Rough Draft

A BRIEF HISTORY OF GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK

I. Introduction:

a. Geographical setting:

Grand Teton National Park is located in the northwest quarter of the State of Wyoming, west of the continental divide and just south of the world-famous Yellowstone National Park. Within its boundaries are included the major portion of the Teton Mountain Range and a part of the historically famous valley, Jackson Hole. The streams of the park all flow through the valley of Jackson Hole and join to become the south fork of the Snake River which makes up an important branch of the Columbia River of the west. The Teton Mountain Range, one of the most magnificent mountain spectacles to be found in the nation, is an impressive example of the fault block type of mountain range. Its towering pinnacles served as guiding beacons for the early explorers, its lakes and streams afforded unexcelled habitat for the beaver, waterfowl and fish and the Valley of Jackson Hole, abounding in wildlife, afforded excellent hunting opportunities for early explorers, settlers as well as for the prehistoric peoples who used this valley as their home at least during the summer months.

A most interesting geological unit, an uplifted block of the earth's crust dipping toward the west and presenting a very steep slope along its east face; a mountain block which has been sculptured by many natural agencies frost, streams, snow, ice and glaciers to form the scenic features of the Teton Mountains we see today. The valley of Jackson Hole is the downthrust portion of the block fault in which are found many of the glacial features remaining to tell the story of the important geological phenomena of the past.

The geographic setting of this park with its magnificent scenery of precipitous mountain peaks rising more than 7,000 feet above the valley floor to the

towering height of the Grand Teton at 13,766 feet and Jackson Hole of the Upper Snake River, one of the largest enclosed valleys in the Rocky Mountains, its glaciated floor extending about sixty miles north and south and varying in width up to twelve miles, is near the headwaters of three great rivers of the west - the Missouri, Colorado and Snake Rivers. These rivers were thoroughfares of the early explorer and fur trapper and because of the strategic location of this valley and its abundance of wildlife and beaver, it became the crossroads of the trapper trails during that important period, The American Fur Trade Era, of American history.

b. Prehistoric and Aboriginal History of the Area

How much use prehistoric man may have made of the area now within Grand Teton National Park is a matter of speculation and remains largely unanswered. The question can only be summarized on the basis of archeological evidence thus far uncovered or to be found in future explorations. Artifacts of Indian origin have been found in fair abundance on the shores of Jackson Lake and sparsely from other other regions of the park. The several campsites which were located on the shores of the original Jackson Lake have been inundated by the construction of a dam at the outlet of the lake which raised the normal level of Jackson Lake approximately 40 feet. Except for the years of heavy water use, these early campsites remain submerged throughout the year.

Walcott Watson, in his History of Jackson Hole, gives the following:

"No Indians had permanent villages in Jackson Hole as the winters were much too severe for comfort, but there is plenty of evidence to show that they frequently traversed the valley and often established temporary camps. Numerous arrowheads and domestic implements on the east shore of Jackson Lake lead to a belief that this was probably a favorite camping site, near as it is to the best

hunting, fishing and trapping in the region. The Indians, who at various times guided parties from the Green River to the Snake, usually chose to go through the Jackson's Hole and it is certain that there were several Indian trails through the valley which were followed later by trappers and explorers."

"Most of the area to the southeast and south and southwest of Jackson's Hole, that is the valleys of the Wind, Green, Bear and Snake Rivers, was occupied by roving bands of Shoshone, Snakes and Bannocks, allied tribes that had to wander widely over rather barren country to maintain themselves. They probably hunted and fished in Jackson's Hole at irregular intervals, and the bands from the Snake River regions must have crossed it often on their way to hunt buffalo in the Wind and Green River Valleys. The Nez Perce and Flatheads from the mountain regions of northern Montana, Idaho and Washington may have been occasional visitors in early times. After the estab lishment of the annual trappers' rendezvous in the eighteen twenties and thirties, they frequented the area often and appear a number of times in the history of Jackson's Hole during that period. They were intellectually and morally, the highest type of Indians in the mountains. The Crows centered around the valley of the Bighorn, but their hunting and warring parties travelled over wide areas and certainly were familiar with Jackson's Hole. The ancient enemy of the Crows, the Blackfeet, kept their main villages in central and northern Montana and up into Canada. They were the inveterate fighters of the mountains, however, and were constantly on the trail looking for Crows, Flatheads, Shoshones, or later, Americans, to molest. The tribe of Blackfeet most often in Jackson's Hole was the Gros Ventre, a warlike clan that frequently traversed the valley on its way to visit the Arapahoes. The most direct route for them would have been up the Bighorn Basin, but the location of the Crow Nation there forced them to make a wide detour including Jackson's Hole. That hunting parties of hostile tribes may have met and fought in the valley is highly probable,

but since it was not near the headquarters of any tribe, it is unlikely that any major Indian battle ever took place there. Their arrows were spent on deer, elk, antelope and grouse, and occasionally buffalo. The grizzlies, black bear, mountain lions, wolves and coyotes were not bothered as a rule nor were the beaver, martin, mink, marmot, or skunk much prized in the period before the white man. Thus Jackson's Hole idled away the years until a strange figure presaged the coming of a new era."

c. Coming of the White Man.

The period of history of the years 1807 to 1840 is most significant for this area now included in Grand Teton National Park. This period as related to Jackson Hole has been very well presented in the recent publication: "Jackson Hole, Crossroads of the Western Fur Trade, 1807 - 1940," by Merrill J. Mattes. Only a brief summary of the events of this period is given below.

In 1807 John Colter in making an extended trip from the Manual Lisa Fort at the mouth of the Big Horn River is believed to have passed through Jackson Hole and to have been the first white man to see the Tetons and to have discovered a portion of the area now included in Yellowstone National Park. Colter's route is not too well established and whether or not he actually passed through this valley has been questioned.

During the period 1811 to 1829, eight exploring or trapping expeditions passed through Jackson Hole. They were the following:

In the spring of 1811 John Hoback, Edward Robinson and Jacob Reznor, after a year of trapping with the Andrew Henry's expedition on the Missouri River near Three Forks, Montana, and on the Snake River near where St. Anthony, Idaho, now stands, passed through Jackson Hole entering by the way of Teton Pass and

departing by the way of Togwotee Pass to the east of Jackson Lake via the Buffalo Fork River and Blackrock Creek.

These three Kentucky hunters succeeded in reaching the Missouri River near the Arikara villages in South Dakota, where they were met by the Astorian expedition under Wilson Price Hunt and were persuaded to return to the wilderness as guides for this important exploring expedition. Hoback, Robinson and Reznor guided the Astorians westward to the vicinity of Togwotee Pass, leading to Jackson Hole, but because of the shortage of rations a side trip was made to the valley of the Green River for the purpose of securing buffalo meat. After the buffalo hunt, the expedition continued westward and passed through Jackson Hole entering by the way of Hoback Canyon and departing by the Teton Pass route which was then described as an important Indian Trail. Four men of this party were left behind in Jackson Hole and spent the winter trapping in this valley and on other tributaries of the Snake River. This is the first record of a trapping expedition in the valley of Jackson Hole.

In the fall of 1812, seven returning Astorians passed through Jackson Hole by the way of Teton Pass and Hoback Canyon. This party led by Robert Stuart retraced the route followed by Wilson Price Hunt on his westward journey in 1811 as far as the Green River, Wyoming, and then set out on a new course and are credited with the discovery of the route which later became the famous Oregon Trail. They journeyed over South Pass and down the Platte River, a route which later became important in the fur trade expeditions and the westward migration.

For a time after the war of 1812, Americans lost interest in exploration

of the western wilderness and British interests carried on numerous expeditions into the area that was to become the disputed Oregon Territory. It is believed that in 1819 Donald McKenzie of the Northwest Company explored the headwaters of the South Fork of the Snake River and became the first British agent to visit the valley of Jackson Hole.

In 1822, Andrew Henry and William Ashley of St. Louis, Missouri, organized fur trapping expeditions and during the next two years set out for the Rocky Mountain Region to establish forts and to trap for beaver. This was the beginning of the important Rocky Mountain Fur Company which played an important part in the exploration and winning of the west for the United States.

The first party of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to venture into Jackson Hole was led by Jedediah Smith in the autumn of 1824. This group of seven trappers entered by the Hoback Canyon route and traversed the valley of Jackson hole and left by the Conant Pass route, a low divide to the north of the Teton Range. This marked the beginning of the American Fur Trade Era in connection with the area of Grand Teton National Park.

In 1825 James Bridger and Thomas Fitzpatrick with thirty trappers followed the route of Jedediah Smith into Jackson Hole. Seven prominent routes were used in coming to or leaving the valley; they were: Two Ocean Pass, Togwotee Pass, Union Pass, Hoback Canyon, Teton Pass, Conant Pass and the Yellowstone Route. Of these routes, four of them are still used today as the main approaches to this park and a fifth the Snake River Canyon route has been added.

Difficulties present themselves in an attempt to describe the exact events that occurred during these days of early explorations and exploitations of this region for its horde of beaver. Very few of the participants kept records

of their wanderings and the historian today, in an attempt to piece together the evidence, is often at a loss to know just who went where and who may have been first in this or that place; but enough to say the period of American Fur Trade was a most significant and highly important one in the development and westward expansion of the United States and the area now included in Grand Teton National Park played its part in being an important source of beaver as well as being a strategically located valley through which the several routes of converging trapper trails passed in the extensive exploration of the Rocky Mountain Region. The towering peaks of the Teton Mountain Range served as guiding beacons to many of the wandering bands of trappers. They were named the Pilot Knobs by some of the first Americans to visit the area and received the name "Les Trois Tetons" probably from French Canadian trappers with Andrew Henry's expedition in 1810.

To relate all of the known events of the Fur Trade would require volumes and this is not the intent of this brief history, but it is believed that a summary of the important expeditions which were associated with or in some way connected with the area of this park might well be included.

In 1826 a trapping party led by William Sublette and James Beckwourth crossed lower Jackson Hole enroute to the wilderness rendezvous on the Green River and Daniel T. Potts is believed to have visited Jackson Hole via the Conant Pass route and to have left via the Two Ocean Pass route. He is also credited with being the first to give a written description of the Yellowstone.

In the summer of 1829, William L. Sublette led his company up the valley of the Wind River and across Togwotee Pass. At Jackson Lake he joined his partner, David E. Jackson. It was on this occasion that "Jackson Hole" and

"Jackson Lake" received their names. Looking for the third partner, Jedediah Smith, they pushed on westward through Teton Pass.

The following is quoted from "Jackson Hole, Crossroads of the Western Fur Trade 1830 - 1840:"

"In the decade following the meeting of Sublette and Jackson on the shores of Jackson Lake, the monopoly of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was challenged by several newcomers to the mountains; primarily, the re-juvenated American Fur Company, who hoped to share in the fabulous profits. This resulted in an era of furious competition among the various rivals for the rich beaver trapping grounds of the Snake, Green, Yellowstone, Wind and Missouri Rivers. A circle of about one hundred miles radius, containing the headwaters of these rivers, was the focus of activity. Jackson Hole was near the center of this circle."

"Most of the traders and trappers were illiterate, and even those who could sign their initials on a beaver skin were not accustomed to keeping diaries. Fortunately, there were a few exceptions -- notably Meek, Ferris, Nidever, Leonard, Larpenteur, Bonneville, Carson, Newell, Russel, and the Wyeths -- men who did keep a journal or penned memoirs in more tranquil times. What little we know of the American fur trade in the Rocky Mountains is mainly due to the scanty evidence they provided (together with jigsaw pieces contributed by missionaries, British traders, and a few others); but this evidence is enough to illuminate for us the remarkable extent to which Jackson Hole was associated with this historic period. It proves that during the eleven years here under consideration (1829 to 1840), it was entered by at least thirty trapping and trading expeditions."

Among those who led trapping or exploring parties through the valley of Jackson Hole, we find the following prominent individuals of the American Fur Trade: Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson, James Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, William Sublette, Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville, Warren A. Ferris, Joseph L. Meek, James Baker, Milton Sublette, Henry Fraeb, Baptiste Gervais, Robert Newell, Andrew Drips, Henry Vanderburgh, Samuel Parker, Kit Carson, Zenas Leonard, Nathaniel and John Wyeth and probably a host of others not specifically recorded. The historic record of the exploits of these leaders in the exploration of the west is most significant for it was because of their efforts that the new nation was able to expand its boundaries of the Pacific. The Mountain Men not only hunted out the trails and passes of this mountainous region for the Americans in their exploits of the fur trade, but they opened the way for the westward expansion and the winning of the west for the United States.

Jackson Hole played its important part in this epoch of American History as it provided passageways for the numerous exploring and trapping expeditions, and was one of the trappers' favorite haunts and a practical base of operations. The heritage of western American traits and frontier traditions, in which we as a nation take pride, is most appropriately exemplified in this historic valley which is now a part of Grand Teton National Park to be preserved for the enjoyment of many generations yet to come.

As the Fur Trade Era came to an end and Americans turned to other interests, as the westward migration, the gold rush, the Mexican War and other domestic pursuits, the valley of Jackson Hole was forgotten by all except the old-timers.

A Frenchman named Michaud in 1842 attempted to climb the Grand Teton. Not too much is known about Michaud nor the details of his attempted ascent. It is known that he did not reach the summit, but probably attained the upper saddle at an elevation of 13,200 feet. A circular enclosure at this point has been attributed to Michaud, however, there is no positive proof of this and it may be that this enclosure, about seven feet in diameter, formed by vertical slabs of rough granite and about three feet high, the interior of which was half filled with detritus that long exposure to the elements had worn from these walls, may have been constructed by pre-historic peoples.

d. The American Period

At the close of the period known as the Fur Trade Era, there followed a span of at least twenty years of quiet and seclusion for the area of Grand Teton National Park. The fur trade had come to an end and the mountain men turned to other pursuits. Many of them became the guides in the new immigration and settling of the new frontier, "The Oregon Country and the West." Some mountain men became the very settlers and pioneers of this new venture, others remained traders at stragetic points along the migration routes. All of this surging activity of the westward movement by-passed the valley of Jackson Hole and it is not until 1860 that we find this area being re-discovered.

Of prominent importance during the period 1860 to 1898 are the following events:

On June 11, 1860 a large expedition under William F. Raynolds of the United States Engineers with old Jim Bridger as its guide reached Jackson Hole from the east. This expedition had planned to explore the Yellowstone Region.

but were turned back by deep snows and descended into the valley of Jackson Hole. Thus we see Bridger, who had been one of the last trappers to abandon the old life, become the first to open a new period of exploration which lasted until the settlement of the valley in 1884.

The Raynold's expedition experienced some difficulty in crossing the Snake River, but after a brief stay of seven days departed from the valley by way of Teton Pass.

The outbreak of the Civil War put an end to all government activities in this region, but it did not stop the gold seekers. In 1863 Captain Walter DeLacy led a company of men on a search for gold on the headwaters of the South Fork of the Snake River. During the latter part of August, this group of forty-three men encamped in Jackson Hole near the confluence of the Buffalo Fork and Snake River. They spent a few days in prospecting the several streams of the area for gold, but not being successful in finding gold in paying amounts they abandoned their diggings and left the valley. Some of the men returned by the way they had come while DeLacy led twenty-eight of the group on a continued search for gold by going northward through a portion of Yellowstone Park in their return to Montana and their homes.

In 1864 a large party of seventy-three men under James Stuart, that had been prospecting as a unit, broke up on the Stinking Water (Shoshone) River into several smaller bands. One of these went down to South Pass, up Green River to Jackson's Hole, and after inspecting the possibilities of finding paying gravel, continued northeast to Two Ocean Pass and the source of the Yellowstone.

Jackson Hole has never rewarded the prospector with any rich diggings,

but from this time down to the present, men have continued to investigate the gravels of the Snake and its tributaries. Signs of mineral are numerous and thin deposits have been worked, especially since the depression following 1929, but at best the miner can pan only a few dollars a day. The records of early prospectors are found more often in their diggings than in their writings. North of Gros Ventre River there is an artifical ditch that leads water from the hills onto the valley bottom. Of unknown origin, Ditch Creek, as it was named by early settlers, was first described by the geologist St. John in 1877 as "constructed some six or seven years ago for the purpose of conveying water to some placer mines opened in the gravels of the lower bottom level." He also reported that "prospect pits were found in several places in the valley," evidence that periodically small parties and solitary individuals in quest of gold and adventure resorted to these digging operations.

During this period from 1864 to 1872, no doubt hunters, trappers and goldseekers visited Jackson Hole, but no records of them have been uncovered except their "diggings". The summer of 1872 witnessed the second known attempt to ascent the Grand Teton. Nathaniel P. Langford and James Stevenson of the Snake River Division of Hayden's Territorial Surveys reported that they reached the summit and their claim remained unchallenged for years.

Langford's description of the summit in his account of the ascent written for the Scribners Magazine in 1873 does not fit very well the true conditions found on the summit and when William O. Owen with three others made the ascent of the Grand Teton in 1898; he was convinced that their's was the first ascent as they found no evidence at the summit of earlier climbers and he set out

with vigor to disprove the former claim. Langford defended his claim and was believed by many while others agreed with Owen. How are we, at this time, to decide whether or not Langford and Stevenson did or did not reach the summit in 1872? The following written records relative to the incident are presented as supporting evidence for the Langford and Stevenson claims:

Mr. Owen claimed that no evidence of a previous ascent was found at the summit at the time he and his party succeeded in reaching the summit on August 11, 1898, twenty-six years after the Langford and Stevenson ascent. He also contends that Mr. Langford's description of the summit does not fit actual conditions found on the Grand Teton. Langford made no claim to leaving any record on the summit and careful reading of Langford's account of his ascent with Mr. Stevenson does reveal some discrepancies of conditions found on the mountain today; but it must be remembered that Langford's articles were written a year after the ascent for publication as a magazine article in the style of that day and not as a scientific treatise on mountain climbing.

The one statement in Langford's account that leads many people to disagree with him is found in the sentences: "The main summit, separated by erosion from the surrounding knobs, embraced an irregular area of thirty by forty feet. Exposure to the winds kept it free from snow and ice, and its bald, denuded head was worn smooth by the elemental warfare waged around it."

Interpretation of these sentences may be the sole cause of argument over which there has been so much controversy. It's "bald, denuded head" does not fit in the specific sense that the thirty by forty foot area is a smooth surface

for, in fact, the top is composed of a mass of irregular boulders or huge blocks of gneisses and schists; however, the statement of the 'main summit embraced an irregular area of thirty by forty feet' does fit in general conditions existing on the Grand. The first sentences may have had reference to the barrenness of the summit rather than to its smoothness, be that as it may, the whole Langford's account seems to present a fairly true and realistic narrative of an ascent of the Grand Teton.

Further evidence to support the Langford claim is the following:

William H. Jackson, who was the photographer of the photographer of the expedition of 1872 wrote in his book "Time Exposure," published in 1940, as follows:

"After ten days, the five-man photographic corps rejoined the main Stevenson party and together we moved straight to the Tetons. At the foot of the Grand Teton, Langford and Stevenson decided without further preparation to attempt its ascent. Since they had no way of knowing that it would later be regarded as one of the truly difficult peaks of North America, they simply went ahead and climbed it. That, in my mind, is the way to climb a mountain. Sometimes there is an awful lot of nonsense about it."

"For example, in 1898, when the Rev. Franklin Spencer Spalding (later Episcopal Bishop of Utah) led a small party to the top, he took with him a certain gentleman who later announced that Langford and Stevenson were frauds - since he had found at the top no evidence to prove that anyone had been there twenty-six years earlier! A realist of high order, and with political influence as well, this gentleman still later succeeded in having himself acclaimed - by joint resolution of the Wyoming legislature - as the first man to scale the peak."

In a booklet "The Discovery of Yellowstone Park 1870," published by J. E. Haynes, a footnote on page 113 states:

"Repeated efforts to ascend the Grand Teton made prior to the year 1872, all terminated in failure. On the 29th day of July of that year, the summit was reached by James Stevenson of the U. S. Geological Survey, and Nathaniel P. Langford, the writer of this diary. An account of this ascent was published in Scribner's (now Century) Magazine for June, 1873. The next ascent was made in 1898 by Rev. Frank S. Spalding, of Erie, Pennsylvania, and W. O. Owen, of Wyoming, and two assistants. This ascent was accomplished after two failures of Mr. Owen in previous years to reach the summit. Mr. Owen then asserted that the summit of the mountain was not reached in 1872 by Stevenson and Langford. His efforts -- in which Mr. Spalding had no part -- to impeach the statement of these gentlemen failed utterly. Mr. Spalding, who was first member of his party to reach summit, writes: 'I believe that Mr. Langford reached the summit because he says he did and because the difficulties of the ascent were not great enough to have prevented any good climber from having successfully scaled the peak, and I cannot understand why Mr. Owen failed so many times before he succeeded!'"

Fryxell states in his book "The Teton Peaks and Their Ascents,"

"To review this (Owen vs Langford) controversy here is impossible. The writer has personally found it impossible to accept Langford's claim in view of the discrepancies between his published description and the actual conditions on the peak."

However, let us look at the possibilities. Both Langford and Stevenson were men of the highest character and any statement by either would seem

to be above question. Nathaniel Pitt Langford was a prominent member of the Washburn Expedition of 1870, worked diligently for the establishment of Yellowstone National Park and was the first Superintendent of that Park. He served five years without remuneration of any kind. He was also Grand Master of the Montana Grand Lodge of Master Masons. Captain James Stevenson, a man of unimpeachable character, was Dr. Hayden's assistant in charge of the party which visited the Tetons. It seems beyond belief that these men would say they had climbed the peak if it were not true.

Langford's account relates that the climbing party were at the lower saddle at noon and that he and Stevenson reached the summit at 3 p.m. To Owen and others this has seemed a very short time for climbers to make what is considered the most rugged portion of the ascent on the Grand. A careful check of the climbing records maintained since the establishment of Grand Teton National Park in 1929 reveals that the average climbing time for good climbers is about four hours for this portion of the mountain. It has been made by some individuals in as little as one hour and four minutes and numerous climbs from the lower saddle to the summit have been made in less than three hours.

Another contention on the part of Mr. Owen is that the elevation of the Grand as determined by Langford and Stevenson's aneroid (13,762 feet) was not the true elevation as the aneroid carried by Owen showed the elevation to be 13,800 feet. The true elevation today has been found to be 13,766 feet

The following correspondence between Mr. Langford and Mr. Henry Gannet, Chief Geographer of the U. S. Geological Survey is quoted as further evidence

in support of Mr. Langford in his claim for having made the ascent of the Grand Teton in 1872:

(Copied from History file.)

GANNETT TO LANGFORD

Department of the Interior

UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Washington, D.C., April 15, 1897

Hon. N. P. Langford,

St. Paul, Minnesota

My Dear Langford:

I have been amusing myself for some time "scrapping" with Mr. W. O. Owen, State Auditor of Wyoming, about the ascent and the elevation of the Grand Teton. He maintains that no one ever climbed the mountain or ever reached within one thousand feet of its summit, and it is some seven hundred feet higher than our measurements make it.

I think I have all the literature relating to the subject, with the exception of your article in Scribner's Monthly. If you have a spare copy, would you loan it to me? I will be responsible for its safe return. And, if you know of any other attempts on the mountain, beside those of Wilson, Bechler and my friend, Owen, will you kindly put me on the track of them?

Sincerely yours,

Henry Gannett,

Geographer

LANGFORD TO GANNETT

St. Paul, Minnesota

April 28, 1897

Henry Gannett, Esq.,

Chief Geographer U. S. G. Survey,

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Gannett:

Your letter of April 16th, relative to the ascent of the Grand Teton, is received and I am constrained to write you somewhat at length, and attach my letter to the Scribner Magazine article; and I am the more impelled to do this from the fact that my article as originally prepared, was cut down nearly one-fourth, by the publishers of the magazine, and there are many connecting links dropped from the original article. I shall be glad if I can clear up any existing doubts on this subject.

History here repeats itself; for the various accounts of the ascent of the Matterhorn, and of our own Mount Rainier, were discredited for many years, and by many are so still.

I know that it has sometimes been questioned whether Capt. Stevenson and I were not mistaken in thinking that we reached the highest pinnacle of the Grand Teton. The suggestion has been made that the cloud which hangs on top of the mountain so much of the time may, from the point we reached, have obscured our view of a higher point just beyond us. This suggestion has no significance whatever; - for the day was a bright one, and there was not a cloud along the whole Teton range to obscure our view.

I can give but one explanation of the doubt which exists in the minds of some, that we reached the summit of the mountain, - and that is found in a singular mis-statement of Prof. Hayden in his report for that year, 1872.

I have been told that Mr. Wilson and one other mountain climber, (perhaps it was Mr. Owen, found, a few hundred feet lower than the summit, the enclosure surrounded by slabs of granite, described by Prof. Hayden and myself; - and having already, by the statement of Prof. Hayden, been erroneously, led into the belief that this enclosure was on the summit, naturally concluded that Capt. Stevenson and I were mistaken in thinking we had reached the highest point. Hence came the suggestion that the summit might have been hidden from our view by clouds.

Now let us look at the facts in relation to this misleading statement of Prof. Hayden. On page 2 of his report for 1872 he says:

> "Yet on the summit of this peak there were indications that human beings had made the ascent at some period in the past. On the top of the Grand Teton and for three hundred feet below, are great quantities of granite blocks or slabs of different sizes. These blocks had been placed on end, forming a breastwork about three feet high, enclosing a circular space six or seven feet in diameter."

Prof. Hayden here clearly conveys the idea that this enclosure was on the summit of the Grand Teton, and the inference is that Capt. Stevenson and I, from whom alone all the information came, believed that place to be the summit. But our written record made at that time shows otherwise; - and I cannot understand how Prof. Hayden fell into this error, for I frequently talked the matter over with him. He had examined my report published in the same volume, for on page 86 he says:

"The brief report of N. P. Langford, Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park - ***** will be read with great interest for its practical character."

So, I repeat that the record shows the error of Prof. Hayden: for in my report thus referred to, commencing at the last line but one on page 89 of the 1872 report, you may read as follows:

"We found on one of the buttresses a little lower than the extreme top of the mountain evidence that at some former period it had been visited by human beings. There was a circular enclosure about seven feet in diameter formed by vertical slabs of rough granite."

From my accompanying article in Scribner for May 1873, on page 145, I also quote:

"On the top of an adjacent pinnacle but little lower than the one we occupied, we found a circular enclosure six feet in diameter, composed of granite slabs, set up endwise, about five feet in height."

You can see from these quotations that the enclosure here referred to was not on the summit, as Prof. Hayden seemed to think. As I now recollect, it was about 400 feet below the summit, to reach which required another hour of rough travel and climbing. We certainly did reach the summit of the Grand Teton. There were no clouds to obstruct our view.

I will add one thing more concerning the work of that day. If it had not been for the huge sheet of ice overlying the sides of the mountain near the top, and which at first seemed to present an insurmountable obstacle to our further progress, we could not have reached the summit. We utilized this sheet of ice by breaking the edge with the toes of our boots, as I describe on page 144 of this magazine article; but it seemed as if the ice-sheet might at any moment yield to the influence of the sun's rays and the water trickling underneath

and slide down the mountain, and without it, we could not have reached the summit on that side. And another thing I am sure of, is that we never could have made the ascent by the route we selected, but for the aid of our rope. The season of the year also was most favorable." - - -

After the ascent by the Spalding-Owen party, the summit of the Grand was not visited for twenty-five years. On August 25, 1923, three boys from Missoula, Montana, - Andy DePirro, Quinn A. Blackburn, and Dave F. DeLap - made their way to the top through a blustering day apparently with little equipment for the climb other than a smattering of information concerning the route and an unlimited fund of gameness which, after all, is more essential on this climb than ropes and hobnails. Since that time, numerous ascents of the Grand have been made and at least nine different routes have been followed and it certainly does not seem impossible that Langford and Stevenson may have followed any one of these and not necessarily the Owen route.

In the year 1872 the first photographs of the Teton Range were made by William H. Jackson, photographer with the Hayden surveys. These photographs were of the range from the west, as Jackson did not get into Jackson Hole until 1878. He made trips to the valley in 1883 and again in 1892 and produced some very excellent photographs of the Teton mountains from the valley of Jackson Hole.

The Hayden survey parties visited the valley of Jackson Hole during the years 1872, 1877 and 1878. Important reports on the geology of the area were prepared by Orestes St. John, Frank H. Bradley, G. K. Gechler and others. Most of the prominent features of the park were named by the Hayden survey parties.

The many names we find given to the features of the park give us an almost completed record of the members of these early surveying parties. Among them are: Beaver Dick or Richard Leigh, an Englishman, Pioneer trapper and guide whose name was given to Leigh Canyon, Leigh Lake and Beaver Dick Lake, which now has been changed to String Lake. There is Jenny Lake, named after the Shoshone squaw of Beaver Dick Leigh.

There are also the peaks, Mount St. John, Mount Moran, and at one time Mount Hayden was the name given to the Grand Teton. There are also the Lakes Bradley, Taggart, and Phelps all honoring these men who were members of the Hayden Survey parties and who gave such valuable information as they surveyed and mapped this region of Jackson Hole and Grand Teton National Park.

During the following year 1879, there occurred a rather unusual incident in connection with these surveying parties. G. R. Bechler and party who had been working near the Tetons that summer and were on their way to camp near the Wind River met a small band of Indians bringing a message to the effect that the Nezperce Indians were on the war path and that all settlers, miners and prospectors were to take refuge at the nearest military reservation. The Indians were asked to stay for supper, and we are told that Bechler's men apologized for not having any sugar for the coffee, whereupon one Indian remarked that he had sugar and proceeded to get a bag of sugar from his pack saddle. The sugar was wrapped in a newspaper printed in Cheyenne, Wyoming. One of the men began reading the paper, and this item was noted: "The Bechler party was attacked by the Nezperce Indians of Chief Joseph's band, and their bones and instruments had been found and identified." The next

morning the Bechler party broke camp early and set out for Fort Dawlins, Wyoming, to let their friends and relatives know that they were still very much alive.

In 1879 Thomas Moran made a journey to the Tetons under a military escort and spent the brief period of one day within the Teton range on its west side. As a result of this day's work, Moran was able to prepare several sketches from which he later painted some of his important paintings of the Tetons. He saw the Tetons only from the west and never did view them from the east or the more spectacular side. Moran's paintings of the Tetons cannot be credited with being the first for it is believed that Henry Arthur Elkins painted scenes of the Tetons as early as 1868. In 1898 the first topographic map of the Teton range was made by a survey party of the U. S. Geological Survey.

Another incident of note that occurred prior to this is that in the winter of 1876 and 1877 were recorded the adventures of Lieut. Doane of the U. S. Army and party making a trip through Jackson Hole during the early months of winter.

Lieut. Doane was given the assignment to explore the Snake River from its source near Yellowstone Lake to its mouth.

Under date of 4th October, 1876, Lieut. G. C. Doane received telegraphic orders to the effect that he was to make exploration of the Snake River from Yellowstone Lake to the Columbia River, and he was to be furnished a mounted detail of one non-commissioned officer and five men of the 2nd Calvary.

With these six men and pack outfit and carrying a ready-made boat that could be assembled or dismantled at will, he set out upon this most trying journey right at the beginning of winter.

The trials and tribulations of this party of seven were many as they made their way up the Gardiner River to Mammoth and then over the pass near Mount Washburn in more than two feet of snow, how they towed their boat along the shores of Yellowstone Lake in icy weather and snow storms and finally, by relay system, they were able in three days of severe struggle to pull their boat from Yellowstone Lake over the divide to Heart Lake and from there skid their boat down the rugged rocky canyon of one of the small tributaries of Snake River down to the larger fork of the river coming from Lewis Lake; how they finally reached Jackson Hole on the 21st of November. By then their troubles had just begun. Rations began to run low, especially certain items such as salt and flour. So much time had been given to making headway and in tending to the daily events of getting the pack string and boat a goodly distance each day, that very little time was given to hunting game or obtaining food. Fortunately, the fish were biting good in Snake River and they managed to catch a goodly supply of trout, when they could take the time to fish.

Upon their arrival at Jackson Lake, they report the presence of great flocks of swan and also a great many otter. An attempt to feast on otter meat proved a dismal failure. The meat of the otter just wouldn't stay down.

Snow storms delayed the party a number of days at their camp on Jackson Lake. Many of their pack horses were at the point of exhaustion and while

coming into camp near Jackson Lake, one horse fell beneath a large log and in a few minutes was dead. Other horses were abandoned in deep grass near warm springs where they might have half a chance to survive the winter. As the food shortage for the men became more acute, a number of the horses were killed for food during the coming months.

Donne's party made their slow passage down the Snake River which, in many places at this time of year, was very shallow and in others blocked with ice and beaver dams and often did not have enough water to float the boat. The men had to more or less carry the boat over these shallow places by wading in the stream bed. As they approached the southern portion of Jackson Hole, they came upon a cabin of an old trapper, John Pierce. From him they obtained a supply of flour and some salt and also enough elk meat for a good feast. In exchange, they gave him some articles of clothing and some ammunition for his rifle. John told them he was making a living by trapping the marten, mink, fishers, and otter.

The journey down the Grand Canyon of the Snake proved the most difficult of all. The stream was too swift for the boat and the men to sail in it, so they negotiated the river by passing the boat along by means of lines snubbed around trees or rocks and by walking along the ice edges of the stream and by holding back on the boat over dangerous passages which existed most of the time. As they began to think they had passed the roughest portion of the river, ill luck befell them. In making one of the minor rapids, the gunwale of the boat caught beneath a ledge of ice and was capsized, dumping all their precious cargo into the icy water. All heavy equipment was lost, for only those articles that would float were brought ashore and saved. This incident left the party

almost without food, and without ammunition or weapons.

At this point it was decided to send the Sergeant and one man with the two horses and one remaining mule to go on to obtain rations from Fort Hall or the nearest settlement they should come to.

Lieut. Doane and party finally reached Fort Hall, Idaho, and from there returned to Fort Ellis, Montana, having explored a very meager portion of the Snake River.

The First Settlers Come to Jackson Hole

In 1884 the first settlers, John Carnes and John Holland, came to the valley of Jackson Hole and established adjoining ranches in the portion of the valley south of the present town of Jackson, Wyoming. Settlement of the valley progressed very slowly and in 1907, one hundred years after the coming John Colter, a number of small communities had sprung up in Jackson Hole at Jackson, Cheney, Wilson, Zenith, Moran, Elk and Kelly. Kelly was the largest community in the valley at that time. Jackson boasted a hotel, post office, school and several general stores, saloons and not many houses. There were 24 pupils in the Jackson school that year. The total population of the valley was probably not over 400 people. In 1898 there were only 21 ranches, principally "small cattle ranches", on which there was practically no cultivation of the soil. During the summer the cattle ranged freely; during the winter they existed on the wild hay that had been cut and stored during the summer. By 1898 well-to-do fishermen and sportsmen had begun to come into the valley and much of the livelihood of the settlers was derived from furnishing these visitors with outfits and supplies. Dude ranching started this early and continued to grow in importance with the passing years and still plays an

important part in the economy of the valley today.

During this period of early settlement, Jackson Hole acquired a wide spread reputation as a hiding place for horse and cattle thieves and for other criminals. While there was always a rough element in the region, it appears that the number of criminals in Jackson Hole and the extent of their activities was tremendously exaggerated. The following events have been recorded during this period and a summary of them may present some of the reasons for Jackson Hole's reputation of being the home of the outlaws; quoted from Malcott Watson's: "History of Jackson's Hole."

"In 1886 there occurred the most gruesome crime in its history, a triple murder on what is now known as Dead Man's Bar. A group of four Germans arrived at a point on Snake River in the north part of Jackson Hole, about the first of June and began sluice mining operations for gold. About two months later, three bodies were found loosely buried in a bank, the heads of two of them were badly mashed as though by an axe. The fourth member of the party, who had gone to Teton Basin, was soon arrested and charged with the murder of the other three. This man, John Tonnar, pleaded self defense and was taken to Evanston for trial where, on April 15, 1887, he was acquitted by a jury. His story was that the other parties had decided to exclude him from the partnership and told him to get out. On his remonstrances and efforts to at least retain his personal property, the others ganged up on him but Tonnar broke loose, grabbed his gun and shot them dead in rapid succession. The bruises were explained as a result of throwing the bodies down the bank to where he buried them. Although the jury believed the story, the Coroner's examination which

revealed no broken bones below the heads, leads to a strong suspicion that he attacked them with an axe, probably while they slept. That he may have been justified is possible because they had been known to quarrel, the three against Tonnar. The case, originating as it did in such an out-of-the-way locality, excited a great deal of in terest throughout Wyoming and undoubtedly led many to imagine that Jackson Hole was full of bad men."

Another incident occurred during the early nineties which has been greatly exaggerated. Two horse thieves were traced to Jackson's Hole by law officers from the outside. They were located at the Cunningham Ranch, where they had wintered in a two room log house, along with a man who was working for Cunningham. One morning a posse of seventeen men surrounded the cabin, hiding behind the outer ranch buildings and in the bushes. When the first rustler came out of the door, he was shot without a warning. Whereupon the second, swearing he would sell his life dearly, ran out and before he was riddled by the posse's bullets, succeeded in emptying his gun, though without results. The posse was composed largely of young men who have since become prominent citizens. They do not look back on the affair with pride. More experienced men would have at least given the men a chance to surrender.

Meanwhile in the early nineties, the people of the valley and the state as a whole began to realize that they had a valuable cash asset in the thousands of elk that made the Jackson's Hole region the best hunting country left in the United States. Hunters, many of them wealthy easterners, came in to collect trophies, and the money that they spent for guides and outfits put the valley on its feet financially. Ranchers obtained good cash prizes for accommodating hunting parties, and packing them into the best game territories. The business

was highly profitable and soon became the most important feature in the economic life of Jackson's Hole. Most of the homesteaders in the northern and eastern part of the valley joined this outfitting of hunters with regular ranching and winter trapping, to form a regular and agreeable routine of work. The ranchers in the central and southern portions relied more on crops and larger cattle herds.

The State of Wyoming, which had been admitted to the Union on July 10, 1890, wanted to insure the elk's preservation and at the same time realize some revenue from its natural asset. Game laws were adopted that placed a closed season on the elk during the winter, spring and summer and also required the purchase of licenses to hunt, with a limitation on the number killed on each license. Naturally, there was some illegal poaching by a few, but the great majority of ranchers kept the spirit of the law, if not always to the exact letter, and resented any unlawful diminution of their game supply.

The local settlers had early protested against Indian hunting parties leaving the reservations. By 1894, when the value of the elk was being realized, the protests were numerous out in Evanston, the county seat, Cheyenne, and Washington, little interest was aroused. In the summer of 1895 the settlers therefore took matters into their own hands, when a band of Bannocks from Fort Hall refused to desist from killing elk. A posse of twenty-seven men was formed under William Manning of Teton Basin, later of Jackson, to take the Indians into custody. The Indians relied on their Treaty of 1868 with the United States Government by which they were granted the right to kill game

on unoccupied lands when at peace with the whites. The settlers were acting under warrant to enforce the state game laws of February 2?, 1895, making it a misdemeanor to hunt out of season as it then was (July). The posse found a band of Bannocks, including women and children, camped on a tributary of the Hoback River and, relieving them of their arms, started to escort them back to Jackson for trial before a Justice of the Peace. The Indians were undoubtedly afraid of the treatment they would get away from Government authorities, at the hands of settlers, so while riding along the base of a gentle slope the Indians suddenly made an uphill dash through the trees that caught the officers by surprise. They shot after the fleeing Bannocks, but the forest cover prevented them from being very effective. One Indian, however, was killed in the escape. A baby died from falling to the ground from his mother's horse, and a little boy was separated from the band, to be found later by the posse. The rest, nine men and thirteen squaws, escaped to Fort Hall Reservation. Officers of the Army and representatives of the Indian Bureau visited Jackson's Hole to investigate, but took no action against the settlers. In October, one of the Bannocks named Race Horse, surrendered to Sheriff Ward of Uinta County at Evanston for the purpose of making a test case. He was convicted of killing seven elk on July 1, 1895 in violation of the Wyoming game law and immediately sued in Federal Court in Cheyenne for a writ of Habeas Corpus, pleading the treaty of 1868. It was admitted that the region to the southeast of Jackson's Hole where the offense occurred was unoccupied according to the meaning of the treaty. The Circuit Court granted the writ, upholding the superiority of the Federal treaty; but the United States Supreme

Court in an opinion by Justice White reversed the decision. The ownership by the State of its wildlife was thus absolutely established.

The disposal of the Indian hunting difficulty, however, did not solve all the game problems. About this time "tusk hunters" were becoming active in the Jackson's Hole country. These were men who shot elk for their two front tusks or teeth, leaving the head, hide and meat to go to waste. If unchecked they could have seriously depleted the size of the herd in a very short time. Of course, the game wardens and then the forest rangers kept checking their activities as best they could. Prices for good bull tusks reached a high of about thirty dollars a pair in 1905, unusually fine specimens bringing up to seventy-five dollars. Cow tusks never were worth more than five dollars, so in general the hunters killed only the bull elks. About 1901 or 1902 the Binkley gang, composed of William Binkley, Bill Morritt, Charles Purdy, and Bill Isael began its illegal slaughtering. Their inroads on the elk herd during the period of high prices for teeth became so serious that a group of ligitimate local hunters was called together in the fall of 1906 by Ortho Williams. At the meeting they held, a resolution was adopted that tusk hunting must stop and the four men leave the country within three days. The gang followed the hint and quickly moved out, thus ending the organized phase of this unique occupation.

In the fall of the year, when the elk band together and start down from the high country toward the valley, a good hunter can kill six or seven bulls at one time. Although an elk's tusks can be extracted from the living animal that has been roped and thrown, this is generally too much trouble, so most are killed. About 1920 tusk hunting was revived for a short time, but at

present the prices are too low to make the practice worth while.

As time went on and the hunting of game animals increased and, in fact, became an important business in the valley in the matter of providing guides and hunting camps for non-resident hunters, the problem of management of the elk herd continued to grow in importance. Natural winter range decreased with the growth of ranching in the valley and concentration of the elk in ever decreasing area of suitable winter range made necessary the adoption of measures to assist the elk through the winters by artificial feeding and this, in turn, led to the establishment of a national elk refuge.

II The National Park Movement and Grand Teton National Park

A. Inception of the movement to establish Grand Teton National Park.

This movement has its beginning in proposals for the extension of Yellowstone National Park. The following proclamations and executive orders have some relation to the lands now included in Grand Teton National Park. The proclamation of March 30, 1891 by President Benjamin Harrison established Yellowstone Park Timber Land Reserve, comprising 1,239040 acres to the east and south of Yellowstone National Park. On February 22, 1897 the Teton Forest Reserve was established by proclamation of President Grover Cleveland and included most of the land contained in the present park. Other proclamations and executive orders by the presidents over the years, down to 1937, set aside the federal lands to the south of Yellowstone National and withdrew these lands from entry.

Possibly the first recorded statement relative to the setting aside of this area as a national park is found in Frederick L. Paxson's History of the American Frontier contained in the following statement:

"Jackson Hole at the base of the Grand Tetons is not only a great scenic treasure, but also an important early center of mountain fur trade and exploration of the Far West. It should be preserved as a national asset."

b. Leaders in the Park Movement.

It is difficult to pick out specific leaders in the movement to establish Grand Teton National Park, but the names most frequently found recorded in official records are the following: Representative Frank Mondell and Senators Robert D. Carey and John B. Kendrick from Wyoming and Senator Peter Norbeck from South Dakota. Local residents of Jackson Hole often associated with the park movement in its beginning are Struthers Burt, Richard Winger, J. L. Eynon, J. R. Jones and Wilford W. Neilson. Other persons not living in Jackson Hole, but frequently associated with the park movement are Horace M. Albright, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Vanderbilt Webb, Kenneth Chorley and Harold P. Fabian.

The record of legislation relative to the extension of Yellowstone National Park and the creation of a new park, Grand Teton, indicates that much of the legislation and efforts to create a new park came from persons directly connected with the National Park Service rather than from persons or organizations outside the service.

c. Legislative History of the Establishment of Grand Teton National Park.

The following is quoted from the Chronology-Index contained in the Compendium of Important Papers covering Negotiations in the Establishment and Administration of the Jackson Hole National Monument prepared in 1945 by the National Park Service.

Colonel S. B. M. Young, Acting Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park in 1898 submitted to the Secretary of the Interior a draft of a bill

for the extension of the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park. On February 1, 1898 C. N. Bliss, Secretary of the Interior, wrote to the Honorable John F. Lacy, (author of the Lacey Antiquities Act of 1906) Chairman of the Committee on the Public Lands, House of Representatives, and transmitted the draft of the bill prepared by Colonel Young which proposed the extension of the limits of Yellowstone Park to include the area to the south of the park and would have taken in most of the area now included in Grand Teton National Park. Down through the years, the park extension proposals were discussedin Congress. Thomas Ryan, acting Secretary of the Interior, on March 1st, 1902, addressed a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, which states in part as follows:

> "Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith, with a view to favorable action thereon by Congress, a bill providing for the extension of the limits of the Yellowstone National Park, together with papers from the files of the Department indicating the necessity for such legislation. (The subject letter and the papers referred to comprise House Document No. 500, 57th Congress, 1st session.)
>
> "* * * In the several annual reports of the Secretary of the Interior to the President as to the work of the Department from 1898 to 1901, inclusive, attention has been called to this very important matter, advocated, but without final action thereon by Congress. The time has now arrived, in my judgement, when decisive action in the premises should be taken if the large game in the reservations indicated, whose natural home is in the Yellowstone National Park, is to be protected and. I have, therefore, to most earnestly urge early consideration of the matter presented."

In spite of the constant urging, no definite action was taken by Congress until 1918 when H. R. 11601, 65th Congress, 2nd session was introduced by Representative Mondell of Wyoming. Parts of the area later established as Grand Teton National Park and including the Thorofare country and other lands

abutting the south boundary of Yellowstone. Study of the boundaries proposed resulted in a request by the Department of Interior for their modifications. The measure was not acted upon and, as modified, became H.R. 13350 which was introduced in the 65th Congress, 3rd session, by Representative Mondell, of Wyoming. It proposed different boundaries than those proposed in H.R. 11661 and was unanimously passed by the House on February 17, 1919, and was favorably reported by the Senate Public Lands Committee, but was objected to in the Senate by Senator Nugent of Idaho under the misapprehension that Idaho sheep range was included in the area. In the legislative jam which occurred at the end of that session of Congress, there was no hope of reaching the bill on the Senate calendar without unanimous consent to advance it. At the behest of a few Idaho stockmen (who later withdrew their objection) Senator Nugent refused unanimous consent to advance the bill; (Being the sole objector in either house) thus the bill was killed.

On May 21, 1919, H.R. 1412 was introduced in the 66th Congress and differed only slightly from H.R. 13350 but this bill was not reported from the Committee on Public Lands and it was not until 1929 that further congressional action was taken. In February 1929, Grand Teton National Park was established and included about 150 square miles of Federal Lands comprising largely the Teton Mountain Range which up to that time had been a part of the Teton National Forest. The valley portion of the present park was not included in the park at this time, chiefly because of the large amount of private land still remaining in the area. In the interim a number of important events had taken place and they may be summarized as follows:

In 1923 Jackson Hole citizens invited Superintendent Albright of Yellowstone National Park to confer with them in Jackson Hole. This meeting is sometimes referred to as the Menor's Ferry meeting. They proposed that the essential private lands in the northern part of Jackson Hole be purchased and that the part of the Hole and the Grand Teton Range which consisted largely of federally owned lands be added to Yellowstone National Park.

In 1924 it was agreed that a coordinating commission should be appointed by the then existing President's Committee on Outdoor Recreation (composed of five cabinet members) to consider a number of important boundary adjustments between national forests and national parks. The commission was appointed and in July 1925 the question of the Jackson Hole-Teton Country was considered. At the time, the Forest Service desired to retain it. However, the Chief of the Forest Service later indicated that his bureau no longer objected to the inclusion of this area in Grand Teton National Park. The commission, after hearing the various arguments, voted three to two in favor of adding the Teton country to Yellowstone. Later, in order to secure a unanimous decision, the vote was reconsidered and only a part of the Teton Range was approved for park status, the northern third of the range being omitted because of one unproved asbestos claim.

On August 10, 1926, a hearing provided for by Senate Resolution 237 of the 69th Congress, 1st session, was held before a Senate subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, in St. Anthony, Idaho. The purpose of the hearing was to investigate the advisability of revising the boundaries of Yellowstone National Park as contemplated by S. 3127, with amendments. One of the amendments includes the recommendations contained in the report of the Coordinating Commission on National Parks and Forests which recommended, among other things, the inclusion in Yellowstone National Park of the area later established as Grand Teton National Park.

In that same year, (1926) Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. visited Jackson

Hole and became interested in the plan to preserve a part of it in its natural condition. He was encouraged to invest $1,500,000 in the purchase of private lands necessary to round out Federal holdings. In February of 1927 Assistant Director Albright wrote Mr. Rockefeller outlining a possible method of procedure in the event he determined to proceed with the proposal to acquire private lands in Jackson Hole for the purpose of preserving them for public use and enjoyment through their donation to the federal government as a part of the national park system. In that same month, Public Resolution No. 55 - 69th Congress, was approved authorizing the acceptance of title to certain lands from the Izaak Walton League as an addition to the winter elk refuge. In that year, President Coolidge withdrew from entry the Public lands in Jackson Hole and the public lands in the Flat Creek Drainage were added to the Elk Refuge near Jackson.

In April of 1927 Senator Norbeck of South Dakota wrote to the National Park Service as follows:

"When Congress convenes in December, I want to try to get action on the proposed changes in the boundary of the Yellowstone National Park. I hope your department can prepare the necessary bill so that it will be ready for introduction on the first day of the session.

" I would also appreciate it if you would also prepare a bill for the establishment of another national park in Wyoming to include the Teton Peaks, somewhat along the line of the map enclosed. (The map enclosed was a copy of boundary adjustments of Yellowstone proposed and approved

by the 1925 Coordinating Commission on National Parks and Forests.) It will in all probability have to be made a separate park. I have not yet decided what the name should be. I think in the Bill as I introduce it, I will call it the Kendrick National Park. It is possible that the Senator from Wyoming is still of the same mind that he was previously - - that it should be called the Grand Teton National Park of Wyoming. It may be best for you to have the Bill ready, leaving the name blank."

" Be assured I will appreciate your cooperation in this matter."

/s/ P. Norbeck

Mr. Rockefeller conferred with the elected officials of Wyoming, Members of Congress, Secretary of the Interior Work, and President Calvin Coolidge, concerning his intentions of purchasing the essential lands in Jackson Hole and, in 1928, the Rockefeller land purchasing program got under way.

In 1928, pursuant to S. Resolution 237, 70th Congress, 2nd session, hearings were held in Cody, Wyoming, July 19, Jackson, Wyoming, July 22, and Wilson, Wyoming, July 23, concerning the advisability of enlarging Yellowstone National Park and/or creating Grand Teton National Park. In February of 1929 Grand Teton National Park was established, using the boundary lines recommended by the 1925 Coordinating Commission on National Parks and Forests. The park comprised practically a solid block of federal lands. Meanwhile, Mr. Rockefeller's land purchasing program to effect an adequate unit of public lands in Jackson Hole continued.

Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur visited Jackson Hole in 1929 and approved of the plan to preserve a representative portion of the Hole, and reported to President Hoover, who also expressed his approval.

In 1931, a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, under the leadership of Congressman Frank Murphy, of Ohio, visited Jackson Hole. The Committee was unable to understand the point of view of the opposition. The members felt that the National Park Service was doing fine work which was not appreciated and that Mr. Rockefeller and his associates were not getting the support that they deserved.

In August of 1933, pursuant to Senate Resolution 226, 72nd Congress, a subcommittee of the Senate Public Lands Committee in the 73rd Congress held hearings in Jackson, Wyoming, on August 7, 8, 9 and 10, 1933. The Resolution authorized an investigation of the activities of the National Park Service, The Snake River Land Company, The Teton Transportation Company, The Teton Investment Company, The Teton Hotel Company and the Jackson Lake Lodge Company, in the Jackson Hole Region, Teton County, Wyoming, in connection with the proposed enlargement of the Grand Teton National Park. Hearings conducted by the Senate subcommittee completely vindicated the National Park Service, the Snake River Land Company and other agencies of any unjustified activities. Senator Carey, of Wyoming, took a principal part in this investigation.

The next important endeavor to extend the boundaries of the park to include the valley portion came in 1934 when the Senate passed the Carey Bill S. 3705, 73rd Congress, 2nd session, to extend the boundaries of Grand Teton

National Park. The House Public Lands Committee reported the bill favorably on the last day of that session of Congress with an amendment requested by the Bureau of the Budget requiring that Teton County be compensated for the loss of taxable lands by some means other than Federal funds. The Congress adjourned the same day, June 13, without further opportunity to act upon the bill. On June 3, 1935, Senators Carey and O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, introduced S. 2972 in the 74th Congress, 1st session, to extend the boundaries of Grand Teton National Park. This bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. At the request of the Department of the Interior, the Committee took no action on the bill because the Department was unable to prevail upon the Bureau of the Budget to approve payments to Teton County in lieu of taxes.

In July of 1938 the National Park Service issued a report in pamphlet form entitled "The Proposal to Extend the Boundaries of Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming." The report gives a short chronology of the efforts made to attain park status for the Jackson Hole-Teton country; a condensed justification for the proposal; a draft of proposed legislation to enlarge the park; explanations of the provisions of the proposed legislation; discussion of the effect of the proposed extension on grazing, hunting, and logging; and a map showing the proposed boundaries. Largely because of the question of payments to Teton County in lieu of taxes and, also because of the activities of selfish minority opposition in Jackson Hole, the proposed bill was not introduced. The boundaries and acreages proposed were the same as those subsequently established for Jackson Hole National Monument.

During August of 1938, a subcommittee of the Senate Public Lands Committee held hearings in Jackson, Wyoming, pursuant to Senate Resolution 250, 75th Congress, on the question of the feasibility of enlarging Grand Teton National Park. This committee made no recommendations.

No further action was attempted by Congress until 1950, when Public Law 787 was passed by the 81st Congress, 2nd session, seven years after the creation of the Jackson Hole National Monument by presidential proclamation on March 15, 1943. The establishment of this monument created a great deal of controversy and attempts were made by the Wyoming delegation in Congress to have the Monument abolished. Hearings were held in Washington to discuss the Monument issues. Riders were attached to appropriation bills each year, which prevented the proper development and administration of the area as a National Monument. The following are a few of the events concerned with the controversy over the Jackson Hole National Monument.

On March 19, 1943, just four days after establishment of the Monument, Representative Barrett, of Wyoming, introduced the bill H.S. 2241, 78th Congress, 1st session, to abolish the Jackson Hole National Monument. Speeches condemning the establishment of the monument by means of proclamations were made in the Congress the same day by Senator O'Mahoney and Representative Barrett. The establishment of the Monument made news, or news was made of it. Dispatches, articles and editorials, some factual; some violently opposed; and others favorable, appeared in the press all over the country.

In April 1943, Governor Lester C. Hunt, of Wyoming, wrote to the President protesting the creation of Jackson Hole National Monument. Secretary Ickes issued a statement of policy concerning administration of the national monument, to clarify the position of the Department with regard to protection of the rights and privileges of all those having special interests in the area, including the State of Wyoming.

On April 29, 1943, the President's letter of reply to the Governor of Wyoming mentioned the policy statement issued by Secretary Ickes under date of April 8, 1943, and called attention to some of the benefits that are enjoyed by the state through Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks, and which will be forthcoming from the National Monument as well, if it is properly supported. Also, it mentioned the desirability of an equitable sharing with Teton County of revenues from those areas.

On May 13, 1943, the State of Wyoming filed suit challenging validity of the Jackson Hole National Monument,(State of Wyoming versus Paul R. Franke, Superintendent of Grand Teton National Park, in charge of Jackson Hole National Monument). A special hearing was held in Cheyenne, Wyoming, before the District Court of the United States, for the District of Wyoming, in the case of the State of Wyoming vs Paul P. Franke, for the purpose of taking testimony. On February 10, 1945, U. S. District Judge T. Blake Kennedy, finding generally for the defendant Franke and directing preparation of a suit dismissal judgment before March 10, declared;

"**** This seems to be a controversy between the legislative and executive branches of the Government in which the court cannot interfere."

Following hearings held in Washington before the House Public Lands Committee on H. R. 2241, the bill to abolish the Monument, in which persons in favor or against the measure expressed their views and after the Interior Department's report on the bill had been submitted to the Public Lands Committee and several other meetings and discussions of the Monument problem had been held, congressional action was taken with the House passing H.R. 2241 on December 11, 1944 with a vote of 178 for and 107 against and 142 not voting. On December 19, 1944, by unanimous consent the Senate passed the Barrett Bill, H.R. 2241 to abolish the Monument. There was no objection and no roll call. The bill was vetoed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on December 29, 1944. He issued a Memorandum of Disapproval, relating to his pocket-veto of H.R. 2241, the Barrett Bill, which would have abolished Jackson Hole National Monument. The memorandum states the reasons why the President believes the continuance of the Monument is in the national interest.

On February 12, 1945, Representative Barrett, of Wyoming, introduced his new bill, H.R. 2109, to abolish Jackson Hole National Monument. Several conservation organizations lent their support to the efforts to have this measure not passed by Congress and, as a result, the bill failed to come to a vote in Congress. Those organizations or conservations groups that gave their full support to the National Park Service for continuance of the Monument are listed under subsequent heading "Popular attitude toward the Park Movement." There is little doubt that these organizations were very instrumental in having the controversy resolved by their support of the movement which eventually resulted in the creation of a new Grand Teton National Park in 1950 which included that portion of the former park and nearly all of the lands contained in the Jackson Hole National Monument.

e. Popular Attitude Toward the Park Movement

The movement for making a National Park of the Teton Mountains has in general been approved by nearly all the citizens of Jackson Hole and also has had wide spread support throughout the nation. The question of extending the boundaries of the park to include a portion of the Jackson Hole valley led to many controversies all of which have not been entirely resolved even yet, with the creation of the new Grand Teton National Park. The population of the valley has been very much divided on the question; one group favoring park extension and the other opposing it. Exact numbers in either group are not known and it is believed that many citizens of the valley changed their views on the question from time to time. It is true that much support for the park movement came from organizations and conservation groups and individuals scattered throughout the nation, rather than from the citizens of Jackson Hole or of the state of Wyoming. The following societies or conservationist organizations have given active support to the national park movement and in particular very active support to the Jackson Hole National Monument during the few years of its existence:

The Emergency Conservation Committee, New York,
American Planning and Civic Association,
Izaak Walton League of America,
National Parks Association,
Chamber of Commerce of the United States,
The Wilderness Society,
The Sierra Club,
The Conservation Council,
Chicago Museum of Natural History

National Life Conservation Society,
Garden Clubs of America,
National Audubon Society,
The Mountaineers, Inc.,
Save the Redwoods League,
American Nature Association,
Southern California Academy of Science,
Conservation Committee Camp Fire Club of America,
The Wildlife Society,
Wildlife Management Institute,
Ecological Society of America,
New York Zoological Society.

There is little doubt that the support of these organizations saved the Jackson Hole National Monument from being abolished. They were instrumental, too, in having the new park created in which the areas of the former Grand Teton National Park and most of the lands of the Jackson Hole National Monument were combined to make the new Grand Teton National Park.

Following the donation by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., during December of 1949, of the Rockefeller lands amounting to 33,562 acres, the way was cleared for the final settlement of the Jackson Hole controversy and this was brought about in September of 1950 by the Congressional action which passed Public Law 787 that created the new park.

This gift by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of 33,562 acres of land in the park and monument was made to the people of the United States and accepted by the Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman, on behalf of the Federal Government to be administered by the National Park Service.

Important statements made by the Secretary at the time of acceptance of these lands are the following: "It is a matter of great

good fortune to present and future Americans that Mr. Rockefeller's interest was enlisted during the middle 20's in the preservation of these lands for public use, and that he was willing to devote his funds so generously to their acquisition.

"The lands were acquired with the sole purpose of turning them over to the Federal Government for national park purposes. Transfer of the lands is taking place at this time because it is felt that the project now has reached the point where it should be taken over by the National Park Service and administered as part of the great National Park System.

"As an assurance to the public that the lands involved will be preserved in perpetuity for national park or monument purposes, the deeds specifically provide that the lands, so transferred shall be used for no other than public park purposes; or they will automatically revert to Jackson Hole Preserve, Incorporated, should the Government for any reason find it necessary to divert them to other use.

III History of the Area as a National Park

a. The beginning of Grand Teton National Park

Prior to the establishment of Grand Teton National Park in 1929, Jackson Hole had for many years been famous for dude ranching and big game hunting. Hunting and fishing expeditions in the area were or had been common for many years and these activities continued to flourish after the creation of the park up until the present time. However, much of the hunting

of big game was done in areas surrounding the present park. The dude ranchers and outfitters had their base of supplies and operations centers in the valley.

Prior to 1929 there had not been very good highways leading to this area, but improvement of the existing roads began at that time and travel to the park coincides very well with the general increase in motor vehicle travel to the western national parks. The early history of the park does not go back to the days of the stage coach, or the special means of travel of an earlier day.

b. Concession History:

Concessions in Grand Teton National Park have been limited until the past year to the four services, mountain climbing guides, saddle horses concession, boating concession and a photographic studio concession. Some of the accommodation facilities in the new park now come under the supervision of the park service in that these lodges or dude ranches operate under permit from the National Park Service.

c. Administrative History of the Park.

1. As part of the National Park System.

Grand Teton National Park was added to the National Park System thirteen years after the establishment of the National Park Service as a bureau of the Department of the Interior and the current policies of the Service were operative from the beginning. However, development of the Park has been hampered a great deal by the pending program of park extension which came into being very soon after the establishment of the original park in 1929.

The travel to the park has been on a constant and steady increase since 1929 except that time during the war years, 1943 - 1945. There was a marked reduction in travel when compared with the previous year of 1941. Since 1945, the travel to the park has shown a steady increase and reached a high of 587,585 visitors for the travel year of 1951.

Development has been slow and limited to a great degree by the pending legislation relative to park extension, as well as, by World War Two, and the present unstable world situation. Plans for the future development of the park have been promulgated and the future for this park begins to look much brighter.

The first Superintendent of the park was Sam T. Woodring who, at the time of his appointment, was chief ranger of Yellowstone National Park. He continued as superintendent until 1934 and was succeeded by Guy D. Edwards. A list of superintendents of the park since its beginning to the present time is appended.

(a) Dedication of Grand Teton National Park.

Grand Teton National Park was dedicated on July 29, 1929 and the prominent speakers on that occasion included:

Horace M. Albright, Director of the National Park Service,
Frank C. Emerson, Governor of Wyoming,
William H. Jackson, the pioneer photographer of the Hayden Surveys.
Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Historian of Wyoming,
Mr. S. N. Leek, resident pioneer of Jackson Hole,
William O. Owen, Engineer and Surveyor of Wyoming,
And members of the National Editorial Association.

An important event in connection with the dedication ceremony was the presentation of a bronze plaque by W. O. Owen commemorating the ascent of the Grand Teton in 1898 by the Owen-Spalding party. The following day this plaque was packed to the summit of the Grand Teton and securely attached to a boulder on the summit by F. M. Fryxell, Phil Smith and William Gillman.

(b) Outstanding Events, Calamities and Celebrations.

During the first few years of the park's history, a major effort was made to make the park accessible to visitors by the constructions of trails in several of the canyons. This trail work was materially implemented by the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps. A major project carried out by the CCC in addition to construction of buildings and trails was the clean up of the Jackson Lake shore of a vast amount of debris, largely dead trees that had fallen since the construction of the Jackson Lake Dam for reclamation purposes. The dam raised the water of the lake more than 39 feet above its normal level. These fallen trees not only presented an unsightly mess along the shores of the lake, but also created a serious menace to all boats used on the lake. This Jackson Lake clean up was supervised by park service personnel of Grand Teton National Park although the area involved was outside the park at that time.

In August of 1940, the Oregon Trail Memorial Association held their convention in Grand Teton National Park and their meetings were conducted at the Jenny Lake amphitheater near the Jenny Lake Museum.

During the existence of the park, a number of mountaineering tragedies have occurred. Nine individuals have lost their lives over the past several years while pursuing this popular though dangerous activity.

On November 21, 1950, a DC-3 plane carrying 21 persons of the New Tribes Mission crashed into the northeast ridge of Mount Moran and all lives of those aboard were lost.

(c) Principal Boundary Changes:

The only boundary changes of the park came with the creation of a new Grand Teton National Park in 1950 which added the major portion of the Jackson Hole National Monument to the area of the former park. Slight changes were made in the original boundaries of the Jackson Hole National Monument by this legislation. Public lands not included in the new park were given to the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service and to the U. S. Forest Service.

(d) Principal Physical Developments:

The establishment of a park headquarters which started with the taking over of the Stewart Ranger Station from the U. S. Forest Service at the time of establishment of the park. This station consisted of two log buildings, one used as a ranger station and the other a two story barn for horses. From this very humble beginning, the headquarters area continued to grow year after year until the present time. It now contains an administration building of limited size, a superintendent's residence and residences for fourteen permanent employees.

Other developments include a warehouse, two equipment storage sheds, repair shop, lumber shed, sign shop, dormitory, dining hall, barn, fire house, and a miscellaneous assortment of smaller buildings. A museum was provided at Jenny Lake by the moving of a homestead two room log cabin from near the headquarters area to Jenny Lake and the construction of an additional room to provide floor space of about 21 by 39 feet for museum exhibits. An amphitheater for campfire programs was constructed at the same time.

Other developments in the park include construction of a number of patrol cabins at strategic points along the mountain front and trail maintenance buildings in Death and Cascade Canyons; the construction of campgrounds and facilities at Jenny and String Lakes and the construction of about ninety miles of trails and several bridges across mountain streams. These trails are located chiefly along the mountain front and into the prominent canyons of the park.

The roads of the original park were limited to about ten miles of highway and ran from the south end of Jenny Lake to String Lake and a spur road along the east shore of Leigh Lake, which was later removed and reduced the roads in the park to about five miles of paved highway. Short secondary roads existed, one to the start of the Glacier trail, one to the Death Canyon Patrol Cabin, and a county road passing through a portion of the park running from Moose to Wilson. With the establishment of the Jackson Hole National Monument, the ranger stations of the U. S. Forest Service existin within the monument area were transferred to the National

Park Service and have served as ranger stations for park rangers. Other facilities received from the U. S. Forest Service included the campground and facilities at Jackson Lake, fire guard stations at Arizona Creek, Buffalo Fork and Berry Creek and a fire lookout station on Signal Mountain.

Fire lookout stations have been constructed by the National Park Service at Spalding Bay and on Blacktail Butte.

The establishment of the new park in 1950 presented many new problems the more prominent of which are the following; new problems of land management: the grazing of livestock, the maintenance of roads, right of ways, water rights, irrigation ditches; the changes of agricultural land to the production of forage or winter feed for the elk; the controlled reduction of elk on park lands as determined by joint studies carried out in cooperation with the Wyoming Game and Fish Department and other problems relative to providing for the accommodation needs and other services desired by visitors to the park.

(c) Noteworthy Donors and Donations:

After the formation of the Jackson Hole Museum Association and the construction of the Jenny Lake Museum, numerous donations of the historic materials were made by citizens of Jackson Hole and by other interested persons. Among the persons making important contributions either as loans or direct gifts are the following:

Mr. P. L. Frizzell,	William Beard,	Dr. H. C. Bumpus,
Karl C. Allen,	L. W. Crail,	C. J. Carlsson,
A. W. Austin,	Dr. James R. Habard,	William H. Jackson,
A. D. Lyon,	Kara Kent.	S. N. Rubel,
W. T. Lawrence,	Ruth Moran,	Albert Nelson
W. H. Owen	Mrs. E. Williams	Owen Wister

Contributions of minor items were made by several residents of Jackson Hole.

Of greatest importance to Grand Teton National Park and to the American people was the donation of the Rockefeller lands by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in 1949, which has been described more fully earlier in this history outline.

Evolution of Policies Affecting:

1. Development and Use:

The legislation creating the original Grand Teton National Park provided that no hotels might be constructed in the park and that no roads were to be built into the Teton Mountains. This legislation set the pattern for policies of future development of the park and present plans are to keep all major developments to the east of Jackson Lake and the Snake River. Use of the mountainous area of the park is restricted to travel afoot or horseback and the use of motor boats is limited to Jenny and Jackson Lakes. These policies evolved from a desire to keep portions of the park in as primitive state as possible.

2. The Interpretive Program:

It has been the policy in this park since its beginning to initiate or develop an interpretive program suited to the needs of the visitors. Special stress has been given to assisting the mountain climber and the trail hikers who wish to explore the mountainous areas of the park.

The policy of the Interpretive Program has been that of making every possible effort to obtain all possible information on the natural

phenomena of the park and to present the story of that phenomena in the most interesting manner. It has also been the policy to make every effort to assist the visitor in achieving a fuller understanding and greater enjoyment of the natural features of the park and to find the kind of recreation they most desire.

IV Appendix:

List of Past Superintendents with dates of service:

Sam T. Woodring,	Superintendent	5-15-29 to 7-6-34
Guy D. Edwards	"	9-1-34 to 11-30-36
Thomas E. Whitcraft	"	12-1-36 to 4-30-40
Charles J. Smith	"	5-1-40 to 6-30-43
Paul R. Frank	"	7-1-43 to 4-21-46
Allyn F. Hanks,	Acting Superintendent	4-22-46 to 5-17-46
John S. McLaughlin,	Superintendent	5-18-46 to 10-7-50
Edward D. Freeland	"	10-15-50 to

List of Other Important Personnel:

Allyn F. Hanks was the first Chief Ranger of the park and served in that capacity for nearly fifteen years. Paul A. Judge succeeded Hanks to the Chief Ranger position in 1947. Howard R. Stagner was the first Park Naturalist and entered on duty in 1935. He was succeeded by Bennett T. Gale in 1938 and Gale, in turn, was succeeded by Carl E. Jepson, the present incumbent in 1941.

The position of clerk, senior clerk and later chief clerk was filled by the following persons for the following periods:

Howard M. Sherman, Clerk	9-1-30 to 2-28-35
G. Frank Brown, Senior Clerk	3-1-35 to 10-31-37
Clara Raab, Senior Clerk	11-1-37 to 11-30-42
Lyle L. Bressler, Senior Clerk	1-3-42 to 12-15-44
Lyle L. Bressler, Chief Clerk	12-16-44 to 4-6-50
Neal G. Guse, Chief Clerk	6-1-50 to

List of important friends of the park now living and their addresses:

Horace L. Albright.
30 Rockefeller Plaza,
New York 30, New York

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Newton B. Drury
Berkeley, Calif.

Laurance Rockefeller.
[illegible]
New York, New York

Freeman E. Tilden

Bernardo De Voto
8 Berkeley St.,
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Kenneth A. Reid

Alfred A. Knopf
501 Madison Ave.,
New York 22, N. Y.

Charles G. Woodbury
1614 Kalorama Rd. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant III
712 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

William Voigt
Nat. Pres. I. W. F. A.
Chicago, Illinois

Joe Penfold
Western Representative
Izaak Walton League of America
Denver, Colorado

Claus M. Nurfe
Moose, Wyoming

Richard Winger
Jackson, Wyoming

Struthers Burt.
Moran, Wyoming

Howard Zahniser
3740 Pintwood Pl., N. W.
Washington 8, D. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following books, articles and reports are the sources from which information for the brief history of Grand Teton National Park was obtained:

The regular files of Grand Teton National Park with reports or summaries prepared by Howard R. Stagner, Hillis J. Smith, Dr. F. H. Frynell, Dr. Carl P. Russell, Bennett T. Gale, Charles J. Smith and Carl E. Jepson.

Elliott Watson, History of Jackson's Hole, Wyoming, before the year 1907.

Merrill J. Mattes, Jackson Hole, Crossroads of the Western Fur Trade 1807 - 1840, and other papers or reports.

St Clo Vinton, John Colter, Discoverer of Yellowstone Park.

Washington Irving, Astoria (An account of the Wilson Price Hunt's Overland Expedition in 1811 - 12).

Osborne Russell, Journal of a Trapper, or Nine Years in the Rocky Mountains 1834 - 1843.

Paul C. Phillips, Life in the Rocky Mountains, A diary of Wanderings on the sources of the Rivers, Missouri, Columbia, and Colorado from February 183[illegible] to November 1835, by W. A. Ferris.

Frances Fuller Victor, The River of the West, the Life Story of Joseph L. Meek.

B. W. Driggs, History of Teton Valley, Idaho.

Harrison Clifford Dale, The Ashley-Smith Explorations and Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific 1822-1829.

Phillip Ashton Rollins, The Discovery of the Oregon Trail, Robert Stuart's Narratives of his Overland Trip Eastward from Astoria 1812-1813 and Wilson Price Hunt's Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria in 1811-12.

Rev. Samuel Parker, Journal of a Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains in 1835.

Maurice S. Sullivan, Jedediah Smith, Trader and Trailbreaker

J. Cecil Alter, James Bridger - Trapper, Frontiersman, Scout and Guide

Nathaniel P. Langford, The Ascent of Mount Hayden in 1872. (Article in the Scribner's Monthly of 1873) Discovery of Yellowstone Park in 1870.

Hiram M. Chittenden, The Yellowstone National Park

William H. Jackson, Time Exposure, the Autobiography of William H. Jackson, Picture Maker of the Old West.

Howard R. Driggs and William H. Jackson, Westward America and the Pioneer Photographer

John Howard Wellish, Franklin Spencer Spalding - Man and Bishop.

William O. Owen, The Ascent of the Grand Teton in 1898.

Ferdinand V. Hayden, U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories of Wyoming and Idaho for the years 1870, 1872, 1877 and 1878.

Bernardo De Voto, Across the Wide Missouri

Lolie Muney, The Teton Mountains

Merrill D. Beal, The Story of Man in Yellowstone.