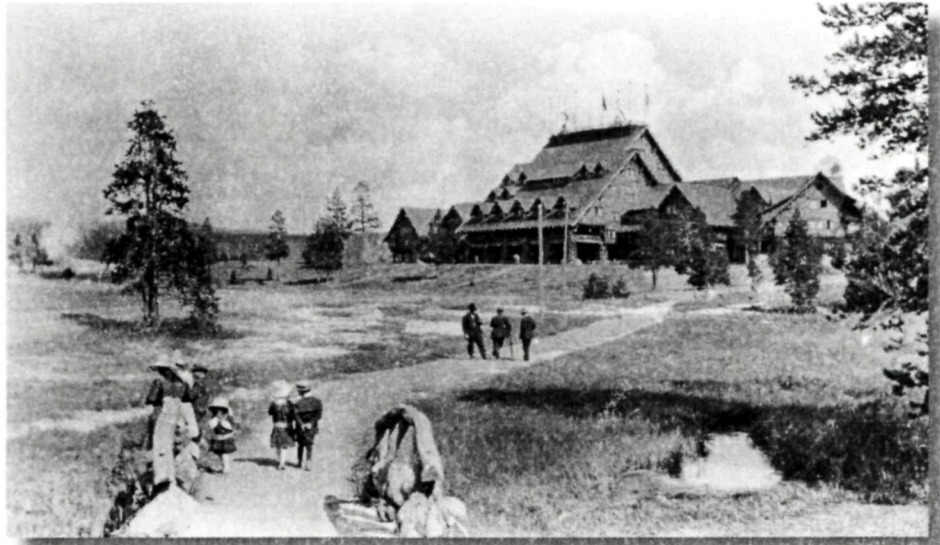
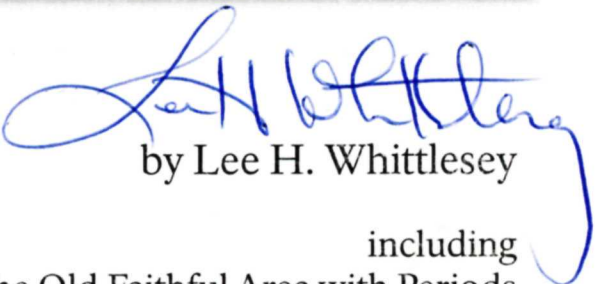


A History of the Old Faithful Area

with Chronology, Maps, and Executive Summary





by Lee H. Whittlesey

including
"Association of the Old Faithful Area with Periods
of Development in Yellowstone National Park"

by Elaine Skinner Hale

&
Period Development Maps
by Sarah Bone

National Park Service
March 13, 2007

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By Lee H. Whittlesey

Including “Association of Old Faithful Development with Yellowstone NP Periods of Development” written by Elaine Skinner Hale, YNP Archeologist, and “Maps of Old Faithful Development,” created by Sarah Bone, YNP Spatial Analysis Program.
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Executive Summary

There is perhaps no greater symbol of natural preservation anywhere than Old Faithful Geyser in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming-Montana-Idaho. Surrounding it is Old Faithful village proper, a cultural addition to the natural scene that has been present in one form or another since 1879. The geyser itself and the buildings near it have together become iconic in America’s national park system, in the larger scene of national wilderness preservation, and on the world scene of great natural places that have become globally famous for their intense connection to the deep nature that emanates from Yellowstone and its renowned reputation. Yellowstone National Park is now a biosphere reserve—recognized and celebrated by all of humankind—as a place that deserves, because of its special qualities and the history associated with them, the attention and protection of all people on the globe. Within Yellowstone, Old Faithful Geyser itself has become so famous in human history as to don raiment that is as nearly much cultural as natural, while the purely-cultural Old Faithful Inn is universally recognized as one of the earth’s great buildings.

Recognized early by nearly everyone who visited Yellowstone as perhaps *the* most important place to see, the Upper Geyser Basin presents a unique spectacle that makes it of interest to virtually all park visitors. “An island of curiosities within Yellowstone’s vastly forested landscape,” the Upper Basin is a 7,365-foot-high forested river valley drained by the Firehole River that contains at least 200 geysers and over 600 hot springs. The Old Faithful area, says historian Karl Byrand, is “a richly evolving cultural landscape that reflects visitor wants and needs, as well as past decisions made by park administrators and concessionaires.” Cultural landscapes such as this one are important because they have “a great deal to say about the United States as a country and Americans as a people.” Such landscapes can be used as mirrors to reflect the cultures that have occupied and changed them and as such they depict our tastes, our values, and our aspirations.

This study is a detailed look at the cultural history of the Old Faithful area, including the twelve known ancient archeological sites, early travel patterns to the location, and the evolution of trails, roads, bridges, buildings, and present circulation patterns in the village.

During the period 1877-1885, both the U.S. government and a concessioner known as the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company (YNPIC) constructed the first buildings and bridges in the Old Faithful area. A footbridge built by unknown persons was first and the YNPIC’s “Shack Hotel” was the last major structure built during this period. A tent-camp for tourists operated during the seasons of 1883-1885 before company officials built the hotel.

In 1886, the U.S. Army began its 32-year assignment of managing Yellowstone, and officers soon authorized more buildings to be added to an early cabin on Firehole River in order to create a soldier station for Old Faithful. While the army built many other buildings at various park locations, officers did not construct any further government buildings at Old Faithful, restricting their activities to the construction of bridges and the grading and surfacing of roads. Instead the Yellowstone Park Association and other concessioners built structures: the George Wakefield barns, stables, and corrals (present in 1888), the Henry Klammer Store and barn (1897), the F. Jay Haynes log studio (1897), Haynes’s Monida-Yellowstone Stage Company buildings (1899), the YPA Hot-house (1897), and the Wylie Camping Company’s tent camp and outbuildings on Wylie Hill (1898).

By 1904, there were two distinct clusters of buildings at Upper Geyser Basin—government buildings to the northwest of Old Faithful Geyser and concessioner buildings to the west and south of Old Faithful Geyser. Also in that year, the cultural scene at Old Faithful changed greatly when concessioners opened the large, rustic Old Faithful Inn. The construction of Old Faithful Inn established the cultural framework for today’s Upper Geyser Basin, and very soon this building became the cultural center of everything that was and is Yellowstone. Quickly becoming an icon, it began to serve as the original, oldest inspiration for the

rustic architecture so famous in national parks today as “Parkitecture.” “The Inn is beloved by people around the world,” wrote a National Park Service author in 2006, and indeed it is so true that the structure has become almost as famous as Old Faithful Geyser.

Much of the built environment at Old Faithful and within the park owed (and owes) its character and function to decisions made by concessionaires and approved by park managers. Arguments between these two entities sometimes arose over placement of structures and their proximity to thermal features or other natural objects. Park managers had the final say in solving these conflicts, and before the 1960s they almost always decided in favor of *use* over *preservation*. That philosophy did not begin to change until the 1930s, and *preservation* for its own sake as an all-encompassing concept did not become dominant in Yellowstone until the Leopold Report cemented it into place in 1963.

During the period 1915-1940, four major events influenced the landscape at Upper Geyser Basin (UGB) and Yellowstone as a whole: the allowing of automobiles into the park (1915), the establishment of the National Park Service (1916), World War I (1917-1918), and the Great Depression (1929-1941). These powerful events changed the mindset of the American people, and those people (represented by the National Park Service) in turn physically altered the landscape at UGB accordingly. Autos brought people in greater numbers to Yellowstone. Autos required wider, often straighter, and sometimes better-drained roads than did stagecoaches. Autos were heavier than stages, so underpinnings of roads and related bridges, pipelines, and culverts had to be stronger, and that precipitated large changes in park infrastructure. The new NPS wanted a “controlled monopoly” in Yellowstone. This meant fewer concessionaires, and the NPS accomplished this by consolidating a number of companies into just a few. The NPS also brought in a new park overseer—the park ranger—who had novel ideas for Yellowstone. As a result of forced rationing of various resources, World War I restricted visitors’ abilities to travel to the park and increased visitors’ interest in Yellowstone and other parks, because they could not go to Europe. This sudden crippling of the European travel industry resulted in the “See America First” campaign, a “crusade for preservation which transformed the parks into sacred national landscapes.” A few years later the Great Depression made almost everyone poorer financially, including the park, but the park system, its funding, and its employees all increased during this austere period, and the NPS publicized its parks widely to help boost the depressed economies of area towns. Thus all four of these events had a hand in increasing visitation to Yellowstone on an enormous scale. That increase dramatically affected the built environment at Upper Geyser Basin.

During this period (1915-1940), these four events caused the building of interpretive structures and trails and helped change the way visitors viewed the landscape, as trained NPS rangers gave information to them through talks. And, too, the UGB’s cultural landscape grew larger. While once it had been composed of two small clusters of development, the public (as represented by the NPS) now needed to have larger areas filled in with roads and structures in order to adequately serve the automobile visitor. One historian has noted that “during this...period there was more human development here [in Yellowstone] than there ever has been, and perhaps ever will be.” For example, the first construction at Old Faithful with which the new NPS was involved was the Auto Campground, located on the east side of the present east parking lot.

The 1920s and 1930s were decades that saw very intense construction of buildings and other structures at Upper Geyser Basin. In particular, the NPS built the “Promenade” at Old Faithful during the 1920s. It was a double-lane boulevard that sported concessioner businesses on both sides of it so that it served as a kind of “village square” for the Upper Basin. This salient feature dominated the Old Faithful area until around 1970. The old Shaw and Powell camp was remodeled gradually from 1918 to 1930 until it became the present Old Faithful Lodge.

During the period 1941-1974, the National Park Service attempted to find a better balance between use and preservation in Yellowstone. It gradually moved away from its long established policy of manipulating natural resources in the park and moved toward a policy of no manipulation, known eventually as “natural regulation.” Publication of the Leopold Report in 1963 was the landmark event that truly moved the NPS to this action, but good starts had been made from 1933-1955. Fish stocking, bison managing, and use of hot spring waters were all abandoned as management practices before the 1960s, while elk-culling and bear-feeding at garbage dumps followed. The NPS installed the first “bear-proof” trash cans in 1968 and 1969 to help wean park bears off their human-food diets and closed the last open-pit garbage dump in 1970 at Trout Creek. In accord with this new philosophy, many buildings at Old Faithful such as the ones along the “Promenade” were demolished.

During the period 1970-1972, in accordance with the newly adopted philosophy of keeping the park more natural and avoiding the use and manipulation of park resources, the NPS built a long and physically large

bypass road around the Old Faithful area. This moved the main Grand Loop Road out of the center of the area, eliminating the massive traffic jams that had previously occurred every time Old Faithful Geyser erupted. But it also changed the area's circulation patterns and created confusion among many post-1972 visitors as to how to successfully "navigate" the area—confusion that became worse as officials continued to construct buildings and parking areas there. This confusion remains today (2006) for many visitors. One of the reasons told to the author by his supervisors for producing this study (in addition to detailing the area's complex history) is to illustrate how this confusion evolved at Old Faithful, so that the NPS might begin taking steps to change those confusing circulation patterns.

There is perhaps no greater symbol of natural preservation anywhere than Old Faithful Geyser in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming-Montana-Idaho. Surrounding it is Old Faithful village proper, a cultural addition to the natural scene that has been present in one form or another since Park Superintendent P.W. Norris constructed the first building to the northwest of the geyser in 1879. The geyser itself and the buildings near it have together become iconic in America's national park system, in the larger scene of national wilderness preservation, and on the world scene of great natural places that have become globally famous for their intense connection to the deep nature that emanates from Yellowstone and its renowned reputation—from strange geologic features like geysers and hot springs, to large mammals known as "charismatic megafauna," to birds and fish associated with the nearby Firehole River, to unusual cultural entities such as Old Faithful Inn, to the long human history associated with the area. Indeed Yellowstone National Park is now a biosphere reserve recognized and celebrated by all of humankind as a place that deserves, because of its special qualities and the history associated with them, the attention and protection of all people on the globe. Old Faithful Geyser itself has become so famous in human history as to don raiment that is as nearly much cultural as natural, while the mainly cultural Old Faithful Inn is universally recognized as one of the earth's great buildings. Studying the changing scene at the Old Faithful area, as historian Karl Byrand says, "affords us an opportunity to determine the

various ‘binding ideas and feelings’ that visitors, park administrators, and concessionaires had toward this sacred and symbolic landscape over time [and]...how these ideas and feelings may have influenced the evolution of the basin’s landscape.”¹

From earliest park days, visitors recognized the Upper Geyser Basin as special, and Old Faithful Geyser itself impressed travelers before the park was a park. In 1864 according to a descendant, George Harvey Bacon, a gold prospector from Virginia City, Montana Territory, traveled “with a friendly [band] of Indians through this district and spoke of a geyser which was regular in its eruptions and [which] later was called Old Faithful.” Charles Howell wrote in 1883 that “an old mountaineer who lives in the vicinity [*sic*], said it [Old Faithful Geyser] had not missed [an eruption] once to his knowledge in the last 19 years,” thus placing this old mountaineer’s first look at the geyser in 1864. And William Marshall proclaimed this in 1880: “How long it [Old Faithful] has thus spouted we do not know, but I do know that in 1869 my friend, Mr. Ira Livermore strayed into this region with a mining partner, on a ‘prospecting trip,’ and found it thus regular, as have parties in each of ten summers since.”²

Writing the history of and especially the criticisms of such a place makes any historian or writer feel sobered and inadequate. One instinctively wishes to avoid the foolish opinions that resulted in mistakes of design and construction, so mentioned over the years by hind-sighted observers who were not burdened with having to look forward and predict the future. This author made many family trips to Yellowstone between 1954-

¹. Karl John Byrand, “The Evolution of the Cultural Landscape in Yellowstone National Park’s Upper Geyser Basin and the Changing Visitor Experience, 1872-1990,” unpublished master’s thesis, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana, December, 1995, p. 8.

². Dr. J.H. Bacon, undated letter about George Harvey Bacon, from Peoria, Illinois, in Manuscript File, YNP Library; Charles C. Howell, unpublished typescript, no date “My First Trip to Yellowstone Park—1883,” Montana State University Library, pp. (15)-(16); William I. Marshall in *The New West Illustrated*, vol. 2, #1, January, 1880, copy at YNP Library oversized map files.

1967, and arrived to work in the park for the summers of 1969 and 1970 at nearby West Thumb. I recall the “pre-bypass days”³ that began at Upper Geyser Basin (which will be hereafter referred to as “UGB”) during the period 1970-1972. Thus this documentary history is interspersed with some of my own recollections and impressions of a place that I have been associated with for more than thirty-five years—my own partial “oral history,” after a fashion.

The Upper Geyser Basin: From Earliest Days It Was Considered the Most Important Place to Visit in Yellowstone National Park.

Recognized early by nearly everyone who visited Yellowstone as perhaps *the* most important place to see, the Upper Geyser Basin presents a unique enough spectacle to make it of interest to virtually all park visitors. “An island of curiosities within Yellowstone’s vastly forested landscape,” the Upper Basin is a 7,365-foot-high forested river valley drained by the Firehole River that contains at least 200 geysers and over 600 hot springs.⁴ Scientists Allen and Day in 1935 stated that it represented “the climax of thermal activity” in the Yellowstone Park. “In the number, size, depth and temperature of its springs,” they enthused, “this basin, it is safe to say, surpasses any similar area on the globe; anything comparable to it would of necessity be widely known.”⁵ Upper Geyser Basin thus contains better than twenty percent of the world’s total of geysers in an area of only 1.5 square miles. This total includes many of Yellowstone’s tallest and most

³. “By-pass” refers to the new road system, built 1970-1972, that bypasses the Old Faithful area and that includes the four-lane configuration and concrete overpass near Black Sand Basin.

⁴. T. Scott Bryan, *The Geysers of Yellowstone* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1995), p. 24. Although park books routinely state that Yellowstone has 200-300 total geysers, this figure is very low according to Rocco Paperiello, a twenty-year geyser expert who has been attempting to make a count of geysers in Yellowstone. His number is 900-1000. Paperiello, in numerous conversations and backcountry hikes with Lee Whittlesey, 1984-2006.

⁵. E.T. Allen and A.L. Day, *Hot Springs of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington: Carnegie Institute, 1935), p. 233.

spectacular geysers, such as Giant Geyser, Giantess Geyser, Grand Geyser, Beehive Geyser, Daisy Geyser, Castle Geyser, Fan Geyser, Riverside Geyser, and Old Faithful Geyser. It also includes some of the most famous of the quiet hot springs, such as Morning Glory Pool, Emerald Pool, Handkerchief Pool, and Sapphire Pool. Researcher Brad Snow remarked to me in 2006, after having read dozens of 1870s and 1880s newspaper accounts about early Yellowstone, that he was impressed with their emphasis on the geysers and on the fact that the park was perceived early as a “wonderland.” Writes geyser expert Scott Bryan, “Although it was recognized [by 1870s explorers] that all of Yellowstone was worth preserving, it was probably the Upper Basin above all else that provided the greatest wonders and led to the founding of the world’s first national park.”⁶ Few of us who have studied the history of the place doubt the truth of that statement.

Lodgepole pines dominate the forests at UGB. Intermittent patches of them dot the lowest parts of the valley in places where the trees’ root systems can escape the harmful effects of the thermal features’ mineral-laden waters. Thicker groves cluster the areas more distant from the geysers, and pine-covered hillsides—many of them now scarred from the 1988 fires—rise at steep angles in the highest elevation areas. In some places “dead, mineral-coated trees stand as an indicator that the flow of these waters has changed direction or intensity over time.”⁷ The forests appear in clusters throughout the valley and become thicker as they progress upward onto the 7500-foot ridges that surround the valley.

⁶. Bryan, *Geysers*, p. 24; author’s conversation with Bradley Snow, July 3, 2006, YNP Heritage and Research Center.

⁷. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 44.

This landscape at Old Faithful is thus not ordinary but rather “falls within the realm of the symbolic and sacred.” The *Haynes Guides* celebrated Old Faithful as “the greatest geyser basin in the world,” while author John Sears in his book *Sacred Places* referred to Old Faithful as a “sacred place” and one of many places that “speak to humanity.”⁸ Old Faithful is thus a natural feature, an international symbol of wilderness preservation, an icon for U.S. national parks, and the centerpiece of an ever-evolving cultural landscape at Upper Geyser Basin.

The Old Faithful area, says historian Karl Byrand, is “a richly evolving cultural landscape that reflects visitor wants and needs, as well as past decisions made by park administrators and concessionaires.”⁹ Cultural landscapes such as this one are important because they have “a great deal to say about the United States as a country and Americans as a people.”¹⁰ Such landscapes can be used as mirrors to reflect the cultures that have occupied and changed them and as such they depict our tastes, our values, and our aspirations.

The Early Travel Situation To and From Upper Geyser Basin

Prior to 1871, most travelers to the Upper Basin came from the north. The earliest visitors followed the Firehole River upstream to the Old Faithful area. These visitors would then turn around and return north to spend a second night at Marshall’s Hotel or Fountain Hotel, both in the Lower Geyser Basin some 8-9 miles north, before traveling east over Mary Mountain to reach the Lake and Canyon areas. This pattern of travel, with

⁸. John Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 7, as quoted in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 7; Jack Ellis Haynes, *Haynes New Guide The Complete Handbook of Yellowstone National Park* (St. Paul: Haynes Picture Shops, Inc., 1934), p. 60.

⁹. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 6.

¹⁰. Pierce Lewis as quoted in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 6.

the park's main (southbound) road essentially ending at Old Faithful, remained in practice until the fall of 1891 when Hiram Chittenden completed the road from Old Faithful to West Thumb. Although that road opened in late 1891, for all practical purposes its first season of real usage was 1892.

Archeological Sites at Upper Geyser Basin, Prehistoric to 2006

Before chronicling the history of roads and buildings in Upper Geyser Basin, we turn for the next 6-7 pages to an overview of archeological sites in the area, in order to get a feel for the area's pre-1872 history. There are ten documented archeological sites in Upper Geyser Basin and at least two undocumented sites. Considering the long (1872 to present) history of cultural additions and "improvements" to the area, there is little doubt that many more undocumented sites exist, and they await discovery and archeological attention. Literature on these sites is restricted from public viewing under the Freedom of Information Act in order to prevent "pot hunting" or looting of such sites by collectors or vandals.¹¹ Much of this literature, as cited in subsequent footnotes, is filed in Park Archeologist Ann Johnson's office in the Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana.

Archeological Site 48YE0009.

This site is a petroglyph, that is, a carving or inscription (especially a prehistoric one) upon a rock, allegedly travertine, created by unknown persons at an unknown date. A majority of experts today believe that the image has Euro-American origins. Stuart W.

¹¹. The Freedom of Information Act can be found at 5 United States Code 552. See also regulations at 43 Code of Federal Regulations Part 2, Subparts A through E, beginning at 2.1; and the Privacy Act of 1974 (5 United States Code 552a). These statutes may also be found at either the Department's web site, www.doi.gov/foia, or the United States Department of Justice web site, www.usdoj.gov.

Conner of Billings, Montana, a petroglyph expert, believes that it was created in the 1890s or early 1900s “when so many people were carving in geyserite [*sic*][in Yellowstone] or hauling it home” and that it is “unquestionably non-Indian.” Yellowstone National Park Archeologist Elaine Hale met in late 2006 with John and Mavis Greer at this site and they—two of the most learned experts in Plains rock art—told her that they believe this site is not an Indian one but more likely Euroamerican. They added that from the lichens on the rock, it appears to them that the site is likely not more than 150-200 years old. Hale and the Greers are preparing an article for publication about this strange rock art. Hale has stated that

This rock art site is, by the lichen comparison on the geyserite and on the shingles of the nearby building, likely not more than 150-200 years old at most. [This is] much later than the Kiowa ancestors passed through this area [A.D. 1200s]. And it is not circular; the petroglyphs are complete as carved and are elliptical, facing two different directions. There are several V-shaped elements in the art that have never been seen in native rock art in North America.¹²

In October, 2001, during NPS consultation with the Kiowa Tribe, one of their tribal elders—Billy Evans Horse—stated that his ancestors had carved a rock with a circle of some kind somewhere around what we know as Old Faithful. Hoping for more information, park cultural ethnologist Rosemary Sucec circulated an information packet to members of the Kiowa Tribe, but none of them responded with any further information.¹³

¹². Elaine Hale, National Park Service e-mail communication to Lee Whittlesey, October 5, 2006. Historian Paul Schullery also mentions to the author that he showed this “petroglyph” to historian Aubrey Haines and that Haines “thought it was more recent.” Schullery to Lee Whittlesey, October 20, 2006.

¹³. Rosemary Sucec, Ann Johnson, Stu Conner, et al., reports and other informational materials filed under Archeological Site 48YE0009, 1987-2001, Park Archeologist’s office.

Archeological Site 48YE59.

This site is officially known as “Old Faithful Dump,” although the existence of many dumps in the area probably makes that title a bit too general. The spot is adjacent to the present Grand Loop Road and includes the site of the present new Employee Pub. The report states:

This site represents a large, stratified deposit of industrial, building, and domestic trash associated with the Old Faithful area. The dump deposit(s) appear to represent much of the fill for the Old Faithful residence area. The deposits are well stratified, representing several dump episodes, separated by fill. The fill between the deposits is generally sterile rhyolite sands, probably of local origin. The deposits were uncovered by Park excavations for new building constructions. Most of the deposits are probably overlain by blacktop and not readily apparent. The deposits may be up to six meters in depth, in some areas...This site represents approximately 90 years of deposition associated with the early tourist industry in Yellowstone National Park.¹⁴

Much of the site is located under the blacktop of the employee housing area, so at least it is not getting vandalized or scavenged.

Archeological Site 48YE302.

The 1986 report states that this site is located near the old sewage disposal plant and behind the 1986 ranger station and was recorded by Montana State University in 1958:

It was not investigated at that time but recorded from information in Reploge [sic—Reploge], 1956 [this is the book entitled *Yellowstone's Bannock Indian Trails*]. At that time the site contained obsidian tools and chips and was approximately 75 by 100 yards [in size]. The site was relocated several hundred

¹⁴. Ann Johnson, et al., IMACS site form for Archeological Site 49YE0059, Park Archeologist's office. Dump sites are legion in the Old Faithful area and have not been studied here, as this will require much more research, but relevant photographs in the YNP collections are YELL-33831, 33803-33806, and 33872-33873. See also the materials in Box D-43, file 158A, Arthur P. Miller to Albright, September 2, 1922; and file 158D, Upper Basin “Garbage Disposal,” YNP Archives.

meters east of the base map location, directly behind [building name omitted]. No tools were located, but obsidian flakes were found in the area.¹⁵

This site was “relocated.” That means investigators could not find any traces of the (Replogle) site at its original location and so chose a site nearby that they believed best exemplified the original finding. The report stated that this site was the least disturbed of all the archeological sites in the Old Faithful area and therefore the most likely to reveal significant archeological remnants to future researchers.

Archeological Site 48YE303.

This site is southeast of Black Sand Basin. The 1958 report on it stated that it was 25 x 200 yards in size and “had been extensively collected by private individuals.” It was probably affected by the 1970-72 construction of the four-lane interchange and overpass. Information on the site places it in the corridor of the four-lane road into the Old Faithful area.¹⁶

Archeological Site 48YE369.

This site is near Biscuit Basin and was described in 1959 “as being a chip strewn area, with obsidian and flint chips and tools.” In 1986, investigators located one chert flake and two pieces of obsidian. The area is somewhat protected because it is within the thermal area and “has been affected by bison grazing, collection, and probably some park construction.” Investigators stated that “little material remains.”¹⁷

¹⁵. Melissa Connor, Jeff Groethe, Chris Svec, and Colleen Winchell, “Rocky Mountain Region Archeological Project Report” [for several archeological sites], October, 1986, pp. 3, 5, in Park Archeologist’s office.

¹⁶. Connor, Groethe, Svec, and Winchell, “Project Report,” October, 1986, pp. 3, 5.

¹⁷. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 6.

Archeological Site 48YE370.

This site's location was taken from Replogle's 1956 map, and the report stated:

The investigation of the site area in 1958 by Montana State University found nothing. Several hundred meters south of the map location we found a flake; and surmised [that] this may be the location of the [Replogle] site. The flake was about [number omitted by this author] east of the [cultural feature omitted by this author]. The flake was roughly 50 m from the bridge where the [location omitted by this author]. The flake was a secondary obsidian flake with possible retouch...The location of this site is tenuous. There is little indication of significant material at this site location.¹⁸

Archeological Site 48YE517.

This site is the ground that Old Faithful Inn stands on and extending out from it for a short distance on the south, west, and northeast. It is archeological because formerly both the 1883-1885 YNPIC tent camp and the 1885-1894 Shack Hotel stood here.

Remnants from these facilities probably lie under the present Old Faithful Inn.

Archeological Site 48YE682.

This site is located on Firehole River in the vicinity of Old Faithful Lodge cabins. It is an archeological site because the Shaw and Powell Camping Company's "Old Faithful Camp" stood on this site and on the site of Old Faithful Lodge from 1913 to 1916 and afterwards the site became the Old Faithful Lodge of the Yellowstone Park Camping Company.

Archeological Site 48YE802.

This site is located near the present footbridge (old auto road bridge) at Mortar Geyser. Only a map site and number could be found. We were not able to find a textual report for this site.

¹⁸. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 6.

Archeological Site 48YE1544.

This site is located by itself, southwest of the current Old Faithful sewage treatment plant. Only a map site and number could be found. We were not able to find a textual report for this site.

Undocumented Archeological Site, Orange Spring Group.

This site is a large one that stretches perhaps a quarter-mile through timber from Three Sisters Springs north to the Orange Spring Group. There are numerous human-built items scattered through the forest here, along with traces of roads and trails, and even the remnants of pipes that once apparently tapped Three Sisters and carried its hot spring waters north for unknown reasons. At least one old rock-and-dirt dump site is evident along with at least one other dump site that seems to contain human trash, cans, and miscellaneous discarded items.

The author has known of this site for at least thirty years, but in thirty years of searching archives and libraries around the nation for Yellowstone history has found no hint of what this large area was. My best guess is that it was used by wagon parties for individual camping. Perhaps it was also used by later auto parties, although all of the auto-camp documentation that has been found locates auto-camping at a site in the present East Parking Lot near Old Faithful Lodge.

Undocumented Archeological Site, Wylie Camp Dump.

This site is located west of Wylie Hill. Wylie Hill was the site of the Wylie Tent Camp, 1898-1916, and the large dumpsite to the west at the base of the hill is associated with that concessioner operation. This operation and that of the Shaw and Powell

Camping Company (on the site of Old Faithful Lodge 1898-1916) were merged into the Yellowstone Park Camping Company (later the Yellowstone Park Camps Company) in 1917, sited at present Old Faithful Lodge.

The pattern that emerges from all of these archeological sites is that such sites both ancient and modern abound in the UGB and that they are complexly intermingled with present cultural sites. Dr. Larry Loendorf has stated that Indians considered the Old Faithful area to be a sacred place.¹⁹

Roads in the Upper Geyser Basin, 1872-1909

With the archeological sites delineated, we now turn to early human roads in the Upper Geyser Basin. Roads in the UGB have been (since 1878) and continue today to be part of the area's cultural overlay. Game and early park visitors traveled along river corridors, so it is likely that there were trails along Firehole River in pre-1872 days, but these are so far undocumented. It is likely that there was at least one main Indian trail up Firehole River from the north, but we do not know from whence—or even if—spur trails diverged from it to lead off in other directions.

Superintendent P.W. Norris built the first Euro-American road into the area in 1878, one year before the area's first known building was constructed. Norris built his road in August, and that was before the Hayden survey was there that year, so although the survey's close-up map of the area showed no roads in the basin, the large park map by Henry Gannett did show Norris's road ending at Upper Geyser Basin. Superintendent

¹⁹. Dr. Ann Johnson states that Loendorf gave no reference for this comment but simply a statement that was unsupported in Loendorf's "Draft Overview and Assessment." She says that she assumes it is also in his final report. Ann Johnson e-mail to Lee Whittlesey, July 13, 2006.

Norris built this road from Mammoth to Norris to Old Faithful in 1878, completing it by August 30.²⁰ Norris's road and trail building was important because "the existence [of] the road and trail network encouraged the systematic park tour, helped determine points for hotels and lunch stops, and created an aura of civilization that tourists found comforting amidst the wilderness."²¹

The 1882 Northern Pacific Railroad map²² shows two main roads leading south from Marshall's Hotel to Upper Geyser Basin. One of them became today's Fountain Freight Road, while the other was the more easterly main road. Interestingly the southern end of the Freight Road is shown as extending all the way to Old Faithful but on the west side of Firehole River, while the easterly main road is shown as crossing the river between Riverside and Fan geysers as it entered the Basin. Also noteworthy is that on this map a "Hotel" is shown near Old Faithful Geyser, apparently a piece of anticipation by railroad surveyors who must have assumed that it would soon be built, because the actual tent hotel (built by NPRR affiliates) did not appear until 1883.

A look at historic maps provides a rough chronology of roads in the Basin. The 1882 Wylie close-up map of UGB²³ showed the main stagecoach road entering the basin from the north between present Riverside and Fan geysers (these two feature names were reversed on this map from today's actual locations), passing between Grotto and Giant

²⁰. Henry Gannett, large map of YNP, in F.V. Hayden, *Twelfth Annual Report of the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, Part II* (Washington: GPO, 1883). The dates of the survey, about September 1 to about October 10, are from newspapers: *Atlanta Daily Constitution*, October 19, 1878; *Helena (Montana) Independent*, August 4, 1878; and August 23, 1878. Norris's completion of the road is discussed in his 1878 annual report, and there is an extant W.H. Jackson photo of Norris's road building party with wagons at Upper Basin on August 30. For the photo, see John S. Gray, "Trials of a Trailblazer," *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 22 (Summer, 1972): 62-63.

²¹. Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), p. 224.

²². Map by Carl Hals and A[rvid] Rydstrom, 1882, in George Wingate, *Through the Yellowstone Park on Horseback* (New York: O. Judd Company, 1886), book pocket.

²³. Map of Upper Geyser Basin in W.W. Wylie, *Yellowstone National Park, Or the Great American Wonderland* (Kansas City: Ramsey, Millett, and Hudson, 1882), p. 34.

geysers, and heading south much as the present hiking-biking trail runs. This early road passed just south of Castle Geyser and Crested Pool (“Devil’s Well”), then turned east to cross Myriad Creek (“Little Creek”), proceeded south of the “cabin” built by Superintendent Norris that stood on Firehole River opposite the Lion Group of geysers, and finally passed Old Faithful Geyser on its southwest side.

By 1891, the map in *Haynes Guide*²⁴ showed the main road entering the basin on a bridge in the same spot as 1882 but aligned on the west side of Grotto Geyser. It then traveled on to Castle Geyser in the same fashion as 1882, but interestingly a side road was shown that allowed access to Daisy Geyser and Punch Bowl Spring, which ended abruptly at Black Sand Pool and “Specimen Lake.” From this point a footpath continued southeast through the woods—starting or at least serving the apparent origins of the continuous camping that seems to have occupied that large and somewhat mysterious area north of Three Sisters Springs—past the Orange Spring Group to Three Sisters Springs, rejoining the main road near the hotel site. Meanwhile, the main road at Castle Geyser continued running southeast. Just past Castle Geyser, it forked, one road leading east to Norris’s cabin and on to a footbridge at Beehive Geyser while the other road continued southeast to the hotel site. These two roads connected just west of Old Faithful Geyser, forming a large loop. The new (1891-1892) road east to West Thumb (not shown on this map), must have taken off east from the bottom of the loop.

By 1909, the *Campbell’s Guide* map²⁵ showed an additional small loop road leaving the main road at Grotto Geyser and proceeding west past the Wylie Camp and on

²⁴. A.B. Guptill, *All About Yellowstone Park* (St. Paul: F.J. Haynes through H.L. Collins Company, no date [probably 1891], p. 45.

²⁵. Reau Campbell, *Campbell’s New Revised Complete Guide to Yellowstone National Park* (Chicago: H.E. Klammer, 1909), p. 113.

to Punch Bowl Spring. The Wylie Camp was established in 1898, which is probably when this side road was built, and it ran between Splendid Geyser and White Pyramid. At Punch Bowl, the other side of this loop returned east to rejoin the main road opposite Oblong Geyser. Another road development by 1909 and shown on this map was that the side road at Punch Bowl Spring continued south and southeast past Black Sand Pool to a footbridge on Iron Spring Creek that allowed access to walking trails to Emerald Pool and Sunset Lake. This side road continued southeast and rejoined the main road just northeast of Three Sisters Springs (this “Black Sand Basin” road section remained in place until removed by work on the 1970-72 highway bypass).²⁶ The large loop shown on the 1891 map from Castle Geyser—which served Mr. Norris’s cabin-turned-soldier-station—remained in place in 1909 with an additional side road that ran from the Myriad Creek bridge north to Haynes studio and back to a point between Old Faithful Geyser and Old Faithful Inn. Interestingly, the road north out of the basin was shown on this map as being on the west side of Morning Glory Pool, a change that must have not lasted very long.

Earliest Buildings at Old Faithful: the Superintendent’s Cabin, a Previously Unknown Cabin, the Concessionaire Tent Camp, and Miscellaneous Structures, 1879-1884.

Superintendent P.W. Norris constructed the first known building in the Upper Geyser Basin in 1879, a log cabin 16 by 20 feet in size. He described it as “an earth-roofed, loop-holed log house” that was located “in a small grove upon the bank of the Fire Hole River, between the Castle and Bee Hive Geysers.” He referred to it as “a log house for the use of the assistant, and laborers while employed in that end of the park.” Near this

²⁶. Karl Byrand has pointed out that the road to Black Sand Basin could have been the one that Superintendent Goode wrote about in 1900 as having been “partially completed,” although this is not known for certain. Goode, 1900, p. 11 as quoted in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 53.

building Norris also constructed a stable and a corral, as well as a ditch and reservoir to provide water.²⁷ The building was located much closer to the Firehole River than Wylie's 1882 map, which shows it out in the meadow, would have us believe.²⁸

Norris intended for this building to be used by him and his assistants. Indeed, he wanted to use it as a base to search for a shorter route to Yellowstone Lake and to study geysers. He planned to stay there one winter with the geysers, but thermal vapor and a harsher winter than he anticipated kept him from doing that. About this, he explained that the

sulphur-charged condensed steam and fogs of the Geyser Basin were too suffocating to long endure, and that the unusual deep snows had seriously blocked the passes and gorged the Madison and other streams in their cañons.

Thus the building became the home and office of assistant superintendents Weimer and others until the U.S. Army took it over in 1886.²⁹ With additions and modifications it served as the UGB Soldier Station (1886-1916) and then the first UGB ranger station (1916-1921) until it was razed in 1921.

Initially the army occupied this station only in the summer, but in 1897 the acting superintendent decided to man it year round. That experiment was unsuccessful, and in 1897 the Army returned to its original idea of summers only. First Sgt. Edward Offley made it to

²⁷. P.W. Norris, *Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park, to the Secretary of the Interior*, by P.W. Norris, *Superintendent for the Year 1879* (Washington: GPO, 1880), pp. 6, 9; *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880* (Washington: GPO, 1881), p. 36#7; Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," pp. 45-46.

²⁸. Wylie's depiction of the cabin's location must have been incorrect, as subsequent maps (such as the 1891 *Haynes Guide* map and the 1904 *Hague Atlas*) show the cabin as being right on Firehole River in the loop formed by the river immediately across from the Lion Group of geysers. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape" (1880 map, figure two, p. 45) shows it as being very near the river.

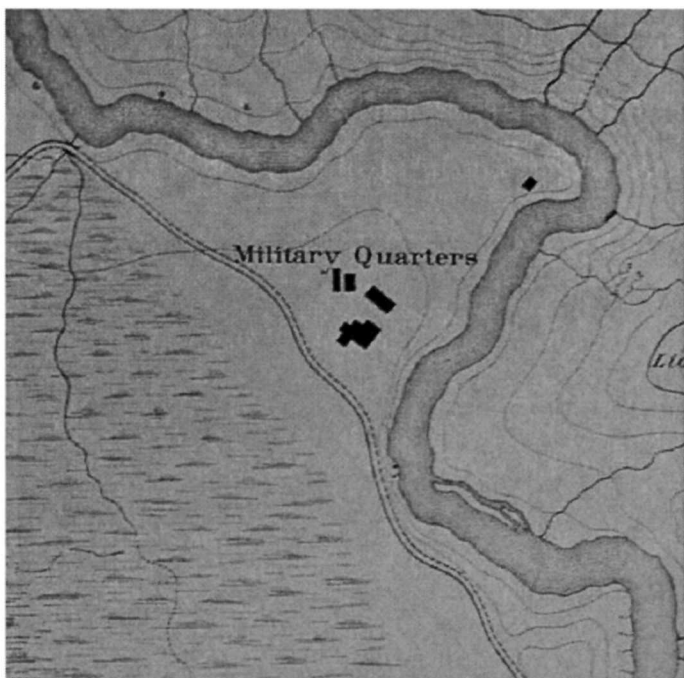
²⁹. Norris, *Annual Report...1879*, p. 9; Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," 1995, p. 46.

this station on September 24, 1900, reporting that it was under the charge of Corporal Bristol. He stated that it was manned only in the summer and had a poor stable.³⁰



Old Faithful Soldier Station by William Henry Jackson, no date (about 1893), M.A. Bellingham collection.

³⁰. History Card File, YNP Library, under "Upper Geyser Basin—Garrison of Troops." Edward Murray Offley, [Diary of Edward M. Offley], handwritten diary, 1900, p. 259 [p. 2], YNP Library.



Map from Hague Atlas, 1904, showing "military quarters" across Firehole River (west) from Lion Geyser. Note that this map shows a solitary cabin farther north of the military quarters that was probably P.W. Norris's original cabin.



Old Faithful Soldier Station, about 1904, at the oxbow site on Firehole River. The building at far right is apparently a root cellar, as shown in the following photo as well. An outhouse is present at center (with a man standing next to its door) along with a riverside building of unknown use in the foreground. NPS history collection.



Old Faithful Soldier Station in 1914, from an F. Jay Haynes Christmas card of that year. Note that by this time, the ramshackle corral structure was gone, two Sibley tents were erected, and an aerial cable of some type has apparently been placed next to the footbridge (top railing of which can be seen). M.A. Bellingham collection.



Soldiers at Old Faithful Soldier Station, year unknown, from Philip Fletcher and his grandfather Clayton P. Daugherty to park archivist Harold Housley, 2006.

The second known permanent building at UGB has more mystery surrounding it than does Superintendent P.W. Norris's first building. This author discovered the former existence of this building in 2005 by finding a photo of it, while conducting research at Yale University's Beinecke Library. The photo is among the personal papers of Carroll T. Hobart, who managed the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company during the period 1882-1886. The photo, taken in 1883 by well known western photographer Carleton E. Watkins (1829-1916), shows the log cabin standing on the north bank of Firehole River immediately across the river north from Castle Geyser, east of Chimney Cone, and in a small grove of trees that no longer exists. On the reverse of the photo, handwritten in pencil, was the notation "Res Supt Upper Basin," as if the writer believed that this was the residence of the park superintendent.³¹ But unless the assistant superintendents were occasionally using the building under some kind of unknown and undocumented agreement with YNPIC, this cannot be the case, because the true superintendent's cabin—as noted above—was located farther to the northeast (across from the Lion Group of geysers) and on the south bank of the river.

Who built this cabin and when are unknown. It could have been Superintendent Patrick Conger during his 1882-83 building "spree," but more likely YNPIC built it for the company's own use. Regardless, it was present in 1883, when photographer Carleton Watkins, who was specifically invited to the park by Carroll Hobart as a VIP guest (and probably specifically to photograph YNPIC facilities for the sake of promotion), took this photo of it. The building's likely use was for housing, as that use exemplified the greatest need of early park personnel and concessioners.

³¹. Carleton E. Watkins, photo #D248, no date [1883] in Carroll T. Hobart papers, box 6, folder 40, Yale University, Beinecke Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

The Watkins photos at Yale, including this one of the mysterious log cabin, must have been taken in 1883, for Carroll Hobart had too many troubles in 1884 to have hosted Watkins then and could not have afforded it anyway due to the YNPIC's financial embarrassment by that time. That interesting story is told below under the history of the Shack Hotel.



The second known building in Upper Geyser Basin, YNP, 1883. Photo by Carleton Watkins, Carroll Hobart papers, Yale University.

The third known complex of buildings at Old Faithful was the YNPIC tent camp, dining tent, and office, all of which were constructed by that company in 1883 as the forerunner of a hotel built two years later.³² Descriptions of this camp, which stood on the

³² F. Jay Haynes, photo of YNPIC tourist camp, in Margaret Andrews Cruikshank (Lee H. Whittlesey, ed.), "A Lady's Trip to Yellowstone, 1883: 'Earth Could Not Furnish Another Such Sight,'" *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 39 (Winter, 1989): 9. According to William Hallett Phillips's 1885 report, the government leased to the YNPIC in 1883 one-and-one-half acres in Upper Geyser Basin and on December 11, 1884, the location was changed. Phillips, "Report of W.H. Phillips on the Yellowstone Park," September 12, 1885, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 51, p. 13.

present site of Old Faithful Inn during the summers of 1883 and 1884 (and probably for some of the summer of 1885), are unfortunately few. A *New York Times* reporter known only as “E.G.D.” arrived in late August of 1883 to find President Chester Arthur’s party, commanded by General Philip Sheridan, camped near this facility, which he referred to as “the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company’s little village of large and small tents.”³³ He described the tent camp as follows:

The camp here, erected upon the site of a hotel which may be built one of these days, is most advantageously situated. It is upon a plateau of about 10 acres, where there is room not only for the 20 house tents ranged in a semi-circle at the back, but for the large tent which is used as a dining-room and an assembly chamber for those guests who choose to gather in it for chat, singing, or other social purposes. Out on the edge of the plateau the teamsters have parked their wagons and at night they sleep under or on them, with no roof above them but the sky.³⁴

Mrs. Margaret Cruikshank, an English woman traveling more or less with Rufus Hatch’s various scattered groups of VIP visitors, arrived in the Upper Basin at the same time as the president’s cavalcade and confirmed what the *New York Times* reporter said about the Basin’s tent camp. “The sun was disappearing,” she wrote, “when we found ourselves before the semi-circle of tents[,] between 20 and 30 that formed the Company’s Hotel.”³⁵ Manager Carroll Hobart took them to their own 13 by 16-foot tent, and Mrs. Cruikshank, whose camping experiences at Norris earlier had not been good, effervesced over the sudden “palatial magnificence” that was her good fortune:

[Our tent had] a rough hewn wooden door fastened by a button inside and with a string to wind round a nail outside, when [we] ladies were ‘not at home.’ It had a bright striped hemp carpet tacked all round to the lowest bar of its frame (slender firs) and a good mattress bed on the floor with a white honeycomb quilt. The washstand was a rough packing box, but it was furnished with a pitcher and basin,

³³ E.G.D., “Hot Springs and Geysers,” *New York Times*, September 13, 1883, p. 2.

³⁴ E.G.D., “At Upper Geyser Basin,” *New York Times*, September 16, 1883, p. 4, col. 1-2.

³⁵ M.A.C. [Margaret Andrews Cruikshank], “Notes on the Yellowstone Park by M.A.C. (August 1883),” unpublished typescript, no date, YNP Research Library, p. 20.

plenty of soft geyser water, soap and two towels. Our candle was stuck in a bottle and we rejoiced in a [real] chair.³⁶

Following their washing of faces and hands, Mr. Hobart showed them to the larger tents at the rear that served as dining room and kitchen. A few moments later Old Faithful Geyser erupted. Mr. Hobart “drew aside the tent curtain and there not an eighth of a mile away, towered, in the rosy evening light” the tall, straight water column. “There are other geysers that rise higher, *much*,” enthused Mrs. Cruikshank, “but for all practical purposes this is enough and as you start back in dread and awe the 130 or 140 feet is just as grand as if it were 200 or more...really the perfect geyser.”³⁷ This was the way visitors during that very first summer of large-scale tourism saw the Old Faithful area, and tourists have countlessly repeated the experience for 136 years since then!

The next structures to appear at Upper Geyser Basin were, like the company tent camp, temporary, and they probably were constructed contemporaneously with the tent camp by the YNPIC. These structures were at least three stark, white frames—apparently for tents—that were located immediately east of Castle Geyser and west of a (now gone) small pond of water. Again, we know of them only from an 1883 Carleton Watkins photograph, and we do not know whether they were ever covered with tents or for how long they were used. A good guess is that these frames supported tents that were used for employee housing and that they were located away from the company’s main tent camp for that reason.³⁸

³⁶. Cruikshank, “Notes,” pp. 20-21.

³⁷. Cruikshank, “Notes,” p. 22.

³⁸. Carleton E. Watkins, photo #D246 of “Castle Geyser Upper Basin” (showing tent frames), no date [1883] in Carroll T. Hobart papers, box 6, folder 40, Yale University, Beinecke Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

A final structure that was in place in 1883 appears to have been a bath house. It was located on the south bank of Firehole River in the meadow northeast of Castle Geyser and a short distance east of the cabin mentioned earlier as being the second Old-Faithful-area building. The 1883 Carleton Watkins photo that shows this building indicates that it was cage-like in appearance, probably just opaque enough to shield a naked bather from view. Hot water was apparently conducted from seeping springs near here where it was mixed with river water (perhaps right *in* the river) to make the correct temperature for bathing. This structure, or one like it, was described in 1886 by geologist Walter Harvey Weed who called it the “Weimar bathhouse,” a misspelling of *Weimer* in a reference that undoubtedly was to assistant superintendent J.W. Weimer, the park assistant superintendent stationed at Old Faithful 1884-1886. There may well have been more than one of these bath houses in the UGB, for as we have seen there were at least two cabins in that meadow as well as the company tent camp and a likely employee camp, and thus people in the area appear to have fashioned their own such places for bathing. But only one such structure has so far been found in a photograph.³⁹

No Other Government Structures at Old Faithful until 1916.

While concessioners continued to construct many buildings at Upper Geyser Basin during the period 1885 to 1916, the government did not (except for bridges). The U.S. Army—with its great number of men and its money beyond what the civilian

³⁹. Carleton E. Watkins, photo #D247 of “Castle Geyser Fire Hole River Upper Basin” (showing cage like structure in meadow), no date [1883] in Carroll T. Hobart papers, box 6, folder 40, Yale University, Beinecke Library, New Haven, Connecticut. Walter Weed’s reference is in one of his pocket field notebooks at National Archives, USGS Record Group 57, Field Notebooks, box 47, Weed notebook, vol. 13, July, 1886, p. 12, wherein he calls it “Weimar’s bathhouse” and says that one of several springs in the soil of a marshy area there supplies the bathhouse. This bath house could have been one that was located closer to the house that Weimer likely occupied, which was the government cabin built on the river near the Lion Group of geysers.

superintendents had had before—took over administration of Yellowstone National Park in August of 1886. Immediately the army needed buildings from which to operate at the major park locations: Mammoth, Norris, Old Faithful, Fountain, Lake, Canyon, Soda Butte, and the north and west entrances. Thus at Old Faithful, the army inherited P.W. Norris's primitive cabin, to which it added several other buildings, including a barn, privies, a corral, and storage buildings. Although the details are so far unknown, Army superintendent Moses Harris must have constructed these buildings that first year, for Old Faithful then as now was a major administrative location.⁴⁰ Other than footbridges and wagon bridges, there seem to have been no other government structures built at Upper Geyser Basin until 1916 (when the auto camp was started with its fire places, auto parking sheds, and restrooms) and no other government buildings until the Old Faithful Ranger Station in 1921. However concessioners constructed structures and buildings continually, beginning with the Shack Hotel.

The Shack Hotel or Upper Basin Hotel, 1885-1894, and Its Successor, 1895-1903.

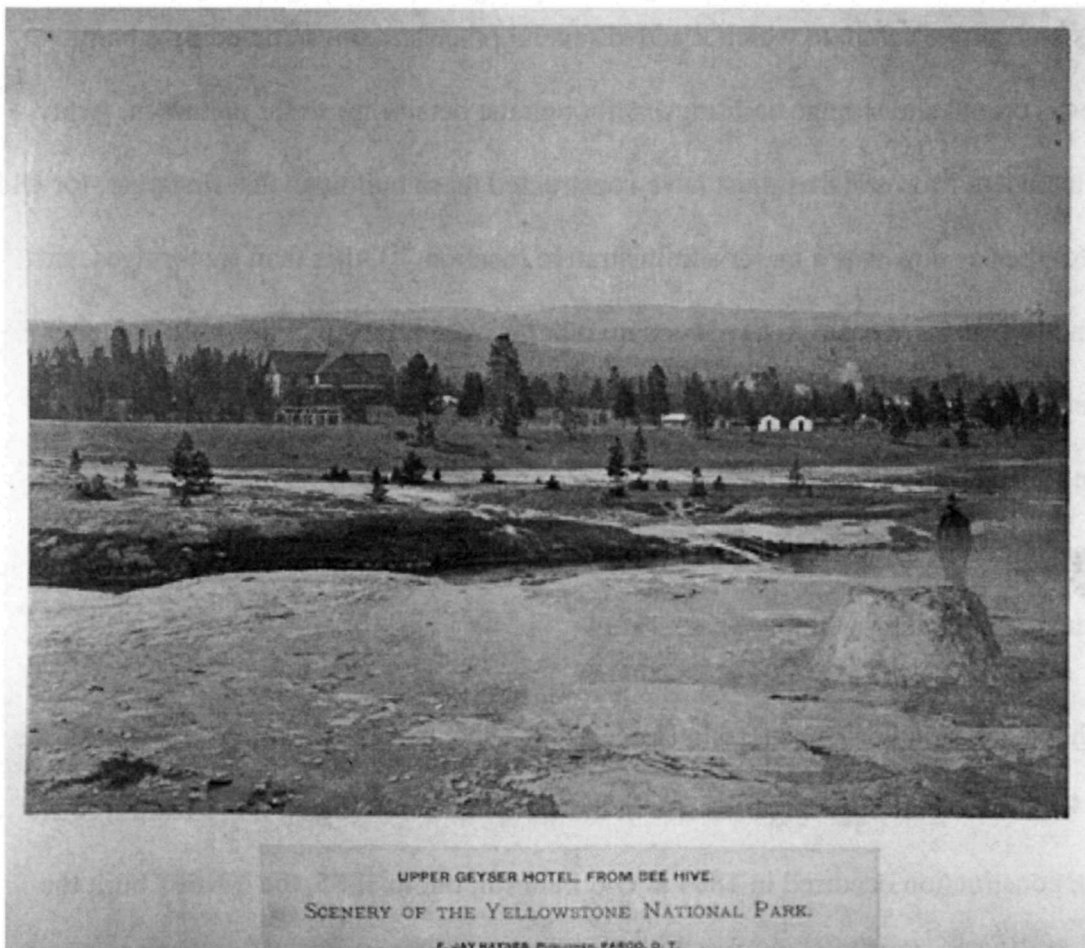
As more buildings began to rise in the area, visitors obtained more comforts. No known construction occurred in 1884 at Old Faithful, but in 1885, the YNPIC built the Upper Geyser Basin Hotel, also known as the "Shack Hotel."

Called the "Geyser Hotel" originally,⁴¹ this building was constructed by the Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company, with Carroll T. Hobart and Robert E.

⁴⁰. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 3. The structures, included as part of "Army No. 6," are mentioned in Kiki Leigh Rydell and Mary Shivers Culpin, *Managing the "Matchless Wonders": A history of Administrative Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1965* (Mammoth Hot Springs: National Park Service, Yellowstone Center for Resources, 2006), Appendix A, p. 161. In thirty years of searching, this author has found no information on what the army did in 1886 to modify buildings at Old Faithful. Perhaps the information resides in military records in the National Archives.

⁴¹. Plans for the 1885 building are "Geyser Hotel 1885," on Reel 49, file 190, microfilm at YNP Research Library, Rare Book Room. Karl Byrand states that this building was planned to be a two-story, T-shaped

Carpenter as its main spirits. Carpenter had served as park superintendent for ten months in late 1884 and 1885 but was removed from his position and immediately used his friendship with Hobart to become manager of the new hotel. The background for this follows.



Upper Geyser Basin (Shack) Hotel, 1885, the year it was built. Notice that remnants of the 1883-84 tent camp are still in place at center right, a camp that was probably used for at least part of the 1885 season until the new building was ready. Beehive Geyser is at bottom right with a man standing behind it.

Rufus Hatch and His Company in Yellowstone: “With our present system, the rich will grow richer and the poor poorer.”—Rufus Hatch in *New York Times*, June 27, 1883, p. 5.

structure containing thirty-five guest rooms but that the actual building, except for its fifty rooms, was much less than presented in the plans. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 63.

New York City financier Rufus Hatch, President and chief stockholder of the new YNPIC, made giant promises about his financial ability in 1882 and 1883 to both the government and his own employees—including big promises to Carroll Hobart (First Vice President and General Manager)⁴²—that he could not support. A reporter interviewed Hobart in late 1882 about the new company and quoted him as saying, “[U.S. Senator] Roscoe Conkling and Uncle Rufus are at the head of the project. I’m only a sort of general factotum. Rufus is furnishing the cash and Roscoe is giving the prestige.” Hobart would later regret his confidence in these men. Notwithstanding this claim, the company would fall into ruin within one year.⁴³

Sending Hobart to the park in early 1883 to run things, Hatch proceeded to spend around \$40,000 to bring a trainload of VIP journalists and others to the park in order to promote his new Yellowstone business venture. That soiree exhausted most of his funds, but from the beginning this “smooth, ruthless...sly, cunning” man⁴⁴ did not have money enough for the venture, and poor Carroll Hobart became his unwitting victim. By early 1884, Hatch had not paid the workmen who were building the new Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, and so they angrily took possession of that property *under arms*. Holding the hotel forcibly, these workmen spent the winter threatening Carroll’s brother Charles Hobart, a “good old boy” in the Gardiner area whom Carroll hired to help him watch over his own—and Hatch’s—YNPIC interests. Hatch proceeded to ignore Carroll Hobart’s

⁴². *Helena (Montana) Independent*, December 16, 1883 has a list of YNPIC officers. A more complete list is in the bylaws of the company, in a printed document in the Carroll T. Hobart papers, box 7, folder 60, Yale University, Beinecke Library, New Haven, Connecticut. There is a microfilm of this document at YNP Research Library as of 2006.

⁴³. Carroll T. Hobart to a St. Paul reporter in undated, untitled newspaper clipping [probably October 1, 1882], Hobart papers, box 7, folders 60, 62. There is a microfilm of this material at YNP Library.

⁴⁴. Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1977), II, p. 33.

repeated entreaties for money all winter, and at Mammoth Hot Springs Charles Hobart became desperate. He begged Carroll to hurry back from Washington with money and at times was forced to seek physical protection from the angry workmen. Things got worse in the spring when the Department of Interior insisted that Carroll Hobart's company had to build more hotels or else its lease would be forfeited. Just as bad was the company's (and the park's) problem, because of the armed workmen's takeover, that there were no hotel facilities of any kind available for tourists at the opening of the 1884 season.⁴⁵ For Hobart, the story became sadder and sadder, as he gradually realized that Hatch had truly "taken him for a ride." So he attempted to cut his losses by trying to make something of it all on his own.⁴⁶

After the Mammoth Hotel went into receivership, Hobart made a contract with the receiver in October of 1884 to pay for the proposed UGB hotel using his own money and to have his brother Charles actually build it. In the contract, he inserted a provision saying that the company had the privilege of taking it and paying him within two years.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ G.L. Henderson's statement in Thomas C. McRae, "Yellowstone National Park," 52d Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. No. 1956, July 20, 1892 (295 pp.), pp. II, 202. See also "Yellowstone Park Company—Judge Nixon Appoints a Receiver—Mr. Hatch Making No Opposition," *New York Times*, March 21, 1884, p. 5.

⁴⁶ This story, 1882-1887, is chronicled in dozens of letters and other ephemera in the Carroll T. Hobart papers, Yale University, Beinecke Library, New Haven, Connecticut. Historian Aubrey Haines has blamed Carroll himself for scandalously mismanaging the company's resources, while the local newspaper stated that by 1885 Hobart threw a shadow over whatever he put his hand to. "The Northern Pacific...thinks so, Rufus Hatch and [Hobart's fellow YNPIC officers] think so, and the friends of the Cinnabar & Cooke Railway have the same opinion." That indictment makes it appear that just about everyone was mad at Hobart including, apparently, Hobart's friend Hugo Hoppe. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 33; *Livingston Enterprise*, May 23, 1885. Haines has also reminded us that Hobart was involved in the shady scheme with Robert Carpenter in early 1885 to grab certain park land by erecting claim posts at the time that Congress was supposed to pass a bill segregating some of the northeast park back into open land. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, I, p. 316. And the reporter who interviewed Hobart in late 1882 (note 43 above) quoted him as bragging unashamedly that his company failed to get the lease from the government the first time, but "the second time—well, it was rich...the terms of this second lease are just ten times as advantageous as the first." Nevertheless, although Hobart can be seen as constantly "standing near the till" in his attempts to make money, a researcher reading his personal papers cannot help feel a bit sorry for him.

⁴⁷ CTH to "my precious Allie," January 5, 1886, in box 2, folder 16, Hobart papers. The agreement between the two Hobart brothers is mentioned in Moses Harris, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior. 1888* (Washington: GPO, 1888), p. 8.

Because he was desperate for money—having put \$500 of his own money into improvements for the Mammoth Hotel during Hatch’s failure period and having received no help from Hatch’s fellow railroad cronies—Hobart cast about for more help. Discovering that park superintendent Robert Carpenter was losing his job, partly for having been perceived by Interior as being too close to Hobart’s corporation, Hobart snatched at straws. He engaged Carpenter to run the UGB hotel, borrowed \$500 from friend Hugo Hoppe, and allowed Carpenter to put in \$1200. “He agreed to loan me [\$3500],” explained Hobart, “if I would let him operate the hotel.”⁴⁸ That got the hotel started, and then Hobart hired Carpenter to manage it for the summer of 1885. According to Hobart, new superintendent David Wear located the ground for them at UGB and also located the hotel for them at that point, although the site’s legality would later be disputed.⁴⁹

For Carpenter, all went well that summer even in a substandard building, and he made money. For Hobart, however, the “glider of misfortune” continued to spiral downward and out of control. He begged NPRR president Robert Harris for any kind of financial help, including an advance on his own money invested in the Upper Basin Hotel. “I hope and pray you will not forsake me at this...time and not let these villainous stories bias your course of action,” begged Hobart later, but the villainous stories were largely true with regard to Hobart’s financial state.⁵⁰ Rufus Hatch had simply not had the money for his ambitious venture, and now no money was forthcoming to Hobart from

⁴⁸. CTH to Col. W.P. Clough [Northern Pacific Railroad], January 26, 1886, in box 2, folder 17, Hobart papers.

⁴⁹. CTH to Robert Harris [Northern Pacific Railroad], January 19, 1886; CTH to Robert Harris January 28, 1886; both in box 2, folder 16, Hobart papers. See also “Troubles at Yellowstone Park,” *New York Times*, June 15, 1884, p. 7. The hotel’s improper location, which caused much consternation, is discussed in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 65-67

⁵⁰. CTH to Robert Harris, February 8, 1886, in box 2, folder 16, Hobart papers.

either Hatch or the railroad. In the meantime, Hobart continued to occupy an office at Mammoth Hotel and to oversee—after a fashion—Carpenter’s hotel at UGB.

Government inspector and lawyer William Hallett Phillips reported in 1885 on conditions all over Yellowstone Park. He did not think much of the new hotel that he saw being put up at Old Faithful, remarking in September of that year:

There is in the course of erection a hotel building, which is about half completed. The contract price was \$3,000. It is built of rough pine boards, and will contain thereby three bedrooms. The house is of a very unsubstantial character, and the accommodation for guests inadequate.

Phillips noted that the hotel was not located on the ground specified in the original lease nor on the ground in the modified lease but that he thought the site nevertheless “a suitable one.”⁵¹

A number of descriptions of this hotel indicted it as a terrible building. Park tour guide G.L. Henderson quoted the president of the subsequent concessioner as saying that the hotel was a “sham and a cheat,” and that it was “constructed on the principle of keeping out the light and letting in the cold at times when light and heat were both indispensable to the comfort of guests.”⁵² Historian Aubrey Haines stated of it:

The building (considered “a shack and a disgrace to the park”) was flimsily constructed with a foundation of small posts set shallowly in the loose soil, sills and joists of small pine poles, a floor of slabs with the sawn side up, and sides of the same. The inner walls were lined with very thin muslin to cover the rough side of the slabs, and the entire structure was so poorly braced it was immediately classed as dangerous.⁵³

⁵¹. Phillips, “Report,” September 12, 1885, p. 13.

⁵². G.L. Henderson, *Yellowstone Park: Past, Present, and Future* (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, 1891), p. 11. This is also quoted in Horace Albright, History Card File (orange cards) listed under “Upper Basin Hotel (prior to 1903),” YNP Library.

⁵³. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, I, p. 318, quoting assistant superintendent J.W. Weimer in document 1580, November 17, 1885, YNP archives.

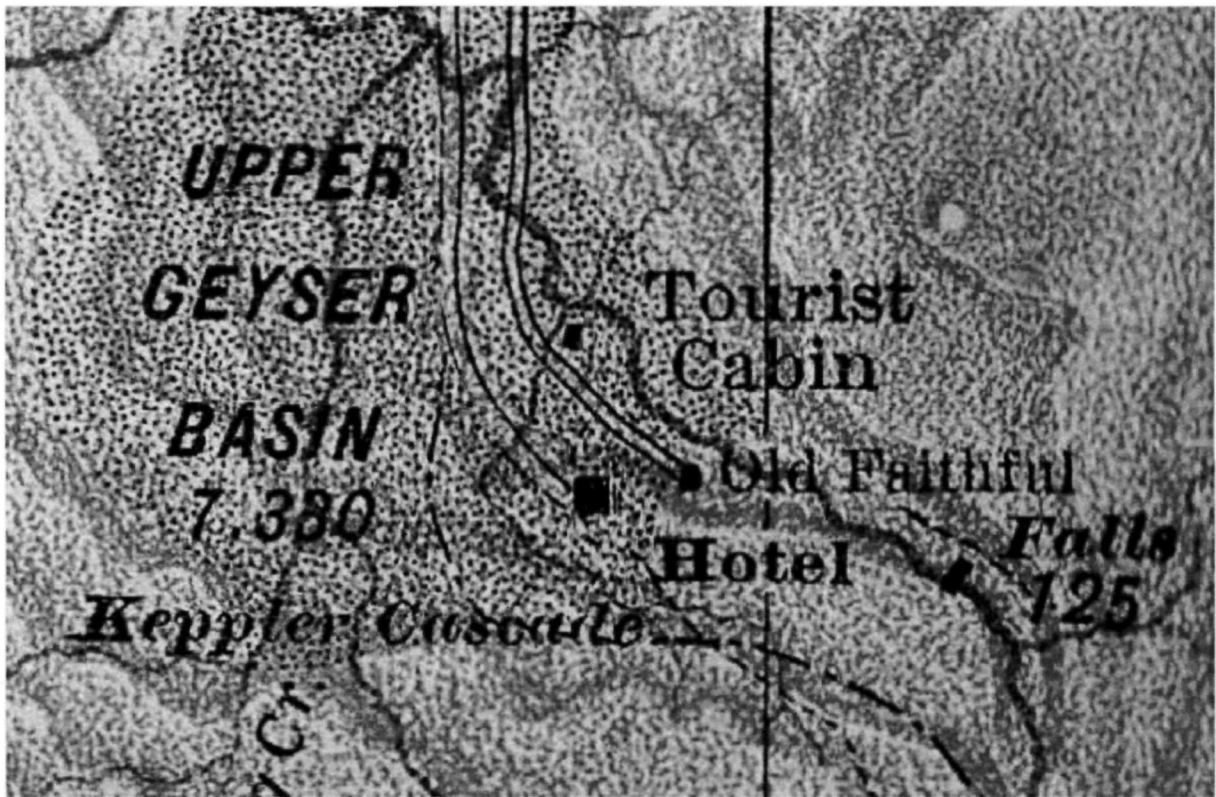
Moreover, assistant superintendent Josiah Weimer complained about an unsightly privy that Carpenter built between the hotel and Old Faithful Geyser itself and about construction and occupational debris that littered the area. Weimer wanted to burn both buildings down and clean up the area, but despite his desire the hotel remained on the site for nine more years.⁵⁴

A map from the summer of 1885 included in George Wingate's book is confusing. It shows a "tourist cabin" north of Old Faithful Geyser and the "hotel" to the south. The hotel was apparently newly constructed and Wingate's "tourist cabin" must have been Norris's 1879 cabin for no other is known that could have been used by tourists. Wingate stated that in 1885 "a new hotel of the Queen Anne type" fronted directly opposite Old Faithful Geyser and that the "long row of tents near the hotel belonging to the Park Improvement Company" was also still present.⁵⁵

The rest of the Hobart/Carpenter story involving the Shack Hotel from that summer of 1885 has recently come to light from the Carroll Hobart papers at Yale University. According to Hobart's letters, Carpenter made money that summer despite contractor Charles Hobart physically taking over the site for a time until his brother Carroll borrowed more money from friends to pay Charles for the construction. Carroll Hobart has stated that Robert Carpenter gave him \$1200 on the mortgage for the hotel and easily got this back from the summer's earnings of the hotel "as shown by his

⁵⁴. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, I, p. 320.

⁵⁵. Wingate, *Through the Yellowstone Park on Horseback*, p. 104.



Traveler George Wingate's map showing the Old Faithful area in summer, 1885.

statement given me at the close of season.”⁵⁶ Thus, although Carroll Hobart owned the hotel at the end of 1885, he seems never to have gotten his money back for it. For Hobart, it was one more event in the long chain that eventually led him close to, if not actually into, bankruptcy.

During the next couple of years, fortune and events turned even worse for Hobart. “[Rufus] Hatch is abusing me shamefully,” he complained in late 1885. “He is turning heaven and earth to ruin me. God knows I have stood so much trial in this Park matter that I am nearly ready to return [to the East] penniless and start new in a more genial [profession].” Hobart instructed his wife to tell “our good friend [Hugo] Hoppie” to “sell my horses, desk, everything” in the out-of-park property stored at Cinnabar “to get me

⁵⁶. CTH to Col. W.P. Clough, January 26, 1886, in box 2, folder 17, Hobart papers.

\$1000” to live on. The sale of all his in-park property occurred in May of 1886, just as the new Yellowstone Park Association took over. With his property sold, Hobart could bitterly sneer: “we have ended our miserable career in the Park. Thank God for that.”⁵⁷ But he arguably had himself to blame nearly as much as Rufus Hatch. As late as 1888, Hobart was still trying to get the railroad to reimburse him for his personal losses in Yellowstone, but the railroad refused.⁵⁸ The railroad also abandoned its earlier “golden boy” Rufus Hatch and threw its allegiance behind a new company, the Yellowstone Park Association. Hatch protested this thoroughly, but the railroad did not listen, even though its president Thomas Oakes had been the person who originally appointed Hatch to head the YNPIC.⁵⁹

According to incoming YPA President Charles Gibson, his company purchased the Shack Hotel in 1886 “at largely more than its value in fee, and large amounts were expended by us in its completion.” Gibson explained to the government that the hotel was unplastered and had to be plastered in order to keep out the cold.⁶⁰ The building figured sordidly into subsequent park affairs. By 1887, it could accommodate about seventy persons (eighty the following year), but almost immediately became used mainly as a lunch station when many visitors elected to stay overnight at the older Marshall’s Hotel nine miles to the north.⁶¹

⁵⁷. CTH to “my dear Allie,” December 27, 1885, in box 2, folder 15, Hobart papers.

⁵⁸. Robert Harris [NPRR] to CTH, February 6, 1888; CTH to Robert Harris, February [illegible], 1888; T. Oakes [NPRR] to Guy Noble, June 9, 1888; CTH to Guy Noble, June 15, 1888, and four more letters, all in box 2, folder 18, Hobart papers.

⁵⁹. Bartlett, *Wilderness Besieged*, p. 152 as quoted in Mary Shivers Culpin, “*For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People*”: A History of Concession Development in Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1966 (Mammoth: National Park Service, Yellowstone Center for Resources, 2003), p. 33.

⁶⁰. Charles Gibson to L.Q.C. Lamar, March 5, 1887, in McRae, “Yellowstone National Park,” 52d Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. No. 1956, pp. 261-262.

⁶¹. Newell Joyner, “History of Some Improvements in Yellowstone Park,” in *Ranger Naturalists’ Manual of Yellowstone National Park* (Mammoth: National Park Service, 1929), vol. III, p. 197.

In 1888, Mr. I.L. Hunt served as manager of the Shack Hotel. Apparently YPA made improvements beyond plastering, for traveler J.M. Williams found it to be “equipped for a first-class hotel, and...well managed by its genial landlord.” Williams’s account is the only one known that described not only the hotel’s electricity and water sources but also the nearby hot spring laundry, which guests employed to have their clothes cleaned. His description is surprising and instructive as to what was there that summer:

This is the center of curiosities in the Park, and some of them are connected with the hotel. For instance, here is a natural steam laundry, where the hotel guests can have their fine linen done up in good style by the Laundress who presides over a hot spring just west of here [in the Myriad Group of springs, probably present Laundry Spring and/or Abuse Spring]. The laundry consists of a tent, two colored women [they were probably Chinese or Japanese], a baby or two, and a genuine boiling hot spring. The dirty clothes are thrown into a box floating around in the spring; then they are rubbed by hand a little and put back into the spring to boil. They come out as white as the driven snow, and are beautifully starched, and ironed till nearly worn out, so faithful is the laundress. This is one of the attractions of the hotel; another is on the way to the laundry. It is what I should call the Yankee water works. A few yards back of the hotel runs quite a creek of cold water [present Myriad Creek]. A Yankee or some other genius has utilized this water privilege to good advantage. There is no hydraulic or force pump, no windmill, no steam power of any kind; but simply a dam, a water-wheel, an endless belt, a couple of pulleys, etc., and by this simple machinery the water is lifted from the stream to a tank 75 to 100 feet high, and never ceases to flow into the reservoir in the top of the hotel as long as the latter is not full. The water runs over the small dam, at one end of which it falls down upon a little old fashioned overshot water-wheel, and at the other end of the dam it falls into tin cups and fruit cans wired or fastened to a long upright endless belt. The water drives the water wheel and the pulley fastened to the shaft of the water-wheel drives the long belt; the belt conveys the water in the cups to the top and there as it comes over the upper pulley, it pours into a tank high enough to give it fall and force itself into the reservoir in the top of the hotel. There the water runs night and day, and furnishes power without expense, raising the water and keeping the hotel reservoir full. The principle is the same as used to lift grain in elevators and mills.⁶²

⁶². J.E. Williams, *Through the Yellowstone Park. Vacation Notes. Summer of 1888* (Amherst, Massachusetts: Amherst Record, no date [probably 1889]), p. 17.

It is not known when this water works was demolished. Nor is it known when the laundry with its laundresses ceased to function. Descendants of a professional photographer recently donated a formally-produced scrapbook to the park museum collection that shows the first known photos of that laundry and laundry workers.

In late 1888, park superintendent Moses Harris decried the “Shack Hotel” as still tawdry. Quoting Charles Gibson he roundly derided it. Gibson’s original letter is more instructive than Harris’s. In it Gibson blamed Carroll Hobart for building the hotel in the wrong spot and lambasted the railroad for selling the building to him at an inflated price:

Mr. [H.C.] Davis bought this hotel for [us] the association in the winter of 1885-86. We paid for it about \$6,000 in money. When I took possession of it in the spring I found it a cheat from beginning to end, although Mr. Davis was not responsible for its condition. The architects and carpenters condemned it as unsafe and liable to fall down. I went there myself to examine it. By putting many braces and props [in], it was made tenantable. The windows, doors, and fittings, and most of the outfit, such as crockery, etc., had been surreptitiously abstracted from the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, while it was leased from the receiver by Mr. C.T. Hobart. Most of the valuable part of the building and outfit belonged to the receiver, and passed to the railroad under its purchase, and came to the association under its agreement of purchase from the road. I understand [that] Mr. Hobart sets up some claim to the building. We bought every visible claim to it at the time. Mr. Hobart was then a fugitive from the park. \$2,000 would be a high price for what we paid \$6,000 for.⁶³

Thus, the railroad appears to have been the beneficiary of the sale money and, as mentioned, appears not to have ever reimbursed Hobart. Superintendent Moses Harris pronounced the hotel defective in 1888: “In my opinion the building is still in an unsafe condition, and its faults of construction are such as to render it improbable that they can be remedied without the demolition of the building.”⁶⁴

⁶³. Charles Gibson to H.L. Muldrow [Dept. of Interior], August 2, 1887, in McRae, “Yellowstone National Park,” 52d Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. No. 1956, pp. 265-266.

⁶⁴. Harris, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park...1888*, p. 11.

But no one demolished the building. Instead, YPA kept it operating for six more summers, probably because many believed that this site was the only suitable one for a hotel in the Upper Geyser Basin. Indeed park administrators thought so,⁶⁵ and this perception influenced the later location of Old Faithful Inn. In 1893, YPA closed the hotel to overnight visitors and operated it only as a lunch station. That greatly inconvenienced visitors to Upper Basin, complained the superintendent, for now “tourists have to return for the night to the Fountain [Hotel at Lower Geyser Basin] and on the following morning make their third trip over this ten miles [stretch of road back to Upper Basin in order to continue their journey to Yellowstone Lake].”⁶⁶

This situation would last for awhile, as the facility continued serving only as a lunch station. Then on November 18, 1894, fire destroyed the Shack Hotel. The local newspaper explained:

The hotel situated at the Upper Geyser basin, in the National Park, burned to the ground Sunday afternoon. The fire originated from a defective flue in the ladies parlor and as no help was at hand except the watchman in charge, nothing could be done to save the building. This hotel was one of the first erected in the Park and cost in the neighborhood of \$10,000.⁶⁷

Notwithstanding this stated amount and notwithstanding Carroll Hobart’s original plan for the building to cost \$20,000,⁶⁸ the Shack Hotel’s original cost, if we believe William Hallett Phillips, was a mere \$3,000.

The following spring, YPA officials replaced the hotel with another crude building that was immediately also styled the “Shack Hotel.” This building was even

⁶⁵. F.A. Boutelle, “Supplemental Report of the Superintendent,” 1889, p. 22, in Harris, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1889* (Washington: GPO, 1889).

⁶⁶. George S. Anderson, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior. 1893* (Washington: GPO, 1893), p. 4.

⁶⁷. “Local Layout,” *Livingston (Montana) Enterprise*, Saturday, November 24, 1894, p. 5.

⁶⁸. Carroll Hobart, January, 1885 letter, quoted in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 63.

rougher looking⁶⁹ than the first one; in fact, historian Haines has described it as “a rambling structure of unhewn logs, picturesquely located in a grove.”⁷⁰

It apparently served only as a lunch station until 1901. That year YPA added some stove-heated, wooden-floored tents, and this allowed the facility to house up to ninety-six⁷¹ guests for those who chose to stay overnight. Most, however, used it only for lunch. During the period of at least 1897-1900, W.P. Howe managed the facility. During the seasons of 1902 and 1903, the genial and well known Larry Mathews ran it, so for these years it—like Larry’s other park stations—became known as “Larry’s.”⁷²

During the summer of 1901, a “Bossy Brander” served lunch at the establishment, which was overseen by a less-than-healthy manager whose name is as yet unknown. Traveler Carl Schmidt passed through that year and left us his impressions of the facility and its manager. Schmidt was

shown a long tent ostentatiously marked No. 1. A hallway down the center formed of canvas divides it. At the end of the hall a small wood stove looks pitifully inconspicuous when compared with the size of the tent. The rooms are canvas, formed with a flap for a door. A deal bed, small table, and a wash-bowl, with a four by six looking-glass furnish the accommodations. Scrupulous

⁶⁹. Photos of the building and its tents exist. See Lee H. Whittlesey, *A Yellowstone Album: A Photographic Celebration of the First National Park* (Boulder: Roberts Rinehart, 1997), p. 69; W.C. Karland, 1902 scrapbook of YNP trip, owned by Randy Ingersoll, Gardiner, Montana; a Scrapbook owned by David Monteith, Seattle, Washington, entitled “Remembrances on our trip through Yellowstone Park from Louis de Crignis to Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Dean, Aug. 5th to 12th 1907.” Bob Berry of Cody, Wyoming, also has early photos of this building. Chester A. Lindsley, “Chronology of Yellowstone National Park,” unpublished bound manuscript [1939], YNP Library, p. 151 tells when the new building was erected.

⁷⁰. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 121.

⁷¹. This number per the History Card File under “Upper Basin Hotel (prior to 1903),” YNP Library, and it is also in John Pitcher, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: GPO, 1901), p. 9. Those persons who chose to spend the night were often visitors who were dissatisfied with the transportation company’s policy of discouraging unplanned stopovers, because the company did not like sudden empty seats in its stagecoaches. This “once-over-lightly” treatment of tourists was responsible for more complaints than any other part of the park tour. These dissatisfied tourists stayed at the Shack Hotel and took their chances of finding a seat in a coach when they were ready to move on. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 120.

⁷². For Larry Mathews at Upper Basin Hotel, see Lee H. Whittlesey, ““You Only Count One Here!”: Larry Mathews and Democracy in Yellowstone, 1887-1904,” unpublished manuscript, September 14, 2005, YNP Library vertical files, pp. 27-30.

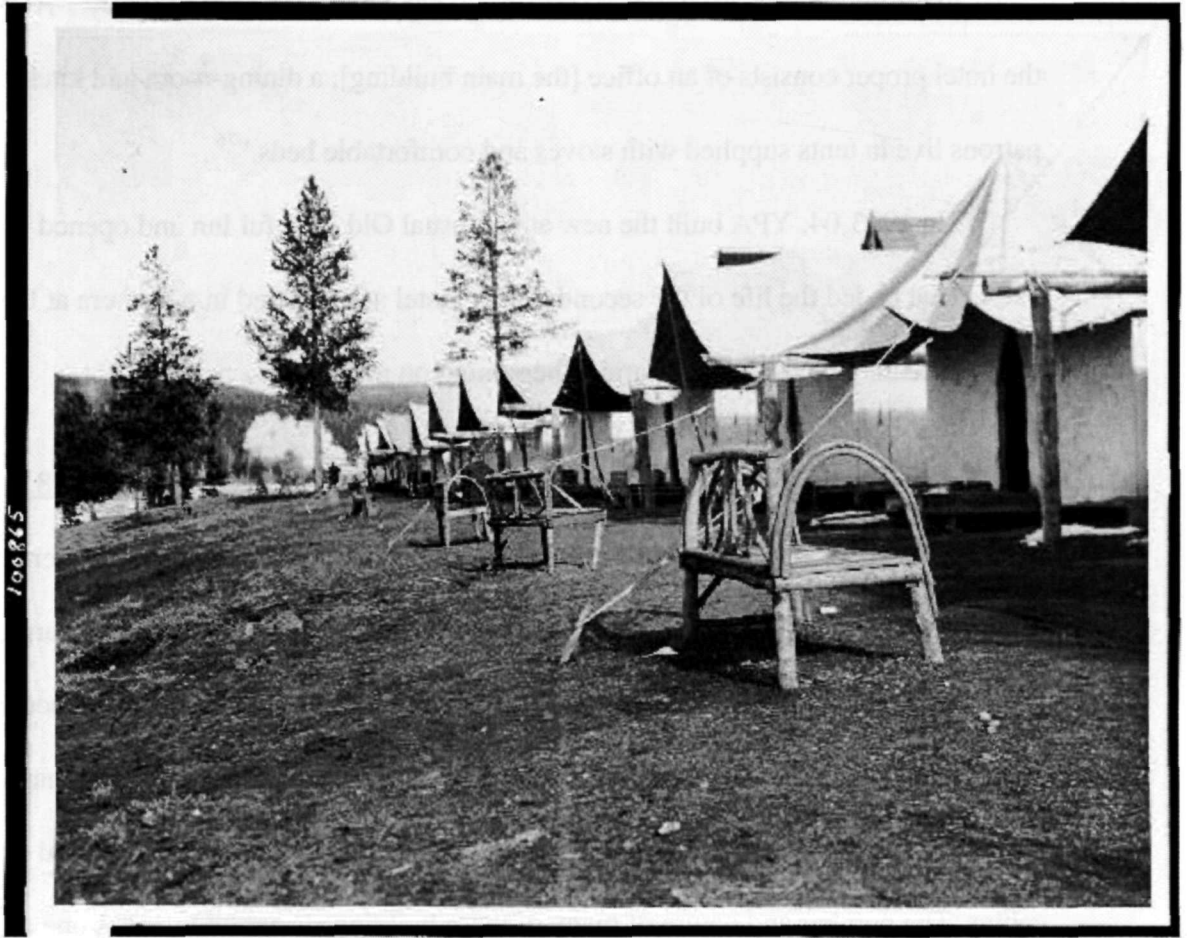
cleanliness prevails...lunch is served by a squat-figured, black-eyed "Bossy Brander" of Montana and spoiled by an officious landlord with great whiskers, hollow chest, and hollower cough, who takes the first opportunity to tell us that four years ago he was dying of consumption but now, thanks to the climate...⁷³

Tuberculosis was not curable in 1901, so it is doubtful that this "landlord" survived for long. Whoever this consumptive, bewhiskered manager was, he seems to have lasted for only that one summer, because Larry Mathews replaced him the following year.



Upper Basin Hotel (tents), 1902, when Mr. and Mrs. W.C. Karland stayed there. Larry Mathews managed the facility that summer. Photo from Karland scrapbook, 1902, in Randy Ingersoll collection, Gardiner, Montana.

⁷³ Carl E. Schmidt, *A Western Trip* (Detroit, Michigan: Herold Press, 1910), p. 30, as quoted in Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 121.



Upper Basin Hotel (tents), 1903, when Larry Mathews was manager. Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnston. Library of Congress photo #LC-USZ-62-100865.

During the summer of 1902, the rough building with its tents housed up to 193 guests!⁷⁴ That year, an anonymous traveler acknowledged the building's recent change from lunch station to tent hotel and found Larry's food to be better than he anticipated:

This hotel [was] until recently only a lunch station, and its sleeping accommodations were far from satisfactory, consisting of several large tents, each divided by canvas partitions into sleeping apartments about six feet square. The Grayling [Dwelle's, outside the park to the west] was luxury in comparison; the table, though, was much better than these accommodations had led us to expect.⁷⁵

⁷⁴. G.L. Henderson, "Names of Geysers," *Livingston (Montana) Enterprise*, September 13, 1902, p. 1. This is discussed in Whittlesey, "Larry Mathews," pp. 27-30.

⁷⁵. Anonymous, "Yellowstone Park from a Car Window," *Forest and Stream* 59 (August 2, 1902): 83.

During the season of 1903, visitor Nicolas Senn said of the facility: "At present the hotel proper consists of an office [the main building], a dining-room and kitchen. The patrons live in tents supplied with stoves and comfortable beds."⁷⁶

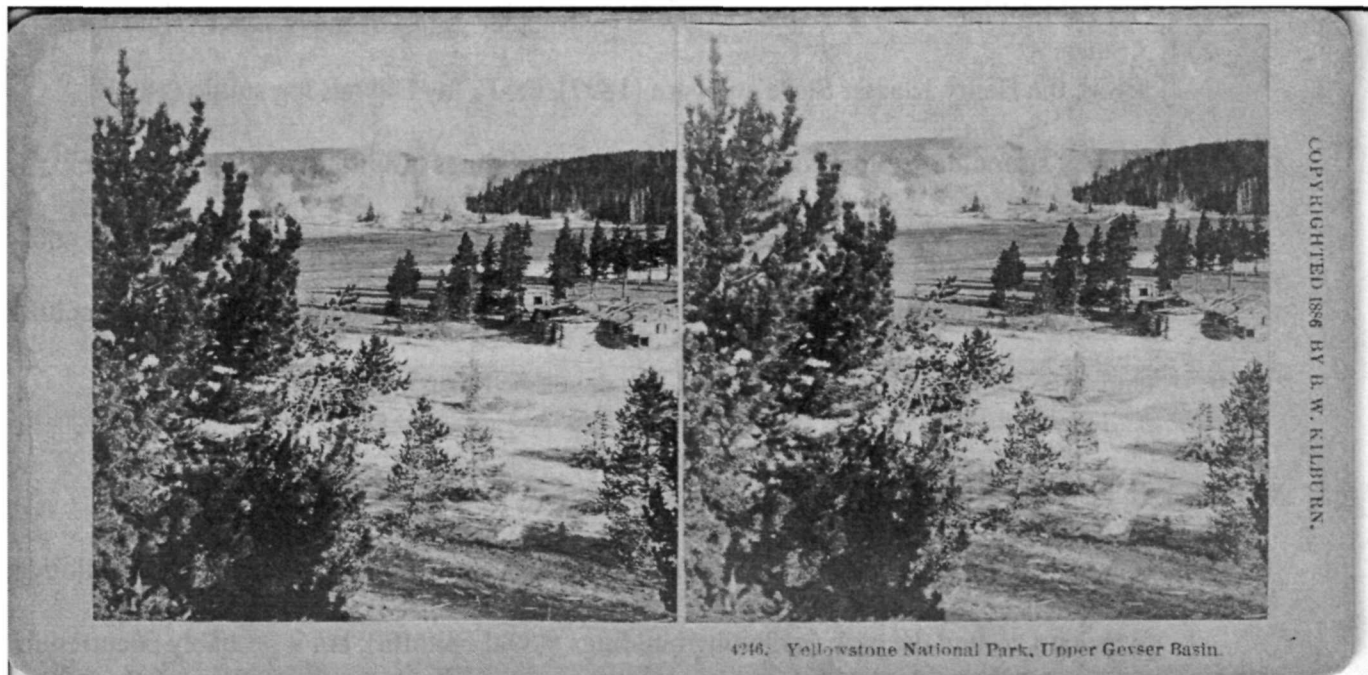
In 1903-04, YPA built the new and unusual Old Faithful Inn and opened it in June of 1904. That ended the life of the second Shack Hotel and ushered in a new era at Upper Geyser Basin, which we will examine beginning on page 64.

Other Concessioner Structures Become Part of the Scene, 1886-1898.

The greatest need for buildings by both the government and concessioners in early Yellowstone days was for housing for employees and managers, followed by barns, corrals, and other small buildings used for the upkeep of the thousands of horses that occupied the park. Hence, numerous buildings were constructed in all parts of the park. We have no records of many of these buildings, and most of them were dwellings, barns, and storage cabins. The number and nature of many of these buildings is not known, but one of them was probably the dwelling shown in B.W. Kilburn stereo number 4246, copyright 1886, that occupied the site later taken by Klamer's store (today's lower Yellowstone General Store). So far we know nothing about when this building was built (probably in 1884 or 1885) or who lived in it, and we know of its existence only because of this Kilburn photograph. It was probably one of the ones mentioned by William Hallett Phillips who was dispatched to the park in 1885 to report to the Department of Interior about conditions there. He stated that in August, he found "a number of squalid buildings at the Upper Geyser Basin, erected without authority of law, which should be at once removed."⁷⁷

⁷⁶. Nicolas Senn, *Our National Recreation Parks* (Chicago: W.B. Conkey, 1904), p. 34.

⁷⁷. William Hallett Phillips report on conditions at Yellowstone, September 12, 1885, quoted in Culpin, *History of Concessions*, p. 30.



B.W. Kilburn stereo 4246, copyright 1886, Bob Berry collection, Cody, Wyoming.



Blowup of unknown dwelling in B.W. Kilburn stereo 4246, copyright 1886. This dwelling occupied the approximate site of Klamer's (later) store, which is today's lower Yellowstone General Store. Bob Berry collection, Cody, Wyoming.

A few other buildings are known to have been constructed at Upper Basin prior to Old Faithful Inn. They were the George Wakefield barns, stables, and corrals (present in 1888), the Henry Klammer Store and barn (1897), the F. Jay Haynes log studio (1897), Haynes's Monida-Yellowstone Stage Company buildings (1899), the YPA Hot-house (1897), and the Wylie Camping Company's tent camp and outbuildings (1898). Thus until 1903-04, the Upper Geyser Basin was the site of relatively few buildings, and so the cultural landscape there was much smaller and less developed than today.

The George Wakefield Barns, Stables, and Corrals.

It is not known when George Wakefield and Charles Hoffman established buildings for horses around the park (including buildings at Old Faithful), but it probably occurred in 1883, because that was the first year of their operations and they would have needed the buildings immediately. Large-scale tourism to Yellowstone really began that year, because the railroad arrived at Cinnabar, Montana late that summer and the railhead was close to Yellowstone (and therefore depositing tourists) all summer long. Wakefield's barns, stables, and corrals were present in 1888, and they were then located 1,320 feet southwest of Old Faithful Geyser,⁷⁸ on a site that is under today's west parking lot behind Old Faithful Inn. Wakefield's lease was revoked in late 1891, and he left the park at that time. His operations were taken over for the season of 1892 by Silas Huntley and Harry Child.⁷⁹ It is likely that the new owners continued using the buildings, at least for a time.

⁷⁸. Letters and other materials in box C-17, file "W.J. Henderson and H. Henderson," YNP Archives.

⁷⁹. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, pp. 46, 399n7.

The Henry Klamer-Hamilton Lower Store (1897) and Barn.

Henry Klamer, son-in-law to longtime park resident and hotel owner G.L. Henderson,⁸⁰ built “Klamer’s Store” and a barn just west of present Old Faithful Inn in 1897. This store became the lower Hamilton Store (1915-2003), and today it is known as the lower Yellowstone General Store.

Originally the building was much smaller. Park Superintendent S.B.M. Young stated in his report for 1897: “A two-story frame building, 20 by 30 feet, has been erected by Mr. H.E. Klamer on a site surveyed and platted in the Upper Geyser Basin, under a lease to be issued by the Department [of Interior], but which has not as yet been received.”⁸¹ Klamer’s building had a small, roofless planked porch and served as a dwelling as well. There he sold Indian baskets, souvenirs, curios, and general tourist supplies. Apparently there was also a post office in the building, called the “Wonderland” post office, for G.L. Henderson says that he worked there that year and in 1898.⁸² Klamer remodeled the building in 1907 and 1914, and his wife Mary Henderson Klamer sold it to Charles Hamilton for \$20,500 after Klamer died in 1914.⁸³ Per photographs, it was apparently the 1907 improvements that made the store look very much like it does today. Hamilton made the store even bigger in 1923, and his company ran the store until Delaware North took over its operations January 1, 2003.⁸⁴ The more easterly part of the store was the original building.

⁸⁰. For Henderson’s complete biography, see Lee H. Whittlesey, *Storytelling in Yellowstone: Horse and Buggy Tour Guides* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, in press 2007), chapter nine.

⁸¹. S.B.M. Young, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1897* (Washington: GPO, 1897), p. 5; Lindsley, *Chronology of Yellowstone*, p. 167.

⁸². Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 86-87. G.L. Henderson at the Wonderland Post Office is in Whittlesey, *Storytelling in Yellowstone*, chapter nine.

⁸³. The 1907 remodeling is mentioned in Byrand, p. 86, while the 1914 renovations (including a photo) are in Item 45, file 54 “Buildings and Building Sites: Klamer,” YNP Archives. Byrand, p. 157 has the price.

⁸⁴. See for example, the photo in Whittlesey, *A Yellowstone Album*, p. 65. The 1923 addition is mentioned in the History Card File, YNP Library, and in Joyner, “History of Some Improvements,” p. 205.

A barn that still (2006) stands behind the lower store was apparently also built in 1897 by Klammer, but nothing else is known of its usage or history.

F. Jay Haynes's First Photo Studio (1897).

Park photographer Frank J. Haynes (1853-1921) first took photos of Yellowstone National Park in 1881 and by 1884 was ensconced as a park photo concessioner. He built his first park store at Mammoth Hot Springs in 1884, and it also served as his residence. In 1897, Haynes erected his formal studio at Old Faithful, which he eventually called the "Old Faithful Picture Shop." It was located in the meadow north of Henry Klammer's store and a bit to the northeast of that store. Park superintendent S.B.M. Young stated in 1897:

During the present season Mr. F. Jay Haynes has erected a log cabin studio in the Upper Geyser Basin, on ground leased April 18, 1896. This cabin is the most beautiful and appropriate in the park. The logs for side walls were sawed from native live pine on three sides; the fourth or outer side of each log was peeled and shaped with drawknife. After being placed they are held in contact and shape with hardwood maple pins. The inside is finished with White basswood, and floored with Oregon pine, oiled. The roof is made of Washington cedar shingles, 4½ inches to the weather. Size of building [is] 24 by 50 feet, with addition 16 by 16 feet—one story, with 10-foot walls; [and] a shingled porch 10 feet wide along entire east front. The cabin is rustic in appearance throughout.⁸⁵

Haynes enlarged the building in 1911.⁸⁶

F. Jay Haynes died in 1921, and his son Jack Ellis Haynes continued the photographic business in the park. During the period 1933-1936, Jack moved his father's building south to the then Old Faithful utility area where he first sought to use it as a complete photo-finishing plant. Later it was used for some years as a horse barn.⁸⁷ Today it

⁸⁵. Young, *Report of the Acting Superintendent...1897*, p. 5. See also Joyner, "History of Some Improvements," p. 202; Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," pp. 81-85; and Lindsley, *Chronology of Yellowstone*, p. 166. An aerial photo that shows the location of the building was reproduced in Olin D. Wheeler, *Wonderland 1905* (St. Paul: Northern Pacific Railroad, 1905), large foldout.

⁸⁶. Information on this addition (including a photo) is in Item 45, file 54, "Buildings...Haynes," YNP Archives. Another representative photo is YELL-31185.

⁸⁷. Jack Ellis Haynes, *Haynes Guide Handbook of Yellowstone National Park* (Bozeman: Haynes Studios, Inc., 1966), p. 47; Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 147.

still stands in the “Fire Lane” between the outer Grand Loop Road and the inner (four-lane) road to Old Faithful Lodge.



F. Jay Haynes’s studio at Old Faithful, 1897. Photo from Olin D. Wheeler, *Wonderland* '98. Below: Haynes’s studio at right and Klammer’s store at left, about 1904. Soldier station can be seen at right center. Photo from Wheeler, *Wonderland* 1905.



Old Faithful Hothouse (1897-WWII).

A very strange and amazingly long-lived building was the Old Faithful Hothouse, built in 1897 by the Yellowstone Park Association. Designed to raise “green stuff for the winter keeper and for similar purposes for the hotel,”⁸⁸ this building stood behind the present Lower UGB Gas Station on a hot spring formation so as to keep it heated year round and to allow plants to grow year round because the ground was literally hot. W.P. Howe,

⁸⁸. National Park Service, Master Plan, 1939, quoted in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 76-77.

manager of YPA's hotels, originally ran the hothouse. He worried that someone would make YPA tear the ramshackle structure down, but the Secretary of Interior reassured him that it was in the interest of tourists to continue it.⁸⁹

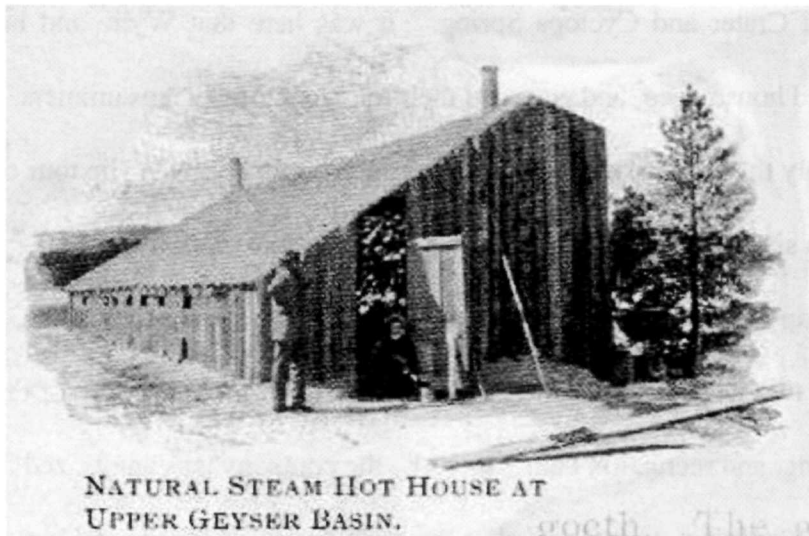
Scientific American magazine celebrated the existence of the Old Faithful Hothouse by running an article about this "greenhouse" in its July 9, 1898 issue. Measuring 25 by 50 feet, the building was heated by 195-degree geyser water. It sloped to the east and had a glass roof. "It is astonishing," noted the anonymous writer, "that such splendid garden products can be grown at such a height [elevation], for ice forms nearly every month in the year, and the mercury in winter is exceedingly low." Gardeners in the building raised lettuce, mushrooms, and cucumbers at this time, and perhaps other vegetables later. Continued the 1898 writer, "the rich soil, the sun's light, and the condensation of steam from the hot water make an ideal combination for the growth of vegetables."⁹⁰

The hothouse remained in place as late as 1939 and was apparently torn down sometime during World War II. Historian Aubrey Haines told this author in the 1990s that he remembers eating vegetables during the 1930s that were grown in the building.⁹¹

⁸⁹. *Ibid.* The former location of the building is evident today from the rectangular concrete rim that served as the primitive structure's foundation. The Secretary of Interior's letter to the park is C.N. Bliss to James B. Erwin, September 24, 1898, in Army Records, Letters Received, vol. I, p. 270, YNP Archives.

⁹⁰. Anonymous, "Gardening Over a Geyser," *Scientific American*, July 9, 1898, p. 24. This article includes a photo of the original building.

⁹¹. Aubrey Haines, conversation with Lee Whittlesey, August 9-13, 1993, during his tour of that park that year for employees. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 77. A map showing the hothouse is NP-Yel 3309-G, reproduced in the 1939 park Master Plan. See also the following: a discussion of the hothouse in June 17, 1899 letter signed Henry Klammer (but written in G.L. Henderson's handwriting, as if he wrote the letter for his son-in-law) in George Ash Collection, YNP Library Manuscript File; and 1930 Press Release #31 (in *Monthly Report of Superintendent*, June, 1930) that describes the building as still producing vegetables that year. A photo of the later building (1917) is in Whittlesey, *A Yellowstone Album*, p. 71.



Hothouse behind Henry Klamer's store, 1897, just after it was built. Photo from Olin D. Wheeler, *Wonderland '98*.

Old Faithful Wylie Camp on Wylie Hill (1898-1916).

The Wylie Camping Company, established by William Wallace Wylie of Bozeman, Montana in 1880, was originally a company that brought campers to the park in wagons. The company carried all of its own tents, food, and supplies with them and catered to a more frugal class of patrons than did the park hotel and stagecoach company. These persons were mainly the middle class of America “whose affluence and mobility was rapidly rising.”⁹² Prior to 1898, the Wylie Camping Company utilized movable camps in the Old Faithful area and camped in places at UGB that are as yet unknown. Perhaps one of these places was the “undocumented archeological site [at] Orange Spring Group” (see p. 12), but that is as yet undetermined.

Another site may well have been Wylie Hill, on which W.W. Wylie established his semi-permanent camp in 1898. Wylie Hill was (and is) located immediately west of Grotto

⁹². Bartlett, *Wilderness Besieged*, p. 188; Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 77.

Geyser, between Red Mud Crater and Cyclops Spring.⁹³ It was here that Wylie and his successor A.W. Miles would house, feed, and entertain their tourists for nineteen summers.

And they did it more cheaply than the park hotel and stagecoach company. A Wylie tour of seven days cost \$35 while a six-day tour with the Yellowstone Park Association was \$50.⁹⁴

The new Wylie camp would eventually contain a couple hundred tent-top cabins, a corral, restrooms, a barn or two with other stage facilities nearby, and on the very top of the hill a tent-top dining, dancing, and recreation hall.⁹⁵ In 1909, the company was authorized to build “one log storehouse, 20x40 feet, to be located in the timber back of the present warehouse and kitchen, out of sight of the traveled road.” In 1915, the company built a dining room.⁹⁶

New owner A.W. Miles also secured permission to take hot water from nearby Punch Bowl Spring to supply the camp with water (1909 to at least 1913). This became an ongoing debate as some critics decried the cutting of a notch in the rim of the spring in order to allow hot water to flow into a nearby pool from which a pipe ran to the camp. Shortly after this, camp officials mentioned that they had found another nearby hot spring (Cyclops Spring) and that they wanted to tap it to supply the camp bath house. It is unlikely that this was ever done, because subsequent correspondence indicates that Punch Bowl Spring remained in use.⁹⁷ A.W. Miles’s son Daniel Miles recalled later that sometimes a large barrel was carried to Daisy Geyser and that hot water was dipped out of the geyser for the

⁹³. Whittlesey, *Yellowstone Place Names*, 2006, p. 266.

⁹⁴. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 136.

⁹⁵. Promotional pamphlets that show the camp, including photos, are in Edward H. Moorman [Brochures and Pamphlets], 1898-1912, YNP Library rare book room, along with a nearly complete set of Wylie year-by-year company brochures.

⁹⁶. H. Benson to A.W. Miles, August 19, 1909, in Item 45, file 54, “Buildings and Building Sites: Wylie,” YNP Archives. See also archive documents 7087-7088, both 1908; and Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 133.

⁹⁷. Various letters in Item 45, file 54, “Buildings and Building Sites: Wylie,” YNP Archives.

camp. He personally dipped hot water into the barrel and remembered that tourists would ask him questions: “How hot is that water?” “How many buckets does that barrel hold?” “How long does it stay hot?” “How many barrels do you use in a day?”⁹⁸

In 1917, following the combining of the Wylie, Shaw/Powell, and independent camping companies into a single company, this site was abandoned in favor of the Old Faithful Lodge site. It became the Old Faithful headquarters for the new Yellowstone Park Camping Company. The old Wylie site on Wylie Hill was dismantled and cleaned up by the National Park Service in or about 1920.⁹⁹

Old Faithful Monida and Yellowstone Stage Company Buildings (1899-1916).

F. Jay Haynes established his transportation company—the Monida and Yellowstone Stage Company—in 1898. He operated red stagecoaches from the park’s west entrance, running from Monida, Montana or wherever the Utah and Northern (later the Union Pacific) railhead was located¹⁰⁰ to all locations in the park. That first year he “constructed barns [at Old Faithful, Norris, and Mammoth], with additions for grain and sleeping quarters for drivers and stock tenders.”¹⁰¹ Sleeping quarters often were bunkhouses that slept numerous drivers. Barns generally had corrals and other small storage buildings. In late 1899, Haynes’s company leased eight parcels of land in the park for the purpose of establishing “a stage and transportation line for the transportation through and over the

⁹⁸. Daniel Miles, “Daniel N. Miles Reminiscence,” January 21, 1962, p. 1, in Montana Historical Society, Special Collections 69, Helena, Montana.

⁹⁹. The History Card File, YNP Library, under “Upper Basin—Wylie Perm” has the establishment date of 1898 and the cleanup date of “circa 1920.”

¹⁰⁰. The location of the railhead changed on a year by year basis until it reached present West Yellowstone, Montana in late 1907. Thornton Waite, *Yellowstone Branch of the Union Pacific: Route of the Yellowstone Special* (Columbia, Missouri: Brueggjenjohann/Reese, 1997), p. 22.

¹⁰¹. History Card File, YNP Library, under #97, “Upper Basin—Monida and Yellowstone” says these buildings were erected in 1898. James B. Erwin, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1898* (Washington: GPO, 1898), p. 9 says Haynes’s barn at Old Faithful held eight horses.

various roads in the Park of persons desiring to travel through and over the same.” Haynes’s site was located 883 feet south of Old Faithful Geyser, a spot that placed the parcel almost directly behind and to the east of where Old Faithful Inn would be located five years later.¹⁰² The exact numbers and types of Haynes’s buildings are so far unknown, but they were present in 1908, per army memos that mention the “earth closets” (restrooms) there needing cleaning.¹⁰³ In 1917, Monida-Yellowstone along with the Wylie and Shaw/Powell stage operations were combined into one company owned by Harry Child: the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company. F. Jay Haynes continued in business with only his photographic operations and owned a transportation company no more.

History of Bridges at Upper Geyser Basin

A footbridge built by unknown persons in the 1870s seems to have been the earliest known human structure at UGB. Traveler Thomas Sherman used this bridge in 1877 to obtain access to geysers and hot springs on the opposite bank of Firehole River: “Crossing by a narrow rustic bridge the pretty river that winds among these springs, and is largely fed by their hot waters, we roam down the opposite bank.”¹⁰⁴

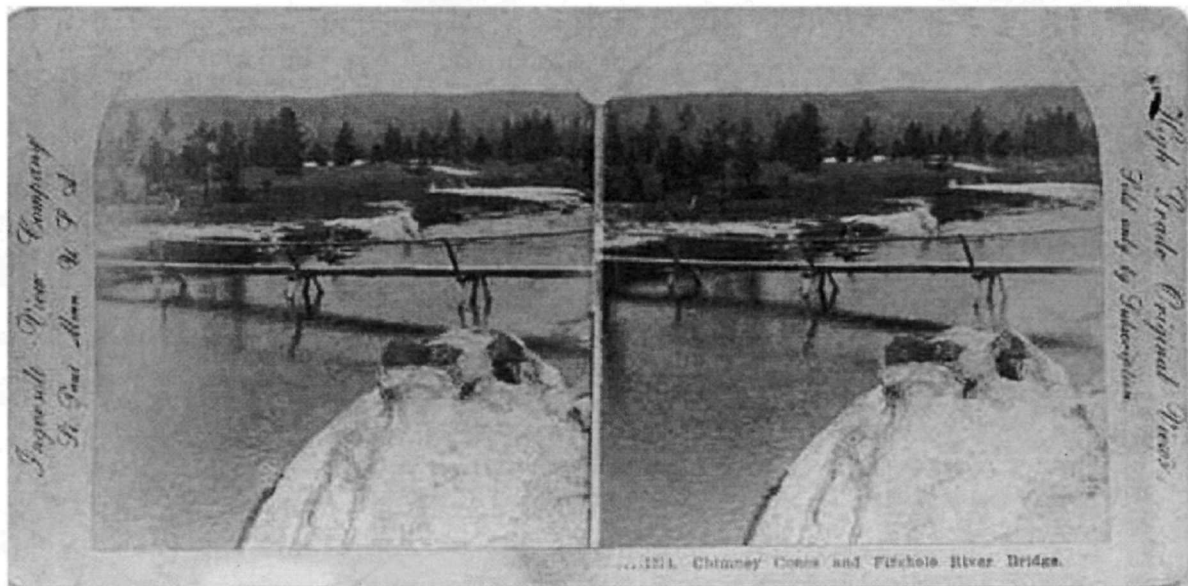
A number of other footbridges in the Old Faithful area are known, and there probably were more than are documented here. The years of their construction and removals are not always known. One was a plain, two-plank bridge that existed in the 1880s between Old Faithful Geyser and Beehive Geyser (more on it below). That bridge and the one near Castle Geyser were the two footbridges that Superintendent P.W. Norris

¹⁰². T. Ryan, “Lease” from Acting Secretary to F.J. Haynes and W.W. Humphrey, December 19, 1899, in Haynes Collections, box 16, folder 7, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana, as quoted in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 86.

¹⁰³. Archive documents 7087-7088, both 1908, YNP Archives.

¹⁰⁴. T.E.S. [Thomas E. Sherman], “Across the Continent. II.—The National Park,” *Woodstock Letters* 11, 1882 (Maryland: Woodstock College), p. 33. The location of this bridge is uncertain, but it is believed to be near or in the same spot as today’s footbridge at Castle Geyser.

says he built in 1881.¹⁰⁵ A subsequent bridge at Castle Geyser was built on about the same site in 1921.¹⁰⁶ It seems to have been replaced in 1931 by a less ornate bridge at the same place. None of these three bridges is extant today.¹⁰⁷ There remains a large footbridge on the site today, although research on when it was built is incomplete.



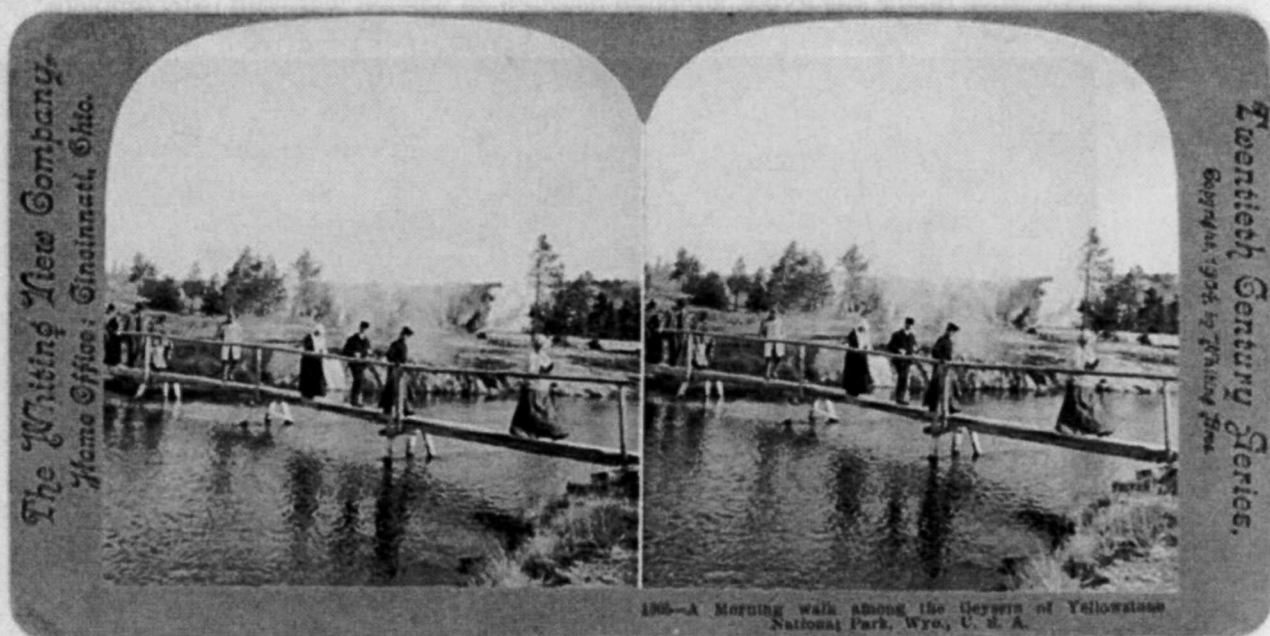
Two-plank footbridge between Castle Geyser and Grand Group, showing Chimney Cone in foreground. This was probably the first footbridge at this location, and it was built by P.W. Norris in 1881. High Grade Original Views stereo company, no date, from Mary Beth Schwarz collection furnished by M.A. Bellingham.

¹⁰⁵ P.W. Norris, *Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington: GPO, 1881), p. 70. The Wylie 1882 map makes clear where these footbridges at Castle and Beehive were. See also the map in P.W. Norris, *Calumet of the Coteau*, 1883.

¹⁰⁶ The 1921 replacement is mentioned in Culpin, *History of the Construction*, p. 222 quoting Stephen Mather, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service...1921*, p. 167. See also Horace Albright, *Annual Report, 1920-1921*, p. 46, in box A-9, YNP Archives.

¹⁰⁷ The 1931 replacement is in box D-47, file "Engineers," YNP Archives. Photos of the first (two-plank) bridge) are in Jim Peaco's "Fountain Soldier Station" collection and in Jack Davis's scrapbook at Bozeman.

100946



Footbridge at Castle Geyser, no date, copyright 1904 by Whiting View Company, Cincinnati, Ohio. Library of Congress photo #LC-USZ62-100946. This seems to have been the same bridge as the previous (High Grade Original Views) photo.

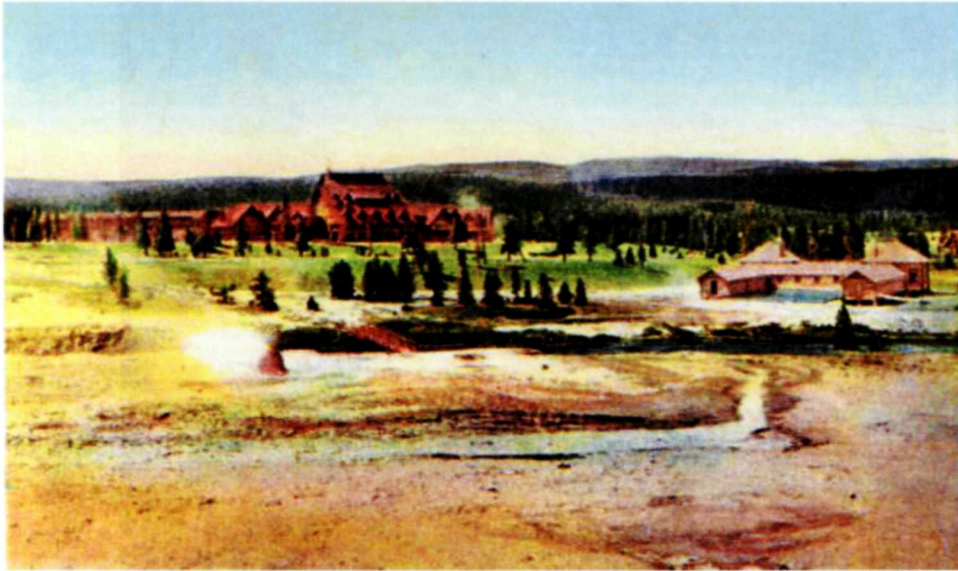


Photo above is probably the 1931 replacement of the footbridge at Castle Geyser leading to the Grand Group. Photo 11073-5, YNP Archives.¹⁰⁸

The footbridge at Beehive Geyser, as mentioned, was one of the two that Superintendent P.W. Norris built in 1881. While Norris's original bridge was a plain structure, this footbridge was rebuilt at some point using ornate knotted wood like that of Old Faithful Inn. That rebuilding probably occurred in 1905.¹⁰⁹ This more ornate bridge was still there in the 1920s, and it is not known when it was removed. The two photos below show the Beehive bridge in the teens and 1920s.

¹⁰⁸. Photos 11073-5 and 11151-1 are from "Final Report Old Faithful Thermal Area Paths, Project F.P. 231-8," in box L-8, folder "Trails 1930-1937"; and "Final Report Trail Construction Project #526," in box L-8, folder "Project 526," YNP Archives.

¹⁰⁹. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 53.



H.H. Tammen postcard, no date, at least 1915, showing footbridge between Beehive Geyser and Old Faithful Geyser. Henry Brothers's "Geyser Baths" facility is at right center. M.A. Bellingham collection.



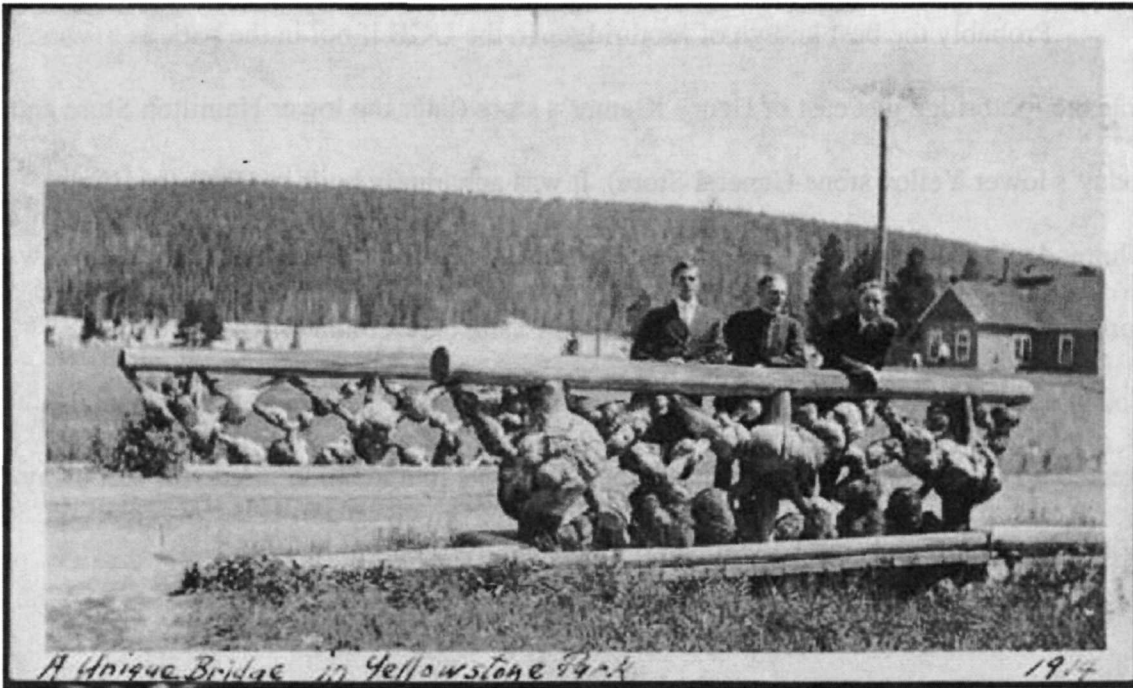
Tourists on knotted-wood footbridge near Beehive Geyser, 1920. Bayard Paine, photo #098, University of Colorado.

Probably the best known of footbridges in the UGB if not in the park as a whole was the footbridge just east of Henry Klamer's store (later the lower Hamilton Store and today's lower Yellowstone General Store). It was apparently built in 1905, for Hiram Chittenden's road report of that year stated: "An attractive footbridge of rustic design was constructed over the small stream between the Castle Geyser and Old Faithful Inn."¹¹⁰ Today's footbridge in the same location is extant but much less ornate. Workmen also erected a knotted road bridge similar to the footbridge in a location just a few feet away. When this was done is not known, but it too probably occurred in 1905.



Footbridge just east of Klamer's store, no date, about 1910. Old Faithful Inn is at rear. NPS slide collection.

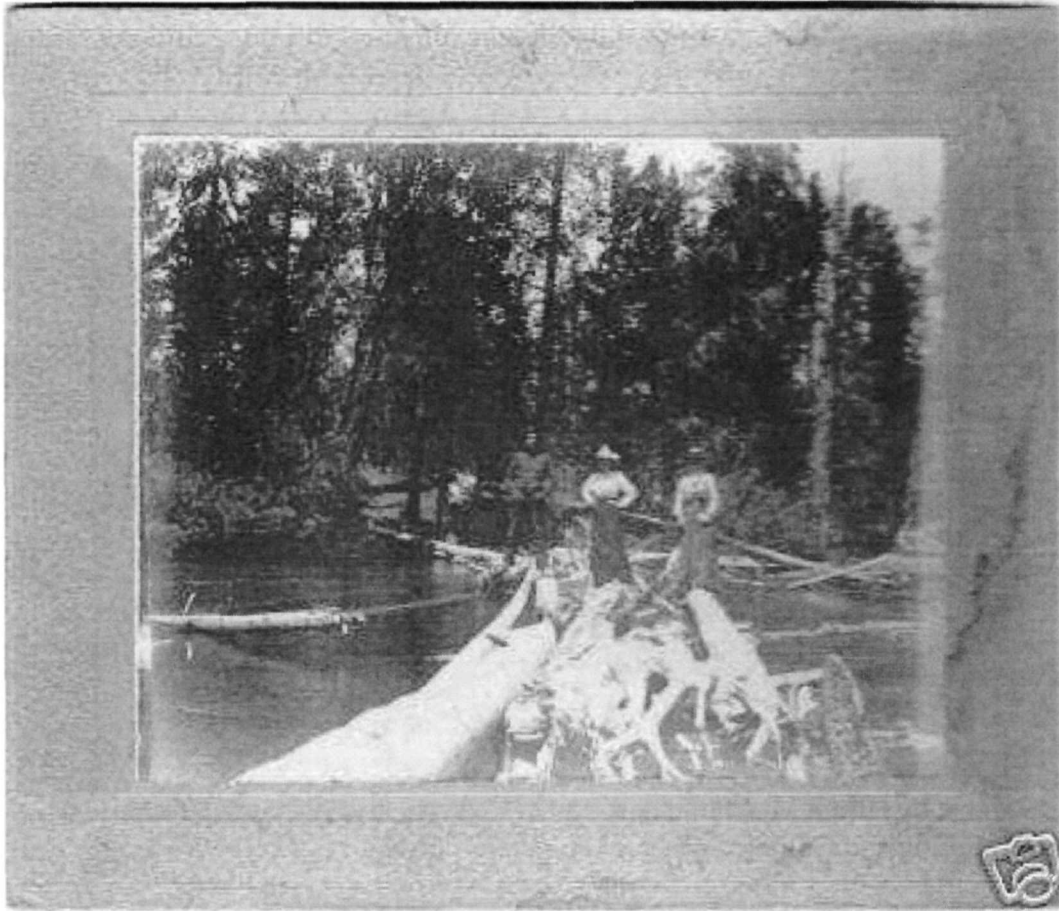
¹¹⁰. Page 2810 as quoted in Mary Shivers Culpin, *The History of the Construction of the Road System in Yellowstone National Park, 1872-1966*, Historic Resource Study, volume I (National Park Service: Rocky Mountain Regional Office, 1994), p. 221.



1914 photo of the road bridge of knotted wood that stood just north of the footbridge that was east of Klammer store. At center right is the 1897 F. Jay Haynes studio.

Yet another footbridge was built early across Firehole River to allow access to the Mallard Lake trail. Probably the earliest iteration of this bridge is shown in a stereopticon photo in the Bob Berry collection of Cody, Wyoming.¹¹¹ A footbridge remains on the site today. A photo in the Mary Beth Schwarz collection, shown below, is probably of this bridge.

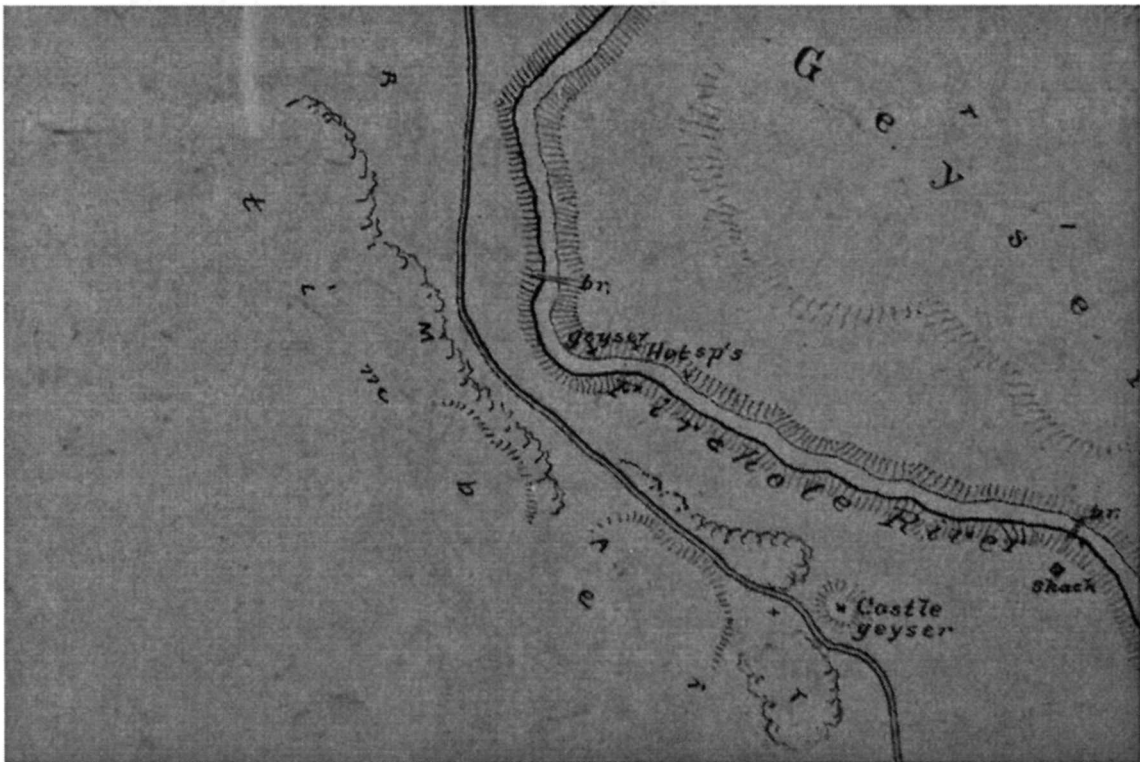
¹¹¹. This and many others photos owned by Berry were photographed in July, 1993 by park photographer Jim Peaco, and those photos of Bob's stereos now reside in the park museum collection.



If not a mere logjam, this may be the footbridge across Firehole River on today's Mallard Lake Trail. Photo from Mary Beth Schwarz collection, no date.

The footbridge that today crosses Firehole River between Oblong Geyser and Inkwell Spring had at least two predecessors. A map in the 1890 Haynes guide book by Albert Guphill shows that a footbridge existed at this location by that year (see also the 1892 map below). And Karl Byrand has stated that another such bridge was erected at this site near Inkwell Spring in 1911. Handrails on this bridge were replaced in 1920-1921.¹¹²

¹¹². Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," pp. 53, 106. For handrails, see Horace Albright, Annual Report, 1920-1921, p. 58, in box A-9, YNP Archives.



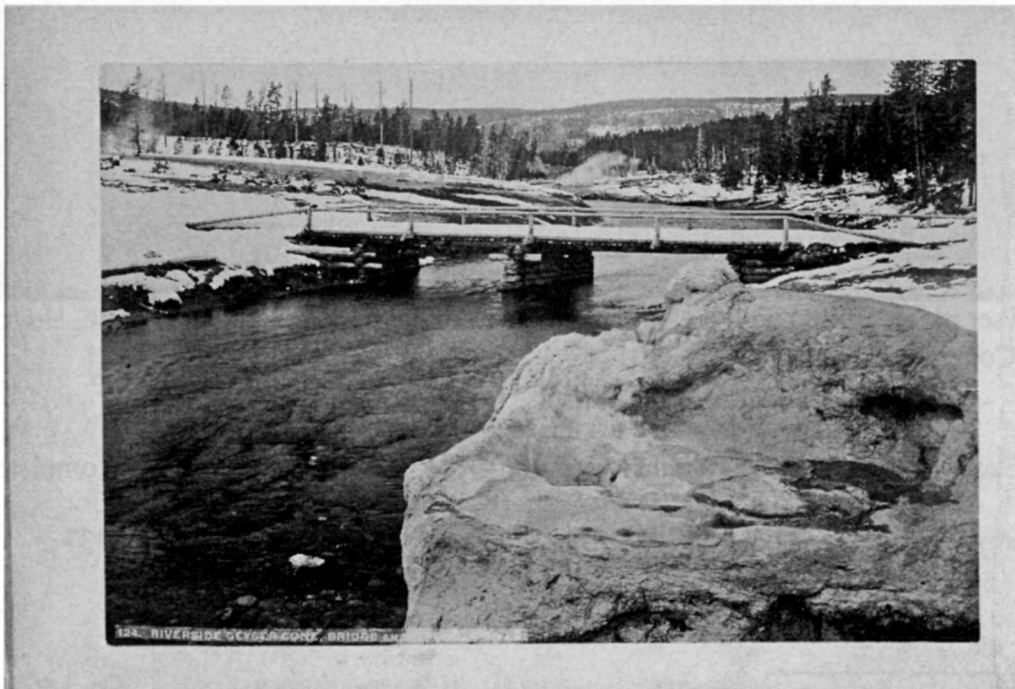
Road map above by Hiram M. Chittenden, 1892 (YNP Archives) showing footbridge near Inkwell Spring and Oblong Geyser.



Photo above shows what is probably the 1911 replacement of the footbridge at Inkwell Spring. Photo 11151-1, YNP Archives. For citation, see footnote 108.

A footbridge at Old Faithful Soldier Station was present as early as about 1904 (see the photos under “Old Faithful Soldier Station”), although the exact years it was built and razed are not known. There is no such corresponding footbridge at that site today.

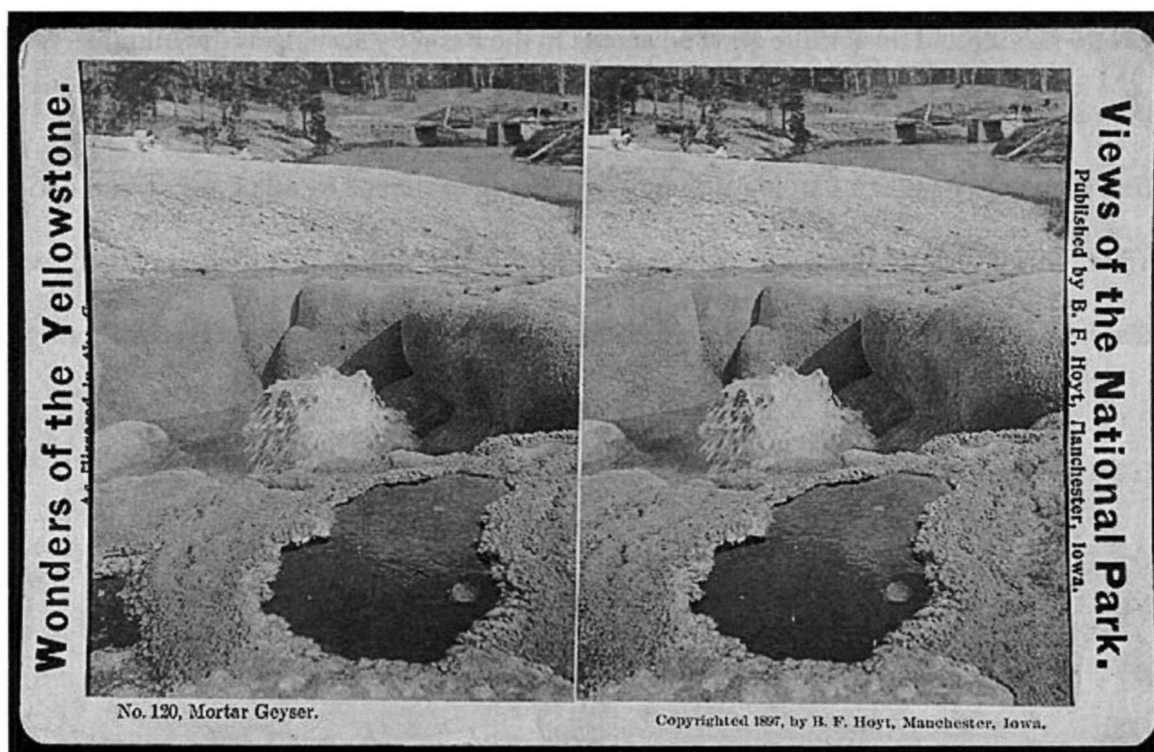
Finally, the road bridge east of Mortar Geyser and west of Riverside Geyser was long an important structure at UGB, because the original road ran from Biscuit Basin to Grotto Geyser and this bridge allowed access to the basin by serving as the initial crossing of Firehole River. At least four bridges have occupied this site through time. The first (known) one was a flat, log structure that was in existence by 1884 and served until 1897. This bridge was probably built in 1878 by Superintendent P.W. Norris at the time that he built the first road from Mammoth to Old Faithful.¹¹³ The second (known) bridge,



Road bridge just west of Riverside Geyser (geyser in foreground), probably 1884. Photo by T.W. Ingersoll, Beineke Library, Yale University.

¹¹³. See the photo here from T.W. Ingersoll, about 1884, Yale University.

built in 1897, was of the triangular structural type so used during that period and was described as “a one-span truss bridge with trestle approach.”¹¹⁴ A third bridge, built in 1911, was a sixty-five foot steel arch structure.¹¹⁵ A fourth auto bridge, built in the early 1960s, was used by automobiles until 1972 when the road was closed permanently. It remains on the site as today’s hiking-biking-trail bridge.



Mortar Geyser in foreground with the 1897 road bridge in background. Stereo by B.F. Hoyt, Library of Congress #LC-DIG-stereo-1s01212.

The road bridge about half a mile southeast of Old Faithful Lodge has an incomplete history. Not much is known about bridges at that site before the late 1930s, but in 1937-

¹¹⁴. Hiram M. Chittenden, *Annual Reports Upon the Construction, Repair, and Maintenance of Roads and Bridges in the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington: GPO, 1900), appendix JJJ, p. 5434. For another photo, see the F. Jay Haynes postcard of Riverside Geyser in eruption with the triangular bridge in background.

¹¹⁵. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 106.

1938, the NPS spent about \$55,000 “to construct a sixty-foot concrete-encased steel girder bridge.”¹¹⁶

Two Clusters of Area Buildings by 1904

By 1904, humans had made numerous modifications to the landscape at Upper Geyser Basin. Additions of roads, trails, bridges, and interpretive facilities were so far modest, but both government and concessionaire buildings existed and were expanding. This development occurred in two clusters—concessionaire facilities were placed south and west of Old Faithful Geyser (except for the Wylie campground at the far northwest) while government facilities were placed northwest of Old Faithful Geyser. Concessionaires’ decisions to procure leases for these sites were based upon two factors: 1) proximity to Old Faithful; and 2) available views of other thermal features, especially geyser eruptions. Old Faithful Geyser, then as now, was perceived as the most important area attraction, so buildings naturally clustered around it. Until 1894, there was a prohibition on buildings being closer than one-fourth mile from major features, but in 1894 the Hayes Act changed that to one-eighth mile.¹¹⁷

Government facilities at Old Faithful have always been much smaller than the concessioners’ facilities, and such remains the case today, even with the current (begun 2006) construction of a large, new Old Faithful Visitor Center. This state of affairs began in 1879 when P.W. Norris placed his original cabin on an oxbow on Firehole River, probably because of its proximity to water. Additionally, thermal seeps nearby made a heated bath house there possible. With the government cabin already located there, inertia made it a simple matter for subsequent army acting superintendents to simply leave it there, adding

¹¹⁶. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 107, quoting Edmund Rogers, Annual Report, 1938, p. 10.

¹¹⁷. The complete text of the Hayes Act is reproduced in Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 476.

only a few buildings over the years. And so that complex remained until 1923, when the NPS razed it because a new Old Faithful Ranger Station had been built southeast of the geyser.

But in 1904, the government buildings lay alone to the northwest while concessionaire buildings existed in greater numbers to the south, southwest, and west of the geyser, with F. Jay Haynes's studio and the Wylie Camp located still farther west. Old Faithful Inn, as will become apparent, was already becoming the center of culture and activities at UGB.

Old Faithful Inn Restructures the Scene at Upper Geyser Basin, 1903-1904.

During the period 1903-1940, the park's army and then NPS administrators favored use over preservation, and thus human development in the form of buildings, roads, bridges, trails, and infrastructure at Old Faithful proceeded unfettered. This was a time before strict preservation as a concept had entered the consciousness of park managers. Because visitation was relatively light, administrators considered park resources to be in no real danger and thus available in general for use. Swimming in hot springs; using them for cooking, bathing, and clothes-washing; the use of thermal ground for growing plants; the feeding of animals at garbage dumps or with hay; the stocking of streams with fish; and the cutting of trees for construction were all activities that were accepted and practiced in the park. Changes of opinion in these areas came only gradually to Yellowstone.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸. The history of these activities and the evolution of park management philosophy relating to them is in James A. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

Visitation was light during stagecoach days, unlike today when the park receives three million visitors per year. While visitation to Yellowstone has always proceeded as a gradually increasing phenomenon, the stagecoach era was a time of relatively few visitors: 4,000 per year before 1900; 17,327 per year for 1900-1910; 37,800 per year for 1911-20; and 262,792 per year 1921-1940. Things were “so lovely” before the cars came, remembered Mammoth resident Bessie Haynes Arnold. She thought that too many visitors after 1915 spoiled the “quiet.”¹¹⁹

Several factors combined to finally allow the long-needed large hotel at UGB—today’s Old Faithful Inn—to be built. First the Department of Interior was pressuring Harry Child, the head of Yellowstone Park Association, to build it. Second, Congress’s passage of the Hayes Act in 1894 doubled the size of concessioner leaseholds, permitted concessioners to use up to ten acres of lease at one site, and halved the distance that buildings had to be from objects of interest. This effectively canceled the years-long debates over these issues. Third, visitor traffic significantly increased by 1900 from west entrance to Upper Geyser Basin because of Frank Haynes’s establishment in 1898 of his Monida and Yellowstone Stage Company. Fourth, “the Northern Pacific Railroad, wishing to maintain its financial relationship with Harry Child, decided to advance needed funds to the YPA” to build a large, overnight hotel at Upper Basin.¹²⁰

The construction of Old Faithful Inn established the cultural framework for today’s Upper Geyser Basin, and very soon it became the cultural center of everything that was and is Yellowstone. After it, many other buildings would follow, but none of

¹¹⁹. Visitation statistics are from Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 378. The quote is from Steve Johnson, “Interview with Bessie Haynes Arnold,” January 19, 1974, audiotape 74-4, now transferred to CD, YNP Library.

¹²⁰. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 70-71.

them were as important. Construction began on June 12, 1903 and the hotel opened June 11, 1904. The new structure, designed and built by architect Robert Chambers Reamer at a cost of \$200,000 (including furniture), was a “monumental architectural achievement.”¹²¹ It contained 140 rooms that could accommodate 316 guests, and it was a great deal better than any previous overnight facility at UGB. Traveler James J. Murphy described it in 1907. His comments reveal his concern that he and his party might have been of a lower economic class than some of the well-heeled visitors who were staying there:

After supper we all shaved and walked down to Old Faithful Inn with the object of dancing, but when we got there, we had not the nerve as the place was grand, the swellest hotel I ever laid my eyes on. Coming towards it in the dark, all the lights burning from the windows, and the search light playing on Old Faithful, I have never seen a prettier sight in my life! We stopped at the [Klamer] store about 100 yards this [west] side and bought some postal cards which we mailed. We then went across to the hotel and were amazed. It was entirely constructed of logs and very artistically built. Inside in the lobby the floors were hard wood, oiled. I almost broke my neck [slipping] on them. Sitting around in the chairs were men and women all swelled up, and all looked at us as we came in our glad rags...But we made the best of it and walked right over to the clerk's desk, asked for our mail as though we were a duke, or count or something. Of course we did count as much as any of them around the lobby. Inside, upon looking up you could see rows of balcony and all built of logs. The staircase was of split logs for steps. A huge fireplace, built entirely of lava rocks, go[es] all the way up the four stories and a great massive clock hangs on the wall and great large doors with their quaint hinges and bolts [are] a sight never to be forgotten. After mailing our cards, we went out and Grace was disgusted with life after seeing those things in the hotel and the comforts of it. She was going to commit suicide to think of having to go back and crawl into that old tent...¹²²

Early references to Old Faithful Inn in newspapers are few so far, but here is one from a visitor of August of 1905:

¹²¹. Yellowstone Park Association, “Fall, 1892 Hotels and Machinery Record,” 1892-1916, box YPC-151, p. 50, YNP Archives. The quote is from Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 71.

¹²². James J. Murphy, “First Trip to Yellowstone Park of James J. Murphy,” July 25, 1907, unpublished manuscript,” in press by the Paragon Agency, Orange, California, specialbooks.com, August 2 entry. For another early account of Old Faithful Inn, see *Gardiner (Montana) Wonderland*, a 1905 issue before September.

I must mention Old Faithful Inn, though no one can do it justice. It is a wonder in the architecture of the world. It is an immense construction entirely of logs, mediaeval style. As you enter the great hall, you stop involuntarily and gaze about you in amazement; 100 feet above you is the ridgepole; the walls are of logs; the balconies have balustrades of logs; apparent candles hold a tiny electric light, [and] chandeliers of logs are suspended by chains, [while] there is a stone chimney and fireplace, 18 feet square at the base; there is a stone well at one side of the great hall where a carefully concealed faucet in a log brings a glass of cold water. The dishes used in the dining room are of blue china. In the sleeping rooms old-fashioned yellow crockery is used, [and] the beds are four-posted; every detail is perfect. The architect did a marvelous thing.¹²³

Since the recent publication of Karen Reinhart's and Jeff Henry's book entitled *Old Faithful Inn: Crown Jewel of National Park Lodges* and Ruth Quinn's book *Weaver of Dreams: The Life and Architecture of Robert C. Reamer*, historians have had to do little else with charting the history of Old Faithful Inn. These books are thorough, and they cover the bases as completely as we will need for many years. The first book is a 143-page analysis of the origins and history of the building, while the second is a history and analysis of the life of the Inn's creating architect. As these books note, Old Faithful Inn over time has become a cultural icon for Yellowstone and for the entire national park system. It served as the original, oldest inspiration for the rustic architecture so famous in national parks today as "Parkitecture."

The opening of Old Faithful Inn in 1904 unveiled a signal moment in the history of both architecture and national parks. "Perhaps for the first time in American architecture," wrote Merrill Ann Wilson about that event, "a building became an accessory to nature." According to historian David Naylor, the new building marked a passage in architecture from rough functionality to a consciously developed rusticity. Old Faithful Inn was a prototype for all such rustic buildings that were later to appear in national parks, a style that became famous as "parkitecture." The 1984 National Park Service "Draft Development Concept

¹²³. Elizabeth A.H. Sleeper, "Yellowstone Park," *Fitchburg* (Massachusetts) *Sentinel*, August 22, 1905, p. 1. As another early newspaper article makes clear, Old Faithful Inn was equipped, beginning in 1904, with a huge searchlight mounted on its roof to spotlight nighttime eruptions of Old Faithful Geyser. See "Searchlight in Park," *Daily Northwestern* (Oshkosh, Wisconsin), May 31, 1904, p. 1.

Plan” stated that the Inn’s harmoniousness with the adjacent wilderness setting “served as a model for the National Park Service in succeeding decades.”¹²⁴

“The Inn is beloved by people around the world,” wrote NPS author Carolyn Duckworth in 2006, and indeed it is so true that the structure has become almost as famous as Old Faithful Geyser for which it was named.¹²⁵ The present paper will focus on influences that the Inn has had upon the Upper Geyser Basin and upon the park in general, rather than repeating what the above books contain.

Robert Reamer positioned the Inn not so that it faced Old Faithful Geyser as one might expect but so that guests would have a view of the famous geyser as they drew up to the Inn by stagecoach. The Inn thus faced the park’s main road in 1904, which ran east and west from Castle Geyser to Old Faithful Geyser and which today is represented by the walking trail to Castle Geyser. Reamer’s positioning set the stage for the Inn’s prominence in the cultural landscape of Upper Geyser Basin. It allowed photographers and illustrators to show the Inn’s full frontal spread in hundreds of photos, drawings, and paintings over time that were taken or otherwise rendered from distant Geyser Hill in the geyser basin. That allowed the same images that showed the Inn to also show foreground geysers. This gave prominence to the Inn in allowing the building to become associated in visitors’ and employees’ minds with the great geysers themselves, when those images were used in hundreds of park guidebooks, magazine articles, and promotional brochures. Had Reamer placed the building to face Old Faithful Geyser with the building’s long axis

¹²⁴. Lee Whittlesey, “Foreword,” in Karen Reinhart and Jeff Henry, *Old Faithful Inn: Crown Jewel of National Park Lodges* (Emigrant, Montana: Roche Jaune Publishers, 2004), p. 9. See also Lee H. Whittlesey, “Foreword,” in Ruth Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams: The Life and Architecture of Robert C. Reamer* (Bozeman, Montana: Leslie and Ruth Quinn Publishers, 2004), p. iv; and L.F. McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942* (Washington: D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service Cultural Resources, 1993), p. 62.

¹²⁵. National Park Service [Carolyn Duckworth], *Grand Hotels Past & Present*, NPS site bulletin #289 (Mammoth: Yellowstone National Park, in press, 2006).

running north and south, the Inn would still have appeared in hundreds of images. However such images would not have exhibited the building's full frontal view and arguably the UGB's entire cultural landscape would thus have developed in a different fashion.¹²⁶ And too, had the Inn not been built completely and spectacularly of logs and long called "the world's largest log cabin," its presence upon the cultural scene at Upper Geyser Basin would no doubt have been far less.

The Brothers-Hamilton Swimming Pool: "Geyser Baths," 1914-1950.

The last complex constructed at Old Faithful before the new National Park Service took charge of the park was the Henry P. Brothers swimming pool, also known as the "Geyser Baths" facility. Army Superintendent Lloyd Brett selected the site for Brothers's pool on May 19, 1914, and Brothers built a fifty-by-one-hundred-foot open air pool and five small private plunges. The facility opened July 1, 1915, and a sign in front of it read "Geyser Baths." Brothers conveyed water to his bath house in wooden troughs from Solitary Spring above Geyser Hill. His lowering of the spring's hydrostatic level caused it to erupt, and it has been called Solitary Geyser ever since.¹²⁷

¹²⁶. The relevant literature on this point is vast, but for many examples see the endnotes and bibliography in Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, and in Lee H. Whittlesey, *Storytelling in Yellowstone: Horse and Buggy Tour Guides* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, in press, 2007).

¹²⁷. Superintendent's (handwritten) Journal, May 19, 1914, YNP Archives; Lindsley, *Chronology of Yellowstone*, pp. 216, 220, 308. Background for Brothers's interest in this venture and his requests for permission to establish the building are in Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," pp. 150-154. In 1993, NPS interpreter Orville "Butch" Bach discovered a round, wooden, partially-log structure and a stone holding pond at a location 100 yards north of Liberty Pool and below the top of a ridge. This structure was probably left over from the Brothers swimming pool operation. Orville Bach to Lee Whittlesey, 1993 communication at Old Faithful Visitor Center. A representative photo of "Upper Geyser Basin Bathhouse" is #Yell-31176-1, October 10, 1917, YNP photo archives. See also the H.H. Tammen postcard, this manuscript, p. 55.



One of the earliest photos of the Brothers bath house, shown at far left, no date, probably 1915. M.A. Bellingham collection.

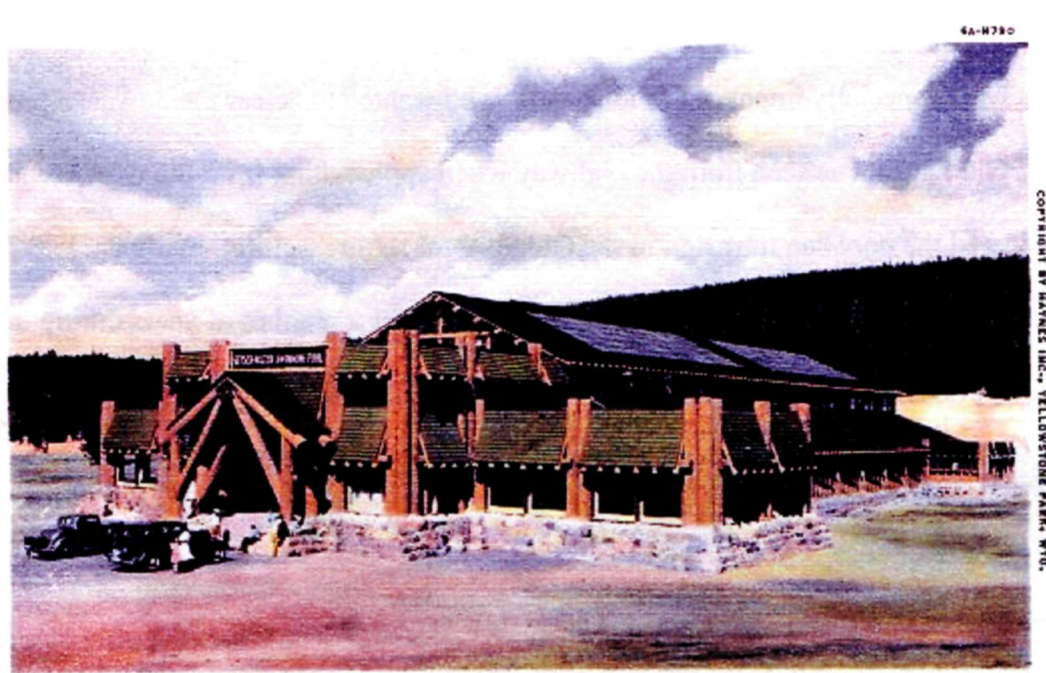
Over time Brothers made other additions. In 1923, he built a log residence next to his bath house to serve as a dwelling for himself and his employees during summers. That fall he added a thirty-foot extension to the pool and partitioned part of it off to serve as a wading pool for children. He also added dressing rooms, bathtubs, and a washing machine.¹²⁸

In 1927, Brothers got permission from the NPS to erect a second bathing facility, this one in the UGB's auto campground located on the "Promenade" immediately south of Jack Haynes's new photo shop. This building was 52 by 18 feet and had front and rear porches. It held six bathtubs, twelve showers, and two toilets. In 1928, Brothers installed laundry tubs, electric irons, and ironing boards to supplement a free laundry facility that the NPS had erected at the rear of Brothers's building.

In 1933, Henry Brothers, apparently making little if any profit from his two businesses, decided to retire, and so he sold his facilities to storekeeper Charles Hamilton. Hamilton made numerous additions and modifications to the pool. He enclosed it in a much larger, fancier building and increased its size to 160 feet long and 50 feet wide. The

¹²⁸. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 155.

pool could now hold 135 people at one time. Solitary Geyser continued to supply it with fifty-six gallons per minute of hot water through a six-inch pipe.¹²⁹



Charles Hamilton's swimming pool in 1934. Postcard by Jack E. Haynes. M.A. Bellingham collection.

Over time, the NPS had problems with keeping the facility's hot water clean and sanitary. An NPS engineer had mentioned in 1925 that the Brothers swimming pool was "polluted" because there was "a bear dump close to the stream ["Warm Creek"] that fed the pool along with tin cans and other rubbish along the stream."¹³⁰ The NPS continued to use this pollution argument for many years in its attempts to get rid of the bathing facility.

The National Park Service never liked the Hamilton swimming pool, but for various reasons, including politics, it took the agency seventeen years to force Hamilton to tear it down. Reasons given at various times by managers were 1) the pool's use of

¹²⁹. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," pp. 156-157.

¹³⁰. Isador Mendelsohn, "Report of Work Done on Sanitation...July, 1925," p. 4, in box D-43, file 158E, YNP Archives.

park hot waters, 2) difficulty of maintaining health standards in the pool, 3) pollution of Firehole River by dumped pool waters, 4) obscuring the view from the west of Old Faithful Geyser, and 5) detracting in general from the valley's naturalness. These last two reasons were especially important to managers, who wanted to "clear the down-valley view of Old Faithful as seen from the highway when approaching from the west because it considered the pool "an intrusion in the Old Faithful setting." Additionally the U.S. Public Health Service considered the pool substandard for a number of years during the 1940s, and this added "fuel" to the NPS's "fire" to tear it down.



Interior of Charles Hamilton's swimming pool, about 1938, from *Astonishing Yellowstone*, 1939. Photo by J.E. Haynes.

There were disputes between the NPS and Hamilton as to various claims that each made against the other. The NPS looked back upon Hamilton's 1933 modifications by saying that "the superintendent thought the improvement [to be] only a minor affair" and so did not inspect it. But Charles Hamilton reminded the NPS in 1950 that it had given him permission for the cutting of several hundred trees in 1933-34 and that the NPS inspector was on the site during construction of the newer, much larger building. The

Department of Interior disputed this in letters dated September 19 and 22, 1950, wherein it stated that Hamilton had submitted plans to the NPS for the revamped pool on October 14, 1933, and that the NPS architect could not review them until November. By that time, said the DOI, Hamilton's photos taken the first of October showed that construction was underway. The NPS also stated that it had a contract with Hamilton in 1934 that provided for removal of the building with one year's notice and that it gave Hamilton such notice in the late 1930s. But, stated the NPS, World War II caused a delay in acquiring labor to tear down the building. After the war, the NPS did recognize that Hamilton still needed to recover his original investment, so it gave him an additional four years to run the pool. But what was becoming apparent to the NPS was that many members of the public loved the swimming pool and so did many powerful congressmen. Letters from congressmen and the public on behalf of Charles Hamilton carried much weight and delayed for many years the NPS's decision to demolish the building.

In 1949, Hamilton's contract to run the pool and to sell bathing supplies, tobacco, and soda fountain items expired. The NPS opened the concession to new bidders with the idea that the old pool would be removed and a new one built farther east (which would not intrude upon the view of Old Faithful Geyser), in accordance with the wishes of Secretary of the Interior Krug.

A review of the lengthy correspondence in this matter makes it clear that opinions on the swimming pool varied greatly among park officials, the public, the NPS regional office, the NPS Washington office, and officials in the Department of Interior. However, managers in the park finally got their way, and the pool last operated during the summer

of 1949. It remained closed for the season of 1950 and was demolished during the summer of 1951 at a cost of \$11,000.¹³¹

Other Concessioner Buildings and Structures, 1905-1940: Use Is Favored over Preservation

The post-1905 development of the Old Faithful area can now be presented and in less detail than the earlier period, because the roots of the village were in place by that time. Many buildings appeared on the UGB landscape after 1914 but before World War II. Historian Karl Byrand's summary of some of the reasons facilities grew up at UGB as they did is worth quoting:

The army managed the park not merely for the land's own sake, but also [with] regard to tourist tastes and demands. For that reason, visitors also played a role as key shapers of the park's landscape and its distribution of developed sites. Visitors wanted not only scenic views from their hotel windows, but also convenience when vacationing. The park's varied facilities and scenic areas needed to be close to each other to provide visitors with easy access in their travels. Moreover, as greater numbers of visitors came to the park, Yellowstone required more facilities at more locations to accommodate them.¹³²

Thus because of a philosophy of USE during this period, the human imprint was put down virtually everywhere in the basin. Nearly a thousand buildings were erected at OF 1905-1940. Expansion occurred in a southeasterly direction with abandonment of Wylie and Haynes complexes to the northeast. "Out of a desire to be as near to the UGB's visitors as possible, as well as its showpiece [OF Geyser]," writes historian Byrand, "concessionaires began to build closer to Old Faithful Geyser and the auto camp. These

¹³¹. Information for these four paragraphs comes from the extensive records at the National Archives, Kansas City regional office. Copies of some of this lengthy correspondence are in box C-31, YNP Archives, brought from Kansas City by the author. Before and after photos of the pool's demolition are in National Park Service, *Report of the Naturalist Division*, June, 1951. See also box D-43, file 660-04, H.B. Hommon, 1940; and box D-43, File 158E, "Report of Work Done on Sanitation...July, 1925," pp. 3-4; "Additional Data on Swimming Pool at Upper Basin," August 7, 1924; and "Inspection of Swimming Pool at Upper Basin on July 5-6, 1924." Three photos of the swimming pool in various iterations are in Lee H. Whittlesey, *A Yellowstone Album: A Photographic Celebration of the First National Park* (Boulder: Roberts Rinehart, 1997), p. 67.

¹³². Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 40.

trends, and the fact that, after 1916, all construction was subject to the approval of the park's landscape division, had the strongest bearing on where the structures went up in the UGB. The policy not only applied to concessionaire buildings, but government buildings as well."

The NPS also built many new buildings during this period: a museum, an amphitheater, a campground, a ranger station, and a bear feeding site, along with govt. housing facilities. Says Byrand: "It constructed these to provide the visitor with as rich a park experience as possible—hoping that, in return, it would earn more support for the park itself."¹³³

Thus much of the built environment at Old Faithful and within the park owed (and owes) its character and function to decisions made by concessionaires and approved by park managers. As has been seen, arguments between these two entities sometimes arose over placement of structures and their proximity to thermal features or other natural objects. Park managers had the final say in solving these conflicts, and they almost always decided in favor of *use* over *preservation*. That philosophy did not begin to change until the 1930s, and *preservation* for its own sake as an all-encompassing concept did not become dominant in Yellowstone until the 1960s.

"A changing America has always had an impact on Yellowstone," writes historian Richard Bartlett.¹³⁴ Indeed, during the period 1915-1940, four major events influenced the landscape at Upper Geyser Basin and Yellowstone as a whole: the allowing of automobiles into the park (1915), the establishment of the National Park Service (1916), World War I (1917-1918), and the Great Depression (1929-1941). These powerful events

¹³³. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 163.

¹³⁴. Bartlett, *Wilderness Besieged*, p. 309.

changed the mindset of the American people, and those people (represented by the National Park Service) in turn physically altered the landscape at UGB accordingly. Autos brought people in greater numbers to Yellowstone. Autos required wider, often straighter, and better-drained roads than did stagecoaches. Autos were heavier than stages, so underpinnings of roads and related bridges, pipelines, and culverts had to be stronger, and that precipitated large changes in park infrastructure. The new NPS wanted a “controlled monopoly” in Yellowstone. This meant fewer concessionaires, and the NPS accomplished this by consolidating a number of companies into just a few. The NPS also brought in a new park overseer—the park ranger who had novel ideas for Yellowstone. As a result of rationing, the War restricted visitors’ abilities to travel to the park and increased visitors’ interest in Yellowstone and other parks, because they could not go to Europe. This sudden crippling of the European travel industry resulted in the “See America First” campaign, a “crusade for preservation which transformed the parks into sacred national landscapes.” The parks “came to represent the essence of the nation,” writes Margaret Shaffer, “and the act of [auto] touring allowed the individual to experience and possess these...landscapes, actualizing his or her membership in the nation.”¹³⁵ A few years later the Great Depression made almost everyone poorer financially, including the park, but the park system, its funding, and its employees all increased during this austere period, and the NPS publicized its parks widely to help boost the depressed economies of area towns. Thus all four of these factors had a hand in increasing visitation to Yellowstone on an enormous scale. While only 3.5 million people

¹³⁵ Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), esp. chapter 3, “The National Parks as National Assets.” The quote is from p. 128.

visited national parks in 1933, by 1940 that number was 16.5 million. In Yellowstone, visitation increased from 51,895 in 1915 to 317,998 in 1935 and to 814,907 in 1946.¹³⁶

Another large influence on the park in 1905 was the beginning of the utilitarian movement. Spearheaded by Gifford Pinchot of the U.S. Forest Service, this movement sought to use, on a sustainable basis, the resources of lands set aside for preservation. Pinchot wanted the country's forest lands to "lie fallow" but also to be harvested on a sustained basis. That was arguably *not* leaving them to lie fallow. It was selling them to the highest bidder. But Pinchot was so successful with this philosophy that management of the national parks took a sharp turn to the right during this period.

Steve Mather of the NPS had reasoning behind his "controlled monopoly" agenda. As Byrand has noted, "he reasoned that by limiting the number of businesses allowed in the park, he would not only provide the visitor with quality services, but also protect the companies themselves from competition." By 1940, there were essentially only three corporations serving visitors in Yellowstone—YP Company, Haynes, and Hamilton (gas stations were shared unequally among all three of these operators).¹³⁷

Pressures for auto usage in Yellowstone came from the auto-driving public, and NPS Director Mather wanted to turn that pressure into general support for his new national park system. And, too, he was afraid that support for his parks might wane and that they might then be placed in the hands of non-preservation interests. Thus Mather and Horace Albright engaged in campaigns to promote the national parks, resulting in publicity that was so successful that the NPS did not need such promotion after World

¹³⁶. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," quoting Donald Swain, *Wilderness Defender*, 1972, p. 318; Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 479.

¹³⁷. Noteworthy exceptions here were the Pryor and Trischman stores that were sold to Hamilton in the early 1950s. For their history, see Robert V. Goss, "A Tale of Two Sisters: Pryor and Trischman in Yellowstone in the Best and Worst of Times," *Annals of Wyoming* 74 (Spring, 2002): 2-16.

War II. Technology, in the form of the automobile, represented a qualitative change in American society, and the NPS realized that “this technological advance [had] to be accepted,” because millions of Americans—new auto owners—were suddenly “on the road.”¹³⁸

The challenge, the NPS was to learn, was not in resisting such changes but rather in learning to regulate the changes so that the environment suffered the least possible damage. The Service continues to learn that lesson today.

These four influences then—establishment of NPS, the automobile, World War I, and the Great Depression—had a vast impact upon the Yellowstone landscape including the UGB. They caused the building of interpretive structures and trails and helped change the way visitors viewed the landscape, as trained NPS rangers gave information to them through talks. And, too, the UGB’s cultural landscape grew larger. While once it had been composed of two small clusters of development, the public (as represented by the NPS) now needed to have larger areas filled in with roads and structures in order to adequately serve the automobile visitor. “During this...period there was more human development here than there ever has been, and perhaps ever will be.”¹³⁹ “Expansive development in the UGB,” writes historian Byrand, “followed the dismissal of the army troops from their base at the Firehole River oxbow in 1916.”¹⁴⁰ While this statement is true, it is worth mentioning that the army left Yellowstone *twice*—once in 1916 when it

¹³⁸. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 92-94; Bartlett, *Wilderness Besieged*, pp. 86-87. The classic study of the automobile and its effects on the United States is Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Auto Camp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1945). See also Donald C. Swain, “The National Park Service and the New Deal, 1933-1940,” *Pacific Historical Review* 41 (August, 1971): 312-333.

¹³⁹. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 97.

¹⁴⁰. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 97.

appeared that the new National Park Service was going to take over, and again in 1918 after the army unexpectedly returned to Yellowstone and stayed two more years.

Bear Feeding Grounds at Upper Geyser Basin 1912-1936.

Somewhat difficult to reconstruct has been the history of the Bear Feeding Grounds, Bears' Playground, and the "Lunch Counter for Bears Only." These were probably all located in the same general area, a place on Myriad Creek just west of (or southeast of) today's Upper General Store, although NPS officials may have periodically moved them around a bit within that general area.

That there was some kind of garbage dump or bear feeding area at Old Faithful in 1888 is apparent from J.E. Williams's account of his trip that year. It is doubtful that Williams actually saw bears feeding, although he seems to have seen a swill barrel associated with the place. He stated:

Bears...are numerous here, if reports are true, and every night they come down from their lofty hiding places to forage on the refuse material thrown out of the hotel. In this respect the bear does the work and fills [occupies] the place, in a measure, of the American hog—the kind that wears bristles. The swill barrel was chained to a tree, and inquiry brought out the information that this was necessary to prevent the bears from tipping it over or carrying it away.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ J.E. Williams, *Vacation Notes. Summer of 1888. Copied from the Amherst Record* (Amherst, Massachusetts: no publisher [Amherst Record], no date [1889?]), p. 41. Copy at University of Massachusetts. A photo of the swill barrel is in the Rolla Carter collection, provided by Sherry Scofield of Townsend, Montana. Rolla Carter was a stagecoach driver 1908-1912, and Scofield is his granddaughter.

An 1883 notation confirms this author's suspicions that there were bears apparently looking for food near park hotels and tent-camps as early as that year even though no other such evidence is known before 1888. Assistant Superintendent J.W. Weimer wrote: "The National Hotel, partially completed, and the superintendent's quarters are the only improvements [at Mammoth Hot Springs] worth speaking of; a few cabins and dugouts complete the amount [of buildings]. Other improvements are tents and tepees, and it is not uncommon for bears to come to the back door [of the hotel] to molest the quiet slumbers of tenderfeet and pilgrims." Weimer, "Wyoming Letter," *Winfield* (Kansas) *Courier*, September 20, 1883.

Likewise this feeding was occurring at Old Faithful in 1908, as F. Dumont Smith's *Book of a Hundred Bears* (1909) mentions it. Smith noted that "just way back of" Old Faithful Geyser itself

you may see, at sunset, black and brown and grizzly he and she bears, cubs, and two-year-olds (I think we counted twenty-four that night); and, after the great search light [on top of Old Faithful Inn] was turned on, we went to the roof with the glass and watched the light flash upon them. Some of them paid no attention to it; [they] just went on feeding.¹⁴²

Wherever this dump area was, bears appear to have fed there reaching back to at least 1888 if not 1883, the year of the first tent-camp at Old Faithful. In 1911, the bear feeding area was indeed the Inn's garbage dump as traveler R.W. Stone of the U.S. Geological Survey noted:

we saw the bears at the hotel garbage pile, where they come regularly for their meals...Before we slept a bear was nosing around outside, as we knew by the overturning of the [garbage] cans, and next morning by the time breakfast was ready a big black fellow was prowling around in the timber 50 yards away.¹⁴³

A map in the 1912 *Haynes Guide*¹⁴⁴ showed a small pond located on Myriad Creek some 600 feet south of Old Faithful Inn and labeled "Bears' Feeding Grounds." This indicates that the spot was being used at that time (and for no telling how long before then) as a place where bears could be fed garbage, and so there was probably also a garbage dump in this area, either already developed or developing. By 1914, a map in a Shaw and Powell Camping Company brochure¹⁴⁵ showed the pond labeled "Bears Playground."

¹⁴². F. Dumont Smith, *Book of a Hundred Bears* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1909), p. 129.

¹⁴³. R.W. Stone, "Honeymoon Life in Pretty Yellowstone Park," *Orange County* (California) *Times-Press*, November 17, 1911, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴. Jack E. Haynes, *Haynes Official Guide...*, 1912, p. 59.

¹⁴⁵. Shaw and Powell Camping Company (Amos Shaw and J.D. Powell), "Yellowstone Park by Camp, pamphlet, no date [probably 1914], p. 10. This also appeared in Edmond D. Orser, *Official Automobile Blue Book 1920 Yellowstone National Park* (Butte: Pioneer Press, reprinted 1972), p. (12).

These were probably the beginnings of bear feeding shows at Old Faithful, but the NPS appears to have moved the spot farther to the southeast in 1919. In that year the park established a garbage dump/feeding ground “behind [southeast of] the automobile camp and housekeeping area.”¹⁴⁶ Park superintendent Horace Albright noted that he established garbage dumps

within walking distance of Upper Basin and Canyon, where bears of all kinds congregated every evening just before dark, and it was a regular practice for people from the hotels and camps to go to see them. A wire was firmly stretched between trees and posts to keep people from going beyond the danger line, and a ranger was placed on duty with a rifle to protect them. This is one of the most interesting features of the park to the majority of tourists, but [it] requires careful regulation.¹⁴⁷

Albright would soon learn how truly difficult this regulating would become, but the government-sanctioned bear shows that he wanted to see proceed had begun. He was to learn that the feeding grounds would not only produce a very bad odor but also that they were too close to the auto campground and the housekeeping cabins. (This was probably the place that has been immortalized by the 1929 photograph of the sign reading “Lunch Counter for Bears Only.”) The feeding grounds drew bears to the nearby campground and they became “troublesome” there, 1919-1934. Thus a 1934 WPA project proposed to move the site to a place a *mile* or more from the UGB, but before this new facility could

¹⁴⁶. According to Alice Wondrak Biel, the location of the bear feeding grounds was on the site of the present parking area behind (east of) the new Old Faithful Snow Lodge. Biel, *Do (Not) Feed the Bears: The Fitful History of Wildlife and Tourists in Yellowstone* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006), p. 19. She tells this author (in a July 11, 2006 e-mail) that her information came from Aubrey L. Haines’s 1999 tour of the park for park rangers.

What was probably a proposed, new location for the Old Faithful bear feeding grounds is shown in the 1933 park *Master Plan*, map NP-Yel 1010B. This plan shows the log seats facing south and locates them 550 feet southeast of the southeast corner of the Upper Hamilton Store, while the bear feeding stage is shown 750 feet southeast of that same corner. Because this was a park Master Plan, the location shown may have been a proposal rather than an actual map of the area, as the “Proposed Developments” insert states that the plan is to “move and reconstruct bear feeding grounds.”

¹⁴⁷. Horace Albright, “Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park 1919” (Mammoth Hot Springs: bound mimeograph, 1919), pp. 60-61, YNP Library.

be built, the NPS discontinued all bear feeding grounds in 1936¹⁴⁸ except the one at Otter Creek near Canyon.¹⁴⁹ Ironically, six years later, a bear killed a woman visitor named Martha Hansen in the nearby Campers' Cabins rest room area.¹⁵⁰

According to Aubrey Haines, the impetus for the 1936 closure occurred "one evening when a big black bear chased a little black bear through the wire *and* the spectators, effectively closing down the bear show at Old Faithful."¹⁵¹

Old Faithful Auto Campground, 1916-1920.

The first construction at UGB with which the new NPS was involved was the Old Faithful auto campground. Automobiles were admitted into the park on July 31, 1915, and suddenly it seemed that every visitor wanted to "camp out." Thus the NPS opened free auto camps throughout the park, as contrasted with camps offered by the private camping companies—Wylie and Shaw/Powell. The NPS believed that these campgrounds could be financed through the new automobile entrance fees that Congress

¹⁴⁸. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," pp. 109-111, quoting Edwards (1934). The "lunch counter" photo is in Byrand, p. 110 and in George Baggley, "Memorandum Report and Recommendations on the Present Bear Feeding Grounds...", December 5, 1929, YNP Library [Mammals—Ursidae (Baggley)]. Baggley dated the photo, which he probably took himself, as September, 1929.

A discussion of Ranger Philip Martindale's "Sermon on the Mount" (mounted on the back of a horse) at the bear feeding area is in *Monthly Report of the Superintendent*, June, 1930, Press Release #24, and see also his own handwritten account entitled "Close Contact with Grizzly Bears," no date [1920s], YNP Library vertical files. Bear feeding grounds and bear antics at Old Faithful are also mentioned in Horace Albright, "Harding, Coolidge, and the Lady Who Lost Her Dress," *American West* 6 (September, 1969): 32 and in Biel, *Do (Not) Feed the Bears*, pp. 17-20.

¹⁴⁹. The NPS closed the Canyon bear feeding area after the summer of 1941. Horace Albright, who opposed the park's new policies of keeping things more natural, protested vehemently in his article "New Orders for National Park Bears," *Backlog* 12 (April, 1945): 5-11, YNP Library.

¹⁵⁰. Whittlesey, *Death in Yellowstone: Accidents and Foolhardiness in the First National Park* (Niwtot: Roberts Rinehart, 1995), pp. 43-44.

¹⁵¹. Haines, *Yellowstone Story*, II, p. 304 and photo, 305.

had allowed the NPS to collect. Attempts to get auto camping started were only cursory in 1915 and really got going in 1916.¹⁵²

The first auto camp at Old Faithful was located just east of Old Faithful Geyser, along the Firehole River and “behind a camp owned by Shaw and Powell Camping Company,” the site now occupied by Old Faithful Lodge.¹⁵³ Hence this auto camp was in the forest on the present site of O.F. Lodge rental cabins and the Columbine dormitory. Development there began with a large, wood-framed shed with a corrugated steel roof. This shed, built for \$292.81, stood only eight feet high; however, it was 60 feet long by 32 feet—large enough to hold twelve automobiles.¹⁵⁴ In a fact that has been almost completely forgotten by today’s park administrators and the public in general, NPS designers of these original auto camps built sheds to protect the *automobiles* rather than the visitors while the visitors erected tents outside of the shed. The cars’ fine leather seats were one reason that owners wanted to keep the rain off their cars. Today, of course, visitors erect tents under the overhangs (sheds or canopies) and leave their cars outside. But that was not the case in 1916.

This auto camp and the park’s others grew so popular that by 1919, Superintendent Albright stated that two-thirds of visitors to Yellowstone stayed over night at park auto camps. This popularity caused crowding, so park officials looked for solutions. The park architect advised against building more sheds because they were ugly,

¹⁵². Lloyd Brett, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior 1915* (Washington: GPO, 1915), pp. 24-25. The NPS would soon learn that it was not a simple matter for those government monies to come right back to Yellowstone; instead they headed for the general fund in Washington—a situation that was not to change until the 1990s when Congress rewrote the law to allow Yellowstone to get back eighty percent of gate fees that it collected.

¹⁵³. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 98.

¹⁵⁴. [Lloyd Brett], “Annual Report 1916,” (Mammoth: NPS bound mimeograph, 1916), p. 42.

and instead advised moving the entire camp to a bigger location “across the Thumb road in[to] a grove of trees.”¹⁵⁵

Thus in 1920, park officials moved the auto camp from its site near the river to “the thick timber on the opposite side of the road from Old Faithful.”¹⁵⁶ The resulting camp was four rectangular plots of land that could accommodate 350 automobiles. The NPS added picnic tables, metal tent frames, and firewood. Ten comfort stations were gradually added in 1921, 1923, 1926, 1927, and 1928. In 1928, the NPS added street lights and in 1929 it doubled in width the camp’s roads from 20 to 40 feet so as “to accommodate the traffic that is attracted to the bear feeding grounds.”¹⁵⁷

This campground too was soon overcrowded, as during the Great Depression even a larger number of visitors wanted to see the park cheaply by camping out. So in 1939, Civilian Conservation Corps workers under the NPS began work on a third campground at Old Faithful, this one located southeast of the second. However they completed only three sites before being called to another project. This third auto camp would have to wait for completion until after World War II.¹⁵⁸ Finally finished in 1940, the campground would last only twenty-plus years, as it fell victim to the NPS’s Mission 66 plans to convert Old Faithful into a day-use area. The campground was torn out in the late 1960s.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵. Horace Albright, “Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park 1919” (Mammoth Hot Springs: bound mimeograph, 1919), pp. 21-22; Punchard, 1919, p. 8, as quoted in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 99.

¹⁵⁶. Albright, “Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park 1920” (Mammoth: NPS bound mimeograph), pp. 55-56. For the location of the new auto camp, see item 2 on 1940 map, figure twelve in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 100.

¹⁵⁷. Roger Toll, 1929, pp. 20-21 as quoted in Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 103.

¹⁵⁸. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 103 and otherwise uncited.

¹⁵⁹. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 176-177. For this third campground, see the Byron 1940 map marked “area 3.”

Old Faithful Gas Stations, 1920, 1927.

In connection with the allowing of automobiles into the park on August 1, 1915, concessions operator Charles Hamilton made an agreement with Harry Child to bring gasoline into the park beginning in 1916 and to sell it at temporary “filling” stations, splitting the profits with Child fifty-fifty. He built permanent stations at Old Faithful in 1920 (the lower gas station) and in 1927 (the upper gas station).¹⁶⁰ Little other history for these two buildings has been found.

Old Faithful Ranger Station and Sewage Facilities, 1921-1923.

In 1921, electing not to rebuild the old soldier station—which had served as a ranger station since 1916—on the oxbow at Firehole River, NPS officials built a new UGB ranger station in a small grove of trees some 450 feet southeast of Old Faithful Geyser (Byrand, 1940 map, figure 12, #35). This site was more convenient to other visitor facilities than the old station had been, and the building was a wooden, eight-room structure 68 by 46 feet that contained an office and ranger living quarters.¹⁶¹ This “second” ranger station would serve until it was razed in or about 1972 in connection with the building of the first Old Faithful Visitor Center.

In 1923, the NPS razed the old soldier station/ranger station plus outbuildings at the Firehole River oxbow and cleaned up the entire site. That same year, it built a winter rangers’ quarters/summer mess hall at the northwest end of the second auto campground. This was a 24 by 43-foot building, and in 1932, the NPS moved it south to the utility area

¹⁶⁰. Lindsley, *Chronology of Yellowstone*, p. 256; Joyner, “History of Some Improvements,” p. 205; History Card File, YNP Library. Both gas stations are mentioned as present in the park’s 1939 Master Plan. See also Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 160.

¹⁶¹. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 104; Chester Lindsley, *Chronology of Yellowstone National Park*, unpublished bound manuscript, 1939, YNP Library, p. 259.

(1940 map, #34) and remodeled it into a four-room house for the ranger naturalist. Also in the utility area, the NPS erected a ranger apartment, a ranger dormitory, and a bunk house (1940 map, #s 31, 33, 32 respectively), as well as a storage barn (#37), a garbage incinerator (#17), and a tool cache (#39).¹⁶²

During this period, NPS added a sewage facility to the UGB. Specifically construction began in 1921 as a way “to protect the Firehole River from pollution by raw sewage from Old Faithful Inn, the permanent camp, the auto camp and ranger station.”¹⁶³ This facility, a septic tank, lay at the oxbow of Firehole River, near the site of the soon-to-be razed soldier station (Byrand, 1940 map, #36). By 1937, this system became inadequate and threatened the Firehole River, so the park placed additional tanks and a sludge bed here. That improved facility operated until 1940-41 when the NPS constructed a new sewage disposal facility in the utility area.¹⁶⁴

Interpretive Trail—1926 Ansel Hall Nature Trail.

For information on this short-lived nature trail, which traveled through forest in the area north of Old Faithful Lodge and which included thermal features, see the Ansel Hall materials in Box K-10, YNP Archives.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶². Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 104.

¹⁶³. Horace Albright, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Mammoth: mimeographed bound manuscript), 1921, p. 35.

¹⁶⁴. Edmund Rogers, *Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Mammoth: mimeographed bound manuscript), 1937, p. 34; Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 105.

¹⁶⁵. And for a discussion of this trail, see Lee Whittlesey, Rocco Paperiello, and Mike Keller, “Discovery of the 1926 Old Faithful Nature Trail Manuscript and a Discussion of Its Implication for Hot Springs Researchers,” *GOSA Transactions* (Annual Journal of the Geyser Observation and Study Association), vol. VI, Spring, 1998, pp. 127-145.

Interpretive Trails among the Geysers and Hot Springs—Asphalt and Boardwalks

During the period 1932-1934, the NPS built asphalt walks through the Upper Geyser Basin, on Geyser Hill, at Black Sand Basin, and in other thermal places. These walks formally established a trail system through the UGB that had been used since the 1870s, but the walkways soon began to deteriorate. Asphalt began to “flake off” into the hot springs and that caused resource damage. And, too, NPS officials were realizing that hot springs and geysers and their runoff channels sometimes changed locations, so they searched for a way to make the walkways more portable. The solution was to build boardwalks, and so that is what the NPS did during the period 1947-1953. The use of boardwalks has continued in all of the park’s geyser and hot spring areas through the present time (2006).¹⁶⁶

Evolution of the Promenade Boulevard for Concessions, 1923-1930.

When the new National Park Service took over the park in 1916, it faced the mandate of overseeing the conduct of private concessionaires within parks. Director Stephen Mather looked for a balance between the rights of private enterprise and the responsibilities of public management. Mather accepted the Interior Department’s prior decision “not to rely upon unrestrained competition among concessionaires to protect the public’s interests.” As in the past, the government “would accept private enterprises, but not *free* enterprise, within the parks.” Mather knew, on the one hand, that companies must make large investments in equipment and facilities in the park in order to do a competent job of serving the public. On the other hand, he knew that if a company failed to serve the public well, it should be subject to expulsion. And he knew that if

¹⁶⁶. Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 125, 177-182.

unrestrained competition in the form of too many competitors fragmented the limited pool of customers, then each business might skimp on service or engage in competitive bloodletting to ward off ruin.

To stave off such chaos, Mather proposed to create “regulated monopolies” in the parks. These were companies that were expected to do a good job of serving the public and in return they would be protected from too much in-park competition and from losing their rights to any prospective bidder so that they would be encouraged to make the necessary large investments. If a concessioner failed to give good service, the NPS could toss him or her out of the park. “Armed with the power to rewrite or cancel leases,” writes a historian of this subject, “[Mather] pressured many of Yellowstone’s concessionaires into mergers.”¹⁶⁷ Thus stage lines and tent camps were combined under one company, motorcars replaced horses, and several inept operators were removed, notwithstanding their fierce resistance to removal.

Under this NPS scheme of business regulation, development in Upper Geyser Basin began to increase dramatically in the 1920s. Spurred by the park’s increasing visitation due to the automobile, the Old Faithful “Promenade” began to take shape in the 1920s. The Promenade was a double boulevard, its two streets being separated in their center by rocks and trees, which ran south from the Old Faithful Ranger station¹⁶⁸ to an abrupt end at the Upper Hamilton Store (not present until 1929-30). Each side carried one-way traffic, the east side being northbound and the west side being southbound. Due to its proximity to the Old Faithful Campground, concessionaire businesses began to appear on both sides of the boulevard. By 1930, when the upper Hamilton Store was

¹⁶⁷. Peter J. Blodgett, “Striking a Balance: Managing Concessions in the National Parks, 1916-33,” *Forest and Conservation History* 34 (April, 1990): 60-62.

¹⁶⁸. This is shown as “ranger residence” on the 1949 map of “Swimming Pool Site,” NP-Yel 2354.

completed (today's upper Yellowstone General Store), the boulevard had numerous businesses established along both sides of it.

The first such business was probably the Old Faithful Auto Camp Grocery Store, also known as the (first) Basin Auto Camp (B.A.C.) Store. Charles Hamilton erected this "small grocery store" in 1923 on a site fifty meters northeast of the site of today's upper Yellowstone General Store. It was intended to serve campers in the nearby Old Faithful Campground. Workers added a thirty-foot addition to the building in 1925. In 1929-30, the large upper Hamilton Store replaced this one. This site became occupied in 1933 by a wood concession and laundry, both intended for campers.¹⁶⁹

Workers erected a lunch counter and delicatessen in 1925 at a location somewhere near the B.A.C. store. It was described only as being in the "public auto camp" and its location is not currently known.¹⁷⁰

Two years later, the Yellowstone Park Camps Company built a cafeteria at the northwest corner of the Promenade. It was located between Old Faithful Museum and Jack Haynes's new photo studio. This was a large U-shaped cafeteria, 84' x 96' with log trim, designed to serve visitors who wanted relatively quick and relatively cheap food. Additions were made to the facility in 1935 and again in 1939-40, when a boys' dormitory was added to replace the tents that had served as housing until then. T.W.A. Services, Inc. demolished the complex in 1980.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹. Lindsley, *Chronology of Yellowstone*, pp. 273, 282; Joyner, "History of Some Improvements," p. 205; Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 144. The History Card File states that the store was enlarged in 1924. It is not known whether this date represents merely an inconsistency with the 1925 one or whether there were enlargements to the building in both years. Perhaps there were two enlargements in two years.

¹⁷⁰. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 143.

¹⁷¹. Xanterra Corporation's Leslie James Quinn remembers that the cafeteria was present in 1980, during his first summer in the park and that workers tore it down the following summer.

Park photographer Jack Ellis Haynes upgraded many of his own facilities in the park during the 1920s. His father's old studio, located in the meadow north of the present lower Yellowstone General Store, was long out of date, so in 1927 Jack built a new Photo Shop on the northeast corner of the promenade and some 200 meters south of (the existing) Old Faithful Lodge. The NPS moved it to a location next to Old Faithful Snow Lodge in 1971. The author has written an extended history of this building, and interested readers are referred to it.¹⁷²

That same year (1927), Henry Brothers, proprietor of the Old Faithful Swimming Pool, built a small bath house for the auto camp and located it immediately south of Haynes's new Photo Shop. By 1948, Hamilton Stores had taken it over and a map showed it as "Bath and Laun[dry]." ¹⁷³

Next on the promenade came the upper Hamilton Store and the Campers' Cabins buildings. Architect Robert Reamer of Old Faithful Inn fame drew plans for the store for Charles Hamilton, but they were modified along the way. The final plans were probably the combined results of drawings by Reamer, NPS architect Thomas Vint, and carpenter R.D. Rasmussen.¹⁷⁴ Rasmussen was Charles Hamilton's "right hand" man. He was the man Hamilton hired to oversee the store's construction. Staying in the park all that fall and winter to oversee construction, Hamilton missed the Wall Street crash of 1929. While the crash did not "wipe him out," he was forced to rebuild much of his business.

¹⁷². Lee H. Whittlesey, "A Brief History of the Haynes Old Faithful Auto-Camp Picture Shop, Known in the 1970s as the 'Hamilton Photo Shop'," unpublished manuscript, September 12, 2003, YNP Library.

¹⁷³. The History Card File, YNP Library, under "Old Faithful Auto Camp Bathhouse," gives the date of 1927 and says it was constructed by Brothers. The relevant map is Haines Neubauer, "Swimming Pool Site, Old Faithful Area," NP-Yel 2354, May 13, 1948, sheet 2 of 2, in box C-31, file 900-02.7, YNP Archives. See also National Park Service, 1939 Master Plan, "O.F. Area Existing Developments."

¹⁷⁴. Ruth Quinn has written what is probably the best account of the designing of the Upper Hamilton Store (B.A.C. Store). Quinn, *Weaver of Dreams: The Life and Architecture of Robert C. Reamer* (Gardiner: Leslie and Ruth Quinn, publishers, 2004), pp. 160-161.

Rasmussen spent hours in nearby forests, personally measuring and selecting trees to be used in construction. The new building, with architecture by NPS staffer Kenneth C. McCarter, opened in the spring of 1930.¹⁷⁵

Except for the cafeteria located on the Promenade's northwest corner, the Campers' Cabins facility took up the entire west side of the Promenade. Workers built the main office building (which included an upstairs dormitory) in 1929. The building served as company headquarters and office for the Housekeeping Cabins and carried a large sign on it for many years that read "Tourist Cabins." It remained part of the Old Faithful area's cultural landscape for twenty-six years until it burned in 1955.¹⁷⁶ Thus by 1930, the Promenade with all of its buildings was complete. Historian Karl Byrand has pointed out that during the period 1915-1940, after the Promenade was completed, there was more human development in the Old Faithful area than ever before and perhaps than ever will be.¹⁷⁷

Old Faithful Snow Lodge, 1950s to 1997.

A later continuation of the 1929 "Campers' Cabins" was the first Old Faithful Snow Lodge and the many cabins behind (south of) it. It was an innocuous building that served from the mid-1950s to 1998, and which became the first facility to be kept open for winters in Yellowstone. Following the fire in 1955 at "Campers' Cabins," the Old

¹⁷⁵. Gwen Petersen, *Yellowstone Pioneers: The Story of the Hamilton Stores and Yellowstone National Park* (Santa Barbara: Sequoia Communications, 1985), pp. 68-69; National Park Service, 1939 Master Plan, "Old Faithful Area Existing Developments." Additional information may be found in Boxes D-38 and C-38, YNP Archives.

¹⁷⁶. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 144. Ed Moorman claims the year was 1928 in his "Yellowstone Park Camps History," mimeographed reminiscence (1899-1948), dated April 2, 1954, YNP Library, p. 20. The History Card File under "Old Faithful YPC Co. cabins office" says that Housekeeping Cabins were first erected at UGB in 1926. The upstairs dormitory housed 24 persons, per Byrand, pp. 144-145. There are many details of the 1955 burning of this building in the YPC boxes, YNP Archives. See also National Park Service, 1933 Master Plan, map: NP-Yel-1010B.

¹⁷⁷. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 97.

Faithful area suddenly needed more cabins and an office from which to rent them. The Snow Lodge building, a relatively cheap, two-story, wooden structure with a brick outer shell, was built in the mid-1950s (actual year unknown) as a replacement for the “Campers’ Cabins.” More than one hundred wooden cabins were moved to the site or built on the site. During summers, the building served as visitor lodging and also held a relatively inexpensive restaurant, a gift shop, and a small bar.

Beginning with the winter of 1971-1972, Snow Lodge was used continuously during winter seasons as the UGB’s winter lodging, restaurant, cross-country skiing, and snowcoach-dispatch center. It served every winter until it was replaced by the new \$26 million Snow Lodge facility that opened on July 8, 1998 (for the summer season), and in the winter of 1998-1999 (for the winter season).

Yellowstone Park Transportation Company Facilities Evolve on Present West Parking Area Site Behind Old Faithful Inn, 1921-1927.

Contemporaneous with the building of the Promenade but farther west (behind Old Faithful Inn and on the site of today’s west parking lot), the Yellowstone Transportation Company began to upgrade its facilities in accordance with its moving from the stagecoach era to the bus era. The company built a new chauffeurs’ and mechanics’ bunkhouse in 1921 and a new drivers’ bunkhouse in 1923. In 1926, the company moved this building to the utility area and built another (H-shaped) drivers’ bunkhouse and mess house with nine bedrooms and a washroom at a point some three hundred feet south of where the NPS’s amphitheater was later located. Just west of this building, YPT erected a mess hall for all company employees, 91 by 58 feet in size. On

the new Promenade, the company erected a service garage near the auto camp just south of Jack Haynes's photo shop.

YPT continued expanding. For the bus operations the company built a large, one-story, fort-like square structure with an open courtyard for auto storage at a point just south of the mess hall and the H-shaped bunkhouse. For the commercial horse operations at Old Faithful, the company built a new sixty-horse barn and storage structure just south of the auto storage building. Both of these large structures were erected in 1927 and stood until the 1960s. They were the heart of YPT operations at Old Faithful but were gone by 1969.¹⁷⁸

Old Faithful Museum (the Upper Geyser Basin Museum of Thermal Activity), 1928-1929.

At the same time that the Upper Hamilton Store was being built, the NPS began construction of the Old Faithful Museum, an early iteration of the later Visitor Center concept. One of the park's four original museums, this one was designed by NPS architect Herbert Maier and funded with monies from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller fund, and it was located on the site of the present Old Faithful Visitor Center. Begun in 1928, it was completed in 1929, and lasted until it was torn down just before 1972.¹⁷⁹

Immediately south of it was an amphitheater, built in 1932, that stood in place until the 1960s. Photos of the partially-covered museum courtyard as well as the amphitheater itself are in Lee H. Whittlesey, *A Yellowstone Album: A Photographic Celebration of the First National Park* (Boulder: Roberts Rinehart, 1997), pp. 163, 167.

¹⁷⁸. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," pp. 149-150.

¹⁷⁹. Lindsley, *Chronology of Yellowstone*, p. 288; History Card File, YNP Library, under "Museum—Upper Basin." Construction photos of Old Faithful Museum are in museum accession #992, YNP Museum collection.

Old Faithful Lodge Born from the old Shaw and Powell Camping Company Facility, 1913-1927.

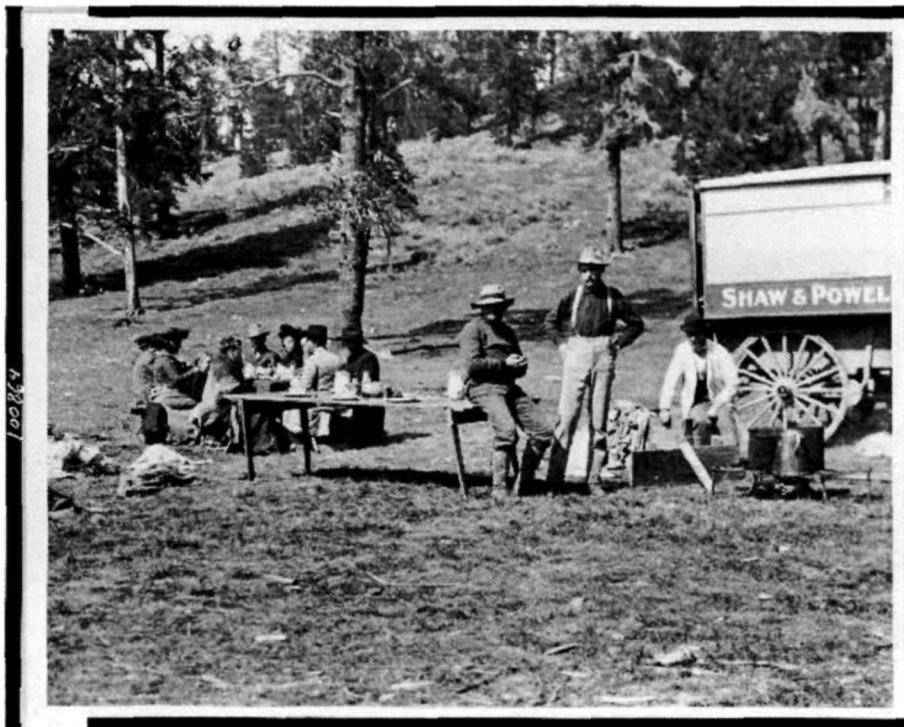
Old Faithful Lodge had its roots in Amos Shaw and J.D. Powell's old company, the Shaw and Powell Camping Company (1898-1916), headquartered in Livingston, Montana. Amos Shaw arrived in Livingston in 1890 and came to Yellowstone the following year under the auspices of E.C. Waters in order to pilot Waters's boat the *Zillah* on Yellowstone Lake. Taking his cue from W.W. Wylie who already ran camping trips into the park, Shaw decided to go into the camping business in Yellowstone.

There is a disagreement over when this first occurred. Karl Byrand gives the year as 1892 (p. 134), but does not give a citation for that claim. Likewise, Rose Shaw's company information in *Montana the Magazine of Western History* states that after arriving in Livingston in 1890, Shaw spent the "remaining twenty-two years of his life" bringing camping trips into Yellowstone. However, both the Superintendent's annual report and the Rose Shaw article state that Amos Shaw procured his first permit in 1898 to run camping trips into the park.¹⁸⁰ But the 1915 Shaw and Powell brochure entitled "Yellowstone Park by Camp" states that "the present service of the Shaw & Powell Co. represents twenty years of experience under the same management, twenty years of contact with the actual needs and desires of tourists under the surroundings existing in Yellowstone National Park." If true, this would place the company's first year of park

¹⁸⁰. The year 1898 squares with both the first appearance of the name "Shaw and Powell" in the annual reports of the superintendent under "persons licensed to conduct camping parties" and with Vivian A. Paladin and S. Rose Shaw, "Yellowstone Park by Camp: The Shaw and Powell Camping Company," *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 22(July, 1972): 97. James B. Erwin, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior. 1898* (Washington: GPO, 1898), p. 19. Shaw to S.B.M. Young, July 12, 1897 makes it clear that Shaw applied to the park for a permit in 1897. Letter box 7, document 2979, YNP Archives.

touring as 1895. Because the 1914 brochure also uses “twenty years,” the first year of touring for this company could conceivably have been 1894.¹⁸¹

What probably happened is that Shaw ran unlicensed trips into the park from his main office in Livingston until he finally received a formal license in 1898. These were camping trips wherein the company brought a cook wagon and all of its own tents and horses. Not until 1913 did the Shaw and Powell Company obtain a permit to establish six semi-permanent camps like the ones that the Wylie Camping Company operated. Shown below is a photo of one of the early Shaw and Powell trips, about 1903.



Shaw and Powell Camping Company conducting a Yellowstone Park tour in 1903. Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnson, Library of Congress.

One of the semi-permanent camps that Shaw set up that year was on the site of the present Old Faithful Lodge. It appears in the background in the photo below, circa 1913,

¹⁸¹. Shaw and Powell, “Yellowstone Park by Camp,” p. 3, in box 25, file 130 “Advertisements of Concessioners 1914 and 1915,” YNP Archives. A 1914 edition of the brochure (p. 10), located in this same file, also states that travelers “enjoy the benefits of their [S&P’s] twenty years’ experience...”

that shows crowds of visitors walking through the Grand Geyser area. Note the building in the center of this photo. This camp, called the “Old Faithful Lunch and Night Camp” by 1913 company pamphlets, consisted of the standard group of wooden-floored canvas tents and a kitchen building 24 by 28 feet in size. S&PCC also built a dining room a few months later 40 by 50 feet. It and an office 30 by 40 feet were completed in 1915, and at this point S&PCC had fifty tents here that could house 176 visitors. Stove-heated and made of red and white striped canvas, these tents resembled the Wylie tents at the Wylie Camp two miles west on Wylie Hill.



What was probably the new Shaw and Powell building appears in the center of this photo with the light roofs, circa 1913. NPS photo from park photographer Jim Peaco's slide files. See also another photo, YELL-23774, YNP photo archives.

Unfortunately for Amos Shaw, his license was short lived. He ran his camps for four years, but after the 1916 season, the new National Park Service forced several companies to combine into one: the Yellowstone Park Camping Company. Harry Child

of the Yellowstone Park Hotel Company was given control of that company and the other camping and transportation companies owned by Shaw and Powell, Wylie, Haynes, and Holm were eliminated. All independent camping companies were also eliminated.

The new Yellowstone Park Camping Company began procedures in 1917 to establish the present Old Faithful Lodge as part of the park's system of lodges. These lodges—at Old Faithful, Lake, Canyon, Roosevelt, and Mammoth (a new one)—were intended to “tap into” the ideas of the old camping companies by offering a cheaper way for auto visitors to stay in Yellowstone. When the new NPS consolidated park concessions, it kept the S&PCC facility to become Old Faithful Lodge because it was close to Old Faithful Geyser, and closed the Wylie Camp on Wylie Hill.¹⁸²

The Old Faithful Lodge began to take shape through fits and starts that were to last through the 1920s. In 1918, the new company built a laundry on the site while in 1919, it expanded the facility's dining room and built a new kitchen. In 1921-22, it built a new recreation pavilion. And in 1924, the company began construction of an all new lodge building by razing the central buildings and erecting a much larger kitchen and dining room. Old Faithful Lodge essentially reached its modern stage of completion in 1927-28 with the completion of a new recreation hall and a new lobby and service room.¹⁸³ There have been numerous remodelings of its interior since that time, and the building remains an important cultural site today.

¹⁸². Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 134-135; Bartlett, *Wilderness Besieged*, p. 189.

¹⁸³. History Card File, YNP Library, under “Upper Basin—Y.P. Camps Company”; Lindsley, *Chronology of Yellowstone*, pp. 210, 269, 277; Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 134-138.

Summary of the Period 1905-1941

In summing up the development chronology at Old Faithful for the period 1905-1940, one can make the following general statements. The NPS constructed new government buildings under the same philosophy as concessions structures, placing them not to interfere with thermal features but nonetheless to allow the public easy access to those popular features. This led to abandonment of the old soldier station and establishment of new government buildings closer to Old Faithful Geyser and the places that the NPS perceived the public would be. Simultaneously there was development of both NPS and concessionaire structures in the “utility area,” a wooded area southwest of other buildings in the basin. This was the beginning of NPS attempts to segregate employees and visitor facilities and to keep less attractive buildings (such as tool caches and incinerators) from visitors’ views. Exceptions to this were the service and employee buildings behind Old Faithful Inn, but these were located in an area where visitors were thought not likely to go.

Bridge and trail development were also greater at this time. Auto traffic required new bridges at entrance and exit of UGB (Firehole River and Morning Glory Pool), and the auto campground received a new road system. New trails—two of them using interpretive markers—cut through the basin, portions of some being paved to reduce erosion. The NPS began offering guided walks of the thermal areas.

A log hotel, tent cabins, housekeeping cabins, and a campground gave visitors several types of lodging to choose from. A range of restaurant facilities allowed visitors to choose between formal dining, picnicking, or a quick stop at a cafeteria.

Concessionaires expanded their activities by opening a recreation hall and bathhouses. These facilities reflected changing visitor trends and expectations and concessionaires' responses to meet those needs.

Finding a Balance between Use and Preservation, 1941-1974.

During these years the National Park Service gradually moved from a program of manipulating natural resources and using them for the entertainment of visitors or for commercial uses to a program of much less human manipulation, a philosophy known originally as "natural regulation" and known today as "ecological process management." For example, the NPS stopped stocking lakes and streams with fish, stopped managing bison like cattle, and stopped artificially reducing the size of elk herds, all in the 1950s and 1960s.

During the period 1969-1970, while this author worked summers at West Thumb for the NPS Maintenance Division, the NPS was just moving into acceptance of the 1963 Leopold Report as its guiding philosophy. That report postulated that the NPS should manage national parks as "vignettes of primitive America" and that the agency should do its best not to manipulate natural resources and processes. National parks, the report theorized, should be kept natural for future generations. This philosophy took a few years for the NPS to fully embrace, but by 1969 the bureau was fully involved with it. As an NPS maintenance worker that year, I was pressed into service to help install some of Yellowstone's first "bear proof" trash cans, in order to begin the process of weaning park bears from their long imposed human-food diet in garbage dumps and at roadsides where tourists fed them by hand. I recall distinctly that many of the older men on our crews harbored hostility for this "new" way of doing things. Keeping things natural in

Yellowstone seemed to many of them to be somehow silly, lightweight, or otherwise foolish, an idea that they believed would not work and an idea that had been generated by empty-headed bureaucrats or naïve scientists. I recall being surprised at their hostility and believing that the new philosophy was the right one to pursue. In the intervening years to 2006, it has, in my opinion, proven its worth, and the National Academy of Science agreed with this in 2002 when it “came down” on the NPS’s side in this management debate.

At Old Faithful during the period 1970-1972 the NPS rerouted the main highway from near Kepler Cascades to Biscuit Basin. The idea for this rerouting forced itself on the NPS through gradually increasing visitation. More visitors driving more and larger vehicles strained a road system at Old Faithful whose physical location was literally left over from stagecoach days. Every time that Old Faithful Geyser erupted, visitors would stop their cars in the middle of the road to look at it. This blocked traffic for long periods and sometimes prevented hospital-bound ambulances from getting to their destination. Having a road that ran right through the middle of the village worked fine during a time of less traffic and smaller vehicles, but it did not work well by the 1960s.¹⁸⁴

Prior to 1972, the main road through Old Faithful ran from Kepler Cascades northwest through the trees to a bridge crossing at “Deer Tracks” to Old Faithful Lodge and then in front of Old Faithful Museum and Old Faithful Inn to Castle Geyser, Orange Spring, Grotto Geyser, Morning Glory Pool, Artemisia Geyser, Mirror Pool, and Cauliflower Geyser. That old road then rejoined the present road at Biscuit Basin. Studer

¹⁸⁴. The author personally remembers this situation. See also Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 173. For this bypass planning see R.R. Lovegren, Memorandum to Regional Director, Midwest Region, from the Acting Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, November 8, 1968, in Development and Maintenance files, Box D-23, YNP Archives.

Construction Company won the bid for the project, and that company built the present bypass road that, in heading west from Kepler Cascades, left the old road at a point 366.9 meters east of (a new) upper Firehole River bridge, crossed Firehole River on that new bridge, tracked west to and through the present Old Faithful (employee) housing area and the Old Faithful interchange, continued northwest past Black Sand Basin to Biscuit Basin, and rejoined the old road a few hundred feet north of the present Biscuit Basin parking area (the small trees growing on the old roadway mark this spot today).

The NPS tore down the Old Faithful Museum and constructed a new Old Faithful Visitor Center on the same site in 1971-1972 with an agency eye toward Yellowstone's centennial celebration. Architect John A. Ronscavage designed this building in 1968, believing that its size and shape were not a major concern. That proved to be a major mistake when the building's strange shape proved difficult for employees who worked there and when much of its electronic geyser-monitoring equipment failed to work properly.¹⁸⁵

In connection with the new bypass road, the Studer Company built an inner four-lane road that ran north and then east from the Interchange (a viaduct just east of Black Sand Basin) to Old Faithful Lodge and two large new (eastern and western) parking areas that could hold 1,500 cars. (The eastern parking area occupied the former site of the Old Faithful Auto Campground.) Beginning in mid-summer of 1972, this new road routed most traffic east from the Interchange around the Old Faithful area to that large parking area just south of Old Faithful Lodge. Although there was an intersection constructed that

¹⁸⁵. Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," pp. 189-190. Ronscavage believed that use of wood and stone as well as making the place brown in color were the only considerations that mattered. Removal of the Visitor Center's electronic geyser-prediction boards finally occurred in 1990 after nearly twenty years of their not working properly. Byrand, pp. 209-210.

allowed access (via a left turn) to Lower Hamilton Store and Old Faithful Inn, most visitors did not know to turn there, so the majority proceeded east to the large parking area. To further add to their confusion, another optional left turn prior to the east parking area allowed access to the upper gas station and the upper Hamilton Store.

Many visitors were terribly confused when they reached the east parking area. They had no idea where Old Faithful Geyser, Old Faithful Visitor Center, and Old Faithful Inn (three of the main features that visitors were looking for) were located, and signage was initially poor. Although signage improved over time, confusion remained for many visitors. In this author's experience, that confusion has generally persisted in visitors' perceptions for thirty-four years, up to the present time (2006). One of the reasons for the writing of this paper is to aid the National Park Service in its attempts to change roads and other circulation systems in the Old Faithful area because of this continuing confusion.

More confusion was on the way, because the park's 1974 Master Plan envisioned that the Old Faithful area would become a day-use area only with no overnight lodging. Initially, the NPS planned to replace it with "Firehole Village," a foolish idea that would have placed another entire village in another geyser area, but a lack of money and the consciousness that it, like facilities at UGB, could have negative impacts upon geysers and hot springs doomed the idea. As late as 1984, the day-use idea was still in the NPS "pipeline" to be carried out, this time with all overnight lodging slated to be moved to Grant Village (nineteen miles to the southeast).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶. Chris Cauble, "Old Faithful Lodging Cut Planned," *Livingston (Montana) Enterprise*, March 22, 1984, p. 1. See also Byrand, "Evolution of the Cultural Landscape," p. 174, which explains that the NPS initially thought that the new Canyon Village area cabins could replace YP Company's lost revenue for the Old

And the NPS's desire to eliminate many of the facilities at UGB and relocate them elsewhere was an idea that ultimately failed because the American public refused to stand for it. They did not want to abandon their beloved Old Faithful village, and who could blame them? The people of the nation, through their insistence upon staying at Old Faithful Inn, essentially made this decision *for* the NPS. Another idea then being touted (and considered foolish by many members of the public) was to tear the wings off OF Inn and make it into a museum, again for day-use only. But T.W. Services had accrued twenty years of advance bookings for the Inn (1984-2004—people were booked twenty years in advance for the 100th anniversary!); it seemed that everyone wanted to stay in this building, even if (or perhaps especially *because*) it was old. It was also true that an overnight stay in the “old house” was experiential—it hejarkened visitors back to the 1904 days of Yellowstone, with restrooms down the hall, claw foot bathtubs, iron bedsteads, creaking radiators, gaps between rough board walls, and the old-style pitchers and wash basins that reposed in the rooms. Over time such novelties might turn into inconveniences and “get old” to modern visitors, but it was not so in the 1980s. The place was constantly sold out, because everyone wanted to stay at Old Faithful Inn. By 1990, the NPS had scrapped the entire day-use plan.¹⁸⁷

Summary of the Period 1941-1974

Great changes occurred during this period. Many park facilities had deteriorated during the long Depression of the thirties and the four years of World War II. Mission 66 was instituted and that added and subtracted structures in the Old Faithful area. This

Faithful area. This idea turned out to be completely wrong, as Canyon cabins routinely did not fill in the 1980s.

¹⁸⁷. This is from the author's memories of this period. See also Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” p. 225.

period saw a general down-sizing in numbers of buildings. Although at WW II's end NPS and concessionaire facilities had greatly deteriorated, the summer of 1946 represented a time of greatly increased visitation. Visitation jumped to over 800,000 from what had been less than 200,000 per year during the war.

Mission 66 focused on increased development in order to meet the needs of the automobile visitor and to invigorate visitor interest (and therefore support of the parks) by catering to as many types of visitors as possible. It was almost as if NPS philosophy then was that Yellowstone could indeed be all things to all people. This philosophy was part of the learning that the bureau needed to experience in order to cope with a rapidly-modernizing and increasingly mobile and wealthy society. The park could not be all things to all people. During this period the NPS decided that golf courses, ski lifts, swimming pools, and other such purely recreational facilities had no place in national parks. Instead, national parks were to be places where pure wildness, solitude, and a lack of human development were the primary considerations. The NPS began taking many steps toward keeping its nature parks more natural while still protecting the cultural parts of those parks.

The Most Recent Three Decades at Upper Geyser Basin, 1973-2006—Focusing on the Ecosystem

Historian Karl Byrand has summed up the period 1973 to 1990 well enough that he deserves to be quoted:

Between 1973 and 1990, changes in Park Service philosophy, management, and funding all had a direct impact on the [national] parks' landscapes. These changes stemmed in part from the 1960s, with the growing belief in environmentalist circles that park development and preservation were incompatible with each other. To the environmentalists, the Mission 66 program epitomized this incompatibility. As a result, a split occurred in which "environmental groups

adopted increasingly strict preservation norms while the Park Service embarked on Mission 66.” Because this development program was in direct contrast to the new environmental philosophy, the parks lost the support of their traditional and most valued allies.

This new movement became more pervasive in the 1970s and, as such, gained many other supporters, including America’s professional elite. Once key supporters of the Park Service during the Mather era, this group of powerful and wealthy citizens [was] now “more in sympathy with the views of the environmental movement on national park policy than with those of agency leadership.” This alignment against park development found support within the Ford and Carter administrations. Specifically, two Assistant Secretaries of the Interior, who took care of all park affairs during this period, were in favor of less park development. Both Nathaniel Reed, who served under President Ford, and Robert Herbst, under President Carter, were environmentalists; they attempted to instill environmental values within the Department of the Interior and administer the parks with these values in mind. While these men were in office, environmental groups had the ear of the Department of the Interior, and thus more of a say in park development.¹⁸⁸

Thus management philosophy in Yellowstone had come full circle since the park’s establishment in 1872—from humans’ seeing the place as a land of weird curiosities, to intense use of the resources for human purposes, to abandoning human use so that the park could honor naturalness and natural processes.¹⁸⁹

This more recent history is summed up in the appended chronology. Some additional recent history at UGB includes the construction of the NPS Emergency Services Building south of the Employee Pub in 1990-1992; construction of the Old Faithful Employee Pub on the site of the previous bus dispatch cabin and garage in 1992-1993 (it opened in fall of 1993); the construction of Larkspur dormitory in 1993 (it

¹⁸⁸ . Byrand, “Evolution of the Cultural Landscape,” pp. 205-206, quoting R.A. Foresta, *America’s National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1984), pp. 73, 91.

¹⁸⁹ . The best histories of the evolution of Yellowstone’s management are James A. Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone’s Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), and Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2004).

opened in the winter of 1993-1994);¹⁹⁰ and the erection of the new Old Faithful managers' apartment complex for Amfac/Xanterra Corporation in the winter of 2002-2003.¹⁹¹

What Will the Future Bring?

It would seem that the future will bring even less development to the Old Faithful area when the NPS's continuing preservation philosophy combines with the bureau's lack of money. Future development at Old Faithful will thus likely be restricted to replacement facilities provided by park concessioners.

The NPS will probably attempt to remedy the poor road circulation patterns in the area that are left over from the 1970-1972 re-routing of the main highway by perhaps

¹⁹⁰. This according to John Rhoades who lived there that winter. Author's conversation with John Rhoades, Mammoth, Wyoming, August 16, 2006.

¹⁹¹. This more recent history is also illuminated through oral history—the memories of those who worked at UGB and who are still living. Leslie James Quinn, Xanterra Interpretive Services Supervisor, remembers the following being the built environment at Old Faithful when he arrived for his first summer's work in 1980. His memories follow.

"The only two dormitories of T.W. Services at Old Faithful were Lupine and Bitterroot. Lupine was then newer than Bitterroot. Larkspur (which was built in 1993 and opened in winter of 1993-1994) and the new Managers' apartment building had not been built. The 'George LeDow Dormitory' stood on the site of today's Transportation Garage and was a dormitory for Yellowstone Park Service Station personnel. Bus parking at that time was where today's new Emergency Services Building is. The dispatch cabin, the bus maintenance garage, and the small aluminum oil shed were all on the site of today's Old Faithful Employee Pub. Behind the old Snow Lodge were many cabins "where some of us lived, at least a hundred of us, and where guests stayed if the cabins were in good shape. There was a laundry building among the cabins. The dryers would incinerate anything left in them for too long. We had two bus dispatchers in 1980: Larry Crowe and Ken 'Spots' Cummings.

"In 1980, the Four Seasons Snack Shop, originally built as the Laundromat for the Old Faithful campground, was standing. It was razed just after the new Old Faithful Snow Lodge opened in 1997. The Post Office stood next to the BAC (upper Hamilton) store and (the old) Snow Lodge stood to the west of it. The Hamilton Photo Shop was moved to its present site in 1974. The street in front of these buildings was a two-way street at that time (it is a one-way street today).

"Old Faithful's Backcountry Office was the trailer next to the CCC-looking building (ranger station, on the west side of the west parking lot), which also had a garage where we kept the fire truck. (Contractors have erected another garage on the site in the past three years.) The new ranger station and medical center was built in 1995.

"Just west of the Emergency Services Building today was 'where our softball field was.' Today there are temporary contractors' dorms on the site. (Later they moved the softball field to the now former sewage treatment plant—an unused chain linked fenced area—and that is where it remains in 2006.)" Author's telephone interview with Leslie James Quinn, Xanterra Interpretive Services Supervisor and Old Faithful resident 1980-2006, at his Old Faithful Xanterra office on June 16, 1980.

examining historic circulation patterns. That said, preservation of cultural sites must also be maintained.

Chronological History of Old Faithful Area—Timeline.

1872 and before—Some Indian trails probably existed in the Old Faithful (Upper Geyser Basin—UGB) area, but we have no knowledge of where they ran. At least ten and probably twelve archeological sites exist in the area that date to more ancient times.

1877—Traveler Thomas Sherman reported that there was a narrow, rustic footbridge near Old Faithful Geyser that gave them access to the opposite bank of the Firehole River. Its builders are currently unknown, but it was the earliest known human-made structure at UGB.

1878—The Henry Gannett (1878) map of the Hayden Survey shows a trail running from the north along Firehole River into the Old Faithful area.

1879—P.W. Norris erects the first building in UGB, a crude cabin on the south bank of Firehole River and across the river from the Lion Group of geysers.

1882 or 1883—A (previously unknown) cabin is built on the north bank of Firehole River across the river from Castle Geyser's runoff channel, either by Superintendent Patrick Conger or more likely by Carroll Hobart's Yellowstone National Park Improvement Company. Photographer Carleton Watkins takes a picture of it in 1883.

1883—The YNPI Co. erects a tent camp on the site later occupied by Old Faithful Inn. It is described in the *New York Times* by reporters who are following President Chester A. Arthur's party. It serves as visitor lodging for the seasons of 1883, 1884, and part of 1885.

YNPIC also erects temporary tent frames just east of Castle Geyser, probably for employee housing. Someone, probably Assistant Superintendent Josiah Weimer, erects a bath house on Firehole River in the meadow northeast of Castle Geyser and a short distance east of the previously unknown cabin mentioned above.

1884 or 1885—A building of unknown constructors and unknown usage is erected on the site of present lower Yellowstone General Store and is photographed by B.W. Kilburn as stereo photo #4246.

1885—YNPIC erects the "Shack Hotel," the first hotel at UGB, on the site of the later Old Faithful Inn. It serves until 1894, when it burns down.

1888—George Wakefield barns, stables, and corrals 1,320 feet southwest of Old Faithful Geyser are present. Dates of their erection and razing are unknown.

1897—Henry Klammer builds his store (present lower Yellowstone General Store) and barn. Yellowstone Park Association builds the Old Faithful area hothouse behind present lower Service Station. F. Jay Haynes erects his first photographic studio in meadow northeast of present lower Yellowstone General Store.

1898—Wylie Camping Company's tent camp and outbuildings are erected on Wylie Hill.

1899—F. Jay Haynes's Monida-Yellowstone Stage Company buildings are erected 883 feet south of Old Faithful Geyser.

1903-04—YPA officials begin construction of Old Faithful Inn on June 12, 1903 and complete it on June 11, 1904.

1909—Wylie Camping Company owners add a log storehouse to their facility on Wylie Hill.

1913—The roots of present Old Faithful Lodge are born when the Shaw and Powell Camping Company erects a building on that site. This building, remodeled little by little through 1927, became today's Old Faithful Lodge.

1914—Henry Brothers begins construction of his "geyser baths" swimming pool in the meadow across the river from Beehive Geyser. It opens for business July 1, 1915 and stands until it was demolished in 1951.

1916—The new National Park Service, established on August 25, builds the first official (group) auto campground at Old Faithful at a site east of the Old Faithful Lodge. The site today contains OF Lodge cabins and the Columbine dormitory.

1920—Auto camping has become so popular at Old Faithful that the NPS moves the auto campground to a site on the far east side of today's east parking lot. Comfort stations and other improvements are added 1921-1929. Charles Hamilton builds lower Old Faithful gas station west of Old Faithful Inn and west of his store.

1921—The NPS builds new Old Faithful Ranger Station at a site 450 feet southeast of Old Faithful Geyser and in a grove of trees.

1923—NPS demolishes the Old Faithful Soldier Station, built in 1879 and added to in 1886. Henry Brothers add a log dwelling house to his swimming pool along with a thirty-foot extension, dressing rooms, bath tubs, and a washing machine.

1927—Henry Brothers erects a second bath house at Old Faithful. This one is located on the "Promenade" just south of Jack Haynes's photo shop. Hamilton builds the upper gas station, just east of the site where he would build his upper Hamilton Store three years later. Jack Haynes builds a new photo shop on the northeast end of the "Promenade" (the NPS moves it to a location next to Old Faithful Snow Lodge in 1974). Yellowstone Park Company builds a cafeteria on the west side of the Promenade, directly across the boulevard from Jack Haynes's new photo shop.

1929—Yellowstone Park Camps Company builds the main “Campers’ Cabins” building and adds numerous cabins. This facility is located on the west side of the “Promenade” and south of the cafeteria.

1929-1930—Charles Hamilton builds large upper Hamilton Store.

1933-34—Charles Hamilton purchases Henry Brothers’s swimming pool and remodels it into a much larger affair. The last pack of wolves is artificially eliminated from the park ecosystem.

1941—The NPS puts on its last season of artificially feeding bears at so-called “Bear Feeding Shows” and abandons the practice during WW II.

1955 or 1956—Small “Snow Lodge” rental facility and cabins built to replace the “Campers’ Cabins” facility that burned in 1955. The NPS abandons artificial stocking of streams and lakes with fish as well as the practice of managing bison like cattle at “Buffalo Ranch.”.

1963—Publication of the Leopold Report changes National Park Service philosophy to one of “natural regulation,” with almost no manipulation of nature allowed. In the next decade, many buildings and older structures at Old Faithful are demolished and removed.

1967—The NPS abandons artificial reductions of elk numbers (shooting by park rangers).

1968-1969—So called “bear-proof” trashcans installed at all park locations including Old Faithful.

1970-1972—The NPS removes the main road away from the center of the Old Faithful village, rerouting it south around the village. The new road runs just north of Black Sand Basin, heading northwest to Biscuit Basin. Over the next thirty-four years, this new road causes confusion in the circulation patterns at Old Faithful.

1971-1972—A new Old Faithful Visitor Center replaces the Old Faithful Museum, on the same site.

1973—A fire in the Old Faithful Laundry, across the street north from the Upper Hamilton Store, causes the Yellowstone Park Company to convert it to the “Four Seasons Snack Shop.” This was a fast-food restaurant that stayed on the site until 1997.

1974—Jack Haynes’s Photo Shop is moved from its original location just south of Old Faithful Lodge to a location immediately west of the old Snow Lodge. It remains there in 2006 near the new Snow Lodge.

1990-1992—Plans and construction occur on the Old Faithful Emergency Services building, located across the street south from the Employee Pub.

1992-1993—The Old Faithful Transportation and Service Center is built in 1992 and opens for this winter season in late 1992.

1992-1993—The Old Faithful Employee Pub, on the site of the previous bus dispatch cabin and garage, is built. It is opened in fall of 1993 and then serves its first winter season.

1993—Old Faithful Snow Lodge cabins are completely removed to make way for construction of the new Snow Lodge. Some cabins go to Roosevelt Lodge.

1993-1994—Larkspur dormitory is built during 1993. It opens in the winter of 1993-1994.

1995—The new Old Faithful Ranger Station and medical center was erected during the summer at the south end of the west parking lot.

1997-1998—The new \$26 million Old Faithful Snow Lodge building is opened. Four Seasons Snack Shop (originally built as a laundry for the Old Faithful Campground and subsequently used as a fast food establishment for many years) is razed soon after the new OFSL opens.

2002-2003—The managers' apartment complex in the Old Faithful housing area and used by the Amfac/Xanterra corporation is opened.

2006—A temporary visitor center opens on May 19, 2006 in a trailer-like building near the site of the old YP Company cafeteria. Razing of the old building commences in fall, 2006, and construction on the new Old Faithful VC begins shortly afterward.

Historic Maps
Collected by Lee Whittlesey

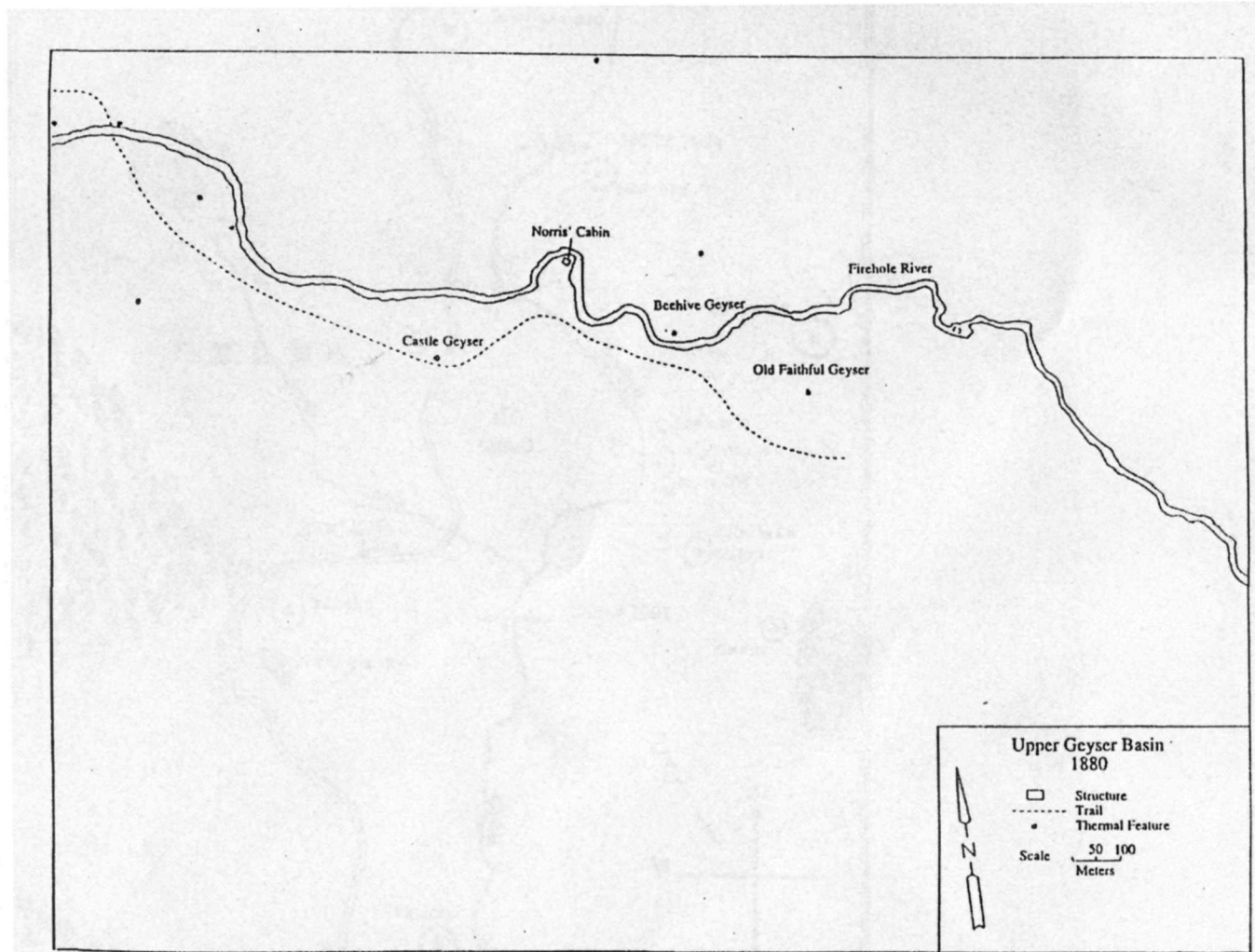
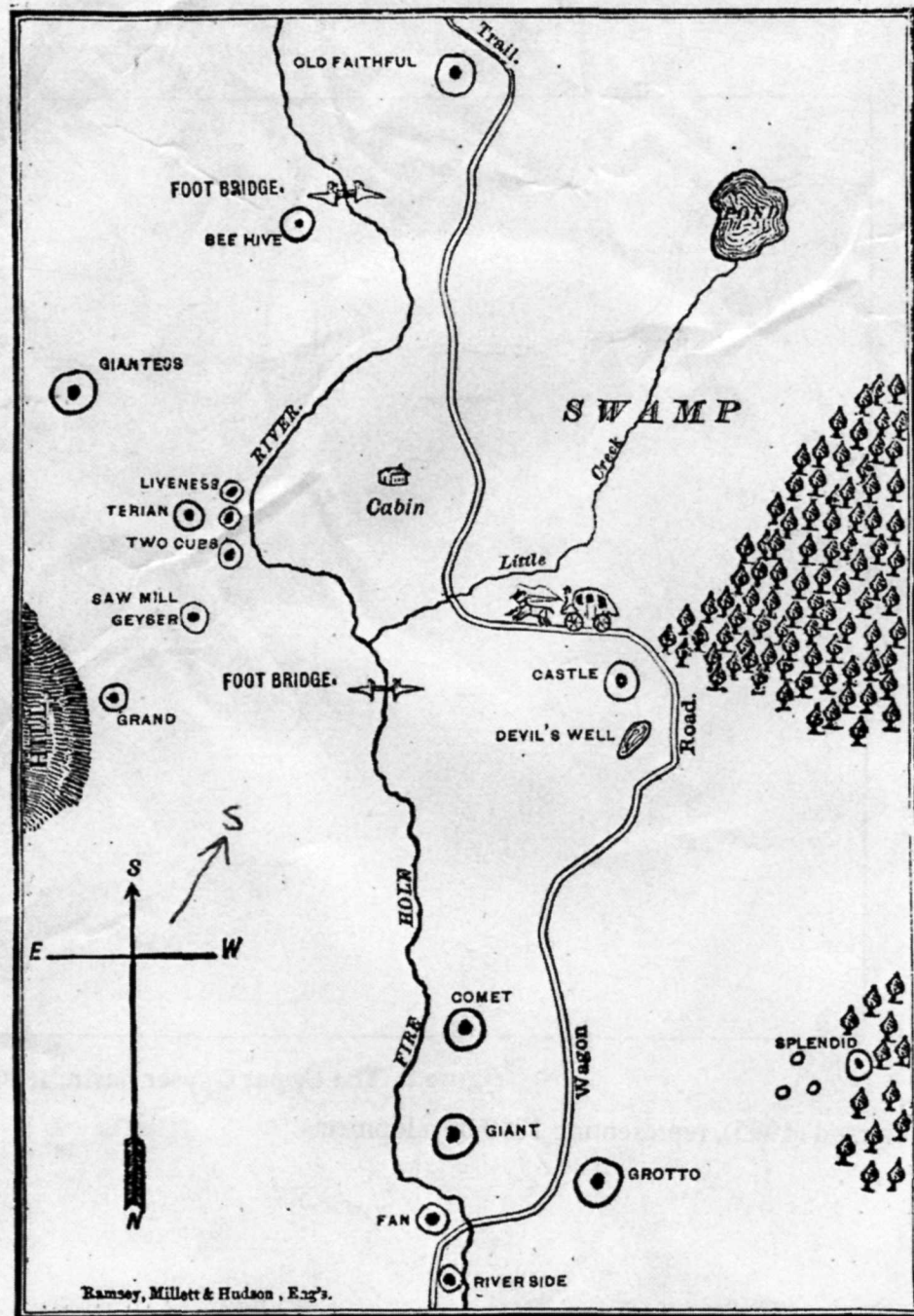


Figure 2. The Upper Geyser Basin, 1880

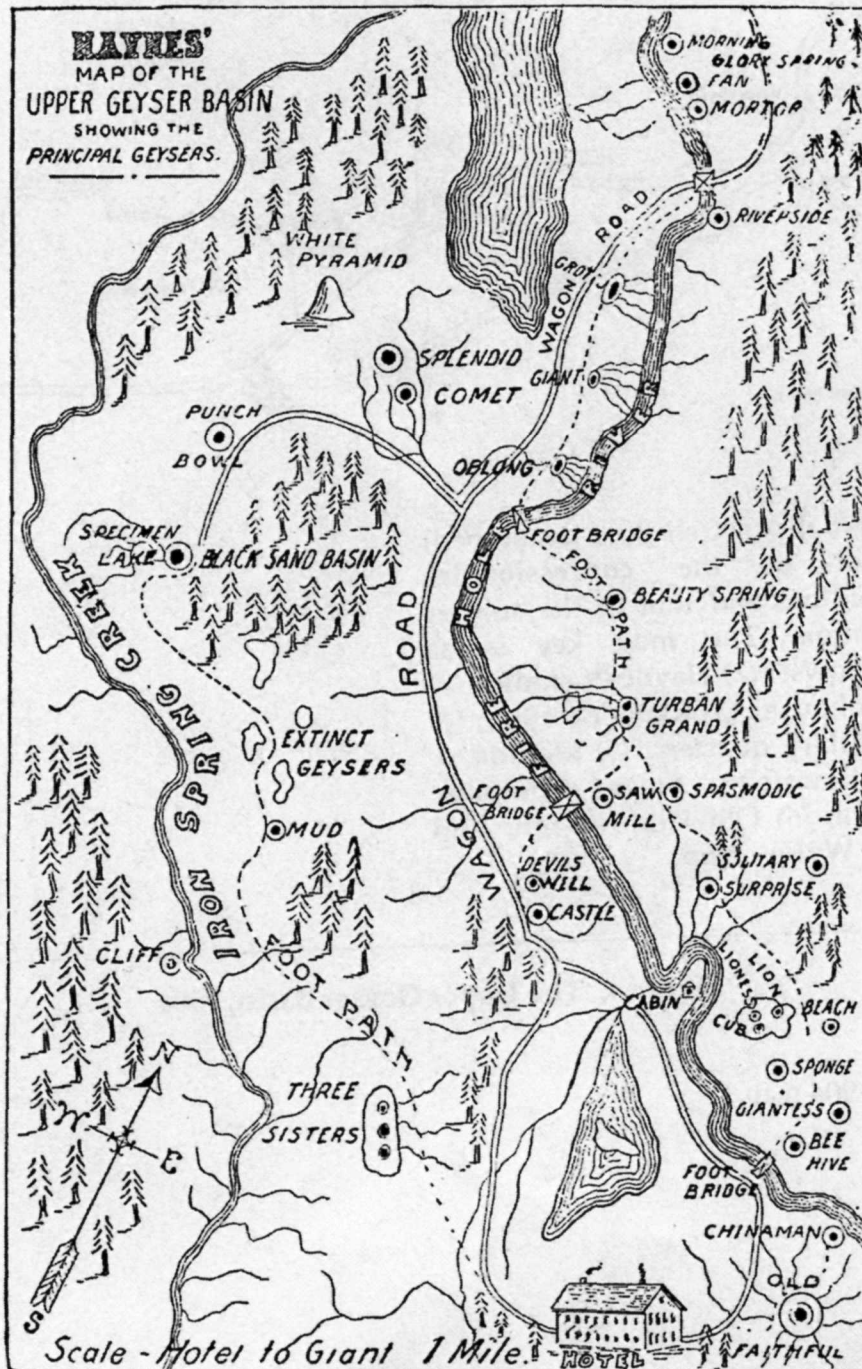
Byrand (1995), representing 1880 developments.



1881

Wylie (1882), 1881 map

1891



Haynes Guide, 1891 map

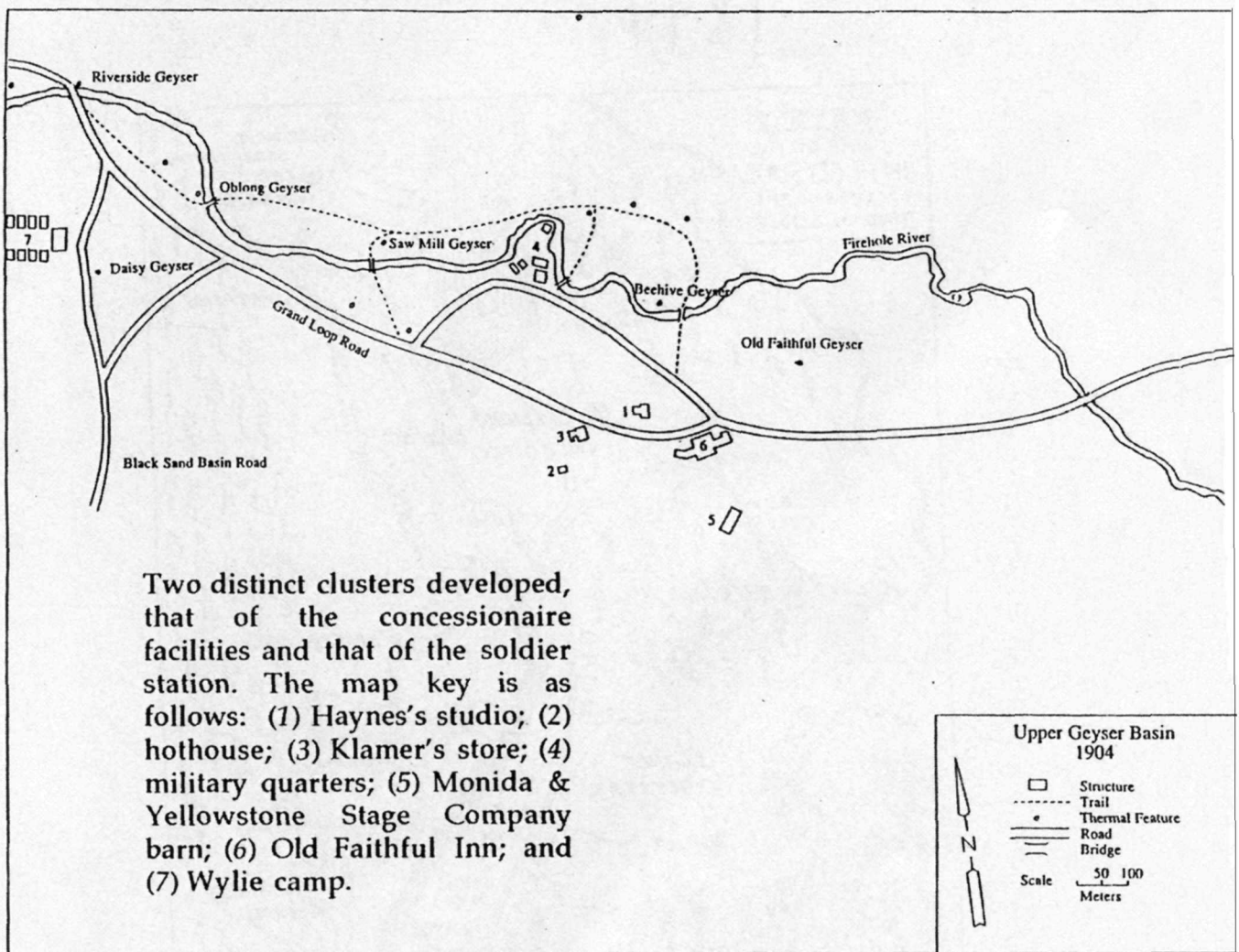
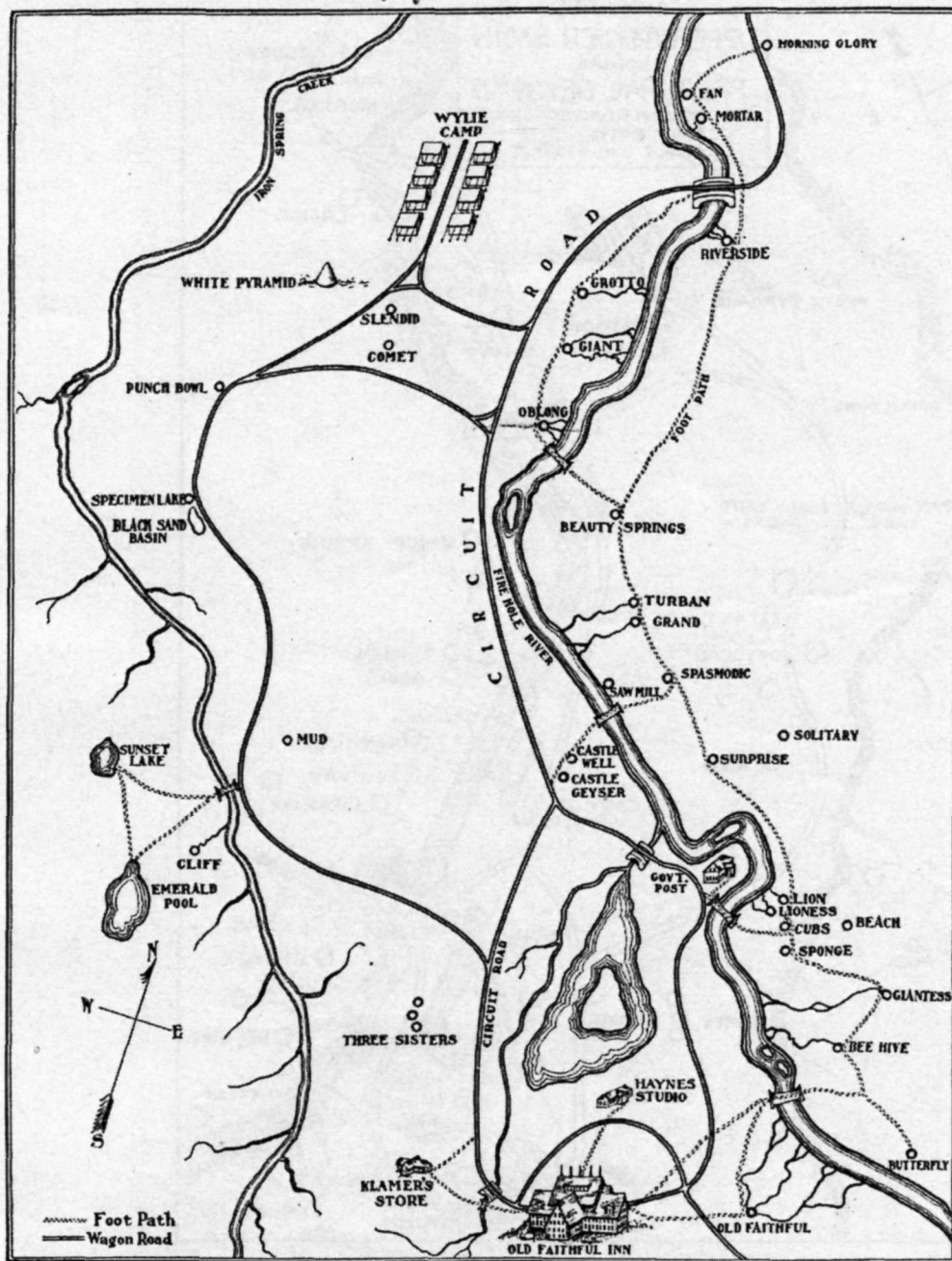


Figure 4. The Upper Geyser Basin, 1904

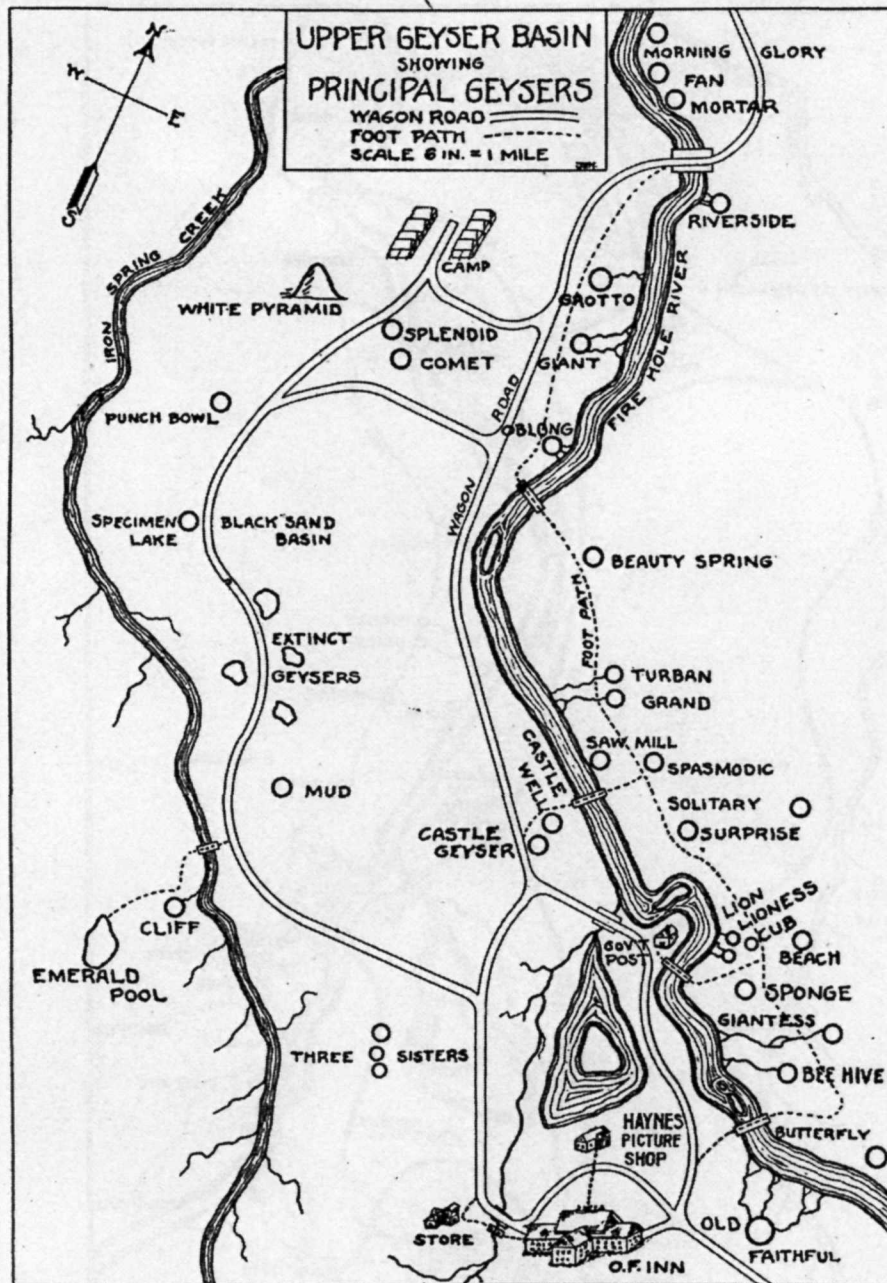
Byrand (1995), 1904 map.

1909



UPPER GEYSER BASIN.

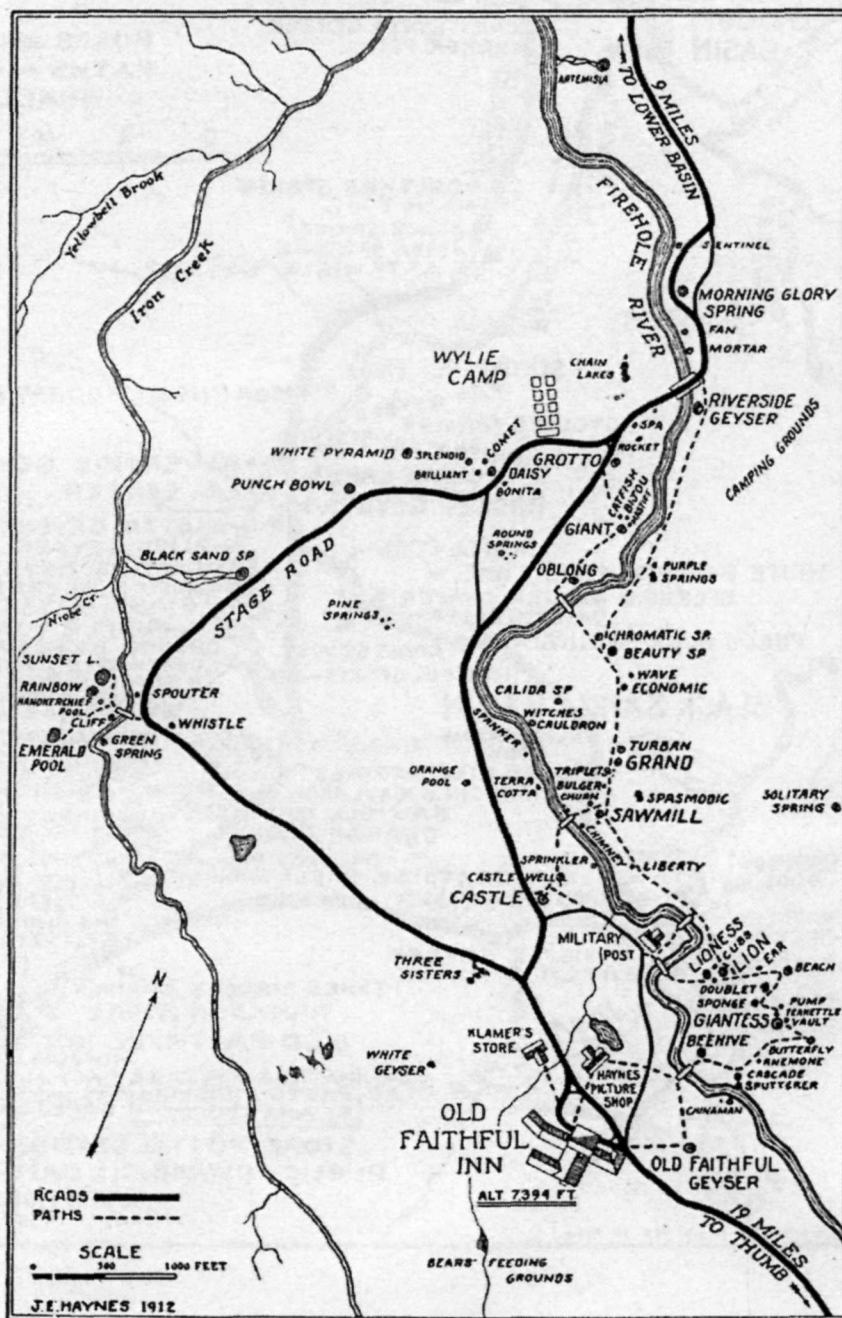
Campbell's Guide, 1909 map



Haynes Guide (1910)

TOUR OF THE PARK.

59



UPPER GEYSER BASIN.



Haynes Guide (1936)

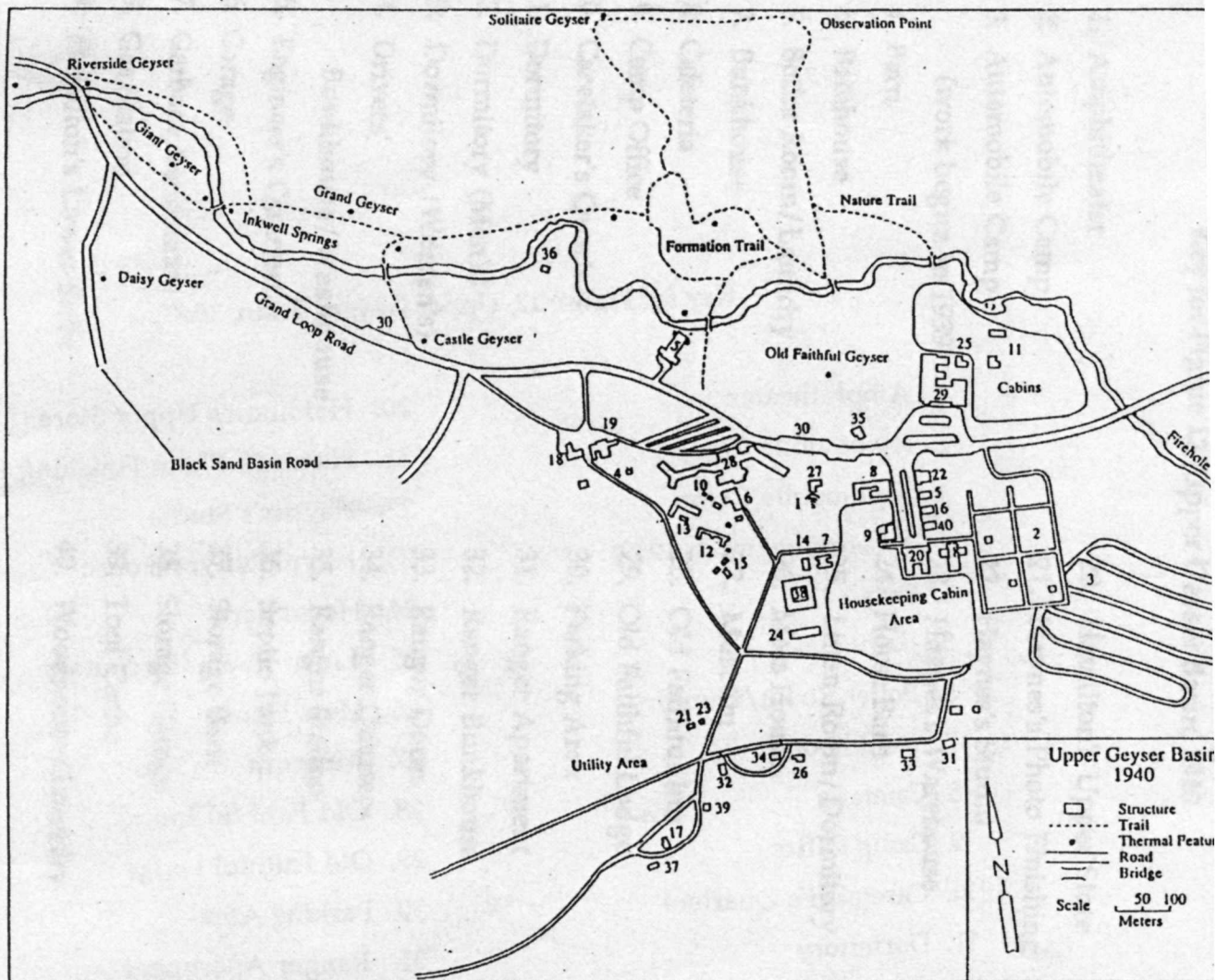


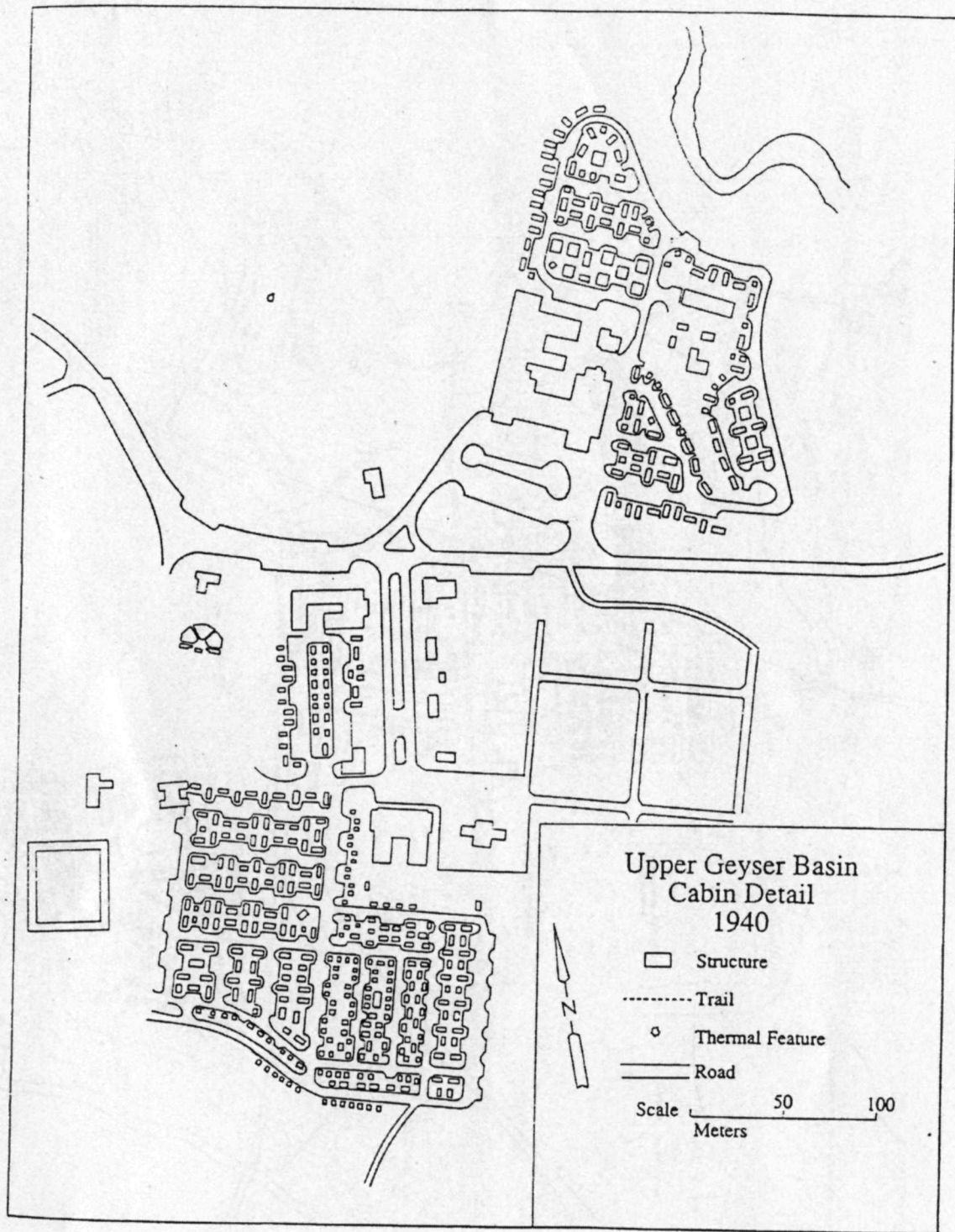
Figure 12. The Upper Geyser Basin, 1940

Byrand (1995), 1940 map

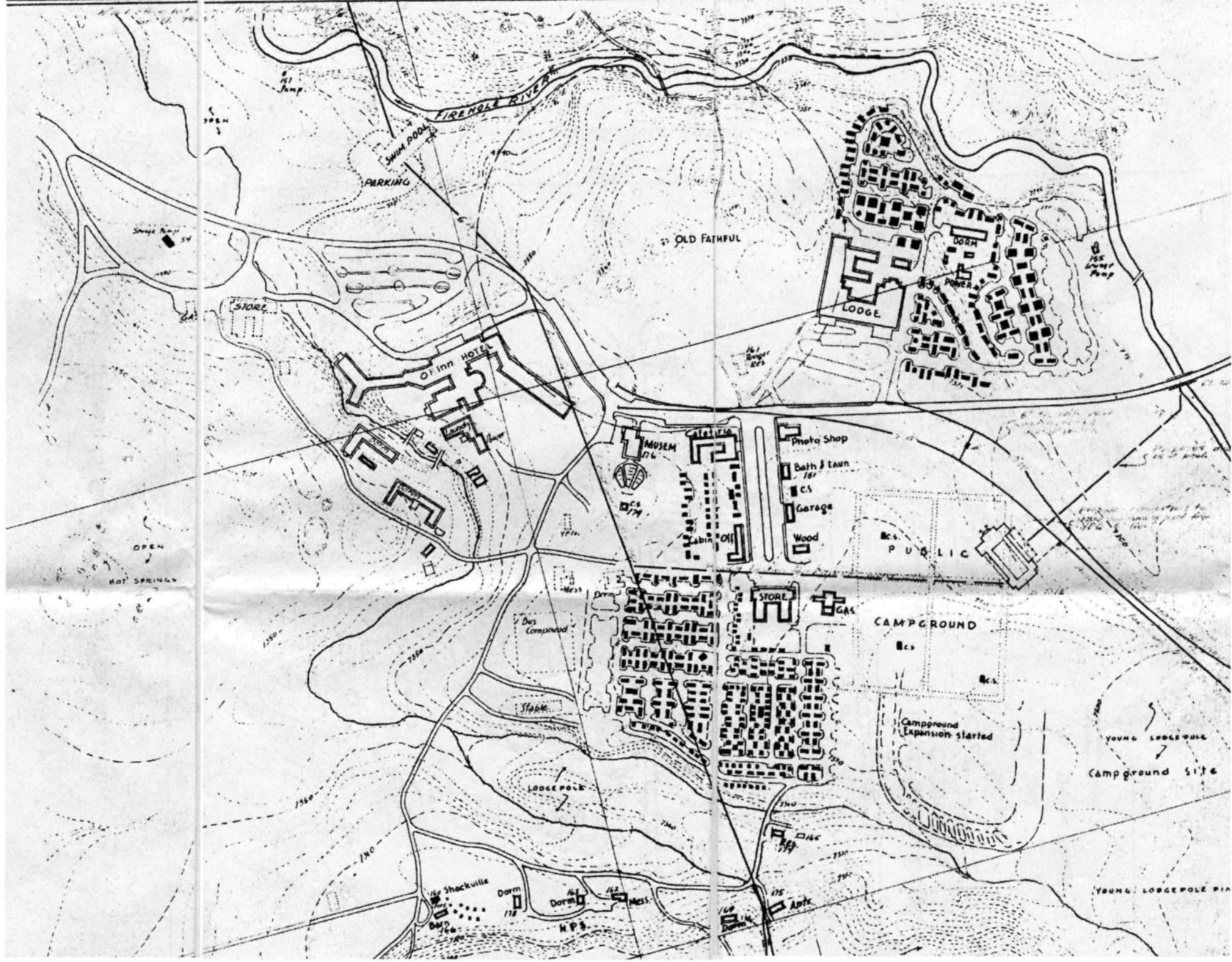
Key for Figure 12, Upper Geyser Basin, 1940

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. Amphitheater | 20. Hamilton's Upper Store |
| 2. Automobile Camp | 21. Haynes's Photo Finishing Plant |
| 3. Automobile Camp
(work begun in 1939) | 22. Haynes's Studio |
| 4. Barn | 23. Haynes's Warehouse |
| 5. Bathhouse | 24. Horse Barn |
| 6. Boiler Room/Laundry | 25. Linen Room/Dormitory |
| 7. Bunkhouse | 26. Mess House |
| 8. Cafeteria | 27. Museum |
| 9. Camp Office | 28. Old Faithful Inn |
| 10. Caretaker's Quarters | 29. Old Faithful Lodge |
| 11. Dormitory | 30. Parking Area |
| 12. Dormitory (Men's) | 31. Ranger Apartment |
| 13. Dormitory (Women's) | 32. Ranger Bunkhouse |
| 14. Drivers'
Bunkhouse/Washhouse | 33. Ranger Dorm |
| 15. Engineer's Quarters | 34. Ranger Quarters |
| 16. Garage | 35. Ranger Station |
| 17. Garbage Incinerator | 36. Septic Tank |
| 18. Gas Station | 37. Storage Barn |
| 19. Hamilton's Lower Store | 38. Storage Garage |
| | 39. Tool Cache |
| | 40. Woodhouse/Laundry |

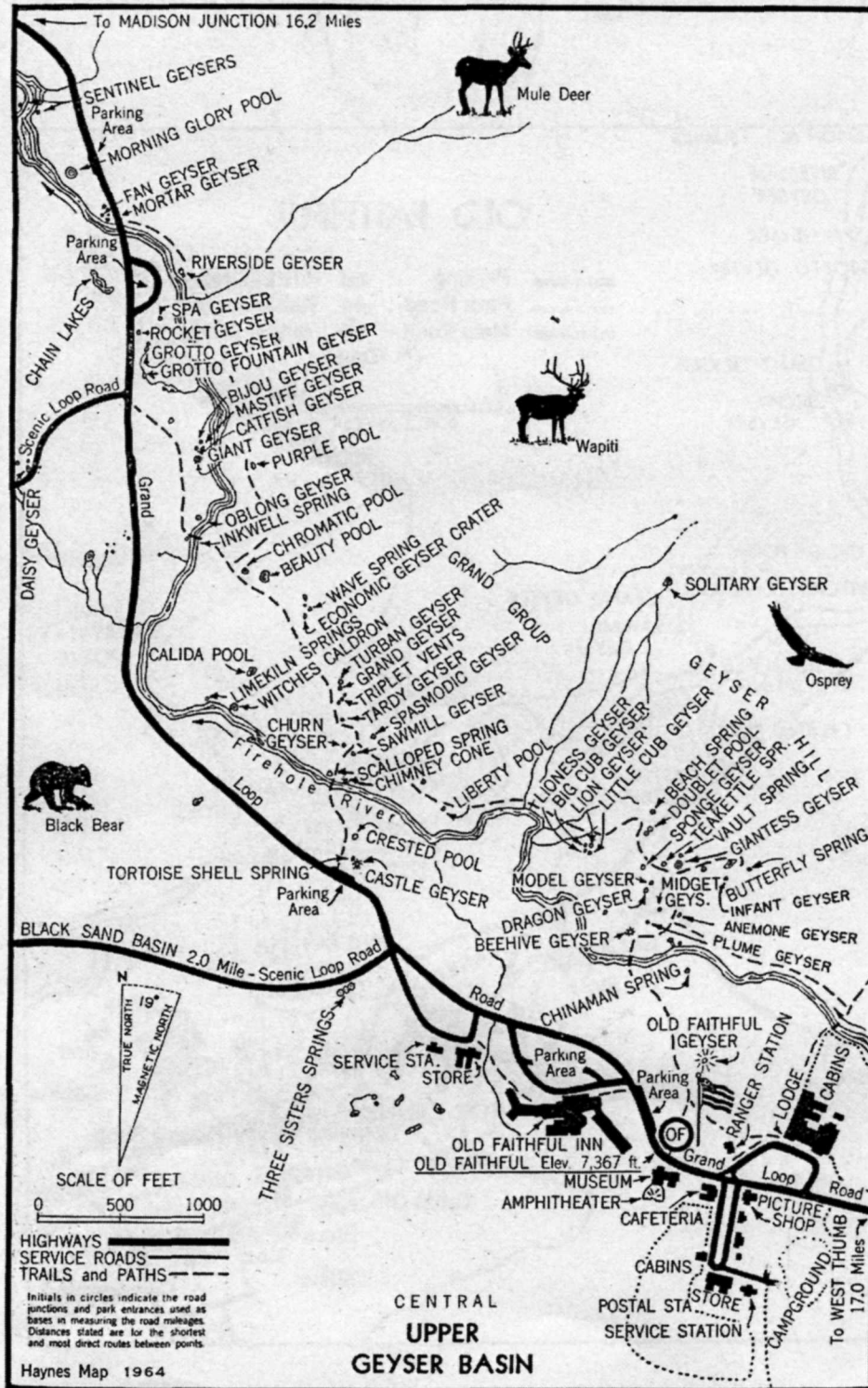
Figure 19. Camps Company cabins, 1940



Byrand (1995), 1940 map, cabin detail



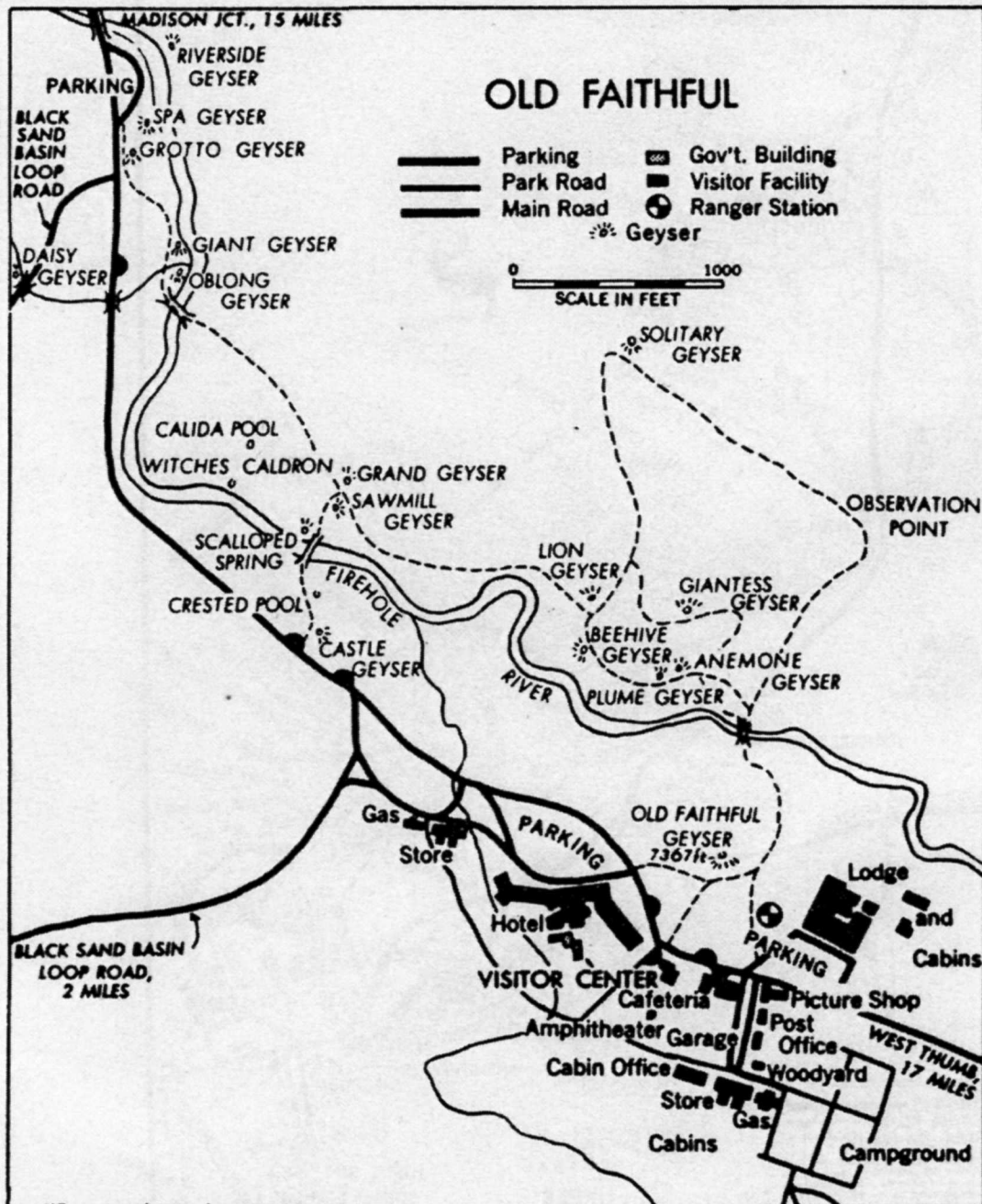
1948 Haines/Neibauer (turn sideways).



Haynes Guide (1964)

OF

1967



Scharf (1967).

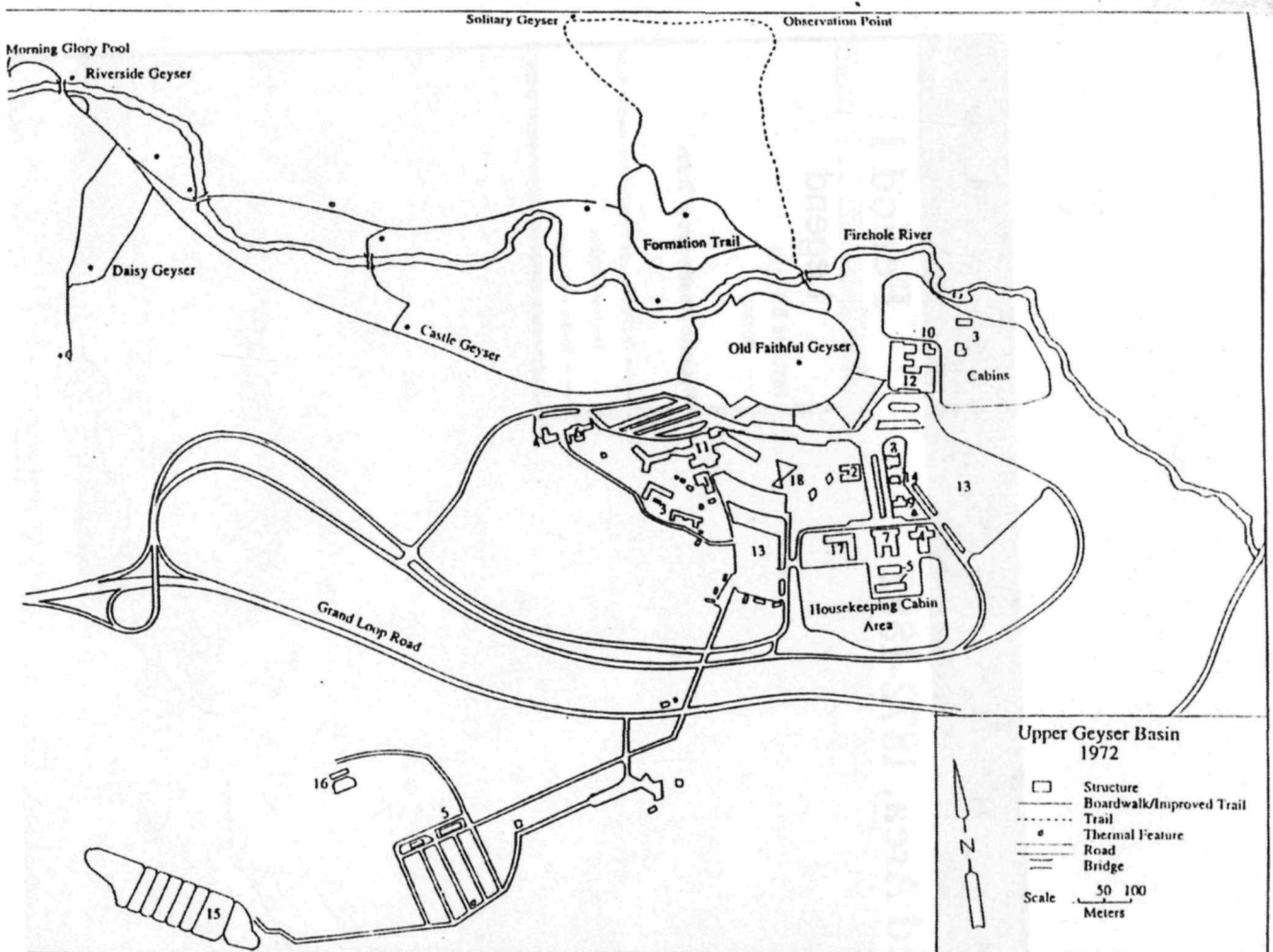


Figure 23. The Upper Geyser Basin, 1972

Byrand (1995), 1972 map



Old Faithful Developed Area, 1872-1882

Period I

Legend

Historic Bridges

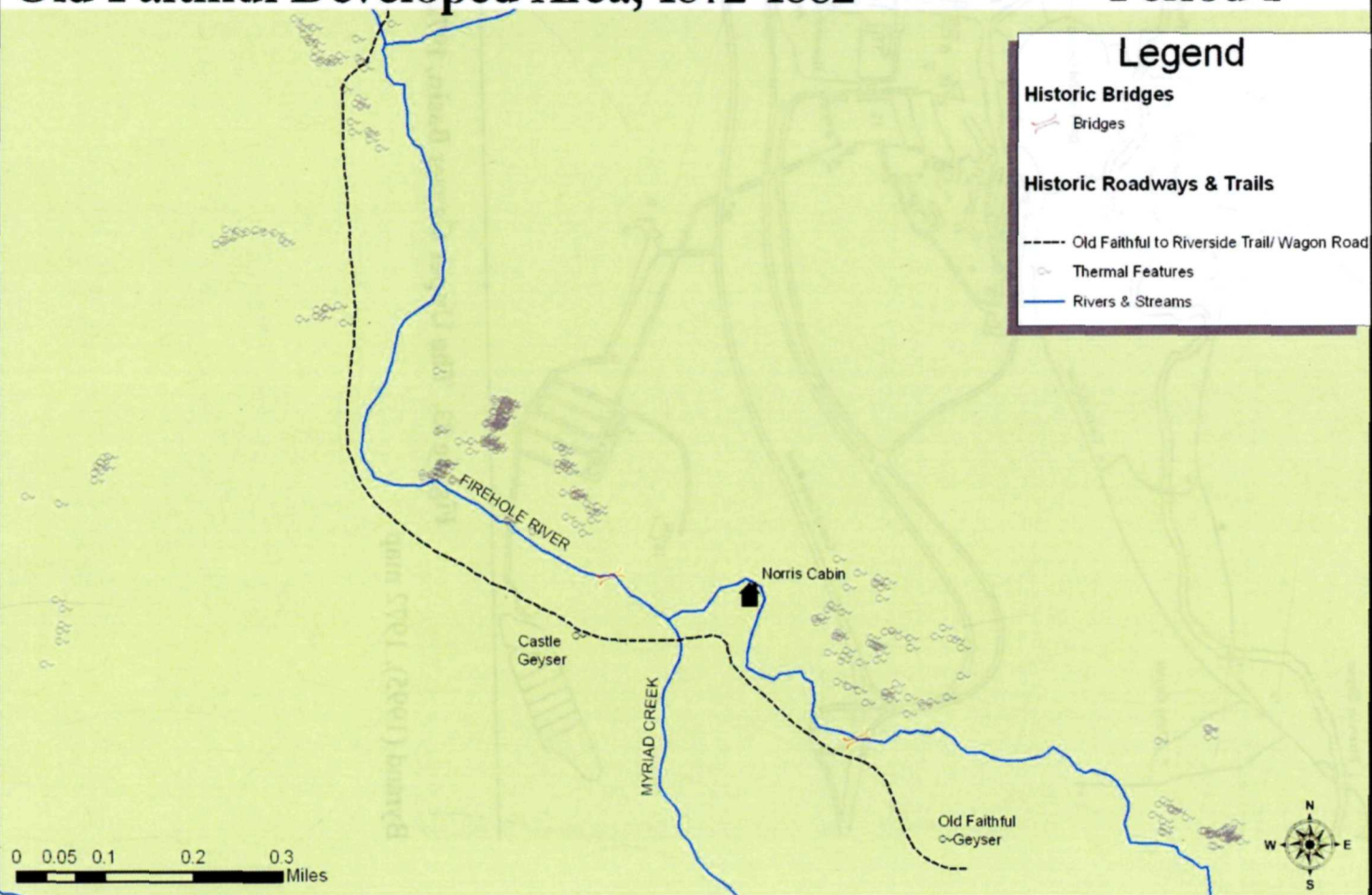
Bridges

Historic Roadways & Trails

Old Faithful to Riverside Trail/ Wagon Road

Thermal Features

Rivers & Streams



Produced by the Yellowstone Spatial Analysis Center 307-344-2246

February 2007

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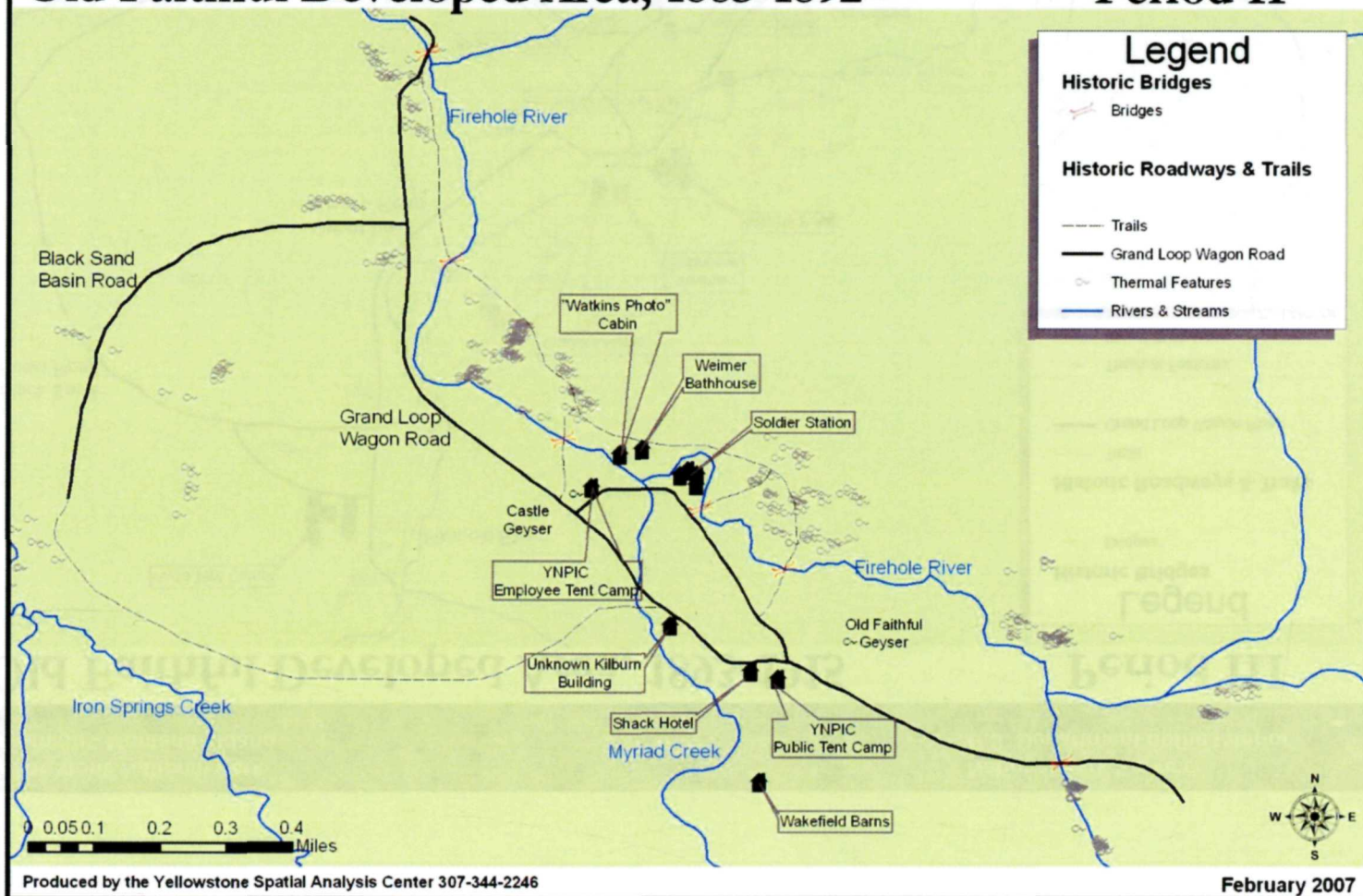
Yellowstone National Park
Wyoming - Montana - Idaho

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



Old Faithful Developed Area, 1883-1892

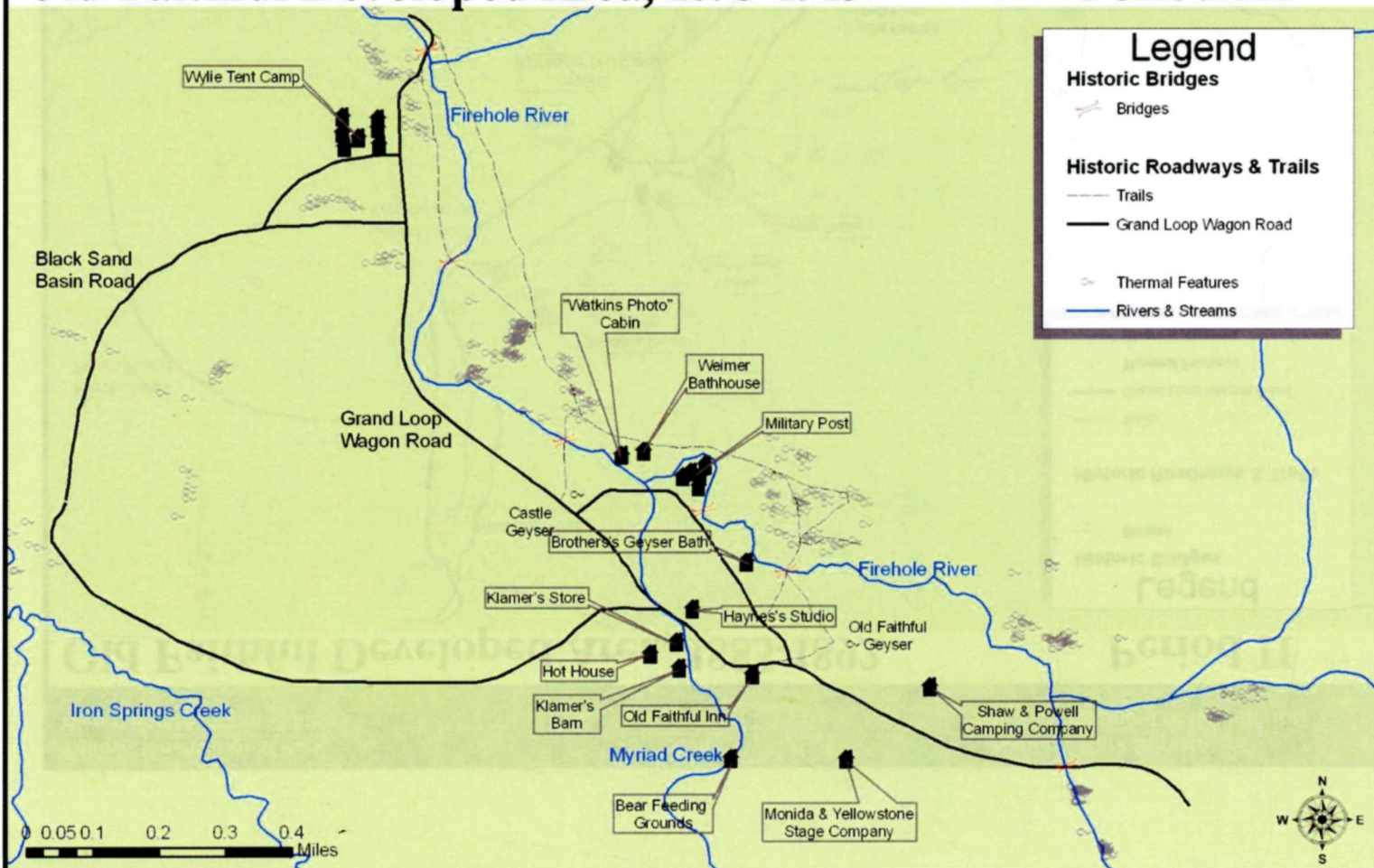
Period II





Old Faithful Developed Area, 1893-1915

Period III



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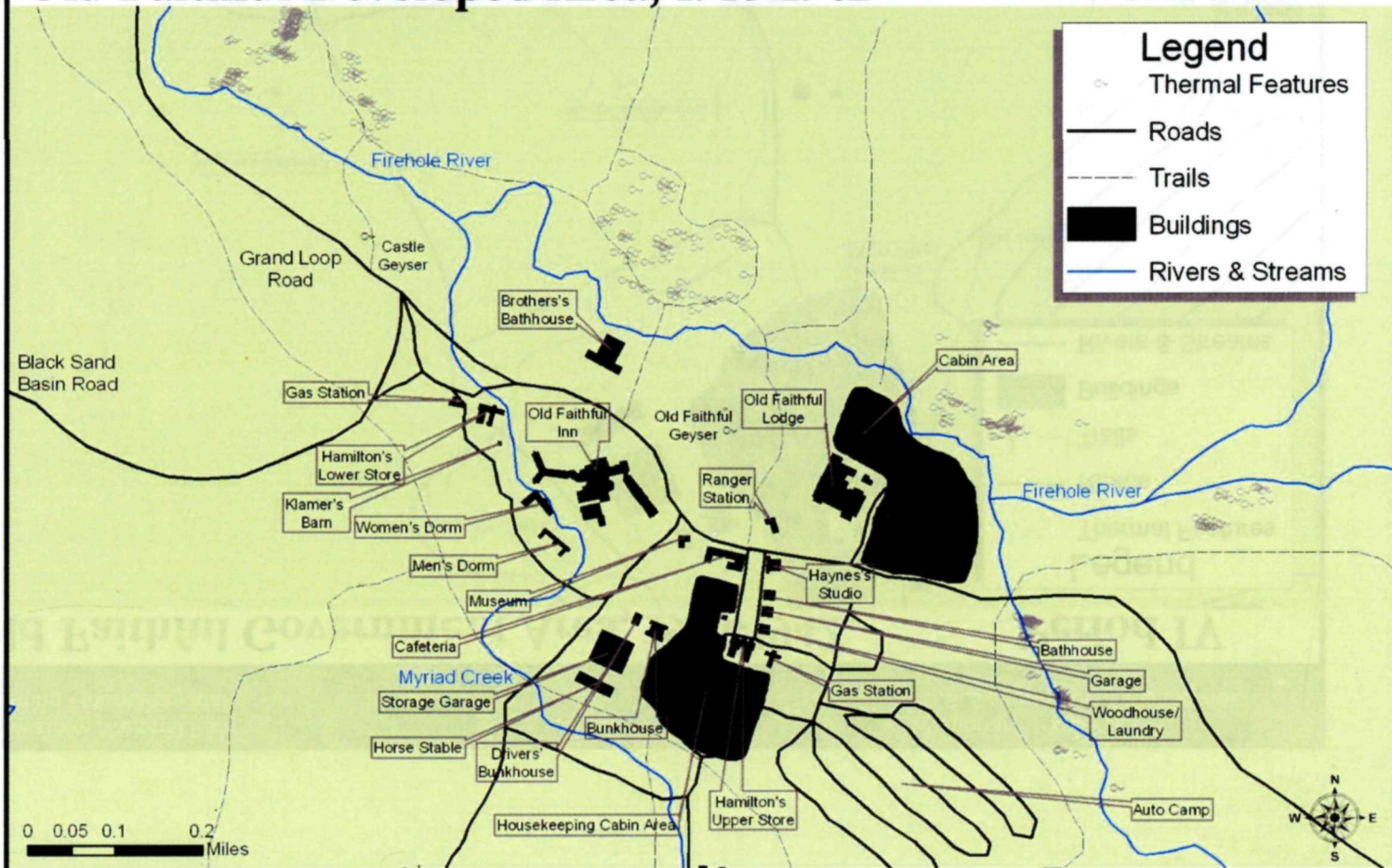
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Old Faithful Developed Area, 1916-1942

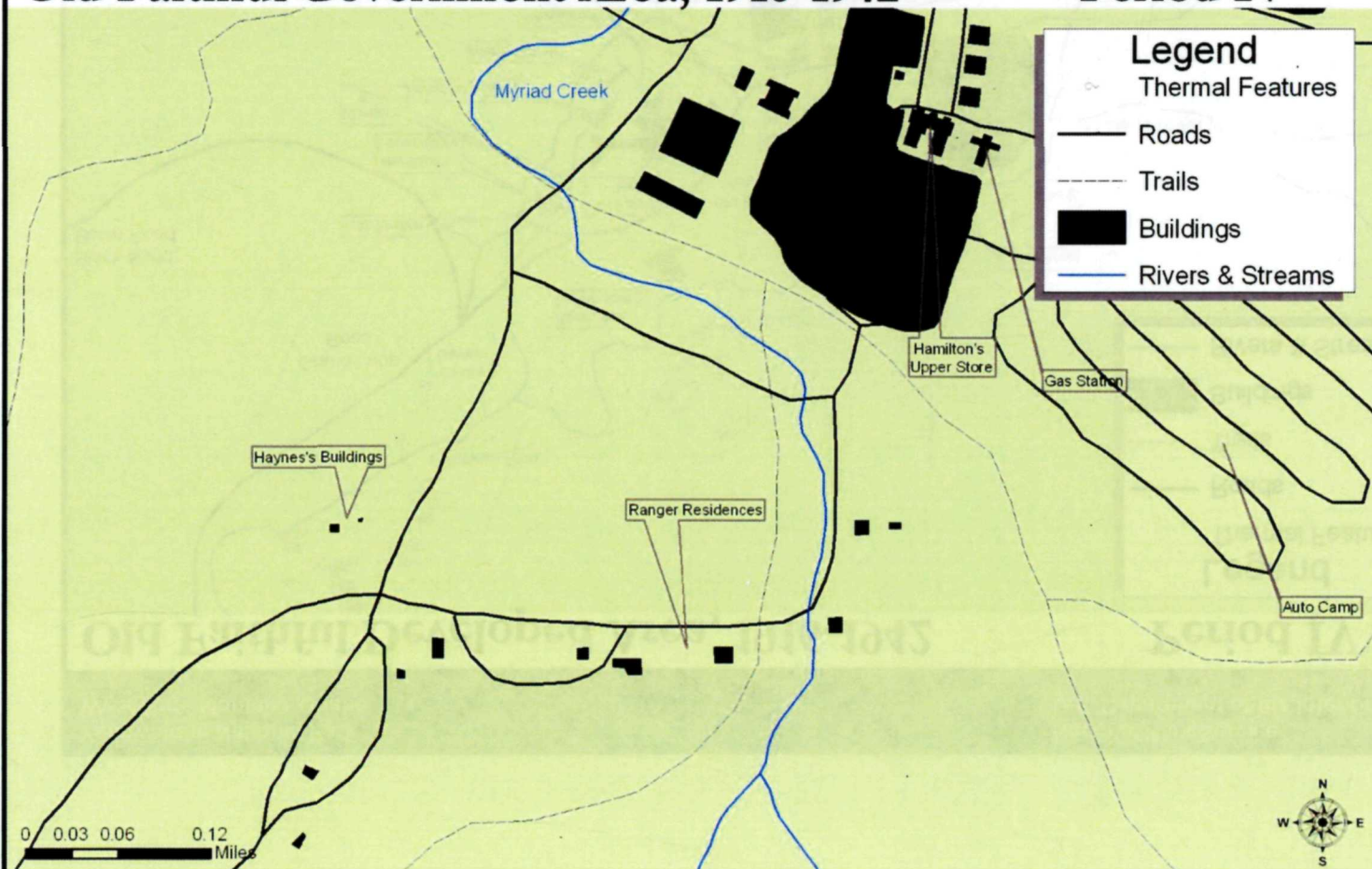
Period IV





Old Faithful Government Area, 1916-1942

Period IV



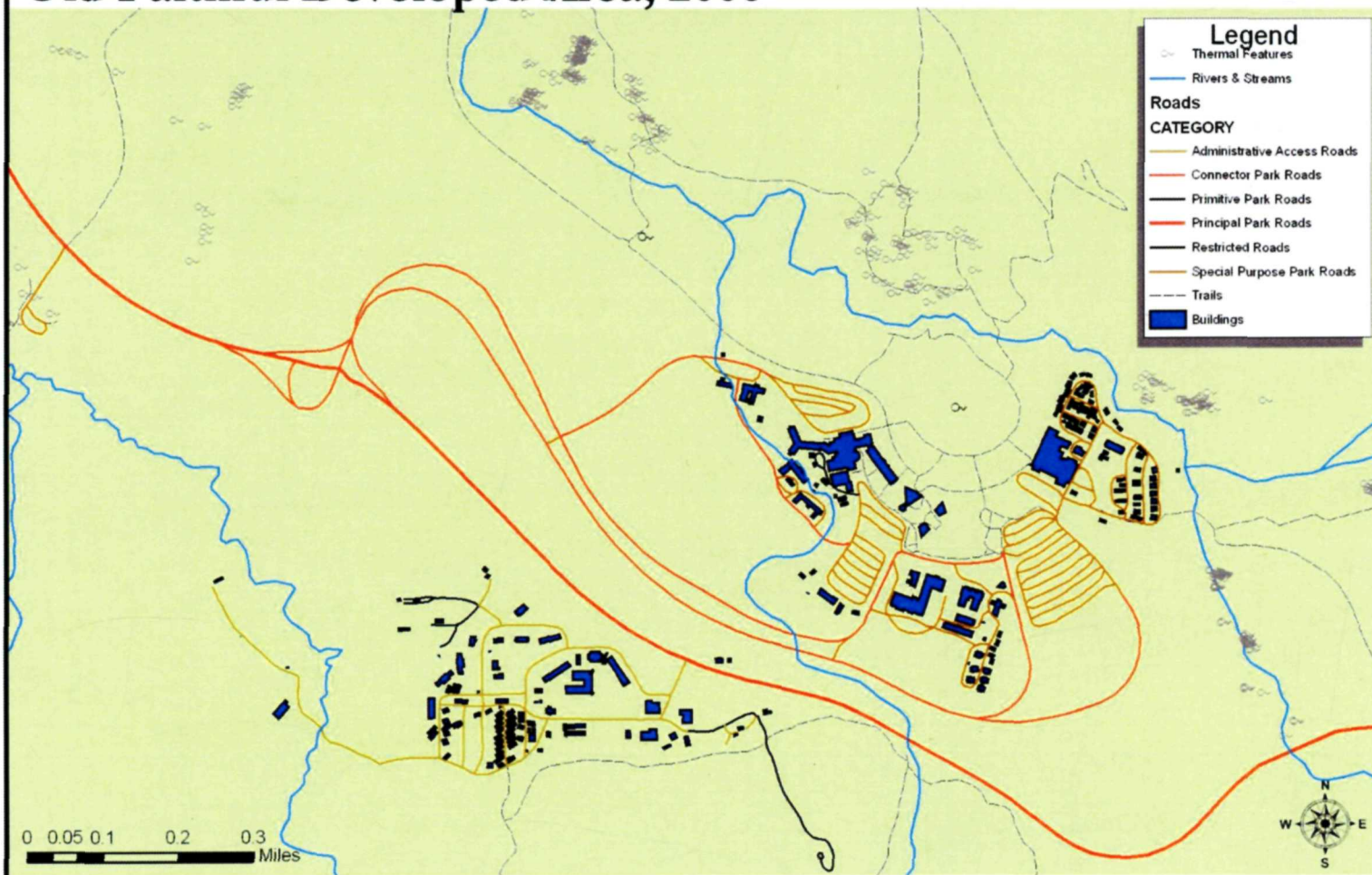
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Old Faithful Developed Area, 2006



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APPENDIX A

ASSOCIATION OF OLD FAITHFUL AREA HISTORICAL ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPES TO PERIODS OF DEVELOPMENT IN YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

**With Reference To the
Archeological Treatment Plan for Historical Archeological Resources
William. J. Hunt, Jr., 1993**

**Prepared By
ELAINE SKINNER HALE, YNP ARCHEOLOGIST
November 2006**

INTRODUCTION

This document provides the baseline information, or “historic context” for the cultural resources, historic archeological sites, and the resulting development of the cultural landscape of Old Faithful. “Context”, a cultural resource concept, is one of the more important elements of historic preservation law and policy (National Register Branch 1991). Historic context is information organized by theme, place, and time that link specific historic properties to important historic trends. It provides a framework for determining the significance of a cultural resource, after which its eligibility to the National Register can be assessed.

To understand the historic archeological resources in YNP, the development of the area specific cultural landscape at Old Faithful, and the cultural behavior that created the historical archeological sites on the Old Faithful landscape it is imperative to study the dynamics of “cultural tourism” in YNP. The treatment plan for historical archeological resources (Hunt 1993) provides a detailed description of cultural tourism as a research context for historical archeology and cultural landscapes. It provides methodology and research questions to be addressed in identifying and assessing the significance of historical archeological sites and the resultant cultural landscape components. This document identifies specific development periods within YNP providing defining characteristics for each period that affected the internal support systems in YNP. The historical archeological treatment plan, originally designed to guide historic archeological and cultural landscape investigations for the Federal Highway parkwide road reconstruction program, works well to guide historic context research and historical archeological inventory for developed areas such as Old Faithful. The document has been reviewed and accepted by the Montana and Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officers, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP 1993) and is soon to be provided in print by the NPS Midwest Archeological Center.

YELLOWSTONE'S CULTURAL TOURISM

National Park tourism familiar to us today is a form of tourism oriented toward outdoor “natural” activities speculated to have spawned as a reaction to the increased mechanization and rapidly expanding urban landscapes brought on by the Industrial Revolution. Modern forms of “nature tourism” reflect a philosophical continuity with ideals that place a higher value on the concepts of “natural” and “free” in contrast to the scientific-mechanistic cosmology of the Industrial Revolution which valued the “artificial” and “controlled”. From these views sprang an environmental preservation ethic, to the point where tourism is essentially a form of environmental pilgrimage. Many National Parks are viewed as “sacred sites” of environmental tourism, characterized by great scenic beauty or natural wonders that represent a physical embodiment of modern preservation ideology. But tourism is dynamic, governed by changing ideas, attitudes, and fashions of the tourist population, as is well represented in the development of the Old Faithful area.

Yellowstone National Park can be conceived of as composed of two interactive and dynamic systems, the natural system and the cultural system. At Old Faithful, the “natural system” includes the geothermal properties, the topographies, climates, flora and fauna, and the various interactions of these elements. Old Faithful contains one of the most significant natural geothermal systems in the world and therefore of global importance. Overlying and interacting with the natural system is the cultural system, a complex and extensive network of artifices created by human hands. This cultural system is essentially one founded on the aspirations of the government and the capitalist entrepreneurial system to create and facilitate a tourist commodity focused on the most important “natural” systems in YNP. This is certainly true in the Old Faithful area where some of the most significant cultural resources, such as the Old Faithful Inn National Historic Landmark are situated in the immediate vicinity of the Old Faithful Geyser and the other globally significant geothermal features in the area.

As noted YNP historian, Aubrey Haines (1977) points out; the parks history reveals that only two things remained the same throughout Yellowstone's developmental stages; the annual cycle of tourist visitation, and the constantly changing nature of tourism itself. As is very apparent in the development of the Old Faithful area, the parks 70-year period of historic development is characterized by continuous innovation and transformation with regard to all aspects of park management, transportation, and concessions. The changing landscape at Old Faithful and throughout YNP is an evolutionary process with a more organic approach where various interacting cultural systems operate and change as a body as opposed to development as an isolated entity. These changes are characterized by a series of time lines. Each period, throughout YNP and within the Old Faithful area, exhibit unique antecedents, internal components, and component interaction spheres.

TEMPORAL PERIODS OF DEVELOPMENT IN YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

The archeological treatment plan for historic archeological resources (Hunt 1993) provides a model for YNP tourism development for the period from the time of the park's inception through the initiation of World War II. This span of time, from 1872 to December, 1941 was selected because the time frame represents the major portion of the park's significant historical era. The preponderance of historic archeological sites, especially those structural ruins and dump sites in the Old Faithful area were created, occupied, and abandoned during this time frame.

Between 1941 and 1955, which marks the beginning of the "Mission 66 program in YNP, no significant development is noted in the Chronological History of Old Faithful Area – Timeline (Whittlesey, 2006) which immediately precedes this Appendix and serves as the basis for the ensuing temporal development discussion. It should be noted that, although several important modern Mission 66 developments have been identified in YNP (examples being the Canyon Village Historic District horseshoe mall, and perhaps the Bridge Bay marina area), for the most part Mission 66 structures in the Old Faithful area have been previously evaluated as not significant and not contributing to the Old

Faithful Historic District. Therefore, it is appropriate to evaluate the stages of historic development at Old Faithful within the four defined periods between 1872 and 1942.

PERIOD 1 – NASCENCE (1872-1882)

With a few exceptions such as Mc Quirks hot springs along the North Entrance to YNP, there was no organized tourist infrastructure prior to the creation of Yellowstone National Park. Period 1 was initiated with the establishment of the park as an entity of the Federal Government under the authority of the Department of the Interior. The park's management was scantily funded, if at all, and operating under limited legal authority to protect the resources or provide access and accommodations for park visitors. The only incipient development of tourist facilities (by private adventure capitalists) during this period was primitive in all senses of the word with few structures or facilities in existence. Tourists were left to their own devices.

Two general groups of tourists visited the park during 1872 – 1882. The predominant group was composed of people from a variety of social classes that resided in the immediate Yellowstone region. The second group were regional or foreign travelers of American or foreign extraction, usually of some social prominence, with wealth and leisure time necessary to allow travel great distance from their homes. Travel took place on horseback over trails, crude roads and wooden bridges. It was not until 1878 that travel by pack train was possible and shortly afterwards, horse-drawn wagons and buggies were used. The tourists usually owned their own horses or wagons although options for renting wagons, buggies, and horses from regional businesses increased throughout the period as small towns developed near the park margins. These early park visitors camped along their line of travel with the camp locations being unique to each individual or group as weather conditions and daily events dictated. Crude log or frame structures that provided minimal accommodations sprang up around the park, operated by frontier entrepreneurs. The end of the Period 1 is marked by a number of improvements in transportation and facilities to support tourists.

As this historic context illustrates, initial development during the Nascence Period in the Old Faithful area displays the characteristics of the time. In 1872, only trails existed, but by 1877 a narrow, rustic footbridge near the Old Faithful Geyser had been built. In 1879, P. W. Norris erects the first building, a crude cabin near the Firehole River and about 1882 another crude cabin was built near the Firehole River and photographed in 1883. Although it is uncertain whether the second cabin was available to tourists, the footbridge does indicate the beginning of tourist development and visitor access to the thermal area.

PERIOD II – TRANSITION (1883 – 1892)

The defining characteristics of the Transition Period II are the improvements in all aspects of the tourist infrastructure. Transportation companies were formed to move people into and through the park, lodging facilities increased with some food also available at major points of interest. The number of tourists visiting the park increased slightly with the socioeconomic and geographic characteristics for the tourists remaining very similar to Nascence Period 1.

In 1883, the first commercial tourist transportation system which involved rental of saddle horses and a stage line was operated by the Yellowstone Park Improvement Company (YNPIC). That same year YNPIC erects a tent camp on the site later occupied by the Old Faithful Inn. The tent camp at Old Faithful not only provided accommodations for President Chester A. Arthur's party, but it also lodged visitors during the 1883, 1884, and 1885 seasons. During Transition Period II, accommodations remained crude but a broader suite of services were available. At Old Faithful, the YNPIC also erected temporary tent frames, possibly for employee housing and a bath house on the Firehole River in the meadow a short distance east of the 1882 cabin. Around 1884 an unknown businessman (men) erected a building with unknown usage, but photographed by B.W. Kilburn on the site of the present lower Yellowstone General Store at Old Faithful. By 1885, the YNPIC erected the first hotel, "the Shack Hotel", on the site where the Old Faithful Inn would later be built. The Shack Hotel burned down in 1894. Finally around 1888, George Wakefield builds barns, stables, and corrals

southwest of the Old Faithful Geyser. The 1891 map shows a series of footbridges providing trail access throughout the Old Faithful thermal area. This emerging circulation pattern is significant to the evolving cultural landscape and indicative of the Transition Period II throughout the park.

The inability of the newly formed park management to protect the unique resources during the previous period resulted in the government placing YNP under military authority in 1886. The obvious collusion by park superintendents with commercial tourist interests was also cited as contributing to the park being placed under military authority. The development of the Old Faithful area during the Transition Period II is an excellent example of the development trends parkwide. This period, and the buried archeological structural remains of the emerging tourist industry in the Old Faithful area are significant in the interplay between the tourist facilities and the improvements made to the roads accessing the Old Faithful area by the newly installed military management of the park. The early citing of the wagon roads across the unique thermal landscape both influenced and was influenced by the prime locations for tourist lodging and other support facilities. The cultural landscape of the Old Faithful area was taking definite shape during this formative time.

The general trend throughout the park during the Transition Period II was to move from individual small companies to corporate ownerships such as the YNPIC, created in 1882. Despite the general improvements, tourist businesses in general, throughout the park, tended to falter or altogether fail. This appears to be the case at Old Faithful. We know very little about some of the first commercial operators in the area; the Shack Hotel was not rebuilt by the same contractor; and during the next period independent camping companies would develop.

The major development at the end of the period was the consolidation of the tourist-based companies under the umbrella of the Northern Pacific Railroad as a means of stabilizing and controlling the tourist hotel and transportation business. Towards the end of the Transition Period II tourist volume increases radically, and accumulations of imported

items for tourist purchase or use show an equally dramatic escalation. These buried artifacts are significant in understanding the social and cultural changes taking place in the emerging development of the Old Faithful area. The identification and investigation of the historic archeological sites of the Transition Period will undoubtedly provide important and previously unknown information about the cultural system of environmental tourism evolving in its earliest stages.

PERIOD III – DIVERSIFICATION AND EXPANSION (1893 – 1915)

Tourist services expanded, diversified, and increased in complexity to target a broader touring public during Period III. At the same time, the park's tourist services industry was consolidating under the umbrella of the Northern Pacific Railroad's management of the tourist hotels and transportation companies. The number of park visitors increased significantly from around 6,000 people a year at the start of Period III and about 36,000 per year at the end.

The composition of the tourist population also expanded considerably with about one-half of the visitors being autonomous travelers touring the park on their own either as "sagebrushers" camping at random locations or in campgrounds but not using concessionaire provided lodging or food services. There were also independently run "wagon parties" that provided economical guided transportation, food, supplies, and camping in the park for groups of largely cost-minded, middle class travelers using the train to get to the gates of YNP. But the class of tourist that had the major impact on park services and resources, especially at Old Faithful, was the "beau monde," those wealthy travelers from out of the region or abroad with considerable leisure time. They made up the other one-half of the park visitors and expected the very best of lodging, touring, meals, and facilities park concessionaires could provide. It was the "beau monde," with their financial resources, large numbers, and expectations for the best of services that had the greatest influence on the development of the Old Faithful area during Period III.

Also during this time primary transportation networks were realigned and improved under the direction of the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Lt. Dan Kingman and Hiram Chittenden. Significant for tourist access to Old Faithful as well as the other park attractions was the completion of the Grand Loop Road during the first half of Period III. Although the road through the Old Faithful area is no longer on the original alignment, the direct and highly visible access provided by the first roads into the Old Faithful area thermal wonders equally impacted visitors who were now arriving by stagecoach, buggies, on horseback or horse-drawn wagons, pack trains, bicycling, or on foot. The late 1890s new and improved road system made possible the provision of better goods and services to the Old Faithful area and provided a fundamental support to the growing stage lines that connected the rail lines to the park's interior wonders.

Services at Old Faithful for the "independents" and "sagebrushers" expanded in 1897 and 1898 with Henry Klamer constructing a general store and barn; the Wylie Camping Company's construction of a tent came and out buildings; F. Jay Haynes erects his first photographic studio in the meadow northeast of the present lower Yellowstone General Store. By 1899, the Monida-Yellowstone Stage Company was transporting the middle class and wealthier visitors to Old Faithful and the stage company, also run by F. Jay Haynes, erected buildings less than 900 feet south of Old Faithful Geyser to protect and service the stagecoaches. Four years later, in 1903, the Yellowstone Park Association, which had earlier built a hothouse behind the present lower service station, began construction of the Old Faithful Inn, completed on June 11, 1904.

The Old Faithful Inn, now a National Historic Landmark, defines the top end of the elite hotels and the high point of the elite tourist trade. The economic impact of the relatively large numbers of wealthy tourists coming to YNP and the tone and scale of the Old Faithful Inn facilitated the expansion in size and number of elegant hotels throughout YNP.

As exemplified at Old Faithful, Period III represents the high point of development to accommodate the wealthy tourists. But Period III is also characterized by the

considerable expansion in the number and variety of services from the primitive end of the range, such as independent camping or fishing expeditions to intermediate tourist facilities, such as tent camps. In 1909 the Wylie Camping Company at Old Faithful added log storehouse facilities and the Shaw and Powel Camping Company erected a building that would later evolve into the Old Faithful Lodge. Towards the end of Period III, in 1914, Henry Brothers construct his “geyser baths” swimming pool in the meadow across the river from Beehive Geyser, occupying a unique niche in Old Faithful visitor services until it was demolished in 1951.

The diversification and expansion of resource protection throughout Period III was also very apparent in the Old Faithful area with the park under military management. Poaching, forest fires, and tourist destruction of thermal features was effectuated by moving soldiers into the encampments near the major tourist attractions. The 1909 and 1910 maps of the area show the crude log cabin erected in 1879 by P. W. Norris evolving into a “Government Post”, indicating a more substantial structure.

The termination of Period III concluded with revolutionary changes in the structure of Yellowstone tourism. Among these were the removal of the military and the reestablishment of civilian park management, further consolidation of the major tourist-based companies, but most significantly, the opening of the park to automobiles. The wide-spread use of auto transportation precipitated a virtual transformation of the tourist industry in the Old Faithful area and throughout Yellowstone National Park, and the nation as a whole.

PERIOD IV – TRANSITION AND REFORMATION (1916 – 1942)

The two basic changes which quickly and radically altered YNP during Period IV were the opening of the park to automobiles and the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916. The major effect of these changes was consolidating and reducing the number of concessions operators in the park; altering the number, location, and types of tourist

facilities needed to accommodate the broader spectrum of tourists who now found it “fashionable” to travel to Yellowstone and other U.S. parks.

During Period IV, the number of tourists visiting the park grew from around 36,000 to about 580,000 per year. The introduction of the automobile had a “democratic” effect on the composition of YNP visitor population with large numbers of working and middle classes touring the park as car campers. These automobile tourers were essentially “independents” and represented the motorized equivalent of the “sagebrushers” of Periods I to III. The car campers composed the substantial portion of park visitors during Period IV but they had the least economic impact on the parks tourist industry because they were self-guided, prepared their own meals and lodged in their cars at NPS constructed autocamps. Car campers generally were cost-minded, working and middle class families. There were also “auto tourers” who used the park hotels and restaurants and other concessionaire services and were mostly from the middle to upper class strata of society.

Automobile travel inside YNP and at Old Faithful brought about a complete reformulation of tourist support facilities within a few years. There was a drastic reduction in the number and types of facilities oriented towards the “beau monde” wealthier visitors and the introduction and expansion of new types of facilities for the tourist of more modest means, such as gas stations because tour vehicles were powered by gasoline. Within a year the park experienced the complete removal of the vast infrastructure supporting the horse-drawn conveyances, bringing about the loss of hundreds of concessionaire jobs. Stage lines converted to motor coach carriers and consolidated into a single business, the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company. Vehicular traffic required the wholesale upgrading of roads and bridges throughout the park. The alignment of the road through the Old Faithful area remained as it had been during previous periods, but the road width and surface was improved.

The range of accommodations in the park broadened from the previous periods with park management now directly involved in constructing and operating autocamps. Park

concessionaires also continued to offer a more diversified choice of accommodations such as tent camps and house-keeping cabins, directed at a broader range of traveler classes. Meals varied from simple to elaborate, modestly priced to expensive; and overnight accommodations provided by concessionaires ranged from minimal to most luxurious. This is certainly the case at Old Faithful during Period IV.

The newly created NPS management in Washington decided that the unchecked competition of concessionaires was harmful to the park system and therefore mandated the consolidation of YNP tourist services from five companies to one, the Yellowstone Park Company. NPS expanded its tourist support services by building museums as well as the automobile camps. Protection and management of park resources continued in much the same as the Army had accomplished the task with “soldier stations” turning into “ranger stations.” Additionally, the NPS created a natural science research branch within the park management hierarchy.

The developments in the Old Faithful area during Period IV again typify the park as a whole. On August 25, 1916, YNP established the first official group auto campground at a site east of the present day Old Faithful Lodge. But by 1920 auto camping at Old Faithful became so popular that a larger site (east of today’s east parking lot) with comfort stations and other amenities was added. Concessionaire Charles Hamilton built a gas station west of his general store at Old Faithful to provide needed services to the car campers.

In 1921 YNP constructed a new Old Faithful Ranger Station and by 1923 demolished the original 1879 soldier station. Concessionaire facilities also expanded between 1923 and 1927 with Henry Brothers adding a log dwelling to his swimming pool with dressing rooms, bath tubs and a washing machine. By 1927 Brothers erected a second bath house at Old Faithful, located on the “Promenade” that has evolved for visitor services. Hamilton builds another gas station and the Yellowstone Park Company builds a cafeteria on the west side of the Promenade. By 1929, west of the Promenade and south of the

cafeteria the Yellowstone Parks Camps Company builds camper cabins and Hamilton builds a larger general store to supply the car campers.

During the 1930's much of the improvements during the Period IV transitions involved road repairs throughout the Old Faithful area. In 1933-4 Hamilton purchases the Brothers swimming pool and expands it significantly.

Period IV terminated with the advent of World War II, an event which brought YNP tourism and NPS tourism nationally to a complete halt between 1942 and 1945. Post-war changes in the Old Faithful area were relatively few until the advent of the Mission 66 program and out of the preview of the historic context for historically significant historic properties and cultural landscape development in the Old Faithful area. In 1963 the publication of the Leopold Report changed NPS philosophy to one of "natural regulation" with little manipulation of natural systems. During the next decade, many of the buildings and older structures at Old Faithful were demolished and an effort to "modernize" the area brought about further destruction to the ruins and archeological remains that are the keys to the evolution of the cultural landscape at Old Faithful.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA SOURCES FOR ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE DEVELOPMENT IN THE OLD FAITHFUL DEVELOPED AREA

Prior to conducting archeological research to identify what historic properties remain in the Old Faithful area and subsequent evaluations of the integrity of the past and current landscape and cultural remains, it is important to identify specific research questions that archeological survey and excavation should address through the NHPA Section 110 documentation of historic properties, specifically the historic archeological sites in the Old Faithful area. Dr. William J. Hunt, Jr., NPS Archeologist with the Midwest Archeological Center, (Hunt 1993) prepared an extensive list of research questions appropriate for the archival research that is the body of this document and questions to guide the archeological survey, National Register testing, evaluation, and subsequent

development of the evolution of the Old Faithful cultural landscape. The historic archeological research questions address a number of cultural issues, such as the economic development of Old Faithful, what are the physical characteristics of the development of the tourist system at Old Faithful, what external and internal subsistence patterns were used, what do these historic archeological sites tell us about the health and sanitation issues through the four periods of development. But most importantly, research questions address how the remains, the physical components of the historic archeological sites and development at Old Faithful reveal the layered evolution of the cultural landscape that exists today.

The research questions listed below give a brief indication of what the archeological research should address and what techniques are useful in obtaining archeological data.

GENERAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- ✓ Where are the historic sites located? Archival research, maps and photographs provide the context, archeological site surveys provide the data.
- ✓ What are the physical components of the site and how are they distributed across the landscape? Archeological mapping of the site types, distribution of foundations and other site features.
- ✓ What are the intrasite functional relationships of the various site components and their relationship to the temporal layers of development at Old Faithful? This information is gained by site surveys, subsurface excavations, and comparison of artifacts and features from the various portions of sites
- ✓ What subtheme of the historic tourist context is the site related to? Comparison of the site features and contents with other historic sites of known function.
- ✓ What are the site types and how are they distinguished from one another? Comparison of data from temporally similar sites.
- ✓ What are the intersite relationships (hotels /vs/ barn locations, geyser walkways and bridge locations) between sites of disparate and similar types? Comparison of site data from sites of the same temporal era.
- ✓ How have the various elements changed over time? Comparisons of data from sites of consecutive temporal eras.

- ✓ How are the historic archeological sites at Old Faithful similar of different from contemporary sites at Old Faithful and other developed areas in YNP?

Comparison of data and evaluation of present developed areas in YNP.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS ADDRESSING YNP TOURIST SYSTEMS

- ✓ What are the physical characteristics of the tourist routes during each time period?
Site survey for location of sites and roads.
- ✓ What are the different kinds of tours and how did they differ from one another?
Determination of site types and location.
- ✓ Was the tour altered through time and what were the causes for the changes? Site surveys for location in relation to roads and site types.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS ADDRESSING YNP ECONOMICS

- ✓ What was the access to various types of goods and commodities used for tourists, businesses, concessions employees, park management, families of government employees, etc? Subsurface excavations and comparisons of objects in sites and dumps.
- ✓ Who were the suppliers of goods to Old Faithful? Subsurface excavations, manufacturers' marks and other artifact analysis, comparison with commodities list in HRS2 and appendices in HRS3.
- ✓ How did interrelationships of various aspects of the tourist industry change over time? Comparison of artifacts in temporal periods.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS RELATING TO SUBSISTENCE

- ✓ What native food resources were used during each temporal period? Recovery of faunal and floral remains through excavations.
- ✓ What were the domestic plants and livestock used during each period and where were they acquired? Recovery of faunal and floral remains through excavations.
- ✓ What industrially packaged commercial foodstuffs were brought into Old Faithful? Documentation of dump sites, recovery of food and beverage containers from various site types.
- ✓ What was the relative importance of each food source? Comparison of food related artifacts in site types.

- ✓ How did these various elements change through time? Comparison of food related artifacts through temporal periods.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS RELATED TO HEALTH AND SANITATION

- ✓ What types of medicines or medical aid was available at each site type? Surface surveys and excavations.
- ✓ Did the placement of privies and trash deposits vary from one type of site to another? Surface surveys and excavations to document locations and contents.
- ✓ What are the changes through time within a particular site type and between site types? Surface surveys and excavations to document locations and contents.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS RELATING TO ETHNICITY AND STATUS

- ✓ Are there indications of Chinese, African American, or Native American occupations or employment? Surface survey and excavation of sites and analysis of artifacts of Chinese manufacture or other indications of ethnicity.
- ✓ Can the material culture differences between the officers' and enlisted men's' occupations be distinguished? Excavation of military dumps, latrines associated with military housing units, and comparison of artifacts.

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