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Section 1: Administrative and Historical Background
Cultural Landscape Inventory Overview:

General Description:
Cultural landscapes are diverse historic resources that provide important information about how people shaped the natural environment for both subsistence and pleasure. Cultural landscapes range from large agricultural tracts to small designed gardens. The Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) is a new program in the National Park Service designed to identify and document landscapes in the National Parks. It is being instituted in six of the ten regions, and was begun in the Mid-Atlantic Region in FY 92.

Inventory Levels:
Because this is the first inventory of cultural landscapes in the National Park Service, the project will proceed in three levels. Level 1 identifies and describes the cultural landscape of each park, and provides basic administrative and historical information. Building on the information collected in Level 1, Level 2 provides a thorough site analysis and documentation of the character defining features of the cultural landscape. The emphasis in this phase will be on documentation of the broader historical patterns that characterize the site as a whole. The National Register of Historic Places recognizes character defining features as a means of evaluating the cultural landscape.

These are:
1. Spatial Organization
2. Response to Natural Features
3. Land Use
4. Views & Vistas
5. Circulation
6. Small Scale Elements & Materials
7. Vegetation
8. Cluster Arrangement
9. Structures and Gardens
10. Archaeology
11. Cultural Traditions
12. Boundaries

The Cultural Landscape Inventory in Level 2 will base its analysis on these characteristics. Not all features apply to every landscape. This phase will also include a preliminary list of site elements to be documented in the third level. The Level 3 will document individual landscape features such as a significant specimen tree, allee or urn. This phase will also include management information and will cross reference elements documented in the LCS. This will occur last in the inventory process.

Historical Research:
Historical research to support the CLI will largely rely on park documents and secondary sources. Primary research will be completed only as time permits and if questions arise concerning the validity of documents previously completed, or if information concerning a significant portion of
the cultural landscape has not been addressed.

**Benefits of the CLI:**
in addition to identifying significant elements within the cultural landscape, the CLI will provide a thorough documentation of the cultural landscape as it appears at this time.

**The CLI at Zane Grey:**
The following inventory of the Zane Grey property was undertaken as part of an ongoing CLI program in the MARO, as well as to provide basic cultural landscape information prior to developing maintenance guidelines for the property and the installation of improved handicapped access to the house and site. This draft represents the CLI through Level 2.

**Methodology:**
Because a HABS survey had been made of the Zane Grey House in 1988, much of the basic history of the property had already been established when this Inventory was initiated. While not specifically addressing the landscape, this research inevitably brought to light several documents and photographs which were of particular relevance to its history. Soon after this, in 1990, a fuller Historic Structures Report, including Preliminary Archaeological and Cultural Landscape Assessments, was compiled and submitted to the NPS.

All of this previous work unearthed much useful secondary material, most of which is now in the NPS’ possession. In addition, the research phases of the current project uncovered a few more materials which had not been used before. The methodology of this CLI was to compare this necessarily various and imperfect information about the site with current conditions in order to reconstruct a detailed history of landscape alterations at the Zane Grey site. This process was further informed by conversations with people still living at Lackawaxen who knew the site in its earlier states, or had personally been responsible for some of its alterations. From this process, it was possible to determine to what extent current conditions represent the original conditions.

**Project Schedule:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1994</td>
<td>Initial research and site visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1994</td>
<td>Draft report compiled and graphics prepared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1994</td>
<td>Final report completed and submitted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
General Administrative and Management Data:

CLI Site #:

Site Names:
  Historic: Zane Grey Residence
  Current: Zane Grey Museum

Site Administrative Information:
  Park Alpha Code: UPDE
  Region: MARO
  State: Pennsylvania
  County: Pike
  Org. Code: 4870

Management Agreements:
  □ Concessions Contract
  □ Cooperative Agreement
  □ Memorandum of Agreement
  □ Special Use Permit

NPS Legal Interest:
  □ Fee
  □ Less than Fee
    □ Scenic Easement Only
    ■ Life Tenancy
  □ Sell-back
  □ Other

Physical Access to Site:
  □ Unrestricted
  □ With Permission
  □ Other Restrictions
  □ No Access Currently

Resource and Background Information:
  Site Maps:
    USGS Quad: Shohola, 7.5 Series
    Aerial Photos: ■ Yes □ No
      Dates: 1983

Notes: Although there are few accurate large scale maps or photos of the site, there are many photographs depicting fragments of the site during its history which can be used to reconstruct its design.
and layout at this time

Panoramic Views:  ■ Yes □ No

Dates: 1899, 1900, 1914, 1925(?)

Existing Conditions Base map:

■ Exists □ does not exist

■ Boundary
□ Topography
□ Vegetation
■ Site Elements

Scale:

Landscape Types:
□ Designed Landscape  ■ Vernacular Landscape  ■ Historic Site  □ Ethnographic Landscape

Land Use(s):

Historic: Rural residence/writer's place of work
Current: House Museum

Overall Landscape Condition:
□ Good ■ Fair □ Poor
Cultural Landscape Description:

Regional Context:
The Zane Grey House site is located at the confluence of the Lackawaxen and Delaware rivers, in Lackawaxen Township, Pike County, in northeastern Pennsylvania. The Delaware River is one of the great rivers in north-east US (others are the Connecticut, the Hudson and the Susquehanna) which drain from the Appalachians into the Atlantic Ocean. The Lackawaxen River is an important tributary of the Delaware, draining an upland basin in northern Pennsylvania which includes

Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA
within it the modern-day Lake Wallenpaupack, the largest single water body (albeit it man-made) in the immediate region. Both rivers have a long history of human use dating back to prehistoric times, and since the coming of European settlers to the region in the second half of the 18th century they have become important movement corridors through the region facilitating transport, industry and tourism. In 1978, the Upper Delaware was declared a Scenic and Recreational River under a Federal initiative which creates working partnerships of private individuals and local, state and federal government whose mandate is to preserve the river, its environment and the communities in its valley. The Upper Delaware Scenic & Recreational River (sometimes abbreviated to UDSRR) is administered by the National Park Service, and the Zane Grey site is located within its boundaries.

Native American Indian tribes had a substantial presence in the area long before the coming of European settlers. This was especially true in the case of sites which, like the Zane Grey property, were located on the flat flood terraces that lie between the slopes of the surrounding hills and the river itself. These terraces’ deep, sandy and somewhat droughty soils -- farmed by European descended farmers since the 18th century because of the ease with which they could be ploughed -- have often revealed numerous artifacts dating from the pre-Columbian period. As the confluence between two important rivers, the site of what later became the town of Lackawaxen was an important locus for human settlement even during earliest times (it is believed, for instance, that the Lackawaxen River itself formed an informal boundary between two Indian tribes). It was therefore probably inevitable that this particular geographical location would become an important nexus for transportation when a succession of extractive industries such as blue stone quarrying, coal mining, timbering rafting, and leather tanning swept through the region from the late 18th century onwards.1

The town of Lackawaxen has in many ways mirrored the larger patterns of cultural change in the Upper Delaware Valley over the last 150 years. Originally established as a result of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co.’s activities around 1830, the town had probably reached its peak of development by the end of the 19th century (ieShortly before Zane Grey moved here), and it is the settlement pattern and land-use of that period which largely determines the present day structure of the town. The coming of the New York & Erie Railroad to the valley in the 1850’s confirmed the town’s status through the building of the Lackawaxen Depot, and made it accessible to New York City. This not only opened up the immediate environs for industry, but also gave rise to the “boarding house” tourism which was particularly popular during the summers when the heat and

1 for a fuller discussion of the industrial history of the town and the site, see “A Preliminary Archaeological Assessment of the Zane Grey Property, Lackawaxen Township, Pike County, Pennsylvania” by Hunter Research Inc. Trenton NJ. 1990, and Vol 2: Natural & Cultural History Overview, Cultural Resource Survey, UDSRR, NPS, 1982

Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA
humidity of the coastal cities drove their inhabitants to the cooler interior. (The Delaware House, which used to stand across the mouth of the Lackawaxen River from the Zane Grey property, was specifically built in 1852 to capitalize on this event). This conjunction between industry and tourism is important to bear in mind; although today we might assume that these vacationers were primarily drawn by natural beauty, in fact during the second half of the 19th century large parts of the valley were anything but scenic in the conventional sense, having been recently deforested and bearing the fresh marks of mining, canals and railroads. It also explains how this remote corner of Pennsylvania came to be a summer vacation area primarily for New Yorkers, of whom Zane Grey was of course one.

Fig#2: Map of Lackawaxen at the end of the 19th century, showing some of the industrial infrastructure that has since disappeared (Zane Grey property shown with hatching)

This industrial activity which so radically changed the appearance of the landscape was however ephemeral, concerned either with the extraction of non-renewable resources, or the transportation of goods through the town to distant metropolitan regions. Lackawaxen never developed any lasting industries itself, and certainly by the time of Zane Grey’s association with it, the town’s

Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA
commercial life was starting a slow decline, though the forest was once again beginning to regenerate itself. Today, long after the demise of all the other industries, the forest is once again all-enveloping, and tourism has gone from being one of several industries to become the Upper Delaware’s most important source of income; the opportunities for boating, fishing and hunting which drew Zane Grey to the area in 1900 remain popular pursuits in the valley. This new industry, inherently non-urban and dispersed in character, nevertheless depends on towns such as Lackawaxen for the provision of services and opportunities for focused interpretation of the region’s complex and diverse past.

Fig.#3: Panoramic view of the site from Prospect Rock (opp. side of the Lackawaxen); ca. 1898 Roebling Aqueduct (shortly to become Viaduct) in the background, low-level bridge to Delaware House in foreground

The Lackawaxen of today, ostensibly a quiet and picturesque hamlet isolated amongst the forested hills, seems to have finally realized the romantic vision 19th-century promoters tried to conjure up for it with their Indian sounding names. However, the town and its environs still contains many traces of this less picturesque past. Generally, it is the infrastructure of railroads, being more substantial and in current use, that have survived the best, though traces of canals and quarries can easily still be found. By far the most significant remnant of Lackawaxen’s heyday (and the “other” historic attraction which the town of boasts apart from the Zane Grey House) is the so-called Roebling Aqueduct of 1848, also owned by the National Park Service, and located a couple of hundred yards downstream on the Delaware from the site. The discrepancy between current
appearance and past history is equally true of the Zane Grey property; visitors today are unlikely to imagine the rather different character the site had during its heyday, the period when the author lived there from 1905 - 1918.
Fig. #4: 1891 & 1898 Survey of the old D&H lands at Lackawaxen Point, showing the subdivisions which later became the Zane Grey property.
Annotated Chronology:
The following chronology combines information taken from a number of sources, including historic and aerial photographs, biographies, reports surveys, site surveys and personal interviews. For the locations of the various structures and landscape features referred to below, see site plans for different periods in Section 3, and pictures of them, see historic and contemporary site photographs in Section 2. Italics are used for graphic documentation of the site. Documentation of which the author has found records, but not personally seen, is marked with an asterisk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year:</th>
<th>Event/Documentation of site</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897-8</td>
<td>Zane Grey first vacations in Lackawaxen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1898  | Mary Holbert acquires previously rented 3-acres from D&H Canal (parcel A)  
      | Frank Holbert acquires 2-acre lot to the south (parcel B)  
      | Site includes farmhouse at the point, D&H Canal barn |
| 1900  | Zane Grey meets Lina Elise (Dolly) Roth while vacationing at Delaware House, Lackawaxen  
      | *Untitled photograph of Holbert property taken from Prospect Rock  
      | *"From Indian Head, Lackawaxen, PA" and "View down River from the Delaware House Boat Landing" -- photo postcards |
| 1902  | Zane Grey's first article, “A Day on the Delaware” is published in May, followed by “Canoing the Delaware” in December |
| 1904  | Zane Grey purchases 3 acre lot (parcel A) from Mary Holbert (see Fig#5);  
      | Zane, his sister and mother move into old Holbert farmhouse |
| 1905  | Zane Grey marries Lina (Dolly) Roth; honeymoon in California |
| 1906  | Zane & Dolly Grey take up residence in old Holbert’s farmhouse  
      | Romer Grey purchases 2 acre lot (parcel B), presumably from Frank Holbert  
      | Romer Grey builds initial core of main house on parcel B  
      | Zane Grey builds “the Lodge,” cabin to SE of cottage, which he uses for writing  
      | First garden plots established  
      | Ice house built |
1907  House for Zane Grey's mother & sister (later Smith/Nelson house) built on back portion of Romer Grey parcel
Zane Grey makes his first trip to the West with J.C. "Buffalo" Jones; spends 6 weeks in Arizona

1908  Holbert farmhouse rebuilt? (source: Landscapes)

1909  Romer Grey, Jr. born

1910  "The Heritage of the Desert," Zane Grey's first major success, is published

1911  Zane & Dolly Grey purchase 446 acres of land opposite (ie. NY) side of Delaware River
Mary Smith (later Nelson) born
Zane Grey goes to Mexico for fishing; explores Santa Rosa River

1912  "The Riders of the Purple Sage" is published
Elizabeth (ie."Betty") Grey born
Zane Grey travels to Arizona and Mexico

1913  Zane Grey's mother's house deeded to Charles & Mary Smith
Zane Grey's annual income reaches $100,000 (approx. $2mill. modern equiv.)
Zane Grey travels to Florida & Arizona

1914  Zane Grey purchases parcel B from his brother Romer, and moves into main house
Old Holbert farmhouse demolished and "The Cottage" built on it's foundations; used to accommodate Zane Grey's secretaries during summers
Coal house built behind Smith house
"Lackawaxen, PA. Seen from Prospect Rock" -- photo
Zane Grey travels to Channel Islands, CA; Long Key, FL; & Nova Scotia for deep sea fishing

1915  During winter of 1914-15, first addition (NE corner) made to main house
New barn (and possibly adjacent corral) constructed "250ft. west of main house" (currently Mary Nelson's garage)
Zane Grey travels to Channel Islands, CA
Loren Grey born
Frieze painted in downstairs section of new addition by Dolly's cousin, Lillian E. Wilhelm

1916
Zane Grey acquires Charles Shannon property to the south of main house (parcel C)
Dolly Grey plans extension of front lawn, pasture, berry garden, and croquet on newly acquired parcel; new land probably partially used to graze Smith's cow
Children's playhouse would have been constructed after this acquisition as well
Second addition (NW corner) made to main house
New tennis court (red clay with no fence) created between Main house & Smith house; shade maples planted on either side, related structures include outhouse to S, two equipment sheds to W
First tennis court (behind Smith House) removed, possibly to make way for new corral attached to 1915 barn

1917
Charles Smith plants screening of white pines along Scenic Drive & orchard of apple and pear trees on back portion of former Shannon property (conjectural)
Zane Grey sells film rights to "Riders of the Purple Sage" & "The Light of Western Stars"
Zane Grey's mother dies
Frieze painted in second downstairs addition by Lillian Wilhelm

1918
Zane Grey contemplates selling his property, puts it up for sale, then withdraws it.
Winter B&W photo of main house from "the drop" ie., S edge of existing parking lot (dubious date attribution)
Photo of Mary Smith Nelson w/ Betty Grey next to tennis court outhouse, in front of children's playhouse, and in berry field w/ D&H barn in background
Zane Grey moves with his family to California

1926
Electrical supply & water mains brought to the site; probable abandonment of ice house
Highway R.O.W map, Map Book 1, Pike Co. Courthouse

1929
Photograph of Zane Grey, Romer Grey & Charles Smith taken on the property during Zane Grey's last visit there

1933
Alvah James and family move into Main house as caretakers
1934  Major floods

1939  Zane Grey dies of heart attack in California

1941  Dolly Grey sells parcel C (former Shannon property) to Moran (date conject.)

1943  Major floods: "The Cottage," "The Lodge" & Children's Playhouse destroyed or damaged; icehouse demolished

1945  Main house and adjacent land bought by Helen James Davis
Remnants of "The Cottage" dismantled and used to erect new house on Moran property
Children's playhouse removed
Installation of parking lot at front of main house?

1948  Main house converted into the Zane Grey Inn by Helen James Davis
Charles Smith dies

1949  Mary Smith marries; she and her husband take up permanent residence in what used to be her father's house (originally constructed by Romer Grey, see 1907)

early 1950's  Mary Smith Nelson carries out major planting of trees along her property's boundaries and in garden plot to north of her house; also, constructs addition on south side of the house (location of previous path to r.r. embankment & town)

1954  "Survey of Helen Johnson's Land" (see HABS plan ref.)*

mid 1950's  Old D&H/Holbert barn burns down and is removed

1957  Dolly Grey dies

1971  Helen James Davis sells off part of property to PA Fish Commission (more recently called the PA Fish & Boat Commission)

PA Fish Commission survey of future access area parcel A and portion of parcel B

1972  PA Fish Commission plan for access area
1973    Helen James Davis ceases operation of Zane Grey Inn; sets up Zane Grey Museum

1988    NPS acquires property from Helen Davis
         *Full HABS survey done of house*

1990    Short and Ford and Partners, Architects, carry out Historic Structures Report on property
Parcel A: purchased by Zane Grey in 1904 from Mary Holbert
Parcel B: initially purchased by Romer Grey in 1906 from Frank Holbert; but later sold to Zane Grey in 1914
Parcel C: purchased by Zane Grey from Charles Shannon in 1916

Fig. #5: Diagram of Zane Grey property, drawn over a conjectural 1918 plan, showing the original legal boundaries of the different parcels which the author acquired during the period 1904 - 1916 to make up his land holdings at Lackawaxen. The extent of land purchased by the NPS in 1988 along with the Zane Grey (ie. Main) house is called out by hatching.
Historical Narrative

In 1906, newly married, disillusioned with dental practice in New York City, and looking somewhere quiet to write, Zane Grey (who had previously changed his given name of Pearl Zane Gray) moved his primary residence to Lackawaxen, PA. The area was well-known to him prior to the move: he had already spent several summer vacations canoeing and camping with his brother, Romer, on the Upper Delaware. It was also here that he met his future wife, Lina Elise Roth, in 1900, when he was 30 years old and she just 17. Lina (later called simply Dolly) was staying at Delaware House Inn (now demolished), a 200-bed boarding hotel catering to summer visitors from New York City and located across the mouth of the Lackawaxen River from where they would eventually come to live.

At this time, what was to become the Zane Grey site belonged to Frank & Mary Holbert, who had bought it from the defunct Delaware & Hudson Canal Co. in 1898 and farmed it since. On it were a house and a barn, both erected by the D&H Canal Co., and a road running along the Delaware River boundary and connecting the station of Lackawaxen via a low-level bridge across the Lackawaxen River to the Delaware House. In 1904, Zane Grey bought the three-acres closest to the Lackawaxen River from the Holberts, and two years later, Romer Grey, Zane’s brother, bought two acres immediately to the south of this. At this time, it seems that the two brothers envisaged combining the two properties into some kind of compound for summer retreats for the extended Grey family, which at this time apart from themselves, included their younger brother, sister and mother (Dr. Grey Sr. had died by this time). After he and Dolly were married at the end of 1905, Zane Grey moved into the old Holbert house, and Romer built the core of what would eventually become the main house. The same year, Zane Grey built a small cabin (known as “the Lodge”) in which to write, just to the south of his house, and Romer built a small house on the back (i.e. west) portion of his property for his mother and sister in 1907. For the next few years, this arrangement appears to have worked well without any major changes. In addition, the Zane Greys purchased 446 acres of land in the town of Highland, NY on the eastern side of the river in 1911. This land included shares in a blue stone quarry (from which it is said the paths on the property were constructed).

Around 1914, however, an increasingly wealthy and successful Zane Grey bought Romer’s house and land. He immediately set about extending his brother’s house to accommodate his own growing family. This work took place in two phases, the first during the winter of 1914-15 and the second in 1916. At the same time, he rebuilt the old Holbert house to accommodate the secretaries that by now were an essential part of his writing activities (this became known simply as “The Cottage”). In 1916 Zane Grey added another acre to his holdings, purchasing the land belonging to Charles Shannon immediately to the south of his property, ending up with a total

Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA
holding of around six contiguous acres. In the meantime what had been Mrs. Grey senior’s house was deeded to Charles Smith, a hunting friend of Zane Grey who worked at a nearby quarry and helped out around the property. At the present state of research, it is unclear whether this occurred in 1913 or 1915 (evidence is contradictory) or what arrangements were made concerning the transfer of the land on which the house stood. However, all evidence seems to suggest that the land around the Smith’s house was managed and used as an integral part of the Grey property at this time.

As the annotated chronology clearly illustrates, the years from 1916-18 were a time when Zane Grey was most actively engaged with his property at Lackawaxen. Although he had become the sole owner of the property by this time, it continued to function as a kind of family compound (as it appears to have continued to do so after the Zane Grey’s had moved their primary residence to California in 1918). During this period, the site encompassed a full complement of functioning structures that were an integral part of day-to-day life there: the secretaries cottage, two barns, storage sheds, an array of outhouses, an icehouse, a coal house, the writing cabin, a children’s playhouse and, supposedly, a cat-house, though the location of the latter has never been established. Landscape elements included a driveway, a network of blue stone paths, a tennis court, separate corrals for horses and a cow, garden plots for flowers and vegetables, berry fields, orchards and pasture.

After his move west, Zane Grey retained the property as a summer vacation home, hoping and believing that he would eventually return there to live one day. However, in reality the family used the property less and less, and many of the landscape elements fell into disuse. The last time Zane Grey visited the site himself was 1929, and in 1933 it was rented to Alvah James and his family. After Zane Grey’s death in 1939, his widow began to sell off the family’s holdings at Lackawaxen. In the early forties, the southernmost portion was sold to John Moran, who a few years later erected two buildings on the parcel, making extensive use of material salvaged from “The Cottage” and “the Lodge” which had been badly damaged in the flood of 1945. In 1945, the Main house and its adjacent land was purchased by Alvah James’ daughter, Helen James Davis, who three years later opened it as an inn which she operated until 1973. After closing the inn, she transformed a portion of the lower floor into a partial museum of Zane Grey memorabilia which she ran from then until 1988. Also in 1948, Charles Smith died leaving his house to his daughter Mary who has lived there since. In 1971 Helen James Davis sold off a large portion of land to the north and east of the main house to the then Pennsylvania Fish and Game Commission (nowadays known as the Pennsylvania Fish & Boat Commission), who constructed parking and launch facilities on it.
In 1988, because of Zane Grey’s association with the Delaware River, the NPS purchased the property from Helen Davis with the intention of making it part of the interpretation of the Upper Delaware Scenic and Recreational River. Three rooms on the first floor of the house were opened as an abbreviated museum depicting Zane Grey’s life at Lackawaxen, the second floor was given over to offices and storage for NPS purposes, and Helen Davis retained a life tenant’s apartment at the rear of the main house. This arrangement continues today. In 1990, a full Historic Structures Report was executed by Short and Ford and Partners, Architects of Princeton, NJ and various sub-consultants. Part of this report comprised a Preliminary Cultural Landscape Assessment carried out by Landscapes of Westport, CT. Since then, attention given to the landscape has been restricted to maintenance and whatever has been required to facilitate visitor security and access. Of all the original richness and complexity on the site, only a little remains. All structures except the residences and one barn have been lost to fire, flood and decay, though traces of them remain in the form of depressions and mounds in the topography, or as building fragments used elsewhere on the property. Similarly, all except the most fundamental landscape elements (topography, the driveway, canopy trees, some paths) have disappeared through lack of maintenance, senescence and modification by later custodians of the property.
Fig. #6: Boundaries of the NPS-owned land currently associated with the Zane Grey house
Zane Grey at Lackawaxen:
The years between 1904 and 1918 form the period of the site’s history when it was most closely identified with Zane Grey. Although these 14 years constituted a relatively short part of his life (he died at the age of 67), they were nevertheless extremely significant years in his evolution as a writer: when he first came here, he had had relatively little published and was completely unknown; by the end of the period he was a famous author, entering the most prolific and successful phase of his career. Although better known as a novelist who wrote about other geographies, it was at Lackawaxen that he first perfected his particular style of writing which drew heavily on nature and human’s relationship to it. At Lackawaxen his three children were born and brought up, and it was here that he developed his particular way of life, which alternated between periods of extensive and adventurous travel and periods of retreat and hard work surrounded by the domesticity of his family.

Zane Grey was by all accounts a restless and driven man, fired by dreams of a life spent as close to nature as possible. At the same time, he was also very decidedly married, and attached to both his immediate and extended family. Reading between the lines of his biographies, it is clear that these two poles of his personality exerted a great stress on him (and, it has to be said, his wife) at times. However, what makes him such an attractive figure to us today is the fact that he, to a greater or lesser extent, not only managed to reconcile these two parts of his personality, but also made a great public success of it. Probably the interdependence between his frequent travels and his writing was central to his success: the one fed the other.

Thus one can see that, initially, the move to Lackawaxen seemed to meet all of Zane Grey’s aspirations: here, he could establish himself with his family while having on his doorstep what seemed to be unlimited opportunities for fishing, canoeing, hunting and riding. When after four or five years of financial hardship, he started to be successful in his writing, he seems to have responded in superficially contradictory ways: on the one hand, he started making extensive improvements and additions to his home at Lackawaxen; on the other, he started travelling further and further afield in search of new challenges (and new material for his books). His hunting and fishing expeditions took him to Arizona, the Florida Keys, Mexico, Nova Scotia, Oregon, the California Channel Islands, and eventually, the great expanses of the Pacific. (Although he was best known for his western novels, his first love was, and remained, fishing: one could say that it was this passion which first brought him to the Upper Delaware, and then took him away).

By 1918, when Zane Grey found himself increasingly in the West, either on expeditions or negotiating with early movie moguls (and spending five days traveling each direction by train to get there) it became increasingly clear that if he was to spend any time with his family, they would
all have to move to California. This scenario seems the most likely explanation for the curious paradox that the period of Grey's most active involvement with his property at Lackawaxen was also just prior to his leaving the region, effectively if not intentionally, for ever.

It also serves to explain the unique character of the Zane Grey compound as it existed during these last years, from 1916-18. It was both a base from which forays into the wider world were made, and a fully functioning landscape where children were brought up and work was done. In some ways, it combined aspects of both the rural farm, wilderness retreat and the (sub)urban mansion. Although even at this stage it was not Zane Grey's sole residence (he maintained a house in Middletown, NY where his mother lived year-round after she left Lackawaxen, and the family would spend their winters), for a large part of the year, it was an extremely busy place. In addition to Zane writing, and Dolly helping with business of publishing his books, there were young children, relatives, secretaries, domestic servants, and caretaking staff on the property. There were horses (apparently, one of Zane Grey's great passions) to ride, groom and feed, orchards and gardens to maintain and harvest, croquet and tennis games, expeditions into the surrounding area exploring, hunting, ballooning, & honey collecting, and canoeing and swimming on the river which lay in front of the house. All of these people and activities required accommodation, in various relationships to each other. It is hard to avoid the impression that for Zane Grey, at least, the peace and quiet, the sense of being close to nature, would have become increasingly hard to find as the years passed.

It is pertinent, however, to remember that for all its association with Zane Grey, the property was also very much the home of his indefatigable and loyal wife, Dolly. Although she understandably recedes into the background of most biographies of Zane Grey's life, she was apparently a crucial figure in his success. It was she who provided the money that allowed them to move to Lackawaxen in the first place, who encouraged him when he was depressed and unable to write (episodes of which occurred throughout his life), helped pay for some of his earliest expeditions, supervised the property while he was away, and assisted him in his writing as an editor and agent. She also apparently returned to the Lackawaxen property more frequently than did her husband after their move to California, often on the way to taking care of his publishing business in New York or Europe. Although accounts of her suggest that she was more interested in the promotion and publishing of Zane Grey's work than in affairs of the house and garden, the fact that she was a prodigious writer of diaries and letters indicate that further research might shed some light on her ideas about the landscape that was evolving on the property.

At the present state of research, it is hard to evaluate the level of Zane and Dolly Grey's personal involvement in the construction of the landscape created at their Lackawaxen property. Being as
immersed as they were in their respective activities (he in travelling and writing, she in child-
rearing and promotion), it seems likely that they would have left much of the detailed layout and
construction of the landscape to their staff. As far as this question is concerned, a couple of
superficially contradictory anecdotes are all we have to go on. One is related by Mary Smith
Nelson, who remembers her father being (imperfectly) instructed to plant a large number of trees
during one of Zane Grey's absences, and having to replant them on Grey's return because they
were found to be too rigid and formal in spacing. In another, Dolly wrote in a letter discussing the
newly acquired Shannon property in 1916 with Zane Grey, saying that she intended to “have the
weeds cleared off and the back part plowed up and the back part planted for pasture. The middle I
shall use for berry patches, garden etc.. And the front, extend our lawn. Then we can put croquet
grounds there or anything we please...."
National Register Status:

National Register Form:
■ Listed & Documented □ Not Listed □ Determined Eligible □ Determined Ineligible

Entered: 5/6/83

Boundaries: “Rectangular lot, 248 feet by 175 feet, bounded on the north and east by land of the PA Fish Commission, on the south by land of Mrs. John P Moran and on the west by land of Mary Nelson (0.9 acres)”

National Register Criteria:
□ A □ B □ C □ D

Classification:
■ building
□ site
□ district
□ multiple property

Significance:
□ International
□ National
□ State
□ Local

□ World Heritage Site:
List:

□ National Historic Landmark:
List:

Statement of Significance:
Date: 1905. “The Zane Grey House, built circa 1905 with 1912 addition, is significant for its historic association with America’s most popular novelist of the Old West, Zane Grey (1872 - 1939)”

Form Evaluation:
The existing National Register Nomination does not address the cultural or physical landscape of the Zane Grey House. The registered boundaries of the land associated with the house that are given in the form only encompass a small fraction of what was the original property, and these boundaries are the same today now that the property has passed into the hands of the National Park Service. These boundaries clearly limited the vision of the property given in the Description of the original report, which is almost completely confined to the house itself.

A major flaw in the form as stands is the lack of attention or value given to the landscape of the
Zane Grey House. The Statement of Significance hints at Zane Grey’s attachment to the site and
the region, but this is not enough: a strong case can be made that the property as a whole is a
valuable cultural artifact which potentially illuminates aspects of Zane Grey’s life and work in a
way that the house alone cannot. The larger personal domain that Zane Grey created at
Lackawaxen also stands as an important surviving example of a landscape dating from the period
when tourism and outdoor recreation first became available to the masses working in America’s
industrializing cities.

In this sense, the Zane Grey property can be seen as an important lens through which people today
can understand some of the past history of the Upper Delaware Scenic & Recreational River Area,
an early region of American tourism. The common theme of all Grey’s books was that of human’s
relationship to natural landscape; his house and landscape on the Delaware potentially offer
insights into how literary ideas can (and cannot) be translated into the actual making of physical
landscapes. To this one might add that given the fact that it is often the landscape-and-house
complexes of the established and wealthy -- master-planned and developed over decades -- that are
preserved and accessible to the public, the fascination of the Zane Grey property derives largely
from the fact that it was the creation of a man who was in the process of moving from being an
unknown working man to a celebrity figure, renowned throughout the world. This transitional and
searching quality of Grey’s life at the time that he lived at Lackawaxen is well reflected in the
landscape he created there.

Another anomaly of the Form must surely be the selection of the year 1905 as the Period of
Significance. Although the author is not at this time proposing a specific alternative date (or dates),
even a superficial scanning of the Annotated Chronology shows that Zane Grey’s association with
the site was much less strong in 1905 than in say, 1916, and that much that one sees today on the
site dates from the decade after the identified one. Thus it is strongly recommended that the Period
of Significance given in the Form be critically revalued.

Identified National Register Areas of Significance: Literature.

Period of Significance: 1905
(NB. This is date given in the original National Register Form. Research undertaken since the
original application was made, most notably under the auspices of the NPS, suggest that this date
is highly questionable ie., see above)
Evaluation of Landscape Integrity:
Landscape integrity is conventionally considered to be its authenticity to its historic period in terms of seven qualities: location, design, setting, feeling, association, workmanship and materials. The integrity of the Zane Grey house landscape can be evaluated at two levels: that of the reduced parcel, hereafter called the Zane Grey site, and that of the original extent of land owned by the author, hereafter called the Zane Grey property.

Using this frame of reference, the reduced Zane Grey site (i.e., the 0.9 acres of land owned by the NPS) exhibits a fair degree of integrity, largely because the location, design, and materials of the house and basic elements of planting and circulation are not significantly different from when Zane Grey lived here. Nor is its setting very much altered, despite the fact that the parcel on which the house stands is now divorced by ownership and use from its original domain. The major change which has taken place is the result of the alteration in the scale and the density of vegetation, something which could be said to have dramatically changed the “feeling” of the site. To say that this change in feeling represents a loss of integrity is problematic, however, because most of this change in feeling has occurred as a result of the maturation of plantings carried out during Grey’s tenure, and which were for the most part clearly intended to reach the stature that they have today.

With regard to the larger Zane Grey property, the loss of integrity has been somewhat more consistent. Much of the design and materiality of the landscape has changed. A diverse and intricate complex of gardens, circulation and structures has given way to a rather bland landscape of either lawn or asphalt, or later, isolated and inauthentic gardens and structures. Nevertheless, at its most basic level, the landscape of the property has not changed significantly: what was once open land, strongly framed by both immediate and distant boundaries, remains so.
Section 2: Site Analysis
Description:

The Zane Grey House was purchased by the NPS largely because of its association with a significant period of the famous author’s life. So far, the Zane Grey House has been the focus of research, restoration and interpretation. This is reflected by the fact that, at this point in time, far more is known about the house than the landscape, as well as the fact that the land associated with the House today is a mere fraction of what it once was. From a maximum of six acres during the period 1916-1941, it has now been reduced to 0.9 acres immediately surrounding the house, and even within the reduced area, only a simplified version of the original landscape survives. The balance of the original property now belongs either to private owners or to the Pennsylvania Fish and Boat Commission.

The method of analysis employed in this section of the Cultural Landscape Inventory is the identification and evaluation of character-defining features found in the landscape under scrutiny. Character definition can only occur within a specific physical context. This is doubly true at the Zane Grey site: here, both the relationship of the house to its original domain, as well as the relationship of that domain to the larger regional landscape, are critical to an understanding of the character of the original property. For this reason, the following site analysis embraces not only the “official” landscape of the Zane Grey house (ie. that recorded in the National Register Form) but also the full extent of the historical site. This approach is supported by the fact that the evaluation of off-site landscape characteristics is always fundamental to any inventory of the landscape, and that many of the original landscape qualities of the property have survived subsequent changes in ownership.

Although not all the features which defined the original character of his property survive, it remains useful to know what once was there but has since gone, if only to make sense of what one is seeing on the property today. For this reason, both surviving and non-surviving character-defining features have been identified in the following site analysis. In addition, the location of surviving character-identifying features have been called out on small-scale plans accompanying each subsection (some kinds of character-defining features do not lend themselves to this kind of depiction, and are described by other graphic means, as appropriate). These small-scale plans are reductions of larger plans to be found in the Addendum (Section 3), which can be referred to for more detailed information. Each sub-section is also accompanied by historic and contemporary photographs which help to illustrate the identified features, both non-surviving and surviving.
Character-defining Features Identified and Evaluated.

- Spatial Organization
- Response to Natural Features
- Land Use
- Views and Vistas
- Circulation
- Small Scale Elements and Materials
- Vegetation
- Cluster Arrangement
- Structures & Gardens
- Archaeology
- Potential Ethnographic Value
- Boundaries

Landscape Significance Level:

- International
- National
- State
- Local
- Contributing
- Non-contributing

Site Acreage: 0.93 acres (but see above)
Designers: unknown (but see discussion in Section 1: “Zane Grey at Lackawaxen”)

Management Category:

- Must be Preserved
- Should be Preserved
- May be Preserved
- May be Released/Altered
- Undetermined

Approved Treatment:

- Preservation
- Stabilization
- Rehabilitation
- Restoration
- Reconstruction
- Undetermined

Recommendations for Additional Inventory

- Cultural Landscape Report
- Site Analysis (CLI Level II)
- Features Inventory (CLI Level III)
- Land Use History
- Base Map
- Vegetation Inventory

(Note: Thus far, virtually no material has been unearthed on the property during the 1920’s. Further material from this decade will probably prove particularly fruitful for establishing with some certainty what Grey did on the property before he left, as his landscape layout will still be largely intact, while vegetation will have achieved some degree of maturity).

General Site Issues:

One of the main reasons why there has been a loss of landscape character at the Zane Grey site is the lack of sympathetic vegetation management. Although partly attributable to the fact that there has, thus far, been little in the way of definitive documentation as to exactly what the nature of this landscape was, it is also the result of policies which seem to have been rather ad hoc, and
sometimes excessively weighted more towards convenience and efficiency than towards historical authenticity.

This type of management is common enough, and the signs of it are familiar. Trees and shrubs are allowed to deteriorate until they are in such poor condition that they have to be removed. This happens with little consideration whether they are historically authentic or not. Once they are removed, they are not replaced, or if they are replaced with inappropriate species, or perhaps in the wrong locations. The interactions between plants themselves are sometimes overlooked, so that new plantings struggle to survive in now shady locations. Vigorous volunteer species are allowed to establish themselves, to the detriment of the more desirable and historically authentic plant material. The general trend is towards dramatic, infrequent and expensive projects, which makes it difficult to sustain a consistent landscape character, rather than evenly distributed minor assignment performed according to a predetermined plan aimed at achieving an identified and particular character.

It is in the very nature of landscapes that they are created over, and to a certain extent, by time, as much through considered long-term management as through up-front investment. An organization such as the NPS which has continuous ownership of a piece of land for a long period is ideally placed to carry out the kind of consistent, timely and monitored programs of pruning, pest-removal, immunization, volunteer removal, succession management and plant material replacement that are essential to the development of sustainable and consistent landscape character. This is particularly important in the case of historical sites such as the Zane Grey House, where much of the original buildings and constructed infrastructure have disappeared, and the vegetation alone has to carry the burden of interpreting the site through it’s ability to create space, scale and mood.

It is therefore recommended that in addition to a detailed Vegetation Inventory, a Vegetation Management Plan for the property should be drawn up at the earliest possible date. The purpose of this plan will be to ensure that all future landscape work carried out at the Zane Grey site will contribute to, rather than detract from, the preservation -- and possibly even the restoration -- of the site’s original landscape character. Over the long run, such a plan, if properly implemented, should not cost anymore to carry out than the current hit-and-run methods, but will bring with the immeasurably valuable benefit of underpinning all the other interpretive efforts being invested in the site.

UTM References:

Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA 29
Response to Natural Features:

All responses to natural features at the Zane Grey property derive from its setting, overlooking the most important feature in this landscape, the Delaware River. Bounded by the waters which deposited the alluvium from which it was formed, the property sits entirely within a long sweep of floodplain terrace of the Delaware River, in which the mouth of the Lackawaxen only makes an incision. Immediately beyond the site, on all sides, the steep wooded sides of the valley rise up and form an enclosing skyline. Being situated at a gentle bend in the river, oblique views from the property provide dramatic medium-distance vistas up and down the valley. Even without any man-made features, the underlying topography of site provides virtually all the basic qualities of a "natural place" in the landscape: a clearly defined and fairly level platform, set off against predominantly enclosing topography, yet also with water frontage and with good prospects in all directions.

Within its boundaries, too, the Zane Grey property is also a good example of how natural features of the landscape can be enhanced and emphasized through development. In the improvements they made to the site, Zane Grey and his brother together developed a couple of strategies which subtly emphasized the natural features in general, and the simple grandeur of the Delaware in particular. Site topography had an important influence on the location of buildings versus cultivated areas. Although the siting of The Cottage was determined by the foundations of the Holbert farmhouse which preceded it, the two later dwellings which Romer Grey built were sited on two micro terraces within the broader flood plain terrace, which, being about 15 feet above normal water level, were spared the inundation to which the lower portions of the site are occasionally prone (see Figs. #9 and 10). The slightly lower lying area between these two later houses and The Cottage (apparently known to the Greys as "the drop") was logically given over to cultivation.10

This respect for the power of the river’s frequent floods appears to have been balanced by an entirely understandable desire to build as close to the river’s edge as possible. (It is important to remember that during Zane Grey’s time, the actual water’s edge was at least 120 feet closer to the houses than it is today11.) The location of the Main house on a knoll was a perfect resolution of these two seemingly conflicting imperatives. Photographs suggest that when the Holbert farmhouse was converted into The Cottage, its floor level may have been raised slightly to

10 this lower lying portion is still visible on the site today, as well as in the 1971 surveys; however, it is not particularly evident on photographs dating from the time just prior to the Greys purchase of the property. It is interesting to surmise whether this depression might have been created by the many floods that have occurred over the last 75 years eroding the fields which the Greys maintained here.

11 the prime reason for this, it seems, is the regrading of the bank which was done when the then PAFC installed the launching ramp and associated parking are in the early 70’s.
artificially achieve the same effect. That both these dwellings had large porches which ran across
the full width of their river frontages tends to further reinforce the idea that the Delaware was
considered by the Greys to be the most important natural feature in the surrounding landscape.

The consequence of this strategy was that all the buildings which Zane Grey himself occupied at
one time or another (The Cottage, The Lodge, and the Main House) together formed a line of
structures more or less parallel to and overlooking the river’s edge. The tall elevations of these
buildings emphasized the drama of the river both to those on it and those looking at it from the
houses. (They also hid the more mundane functions of the property in the interior, behind the
houses). This was further emphasized by the fact that large trees appear not to have been planted
directly in front of these dwellings, or if they were, they were of a species which would frame
rather than obstruct the view. The idea that the relationship of the houses to the river was important
to Grey is reinforced by a panoramic photograph taken by the author himself (see Fig#46), which
includes the front of the Main house, the vista upstream in the center, and the high wooded hills of
the New York bank on the right.

These responses to natural features remain visible on the site today. Although the construction of
the PAF&BC facility has partially covered up “the drop” and extensively regraded the Delaware
River bank, the topographical relationship between the different terraces remains visible. While the
Cottage and the Lodge have long since disappeared, the Main house and the Smith/Nelson house
both clearly stand on their respective elevated level terraces, as do the Moran houses, though these
were not constructed during the period of the Greys’ tenure. The Main house still recalls the
original relationship with the Delaware, despite the fact that the original water’s edge has receded
so much. Also surviving are the all encompassing valley sides, still undeveloped, though probably
more heavily wooded today than they were during the Greys’ tenure.

Non-surviving Character -defining features at the Zane Grey Site
- Continuous line of buildings occupied by Zane Grey fronting on to rivers
- Building fronts within 150’ of normal water level in river

Surviving Character -defining features at the Zane Grey Site
- Location of property at bend in the river allows oblique views up and downstream
- Main house built on knoll which balances flood-protection with good visual access to
  river, reinforced by overlooking lawns and porches
- Micro topography of flood plain terrace partially called out by locations of successive
  structures (later structures built on higher ground)
- Undeveloped hills provide ubiquitous surrounding natural backdrop to the site
Condition of surviving Character-defining features:

□ Good ■ Fair □ Poor

Notes:
For related discussion, see also section titled “Spatial Organization”

Fig. #7: Schematic regional plan, showing relationship of Zane Grey property (marked by the circle) to natural features
Fig. #8: Schematic site section, showing relationship between elevation and location of dwellings.

Fig. #9: View of the Main house from the north, pre 1914 (ie. before the additions were made by Zane Grey), during a flood. Note the elevation of the house on its knoll, the openness of the site, and the Roebling Bridge in the background.
Fig. #10: View of The Cottage, taken during a flood (note Zane Grey’s writing cabin to the right)
Fig. #11: Panoramic view showing relationship of Main house to Delaware River today. The actual water’s edge has moved out about 100’, but the house still commands a clear view of the river.

Fig. #12: The porch (recently restored) which runs the full width of the Main house’s east elevation emphasizes the importance of the property’s orientation towards the Delaware and the river road.

Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA
Spatial Organization:

The spatial organization of the original Zane Grey property can be analyzed at two levels: as a part of the larger Upper Delaware River Valley, and as a self-contained complex of buildings and landscape elements. The two levels tend to reinforce each other, and will be discussed together.

The flood plain terraces have long been the preferred locations for human settlement in the Delaware valley, creating a distinct regional landscape pattern of human settlements on the valley floor and native forests on the hillsides above. The Zane Grey property adds to this by sitting at the confluence of two important rivers. It’s specific location makes it a conspicuous landmark for inhabitants and visitors on both sides of the Delaware, and reinforces it’s significance in any mental maps they develop of the region. (The Zane Grey property’s location at the confluence with the Lackawaxen also makes it an ideal arrival and departure point for expeditions on both rivers, a fact which was recognized by the then PA Fish Commission when they decided to build a boat access here in the 1970’s).

The major determinant of spatial quality on the site today are the mature canopy trees which dwarf and enclose the surviving buildings. These canopy trees are concentrated either in the central of the three parcels which make up the historic sites, and along it’s river edges. This has the effect of visually dividing the property into three sections, roughly corresponding to the three separate purchases Zane Grey made to assemble his property. The conjectural 1918 plan (see Addendum D) shows that this basic spatial organization was already incipient at that time, in the sense that most of these existing trees had already been planted, even though photographs from that period also confirm that this organization was much more visible on plan than it was on the ground (for a further discussion of this point, see “Boundaries”). The great size these trees have attained over the last 70 years means that they continue to shape the spatial organization of the property whether their associated buildings have been lost (ie. “The Cottage”, “the Lodge” and the old D&H barn) or are still standing (ie. Main and Smith/Nelson houses). Thus, although a superficial glance would suggests that the contemporary spatial organization of the site has changed dramatically, it has in fact simply become what the Greys intended it to become in the fullness of time.

The maturation of all these canopy trees has diminished the importance of another factor affecting the site’s spatial organization, the fact that three of it’s four boundaries are formed by distinct topography: along the north and east, moderately steep banks fronting the Lackawaxen and the Delaware Rivers (though these have been partly lost due to the construction of the access area), and on the west, the 20 foot high Conrail embankment effectively obscures the remainder of the flood plain terrace. This coincidence between the historic legal boundaries, and those naturally
occurring in the landscape is partly why the original site remains visible today. This aspect of the site’s spatial organization is further emphasized by the river road which forms a continuous and enclosing frame along the two rivers’ edges (actually, a right-of-way which divides the bulk of the site from its water frontage, a common pattern elsewhere in the riverfront settlements along the Delaware).

As has been implied above, the overwhelming spatial quality of the property during Zane Grey’s tenure was its openness. Having been so recently farmed, the main visual elements in the landscape were buildings and the handful of trees which originated before the Grey’s tenure (trees that he planted himself had not yet grown to maturity at this time). As a result, the spatial organization of the site during Grey’s tenure was mostly suggested by constructed rather than planted elements. Most conspicuous of these constructed elements were the buildings scattered throughout the site. These included the houses and cabins the Grey’s lived in as well as an array of smaller, utilitarian buildings. Other constructed elements included a system of paths and driveways (for a more detailed discussion of these, see section titled “Circulation”) and elements such as corrals, berry patches, tennis courts, orchards, and garden plots (see section titled “Structures & Gardens”). Combined with buildings between which they were introduced, these various landscape elements gave the property a full and busy spatial quality. The only part of the property where some of this quality persists is Mary Smith Nelson’s garden to the north of her house, though it is of course not authentic to the time of Grey’s tenure.

It is probably fair to say that the spatial organization of the historical site reflected the fact that it was still very much a landscape in the process of rapid transformation, one characterized by episodic and frequent alteration, hybrid character (part farm and part rural retreat), and multiple use. It would appear from evidence available that for many years there was no overall architectural scheme for the property; new construction simply occurred when and where it was most expedient. This ad hoc quality was entirely in keeping with what was in fact a rather unusual social organization, a largely self-sufficient compound of middle-class, metropolitan-oriented households of complex kinship living together in a rural setting. It was only at the very end of the Grey’s tenure that landscape features which consciously shaped the spatial organization of the property (ie. the second tennis court, the perimeter planting, the front path axially located on the faced of the Main house) seem to emerge.

This busy, heterogeneous quality has not survived. Instead, the site today has a largely static and mature quality. It’s primary components have been reduced to buildings and mature canopy trees, which have probably looked pretty much the same for the last few decades. Together, the loss of the finer gained (and less robust) elements of the site and the maturation of the canopy trees have
combined to dramatically change the overall spatial character of the site. Instead of having a building/landscape relationship akin to that of a farmstead, the property has now much more the character of an older suburban lot, on which a single large old house stands surrounded by lawn and tall canopy trees. Even in areas that have remained open since the Grey’s tenure, such as the PAFC parking lot, the replacement of a several different garden plots with flat asphalt has resulted in a significant loss of texture and spatial complexity. In addition, the absence of the original finer grain landscape elements causes their modern equivalents --ie. dumpsters, recycling bins, public telephones, septic tank mound, car parks, signage, ranger booths etc -- take on a disproportionate visual importance.

Non-surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site

- Predominantly open quality as a result of being newly-converted farmland (structures most conspicuous features on the site)
- Canopy (ie. shade)trees found only in isolated clumps adjacent to buildings
- Spatial organization of buildings and landscape elements (ie. garden plots, pergolas, agricultural plots etc.) which reflected that they were constructed incrementally, over a number of years, without an overall master plan
- Social & functional relationships between different households on the property reflected in siting of structures and circulation.
- Combination of many buildings and various constructed landscape features create a spatial quality which is busy and even congested

Surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site

- Location of property at confluence of Lackawaxen and Delaware Rivers making it a conspicuous landmark in the area
- Coincidence between property’s legal and topographical boundaries
- Persistence of three adjacent parcels of land in spatial organization

Condition of Surviving Character-defining features:

□ Good ■ Fair □ Poor

Notes:
Fig. #13: The Main house seen from the south-east today. Compare this picture to Fig. #25 (ie. the same view taken in the 20's) and note how the replacement of the shrubs by lawn and mature canopy trees, has completed altered the spatial character of the property.

Fig. #14: What was once the location of a fields, berry patch, orchard and possibly a grape arbor during Zane Grey's tenure, is now a virtually level and featureless PAF&BC parking lot.

Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA
Fig. #15: A view of the parcel which Grey added to his property in 1916 (now the Moran property). The old boundary between the two parcels remains visible today in the dramatic transition from predominantly open to closed landscape space which occurs along it’s length.

Fig. #16: Panoramic view of the site, ca. 1914. Although taken before the period of most intensive site use, this view shows the additive and incremental nature of the property well.
Fig. #17: Historic view of E facade of Main house (date unknown, probably 1920's); note the strong implied frontal relationship to the river road, and the effect of the free-standing shrubs alongside the path.

Fig. #18: View looking N from driveway to The Cottage, taken late in Zane Grey's tenure. The intensive use of the land contributed a full and congested character to this part of the property.
Fig #19: View of berry field, looking north, ca. 1918; D&H barn in background. Although this particular part of the site was as intensely used as the rest, at this time its spatial quality was not all that different from that of the PAF&BC parking lot which is in the same location today.
Land Use/Structures & Gardens:

As has already been noted above, the spatial organization of the Zane Grey site today is determined by three basic elements: buildings, trees and lawn. This situation has evolved for understandable reasons: with the exception of the PAF&BC parking lot and slip, and perhaps Mary Smith Nelson’s garden, the actual use of the landscape at the Zane Grey property today is minimal; it is merely a surrounding to the buildings that are the primary focus of human activities. As is customary in situations such as this, the landscape is maintained by mowing, which keeps all land that is not supporting trees as some form of turf. As has been noted under “Spatial Organization”, the ubiquity of this turf has the side effect of giving the different parcels of the historic property a homogeneous and integrated character today.

While the Greys did have spaces on their property that we would label turf or lawn, these were only a relatively small percentage of the overall landscape. These lawns were specific and limited areas adjacent to the dwellings, usually with shaded by trees and with views of the river, and invariably used for relaxation and games such as croquet. However, the landscape of the Grey property was also put to many other uses. In some case, these were ornamental plantings -- herbaceous borders, ornamental shrubs and creepers etc. -- but this comprised a relatively small extent of their land use; a much greater proportion of the property was given over to utilitarian land uses, laid out according to functional rather than aesthetic parameters.

The purpose of this last land use was primarily to feed the extended family of people who lived there, mainly in the summer, in a time before electrical refrigeration and easy transport of foodstuffs. Within their six acre property, the Grey’s laid out areas for the cultivation of vegetables, flowers, asparagus, various kinds of berries, grapes, and fruit trees. They also for a time had hay pasture areas where a cow could be staked for a week or so. Three horses were kept for a while, but they were apparently fed with fodder bought from suppliers in the valley.10 Associated with this land use were a collection of buildings that supported such activities. As these various exercises in husbandry fell away and became redundant, either because of the Grey’s absence, or because of changing market conditions, large areas of land previously used for productive purposes ceased being tended, and either went into succession or were simply transformed into mown lawn and trees.11 Similarly, the utilitarian buildings associated with these

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10 personal conversation with Mary Nelson, 7/1/94; Mary Nelson also mentions a pig and a flock of chickens, but it is so far unverified whether this took place during the the Grey’s tenure
11 Mary Nelson is of the opinion that the photograph dating from 1929, showing Zane Grey (together with Romer and Charles Smith) standing in long grass on his last visit to the property, was taken on the abandoned second tennis court. This seems doubtful; given the openness of the landscape and what appear to be evergreen trees in the background, a more likely location might have been the eastern portion of the old Shannon property.

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Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA 43
plots were equally ephemeral, being constructed from wood, and simply deteriorated or were removed. None of them survive today. (For a fuller discussion of historic land use of the Zane Grey property during the Grey’s tenure see addendum C in Section 3). This means that the Main house, the Smith/Nelson House, and the 1915 barn are the sole surviving structures from the Zane Grey period. These three buildings are therefore crucial as landscape features; together, they convey information about the way the spaces around and beyond them was used, something which is particular important given the almost complete absence of any other surviving garden features.

Of the Greys’ efforts at productive and ornamental planting, only a handful of specimen lilacs, -- *Syringa vulgaris* (or species thereof) -- survive. These can still be found in their original locations, usually planted next to outhouses, in some instances hugely overgrown and rangy. Apart from the identifiable outhouse-related specimens, they are also found today along the boundary dividing the Zane Grey site from PAF&BC land, though these may well have been planted after the Grey’s tenure. The garden plots have long been covered by lawn or asphalt, though the once extensive orchard along the foot of the railroad embankment still survives after a fashion (most effectively on the Moran property); of the trees that are still standing, most are half-dead and barely able to set fruit. An undated postcard view of the property (see Fig. #32) shows that this orchard originally ran virtually the entire length of the property’s western edge, and the spacing of the surviving trees certainly suggests that what we see today is the fragment of a much more complete grid. The old clay tennis court, located between the Main house and the Smith/Nelson house, lingers on in the double row of trees which were planted to shade it on either side and the grass which struggles to grow where the old clay surface once was. Mary Smith Nelson’s garden, though dating from the 1950’s, occupies the extent of an earlier garden plot in the same location. Of the building structures, sometimes the footings of these can be traced in slight depressions or mounds where they once stood (ie “The Cottage” and the old D&H Barn), but mostly it is the enormous and senescent lilacs which were planted immediately adjacent to them that give away their original locations.

**Non-surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site**
- Patchwork of different size garden plots, fields, and meadows
- Central complex of utilitarian storage structures between cultivated areas, served by driveway
- Garden architecture limited to free-standing set pieces such as a central tennis with symmetrically planted shade trees on either side, and a grape arbor.
- Ornamental plantings to south and east of Main house, predominantly along pathways and boundaries.
Main recreational garden located between Main house and Smith House

**Surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site**
- Main house, Smith/Nelson house and 1915 barn as landscape features (a)
- Lawn areas adjacent to residential buildings, especially their porches (b)
- Orchard along foot of railroad embankment (c)

**Condition of Surviving Character-defining features:**

☐ Good  ■ Fair  ☐ Poor

**Notes:**
Fig. #20: Plan of property showing location of surviving character-defining features (Land-Use/Structures & Gardens)
Fig. #21: View of Main house from SW today: this was probably the focus of the family's life at Lackawaxen, the back porch which gave onto the garden and the second tennis court.

Fig. #22: View, looking N, of the western part of Mary Nelson's property, the location of the first tennis court, and later, the cow corral. The barn was built in 1915 when the Smiths moved onto the property, and is the only utilitarian structure from the Grey period which survives today.
Fig. #23: View of the 1973 PAFC (now PAF&BC) Parking Lot, taken from roughly the same position as the berry field in Fig#19. This part of the property was also used by the Greys as a corn field at one time.

Fig. #24: View of part of the senescent fruit orchard, now on the west portion of the Moran property, believed to have been planted by Zane Grey shortly before he left Lackawaxen.
Fig. #25: View of Main house taken from SE, probably in the 1920's, giving a good impression of the exuberant nature of the Grey's horticultural efforts. Note creepers growing up the side of the porch, and the flowering shrubs along the old fence line between the Romer Grey property and the Charles Shannon property. None of this survives today. (NPS)

Fig #26: View of The Cottage (now demolished) from NW. This shows the new porch added in the reconstruction of 1914 (Zane Grey was apparently partial to sleeping porches). Overlooking the confluence between the Lackawaxen and the Delaware, this lawn area was used for croquet.
Fig. #27: A period photograph (ca. 1918?) of Mary Smith (later Nelson) and Betty Grey in front of the children's playhouse, a small timber structure located just to the south of the Main house.

Fig. #28: A period photograph (ca. 1921?) of Mary Smith in front of the horse corral which was attached to the old D&H Co. barn.
Vegetation:

Note: In a property such as the Zane Grey site, the dividing line between “gardens” and “vegetation” is rather ambiguous, and hard to demarcate with any certainty. For the purposes of the current inventory, however, a division between “gardens” and “vegetation” has been made by addressing mostly non-native herbaceous species under the former category, and mostly native woody plants under the latter. This breakdown also has the consequence of dividing the less persistent from the longer lasting, or, to put it in terms of what we see on the site today, surviving planting from the non-surviving. The “gardens” tend to have disappeared, while “vegetation” has, by and large, survived. For a discussion of “gardens”, see previous section “Land use/Structures and Gardens.”

Along with the buildings, the vegetation (as defined above) at the Zane Grey property is probably the most important character-defining feature of the property today: from being predominantly open during the Grey’s tenure, with a few trees clustered close to buildings, the site has gone to being predominantly canopied by mature (and over-mature) trees, especially in its center. The integrity of these trees as a contributing factor depends on whether they date from before, during, or after the Grey’s tenure at Lackawaxen. Using period photographs, the 1971 PAFC site survey and present day site observation, it can be determined with reasonable certainty that a significant proportion of these trees did originate during the Grey’s tenure, but it is still highly recommended that these conclusions be further verified through scientific aging by trained arborists.

The trees clustered in the center of the property are associated with either the Zane Grey (ie. Main), the Smith/Nelson, or the Moran houses. Those surrounding the Main house are sugar maples (Acer saccharum), white pines (Pinus strobus), black locusts (Robinia pseudo-acacia) and some ashes (Fraxinus americana). In most instances, it is clear that these were selected and spaced to grow into the large shade trees we see today, though it is possible that some of the ashes might be volunteers.¹ The spacing tends to be that of naturalistic free-standing specimens or groves, except for those planted around the 1916-1920 tennis court. By clear contrast, virtually all the trees around the Smith/Nelson house were planted by Mary Nelson herself in the early 1950’s and are not of any importance to the Zane Grey period. These in any case differ dramatically in species from those around the main house, consisting of Japanese maples, white cedars, hemlocks, firs

¹ these ashes might be remnants of a much larger community of volunteers; both oral evidence and the 1971 survey suggest that the northern portion of the property was left to succession after it was sold by Dolly Grey in the late 40’s. Several large caliper trees which may or may not have dated to Zane Grey’s time were taken down when the parking lot was built. Helen Davis also said in a personal conversation with the author that she had little time for the landscape when she was running the inn, and that she simply had the property immediately adjacent to the house mown regularly.
and spruces. The only two trees associated with the Smith/Nelson house which could date from
the time of Zane Grey are the pair of conifers which stand between it’s back entrance and the old
coal house. The large willows in front of the Moran houses are probably not of any historic
importance; they were probably planted after those houses’ construction in the mid-40’s.

The other significant stand of large trees are the perimeter planting of white pines (and occassion-
ally, black locusts) along much of the river road boundary. These trees also occur in an informal
and naturalistic spacing, and were apparently planted this way following Zane Grey’s
instructions. (If these were not planted before Zane Grey left for California, they were probably
planted soon afterwards). The massive ash on the north side of the current PAF&BC parking lot
entrance which forms part of this perimeter planting may be a remnant trunk of a double trunk
specimen which originally stood just to the south of “The Cottage”. If so, it would be the sole
remnant specimen of the few large trees which were already growing on the property around
Cottage Point when Grey bought it in 1905.

However, it should not be assumed that all trees planted by the Grey’s survive. Comparison of the
1971 PAFC survey with current conditions show that many large trees have been lost even over
the last twenty years, trees which in some cases can be identified on early photographs. Several
large trees, either maples or pines, that used to grow around the Main house have been removed in
recent years because of the danger they presented to the house, as have some of the original tennis
court trees to the west of the house (some of which appear to have survived as recently as the 1971
survey). Also, according to Mary Nelson, the white pine perimeter planting used to extend along
the base of the railroad embankment from the Scenic Drive to the NW corner of her property (this
can be seen in the ca. 1920 postcard view) but was cut down during Helen Davis’ tenure.

Another aspect of the change in vegetation which needs to be recorded is that of the banks of the
Lackawaxen and Delaware Rivers which visually, though not legally, formed an important part of
the original Grey property. During the Greys’ time, the steep banks of both rivers were relatively
free of woody vegetation, allowing uninterrupted views of the rivers from the northern and eastern
portions of the property. Apparently, this was due to the heavy ice-pack scouring which occurred
every spring when the rivers melted; period photographs suggest that nothing more than seasonal
herbaceous material ever managed to establish itself along these banks. This no longer occurs as
the upper reaches of both rivers are much less prone to dramatic flooding, their watersheds being

2 these black locusts, like those found among the 1916-1920 tennis court shade trees, may or may not be
volunteers; although they are a common volunteer tree in the region, Mary Smith Nelson seems to be of the
opinion that Grey intended to plant the occassional specimen along with the more familiar maples and pines
3 verbal anecdote, Mary Smith Nelson, 7/94 (see also “Zane Grey at Lackawaxen”, Section 1)
much better vegetated and more tightly controlled by dams nowadays. As a consequence, however, these banks are going into succession today, allowing tall woody vegetation to obscure views to the river. This has had relatively little influence on the Delaware River side of the property, because this boundary is now maintained as mown turf by the PAF&BC, but along the Lackawaxen, river corridor species of shrubs and canopy trees such as sycamores, ashes and box elders have established themselves.

Non-surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site
- Evergreen buffer planting along property’s public edge (part of railroad embankment)
- Canopy trees close to Cottage point, dating from D&H/Holbert era

Surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site
- Canopy trees planted by Greys to frame views and shade houses/outdoor garden areas (a)
- Evergreen buffer planting along property’s public edge (river road only)(b)
  Lilacs marking location of old outhouses/storage structures (c)
  Extended fruit tree orchard along base of railroad embankment (d)

Condition of Surviving Character-defining features:
□ Good ■ Fair □ Poor

Notes:
A more detailed inventory of the exact species and age of all woody plant materials on the original site is highly recommended

* personal conversation with Sandra Speers Schulz, 7/1/94
Fig. #29: Plan of property showing location of surviving character defining features (Vegetation)
Fig. #30: Two of the oldest trees on the site are these sugar maples to the south of the Main house, planted by either Romer or Zane Grey.

Fig. #31: Part of the white pine perimeter planting along the river road, believed to have been planted just before Zane Grey left Lackawaxen (the gap is where old D&H barn used to stand)
Fig. #32: Panoramic view of the site, taken from Prospect Rock, ca. early/mid 20's; central portion of the site is already canopied, flowering trees along the foot of the railroad embankment.

Fig. #33: A remnant lilac, still growing where it was planted next to where the Smith/Nelson outhouse originally stood. The structure itself was probably removed in the late 20's. The two conifers in the background probably also date from the Grey period.
Fig. #34: View of the mouth of the Lackawaxen River today, showing how successional vegetation has grown up on what used to be a clear bank.
Fig. #35: Most of the stand of trees immediately to the north of the Main house date from the Grey period. Some of the younger specimens might be later volunteers.
Circulation:

As it has done so in the case of structures and gardens, changing land-use has permanently changed the circulation on the Zane Grey property. However, whereas the loss of original structures and gardens can be rationalized by an absence of any of the original uses of the site, circulation remains a very important part of the functioning of the property.

Not surprisingly, it is the vehicular-related elements of the circulation system that have survived almost intact, largely because they continue to function similarly to the way they did historically. Virtually all people who today use the Zane Grey property arrive there by car. Thus the river road, sometimes called the Scenic Drive, that skirts the property along the Delaware and Lackawaxen river banks, is the most significant element of circulation (and thus, part of people’s perception of the site). Traffic along this road, always peripheral to the functioning of the site, probably remains at levels similar to those at the time of Grey’s tenure. The original gravel drive which enters the site just north of the Main house still allows vehicular access to the interior of the site, as it always has, though it now only carries visitors to the Smith/Nelson property and the life tenant apartment. The small lot adjacent to the entrance to the property allows parking for NPS staff and a handful of museum visitors, but it is nowhere near sufficient in capacity, and most of the overflow uses the conveniently located PAF&BC parking lot directly to the north. However, the general inadequacy of this driveway highlights the fact that it, in its original layout, was never originally intended to play such an important role in the functioning of the property (see addenda B & D).

Pedestrian circulation, on the other hand, has changed dramatically, reflecting the shift in emphasis of movement away from the center of the site to its edges. This is hardly surprising given that the land use has changed from that of a private house with extensive grounds to a museum patronized mostly by car-borne visitors, all of whom currently enter and leave from one heavily-used single entrance. Of the once extensive network series of paths connecting different parts of the property, only those which have some contemporary use remain. Those which appear to be original (such as the ones at the front of the main house) are, however, neither historically accurate, nor do they have the character of the original paths, though they do attempt as best as possible to recreate the original arrival sequence of visitors to the site. The old railroad embankment footpath, previously at least as important as the river road in terms of site circulation, has not survived, though traces of it can be seen in the linear depression largely overgrown with successional vegetation.

Non-Surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site
- Narrow straight single-flag width bluestone paths connecting Main house to river road
Surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site

- Narrow straight single-flag width bluestone paths connecting important building entrances to each other (a)
- Single lane curvilinear gravel driveways for vehicular access, connecting river road to property interior and outbuildings (b)
- River road as a primary means of vehicular access (c)

Condition of Surviving Character-defining features:

☐ Good ■ Fair ☐ Poor

Notes:
Site archaeology may reveal remnants of earlier paths which would verify pathway locations, and also provide recyclable material for reconstructing paths.
Fig. #36: Plan of property showing location of surviving character defining features (Circulation)
Fig. #37: The relationship between the Main house and the river road today remains the same as it was during Zane Grey's tenure, though the original bluestone path linking the two has been replaced by the curving and stepping path to the right of the photo.

Fig. #38: The existing (and original) point of entry of the driveway onto the site from the river road. Although still gravel, the drive has been widened to form a parking area.
Fig. #39: View from Main house rear porch today, looking north along the bluestone path. This is probably the surviving southern portion of the original path which led to Cottage Point.

Fig. #40: Historic view along northern portion of bluestone path leading to Cottage Point, with the reconstructed Cottage in background (this would have been the extension of the path shown in Fig. #39 above)
(Right) Fig. #42: View from approximately the same position as Fig #41, taken today: an extension to the south of Smith/Nelson House has obliterated part of the original path route; note matured planted and volunteer trees, in addition to remnants of original lilacs.

(Right) Fig. #41 View, ca. 1918, along the bluestone path which originally ran from the Main house, past the south side of the Smith House, to the railroad embankment and connected to the footpath which led to the town and depot (old outhouse and lilacs visible in the foreground, to left of Mary Smith, her sister and Betty Grey)
Fig. #43: View of the Main house from the river road today; although the restored porch once more centers the entrance steps on the original 1905 house facade, the bluestone path running from the steps to the road is no longer there.
Boundaries:

Visual boundaries occur in the landscape in two basic ways: firstly, as a distinct and linear element physically separating one piece of terrain from another, and secondly as a change of the landscape’s materiality, so that the boundary is not so much a feature in itself as a cessation of one type of landscape pattern (be it natural or man-made) and the beginning of another. The latter kind allows spatial continuity and separation to co-exist. Both these types of boundaries occur at the Zane Grey property, and are the result of its unique location and specific history.

The original Zane Grey site was bounded by the two rivers along its northern and eastern edges, by the railroad embankment (formerly owned by the New York & Erie Railroad, today by Conrail) along its western edge, and by a private house (owned today by descendants of the same people who owned it in the Zane Grey period) on the south. Surprisingly, it is the man-made boundaries - the fence line to the south, the railroad embankment to the west -- that remain most clearly visible today, long after the actual land associated with the house has shrunk to 15% of its original extent, and the remainder has been parcelled and sold off. This is because they are still formed in exactly the same way as they originally were. On the other hand, the boundaries which one would expect to have survived the best -- i.e. the natural river edges -- are less distinct, the result of changes in their use and maintenance. The Lackawaxen edge has become hidden by successional vegetation, while the Delaware edge has been flattened and extended to cater to tourism. Visually, the loss of these boundaries is significant because they originally played such an important role in defining the property (i.e. see “Response to Natural Features” & “Spatial Organization”).

Nevertheless, it is also important to note that although the Grey’s property legally extended down to the water’s edge on the Delaware, they seem to have made infrequent use of it apart from launching canoes, and pumping water up to the houses.¹ The fact that the Greys seldom actively used this part of their property is probably attributable to the barrier offered by the river road, which ran on a township right-of-way through two of his three parcels. The significance of this road barrier must have increased in proportion to the amount of traffic it carried, and Zane Grey seems to have eventually accepted it as a de facto (if not legal) boundary to his property. In or around 1918 he planted a virtually continuous perimeter hedge of white pines along its inside edge.² This planting was broken only where it would obscure views of the river from the

¹ personal conversation with Mary Smith Nelson, 7/94, who remembers that the Greys seldom used the Delaware bank as a beach, but swam from canoes already launched onto the river (the Lackawaxen edge was, and is, much too steep to be used for much at all apart from fishing)
² as is the case with other mature trees on the property, only proper dating by an arborist can confirm the age of these pines
dwellings on the property⁢, and survives intact today, though probably much taller and more visually permeable than Grey would have intended. Although it does not follow the actual legal boundary of the original property, through its homogeneity of species, spacing and size, this planting creates a visual frame which separates the property from all that surrounds it. Photographs show that this perimeter planting was in fact an addition to an earlier post-and-wire fence, possibly installed by Romer Grey, which already ran along the inside edge of the river road.

However, the perimeter of the property is not the only boundary which remains visible today: it should be remembered that the property grew incrementally, and the extent of Grey’s ownership changed several times during his tenure before reaching its final state. Historically, the concentration of human land use on the long narrow flood plain terraces of the Delaware tended to encourage subdivision of the land into thin parcels running across the flood plain, giving every property owner access to water frontage and/or the roads which ran alongside it (see Fig.#5). The site, though eventually roughly square in shape, was before Zane Grey owned it, as it is once again today, made up of three of these long thin lots consolidated together. Today, the old boundaries of these historic lots express themselves more as a transition from landscape type to another rather than as a linear landscape feature: the clear line separating the central portion (incorporating the Grey and Smith/Nelson Houses) from the two adjacent parcels is one example of this. This is a direct result of conditions during the Greys tenure: although different parcels were unseparated by fences, the layout of all agricultural plots and planted trees and shrubs consistently respected the original lot boundaries.⁴ In this sense, present day conditions represent the evolution of the property rather well: older smaller internal boundaries are weaker and less obvious than the more recent and extensive perimeter ones.

Non surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site
- steep open river banks to north and east
- timber-and-wire fence along inside edge of river road

Surviving Character-defining features at the Zane Grey Site
- partially overgrown timber-and-wire fence along south boundary (a)
- railroad embankment along western boundary (b)
- perimeter planting of white pines and black locusts along inside edge of river road (c)

³ Mary Smith Nelson also remembers that Grey became increasingly annoyed by both his neighbors and passing traffic as the years went by, and at one time threatened to “put a ten-foot fence around the whole property”.

⁴ However there is a photograph in the Gruber biography looking towards the Main house along the path that led to the Cottage which shows a fence in the foreground. Although the date given in the caption to this photograph is 1918, the size of the trees along the path suggest that it was taken much later, possibly as recently as the last twenty years.

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- traces of original land subdivision reflected in later land use and planting (d)

**Condition of Surviving Character-defining features:**

- Good      □ Fair      □ Poor

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*Fig. #44: Plan of property showing location of surviving character defining features (Boundaries)*

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*Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen, PA*
Fig. #45: The river road boundary today: the fence has long gone, but the planted trees have matured and form a dramatic irregular line of trunks (see also Fig. #35 in "Vegetation")

Fig. #46: Part of a panoramic photograph taken by Zane Grey himself (ca. 1918?) from the west bank of the Delaware shows a timber post and wire(?) fence running along the river road. This was taken either before the white pines had been planted, or when they were still saplings. (LG)
Section 3: Appendix:
**Addendum A: Bibliography:**

**NPS publications:**
National Register Bulletin #16a: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form; US Dept. of Interior/NPS, Interagency Resource Div., 1991

National Register Bulletin #18: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes; US Dept. of Interior/NPS, Interagency Resource Div., no date

National Register Bulletin #30: How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes; US Dept. of Interior/NPS, Interagency Resource Div., no date

**NPS-commissioned reports:**
Short & Ford and Partners, Architects:
National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form: Zane Grev House (entered 5/6/83)

**Other publications: General background information:**
Loren Grey: *Zane Grev: A Photographic Odyssev* (Dallas, 1985)
Carlton Jackson: *Zane Grev* (Revised Edition); (Boston 1989)

**Surveys & Maps**

*Highway Right-of-Way Map, Lackawaxen Township, April 1926, Map Book, Page 106; (Pike County PA Courthouse Tax Records Office)*

*Historic American Building Survey, Site Plan of Zane Grev House, ca. 1916 (NPS)*

*Topography Survey: Zane Grev Access Area: PA Fish Commission Dwg# FC-258A -1T, Dec 1971*

*Development Plan: Zane Grev Access Area: PA Fish Commission Dwg# FC-258A -3C, Sept 1972*

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*Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen PA*
Oral Sources:
Mrs. Mary Smith Nelson (1911 -- ) -- life long resident at the Zane Grey site, and consequently knew the writer and his family well when she was a child; currently retired but formerly employed as a head teacher at Shohola

Helen James Davis ( - ) -- daughter of Zane Grey's friend, Alvah James, who lived in the Zane Grey House from 1933 - 1945; although Helen Davis spent her early years in New York City, and did not know Zane Grey herself, she ran the Zane Grey Inn in the Main house for 25 years, and subsequently, organized and ran a Zane Grey Museum in the same location until 1988, the contents of which were used to form the core of the NPS display today

Dorothy Moon, NPS curator, Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen PA

Sandra Speers Schultz, Chief of Planning, Upper Delaware Scenic & Recreational River, NPS, Narrowsburg NY.

In addition, the author would like to acknowledge the help of the NPS Summer Intern, Stephanie Robertson, whose cheerful assistance with measuring up the site, collecting research material and conducting interviews was much appreciated
Addendum B:
Supplementary research notes on Character Defining Features

Land-use, structures and gardens
The land that Zane Grey and his brother bought had been farmed as one single field. A photograph dating from the 1890’s shows the entire extent of land from the farmhouse and the barn at the edge of the Lackawaxen to what is now the Kuhn property boundary in corn (a crop which has always done well on the droughty sandy soils of the flood plain terraces along the Delaware). By 1914, however, this single field had been much divided: from the photograph dating from that time, it appears that the land closest to the point (Zane Grey’s initial purchase) was used for large scale row crops such as corn or berries, while behind the main house adjacent to the Smith House was a much more compact plot used for more intensively cultivated plants, possibly vegetables and flowers. At the location where these two cultivation areas and the back of the Main house came together, a small complex of outbuildings had also arisen by this time. These structures were small (approx. 10 x 16 ft.) sheds, with simple single pitch roofs. These structures formed a small centralized cluster containing the end of the driveway, while providing direct access to all the areas under cultivation. At various times they included an ice house, paint store, coal house, animal food store, tennis court storage shed, and chicken run. On the northern boundary of the property, the old D&H Canal Co. barn and its adjacent shed continued to be used, probably for the horses and their fodder. Attached to this barn was a small corral and storage shed.

By 1918, this arrangement had changed again. The Greys had purchased Romer’s house and the Charles Shannon property to the south, the Smiths had moved into what had previously been Mrs. Grey senior’s house, the Main house had been doubled in size and the farmhouse converted into “The Cottage.” The clay tennis court that had previously been located along the railroad embankment had been moved to between the Main house and the Smith House. A new barn had been built on the Smith property, and an adjacent cow pen attached to the south1. The corn field appears to have been abandoned, allowing the berry field to increase in size (this would have made sense: corn was ubiquitous in the area, and would have been easy to buy). Instead, fruit trees had been planted on the western portions of the old Shannon property, the Smith property and where the corn field had been in 1914, forming an almost complete orchard along the foot of the railroad embankment. To the already existing outbuildings, a children’s playhouse had been added. The

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1 personal conversation with Mary Nelson, 7/8/94

Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen PA
path from the Main house still led past the end of the berry field to “The Cottage”, and, according to Mary Nelson, from there to the Barn ran a pathway which was covered by a large grape arbor (no other record has thus far been found of this).

As far as can be ascertained, the central portion of the old Shannon property must have been used as cow pasture, as would have been the area behind the Smith barn/corral complex, while the most eastern most part was, according to Mary Nelson, given over to asparagus. There seems little evidence of this latter use in the colorized black-and-white photograph taken from the top of the river road embankment (probably dating from the 1920’s) in which this area appears to be a wildflower/long-grass meadow. Whether this area was used as an asparagus patch or as a meadow (or both, in succession), neither were mentioned in Dolly Grey’s written intentions for this portion of the property (see “Zane Grey at Lackawaxen”) which presumably were never realized.

Instead of formal and distinct ornamental gardens as such, the Greys seemed to have favored ornamental plantings at certain typical locations on their property, such as the edge of lawns, along pathways and perhaps in front of porches. This is in keeping with the larger spatial character of the property, which suggests additive and incremental layout and construction. The same photograph which shows the flowering meadow to the south of the house also shows shrubs along the front paths and side boundary (ie. the old boundary with the Shannon property), and creepers climbing up the front and back porches. (A skilled horticulturalist, especially one familiar with plants that were fashionable at the time, would probably be able to narrow down their species using the original black-and-white period photographs.). Perhaps the single most distinctive garden feature the Greys created is the clay tennis court constructed between the Main house and the Smith House in 1916, largely because it was planted on either side with canopy trees, many of which survive today. Given the orientation and use of the two houses, this space would probably have been the one part of the property which most clearly functioned as a “garden” in the sense of a space used for outdoor leisure. The only space which seems to have rivaled this was the small lawn area just to the NW of “The Cottage”, which had a good view of the confluence of the two rivers, and was level enough to be used as a croquet lawn.

Circulation:
The circulation at the Zane Grey site arose as the result of the introduction of a complex of buildings onto a piece of farmland already defined by local circulation patterns. The two most important element of this local pattern during the period of significance were the road running along the top of the bank of the Delaware, and the footpath which used to run along the base of the railroad embankment. At the end of the 19th century, the roadway used to be the main connection between the north side of the Lackawaxen River valley and Milford, and used to cross the mouth
of the Lackawaxen at Cottage Point on what seems to have been a pontoon bridge, probably associated with the D&H Co. waste weir at that location. It also served as the main route by which guests at the Delaware House got from the Lackawaxen Depot to the hotel. Sometime in the first decade of the twentieth century (ie. about the time that the Greys came to Lackawaxen), a new road bridge was constructed upstream on the Lackawaxen, and the roadway was rerouted under the existing railroad trestle to connect with this, thus creating the right angled alignment that effectively formed the east and north edges of the Grey property. This roadway was later (at a date presently not yet determined) supplanted by a more direct route to the bridge (the current Route 590) and became downgraded to a scenic roadway.²

Although this Scenic Roadway, as it has since become known, today seems to form the most important means of access to the site, this was not always so. The Greys -- like most people at the time -- never owned a car during the years that they lived in Lackawaxen, and relied exclusively on the train to travel anywhere. According to Mary Nelson, they almost always walked to and from the Depot along the railroad embankment footpath, and approached their property from what we now would call the “rear”. This is confirmed by the fact that one of the earliest bluestone paths on the site ran from the back porch of the Main house directly past the Smith House to connect with this footpath. A portion of this path still exists today. In addition, a bluestone footpath also ran from steps at the the front door straight down to the river road; this, one would imagine, provided entrance for more formal visits, or for people wanting to get down to the river.

It seems that the importance of a circulation route within the property was signaled by the fact that a path was paved with bluestone. In addition to the two already mentioned, another path ran diagonally NW from the back porch to the driveway, and then in a NE direction to the porch steps of “The Cottage.” This route obviously was of great importance during the whole 12 years of Zane Grey’s tenure at Lackawaxen: initially it connected his house to his brother’s, and then, when he had moved into the latter structure, his manuscripts passed along it on a daily basis, first to be typed by the secretaries and then to be returned to the big house, possibly for further editing by Dolly. Mary Nelson remembers that the northern section of this path was “built up like a boardwalk” (though paved with bluestone): remnants of its alignment can still be seen in the contours of the 1971 PAFC survey. This alignment connects with the end of the southern portion of its route, which, still in existence, runs along the crest of the rise on which the Main house was built. It is possible that it is this self-same path which can be seen in the 1914 photograph of the site, even before the two additions were added to the house. Surviving fragments of these footpaths connecting the different parts of the property suggest that they were not more than 30

² it would be interesting to compare this date to the date of the perimeter planting of the white pines (see “Vegetation”): traffic along the river road would presumably have decreased dramatically after the construction of the alternative route.
inches wide, and tended to take on angular (as opposed to curvilinear) geometries which is understandable given that they were constructed from single-width bluestone flags. What these paths suggest is that the orientation of the Main house, indeed the whole property, was away from the river, and that much of the time the Greys spent outdoors was spent in the interior of the site. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the tennis court was moved from the foot of the railroad embankment to the heart of this back area in 1916, though this could also have been because the Smith's needed the land for more utilitarian purposes by this time.

The other visible elements of circulation on the site have been and remain the gravel vehicular driveways. Visually these contrast dramatically with the bluestone paths; where they are straight and narrow, the vehicular circulation is curvilinear, softly rolled into the topography through constant use, and with indistinct edges blending into grass. The present day version of this driveway runs up from the river road, past the north side of the Main house to the Nelson property where it forms a large turn-around. Parts of it can also be clearly seen in the 1914 photograph, though it appears to go only as far as the utility sheds and then turn back on itself to arrive at the side door of the (smaller)Main house, before looping back to the river road. This latter part would obviously have had to fall way when the Main house was added on to in 1915, the year when what is now the Nelson barn was also built. These two changes would at the time have encouraged the extension of the driveway back to where it reaches today. The turnaround to the north of the Nelson house may have been added soon after: although it appears to relate strongly to the current ornamental planting there (dating from the early 1950’s) it can already be seen in a panoramic photograph dating from the 1920’s in which it seems to enclose land still used as a garden plot. (In understanding the need for turnaround as an integral part of the both versions of the driveway, it is useful to remember that early automobiles, and certainly horse-drawn vehicles, were nowhere near as maneuverable as contemporary automobiles are.). The driveway has had parking areas added to it over time, both in front of and behind the Main house. Helen Davis remembers the one at the front (or at least a version of it) was there when she bought the property in 1948, though it almost definitely was not there during the Grey’s tenure.
Addendum C: Design Recommendations

Access:
The most pressing issue on the site today is that of access. Already, with only three rooms open in the Zane Grey House, the arrangements for visitor parking and access are not ideal, particularly because there are no provisions for the handicapped. With the general increase of visitors for the Upper Delaware Scenic & Recreational River a certainty as sites and facilities in the area become more numerous, this lack of amenity will only become more pressing.

There are several aspects to the provision of legible and safe access to a property, and solutions to it cannot occur in a vacuum: they need to take into account a wide range of factors, such as the relationship between specific buildings and their associated larger landscape, the numbers of visitors anticipated, as well as the means by which they arrive. Access to a site and its buildings is a vital though sometimes hidden aspect of interpretation. Even when many of the original landscape features are missing (as they are at the Zane Grey site) site access sets up an experiential sequence in which the visitor bodily participates, and which enables him or her to develop an empathetic understanding of how those who originally lived in a property experienced it spatially, as a place that they psychologically inhabited. The strength of this empathetic understanding is such that it can often be used to recreate a sense of a much larger site even when the original extent of property has diminished over the years, as has happened at the Zane Grey House.

The Cultural Landscape Inventory shows that the Zane Grey House had a dual orientation: dominating and surveying the great sweep of the Delaware, and the public roadway on the east, and embracing the intimate and shaded family garden spaces to the west (in a curious way, these two orientations mirror the two sides of Zane Grey's life very well). When Zane Grey lived in it, the sides of the house had no entrances (though Romer's original house had a side door on the north). The front of the house was approached axially, along a bluestone path which led straight from the road to the centrally placed porch steps which one climbed before reaching the front door. At the back of the house, on the other hand, multiple paths led away at angles, taking one further into the working heart of the property, and, by a local pathway, to the railroad depot. This duality sets up a tension between the front and the back of the house which will be well exploited by the one-way flow of visitors through the house planned for once the interpretive exhibit expands to include the whole first floor.

With the UDSSR apparently increasing the number of attractions and programs all the time, and facilities for tourists improving in the immediate region, there will inevitably be an increase in
visitors to the Zane Grey site. While most of these will come, as they do today, by vehicular means, it would be a pity to ignore another type of visitor who are already immersed in the ethos of Zane Grey’s Delaware: canoers arriving at the museum from the access area. Another group of visitors not catered for, though only of tangential concern to the Zane Grey site, are those who might approach the site on foot from the village of Lackawaxen, where they might perhaps have just visited the Roebling Bridge. However, both these groups would approach the site directly from the river road, or east front, which of course used to be the old formal entrance to the house.

As far as visitors arriving by vehicular means are concerned, the existing arrangements are not adequate. The parking lot immediately to the north east of the Main house is neither authentic to the Zane Grey period, nor is it of sufficient capacity to cater to current (and future) visitor numbers. Some of its spaces are usually taken by NPS vehicles, and many visitors end up parking in the PAF&BC lot which is conveniently located and seldom full outside peak fishing season. Once parked, however, there is no clear route for them to take to the house, and visitors tend to make paths through the trees and shrubs that mark the NPS/PAF&BC property boundary. This is neither satisfactory from a landscape maintenance point of view, nor does it contribute towards the visitor’s interpretation of the site.

Pedestrian visitors approaching the site are no better catered for. The stairs and path recently constructed at the front of the Main house facilitate access from the river road fairly well, but there are no paths or sidewalks which lead to it, nor are current arrangements handicapped accessible. The fact that the existing path is a curving one that does not frontally approach the center of the facade of the house, as it originally did, is also not authentic.

It seems likely that no matter how much or little the site is developed for interpretation in the future, entry to the house will always be from the front, no matter how a visitor arrives there. Therefore, perhaps the biggest challenge in terms of access is the fact that the front is elevated several feet above surrounding grade at the north-east corner -- generally, the direction from which visitors tend to approach the house -- making unobtrusive handicapped access hard to achieve from this direction. Given the closeness of first floor level to grade on the south and west of the house, a logical response to the problem of providing handicapped access would be to try and use the existing path systems in these areas. However, this would only be a stop-gap solution, and a better approach would be to make the provision of such access integral with a site-wide schematic study of all access, which will need to be reconsidered in the near future anyway if problems of maintenance and possibly visitor safety are to be avoided. Although not directly necessary for the drawing up of this plan, some general policies about future restoration of landscape features would greatly assist in making this access plan one which will maintain its validity in the coming years.

*Cultural Landscape Inventory: Zane Grey House, Lackawaxen PA*
Addendum D: Site Plans

A: Conjectural sketch plan, 1913

B: Conjectural sketch plan, 1918

C: Current conditions sketch plan, 1994

D: Location of black-&-white photographic images (1994)

(all drawings reduced to scale 1" = 60' 0"")