30, 1925 and Travel Season 1925 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 79.

13. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service for the Fiscal Year 1925 and Travel Season 1925*, 25.

14. *Ibid.*, 25.

15. *Ibid.*, 77.

16. Howard Reffelt to Horace Albright, 01 July 1925, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900. Albright sent Reffelt the information regarding the drawings that had just been published by the United States Health Service in Volume 40, Number 24, 12 June 1925, pages 1252–1254.

17. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 21 September 1926, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—503–601.3, Box: 462.

18. Horace Albright to W. M. Nichols, 26 February 1926, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900, Box: 494.

19. Albright to Nichols, 26 February 1926.

20. Horace Albright to Stephen Mather, 03 April 1926, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone National Park—900.

21. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1926 and Travel Season 1926* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1926), 24.

22. Horace Albright to Charles Donnelly, 08 June 1926; H. W. Child to Charles Donnelly, 01 June 1926; A. B. Smith to Mr. Woodworth, 28 June 1926, Northern Pacific Railroad Papers, President’s Subject File, File 210.I-2, Minnesota Historical Society.

23. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended 1926 and Travel Season 1926*, 27.

CHAPTER 9

1. Roger Toll, “Monthly Report for April 1929,” 6. The documents used in this study did not reveal the kinds of motion pictures shown in the park, but it could be assumed that some of Haynes’s own film relating to wildlife and historical events in Yellowstone were shown. Some of his 1929 correspondence discusses his presentation of his film (2,000 feet of 35-mm wildlife pictures to a group in Minnesota). He also discussed taking some of his Yellowstone movies to Washington; he mentioned in particular a film about Ray L. Wilbur, who was Secretary of the Interior at the time. J. E. Haynes to H. M. Albright, 25 March 1929; J. E. Haynes to H. M. Albright, 29 October 1929, J. E. Haynes Papers, MS 1504, Box: 15, File: 10, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

2. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1929*, 19–20.

3. Grosvenor Atterbury, “Notes on the Architectural and Other Esthetic Problems Involved in the Development of Our Great National Parks, Made during August and September 1929,” Series Post 1926, Box: Landscape Architect Files, File: No. 239, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Roger Toll, *Monthly Report for July 1929*.

4. Horace Albright to Anna Pryor, 20 March 1929, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 490.

5. Roger Toll, *Monthly Report for June 1930*.

6. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1929* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1929), 130–131.

7. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1932*, 1.

8. C. A. Hamilton to Roger Toll, 20 August 1930; Roger Toll to Horace Albright, 21 November 1930, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 493.

9. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1931*.

10. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932 and the Travel Season, 1932* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 1.

11. Horace Albright to W. M. Nichols, 31 March 1931, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 495.

12. A Sunday morning newspaper, name unknown, dated 20 March 1932, “Park Concession Bought Saturday by Anna K. Pryor,” Box: 2, File: Historical, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Jack Haynes to Horace Albright, 28 March 1932,” Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 10, File: 22. Chief Auditor Gable to Horace Albright, 01 March 1932, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 494, File: Whittaker Contracts.

13. Letter to Hon. Robert Simmons, 3 July 1932 from citizen; Roger Toll to Horace Albright, 29 August 1932; Joseph Joffe to Horace Albright, 03 September 1932, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1907–1939, Yellowstone—900, Box: 489. A discussion on the Indian made items can be found in the “12th Conference of National Park Executives Held at Hot Springs National Park, Arkansas, April 3 to 8, 1932,” A copy may be found in the Yellowstone National Park Library.

14. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1933*, 1–6.

15. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1934*.

16. “Proceedings of Joint Council of National Park Operators and Superintendents Held at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona—May 1–5, 1934,” Yellowstone Park Library.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. “Address by Hon. Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, November 20, 1934,” Box: 2, File: Historical, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Roger Toll to W. Nichols, Vernon Goodwin, C. A. Hamilton, Anna Pryor, J. E. Haynes, and George Larkin, 21 May 1935, Box: Bldg. Park Gen. 1935–51, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

22. Roger Toll, *Annual Report for 1935*, 4.

23. William Nichols to Arno Cammerer, 25 April 1935, Box: YPC-5, File: Liquor in Park, 1934–46, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

24. Vernon Goodwin to Roger Toll, 06 August 1935, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1933–1947, Yellowstone Box: 1790, File: YP Lodge & Camp Co. Bldgs.

25. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1936*, 1–3.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Sanford Hill, “Monthly Narrative Report to Chief Architect Through the Superintendent on Major and Minor Roads and Trails and Projects Other Than E.C.W. for Yellowstone Na-

tional Park,” June 24–July 25, 1936, Landscape Architect—Engineer Box: 10, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

28. William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, 14 October 1936, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1933–1949, Yellowstone National Park Box: 1785, File: YP Co.

29. Edmund Rogers, “Annual Report for 1937,” 41–43.

30. Sanford Hill, “Narrative Report on Yellowstone National Park, July, 1939,” Landscape Architect—Engineer Box: 10, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

31. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1939*, 1–3.

32. Sanford Hill, “Narrative Report on Yellowstone National Park, September 1939,” Landscape Architects—Engineers Box: 10, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Rogers, “Annual Report for 1939.”

33. Harold Ickes, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), 196–197.

34. Harold Ickes to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 22 January 1940, Roosevelt Library, No. 6, Department of Interior, Box: 16, NPS-1940.

35. A. E. Demaray to William Nichols, 23 February 1940, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

36. Edmund Rogers to William Nichols, 05 October 1940, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 3, PUO, YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

37. Ickes, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940*, 204.

38. J. E. Haynes to Edmund Rogers, 14 May 1941, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 3, PUO, Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

39. Howard Baker, “Comments of Branch of Plans and Design, October 10, 1941,” Box: 079-63A-570, File: 3, Bldgs. Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

40. Edmund Rogers to Newton Drury, 30 September 1941, Box: 070-067A-0570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

41. Howard Baker, “Comment of Branch of Plans and Design, October 3, 1941,” Box: 079-63A-570, Box: Bldgs. C. A. Hamilton, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

CHAPTER 10

1. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1942*, 5.

2. William Nichols to B. O. Hallin, 22 January 1942, Box: YPC-143, File: Construction Div. 1940–46, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

3. William Nichols to B. O. Hallin, 22 January 1942.

4. Memorandum to Superintendent from Chief, Project Development Division, 16 February 1942; Memorandum to Superintendent from Chief, Project Development Division, 18 February 1942, Box: 079-063-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

5. Edmund Rogers to Newton Drury, 20 July 1942, Box: 079-063-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

6. Anna Pryor to Edmund Rogers, 20 March 1942; J. W. Emmert to Anna Pryor, 07 April 1942, Box: 079-063-570, File: 2, PUO, Pryor Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

7. Edmund Rogers to Park Operators, 04 May 1942, Box:

- 079-063A-570, File: 2, PUO, Pryor Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
8. C. E. Denney to William Nichols, 01 June 1942, Box: 079-063A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 9. M. M. Goodsill to William Nichols, 04 June 1942, Box: YPC-4, File: WWII 1942–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 10. M. M. Goodsill to William Nichols, 04 June 1942, Box: 079-063A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 11. Edmund Rogers to Operators, 13 June 1942, Box: 079-063A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 12. Department of the Interior Information Service, National Park Service for Release Sunday, June 14, 1942, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 28, File: 4.
 13. Gar Helppie to Edmund Rogers, 15 July 1942, Edmund Rogers to Gar Helppie, 16 July 1942, Box: 079-631-570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 14. Edmund Rogers to Operators, 24 August 1942, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 2, PUO, Pryor Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 15. “Report of Meeting with Representatives of the Western Park Operators’ Conference, Chicago, Illinois—December 1, 1942, Box: YPC-125, File: Lodge Division, 1941–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 16. J. W. Emmert to Leo Petrie, 10 December 1942, Box: 079-063-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 17. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1943*, 2–3.
 18. Edmund Rogers to C.R. Franks, 20 January 1943, Box: YPC-4, File: WWII, 1942–1945, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 19. J. E. Haynes to Newton Drury, 01 March 1943, National Archives, Record Group 79, Entry 7, 1933–1949, Yellowstone—900, Box: 1780, File: Haynes.
 20. J. E. Haynes to Newton Drury, 01 March 1943.
 21. C. A. Hamilton to Edmund Rogers, 05 April 1943, Box: 079-63A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 22. C. A. Hamilton to William Nichols, 11 April 1943, Box: YPC-5, File: Accommodations, 1943–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 23. Newton Drury, “Statement Concerning Facilities Available to the Public in National Park Areas During the 1943 Season,” Box: YPC-5, File: Accommodations 1943–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 24. C. A. Hamilton to Joe Joffe and Fred Johnston, 11 January 1944; C. A. Hamilton to Joe Joffe, 27 January 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2 PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 25. C. A. Hamilton to Edmund Rogers, 11 March 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 26. C. A. Hamilton to Edmund Rogers, 30 March 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 27. C. A. Hamilton to Fred Johnston, 17 April 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 28. Edmund Rogers to C. A. Hamilton, 20 April 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 29. C. A. Hamilton to Ed Moorman, 04 June 1944; C. A. Hamilton to William Nichols, 01 June 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 30. C. A. Hamilton to Joe Joffe, 12 July 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 31. J. E. Haynes to Edmund Rogers, 13 May 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 3, PUO, Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 32. Joseph Joffe to Federal Reserve Bank, 09 June 1944, Box: 079-063A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 33. Joseph Joffe to C. A. Hamilton, 19 December 1944; Joseph Joffe to Edmund Rogers, 30 December 1944, Box: 079-63A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 34. Jack Hayes to William Nichols, 26 January 1945, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 29, File: 16.
 35. Edmund Rogers to William Nichols, 24 February 1945, Box: 079-63A-570, Box: 2, PUO, Pryor Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 36. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1945*, 1.
 37. Edmund Rogers to Park Operators, 28 August 1945, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 38. Newton Drury to William Nichols, 19 September 1945, Box: YPC-5, File: Accommodations 1943–45, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 39. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1946*.
 40. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1946*, 2.
 41. B. O. Hallin to William Nichols, 10 March 1946; William Nichols to B. O. Hallin, 06 April 1946, Box: YPC-143, File: Construction Division, 1940–46, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 42. B. O. Hallin to William Nichols, 08 April 1946, Box: YPC-143, Folder: Construction Division 1940–1946, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 43. B. O. Hallin to William Nichols, 14 April 1946, Box: YPC-143, Folder: Construction Division, 1940–1946, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 44. Lawrence Merriam to Edmund Rogers, 02 January 1946, Box: 079-63A-570, File: Bldg. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 45. Rogers, *Annual Report for 1946*, 3–5.
 46. Ibid.
 47. S. E. Boyer to Joe Joffe, 06 June 1946; Joe Joffe to S.E. Boyer, 29 June 1946, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, Bldg. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 48. William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, 01 July 1946; Edmund Rogers to William Nichols, 16 July 1946, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, Bldg. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 49. J. E. Haynes to Edmund Rogers, 03 July 1946, Box: C—Haynes, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 50. C. A. Hamilton to Anna Pryor, 01 August 1946, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 2, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 51. C. A. Hamilton to Anna Pryor, 01 August 1946; C. A. Hamilton to Edmund Rogers, 01 August 1946, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 2, Yellowstone National Park.
 52. B. O. Hallin to William Nichols, 22 October 1946; Wil-

liam Nichols to B. O. Hallin to William Nichols, 28 October 1946; B. O. Hallin, 04 November 1946, Box: YPC-143, File: Construction Division, 1940–1946, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

53. Edmund Rogers, *Annual Report for 1948*, 19.

54. Memorandum to Edmund Rogers from Frank Mattson, 23 January 1947, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

55. Memorandum to Lawrence Merriam from Fred Johnston, 24 January 1947, Box: 079-63A-570, Box: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

56. Fred Johnston to C. A. Hamilton, 13 February 1947, Box: 079-63A-570, Box: 2, Bldgs. Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

57. C. A. Hamilton to Fred Johnston, 04 February 1947; Fred Johnston to Lawrence Merriam, 13 February 1947; Fred Johnston to C. A. Hamilton, 13 February 1947; Hillory Tolson to C. A. Hamilton, 23 June 1947; Edmund Rogers to C. A. Hamilton, 25 June 1947, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 2, Bldgs. Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

58. Edmund Rogers to C. A. Hamilton, 22 July 1947; Edmund Rogers to C. A. Hamilton, 22 July 1947, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 2, Bldgs. Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

59. Trevor Povah to Edmund Rogers, 27 July 1947; Edmund Rogers to Trevor Povah, 26 August 1947, Box: 079-63A, File: 2, Bldgs. Hamilton Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives. Gwen Peterson, *Yellowstone Pioneers. The Story of the Hamilton Stores and Yellowstone National Park* (Santa Barbara, California: Hamilton Stores, Inc., 1985).

60. Frank Mattson to Edmund Rogers, 25 March 1947, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

61. Memorandum to Newton Drury from Julius Krug, 12 September 1947, Box: 079-63A-570, File: Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

62. Memorandum to Newton Drury from Julius Krug, 17 June 1947, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, Bldgs. YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

63. William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, 10 September 1948; William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, 30 October 1948; Lawrence Merriam to District Director of Public Health, 09 December 1948, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

64. William Nichols to Newton Drury, 30 October 1948, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co., Yellowstone National Archives.

65. "Capacity of Hotel, Lodge, and Cabin Accommodations, National Park Service Concessioners, August, 1948," Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

66. Edmund Rogers to Regional Director, 24 May 1948, Box: 079-63A-570, File: PUO, Hamilton Stores, Part, 3, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

67. Edmund Rogers to Trevor Povah, 07 May 1948, Box: 079-63A-570, File 2: Hamilton Stores. Bldg. and Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

68. Lawrence Merriam to Newton Drury, 14 May 1948, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

69. Julius Krug to Newton Drury, 09 September 1948; Memorandum to Edmund Rogers from Park Biologist, Walter Kittams, 22 November 1948; Lawrence Merriam to Newton Drury,

09 December 1948; Trevor Povah to Fred Johnston, 06 December 1948, Box: 079-64A-580, File: 900.02.7 Old Faithful Swimming Pool, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

70. Oliver Taylor to Jackson Price, Arthur Demaray and Newton Drury, 26 May 1948; Edmund Rogers to William Nichols, 06 July 1948, Box: 079-63A-570, Box: 4, YP Co., Yellowstone National Park Archives.

71. Anna Pryor to Oliver Taylor, 27 January 1948, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 2, PUO, Pryor Stores, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

72. C. A. Hamilton to J. E. Haynes, 11 November 1948; J. E. Haynes to C. A. Hamilton, 15 December 1948, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 10, File: 15—C. A. Hamilton.

73. "Concessions in the National Parks. A Statement by Western Conference National Park Concessioners, May 23, 1943."

74. J. E. Haynes to C. A. Hamilton, 15 December 1948.

75. "National Park Service Release for August 12, 1948" and attached undated newspaper article, "U. S. May Take Over National Park Hotels," Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 181, File: 5.

76. Nichols to All Department Heads, 21 March 1949, Box: YPC-2, File: W. Nichols 1946–57, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

77. Lawrence Merriam to Edmund Rogers, 03 February 1949; Newton Drury to William Nichols, 17 January 1949, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

78. Edmund Rogers to Park Concessioners, 03 May 1949, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504. Box: 184, File: 10. There is extensive information regarding the new concession policy in the Manuscript Collection, Folder: Concession Policy, 1949. This should be useful information for a history of concessions in the NPS or business histories of the different concessioners.

CHAPTER 11

1. C. A. Hamilton to Newton Drury, 23 January 1950, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504. Box: 10, File: 17, Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University.

2. C. A. Hamilton to J. E. Haynes, 26 January 1950, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 10, File: 17.

3. J. E. Haynes to C. A. Hamilton, 01 February 1950, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 10, File: 17.

4. William Nichols to Huntley Child, Jr., 24 February 1950, YPC. Misc. 1900s to Present, Box: W. Nichols, File: 1946–57, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

5. William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, 17 April 1950; Edmund Rogers to William Nichols, 02 May 1950, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

6. Huntley Child, Jr. to William Nichols, 06 April 1950, Misc. 1900s to Present, Box: YPC-2, File: W. Nichols, 1946–57, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

7. Frank Mattson to Superintendent, 05 January 1950, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

8. William Nichols to Fred Johnston, 20 January 1950, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

9. Howard Baker to Edmund Rogers, 15 March 1950, Box:

- 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
10. Edmund Rogers to Regional Director, 02 May 1950, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 11. Edmund Rogers to William Nichols, 31 January 1950, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. and Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 12. Huntley Child, Jr. to William Nichols, 06 April 1950, Box: YPC- 2, File: W. Nichols, 1946–57, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 13. “Concessions Policies of the National Park Service, October 13, 1950,” Box: YPC-97, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 14. “Concessions Policies of the National Park Service, October 13, 1950,” Box: YPC-97, Yellowstone National Park Archives. The statement contains numerous other changes involving rates fees, contracts, etc.
 15. Newton Drury to William Nichols, 25 July 1950, Box: 079-64A-580, File: 900-02.6, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 16. William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
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 18. William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, 21 September 1950; Paul Franke to Regional Director, 25 October 1950, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 19. William Nichols to Pete Hoffman, 27 October 1950, Box: 079-63A-570, File: 4, YP Co. Bldgs. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
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 23. Charles Hamilton to Jack Haynes, 31 March 1951; Jack Haynes to Charles Hamilton, 15 April 1951, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504. Box: 10, File: 18.
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 25. Arthur Demaray to Senator Edward Martin, Haynes Papers, Ms. 1504, Box: 187, File 6.
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 33. William Nichols to Edmund Rogers, 12 November 1953, Box: YPC-2, File: W. Nichols, 1946–57, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
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 36. Charles Hamilton to Howard Baker, 05 July 1954, Box: 079-067A-128, File: 3, C58, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 37. Charles Hamilton to Howard Baker, 05 July 1954.
 38. Trevor Povah to Thomas Vint, 11 April 1953; Thomas Vint to Trevor Povah, 17 April 1953, Box: 079-063A-570, File: 2, Hamilton Stores, Bldg. & Equipment, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
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 40. John Q. Nichols to Snowmobiles of West Yellowstone, 11 October 1955, Box: 54157, File: 3, C38, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 41. Edmund Rogers to Charles Hamilton, 06 October 1955; Charles Hamilton to Frank Mattson, 30 November 1955, Box: 079-067A-128, File: 3, C58, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 42. Warren Hamilton to Regional Director, 31 January 1955, Box: 54157, File: 3, C38, Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 43. Howard Baker to Edmund Rogers, 10 January 1955, Box: 54157, File: 3, C38. Yellowstone National Park Archives.
 44. Richard Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 369–370. Based upon one *Denver Post* newspaper article, Bartlett explained that the Wyoming governor, who was a large stockholder in Husky Oil Company, based in Cody, was anxious to receive some of the profits from the sale of gasoline within the Park which were now going to Continental Oil Company. The article listed the head of the study commission as Glenn Nielson, head of Husky Oil Company.
 45. Conrad Wirth to William Nichols, 28 October 1955;

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46. "Review of Contract Renewal and Building Program—Canyon Village, August 31, 1956," Box: YPC-75, File: Concession Contract, Yellowstone National Park Archives.

CHAPTER 12

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tail in a section of an Administrative History for Yellowstone National Park. All documents retrieved concerning concession policy can be found with the manuscript collection for this study.

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