

**CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT:
LAKE MCDONALD LODGE HISTORIC DISTRICT,
GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, MONTANA**



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**Cultural Landscape Report:
Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District,
Glacier National Park, Montana**

Prepared for:

National Park Service
Glacier National Park
West Glacier, Montana 59936

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|----------|---|
| ACHP | Advisory Council on Historic Preservation |
| CLR | Cultural Landscape Report |
| CSP | Commercial Services Plan |
| Glacier | Glacier National Park |
| GMP | General Management Plan |
| GN | Great Northern Railway |
| GNP | Glacier National Park |
| GNPA | Glacier National Park Archives, West Glacier, Montana |
| MOA | Memorandum of Agreement |
| NHL | National Historic Landmark |
| NPS | National Park Service |
| NRHP | National Register of Historic Places |
| PA | Programmatic Agreement |
| SHPO | State Historic Preservation Office |
| Sun Road | Going-to-the-Sun Road |

A NOTE ABOUT NAMES

The property known today as Lake McDonald Lodge has been known under a variety of names over the course of its history: Lewis Glacier Hotel (before 1930), Lake McDonald Hotel (1930 to 1958), and Lake McDonald Lodge (since 1958). For consistency, the term “Lake McDonald Lodge” is used throughout this document to refer to the entire complex (the hotel building, cabins, dormitories, and other ancillary buildings and features), except in the pre-1958 portion of the historic narrative, where the earlier terms are used. Similarly, to avoid confusion the term “hotel building” is used throughout the report to reference that feature, even though the main hotel facility at the site is informally known today as the “lodge.”

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Acknowledgements

A portion of this document is based on Volume 1 of *Going-to-the-Sun Road, Glacier National Park, Montana: Cultural Landscape Report*, prepared by Renewable Technologies, Inc. (RTI) in 2002. Portions of that document were prepared by Janet Cornish and Kathy McKay, and their indirect contribution to this work is gratefully acknowledged.

1.2 Management Summary

Lake McDonald Lodge is an historic hotel complex, located along the shore of its namesake lake in Glacier National Park, Montana (Figure 1). The lodge and its predecessors have been focal points for Glacier tourism since the 1890s, offering a variety of lodging and other services in a diverse assemblage of buildings in a unique lakeside setting. The centerpiece of the property is Lake McDonald Lodge itself, a rustic, chalet-style facility constructed in 1914 as “Lewis Glacier Hotel.” The lodge and its associated buildings are listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and the complex is also a designated National Historic Landmark.

This Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) is intended as a reference document describing the history of land use and development in the immediate vicinity of Lake McDonald Lodge. The report identifies historic building patterns at the site; the evolution of the area’s natural and human-created setting; and circulation and travel patterns within the property over time. As such, this report can be used to help evaluate the impact of proposed future undertakings on historic resources or landscape elements.

This information is provided in three primary sections, as follows:

- An overall history of the lodge itself, including both general background information and an introduction to the evolution of the property’s landscape (Chapter 2);
- A description of existing conditions at the lodge area (Chapter 3); and
- An analysis and evaluation of the significant cultural landscape qualities surviving at the site (Chapter 4).

The information contained in this report is intended to be used in conjunction with other planning documents that exist for this location. A number of such documents have been prepared over the years, but the two of greatest relevance to Lake McDonald Lodge and its cultural landscape are the park’s *General Management Plan* (GMP) (1999) and *Commercial*

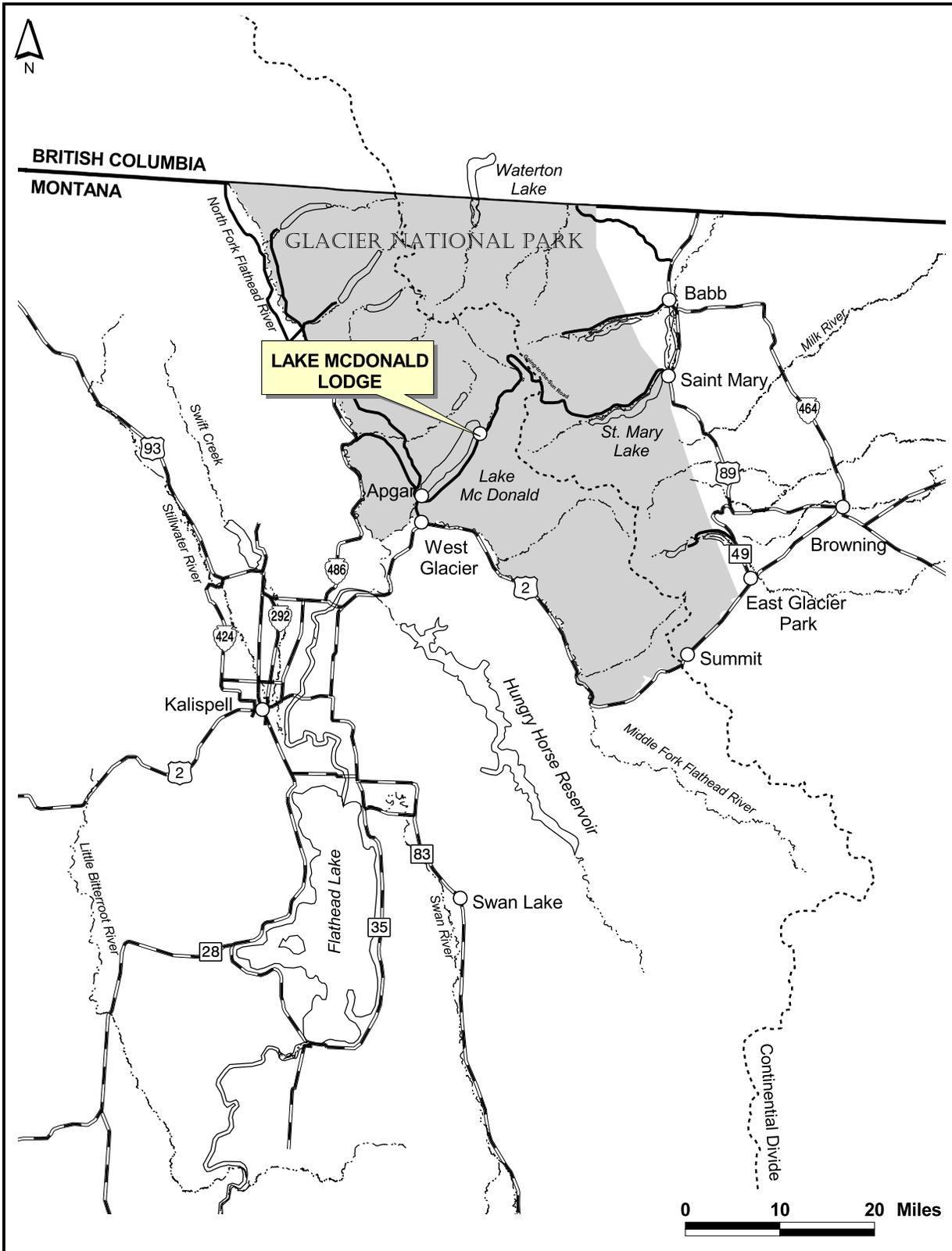


Figure 1. Locator map of Glacier National Park, Montana, showing the location of the Lake McDonald Lodge complexes.

Services Plan (CSP) (2004). The GMP committed the park to retaining “historic visitor lodging experiences” in Glacier, and to the rehabilitation of the park’s historic visitor lodging facilities. The CSP outlines in greater detail recommended options for fulfilling GMP goals relating to commercial visitor services.

1.3 Historical Summary

Even before the establishment of Glacier National Park in 1910, the residents of northwestern Montana recognized the beauty of Lake McDonald and its surrounding forests and mountains, and began to see the area as a summer vacation destination. During the late 1890s and early 1900s, several homesteaders staked claims on lakeshore land, and developed cabin-based guest lodging on their property. Among these individuals was George Snyder, whose property later became the site of Lake McDonald Lodge. Snyder built the first guest cabins and small hotel on the site in 1895, and operated a boat service on the lake to bring guests to his hostelry.

Snyder’s Lake McDonald holdings were purchased by a Flathead Valley businessman named John E. Lewis in 1906, and Lewis soon began expanding and improving the hotel operation. When Glacier National Park was established in 1910, Lewis correctly foresaw the area’s increasing tourism potential and began planning for a large new hotel on his land. His “Lewis Glacier Hotel,” completed in 1914, was the largest and most impressive lodging facility on the west side of the park, and compared favorably with the large hotels built on the park’s east side by the park’s main concessionaire, a hotel subsidiary of the Great Northern Railway.

The Lewis Glacier Hotel remained in private operation through the 1920s, and visits to the property increased significantly following the completion of a road to the hotel in 1922. The construction of the road altered the visual focus of the property, since visitors now arrived at the “land” side of the hotel rather than the original lake approach. In 1930, the NPS began a two-year process of acquiring Lewis’ holdings in the park. While the NPS retained title to the hotel area, the operation of the facility became the responsibility of the park’s concessionaire, the Glacier Park Hotel Company. In conjunction with this ownership change, the property was renamed “Lake McDonald Hotel.”

Other dramatic changes took place at Lake McDonald during the 1930s. The 1933 opening of the Going-to-the-Sun Road to the public greatly increased visitation to the hotel, and the increased automobile traffic caused the NPS to realign roadways at the hotel, add parking areas, and construct a new campstore building. Older, ancillary buildings remaining from the Lewis era were simultaneously removed.

The next era of change at Lake McDonald began in the late 1950s, when the property was rehabilitated by the concessionaire and renamed “Lake McDonald Lodge.” The concession contract was transferred to Glacier Park, Inc. in 1960. A major flood in June 1964 impacted some buildings at the location, and the following year a new coffee shop building was erected to replace a flood-damaged predecessor. The last major alterations at Lake McDonald began in the late 1980s, when the hotel was again renovated and nearby roadways and pathways reconfigured.

Today, the Lake McDonald Lodge facility is a designated National Historic Landmark, recognized as an outstanding example of early twentieth-century park architecture. The hotel and its support buildings continue to serve thousands of tourists each summer, as they have for nearly a century.

1.4 Scope of Work and Methodology

1.4.1: Scope of Work

The NPS Work Order to RTI for this project specifies the preparation of “a Cultural Landscape Report (Introduction and Part 1) for a portion of the Lake McDonald Historic District in Glacier National Park, Montana.” In accordance with the terms of the Work Order and the NPS publication, *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process and Techniques* (1998), these components of a CLR are to include:

- Management and Historical Summaries;
- Scope of Work and Methodology;
- Description of Study Boundaries;
- Summary of Findings;
- Site History;
- Existing Conditions; and
- Analysis and Evaluation.

1.4.2: Methodology

This report is an expansion and outgrowth of an earlier document RTI completed for the NPS in 2002. That report, *Going-to-the-Sun Road, Glacier National Park, Montana*, focused primarily on the Sun Road, but also included brief cultural landscape studies of the Lake McDonald, Rising Sun, and Headquarters developed areas, all of which are located along the Road. Section 4.3 of that document discussed the Lake McDonald lodge area, and that material forms the basis of Chapter 2 of this CLR.

Research for the 2002 report included substantial time spent at the Glacier National Park Archives, its associated photograph collection, and the Glacier National Park Library. Maps and other materials were also requested from the NPS Denver Service Center. These locations were reviewed again for the 2005 project, with an emphasis on locating the visual materials needed to document the evolving landscape of the site. Prior planning documents geared toward the site also received particular attention.

Fieldwork at the Lake McDonald location was conducted in 2001 and 2002, and was supplemented by additional visits during the spring of 2005. The primary 2005 visit, conducted in March, included a walking tour of the Lodge area with relevant NPS planning and cultural

resources personnel. This tour also included a discussion of planned 2005 construction projects at Lake McDonald. In response to that discussion and fieldwork, in May 2005 RTI submitted a letter report providing comments on the planned project.

1.5 Description of Study Area Boundaries

The boundaries of this CLR study area are in general congruent with the boundaries of the Lake McDonald Lodge developed area. The boundary includes the Lodge building itself; guest cabins and other visitor accommodations; visitor food service and retail facilities; and employee housing areas. It also includes vehicular and pedestrian circulation routes connecting these features, the portion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road passing immediately by the lodge complex, and the land immediately contiguous to these features. A sketch map (Figure 2) showing the approximate boundary of the study area is on the following page.

1.6 Property Ownership and Possessory Interest

Most of the visitor services buildings in the Lake McDonald Lodge area are on National Park Service land, but building ownership is less consistent and clear-cut. The hotel, most guest cabins and other pre-1932 buildings were acquired by the federal government in 1932, and continue to be owned by the National Park Service (NPS). A smaller number of buildings, including the campstore and guest cabin #9, were constructed by the concessionaire and remain subject to a possessory interest as a result of that construction. The motel buildings were privately constructed, and remain on privately-owned land.

The term “possessory interest” is used to describe the value of capital investment in buildings or other improvements by the concessionaire. Various facilities involved in a concession contract will have differing possessory interests depending on the value of that investment.

Responsibilities for building maintenance and improvement are shared between the NPS and the concessionaire. In general, most current day-to-day maintenance activities are the responsibility of the concessionaire, but larger maintenance and improvement projects are undertaken by the NPS. Because of differences in possessory interest and other factors, different buildings may have different histories and allocations of maintenance and repair responsibility. Specific issues and questions in this regard should be resolved by NPS concessions management staff, referencing current concession agreements.

1.7 Summary of Findings

Overall, the Lake McDonald Lodge area was found to retain significant cultural landscape qualities from two distinct historic eras, as follows:

1. *The Lewis Glacier Hotel era (1890s to 1932)*: This theme encompasses the era of privately-funded planning, construction, and development at the Lake McDonald Lodge

complex. Most of the major historic buildings remaining at the site were constructed during this era, including the current hotel, most of the guest cabins, and major employee dormitories.

Formalized landscaping during this era was relatively limited, and included small lawn areas, pastures, a vegetable garden, and informal pathways. Roadway and parking areas were also relatively ill-defined. The result was a visual character evocative of a primeval forest and small clearings, with the buildings and landscaping nestled in their setting. Formal landscaping was also minimal, allowing visitors to focus their visual and experiential attention on the surrounding forest, lake, and mountains, rather than on an imposed landscape design.

Though many of the buildings from this era remain, extensive site development since 1932 has altered the visual landscape of much of the area significantly since then. The area of the lodge complex that most closely retains its pre-1932 ambience is centered on the row of guest cabins northeast of the hotel building.

2. *The Early NPS Years (1932-1958)*: This period begins with the completion of the NPS acquisition of the hotel property, and extends to the beginning of a later period of redevelopment around the hotel in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This period saw substantial visual changes throughout much of the lodge property, many relating to the greatly increased local automobile traffic occasioned by the completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road. Roads and parking areas were realigned and formalized, and facilities for car travelers were improved. Simultaneously, a number of older, ancillary buildings were removed.

Land use changes from this period were concentrated on the inland area east of the hotel and cabins. Historic open spaces remained, now mostly occupied by lawns, and the visual presence of roadways increased. Pedestrian pathways remained largely informal, however, and the interaction between human-created and natural areas remained subtle.

Changes since 1958 have altered the remnants of both those landscape areas to some degree, particularly in the immediate area of the hotel building. Substantial portions of the site, however, do not reflect significant recent change, and continue to evoke the rustic interaction between development and wilderness that characterized the historic property.

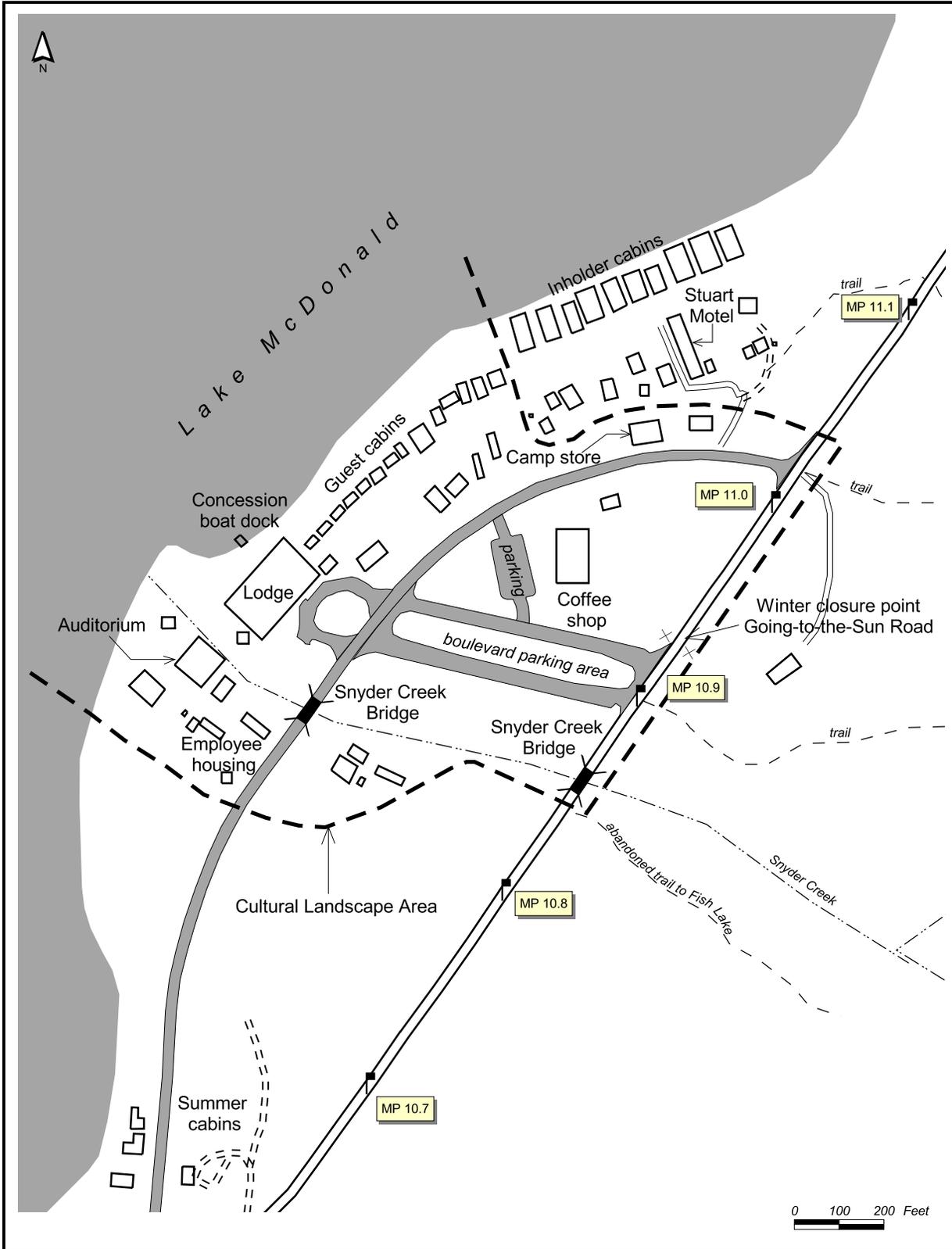


Figure 2. Sketch map showing boundaries of the Lake McDonald Lodge cultural landscape area.

CHAPTER 2: CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE LAKE MCDONALD LODGE AREA

2.1 Introduction

Lake McDonald Lodge is located in a picturesque setting, approximately 10 miles from the west entrance to Glacier National Park, near the head of Lake McDonald on its eastern shore. The complex has the appearance of a small village, with the hotel building at the center, nestled in the trees along the Lake. The site currently includes the main hotel and dining room building, guest cabins, auditorium and employee recreation hall, a coffee shop, motel, camp store, post office, and a variety of auxiliary buildings. In addition to the Lodge facilities, there are also a number of privately held properties to the north and south of the complex, beyond the boundaries of this study area. These “inholder” sites were homesteaded prior to the establishment of Glacier National Park, some as early as 1892.¹ While the Great Northern Railway constructed most of the visitor accommodations in the Park, facilities on Lake McDonald were developed by individuals on private inholdings. The current hotel building at this site was built by John E. Lewis in 1914, and named “Lewis Glacier Hotel.” He owned the property until 1930, when the process of transferring it to public ownership began. Today the lodge complex is owned by the federal government and managed by Glacier Park Incorporated, as part of its parkwide concessions contract.



Figure 3. Lake McDonald Lodge, 2001 photo.

At the time of its construction and until 1921, the Lewis Glacier Hotel was not accessible by automobile. Visitors arrived at the facility by boat from Apgar, and entered the building by way of its front door which faced Lake McDonald. It was not until work began on the lower sections of Going-to-the-Sun Road in the summer of 1921, that motorists could drive to the hotel. Over time, the advent of the automobile resulted in a series of changes to the Lake McDonald Lodge complex. These included the addition of parking facilities, the creation of access roads, and the use of the “rear” of the hotel as the primary entrance. A campstore and ultimately a coffee shop, motel, and gas station were added. While many of the property’s historic buildings remain in place, the overall face of the complex has been significantly altered as the facilities have been revamped to meet the needs of the automobile-based tourist.

2.2 The Natural Setting

The Lake McDonald Lodge area, located on the eastern shore of the Lake near its head at an elevation of 3184 feet above sea level, enjoys the moderate, wet climate of the west side of Glacier National Park. The area is characterized by rounded hills and tree covered ridges, composed of younger, softer rocks from the Tertiary period and loose glacial gravels.² Snyder Ridge to the east and Howe Ridge to the northwest, were formed by two lateral glacial moraines and rise about 2,000 feet above the Lake’s surface. Lake McDonald, the largest lake within the Park, sits in a classic U-shaped valley and is ten miles long, approximately one and one half miles wide, and 472 feet deep. It is most likely a product of both glacial erosion that carved the Lake’s basin, and of damming by glacial moraine deposits at the lower end of the valley.³ Snyder Creek, which drains the snow fields from the ridges above the Lodge to the east, empties into Lake McDonald at an outlet located between the main Lodge building and the auditorium.

Mount Brown, directly northwest of the Lodge complex, rises to an elevation of 8,565 feet, providing more than a mile of dramatic relief. A fire lookout tower on one of its high ridges, about 1,000 feet below the summit, is visible on clear days. Along the shore of Lake McDonald, just below the Lodge, are rocky beach paths which provide an unobstructed view of the mountains that rise across the Lake – Stanton Mountain, Mount Vaught and McPartland Mountain. Behind McPartland, the lower ridges of Heaven’s Peak are visible. Directly to the north and east the Garden Wall and Mount Cannon can be seen.

The complex is situated in a forest of western larch, hemlock, and red cedar, a species of the Pacific coast whose eastern limit is found in Glacier.⁴ The dense forest creates a thick canopy, barely penetrable by light and few plant species grow on the valley floor. Those that are able to tolerate the shade include the Pacific yew, coolwort-foamflower, queen’s cub bead lily, and devil’s club.⁵ Red squirrels, white-tail deer, black bears, and moose are among the animal species found in the Lake McDonald area.

2.3 Development of Visitor Facilities at Lake McDonald

2.3.1: Early Development

The completion of the Great Northern Railway to the Flathead area in 1891 provided settlers, adventurers and early sightseers access to the McDonald Valley by way of a station at Belton (the present site of West Glacier). Some of these first settlers provided modest overnight accommodations to visitors, primarily at the foot of the lake. Travelers would depart from the train at Belton and take a horse-drawn conveyance to Apgar, a distance of about 3 miles, where they could they rent cabins built by the homesteaders. While settlement was largely concentrated in the West Glacier and Apgar areas, development also began to occur at the head of the Lake at well.

In 1895, George Snyder established a stopping place on Lake McDonald at the site of the present Lake McDonald Lodge. The demand for accommodations at the site resulted in the construction of the Snyder Hotel, a two-story frame building that was a key destination for visitors to the lake for nearly 20 years.⁶ To provide visitor access to his hotel from Apgar, Snyder purchased a 40-foot steamboat and begun a launch service from Apgar to the head of the Lake.⁷ Ed Dow, an entrepreneur who had built a hotel at Belton a year earlier, started a stage line from Belton to Apgar over a haul road constructed by Snyder to bring his boat to the Lake. Visitors electing to travel to the new Snyder Hotel were obliged to walk a quarter of a mile from the train station at Belton to the Middle Fork of the Flathead River where they were taken across in a rowboat. On the opposite bank, they took Dow's buckboard to Apgar where they boarded the steam ship to the head of Lake McDonald.⁸

In 1896, Denny Comeau and Ernest Christensen began taking saddle horse parties on trips into the backcountry near the head of Lake McDonald. Frank Geduhn, another local entrepreneur, built a resort boasting eight sleeping cabins near the McDonald Creek inlet in 1899 and a log hotel a year later. Following the completion of the Geduhn hotel, the available visitor services remained relatively unchanged until 1906 when a gas operated boat made its appearance on Lake McDonald, owned by Frank Kelly. Kelly also operated a series of guest cabins near the head of the lake, northwest of McDonald Creek.⁹

2.3.2: The Lewis Glacier Hotel

The year 1906 also saw the arrival to the McDonald Valley of John E. Lewis, a businessman from Kalispell and Columbia Falls. He purchased a number of tracts of land around the lake, including the homestead and hotel belonging to Snyder. He added 11 guest cabins, constructed of cedar and larch, to the hotel in 1907¹⁰ and was becoming the lake's most prominent hotel proprietor when the U.S. Congress made Glacier a National Park in 1910.¹¹

Glacier's new status required Park administrators to take an active interest in the operations of the proprietors operating in the McDonald Valley. The Park Service recognized the need for adequate visitor services but were concerned with the sometimes haphazard and often poorly delivered services provided by the early entrepreneurs. When visitation in the McDonald Valley

topped 5,500 in 1913, however, the government happily welcomed an application from John Lewis to cut timber near his hotel for the construction of a larger facility at that site – the new Lewis Glacier Hotel. Construction commenced in November of 1913, and the hotel was completed ten months later. Lewis was intent that he not be outdone by the Great Northern Railway, as they simultaneously constructed their chains of hotels and chalets on the Park’s east side.¹² Ironically, the Railway had rejected an earlier invitation by Lewis to build a Company hotel at the Lake McDonald site in 1912 although they intended to use the site as a stopping place for visitors traveling through the Park.¹³



Figure 4. Lewis Glacier Hotel (Lake McDonald Lodge), ca. 1920.
Photo by R. E. Marble, GNPA #2981.

Lewis enlisted Cutter and Malmgram, a large Spokane, Washington architectural firm, for the design of a hotel that could be considered “something worthy of the park”.¹⁴ The construction feat required the freighting of fixtures, furnishings, and other materials across the ice of Lake McDonald during the winter months and by boat in the spring. The three-story hotel, which featured steam heat, electric lighting and running water, contained 64 guest rooms (the adjacent cabins provided 20 additional rooms). There was an elegant lobby on the first floor as well as eight 2-room suites. The dining room, attached to the southwest side of the lodge, was housed in a 1910 log building¹⁵ and a kitchen was attached to the rear of the dining room sometime after the hotel was built. Guests arrived at the hotel by boat, climbing a long set of steps that led from the dock, under the lakeside balcony to the entrance. No expense was spared in providing visitors with first-class accommodations and ambiance, although Lewis also made sure that his long-time friends and acquaintances from the Flathead Valley were made welcome in the grand

facility.¹⁶ Beyond the hotel, to the north, the string of 1907 cabins, as well as three others constructed in 1918,¹⁷ offered additional lodging. (One of the cabins [#9] was replaced with a newer building in 1934).



Figure 5. Guest Cabin 8, Lake McDonald Lodge, 2001 photo.

In addition to the Lewis Glacier Hotel and cabin facilities, a large number of other buildings were constructed at Lake McDonald – to provide housing for employees, special services for guests and other auxiliary functions. The hotel’s isolated location required that many of these services be provided on site.¹⁸ In 1909, Lewis built a single-story frame barbershop building, located to the north and west of the main hotel.¹⁹ Snyder Hall, a two story log building was built in 1911 as a public assembly room and featured a stone fireplace and seven bedrooms upstairs. A laundry was constructed at the southeast corner of the Lake McDonald complex in about 1918.

The laundry site, located some distance from the main hotel, housed a complete commercial laundry facility and a steam and power plant in a shed addition. The operation enabled the hotel to clean its linens on site as well as provide a laundry valet service for guests.²⁰ A private home for John and Olive Lewis, designed by Fred Brinkman of Kalispell, was constructed to the south of the lodge, across Snyder Creek, in 1918. (The Lewis home later became known as “Cobb Cabin,” for the author Irvin S. Cobb, who stayed in the house for a time.) A caretaker’s house was constructed in 1922 and a girls’ dormitory, Garden Court, in 1927, both to the northeast of the main hotel. A log soda fountain and dance hall building, across Snyder Creek, to the northeast of Cobb Cabin, was also added in 1927.²¹ The entire complex of buildings was characterized by a simple, rustic architecture that blended well with its surroundings.

Lewis also developed the property to the north of the hotel complex for sale to families for summer homes. In 1916, he and Diamond Apgar formed the Glacier Park Land Company to pursue this endeavor, but ultimately, lacking the endorsement of the Park Service, it was largely abandoned.²² However, a number of inholder properties, to the north and south of the hotel, remain today.



Figure 6. Snyder dormitory, Lake McDonald Lodge, 2001 photo.

2.3.3: Public Ownership – Lake McDonald Hotel

The Lewis Glacier Hotel flourished through the 1920s. Glacier’s Superintendent Eakin called the property “one of the most popular hotels in the country,” and it was often filled to capacity. Contributing to this success was the increasing number of private automobiles in the Park after the completion of the lower portion of Going-to-the-Sun Road from Belton to the hotel in 1921. By 1929, the Road was open to Logan Pass. In the 1923 season alone, the number of visitors increased 35.36% from the previous season while the number of motorists entering the park increased 70.11%.²³ However, families arriving in the Park by car were increasingly seeking lower-priced rental cottages and cabin resorts and the Park Service was eager to see construction of automobile-oriented accommodations.

Lewis was hesitant to make this investment and resisted the government’s requests to build more tourist facilities even though he had himself lobbied for the speedy construction of a road to his hotel and had constructed three miles of the road himself.²⁴ In August of 1929, the Half Moon

Note: This page is an 11x17. See file Figure 7 page 14.

Figure 7. Sketch map Lake McDonald Lodge area, ca. 1930, at the end of John Lewis' ownership of the property.

Note: This page is an 11x17. See file Figure 8 page 15.

Figure 8. Sketch map showing 1930s-era changes at Lake McDonald, following NPS acquisition of the site.

Forest Fire swept through the Apgar-Belton area, destroying fifty thousand acres of cedar-hemlock forest before it could be controlled, including the stately trees at the foot of Lake McDonald. Although none of the buildings at Lewis' Lake McDonald complex were affected, he began to seriously consider selling his properties. He estimated that he would have to add 100 guest rooms in response to the completion of the Roosevelt highway along the southern boundary of the Park, an investment he could ill-afford. The National Park Service and the Great Northern Railway's Glacier Park Hotel Company placed additional pressure on Lewis to sell, proposing the construction of a hotel adjacent to his properties on Lake McDonald. Lewis felt he had no choice and in 1930 he sold the entire complex. Through a Glacier Park Hotel Company-financed purchase, the Lewis Glacier Hotel became the Lake McDonald Hotel, in government ownership and managed by the Great Northern Railway. The transaction had enabled the Park Service to address two of its primary management objectives: the elimination of privately held land within the Park and the further consolidation of visitor support services under one concessionaire.²⁵

2.3.4: *The Automobile Comes to Glacier*

The arrival of the automobile at Lake McDonald in 1921 and the completion of Going-to-the-Sun Road more than a decade later, continued to have profound impacts on the Lake McDonald Hotel complex. Not the least of these was the change in the hotel's primary entrance from the west (lake) side to the east side of the building in order to accommodate visitors arriving via Going-to-the-Sun Road. The abandonment of the lakeside as the primary entrance and the change in the Road's alignment meant that the hotel was no longer visible to visitors as they approached the site, diminishing its role as a primary destination.

In 1936 -37 a turnabout for vehicles and flagstone steps were also added to what had been the rear entrance of the hotel.²⁶ At about the same time the alignment of Going-to-the-Sun Road was altered and the new roadway by-passed the hotel property. The original alignment remained as an inside access road, while a parking lot and new entry road into the hotel complex, built in a cul-de-sac arrangement, was added between the turnabout and the new Roadway. The new entry road/parking area featured a central boulevard, with angle parking adjacent to both of the travel lanes. The new road system in the Lake McDonald Hotel complex was constructed by William and Douglas in Kalispell. Construction began on August 27th of 1936 and rough grading of the surfaces was completed by the fall. The project was completed on June 15th, 1937 in time for the opening of the Park that year.²⁷

On August 27th, 1936, two beautifully crafted stone bridges spanning Snyder Creek were completed, one on the new Going-to-the-Sun Road alignment and one near the Lodge, close to the laundry. The bridges were designed by W.K. Trippit of Whitefish, Montana, and constructed using both skilled and unskilled laborers from the Flathead Valley through the National Re-employment Service.²⁸



Figure 9. Northward view of the current secondary access lane to Lake McDonald Lodge, a former alignment of the Sun Road. 2000 photo.



Figure 10. Highway bridge across Snyder Creek, near Lake McDonald Lodge. 2000 photo.

In 1937, Thomas Mahon, an architect for the Glacier Park Hotel Company, designed a new camp store for Lake McDonald. The store was intended to replace an earlier general store located near cabin #6, which was removed in anticipation of a road construction proposal for the Sun Road (a proposal that was never realized).²⁹ Completed sometime before July of 1938, the new store, located on a portion of the old Road alignment to the north and east of the hotel, sold groceries and camping supplies and housed the Lake McDonald, Montana post office. It is interesting to note that the hotel functioned not only as a tourist accommodation, but provided certain amenities to the private property owners that lived in the area. The post office served the hotel complex and the inholders adjacent to the hotel and beyond to the head of the Lake. When phone service was made available in the Park, the hotel switchboard in the main lobby provided phone connections for many of the Lake McDonald's permanent summer residents as well as hotel guests.



Figure 11. Lake McDonald Campstore building, 2001 photo

2.3.5: The Modern Era

The hotel itself was altered somewhat during the late 1930s. Private bathrooms and showers were added to some of the rooms and other rooms (including some in the cabin units) were reconfigured. A report filed by the Glacier Park Company in June of 1943 indicated that there were now 72 guest rooms at the Lake McDonald Hotel and Cabins with a capacity of 135.³⁰ During World War II, the Lake McDonald Hotel was closed along with most of the hotels and chalets in Glacier Park (only the auto camp at Roes Creek [now Rising Sun] remained open

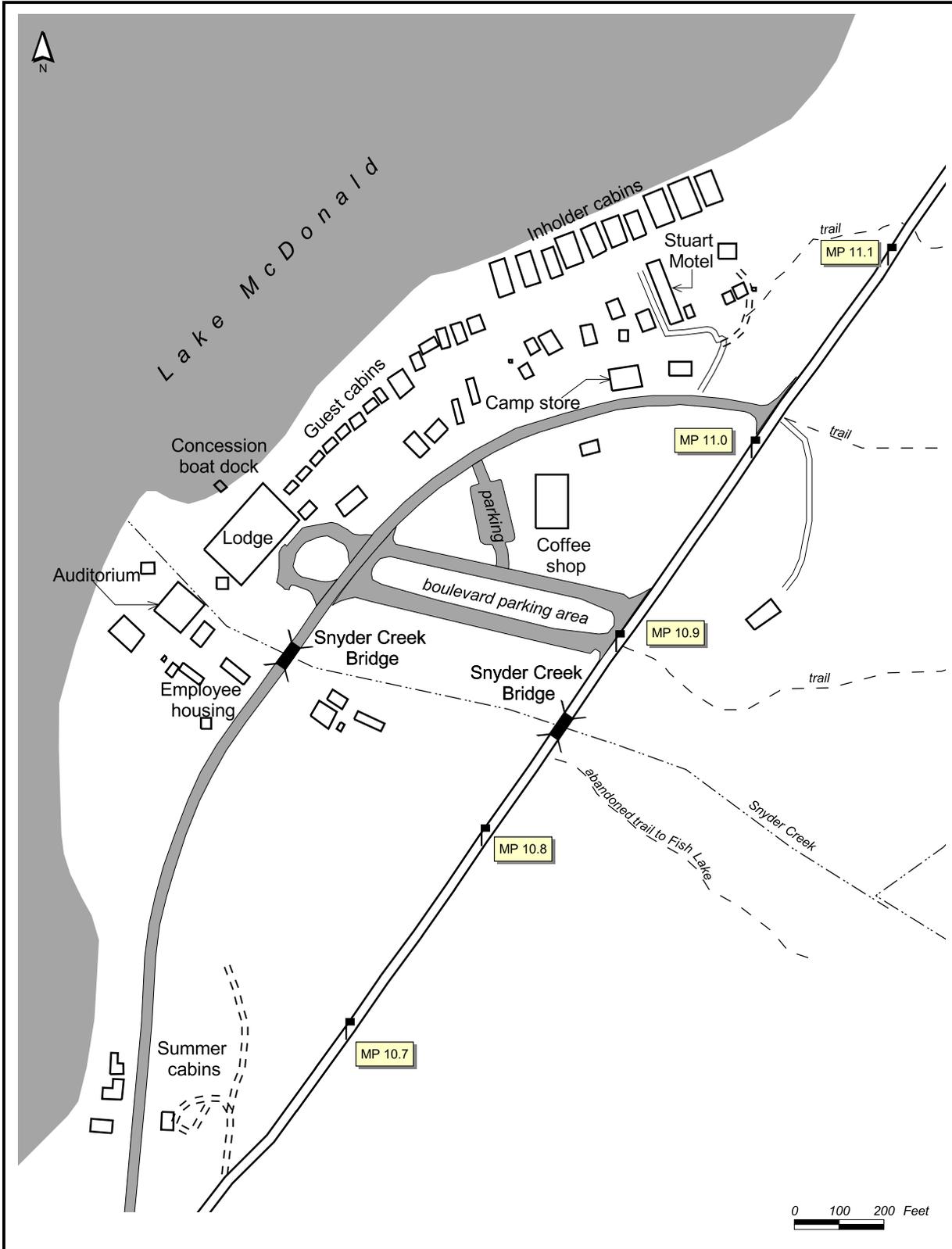


Figure 12. Sketch map of the Lake McDonald Lodge area, 2002. Note the "boulevard" parking area added in 1936-1937, tying the lodge building to the relocated roadway.

during the War years). At the conclusion of the War, visitors returned to the park and the concessions re-opened. In about 1955, inholders Frank and Laura Stuart built a two-story motel to the north of the Lake McDonald campstore. At about the same time, the hotel laundry suffered a fire, which gutted its interior and damaged the building's second story (which was subsequently removed). The Hotel Company decided to close the laundry, along with a similar facility at the Many Glacier Hotel and centralize these services at Glacier Park Lodge. The former Lake McDonald laundry became an employee dormitory, named Martin Johnson in honor of an employee who had managed the laundry for a number of years. The old hydroelectric plant building was relocated a few feet away from the creek, converted into additional dormitory space, and named "Hydro."³¹ Other changes that occurred included the conversion of Cobb Cabin to an employee dormitory and the barbershop to an employee dispensary.



Figure 13. Martin Johnson dormitory, Lake McDonald Lodge, 2001 photo.

In the years following the War and well into the 1950s, the Park Service renewed its efforts to increase the number of lower-cost accommodation units in the Park. Many in the government recommended the abandonment of the facilities at the Lake McDonald Hotel site in favor of a new cabin development at Apgar, not unlike earlier Park Service requests voiced in the 1930s. However, planners for the Railway disagreed and maintained that the hotel was in the right location and could be refurbished to meet the needs of the modern traveler.³² The refurbishing of the Lake McDonald Hotel was undertaken by the Knutson Corporation of Minneapolis, a management company hired by the Great Northern Railway in 1956. The effort was part of an ambitious building program undertaken at the Company's Glacier facilities in the last few years of the Railway's association with the Glacier Park concession. Improvements to the Lake

McDonald Hotel included the addition of a cocktail lounge and gift shop in 1958 (in the location of the original luggage check room); reconfiguration of the public bathrooms; conversion of some of the first floor guest rooms to office and support functions; and the construction of a new front desk. The facility received the new appellation “Lake McDonald Lodge” during the period of Knudson management.³³

1960 marked the final year of operations in Glacier National Park by the Great Northern Railway. The efforts of the Knutson Corporation had been successful in making the concession attractive to a perspective buyer. In January of 1961, Don Hummel, an Arizona capitalist who owned concession facilities in Lassen and Mt. McKinley National Parks, purchased the concession, and began operating it under the name Glacier Park Incorporated.³⁴

2.3.6: Glacier Park Incorporated and Lake McDonald Lodge

While Lake McDonald Lodge remained in public ownership after 1960, it was managed under a new concession agreement with Glacier Park Incorporated. During Hummel’s 20-year tenure in the Park, a number of changes were made to the Lodge complex, most of them rather minor. In 1961, toilets, showers and electric heaters were added to most of the cabins; the above-ground pipes connecting the buildings may date from that time.³⁵ Snyder Hall became an employee dormitory and the soda fountain and dance hall were slightly modified to serve as an employee recreation facility and public auditorium. A gas station was built near the campstore in 1962. In 1966, Hummel privately purchased the Lake McDonald Motel from the Stuart family, and began operating it as part of the lodge property.



Figure 14. Lake McDonald post office (former gas station), 2001 photo.

Torrential rains fell in the Park in early June 1964, causing disastrous flooding on both the east and west sides of the Continental Divide. At Lake McDonald Lodge, Snyder Creek flooded its banks and Lake McDonald rose significantly as up to eight inches of precipitation fell on the southern portions of the Park. The warm rain fell on heavy accumulations of snow which melted at an accelerated rate further increasing the volume of water. The flooding damaged portions of the Lake McDonald Lodge dining room and the grill in the employee recreation hall, across the creek, and completely destroyed the footbridge that crossed the Creek.³⁶



Figure 15. Lake McDonald Lodge coffee shop, with Mt. Brown in the background. 2000 photo.

Probably in response to the flood damage of 1964, a new coffee shop building and associated parking lot were constructed at Lake McDonald the following year, on a prominent location near the east end of the complex.³⁷ In contrast to the earlier buildings at the site, the coffee shop displayed contemporary architectural lines that, to some eyes, contrasted to its environment. In about 1968, 10 cabins from the Swiftcurrent auto camp were moved to Lake McDonald and in combination with new structural elements were used to create 5 employee dormitory facilities.³⁸ A fire truck garage near the campstore became part of the property in 1975, the result of federal acquisition of a former inholder parcel.³⁹ In ca. 1980, the post office was moved from the camp store to the gas station building, across the street. The gas station's pumps and underground tanks were removed in the fall of 1996, but the building continues to house the Lake McDonald post office as well as public restrooms.⁴⁰

2.3.7: Lake McDonald Lodge Today

Ownership of Glacier Park Incorporated was transferred in 1981 to a predecessor of Viad Corporation, the current concessionaire. In 1988-89, the Park Service undertook a \$1.2 million renovation of Lake McDonald Lodge, restoring the lobby to its original flavor and general historic configuration. A totem pole was erected near the lodges' vehicle-side entrance, commemorating a similar pole that once stood by the lakeside façade. Other improvements included the restoration of the lobby fireplace, an upgrade to the lounge and the replacement of the 1950s era dining room and lounge windows. The dining room fireplace which had been destroyed in the 1964 flood was restored. The turnabout at the front of the Lodge was also modified, as was the landscaping surrounding the Lodge building.



Figure 16. Lakeside facade of Lake McDonald Lodge, showing the revamped footpaths and exterior features added in 1989. 2000 photo.

Today, Lake McDonald Lodge enjoys full bookings virtually throughout its season of operation. Visitors, in the same fashion as their predecessors in 1914, enjoy its lovely grounds and setting along the shore of Lake McDonald, eat in its log dining room, and gaze up at the summit of Mount Brown, more than a mile above them. And, like the first guests that arrived at the Lodge via George Snyder's steam ship, they can catch a glimpse of its lakeside entrance from the deck of the DeSmet and imagine arriving at the Lewis Glacier Hotel at the beginning of the last century.

2.4 Chronology of the Lodge's Built Environment

2.4.1: Introduction: Pre-1910 Development

By the time Glacier National Park was established in 1910, a number of private homesteads already existed in the area, including several along the shore of Lake McDonald. The private land thus created served as the settings for the first tourist developments at the lake, including several that predated the establishment of the Park itself. The property that eventually became Lake McDonald Lodge was one of these early enterprises.

The buildings constructed at Lake McDonald Lodge during the first decade of the twentieth century reflected a landscape pattern that was probably very common for lakeshore resorts of the time, and was also seen elsewhere along the lake – most notably at the Kelly's Camp development about a mile away. The primary buildings intended for guest use were arranged in a relatively orderly row along the lakeshore, but were higher than and set back from the water. Relatively little development took place between the buildings and lakeshore. From the lake or the shore, buildings were visible but not intrusive, and at best an incomplete view of the lake was possible from the buildings.



Figure 17. Circa 1914 view of the Row of Guest Cabins, Lake McDonald Hotel
R.E. Marble photograph. Glacier National Park Archives.

One major exception to this characteristic occurred in front of the main hotel building itself. There, vegetation was cleared and the land contour smoothed to create a grassy “front yard” for the development’s primary public areas. This allowed unfettered views of the lake from the hotel (and vice-versa), and helped visually define the hotel as the focal point of the overall property. This was important for the development as a whole, since guests at the time arrived via a boat dock on the shore near the front of the main building. Even here, though, the level of landscaping was relatively minimal, consisting of a planted lawn and delineated pathways between dock and hotel. A second formalized path along the “lake” side of the buildings connected the main hotel structure with the cabins.



Figure 18. Circa 1920 view of the Lakeshore Lawn in front of Lake McDonald Hotel. R.E. Marble photograph. Glacier National Park Archives.

Since virtually all surviving pre-1910 photos of the Lake McDonald development focus on the lakeshore side of the buildings, relatively little is known about the “land” side of the development. It seems fairly certain, though, that the area was treated as an undeveloped “backyard,” serving utility and support functions but not intended as a key part of the visitor landscape. Small, randomly-placed support buildings existed, and land was cleared for grazing and garden purposes – the beginnings of the expanses of lawn which characterize this area today. Footpaths and other travel routes were probably completely informal.

Though the Lake McDonald Lodge area has undergone tremendous changes since 1910, a surprising amount of the property's configuration and landscape remain evident, particularly between the historic buildings and the lake. A row of mostly-original guest cabins continues to define the lakeshore area, and the current hotel includes an area of pre-1910 construction. The landscaping in front of the hotel building has been reconfigured extensively in recent years, but it continues to focus visitor views to and from the lake. The "lake" side of the cabin area continues to retain the primeval feel that has characterized it for nearly a century. In contrast, little from the period likely remains on the "land" side of the development, although the cleared areas there owe their origins to the period.



Figure 19. Circa 1920 view of Lake McDonald Hotel and its lakeside lawn.
T.J. Hileman photograph. Glacier National Park Archives.

2.4.2: The Lewis Glacier Hotel Era (1910-1932)

More substantial development of the future Lake McDonald Lodge property began soon after the park's establishment in 1910, highlighted by the 1914 completion of the Lewis Glacier Hotel (the current lodge). The new building immediately became the focal point for the entire site, overshadowing the log buildings that preceded it and introducing the "chalet" exterior styling that was later emulated by other buildings at the site. The hotel's placement at the southwest end of the existing row of guest cabins, however, allowed the building to integrate well with the overall setting and pattern of development established prior to 1910.

An even more dramatic transformation of the Lodge site began in 1921 when NPS contractors opened the first road access to the property, a dirt lane extending northeast from Belton and Apgar along the southern shore of the lake. The route, an early component of what was to become the trans-park Going-to-the-Sun Road, allowed motor vehicles to reach the lodge for the first time; soon, automobile travel to the lodge almost wholly supplanted the earlier pattern of access by boat from Apgar.

The arrival of the Sun Road at Lake McDonald almost immediately changed the character of both the lakeshore and “land” areas of the development. The lake side of the hotel lost its status as the entry portal or gateway to the property, and instead assumed a role more akin to that of a backyard, where guests could lounge, watch the lake, and take short boat tours. This change in use, however, was not accompanied by substantial alterations in the physical layout of the area.

The arrival of the automobile, however, caused far more dramatic changes within the “land” side of the lodge property. The new road entered the lodge area from the southwest, crossing Snyder Creek and accessing a small, unpaved loop driveway that accessed the hotel’s rear (southeastern) entrance. It then traveled easterly towards the rear of the property’s cleared pasture area before angling northward to exit the site. This route provided the “land” side of the hotel with its first major, well-defined circulation pattern – one that also characterized and defined the entry and exit experiences for virtually all of the lodge’s guests.

The addition of the hotel building to the site and the construction of the road to the lodge combined to substantially increase visitor traffic to and through the area. This resulted in the addition of additional visitor and support buildings in the cleared “meadow” area on the land side of the hotel, including employee housing units, a laundry, and a general store. Most of these buildings were placed seemingly at random, with little apparent effort made towards developing a cohesive landscape in the area. The haphazard building placement was accompanied by an expanded, though still informal, road and pathway network, and by largely informal automobile parking areas. Buildings in the area displayed a somewhat-common design featuring lap-siding exteriors, but little architectural detail. The end result was a bucolic setting that was not indicative of either a National Park landscape or a resort hotel.

By the end of the 1920s, then, the Lake McDonald property displayed a mix of landscapes, combining the atmosphere of a lakeside, wilderness resort hotel with that of a seemingly-unplanned and random roadside waypoint. As a whole, though, the property continued to evoke its backcountry setting, and reflected an informal interaction between development and wilderness.



Figure 21. 1936 view of the circular entrance drive at Lake McDonald Hotel. T.J. Hileman photograph. Glacier National Park Archives.



Figure 22. The arrival of the automobile created a haphazard, mixed-use development area along the “Land” side of the Lake McDonald Hotel. 1931 view. Glacier National Park Archives.



Figure 23. Vegetable garden and employee dormitory, 1947.
Glacier National Park Archives.

2.4.3: The Early NPS Years (1932-1958)

The year 1932 marked the beginning of a period of significant change for the Lake McDonald property, brought about by the completion of two locally-significant developments. The first automobiles traversed the length of the newly-built Going-to-the-Sun Road that fall (though the road was not officially opened to the public until the following summer). 1932 also saw the formal transfer of the Lake McDonald Hotel property to the National Park Service, which assumed ownership of the land and buildings and added their operation to the parkwide hotel concession contract held by a subsidiary of the Great Northern Railway.

The completion of the Going-to-the-Sun Road brought about a tremendous increase in the amount of automobile traffic through the Lake McDonald Lodge area. The increased traffic at the lodge served to point out the inadequacy of the roadway and parking network at the property, and the Park Service quickly planned a series of road improvements to help rectify the situation. The work was completed by 1937, and resulted in a new alignment of the Sun Road that bypassed the immediate lodge area completely. The realigned road was joined to the hotel area by a large “boulevard” roadway and parking area, and the loop roadway at the hotel’s southern entrance was paved and elevated to match the entry boulevard.



Figure 24. View of the 1937 entry boulevard and raised loop driveway, soon after completion. Glacier National Park Archives.

The completed entry boulevard served several important functions for the hotel property. Most importantly, it provided the first formalized entry portal to the property designed for the automobile age, although the visual significance of the portal was diminished by elevating the loop drive, which reduced the visibility of the hotel itself. The boulevard also created a single, formal parking area for the bulk of the lodge complex, which satisfied the property's parking needs for decades to come. The redesign also reduced traffic congestion in the immediate hotel area by diverting through traffic away from the site. Finally, the project was a key early step in the process of imposing a more-formal landscape design on the previously haphazard "land" side of the hotel.

Other NPS and concessionaire projects during the 1930s further contributed to that latter cause. The original Sun Road alignment was paved and straightened to reduce its impact on the cleared area east of the hotel, and a number of small, ancillary buildings in the area were removed. In their place, a new concessionaire-built General Store opened at the edge of the woods near the north end of the site, providing a focal point for automobile travelers not in need of hotel dining or lodging. The general store reflected a simple "chalet" architectural style, complimenting that of the main hotel building.

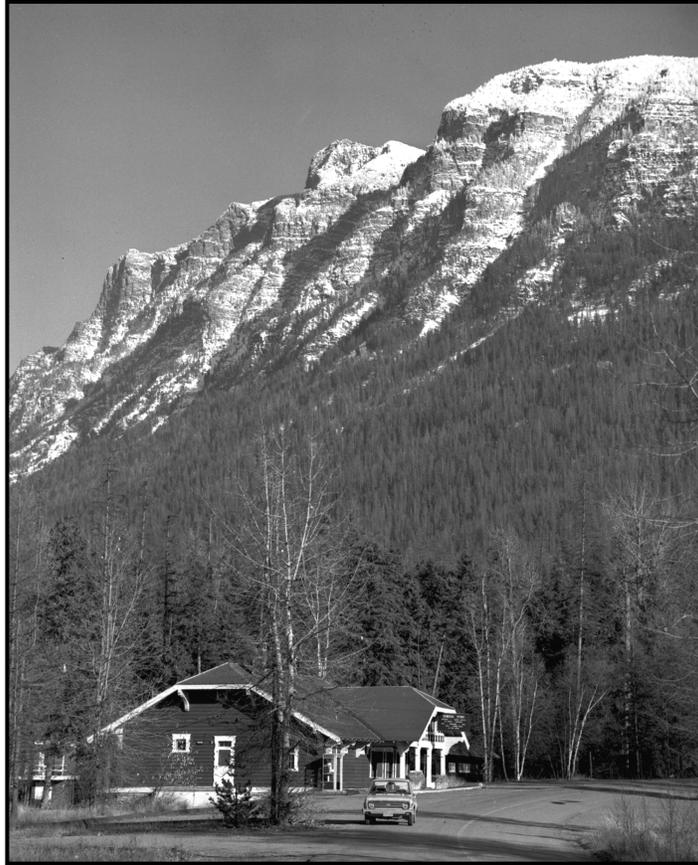


Figure 25. View of the New Lake McDonald general store building, 1974. Glacier National Park Archives.

In summary, building and grounds changes in the lodge area during this period greatly impacted the “land” side of the hotel building, but left the “lake” side relatively unaltered. The lake side of the property continued to reflect a philosophy of limited development and intrusion, and emphasized the visitor’s closeness to the natural landscape. In contrast, the “land” side of the development now displayed a far stronger sense of formalized landscape design, relying less on the natural setting and more on formal landscape constructions. These changes, a concession to the automobile age, substantially altered both the visual character of the property and the underlying nature of the visitor experience there.

In addition to the redevelopments discussed above, NPS ownership of the Lake McDonald hotel property also caused federal planners to consider other, more-substantial changes to the property itself. From the 1930s to the 1950s, NPS officials considered a variety of other changes to the Lake McDonald site, most featuring the construction of additional lodging units. Other possible plans called for the complete removal of the development itself, and the construction of a replacement facility in the Apgar area. Perhaps due to funding or other issues, these larger plans never materialized, and the site remained relatively unchanged during the 1940s and early 1950s.

2.4.4: Postscript: The Late Twentieth Century (1958-present)

The Lake McDonald Lodge area entered a new period of gradual change beginning in 1958 when the Great Northern Railway, hoping to find a buyer for its concession properties, began a remodeling project at the hotel building. Other changes took place in the 1960s, beginning with the construction of a small, architecturally-compatible gas station near the campstore in 1962. A far more dramatic change occurred three years later, when large new coffee shop building and associated parking lot were constructed near the east end of the lawn area. The coffee shop was of a contemporary design not reflective of the remaining buildings at the property, and its parking area destroyed the symmetry of the 1930s boulevard landscape.



Figure 28. Lake McDonald service station, 1962. Glacier National Park Archives.

The most recent major change at the Lake McDonald site took place in the late 1980s, in conjunction with a partial restoration of the hotel building. This NPS project saw the lowering of the loop entrance drive by the hotel, greatly improving visibility of the historic building. Simultaneously, a series of hard-surfaced pathways, low stone walls, and formal seating areas was constructed around the lodge building. A prominent concrete ramp between the hotel and the lakeshore was added in 2004. Together, these additions introduced a new level of landscape rigidity and formality to the lodge area, greatly changing the historic visual character of the setting.



Figure 29. View of the new Lake McDonald coffee shop building, soon after its 1965 completion. Glacier National Park Archives.

CHAPTER 3: EXISTING CONDITIONS

3.1 Introduction

This portion of the report provides a brief overview of the current status of the Lake McDonald Lodge cultural landscape area, using both geographic and feature-oriented approaches. Section 3.2, below, identifies portions of the lodge property that share common, overall visual characteristics. In Section 3.3, the existing cultural landscape at the lodge is described using a series of thirteen “landscape characteristics,” as specified by the NPS document *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques* (1998).

3.2 Geography of the Lodge Property Today

3.2.1: Introduction

As it has throughout most of its history, the Lake McDonald Lodge area today hosts a variety of buildings and associated uses, and its landscape settings are similarly varied. This portion of the study provides a brief, current overview of the major landscape settings at the lodge. For this review, the lodge vicinity has been subdivided into four areas, based on function and current visual character:

- The lakeside;
- East of the Cabins;
- South of Snyder Creek; and
- The Meadow/Boulevard area.

3.2.2: *The Lakeside*

This area is defined as the portion of the lodge property north of Snyder Creek, between the lakeshore and the guest lodgings provided by the hotel and cabins. Historically, this area was characterized by the following:

- Buildings designed to harmonize with a forested setting;
- Minimal development between buildings and lakeshore;
- A cleared landscape “portal” visually connecting the lake and the hotel building; and
- Pathways along the building row and to the lake that are visually defined but not intrusive.

Most of these characteristics date from the early years of lodging development at Lake McDonald, and reflect the wilderness hotel atmosphere that was once characteristic of the entire Lake McDonald development. More than any other part of the Lake McDonald complex, this

area continues to reflect much of the early overall atmosphere of the hotel property. The row of historic buildings and the quiet, simple pathway in front of the cabins are particularly reflective of this atmosphere.



Figure 31. 1914 view of the north end of the guest cabin row.
R.E. Marble photograph. Glacier National Park Archives.

Less of this original atmosphere survives in the area directly between the hotel and the lakeshore, where recent landscaping and footpath changes have greatly formalized the setting and increased its complexity. This immediate area no longer reflects a historic landscape, although its traditional role as a visual portal between lake and hotel endures.

3.2.3: East of the Cabins

This area is defined as the portion of the lodge property along the wooded, “land” side of the historic guest cabins, north and west of the cleared lawn area. Historically, this area displayed characteristics similar to those of the lakeshore area, although the levels and types of use began changing in the 1920s with the arrival of the automobile. At that time, the land east of the cabins evolved into a vehicle access and parking area for cabin guests, and remains as such today. The access lane and some parking areas have been hard surfaced, but other formalized circulation routes do not exist, and the overall visual atmosphere remains similar to that of several decades ago. Overall, the feeling remains one of being a visitor in a minimally-developed forest.



Figure 32. 1972 view of Lake McDonald Lodge and its lakeside lawn. Note the pattern of curved rocks, remaining from the original path to the lakeshore. Glacier National Park Archives.

3.2.4: South of Snyder Creek

This area is defined as the portion of the lodge property south of Snyder Creek. Historically, most of this area did not serve as a focal point for lodge visitors, but rather hosted a series of support functions including employee housing, laundry, and power generation. The auditorium/soda fountain building immediately south of the hotel was the only major guest destination in this area. Historically, this area was characterized by relatively random building placement, a lack of formal landscaping or circulation routes, and ready, informal access to the lakeshore.

Unique among the landscape areas of the lodge property, a portion of this area is actually less developed now than it was in the early twentieth century. A small manmade pond or pool once existed between the soda fountain building and the lake, although details of its design are not known.

As in the historic period, visitor use in the area today is largely limited to the small parcel of land in front of the auditorium building, an area where flooding and other changes have removed much of what historic setting there may have been. In overall appearance, though, the area remains one of rustic buildings placed unobtrusively in an unchanged natural landscape. This has been diluted in recent years only by the increased presence of motor vehicles in the area.



Figure 33. Snyder Creek footbridge and soda fountain building, 1930s.
Glacier National Park Archives.

3.2.5: *The Pasture/Boulevard area*

This area is defined as the portion of the lodge property north of Snyder Creek, and east of the forested lakeshore/hotel/cabin area. Historically, this area was characterized by the following:

- A relatively open pasture/lawn setting, cleared of trees;
- Ancillary buildings for guest use, as well as employee use;
- Views centered on the development and the distant mountains, rather than the forest; and
- The primary circulation routes for the hotel complex, as well as for other park visitors.

More than any other area of the lodge complex, the appearance of this area has changed significantly over time. Initially a landscape of pastureland, vegetable gardens, primitive buildings and dirt lanes, the area has changed to one of lawns, paved roads and parking lots, and fewer, though larger, buildings. Most of those changes took place during the decade of the 1930s, and in general the area continues to reflect the overall intent of 1930s landscape planners.

Overall, the area is a contrast to the other portions of the hotel property, where the forest setting remains visually prominent and interaction with it is a key characteristic of the visitor experience. Here, the overall feeling has long been one of being in a developed area, an island of

human activity surrounded by a sea of wilderness. The fact that this setting coexists so well with the less-formal areas around it is a unique and fascinating characteristic of the Lake McDonald site as a whole.

3.3 Landscape Characteristics

3.3.1: Introduction

The NPS guidelines for evaluating cultural landscapes identify a total of thirteen “landscape characteristics” which may be examined during the identification and evaluation of a cultural landscape. As described in *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports* (p. 53),

Landscape characteristics include tangible and intangible aspects of a landscape from the historic period(s); these aspects individually and collectively give a landscape its historic character and aid in the understanding of its cultural importance.

The following sections list each of the NPS landscape characteristics and summarize the current status of each characteristic at Lake McDonald Lodge, based on the background information provided in Chapter 2.

3.2.2: Natural Systems and Features

The most prominent natural feature of the Lake McDonald Lodge site is of course the lake itself. The presence of the lake guided early development at the site, and it remains a visual focal point. Beyond the lakeshore, forest historically predominated, and the clearing of this land was required to develop a human-created landscape. Today, the natural forest serves as a visual boundary for much of the development at Lake McDonald, although some wooded areas remain to suggest the primeval heritage of the natural setting.

3.2.3: Spatial Organization

The spatial organization of the Lake McDonald Lodge area is defined in part by the lakeshore, and in part by the imposed roads and parking areas beyond. Originally, the lake was the focal point of development at the site, and the shoreline formed an axis for building and pathway development – one that still remains evident today. Arrangement of features in other areas of the property was haphazard, and almost random.

The arrival of substantial automobile traffic to the lodge area resulted in additional development at the site and created new axes of spatial organization. An early interior axis was provided by the original roadway that roughly paralleled the lakeshore, but 1930s road and parking area construction saw the development of a formal entry boulevard that was perpendicular to the shoreline. This resulted in a “T”-shaped plan for the site, one that remains largely evident today.

3.2.4: Land Use

Historically, the pattern of land use at Lake McDonald Lodge was guided by the existence of the lakeshore – important visitor services were focused there, with ancillary services largely banished to the interior of the property. This distinction resulted in a heavily-used, wooded area along the shore, with a “backyard” area of cleared pastureland and smaller ancillary buildings beyond.

Some of this pattern remains evident today, although the arrival of the automobile brought greater attention to the former “backyard” area. As the access and focal point for automobile-based travelers, this area saw increased visitor development, though with activities and development that retained at least an ostensible focus on the historic lakeshore area. Consequently, land use became less regimented and more dispersed, and today areas devoted to guest services, employee housing, vehicular traffic and parking, and other functions largely coexist throughout the property.

3.2.5: Cultural Traditions

The cultural tradition at Lake McDonald Lodge is one of visitor lodging and services in a wilderness setting. Land and buildings within the lodge area are devoted entirely to these services, and the architecture of many of the buildings is designed to reflect this, as well. Within this broad tradition, divisions of use are also evident. What is generally perceived as the most attractive land at the site – the lakeshore – hosts buildings intended primarily for overnight guests, while ancillary services are relegated to the inland areas beyond. A further division occurs due to the presence of the automobile and often short-term visitors it carries; facilities geared to these visitors are located near inland roadways and parking areas.

A second cultural tradition – that of long-term, privately-owned summer housing – exists just beyond the boundaries of the lodge area itself. The two traditions are strongly interrelated, especially because the lodge has historically served as a center for this residential community.

3.2.6: Cluster Arrangement

As noted above, the lodge property is relatively dispersed, but includes several distinct groupings of buildings. The most important building group includes the hotel and associated guest cabins, located in a row bounded by the lakeshore. Most ancillary buildings are sited inland from this row, some in seemingly-random locations. Two loose groups of ancillary buildings (primarily employee housing) exist – one to the south of Snyder Creek, and a second behind the guest cabin row.

Beyond these groups, a small number of buildings are sited independently, in locations chosen for their visibility and/or automobile access, rather than site cohesiveness. The most prominent of these features is the coffee shop, although the campstore and service station also fall into this category.

3.2.7: Circulation

Historically, circulation patterns at the lodge have been largely governed by access to the site. Initially, the lodge area served as a portal between Lake McDonald and the land-based wilderness beyond, but since the completion of the Sun Road through the area, Lake McDonald Lodge has served largely as a roadside waypoint. In large part, therefore, circulation patterns are guided by the relationship of roads and parking to the views and visitor services at the site.

For most arriving visitors, the boulevard parking area is the first introduction to the lodge area. From this parking area, visitors walk to the hotel building, and are drawn through it for views of the lake. Beyond this initial pattern, however, circulation through the area is often dispersed, with a mixture of pedestrian and vehicle movement. Pedestrians who have visited the hotel may explore the lakeshore area, or walk through the cleared area behind the hotel to the coffee shop, campstore, or post office. Because of the distances involved, some travelers limit their pedestrian explorations to the hotel and lakeshore areas, and use vehicles to reach the campstore area.

3.2.8: Topography

The topography of the area is defined by the lakeshore and by Snyder Creek. Low slopes and cutbanks border these features; beyond, the land maintains a very gentle rise to the south and east as it extends to the foothills of Mt. Brown and Snyder Ridge. Topography of the lodge area has not been substantially altered by human development.

The most visually important topographical characteristics of the site are well beyond the lodge area – the natural backdrops of forested ridges and high mountains which surround nearly all of the area.

3.2.9: Vegetation

The following description of vegetation types in the Lake McDonald Lodge area was provided for this report by the National Park Service:

The Lake McDonald area is also within a western red cedar/queencup beadlelily habitat type. The vegetation surrounding the Lake McDonald Lodge complex is a mature, 230-year-old forest dominated by very large western red cedar (16 to 22+ inches diameter at breast height) intermixed with large western larch, western white pine, and Douglas fir. The midstory is dominated by pole- and sapling-sized western hemlocks. Twinflower, sidebells wintergreen, queencup beadlelily, round-leaved violet, foamflower, snowberry, prince's-pine, northwest sedge, roughleaf ricegrass, and beargrass comprise the low-growing open understory. There are numerous old-growth black cottonwood trees (20 to 30 inches diameter at breast height) on the edge of this forest near the southern access road. An example of this forest type is located south of Snyder Creek between the Sun Road and the southern access road, incorporating the jammer dorm area.

Forest buffers between the Lake McDonald Lodge complex and the Sun Road have been preserved. East of the Post Office, the forest is dominated by western larch with scattered lodgepole pine, Douglas fir, and Engelmann spruce. Numerous pole- and sapling-sized western hemlock and western red cedar saplings are found in the understory. Other understory species include beargrass, snowberry, queencup beadlily, twinflower, round-leaved violet, and prince's-pine. Near the Post Office at the edges of this forest, there are more black cottonwood and paper birch trees, as well as more non-native grasses in the understory.

Snyder Creek and the shoreline of Lake McDonald support riparian vegetation. Along Snyder Creek, overstory trees are large western red cedar, black cottonwood, and paper birch. Saplings and pole-size trees of all three species are regenerating along the creek edge. Common understory plants include mountain maple, redosier dogwood, alder, and willow. Similar trees were found along the shoreline of Lake McDonald, although Douglas fir, Engelmann spruce, and a few subalpine fir seedlings are also present. The understory in this area is generally denuded of vegetation due to car and human trampling. Species that are present include snowberry, serviceberry, mountain maple, and redosier dogwood.

Trees of various species are sparsely scattered around the Lake McDonald buildings and include black cottonwood, paper birch, western red cedar, western hemlock, Engelmann spruce, western larch, western white pine, lodgepole pine, and subalpine fir. Clearings around the lodge buildings and roads are in lawns or artificially maintained open space supporting many non-native species, such as Kentucky bluegrass, orchardgrass, quackgrass, clover, spotted knapweed, oxeye daisy and St. Johnswort. Spotted knapweed, oxeye daisy, and St. Johnswort are state-listed noxious weeds that comprise nearly 10 acres of infestation at the Lake McDonald Lodge area. Overstory trees are sparse in these areas, comprised mostly of black cottonwood, paper birch, and western red cedar.

3.2.10: Buildings and Structures

The Lake McDonald Lodge area contains approximately 35 buildings, as listed in the table below.

Table 1: Buildings in the Lake McDonald Lodge Cultural Landscape Area.

| NPS Building No. | Building Name/Function | Ownership | Construction year | NRHP Status |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 704 | Lake McDonald Lodge | NPS | 1914 | NHL |
| 722 | Cabin #1 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 723 | Cabin #2 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 724 | Cabin #3 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 725 | Cabin #4 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 726 | Cabin #5 | NPS | 1918 | Contributing |
| 727 | Cabin #6 | NPS | 1918 | Contributing |
| 728 | Cabin #7 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 729 | Cabin #8 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |

| NPS Building No. | Building Name/Function | Ownership | Construction year | NRHP Status |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 906 | Cabin #9 | GPI/NPS | 1934 | Contributing |
| 730 | Cabin #10 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 731 | Cabin #11 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 732 | Cabin #12 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 733 | Cabin #13 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 734 | Cabin #14 | NPS | 1907 | Contributing |
| 735 | Garden Court Dormitory | NPS | 1927 | Contributing |
| 737 | Cobb Cabin Dormitory | NPS | 1918 | Contributing |
| 738 | Snyder Dormitory | NPS | 1911 | Contributing |
| 739 | Cobb Garage | NPS | | Contributing |
| 741 | Auditorium | NPS | 1927 | Contributing |
| 742 | Nurse's Station | NPS | 1909 | Contributing |
| 743 | Hydro Dormitory | NPS | 1918 | Non-contributing |
| 744 | Martin Johnson Dormitory | NPS | 1918 | Non-contributing |
| 746 | Caretaker's Residence | NPS | 1922 | Contributing |
| 749 | Carpenter Shop | NPS | | Contributing |
| 904 | General Store | GPI/NPS | 1937 | Contributing |
| 1012 | Caretaker's Garage | NPS | | Contributing |
| 1101 | Post Office (Gas Station) | GPI/NPS | 1962 | Non-contributing |
| 1142 | Coffee Shop | GPI/NPS | 1965 | Non-contributing |
| 1271 | Fire Garage | NPS | | Non-contributing |
| 1401 | Boy's I Dormitory | GPI/NPS | c. 1968 | Non-contributing |
| 1402 | Boy's II Dormitory | GPI/NPS | c. 1968 | Non-contributing |
| 1403 | Girl's I Dormitory | GPI/NPS | c. 1968 | Non-contributing |
| 1404 | Girl's II Dormitory | GPI/NPS | c. 1968 | Non-contributing |
| 1405 | Jammer Dormitory | GPI/NPS | c. 1968 | Non-contributing |

Additional buildings and structures, both federally and privately owned, exist along the lakeshore north and south of the lodge, outside the boundaries of this landscape area. Many of these features, however, share architectural and/or historic commonalities with the lodge buildings.

Of the 35 buildings listed above, 10 have previously been determined to be non-contributing features of the historic district. Nearly all of those buildings, however, date from the 1960s or earlier in their current configurations, suggesting that a future reevaluation of their National Register status may produce changed results. The older dormitory buildings, in particular, date from the early years of the lodge complex and are of a compatible architectural style.

3.2.11: Views and Vistas

Views and vistas in the Lake McDonald Lodge area are of two primary types: those of the natural features of Glacier National Park, and those of the human-created features of the lodge area itself.

For many lodge visitors, a primary desired view is that of Lake McDonald itself. While the hotel's earliest visitors arrived in the area by boat, and thus experienced the lake prior to visiting the hotel, current visitors typically use the hotel building as a portal to gain a view of the lake. For many travelers, this vista is their first significant exposure to the lake, and the hotel experience thus becomes an integral part of their perceived view of Lake McDonald. The cleared lawn area in front of the hotel building facilitates and frames that view, while the small-scale features in that area have the potential to distract from it.

The Lake McDonald vista is completed by a forested view of ridgelines and mountains, and other mountain views are available in the open areas behind the hotel building. In particular, a dramatic view of Mt. Brown greets visitors leaving the rear doors of the hotel building. While perhaps more spectacular than the views of the hotel's namesake lake, the mountain backdrop of the lodge area is perhaps less of a visual focus for most visitors.

More intimate views of the lodge's natural surroundings are also available, though limited in comparison to other areas. Since many visitor pathways and travel routes in the lodge area are flanked by areas of mown lawn, wooded views are often relatively distant. The pathways in the vicinity of the guest cabins are a notable exception.

Relatively few major vistas in the lodge area focus on buildings or other man-made features. When early visitors arrived at the hotel by boat, the architecture of the hotel itself was a primary visual focus when entering the area, but the hotel is far less visually prominent for those arriving by car today. Many buildings are partially or wholly obscured by trees, and their dark paint schemes help them blend into the forest. For most current visitors to the lodge, the 1965 coffee shop building is probably the most visually prominent structure in the area, due to its contrasting color and prominent siting.

3.2.12: Constructed Water Features

While a man-made pool once existed on the lodge grounds, the only substantial water-related features at the lodge area today are the boating facilities along the lakeshore. A small ticket booth building and large floating dock are of modern, utilitarian construction and design, and are

non-contributing features at the site. The current dock, however, continues to provide a function that has been necessary at the hotel since the beginning. Smaller dock structures have existed along the lakeshore in front of the hotel throughout the building's history.

There are also three bridges across Snyder Creek in the lodge area: a wooden footbridge near the hotel, which postdates the 1964 flood, and two 1930s-era concrete-and-stone arch bridges used by the Sun Road and the Lake McDonald access lane. The latter two bridges are historically significant, associated with the development and improvement of the Sun Road during that period.

3.2.13: Small Scale Features

Small-scale features in the Lake McDonald Lodge area include a small number of decorative elements, as well as structures and objects intended for visitor convenience and safety. The most prominent decorative feature is a modern totem pole, located just south of the lodge near the approach drive. While the pole is intended to evoke an earlier totem pole that once existed on the property, the new pole is in a different location and is a non-contributing feature.

Other small-scale features on the lodge grounds include hard-surfaced footpaths, benches, stone retaining walls, exterior lighting, signs, and a telephone kiosk. Among these features, selected footpaths in the lodge area are the only ones with substantial historic associations. The pathway connecting the hotel and the adjoining guest cabins has been in existence since the earliest days of the property. Footpaths between the front of the hotel and the lakeshore have also existed since that time, although the current paths differ greatly in appearance and alignment from their predecessors. Other pathways on the lodge grounds date from the 1960s or later.

Nearly all other small-scale exterior features are concentrated in the immediate hotel area, and date from the 1980s or later. The benches and retaining walls around the hotel building are new additions to the hotel setting, and are non-contributing. Light poles and fixtures are also non-contributing, though they may replace earlier units in the area. Beyond the immediate hotel site, light poles and related features are largely utilitarian, and are also of non-historic origin.

3.2.14: Archaeological Sites

No historic or prehistoric archaeological sites are known to exist within the Lake McDonald Lodge area.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

4.1 Significant Cultural Landscapes at Lake McDonald

4.1.1: Introduction

Based both on historic research and on an evaluation of the historic resources currently extant at Lake McDonald, it is evident that two distinct cultural landscape themes exist for the lodge property; these themes coexist and interact today, and together form the basis for the current historic landscape of the Lodge grounds. These two themes are briefly identified and described below.

4.1.2: Lewis Glacier Hotel Cultural Landscape

This theme encompasses the era of privately-funded planning, construction and development at the Lake McDonald Lodge site, from the earliest tourism activities of the 1890s to the NPS acquisition of the property in 1932. The private owners of the property and/or their agents conceived and orchestrated this development, with only intermittent and peripheral involvement by the National Park Service. This era saw the construction of the current hotel building, most of the extant cabins, and the major employee dormitory buildings. Through the design and implementation of these construction projects, the overall property began to acquire the rustic visual and experiential character for which it has since been known.

Development of the hotel grounds was relatively utilitarian during this era, consisting primarily of unbounded lawn and garden areas on both sides of the hotel building and near the “Garden Court” dormitory. A prominent, formalized pathway arced from the boat dock to the hotel’s primary entrance, and a less-formal path ran in front of the lakefront cabins, but most other pedestrian circulation routes were wholly informal in nature. Automotive routes through the area were somewhat-better defined, but retained an informal feel. Most parking areas were apparently unbounded, and for most of the period many of the roadways were unsurfaced.

Overall, the visual landscape of the Lake McDonald Lodge area during this period was one of a primeval forest with grassy open areas, with the buildings and landscaping positioned unobtrusively in their setting. Buildings were generally intended to complement and extend the forest atmosphere. Landscaping was also minimal, allowing visitors to focus their visual and experiential attention on the surrounding forest, lake, and mountains, rather than on an imposed landscape design.

4.1.2: NPS Development at Lake McDonald Cultural Landscape

This theme encompasses the first decades of NPS ownership and improvement of the Lake McDonald property, beginning when the agency assumed ownership in 1932 and continuing through the 1950s. The 1930-32 period saw the transfer of the Lake McDonald property from private to NPS ownership, and marked the beginning of significant government involvement in

development planning at the site. The decade that followed saw substantial visual changes throughout much of the lodge property, although portions of the site were allowed to retain their pre-1932 landscape character. Spurred by increased automobile travel through the hotel area, the NPS realigned most of the roads and parking areas around the lodge, formalizing routes and greatly increasing parking. The most visually prominent result of this development was the construction of the large “boulevard” parking area visually connecting the hotel building to a relocated Going-to-the-Sun Road.

A number of pre-1932 buildings were removed during these years, some of which were replaced by NPS-authorized new construction. In general, these buildings displayed an architectural character compatible with – but more muted than – that of the primary hotel building, thus helping retain the overall visual character of the site. Non-roadway landscape features also changed somewhat during this period, but formalized walkways intact. It was not until the early 1980s that construction projects began to substantially alter this visual character.

4.2 Analysis and Evaluation, by Geographic Area

4.2.1: Introduction

Because of the relatively complex and diverse nature of the Lake McDonald Lodge property, and its mixed public/private history, it is appropriate to consider the property as an amalgam of individual landscapes, rather than as single entity. Strong visual evidence of both the “Lewis Glacier Hotel” and “NPS” landscapes remain at the lodge property, and are closely associated with the geographical sub-areas of the lodge site identified in Chapter 3. This report therefore provides brief landscape evaluations and recommendations for each of the four geographic sub-areas.

4.2.2: The Lakeside

With the exception of the area of modern landscaping immediately in front of the hotel building, the lakeside area continues to strongly evoke the landscape of the Lewis Glacier Hotel era. All but one of the buildings in the area date from that period and are of a compatible design. Similarly, non-building development in the area remains limited, and the primary manmade landscape element – the footpath – retains its historic character despite modern surfacing. The natural vegetation that existed here during the historic era continues to thrive.

The cleared, landscaped area between the hotel building and lakeshore continues in its historic role as a visual portal between the lake and the lodge facility. However, the recent landscape additions – hard-surfaced pathways, stone walls, benches, and other elements – are not compatible with the area’s historic landscaping or design philosophy.



Figure 34. Lakeside views of the row of guest cabins at Lake McDonald. 2005 photos.



Figure 35. The landscaped area connecting the lakeshore and hotel. 2005 photos.



Figure 36. Visually-prominent modern landscaping in front of the hotel building. 2005 photo.



Figure 37. The modern boat dock in front of the hotel building. 2005 photos.

4.2.3: East of the Cabins

Along with the Lakeside area, this portion of the Lake McDonald Lodge property continues to reflect the general landscape appearance of the Lewis Glacier Hotel era. However, a series of both historic and modern changes to the area and its surroundings make it somewhat less representative of the pre-1932 period at the hotel. The most significant of these changes include the paving of the cabin access lane that runs through the area, the transformation of the former agricultural pasture to the east to a mowed lawn, and the addition of several recent buildings to the area and its viewshed, and the removal of a number of older buildings.



Figure 38. Access lane at the rear of the cabins. 2005 photos.

4.2.4: South of Snyder Creek

Except for the area near the auditorium/soda fountain building, this portion of the lodge property has always hosted a series of support buildings not intended to be a direct part of the visitor experience. The presence of a number of historic buildings in this area, combined with the lack of planned, visitor-oriented development, has left the area with a general appearance still reminiscent of the Lewis Glacier Hotel era, but almost inadvertently so. The undeveloped, forested setting of most of the buildings in the area is little-changed from that era.

In contrast, the portion of this area between the auditorium and the lakeshore was more heavily vegetated and completely developed in the Lewis era than it is today. While some features have been removed and modern ones added, recurrent flooding of Snyder Creek in the area has also played a role.



Figure 39. Employee dormitory buildings, south of Snyder Creek. 2005 photo.

4.2.5: The Lawn and Boulevard area

This area includes the largest portion of the lodge property, the majority of its vehicle access routes and parking, and areas that receive relatively high levels of visitor use. While the genesis of this area was the cleared pasture and garden land established during the Lewis Glacier Hotel era, most of the current buildings and nearly all landscape elements date from the early NPS years of the property. Overall, much of this area remains a good visual representation of the first decade of NPS ownership of Lake McDonald Lodge, and it is appropriate to manage this area to preserve the landscape values from that era.



Figure 40. Area in front of the soda fountain/auditorium building. 2005 photo.



Figure 41. The general store and north hotel access road. 2005 photos.

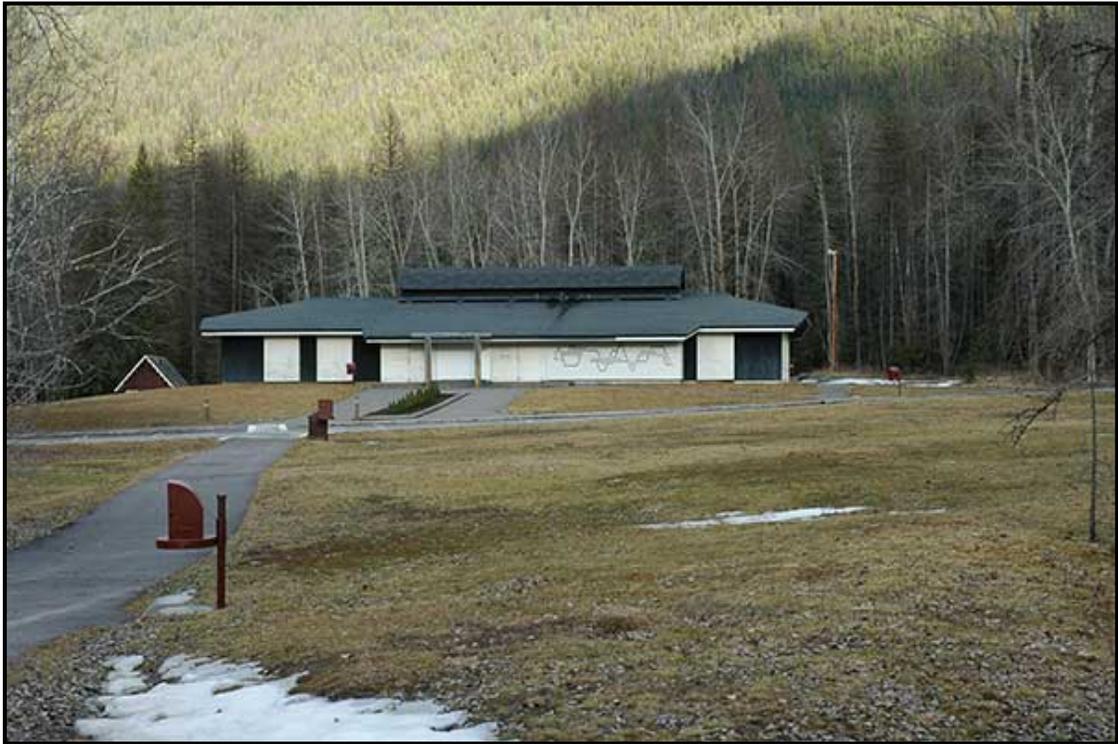


Figure 42. Meadow/lawn area and coffee shop building 2005 photos.



Figure 43. Vehicle entry drive at the hotel building. 2005 photos.

4.3 Summary of Significance

Based on the information provided in this report, it is evident that the Lake McDonald Lodge area is an historically significant cultural landscape. As noted in Section 4.1, two periods of significance have been established for the landscape; although the periods have different defining features, their geographical proximity and interrelation suggests that they are best considered as a unified whole.

The boundary of the landscape area (Figure 2) has been drawn to make the area largely congruent with that portion of the Lake McDonald developed area that is on federal land and used to provide visitor services and associated functions. Based on the periods of significance described above, the boundaries for the landscape area appear to be appropriate. There are a number of summer cabins both north and south of the lodge area that appear to share certain landscape characteristics with the Lewis Glacier Hotel era of the lodge. These properties do not share the lodge area’s historic patterns of land use, and are therefore not appropriate additions to this landscape. They may, however, form a significant cultural landscape in their own right.

Table 2, below, summarizes those features and characteristics which contribute to the landscape.

Table 2: Summary of Contributing and Non-Contributing Landscape Features

| Landscape Characteristic | Description | Status |
|---------------------------------|---|------------------|
| Natural Systems and Features | | Contributing |
| Spatial Organization | | Contributing |
| Land Use | | Contributing |
| Cultural Traditions | | Contributing |
| Cluster Arrangement | | Contributing |
| Circulation | All vehicular roads, except those developed in conjunction with construction of the current coffee shop building | Contributing |
| | Coffee shop access road and parking area | Non-contributing |
| Topography | | Contributing |
| Vegetation | All native vegetation, as well as the non-native lawn | Contributing |
| Buildings and Structures | Buildings listed as “contributing” in the current National Register district nomination for the lodge, or buildings constructed prior to 1958 | Contributing |
| | All other buildings | Non-contributing |
| Views and Vistas | | Contributing |

| Landscape Characteristic | Description | Status |
|---------------------------------|---|------------------|
| Constructed Water Features | Lakeshore dock facilities | Non-contributing |
| Small Scale Features | Footpath from the hotel building to the front of the guest cabins | Contributing |
| | Other footpaths | Non-contributing |
| | Benches, stone retaining walls, light poles, telephone booths | Non-contributing |
| Archeological Sites | | not applicable |

ENDNOTES

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- 1 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 14.
 - 2 Raup, et.al., *Geology Along Going-to-the-Sun Road – Glacier National Park, Montana*, 54.
 - 3 Brooks, “Motorist’s View,” 50.
 - 4 Scharff, *Glacier National Park*, 114.
 - 5 Rockwell, *A Natural History Guide – Glacier National Park*, 135-136.
 - 6 Donald H. Robinson, *Through the Years in Glacier National Park, An Administrative History*, (West Glacier, Montana: Glacier Natural History Association, May, 1960), 60-61.
 - 7 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 17.
 - 8 Robinson, *Through the Years in Glacier National Park, An Administrative History*, 62.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, 62-63.
 - 10 Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park”, draft report, (Albuquerque, NM: unpublished, January 21, 2001), 36.
 - 11 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 18-19.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 29.
 - 13 Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park,” 23.
 - 14 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 29-30.
 - 15 National Park Service, “Development Concept Plan Revision, Environmental Assessment, Lake McDonald Glacier National Park, Montana”, draft document, (Glacier National Park: April, 1990), 22.
 - 16 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 30-32.
 - 17 Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park,” 36.
 - 18 Hufstetler, “Glacier Historic Structures: Narrative Histories,” 216.
 - 19 Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park,” 52.
 - 20 Hufstetler, “Glacier Historic Structures: Narrative Histories,” 216.
 - 21 Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park,” 61, 66, 68.
 - 22 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 33.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, 38-39.
 - 24 Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park,” 23.
 - 25 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 44-47.
 - 26 National Park Service, *Construction Drawing for the Flagstone Steps and Turnabout at Lake McDonald Hotel*, April, 1936; conversation with Paul Polzin, Cultural Resource Specialist, Glacier National Park, 2001.
 - 27 Conversation with Paul Polzin, Cultural Resource Specialist, Glacier National Park, 2001.

28 Ibid.

29 Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park,” 76-77.

30 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 137.

31 Hufstetler, “Glacier Historic Structures: Narrative Histories,” 216-217.

32 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 181-182.

33 Ibid., 174; Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park,” 30.

34 Ober, “Enmity and Alliance: Park Service-Concession Relations in Glacier National Park, 1892-1961,” 186.

35 Architectural Research Consultants, Inc., “Historic Structures Report for the Lake McDonald Lodge Historic District, Glacier National Park,” 43.

36 Hanna, *Montana’s Many-Splendored Glacierland*, 190.

37 Conversation with Paul Polzin, Cultural Resource Specialist, Glacier National Park, 2001.

38 Hufstetler, “Glacier Historic Structures: Narrative Histories,” 162.

39 National Park Service, “Development Concept Plan Revision, Environmental Assessment, Lake McDonald Glacier National Park, Montana”, draft document, (Glacier National Park: April, 1990), 22.

40 Conversation with Jack Polzin, Cultural Resource Specialist, Glacier National Park, 2001.